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# LANDSCAPES OF REMOVAL AND RESISTANCE EDWIN JAMES'S NINETEENTH-CENTURY CROSS-CULTURAL COLLABORATIONS

KYHL LYNDGAARD

The life of Edwin James (1797-1861) is book-ended by the Lewis and Clark expedition (1803-6) and the Civil War (1861-65) (Fig. 1). James's work engaged key national concerns of western exploration, natural history, Native American relocation, and slavery. His principled stands for preservation of lands and animals in the Trans-Mississippi West and his opposition to Indian relocation should be celebrated today, yet his legacy does not fit neatly into established literary or historical categories.

Key Words: American Indian, captivity, conservation, environment, exploration, Indian relocation

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One reason for James's obscurity is the willingness he had to collaborate with others. Both of his major works, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (1823) and *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (1830), as well as many of his articles, were published with his name listed as editor or compiler rather than as author. The explorer Major Stephen H. Long and the Native American captive John Tanner were his two primary collaborators, yet James's name has fallen from the covers of his books. For example, the captivity narrative James wrote in collaboration with John Tanner, an illiterate man, was recently republished by Penguin with James's name expurgated from the book.<sup>1</sup> This editorial choice is made possible by the quality and nature of the collaboration. Lisa Logan would certainly identify *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* as a "cross-cultural collaboration" in that "the narrative self suspends accommodation or explanation of the other and allows difference simply to exist in the text."<sup>2</sup> James allows this difference not only in this latter book but also throughout *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, extending



FIG. 1. Edwin James. From *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* by Joseph Ewan, The University of Denver Press, 1950.

this approach not only to Native Americans but also to the plant and animal communities of the Great Plains that he describes. In addition to his major collaborative volumes, James worked closely with leading scientists in the eastern United States, such as John Torrey and Amos Eaton. Despite some successes, competition from other leading writers and scientists, especially Thomas Nuttall and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, may have discouraged him from writing in his later years.

In this article, I argue that James resisted prevailing and exploitative land-use policies and environmental attitudes while he illuminated the relationship between ethnicity and landscape. First, I situate James's collaborative relationships and argue for the importance and uniqueness of his voice. Next, I examine James's early career as botanist for the 1819-20 Major Long expedition to the Rocky Mountains to show his belief that the Great Plains—or "Great American Desert"—should be preserved through game laws and even be reserved for Native American hunters. I also

discuss James's work with the so-called White Indian John Tanner as a cross-cultural collaboration and explain how their collaborative texts resisted Andrew Jackson's 1830 Indian Relocation Act. Finally, I examine the ramifications of the personal and political disputes that occurred in the 1830s between James, Tanner, and the important Indian agent and ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. While the collaborative nature of James's writing has obscured his popular legacy, his willingness to collaborate demonstrates the integrity he displayed during a period of intense scientific and literary competition.

James's most productive years were during the 1820s and 1830s, when he addressed the twin questions of westward expansion and Native American relocation. Rebecca Faery explains how Native Americans were removed from the frontier landscape during the early nineteenth century: "The effort, both literary and political, of removing Indians into a romanticized, mythic 'elsewhere,' far to the west in the place of the setting sun, produced a pervasive image of 'romantic Indians.'"<sup>3</sup> This socially constructed image of Native Americans depicts them as happily giving way in the face of white settlement and even facilitating the process. Faery discusses several texts that perpetuated this literary treatment of Native Americans, but she struggles to find dissenting voices—in part because people like James, who collaborated with others, did not produce works that honor the idea of an individual creative genius.

