John Russell Bartlett's Literary Borderlands: Ethnology, War, and the United States Boundary Survey

Robert Gunn

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David Taylor. *BORDER MONUMENT NO. 210* (N 32° 42.352' W 114° 54.596'). Photograph. ✦ For the last four years, David Taylor has been photographing along the US-Mexico border between El Paso/Juárez and Tijuana/San Diego. His project is organized around an effort to document all of the monuments that mark the international boundary west of the Rio Grande. The effort to reach all of the 276 obelisks, most of which were installed between the years 1891 and 1895, has inevitably led to encounters with migrants, smugglers, the United States Border Patrol, minutemen, and residents of the borderlands.

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Reading "Indian Sign"

On October 24, 1850, on the banks of the South Concho River, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Texas, John Russell Bartlett had his first "official" encounter with an American Indian—or, as he would put it, in his habitual blend of scientific and romantic lexica, his "first specimen of the wild denizens of the prairie" (*Personal Narrative* 1:78). As the recently appointed United States Boundary Commissioner, Bartlett headed a 120-man expedition—comprised of surveyors, astronomers, topographical engineers, sketch artists and cartographers, mechanics, laborers, cooks, servants, translators, doctors, geologists, zoologists, and botanists—all collectively charged under his authority with establishing the international border between the United States and the Republic of Mexico pursuant to Article V of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This first "specimen of the wild denizens of the prairie" in question was Chipota, a chief of the Lipan Apache, who "suddenly appeared from behind a clump of bushes, and the next moment was in the midst of the camp," and who, according to several witnesses from the expedition presumably in a position to judge, bore an uncanny likeness to Lewis Cass, Democratic Senator from Michigan (1:76). Although the suddenness of Chipota's arrival came as a surprise, an encounter had not been unexpected. Three days prior, scouts from the expedition had discovered within a mile of their trail what Bartlett termed "Indian sign": "It is not necessary that the savage should be seen, to judge of his presence," he writes. "He always leaves marks behind him, which are soon understood by the sagacious travellers of the prairie, and are as unmistakable as his own red skin" (1:72). Deriving knowledge of American Indians within an evidentiary framework in which their presence is unnecessary, Bartlett fashions the "reading of signs" as an interpretive activity that finds presence in a scene of absence and rewards "sagacious travellers" with the "unmistakable" signs of racial difference.

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Ironically, the actual presence of an American Indian would prove insufficient to manifest reliable knowledge of his status. When Chipota arrived in the Boundary Survey's camp on the 24th, his identity was unknown to Bartlett. Here presence is again a superfluity; the "Indian sign" that needed to be read in this instance consisted of documents he carried issued by the military officers and the local Indian agent certifying the bearer as a Lipan chief and requesting his friendly treatment of any Americans who should pass through his territory. Although his actions in the camp were outwardly hospitable, it was not those actions but, curiously, the production of official US documents requesting such hospitable behavior that seemed to verify for Bartlett and his company that Chipota's friendliness was, in fact, authentic. Following their preliminary introductions, Bartlett invited Chipota into his riding carriage for the next leg of their journey. There, Bartlett records, "contrary to the custom of his race, he manifested much curiosity respecting all he saw," in particular, the large collection of revolvers and rifles that lined the interior of the carriage (1:77–78). Chipota picked up Bartlett's telescope and assuming it to be another firearm, asked how it was fired.

> The instrument was adjusted, and a distant tree pointed out, which he was told to look at with the glass. His credulity had been overtasked, and it was hard to convince him that it was the same far-off tree. I told him that we used that to see the Indians at a distance, and could always tell when they were about or had stolen any mules. (1:78)

What is remarkable here is the readiness with which Bartlett conscripts this piece of optical technology into an object-lesson that promotes US dominance as a function of its epistemological superiority. Fashioning a fantasy of US omniscience through the warning that he may see without being seen, Bartlett seizes on Chipota's misrecognition of a scientific instrument as an object of war and presents knowledge as a tool of conquest. In this sense, Bartlett's message to Chipota is similar to his message to the reader regarding "Indian sign": for the "sagacious traveller," physical proximity to the Indian is unnecessary to produce a correct knowledge of him (indeed, proximity may inhibit understanding); instead, specialized techniques of viewing (including through the lens of government documents) are seen to leverage power and knowledge most effectively at a distance.

In this essay, I will argue that John Russell Bartlett's fascinating, but seldom-discussed *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua* represents a key, yet equivocal, literary consolidation of the work of empire and ethnology in the American

Southwest.[1] I open with this vignette because it evokes a style of collusion between agendas of US empire and scientific knowledge production that governs central aspects of Bartlett's literary project, a project that culminates a back-story of scientific opportunism by prominent amateur ethnologists in New York eager to capitalize on US efforts to annex Mexican territory in the Southwest. The pages that follow investigate the manner in which a burgeoning ethnological project participated in the larger national and imperial enterprise of boundary creation and discuss the relationship of cultural epistemology, political speech acts, and literary form.

More specifically, I explore the complex interplay of ethnological research motives between the American Ethnological Society and the War Department, unforeseen technical challenges arising from the boundary survey itself, and formidable legal and political issues in shaping the techniques of Bartlett's literary representation. Bartlett attempts to reconcile these diverse elements in the *Personal Narrative*, but this project is troubled throughout by the lingering memory of political controversy. Having been charged with the duty of surveying and inscribing a politically binding international border across a vast expanse of inhospitable terrain, Bartlett's efforts were disastrously undermined by contradictory treaty instructions and an erroneous map—untenable conditions that led eventually to his ouster as boundary commissioner in 1853. The *Personal Narrative* was, in one sense, Bartlett's bid to vindicate his actions as commissioner, but the displacement of his authority from official spokesman to private individual underscores Bartlett's failure of ideological coordination between the overlapping projects of ethnological research and national inscription.

As I argue in the essay's concluding section, Bartlett's fractured embodiment of national authority—intact as the events described are played out, yet compromised at the moment of literary authorship—is reflected in the *Personal Narrative* in a set of amorphous boundaries between competing modes of sentimental and scientific representation and is most keenly legible in discussions of racial and national difference. Turning throughout on the shifting textual terrain of "the personal" within an ambiguously determined borderlands territory, this textual dynamic culminates in Bartlett's depiction of the commission's liberation of two sets of Mexican captives held by the Apache in the vicinity of the Gila River in New Mexico.

Bartlett, Gallatin, and Ethnological Linguistics

At first blush, John Russell Bartlett would appear to have been an unlikely candidate for the appointment of commissioner of the US Boundary Survey. A Rhode Island Whig of a serious and decidedly bookish temperament, Bartlett was an amateur ethnologist, talented sketch artist, book-

seller, and accomplished lexicographer who landed the position due to savvy political connections established during the Polk and Taylor administrations and not due to a résumé of actually relevant experience, a fact that led eminent historian William Goetzmann to dismiss Bartlett as "the very epitome of visionary impracticality" (261). In his life prior to his tenure with the Boundary Survey, Bartlett had been a fixture of Providence literary and scientific circles; upon moving to New York, he opened a bookshop with Englishman Charles Welford on the ground floor of the Astor House Hotel in New York City that became a gathering place for such prominent figures as James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, John Lloyd Stephens, and Edgar Allan Poe (Bartlett, *Autobiography* 21–31).[2] During these years, Bartlett established himself as an important member of the intellectual circle surrounding the venerable Albert Gallatin, joining him in the resurrection of the then-moribund New-York Historical Society while serving as his part-time amanuensis and intellectual kindred spirit. He achieved his greatest renown in 1848, with the publication of his *Dictionary of Americanisms*, a lexicon of US colloquialisms that went through several editions in his lifetime, remaining a valuable scholarly resource on non-standard American English. And like his mentor Gallatin, he developed a passion for ethnology.