Arnold Krupat's book chapter "Representing Indians in American Literature, 1820-1870," explores further how white writers failed to honestly resist Native American removal. "What I find extraordinary," writes Krupat, "is the degree to which, when it comes to the actual, detailed, year by year history of Native American removal and dispossession in the nineteenth century, both the canonical and the lesser authors of the period, have extraordinarily little to say."<sup>4</sup> Krupat does not mention James in his discussion but does consider several major authors: "[T]hey very

rarely engage with [Native Americans] as contemporary historical, cultural and social beings—and when they do, as we have noted even with Melville, Thoreau, and Fuller, it is still to see them as living anachronisms or last remnants.”<sup>5</sup> A closer look at James and his career illuminates his struggle against better-known narratives that celebrated, or at least accepted as inevitable, manifest destiny and the Indian Relocation Act during the early nineteenth century. James’s writing as a whole is much more engaged than that of nearly any of his contemporaries because of his impressive and consistent efforts to see the people and landscapes of the frontier on their own terms. By collaborating with both white and Native authors, James manages to shed many of the individual prejudices that Krupat identifies in writers of the American Renaissance.

This effort by James to honestly engage with the people and places he encountered on the frontier resulted in some extraordinary passages, yet it somewhat ironically also allowed his name to be removed from texts and places, a practice that has continued to the present day. For example, in a 2003 book that borrows James’s own words for its title, *A Region of Astonishing Beauty: The Botanical Exploration of the Rocky Mountains*, author Roger L. Williams summarizes James’s concerns by saying that “the obvious merit of such causes [as Indian welfare, the temperance movement, and abolitionism] has never protected them from being attractive to cranks.”<sup>6</sup>

The dismissal of James’s importance is, I believe, a mistake. Clearly, James’s literary achievements remain topical, in all senses of the word. Readers today are more aware than ever of the connections among land rights, natural history, politics, and race. The life and works of Edwin James illuminate—on both an individual and a national basis—how these connections were willfully ignored during the critical decades preceding westward expansion. Lee Clark Mitchell has argued that the connections between environmental and social justice for Native Americans cannot be teased apart:

At every point—wilderness conservation on the one hand and tribal preservation on the other, appreciation for the land and respect for indigenous cultures, destruction of the environment and extinction of Indian tribes—the issues seem to fall into logical, even obvious associations.<sup>7</sup>

James’s writing contains some of the clearest articulations of Mitchell’s argument, forcefully presenting an argument in favor of conservation and preservation of both landscapes and Native Americans.

James’s local knowledge of the people and places he encountered in both the Great Plains and Michigan Territory, and his concerns for larger national debates and government policy, caused his writing to challenge uncritical proponents of westward expansion. By calling attention back to James, I argue we can better understand these intense national debates that surrounded the expansion of the United States in the antebellum period. James’s resistance toward this expansion was much more original and intense than what is seen in any other major texts. The collaborative nature of these texts serves to further highlight the integrity of James’s argument, even as collaboration served James’s own career and ambition less well.

#### EXPEDITION TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS: A PRESERVATIONIST VIEW

Edwin James was born in Vermont and graduated from Middlebury College in 1816.<sup>8</sup> He rapidly became acquainted with a circle of scientists that included Amos Eaton and John Torrey, and he presented early botanical and geological work at the Troy Lyceum in New York.<sup>9</sup> But despite some early successes, James was unable to financially support himself with this work. A bundle of ninety letters to his older brother John, recovered in 1983 from a philatelist, shows James’s concerns regarding his career.<sup>10</sup> Along with scattered letters in other collections, the letters to John James offer a rare glimpse into Edwin James’s personal aspirations and fears in his early twenties,

uninflected by the moderating tone required for a general audience. While his later works are replete with descriptive passages that aspire for scientific precision, the letters, not surprisingly, are more daring and emotional.

A helpful analysis of these letters by Carlo Rotella notes how James's "letters to John have a timeless quality, expressing the self-doubt and premature cynicism of an aspiring young professional anxious about his career and dignity . . . characterized by despair shot through with wild surges of hope, betraying shame at his economic and emotional dependence on his family."<sup>11</sup> James's private agony ended in 1819, when he joined the expedition headed by Major Long to the Rocky Mountains.<sup>12</sup> Rotella overemphasizes James's disagreements with Long during the trip, focusing on the complaints that James sent to his brother without noting that the collaborative relationship with Long was repaid with loyalty and a correspondence that James maintained for the rest of his life.<sup>13</sup>