When Bartlett arrived in New York in 1836, the emergent study and practice of ethnology in the United States was at an early crossroads. Not yet established as a formal academic discipline, ethnological study was largely a sideline of state historical and antiquarian societies, library societies, and athenaeums; it was advanced most vigorously by an ad hoc constellation of well-heeled amateurs whose philosophical investments and methods of inquiry were frequently at odds. In 1842, Bartlett and Gallatin cofounded the American Ethnological Society (AES), the first such society of its kind in the United States and still active today as the oldest professional anthropological organization in the country.

As president of the American Ethnological Society in New York, Gallatin was acknowledged as the leading figurehead of a Jeffersonian school of ethnological thought that traced its philosophical roots to the Enlightenment and to eighteenth-century, transatlantic debates over Buffon's degeneracy theory. Committed to the principle of human political equality and a progressive view of history, Gallatin assumed a monogenetic origin to the human species as a matter of course and asserted that the phenomenon of human diversity was attributable to environmental factors.[3] To substantiate this position, he committed himself to philological inquiries into Native American dialects with the goal of mapping the evolutionary relationships between the language families of North America. Combining

David Taylor. *BORDER MONUMENT NO. 36* (N 31° 47.024' W 108° 05.902').

data from grammar surveys, available missionary dictionaries, and tribal vocabularies collected by Lewis Cass, William Clark, and others, Gallatin produced the first extensive map of Native American language families in 1826 and published his definitive statement on American Indian tribes, human origins, and philological methods in the second volume of the *Transactions* of the American Antiquarian Society under the title "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America" (1836).[4]

Gallatin's "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America" is a landmark work in the fields of Native American ethnology and comparative philology; it also stands as a landmark of scientific collaboration between the War Department and a private individual and as such illustrates with unusual force the material and ideological relays between the projects of US empire and ethnological knowledge production prior to the US-Mexico War. As Gallatin later reflected, his massive project of assembling all available Indian grammars and vocabularies had been "greatly assisted" by the War Department, which, at Gallatin's request, had circulated blank vocabulary forms and questionnaires devised by Gallatin to Indian agents nationwide in 1826.[5] The history of systematic collaboration between the American Ethnological Society and the War Department exposes the interlocking ideological and epistemological agendas of a widening scientific discourse that was taking shape according

to the shifting political and geographical boundaries of the United States. Conceived broadly as an Enlightenment-style knowledge project devoted to the establishment of neutral historical truths concerning the relations of kinship between human groups, the practice of ethnological linguistics at mid-century was nevertheless highly opportunistic in exploiting the institutional capillaries of the federal apparatus and consequently a complicit subject to the imperial reaches of United States military power. On a more practical level, this style of collaboration illustrates a powerful and enduring tension in the development of ethnological linguistics, one in which the epistemological necessity of decentralization (that is, the geographically dispersed data points necessary for the collection and comparison of discrete grammars and vocabularies) sits uneasily with the ideological necessity of centralization (both for the collection and interpretation of data and vis-à-vis the political uses to which those interpretations are placed in service).

With the advent of the US-Mexico War, Gallatin, Bartlett, and the War Department jointly perceived an unprecedented opportunity to upgrade and enlarge their collaborative research network. In a letter Bartlett conveyed personally to Secretary of War William Marcy in March of 1846, Gallatin requested that the War Department's network of Indian agents and military apparatus assist the American Ethnological Society in gathering "a more complete knowledge of the grammar or structure of several [Indian] languages, or families of languages" under his purview (626). Gallatin's earlier "Synopsis" had focused on indigenous languages east of the Rocky Mountains; the new direction of the research proposed would endeavor westward, "and the analysis of the Mexican and other languages, contained in our first volume," that is, in the volume Bartlett presented to Marcy with Gallatin's letter, "would point out the direction to be pursued in the investigation of the structure of the languages of our own Indians" (627). The key word here is "Mexican." Indeed, what is most striking overall in this letter is Gallatin's and Bartlett's crafty sense of political opportunity in applying for Marcy's assistance in March of 1846—two months after President Polk had ordered General Taylor's forces south to the Rio Grande and barely a month prior to a formal declaration of war with the Republic of Mexico. As Bartlett subsequently reported to General Caleb Cushing, "all the departments at Washington as well as the officers of the army have tendered to Mr. Gallatin of the Ethnolog. Soc. any papers, maps, &c in their power" (Letter to Caleb Cushing 408).[6] To Cushing himself, who marched with his regiment of Massachusetts volunteers to Mexico City after its capture, Bartlett appealed for another bounty of Mexican conquest—printed dictionaries and grammars of Mexican languages from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,

along with any ancient manuscripts or antiquities that still "exist[ed] in the convents & museums of the country and may be obtained under certain circumstances" (407). Cushing himself had expressed the desirability of a broad scientific survey of northern Mexico. Anticipating his own work as the boundary commissioner, Bartlett wrote, "*Nothing would please me better than to engage in such an expedition* and when the proper time comes, we must see what can be done" (408).

Of the various forms of assistance from the War Department pursued by the American Ethnological Society to advance the work of ethnological linguistics, none would have greater specific import to Bartlett and the work of the Boundary Commission than the correspondence between Gallatin and William Emory in the fall of 1847. At that time, Gallatin was in the process of composing a magisterial introduction to Horatio Hale's "Indians of North-West America, and Vocabularies of North America" for the second volume of the AES *Transactions*.[7] In research for this work, Gallatin's elusive object was to establish a basis of linguistic comparison between the geographically insulated and little-known tribes in the vicinity of the Gila River (in present-day southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico) and those languages from Mexico and Central America he had been able to classify already, specifically Nahuatl (which he referred to in his writings alternately as "Mexican" or "Aztec"), Huastec, Otomi, Maya, and two partial dialects from Guatemala ("Notes" 1–49). Gallatin had determined in 1836 that the sixty-one languages and dialects he had examined east of the Rockies in US and British territories constituted "only eight great families" and that these eight families shared a fundamental consonance of grammatical structure—a discovery that led him to assert an ancient commonality of origin for all indigenous peoples surveyed ("Synopsis" 3).[8] If he were able to establish a complementary basis of common grammatical structure between the tribes of the Gila and those languages obtained from points south, he would be able to add a powerful empirical bulwark to his theory of hemispheric commonality of origin—one that would bolster strongly the monogenetic lynchpin theory of a primordial migration of peoples across the Bering Strait.

In this effort, Gallatin was frustrated by the limitations of available source material, having to rely primarily on the sketchy details of Pedro Castañeda's firsthand account of the 1540–42 Coronado expedition (which had only recently come into his possession).[9] Struggling to adduce salient and reliable geographical and cultural data relative to the Pima, Maricopas, and Apache, Gallatin wrote to General Stephen Watts Kearny of the Army of the West in the wake of his 1846–47 wartime expedition through New Mexico to California to inquire into recent geographical and

ethnological information obtained in the field. Kearny referred Gallatin to Lt. William H. Emory, who served in the Topographical Corps unit attached to Kearny's expedition as the chief astronomer (Emory would later serve in a similar capacity on Bartlett's Boundary Survey before assuming the post of commissioner following Bartlett's dismissal in 1853). In a series of letters exchanged with Emory during the fall of 1847, Gallatin sought to corroborate geographical aspects of the Castañeda account and inquired further after structures of habitation as well as the availability of botanical samples of agricultural products (in a speculative effort to establish historical patterns of trade with Mexican tribes to the south). Emory responded with detailed geographical information, a draft of a regional map, and general cultural details concerning the Pima, Coco Maricopas, and Apache, all of which Gallatin incorporated into his work. Gallatin's keenest interests, though, concerned matters of language. In response to Gallatin's detailed inquiries, Emory also provided a vocabulary of the Coco Maricopas, which Gallatin reported was "quite a new language" that bore "no resemblance" to the four Mexican languages or the thirty-two minor language families of North America in his possession. One detail, though, he found particularly suggestive: "*Apache* is the word for *man*; and judging by analogy from several other Indian languages, [the Coco Maricopas] should be Apaches or belonging to that family" ("To Lieutenant W. H. Emory" 129). Given that the tribal names of the Illinois and Lenni Lenape were both evidently derived from the common Algonquin word *Linno* for man, the inference was suggestive: the tribes of the Gila were not only closely related to one another but bore traces of etymological development that closely resembled patterns found among distant tribes already documented east of the Rockies. However tantalizing the implications of this observation might be, Gallatin was forced to acknowledge that "the accounts, by report, of the Indians to the mouth of the Gila are conflicting and of an indefinite character," as Emory had reported. "This observation applies to every information derived from other sources. We have as yet only vague rumors" ("To Lieutenant W. H. Emory" 129).

Against this background, it is easy to appreciate the eagerness with which Bartlett pursued his application for the position of United States Boundary Survey commissioner and the opportunity it could afford to conduct original field research into Indian languages and culture—particularly concerning the tribes of New Mexico's Gila River. Writing to his friend Evert Duyckinck in January of 1849, Bartlett predicted boldly, "if I can carry out a scheme which is now on the carpet, I shall be able to do more for American Ethnology, than has been done by any one, not even excepting Humboldt or Squier" (Letter to E. Duyckinck). Bartlett

formally accepted his appointment on June 19, 1850, at a salary of $3,000 annually and lost little time in orchestrating the logistics of the endeavor to optimize his opportunities for ethnological field research. Having conferred personally with Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing to advocate for "a thorough exploration of the wide district about to be traversed, in connexion with the survey of the Boundary," Bartlett composed the first draft of his own official instructions, "which being in accordance with [Ewing's] own views he authorized me to give him ... and my instructions were prepared accordingly, not varying in the least from my own draft" (*Autobiography* 38). If so, the reach and complexity of those instructions would constitute a formidable burden. In addition to the encouragement of "every opportunity afforded by your passage through the unexplored regions of Texas, New Mexico, and California, to acquire information as to its geography [and] natural history," they conveyed special instructions to survey an eligible southern route for a transcontinental railroad, and to collect "information relative to the precious metals, quicksilver, and the various minerals, ores, and other substances, useful in the arts ... as well as the locations of mines formerly worked by the early settlers in California and New Mexico, and since abandoned, owing to the incursions of the Indians" (*Personal Narrative* 2:590). In this light, Bartlett's agenda as the US commissioner was subject to multiple, sometimes conflicting agendas: establishing the borderline; prospecting for precious metals; surveying a railroad; advancing knowledge of the natural history of the region; and, finally, his own long-deferred ambition to realize a substantive and original contribution to the field of ethnology in print. At the end of June, the latter aim was strongly on his mind. Within a week of Bartlett's appointment, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft informed him that, on behalf of the Indian Bureau, he had recommended to the secretary of the Interior a supplemental appropriation in the amount of $25,000 "to collect by a special agent statistical & historical facts of the tribes north of the Gila & east of the Colorado," advising him further that Secretary Ewing was fully supportive of this plan (26). Given that the region identified for this special research expenditure was specifically the area that carried such compelling linguistic interest for Gallatin in his communications with Emory in 1847, its designation here surely followed Bartlett's personal recommendation. Moreover, considering that the initial appropriation for the Boundary Survey itself was $50,000 (this figure would soon prove grossly inadequate), this proposal of a supplemental expenditure of $25,000 indicates concretely the degree of emphasis devoted by the federal government to the cause of ethnological investigation—in addition to the confidence it placed in Bartlett as the party to conduct it.[10]

PROBLEMS OF INSCRIPTION: GEOGRAPHIES AND NARRATIVE

As things would turn out, the literary and scientific fame predicted hopefully by Bartlett did not materialize in the form envisioned. On April 24, 1851, in the desert near what is now Doña Ana, New Mexico, John Russell Bartlett buried a sarsaparilla bottle in the sand and with it, unwittingly, the possibility that he might realize his long-held dream of becoming the American Humboldt. Present also on this occasion was Bartlett's Mexican counterpart, General Pedro García Conde, and other members of the Mexican delegation. At the time, April 24 was celebrated jointly by the bilateral commission as an important moment of accord; by mutual agreement, Bartlett and Conde had established Doña Ana as the "initial point" of the international boundary—the point, that is, at which the border between the United States and Mexico was to depart from the physical course of the Rio Grande and proceed westward according to the virtual terrain of latitude, along what Bartlett and his team called "the imaginary boundary" (Bull). Placing a document delineating the "initial point" (Bartlett, *Personal Narrative* 2:104), effected as binding by their signatures and those of the two surveyors appointed to the respective commissions, inside the sarsaparilla bottle along with a pebble chipped from the Washington Monument, the physical burial of the bottle at the site burnished with the trappings of ritualistic ceremony a performative speech act (here is Mexico; here is the United States) that would prove highly consequential, as well as personally costly to Bartlett (Bartlett, "Personal Narrative" 100).[11]

Amidst a host of alternately tragic and squalid events straining the early work of the commission in its first year under Bartlett's tenure (murders, insubordination, inebriate incapacity), Bartlett's actions in determining the boundary line between Chihuahua and New Mexico generated (perhaps unfairly) a lasting and notorious reputation of incompetence, recklessness, and vanity. At principal issue was an ambiguous determination of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo itself. Article V of the treaty stipulates that the new international boundary, to be delineated cooperatively by a joint binational commission,

> shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of it's [*sic*] deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying into the sea; from thence, up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one to the point where it strikes the Southern boundary of New Mexico; thence, westwardly along the

> whole Southern Boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called *Paso*) to it's [*sic*] western termination. (Treaty 23)

The southern boundary of New Mexico had been predetermined by the plenipotentiaries to the treaty and laid down on the official map of the treaty—the so-called Disturnell Map of 1847. However, when Bartlett met with the Mexican Boundary Commission, headed by his counterpart, General García Conde, in El Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua), in November of 1850, they discovered two significant errors: whereas the Disturnell Map locates El Paso at 32°15' north latitude, its true position was found to be N 31°45'—some 40 miles south of its indicated position on the map; second, the Disturnell map locates the Rio Grande well over one hundred miles east of its actual terrestrial course (see fig. 1). Rather

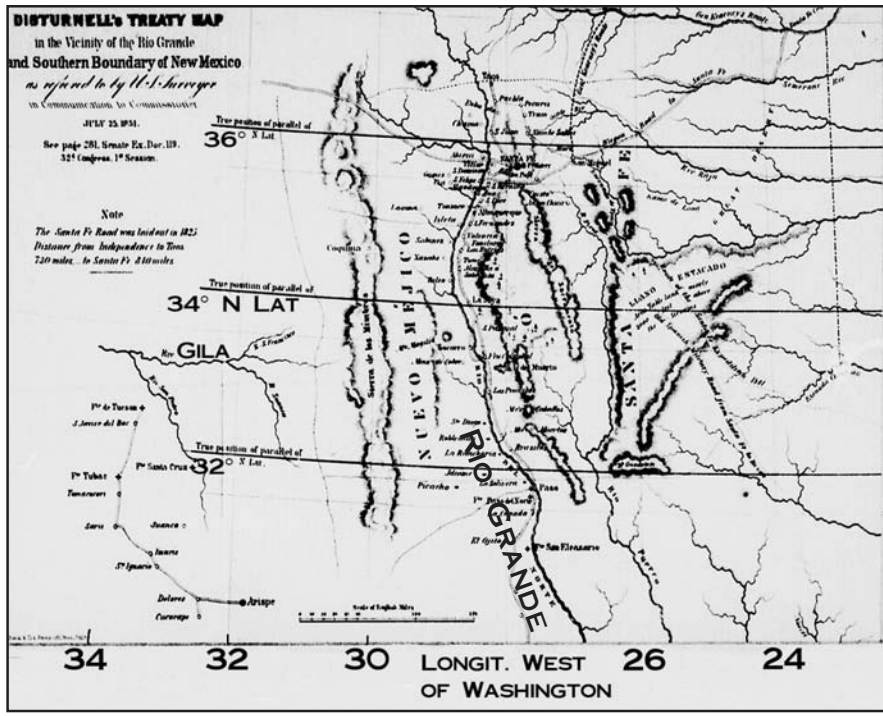

Fig. 1. "That Part of Disturnell's Treaty Map in the Vicinity of the Rio Grande and Southern Boundary of New Mexico, as referred to by US Surveyor in Communication with Commissioner. July 25, 1851." Source: Map. Senate Exec. Doc. 119, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, Washington, 1852. ProQuest US Serial Set Digital Collection (Historical Full Text). Copyright ProQuest, LLC. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission. ⌖ The correct calculations of latitude have been superimposed over Disturnell's erroneous depiction. ⌖ In both figures, some text has been enlarged for identification.