Notwithstanding the important discoveries made by the Long expedition, the group suffered serious criticism that is emblematic of James's entire career. Their journey, according to many critics from 1820 to the present, was severely misinformed. Not only did they follow the wrong river for weeks, they also labeled the Great Plains as the Great American Desert in both maps and text. James was not the first to attach the word "desert" to the Great Plains, as he demonstrated by citing this usage from texts by Thomas Nuttall and Miguel Venegas.<sup>14</sup> The Long expedition's maps and descriptions of the Great American Desert were blamed by many politicians for having delayed westward expansion for decades. The sentiments of the expedition's leadership are clearly stated in the narrative: "The traveller who shall, at any time, have traversed its desolate sands will, we think, join us in the wish that this region may forever remain the unmolested haunt of the native hunter, the bison, the prairie wolf, and the marmot."<sup>15</sup> Their underlying argument was that the area would serve as a natural impediment to expansion, allowing the young country



FIG. 2. *Jamesia americana*, photographed by Robert Sivinski. Reprinted by permission.

to consolidate its population in the East while buffering their territory from British encroachment.

The Long expedition employed James as a botanist and surgeon. His solid botanical descriptions and specimens are recognized as offering the first recorded examples of many plants, especially those collected in the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains. One was a blue columbine (James called it *Aquilegia caerulea*), which is now the state flower of Colorado. Another was an alpine shrub commonly known as cliffbush or waxflower, which was given the scientific name *Jamesia americana* Torrey and Gray (Fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> When people mention James today, it is most often in connection with the first recorded ascent of Pikes Peak, which was briefly known as James Peak in his honor. It was on that 1820 dash to the summit that James collected these alpine specimens; only two others accompanied James, while Long and the rest of the expedition waited on the plains.

Most of the plants James collected were not described in the expedition's account, which was published before all of the taxonomic classification of specimens could be completed. James was clearly nervous about competition and wanted to receive full credit for the discovery of new species. In a December 1820 letter to Eaton, James complained that Nuttall had "taken many of those [new plants] which should have been mine out of my hands. He will . . . be out with a second edition . . . before I shall have an opportunity to say any thing."<sup>17</sup> An initial catalog of plants James compiled was read in Philadelphia at the American Philosophical Society in 1821.<sup>18</sup> After this public reading of his findings, James was sufficiently confident to turn over his specimens and notes to Torrey, who presented three papers on James's discoveries in the mid-1820s to the New York Lyceum of Natural History. Torrey explained that James, "whose zeal in prosecuting his favourite science is so well known . . . has kindly permitted me to commence the publication of the discoveries he made."<sup>19</sup> Those papers were not only the first reports on western alpine flora, they were also the first accounts to be published in America that follow the natural system of plant classification, rather than the Linnean system.<sup>20</sup> Because Torrey scrupulously credited James for his discoveries, this partnership offers an excellent example of how nineteenth-century scientific collaboration could work.

Compiling the narrative of the expedition was also a successful collaborative experience for James. Only twenty-six years old when the volumes were published, James felt fortunate to have been given the opportunity by Long, who was thirteen years older and could easily have reserved that honor for himself as commander of the expedition. James, Long, and naturalist Thomas Say worked together closely, although only James was paid to work on the project full-time.<sup>21</sup> The artist Titian Ramsey Peale, son of Philadelphia naturalist and museum curator Charles Willson Peale, was also on the expedition and remained in contact with James after their return. James's journal even features sketches by Titian Ramsey Peale, including a

macabre drawing of a human skull found by the Platte River on June 18, 1820. Almost exactly two years later, Peale and James took an "excursion" to the New Jersey coast together.<sup>22</sup>

*Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* has proven to be a widely influential book, for many reasons. Some commentators have traced the book's influence on novelists, especially James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving.<sup>23</sup> The passages that deal with landscape descriptions, bison, and Native Americans, especially the Pawnee, were immediately recognized for their quality, and were thus mined by novelists as well as celebrated by reviewers. For example, a lengthy 1823 review in the *North American Review* was so complimentary as to call the expedition "better qualified and fitted out . . . than the company of their distinguished predecessors, Lewis and Clarke [sic]."<sup>24</sup>