than recalibrating the boundary according to the actual, physical location of El Paso, which was invoked by name in the treaty (and which strikes most as the commonsense solution), Bartlett and Conde fashioned a compromise based on the Disturnell Map's erroneous calculations of latitude. The result was to extend the southern boundary of New Mexico west from the Rio Grande from an "initial point" of 32°20', at Doña Ana—approximately 45 miles north of present-day El Paso, Texas (see fig. 2). News of Bartlett's compromise prompted widespread accusations of cowardice, perfidy, and incompetence—particularly by Congressional Democrats (among them John B. Weller, who had been dismissed from the position of boundary commissioner by Zachary Taylor and who was now a senator from California), who accused Bartlett of treacherous collusion with anti-slavery interests in the North (Bartlett was a Whig and had opposed the US-Mexico War to begin with). From one point of view, their outrage was not without cause. In effect, Bartlett's compromise determination of the "initial point" of the southern

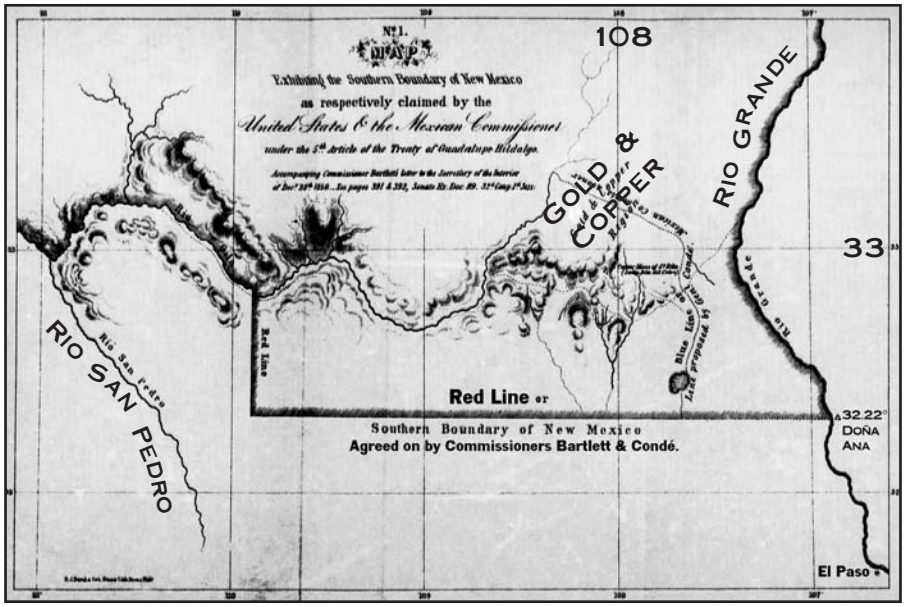

Fig. 2. "No. 1. Map. Extending the Southern Boundary of New Mexico as respectively claimed by the United States & the Mexican Commissioner under the 5th Article of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." Source: Map. Senate Exec. Doc. 119, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, Washington, 1852. ProQuest US Serial Set Digital Collection (Historical Full Text). Copyright ProQuest, LLC. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission. ⌖ The "initial point," on the Rio Grande at Doña Ana (32.22°), is marked at the eastern terminus of the "Red Line"; the Santa Rita Copper Mines are marked here just west of the 108th latitude, south of the 33rd parallel.

New Mexico boundary at Doña Ana conceded back to Mexico an area of land roughly the size of Massachusetts and Rhode Island combined, including the Mesilla Valley, considered by many to offer the most promising route for the construction of a southern transcontinental railroad.[12]

Although an argument can be made that Bartlett's actions were the best interpretation of the letter of the treaty (this, at least, was the opinion of Nicholas Trist, who had negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo),[13] his concession to Conde secured his lasting infamy; and he was eventually forced to resign his post and dissolve the commission in January 1853. After two and a half years of fieldwork in the borderlands, Bartlett's greatest ambition had been to publish an account of his service and the fruits of his research into natural history and ethnology under the august imprimatur of the United States Congress. In addition to his field notes, and numerous fine sketches and drawings, Bartlett had compiled twenty-five vocabularies of American Indian tribes during his time on the border, consisting of two hundred common words (Letter to Samuel J. Haven). Although his cause was advanced by Sam Houston in the Senate, this hope was dashed by Congressional Democrats who regarded Bartlett as a disgrace and feared he would use such an opportunity to air his grievances against those who had maligned him. Denied the official sanction of the government, Bartlett arranged subsequently with the New York publishing firm of D. Appleton and Company to recast his field notes within the framework of a "personal" rather than "official" record. The publication, in two volumes, is titled *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53*.

The lengthy title of Bartlett's *Narrative* might easily be overlooked; but what begs closer scrutiny is the manner in which the title displaces the multiple, overlapping agendas of the commission and of the ethnological project onto the category of "the personal." Reconstituted as a "narrative" according to the spatial and temporal horizons of "explorations" and "incidents," the sphere of "the personal" is suspended on an ambiguous authorial boundary line with respect to the conspicuous metonymy that comprises the last part of the title, *Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission*. In this sense, the publication of the *Personal Narrative* under the Appleton imprint, and the complex semantics of its title, register the text's genealogy as a rejected official history. At the same time, the letter of Bartlett's text manifests repeatedly the representational dynamics of displacement, dislocation, and ambiguous association embedded in the book's title. Having already been definitively frustrated in his

David Taylor. *AGENT MORALES AT BORDER MONUMENT NO. 257* (N 32° 34.164' W 117° 06.247').

effort to establish an imaginary boundary line as the US commissioner, Bartlett as author finds that the boundaries that define his literary project are no less difficult to locate. This is most acutely visible in Bartlett's efforts to navigate the interface between empirical data and the literary conventions of narrative form. Indeed, throughout the narrative, Bartlett avows repeatedly that the limited mandate of "the personal" requires him to suspend the "objective" stance of scientific reportage; yet it is precisely at these moments that his ethnological agenda emerges most prominently as an organizing principle of his "narrative" and colludes most explicitly with the official agenda as the boundary commissioner.

Following the establishment of the problematic "initial point" at Doña Ana, the Boundary Commission encamped at the Santa Rita Copper Mines in May of 1851. Located roughly 140 miles northeast of El Paso del Norte, the mines had been intermittently productive for more than half a century; as such, a careful evaluation of their continued viability would be highly relevant to Bartlett's instructions to ascertain "locations of mines formerly worked by the early settlers in California and New Mexico, and since abandoned, owing to the incursions of the Indians" (2:590). What was more, the copper mines were within reach of that vicinity of the Gila

River which had focused Gallatin's attentions four years prior and which (as we have seen) had been designated explicitly for a special survey of local tribes following Bartlett's appointment. There Bartlett's team encountered the Mimbreño Band of the Apache, who encamped near the commission's headquarters and were daily visitors during the three months of the commission's initial residence at the mines. They were led by the redoubtable chief, Mangas Coloradas (or "Red Sleeves," as he was sometimes called)—a figure who would soon assume a prominent role both as Bartlett's political adversary and as a subject of his ethnological speculations.[14] Upon introducing them into the *Narrative*, Bartlett alludes first to their appearance, traditional homelands, and patterns of gender relations, then interrupts his narrative to suggest that "there is much to be said relative to them all, which the limits of this work will not admit of, nor does it seem proper in a 'personal narrative' of incidents, to enter into the broad field of ethnological investigation which presents itself west of the Rocky Mountains" (1:324–25). Following this declaration, however, Bartlett immediately embarks on just the sort of ethnological disquisition he has just disavowed as improper—delineating their similarities and differences from the Navajo and advancing the argument, on grounds of linguistic similarity, that the Apache are the southernmost representatives of the Alaskan tribes. It is here that new conceptual boundary lines begin to emerge:

> The Apaches with which we had intercourse must rank below the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, dwelling on the tributaries of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. They are without that dignified bearing, and those noble traits of character, which characterize the latter; and as they perform no labor, not even that of hunting, their physical developments are greatly inferior. Mangus Colorado [*sic*], and a few other prominent chiefs, who live pretty well, and have the lion's share of their plunder, are rather good-looking; and a finer set of children than those of Mangus, of Dalgadito, and Poncé, are not often seen. But beyond these few exceptions, the Apaches are an ill-formed, emaciated, and miserable looking race. (1:326–27)

Bartlett then goes on to correlate their physical malformation to a culture of immorality, emphasizing the commonplace view of a notorious Apache propensity to thievery. He attributes this general condition of depravity to their want of agriculture—from his point of view the prerequisite of moral civilization—and the signal characteristic he uses to differentiate the Apache from the Navajo. And yet, here too, the categorical borders of ethnological classification fail him in his efforts to locate boundaries

between the peoples he encounters. When a band of Navajo arrive at their encampment, he finds that their similarities of dress, customs, and habits of treachery make them virtually indistinguishable from the Apache of Mangas Coloradas's band. Even the famous and distinctive Navajo blanket, which he esteems as being "superior to any native fabric I have ever seen" and finds to be "quite equal to the best English blankets," is not a reliable index of cultural difference. Instead, he voices uncertainty about their comparative quality by mentioning a rumor that "the richer colors" of their blankets may in fact be threads unraveled from cloths of English manufacture and woven into their own (1:330).

BORDERS, PERSONS, AND LITERARY REPRESENTATION

Such anxieties about the permeability of ethnic and national boundaries repeatedly trouble the surface of Bartlett's narrative, doubling his own anxieties about the boundaries of "the personal" even as the work of the commission reflects the technical difficulty of enforcing boundary lines drawn on a faulty map. As Alex Hunt has argued in his discussion of William Emory (Bartlett's successor as boundary commissioner), "the production of geographical space hinge[s] on the relationship of imaginative, scientific, and political constructions," one that, "in romantic fashion attempts to unify cartography with biology and other natural sciences to map the space of the nation in such a way that it confirms the ideology of Manifest Destiny" (128). Bartlett's actions in the field, and the literary representation of those acts that followed them, clearly aspire to this unifying sense of ideological confirmation. But Bartlett's account is haunted throughout by the disastrous political compromise over the "initial point." Throughout the *Personal Narrative*, the epistemological and ideological dimensions of romantic science, cartography, and imperial power do not cohere, and the imaginative completion of a newly inscribed national space is never fully realized. Instead, boundary lines between science, persons, and nations persist—and, in their unreconciled persistence, suggest the degree to which the interlocking components of national space rely upon a construct of authoritative national personhood to organize and unify them all in the field of representation. The ideal version of national personhood entails a virtual disappearance of individuality, a disavowal of personal agency in favor of legal protocols and institutional procedures that may speak through the person. But when science, cartography, and power fail to unify into a coherent national image, that form of personhood is destabilized as well. In this concluding section, I want to explore the shifting contours of personhood Bartlett projects for himself in the

Personal Narrative in two parallel episodes involving Indian captivity: one, involving negotiations with the Apache band led by Mangas Coloradas, in which Bartlett strives to maintain a stance of neutral objectivity that might unify the joint prerogatives of ethnology and nationhood in a careful orchestration of speech acts; and in the second, a scene of reunion between the rescued captive Inez Gonzales and her Mexican family, in which Bartlett's neutral objectivity vanishes in favor of a style of intimate personal engagement in which classifiable speech acts are supplanted by the wordless, emotional parameters of literary sentimentality.

The first episode begins with a dramatic confrontation between Bartlett and a group of Apache chiefs, led by Mangas Coloradas, in which Bartlett, as commissioner, was called upon to execute his enforcement powers as the ranking United States agent of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo respecting new proscriptions on American Indian actions against citizens of Mexico. Given the significance of Mangas Coloradas as a party to these events, a brief delineation of his background is warranted. His reputation was formidable. In his 1868 memoir of expeditionary life in the Southwest, *Life among the Apaches*, John Cremony, Bartlett's official translator on the Boundary Commission, evoked him with a mythic combination of transcendent and terrible qualities: Mangas Coloradas was "the greatest and most talented Apache Indian of the nineteenth century"

David Taylor. *BORDER MONUMENT NO. 184* (N 32° 09.347' W 113° 42.403').

with a "subtle and comprehensive intellect"; his "sagacious counsels partook more of the character of wide and enlarged statesmanship than those of any other Indian of modern times"; yet his life, "if it could be ascertained, would be a tissue of the most extensive and afflicting revelations, the most atrocious cruelties, the most vindictive revenges, and widespread injuries ever perpetrated by an American Indian" (176–77). Renowned for his abilities of military strategy and political skill in coordinating with the Chiricahua Apache and Navajo across wide stretches of New Mexico and Arizona, Mangas Coloradas forcefully resisted first Spanish, then US incursions into the traditional homelands of the Mimbreño Band of the Apache in the vicinity of the Santa Rita Copper Mines and Gila River in southwestern New Mexico.[15]

In the wake of the US-Mexico War, Mangas Coloradas developed a powerful military and political alliance with Cochise of the Chiricahua Apache and ramped up coordinated actions against white settlers and travelers moving west to California—movements which escalated the urgency of US Cavalry efforts to subdue him. He died shortly after being captured, under a false flag of truce, by Captain Edmond Shirland of the California First Volunteer Cavalry in January of 1863 and was conveyed quickly to Fort McLean in Arizona. There, as has been widely documented, during the night of his arrival, he was tortured and then murdered by two sentries who pressed hot bayonets against his flesh before shooting him for attempting to "escape" their treatment.[16] Following his death, Mangas Coloradas was decapitated and the flesh boiled from his skull by Captain D. B. Sturgeon, the fort physician; Sturgeon shipped his skull to the futurist and phrenologist Orson Squire Fowler in New York, who proclaimed that Mangas Coloradas's skull was "monstrous" in size, exhibiting unprecedented endowments of "Secretion, Caution, [and] Destruction" and evidencing "Cunning" that "far exceeds any other development of it [he had] ever seen, even in any and all Indian heads" (1195–96; see also Thrapp 935–36). When Mangas Coloradas met John Russell Bartlett in May of 1851, the gruesome dismemberment and posthumous enlistment in a macabre phrenological pageant would be more than a decade away. Nevertheless, Fowler's magical production of unprecedentedly "monstrous" qualities of "Secretion, Caution, Destruction ... [and] Cunning" in Mangas Coloradas's skull—not unlike the fantasy of a "hive of subtlety" within the decapitated head of Babo at the end of Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1856)—offers an uncanny coda to a sequence of events that would play out at the Santa Rita Copper Mines involving the rescue of two captive Mexican boys and a captive Mexican girl (258).

On a hot afternoon late in June, more than a month following the

commission's arrival, two naked and terrified Mexican boys, named Savero Aredia (approximately thirteen years old) and José Trinfan (aged ten to twelve) rushed into the tent of translator John Cremony and begged his protection. The boys were prisoners of the Mimbreño Apache (Aredia for six months; Trinfan, six years), both having been captured from their homes in the state of Sonora (with which the Apache had been at war for several years). In Cremony's version of events, he quickly armed himself with four revolvers, outfitted his assistant with a carbine rifle and double-barreled shotgun, and then proceeded slowly, the men back-to-back with the boys shielded on either side, from the peripheral location of his tent to Bartlett's headquarters—all the while surrounded by "thirty or forty" Apache, who, "with menacing words and gestures, demanded the instant release of their captives" (Cremony 60; cf. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative* 1:311). Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo declares, "It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States, to purchase or acquire any Mexican or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two Republics"; moreover, the treaty requires that "in the event of any person or persons, captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the Government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within it's [*sic*] territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of it's [*sic*] influence and power, to rescue them, and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government" (Treaty 26–27). As the US commissioner in charge of enforcing those aspects of the treaty connected to boundary disputes, Bartlett was obliged to act. Cognizant of the legitimate possibility that the Apache (who, now split between two camps, surrounded and outnumbered the commission and its small military detachment) would mount a retaliation and attempt to recapture the boys, Bartlett conveyed Aredia and Trinfan to General Conde's encampment the same evening and awaited further developments. Following a tense interval, a delegation of the Apache headed by Mangas Coloradas, and including the chiefs Dalgadito and Ponce, approached the commission headquarters a few days later to state their grievances and demand the restoration of the boys to their custody.

The negotiations with Mangas Coloradas, Dalgadito, and Ponce that followed reveal extraordinary incongruities in the legal constitution of an ill-defined borderlands area, in which non-consenting agents (the Apache, who were neither party to the negotiation of the treaty, nor accorded legal autonomy by it) are made subject to the ambiguous jurisdiction of an area

of land yet persisting in national territorial limbo (the set of cartographical and signatory acts constituting the work of the binational Boundary Commission had not, after all, completed its enactment of the international border). These negotiations are likewise accorded extraordinary formal treatment in Bartlett's representation of them in the *Personal Narrative*. Abandoning the literary technique of first-person narrative that otherwise carries the book, Bartlett chooses at this point to represent negotiations in the form of dramatic dialogue, a conspicuous departure of method that throws into relief the layered ironies of their interaction. This choice, Bartlett suggests, stems from the intrinsic ethnological interest of the episode, and he offers it "therefore at length, as the arguments used by [his] opponents display to good advantage their natural shrewdness of character" (1:312).

> *Mangus Colorado* [*sic*].—Why did you take our captives from us?
>
> *Commissioner*.—Your captives came to us and demanded our protection.
>
> *Mangus Colorado*.—You came to our country. You were well received by us. Your lives, your property, your animals, were safe. You passed by ones, by twos, and by threes, through our country; you went and came in peace. Your strayed animals were always brought home to you again. Our wives, our children, and women, came here and visited your houses. We were friends! We were brothers! Believing this, we came amongst you and brought our captives, relying on it that we were brothers, and that you would feel as we feel. We concealed nothing. We came not here secretly or in the night. We came in open day and before your faces, and we showed our captives to you. We believed your assurances of friendship, and we trusted them. Why did you take our captives from us?
>
> *Commissioner*.—What we have said to you is true and reliable. We do not tell lies. The greatness and dignity of our nation forbids our doing so mean a thing. What our great brother has said is true, and good also. (1:312–13)

Mangas Coloradas presses the legitimacy of his grievance according to two modes of argument. The first is political, premised on a claim of sovereign occupancy—"you came into our country"—a point Bartlett does not explicitly challenge. The second follows from the unwritten obligations of hospitality: because the Apache had not encroached upon the lives or property of the commission (and had, in fact, taken steps to protect them), a reciprocity of non-interference was expected. Embedded in this

is a discourse of sympathetic identification, a trust that "you would feel as we feel." Although this trust would appear to have been unavailing in this circumstance, it is worth noting here in light of Bartlett's own valorization of the power of sympathy in a contrasting episode regarding the Indian captive Inez Gonzales (discussed below). Bartlett eschews Mangas Coloradas's bid for emotional kinship here, promoting instead a myth of US incapacity to mendacity. Explaining to the Apache delegation the background of the commission's treaty obligations (while the Apache were at war with Sonora, the United States was at war with the nation of Mexico, which, now peacefully concluded, obligates protection), Bartlett pledged friendship and protection to the Apache: "We will give it to you. If we had not done so to Mexico, you could not have believed us with regard to yourselves. We cannot lie" (1:313). Bartlett is then interrupted by Chief Ponce, who accompanied Mangas Coloradas's delegation:

> *Ponce*.—Yes, but you took our captives from us without beforehand cautioning us. We were ignorant of this promise to restore captives. They were made prisoners in lawful warfare. They belong to us. They are our property. Our people have also been made captives by the Mexicans. If we had known of this thing, we should not have come here. We should not have placed that confidence in you.
>
> *Commissioner*.—Our brother speaks angrily, and without due reflection. Boys and women lose their temper, but men reflect and argue; and he who has reason and justice on his side, wins. I have no doubt but that you have suffered much by the Mexicans. This is a question in which it is impossible for us to tell who is right, or who is wrong. You and the Mexicans accuse each other of being the aggressors. Our duty is to fulfil [*sic*] our promise to both. This opportunity enables us to show to Mexico that we mean what we say; and when the time comes, we will be ready and prompt to prove the good faith of our promises to you.
>
> *Ponce*.—I am neither a boy nor a squaw. I am a man and a brave. I speak with reflection. I know what I say. I speak of the wrongs we have suffered and those you now do to us. (Very much excited.) You must not speak any more. Let some one else speak (addressing himself to Mr. Cremony, the interpreter).
>
> *Commissioner*.—I want you to understand that *I* am the very one to speak; the only one here who can speak (peremptorily). Now do *you* sit down. I will hold no more talk with you, but will select a *man* (beckoning to Dalgadito.) Do you come here and speak for your nation. (1:314–15)

Like Mangas Coloradas, Ponce is clear in his argument: the boys were prisoners captured in the course of lawful military engagement and held the status of property. As synecdoches of the body of the Mexican nation, the boys stood thus precisely in the same relation to the Apache as the greater Southwest stood then to the United States—bodies taken by right of force and accorded the status of legal possession by virtue of that force. Whether Bartlett was sensitive to this irony is unclear; what is clear is that he responded to Ponce's challenge with a hyperbolic attack on his masculinity, drawing on his ethnologically informed assumptions about equations of honor, sobriety, and rationality in idealized forms of male Apache identity. In his forceful dismissal of Ponce and enlistment of Dalgadito as a proper "*man*," however, Bartlett inadvertently acknowledges the right and ability of the Apache to participate in a mode of deliberative rationality that promises to ensure a fair outcome to an open and neutral contest of arguments ("he who has reason and justice on his side, wins"). This is a remarkably bold fiction given (a) neither the Apache nor any other Indian tribe was accorded autonomous recognition in the treaty that "ended" what had been and still was, in fact, a multilateral conflict[17] and (b) the outcome of this particular contest with respect to the custody of the boys ("reason and justice" notwithstanding) was already decided. In order to resolve the conflict finally (and to preserve the illusion of open-ended negotiation), Bartlett offered up a Mexican man to buy the boys (which would not violate the treaty) and negotiated then on the man's behalf; in response, Dalgadito eventually proposed the figure of twenty horses as compensation. Bartlett replied: "The Apache laughs at his white brother! He thinks him a squaw, and that he can play with him as with an arrow! Let the Apache say again" (1:316). What seems notable, even astonishing, is the brazenness of Bartlett's ethnic pantomime in this reply (which was, it should be noted, delivered to Cremony in English, who then translated it into Spanish not Apache). As if pressing the rhetorical advantage gained by his previous insult of Ponce as a "squaw," Bartlett escalates his approximation of Apache oral style by deploying the word again, this time in a compressed form of diction that seems lifted from one of the Cooper novels he had loved in his youth.[18]