After the Louisiana Purchase, the desire to learn more about Native Americans in the West was a national concern, and one that James's later career would fully embrace. In the expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Say had primary responsibility for conducting Native American studies. Native Americans were then popularly considered to be part of the natural world, and were thus not in the same category as the white explorers. While considering Pawnees as specimens to be taxonomized and described like flora and fauna is understandably problematic for modern readers, the Long expedition's unusually careful and respectful attitude regarding Native Americans and megafauna such as bison, grizzly bears, and wolves stands in stark contrast to the attitudes of earlier—and most later—nineteenth-century explorers. While describing attempts by Peale to trap wolves, for example, James writes that "[t]he wonderful intelligence of this animal, is well worthy of note," and he asserts that the ability of the wolf to circumvent traps in order to gain the bait safely is the "result of a faculty beyond mere instinct."<sup>25</sup> Over the course of eight pages dedicated to describing the varieties of wolves they encountered, James never uses a pejorative adjective or connotation. Bears are also described in mostly appreciative terms,





FIG. 3. Titian Ramsay Peale, "Three Bears," *Cape Girardeau, Missouri, Long Expedition*. T. R. Peale Sketches (B P31.15d, #123), APSimg5690. Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

with the significant exception of wounded bears charging hunters. James even writes about bears in captivity, and describes his own encounter at the Missouri Fur Company: "[a] half grown specimen [. . .] came to me, and rearing up, placed his paws upon my breast; wishing to rid myself of so rough a playfellow, I turned him around, upon which he ran down to the bank of the river [. . .] and swam about for some time."<sup>26</sup> This surprisingly benign and humorous passage carries considerable emphasis, as the anecdote is longer than any of the surrounding passages that discuss encounters with bears that hunters have related to James (Fig. 3).

James further argues for game laws that would halt the indiscriminate slaughter of bison already commenced by white hunters, and he notes repeatedly in volume 1 that he and the other leaders of the expedition ordered their hunters to refrain from killing animals

when they already had meat. For example, on June 19, 1820, the expedition was forced to halt traveling westward toward what is today the Nebraska-Colorado border in order to hunt for food. After sighting an immense herd of bison and replenishing their supplies, James recounts only a week later that "it was with difficulty [that] we restrained our hunters from slaughtering many more than we needed (Fig. 4)."<sup>27</sup> This ethical restraint is highly unusual in literature from the early nineteenth century, in which authors generally boast of their participation in hunting sprees, and even give buffalo hunting as a primary reason they are on the expedition. Avoiding bravado at every turn, James's prose does occasionally take a turn toward whimsy: "We found a constant source of amusement in observing the unsightly figure, the cumbrous gait, and impolitic movements of the bison; we were often delighted by the beauty and fleetness of the antelope, and the social comfort



FIG. 4. Titian Ramsay Peale, "Bison Hunt," [February] 1820. T. R. Peale Sketches (B P31.15d, #70), APSimg4888. Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

and neatness of the prairie dog."<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, James never loses sight of the ramifications of the westward migration of white settlers. He quotes various colonial writers who describe bison in Virginia and Kentucky, asserting that there "can be no doubt" of this animal's former historical range. James assigns blame squarely upon American expansion, noting that "[t]his process of extirpation has not since been relaxed, and the bison is now driven beyond the lakes, the Illinois, and southern portion of the Mississippi rivers."<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, the slaughter of bison was a conscious attempt by some whites to destroy the Native American cultures that depended upon bison, and so the Long expedition was therefore advocating preservation not only of game but of the Native Americans who depend upon game for survival. James concludes:

It would be highly desirable, that some law for the preservation of game, might be extended to, and rigidly enforced in the country, where the bison is still met with: that the wanton destruction of these valuable animals, by the white hunters, might be checked or prevented.<sup>30</sup>