Bartlett's scrupulous transcription (and crude imitation) of Apache speech casts them simultaneously as the objects of a linguistic model of ethnological speculation (their "natural shrewdness of character" is legible in speech acts) and as potent political adversaries (whose "natural shrewdness" and unmasculine emotionalism might be countered through active rationality and adroit use of rhetoric). Like his previous encounter with Chipota, the Lipan chief, in which Bartlett relies on the agency

of government documents to frame the terms of Indian encounter, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo serves here as a legal foundation from which ethnological observation and the rhetoric of imperial power are coordinated and leveraged most powerfully. The combination of these elements is important; and it contrasts markedly (both in content and manner of representation) with a parallel episode of Indian captivity that occurred just a few days earlier and that would "awaken the finest sympathies of our nature; and by its happy result afforded a full recompense for the trials and hardships attending our sojourn in this inhospitable wilderness" (1:303). On the evening of June 27, 1851, a party of New Mexican traders stopped at the commission's headquarters to acquire provisions; accompanying the party was a young Mexican girl named Inez Gonzales. Interviews with this company and their leader, a man named Peter Blacklaws, established her identity as Inez Gonzales of Santa Cruz, in Sonora, who had been captured ten months prior by a band of Piñal Indians (a tribe related to the Apache, located north of the Gila) on a raid into Sonora while she traveled with her family to the town of Madelena; she had been purchased subsequently by Blacklaws, who asserted his right of possession by virtue of his Indian trading license and planned to convey her to Santa Fe for profit. Acting on authority of Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Bartlett directed Lt. Col. Lewis S. Craig, ranking officer of the commission's eighty-five-man military escort, to liberate Gonzales and place her in the protective custody of the commission (1:303–7). Bartlett and the commission were highly solicitous toward their "fair captive" who, as Bartlett described her, "was quite young, artless, and interesting in appearance, prepossessing in manners, and by her deportment gave evidence that she had been carefully brought up" (1:309, 306). Having been provided with such new clothes as the commission could furnish in the field, "she received many presents from the gentlemen of the commission, all of whom manifested a deep interest in her welfare, and seemed desirous to make her comfortable and happy" (1:309). Gonzales remained with the commission for nearly three months, while the survey of the Gila River was completed, and embarked with them on a journey south in September, where Bartlett had arranged to meet his counterpart, General Garcia Conde at Santa Cruz, with a corollary plan to restore her to her family.

Not unlike his rendition of his negotiations with the Apache, Bartlett's depiction of the reunion of Inez Gonzales with her family stands out in the text as a significant departure from the literary protocols that otherwise govern the *Personal Narrative*. But, whereas Bartlett eschews first-person narrative and representations of interiority in his transcrip-

tion of the Apache negotiation, Bartlett commits here to the conventions of literary sentimentality to evoke the effusive emotional dynamics of the scene of reunion. Upon their approach to Santa Cruz, the commission encountered Gonzales's father and uncle by chance among a large party of Mexican workers hunting wild cattle near the San Pedro River. Bartlett here records the scene of the reunion of daughter and father, who had not yet learned of her rescue, in the following manner:

> The joy of the father and friends in again beholding the face of her whom they supposed was forever lost from them, was unbounded. Each in turn (rough and half naked as many of them were), embraced her after the Spanish custom; and it was long ere one could utter a word. Tears of joy burst from all; and the sun-burnt and brawny men, in whom the finer feelings of our nature are wrongly supposed not to exist, wept like children, as they looked with astonishment on the rescued girl. She was not less overcome than they; and it was long before she could utter the name of her mother, and ask if she and her little brothers yet lived. The members of the Commission who witnessed this affectionate and joyful scene, could not but participate in the feelings of the poor child and her friends; and the big tears as they rolled down their weather-beaten and bearded faces, showed how fully they sympathized with the feelings of our Mexican friends. (1:399)

A number of details stand out at this moment. Making explicit the fact of racial difference of Mexican people in a manner that echoes conventional tropes concerning American Indians, Bartlett emphasizes the "rough and half naked" appearance of the "sun-burnt and brawny men, in whom the finer feelings of our nature are wrongly supposed not to exist." But if the supposed difference of Mexicans from "our nature" is disavowed, their natural difference from the Apache is asserted clearly. Possessed even at this charged and unguarded moment of a commendable attention to Old World manners (they embraced "after the Spanish custom"), they have lost utterly the power of speech. In Apache speech, character is made manifest; here, character is revealed by its absence. Moreover, Gonzales's surge of authentic emotion conscripts Bartlett and his company into a posture of complete sympathetic accord that affirms fundamental identity. The cultural meanings of this episode are reinforced by their repetition four days later, at the reunion of Inez with her mother (Inez, now accompanied by her father, remained with the commission for the conclusion of their journey). Within two miles of Santa Cruz, the commission encountered a small party "partly on mules and partly on foot," consisting of "the

David Taylor. *BORDER MONUMENT NO. 82* (N 31° 20.040' W 109° 25.907').

fair captive's mother, brothers, and uncle," who had been advised of her imminent return (1:402). Here is the relevant passage in full:

> As we drew nearer, Mr. Cremony helped Inez from the saddle, when in perfect ecstacy she rushed to her mother's arms. Words cannot express the joy manifested on this happy occasion. Their screams were painful to hear. The mother could scarcely believe what she saw; and after every embrace and gush of tears, she withdrew her arms to gaze on the face of her child. I have witnessed many scenes on the stage, of the meeting of friends after a long separation, and have read highly-wrought narratives of similar interviews, but none of them approached in pathos the spontaneous burst of feeling exhibited by the mother and daughter on this occasion. Thanks to the Almighty rose above all other sounds, while they remained clasped in each other's arms, for the deliverance from captivity, and the restoration of the beloved daughter to her home and friends. Although a joyful scene, it was a painfully affecting one to the spectators, not one of whom, could restrain his tears. After several minutes of silence, the fond parent embraced me, and the other gentlemen of the party, in succession, as we were pointed out by her daughter; a ceremony

> which was followed by her uncle, and the others, who had by this time joined us. We then remounted our animals and proceeded towards the town in silence; and it was long before either party could compose themselves sufficiently to speak. (1:402–3)

Here speech is again made superfluous by a rising crescendo of sentiment, with the exception of "thanks to the Almighty," which "rose above all other sounds." What binds the episode instead is pain—from the screams of joy that "were painful to hear" to the "painfully affecting" experience of ungovernable tears for the spectators. In this retrospective reconstruction of the scene, Bartlett is notably self-conscious of its seemingly melodramatic cast. Indexing this reunion according to a catalog of literary models, Bartlett finds that neither experiences of the theater nor "highly-wrought narratives of similar interviews ... approached in pathos the spontaneous burst of feeling" to which he is here both witness and participant. In this, Bartlett qualifies literature as an inadequate prototype for the emotional life of an exotic borderlands setting. Yet by inviting readers of the *Personal Narrative* to gauge their appreciation of this episode in terms of melodramatic literary convention, Bartlett effectively domesticates the exotic within the realm of the familiar. He stages a model of sympathetic identification for which his 1850s readers were well conditioned, one in which the gaps of racial and linguistic difference are effectively bridged by shared understandings for which words are an unwelcome intrusion ("it was long before either party could compose themselves sufficiently to speak").

In these two sets of examples—negotiations with the Apache and the scenes of reunion with Inez Gonzales's family—speech acts organize and distinguish parallel projects of racial classification. Undergirding each are Bartlett's longstanding investments as an ethnological researcher, for whom comparative linguistics represented the premier method of inquiring into human kinship relations. Although Bartlett, like his mentor Gallatin, was a monogenist who believed that the findings of philology would vindicate a philosophical vision of human equality, the literary project of representing speech acts under the category of "the personal" ironically produces signs of racial difference. If reading "Indian sign" entails a rigorous attention to the manner in which Apache speech reveals their true character, it also provides a rationale for rejecting Apache overtures of sympathetic understanding, such as those offered by Mangas Coloradas. Residing somewhere beyond the explicitness of language, such understandings are not subject to the protocols of classification and review proper to Bartlett's reflexive scientific positivism and hence to be rejected. By contrast, Bartlett's emphasis on the fundamental sympathy of Mexican character in moments in which speech is conspicuously absent effectively

cordons off Mexican peoples from classification as scientific objects. But here the erasure of boundaries of racial difference masks the inscription of boundaries of national difference. To exempt the Mexicans he encountered from acts of positivistic classification outwardly and significantly affirms their humanity, even as it elides the imperial context of territorial conquest represented by the work of the commission itself.

Where geographies (both physical and human) are uncertain, acts of national inscription are provisional, subject always to further recalculation. In Bartlett's narrative, the space of "the personal" fills the vacuum of national uncertainty. This illustrates, on one hand, a climate of failure—a displacement of conquest by compromise, national destiny by human error, and scientific confidence by uncooperative facts encountered in the field. But there is also a logic of compensation at work here, a literary substitution of personal sensibility for a national logic that is suddenly no longer self-evident or complete. Far from being an act of self- aggrandizement, though, Bartlett's emphasis on the space of "the personal" expresses a double-edged capitulation: discredited by Congress, he may no longer claim for his literary voice the finality of an embodied position of federal authority; but, lacking an adequate publishing opportunity to offer a comprehensive ethnological study, neither can his record of personal observations claim fully the mantle of scientific objectivity. Yet the space that remains is deeply connected to both. If Bartlett's *Personal Narrative* is neither fully national nor scientific in its authority, its oscillating styles of literary representation illustrate the degree to which American romantic personhood was already mapped onto the emotional cartographies of manifest destiny.[19] In the wordless reunion of Inez Gonzales with her family, Bartlett's affecting literary sensibility eclipses a scenario of national conquest, fostering a remarkable sense of personal immediacy with his readers. But here, deep in the Mexican territory of Sonora, Bartlett's triumphant story of family reunion physically moves beyond the contested territories of the US-Mexico borderlands, suggesting for his readers that the natural impulses of human justice—guaranteed by the upright conduct of heroic Americans—cannot be contained by arbitrary national borders but inevitably follow the course of manifest destiny to overspread the continent.

Notes

I would like to thank Adam Arenson, Brad Cartwright, Jonna Perrillo, and Brian Yothers for their comments on earlier versions of this essay.

1. My approach here builds on that of several important literary and cultural studies of US empire in the nineteenth century that place the US-Mexico War squarely at the center of national development. See John Carlos Rowe, *Literary*

Culture and US Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II (2000); Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (2002); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of US Culture* (2002); Martin Padget, *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840–1935* (2004); Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (2005); Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the US-Mexican Borderlands* (2006); Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of US National Space* (2009).

2. Jerry Mueller deserves much credit for sparking new interest in Bartlett. In addition to the excellent notes he provides for this first-published edition of Bartlett's *Autobiography*, Mueller has also established a valuable visual bibliography of the artwork produced by the Boundary Commission. See Jerry Mueller, *An Annotated Guide to the Artwork of the United States Boundary Commission, 1850–1853* (2000).

3. On the development of ethnology in the United States, including tensions between linguists and anatomists, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (1981); Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (1986); Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead* (2010). Among literary scholars, Carolyn Karcher and Samuel Otter have been particularly influential in assessing the impacts of Morton and his circle on the works of Herman Melville and his preoccupations with race-making. See Karcher, "Melville's 'The Gees': A Forgotten Satire on Scientific Racism" (1975); Otter, *Melville's Anatomies* (1999), esp. 102–72.

4. For an excellent discussion of Gallatin's work on Indian languages, see Bieder, 16–54; see also Steven Conn, 96–99. For additional background on the development of ethnological linguistics, see Edward Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (1999); on the impact of ethnological linguistics on federal Indian policy in the 1820s and '30s, see Sean Harvey.

5. At that time, Gallatin's understanding was that the War Department, having a material interest in the results of his linguistic research, would sponsor its publication; owing, however, to the decade-long protraction of Gallatin's writing schedule, the "Synopsis" was published, in redacted form, at the invitation of the American Antiquarian Society (Gallatin, "To W. L. Marcy" 625–26).

6. In addition to Marcy, Gallatin had also written to Winfield Scott and John C. Frémont. William H. Prescott, member of the American Ethnological Society and author of the bestselling *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), also wrote to Cushing in an effort to acquire Mexican manuscripts and rare imprints (see Bartlett, "Letter to Caleb Cushing").

7. For an excellent history of the naval expedition that resulted in Hale's work, see Barry Alan Joyce, *The Shaping of American Ethnography: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (2001).

8. Gallatin's eight "great families" were subdivided into twenty-eight lesser families. By 1848, with the addition of vocabularies and grammars provided by Hale

and others, Gallatin would revise upward his estimate of lesser indigenous language families to thirty-two; even within this enlarged sample, Gallatin found underlying grammatical structures to be consonant (see "Hale's Indians" xcviii–cliv).

9. Many of these sources had been mostly unavailable prior to the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1830s and '40s, Henri Compans-Tournaux, the former French charge d'affaires in Brazil, had single-handedly excavated, indexed, and published scores of military and missionary accounts dating to the fifteenth century, including the Castañeda account.

10. Schoolcraft's appropriation request appears to have been unavailing in the form initially proposed. However, after consulting with Col. James D. Graham about the details of outfitting such a scientific survey in the Gila/Colorado watershed, Bartlett also submitted an itemized program to Thomas Ewing at the proposed cost of a somewhat more modest $19,100. This was to include $1,500 for the position of "ethnologist, philologist, and historiographer," ostensibly to be fulfilled by Bartlett himself (US Dept. of the Interior 13). In fact, as the debate over Bartlett's tenure as commissioner played out in Congress, the question of Bartlett's authorization to draw on public monies to pursue his personal research agenda would prove to be highly controversial.

11. Bartlett elects not to mention the detail of the sarsaparilla bottle in the published *Personal Narrative*.

12. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, introd., n.p.; William Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (1966) 261–64. For the fullest recent account of the Boundary Commission, including elucidation of these details concerning the controversy surrounding the Bartlett/Conde compromise, see Joseph Richard Werne, *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848–1857* (2007). For additional treatments of the Boundary Survey, see Robert V. Hine, *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary* (1968); Harry P. Hewitt, "The Mexican Boundary Survey Team: Pedro García Conde in California," (1990); Paula Rebert, *La Gran Línea: Mapping the United States–Mexico Boundary, 1849–1857* (2001); Dawn Hall, *Drawing the Borderline: Artist-Explorers of the US-Mexico Boundary Survey* (1996). For a valuable discussion of the Boundary Survey under Emory, see Alex Hunt, "Mapping the Terrain, Marking the Earth: William Emory and the Writing of the US/Mexico Border" (2007). For a recent discussion enlarging on Hewitt that focuses on the work of the Mexican delegation, enlisting important archival material from Mexico, see Paula Rebert, "*Trabajos Desconocidos, Ingenieros Olvidados:* Unknown Works and Forgotten Engineers of the Mexican Boundary Commission" (2005).

13. This point is documented in Goetzmann 263.

14. The best and most comprehensive source on the life of Mangas Coloradas is Edwin R. Sweeney's biography, *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (1998); see 227–49, in particular, for a discussion of Mangas's encounters with Bartlett.

15. Brian DeLay has written a groundbreaking history of Indian raids and counter-raids across the borderlands during this period; see his *War of a Thousand*

Deserts (2008), in which he takes particular note of Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (see esp. 294–303), which I also discuss in this essay.

16. A vivid, firsthand account of the capture of Mangas Coloradas is provided by Daniel Ellis Conner in *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure* 35–42; on the capture and death of Mangas Coloradas, see Sweeney 441–65; cf. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* 194–99.

17. Speaking of his own contact with the Apache of this region while accompanying the expedition of Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny during the US-Mexico War, Emory reported on a similar slippage of legal customs between the United States and American Indians vis-à-vis their shared enmity of Mexico. One unnamed Apache chief (in all probability, this was Mangas Coloradas, who told Bartlett he remembered Kearny from their previous trek through his country) offered this observation to Kearny: "You have taken New Mexico, and will soon take California; go, then, and take Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. We will help you. You fight for land; we care nothing for land; we fight for the laws of Montezuma and for food. The Mexicans are rascals; we hate and will kill them all" (60).

18. Bartlett's early affection for Cooper is noted in William Gammell 4.

19. See Greenberg, esp. 1–17, and Kaplan, esp. her introduction and chapter 1.

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