The next writer to make so forceful an argument for the preservation of bison was George Catlin, eighteen years later, when he famously proposed a national park to preserve both Native American hunters and buffalo. He linked the two in romanticized language: "Of man and beast, no nobler specimens than the Indian and the buffalo—joint and original tenants of the soil, and fugitives together from the approach of civilized man."<sup>31</sup> Catlin's position, both proto-preservationist and anti-relocation, is one that James first formulated, and from which James never retreated. John Hausdoerffer argues provocatively that Catlin "preferred not to consent to the cultural and environmental domination he saw and resented around him," yet that "what we prefer and what we practice when submerged in the ideological abyss of a historical moment are often quite different things."<sup>32</sup> This argument—which I find compelling—suggests that while Catlin remains an admirable figure who objected to Native American removal, he tailored his work to appeal to the masses, and in this sense may have inadvertently supported Indian relocation. James did not labor under the same commercial constraints as did Catlin. While not wealthy, James always had another



job by which to support himself. Indeed, while collaborating with John Tanner on a translation of the New Testament into Ojibwe in 1832, James wrote, "I sometimes regret that I get only experience for my pains, but even experience is worth the trouble I take."<sup>33</sup> James's objections to mainstream American views about the frontier only hardened as he became better acquainted with individual Native Americans, regardless of personal or professional consequence. His second major publication demonstrates a more focused argument, and his career took a remarkable turn.

#### EDWIN JAMES AND THE UNREDEEMED CAPTIVE

In response to President Andrew Jackson's proposed Indian Relocation Act of 1830, James wrote that "the project of congregating the Indians . . . not only *west of the Mississippi*, but . . . in those burning deserts which skirt the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, is, perhaps, more pregnant with injustice and cruelty to these people than any other."<sup>34</sup> James was a vocal and forceful critic of Indian relocation policies—a criticism made more authoritative by his firsthand experiences in the Great Plains. While his counterproposals varied, all were motivated by a sense of social justice and were informed by his expansive knowledge of the physical environment that supported Native American cultures.

The popular genre of the captivity narrative had long been used to justify the killing and displacement of Native Americans, starting at least as early as Mary Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682). Yet the collaborative work of James and Tanner in 1830 tried to do just the opposite. A *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* was intended to establish an alternative and more accurate representation of Native American life, working against contemporary views that romanticized a "doomed" race—views popularly expressed in

novels such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Most literary texts from the early nineteenth century, including Cooper's, follow what Gerald Vizenor has called "manifest manners": the "notions and misnomers that are read as authentic and sustained as representations of Native American Indians."<sup>35</sup>

Published early in 1830, *The Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* depicts the fragmentation of Native American life as the major fur-trading companies introduced guns and liquor on a large scale along the waterways of the Great Lakes and beyond. After being kidnapped at age nine in 1789, Tanner underwent a strenuous northward march hundreds of miles from Kentucky. After his eventual adoption by an Ojibwe/Ottawa woman—not one of the original captors—Tanner became almost completely assimilated into his new family's culture. He spent nearly thirty years living as a subsistence hunter and trapper in the prairies and forests of what is today northern Minnesota, Ontario, and Manitoba before making a successful but ill-fated attempt to reunite with his biological family in 1819 and 1820 in Kentucky and Missouri.

James may appear as early as 1820 in Tanner's *Narrative*—the narrative notes that in 1820, in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, Tanner "saw some of the gentlemen of Major Long's party, then on their return from the Rocky Mountains."<sup>36</sup> This unlikely coincidence is not expanded upon, though James was very sick at the time and spent a month recuperating in Cape Girardeau while the rest of the expedition straggled to their respective homes farther east. John Fierst suggests the two men had met in 1820 and were aware of each other.<sup>37</sup> It seems more likely, however, that they did not meet for another seven years. While in Cape Girardeau, James was indoors recuperating, and Tanner had the opposite problem: after sleeping indoors at his newfound relatives' homes, he fell very ill, and rallied only after returning to his habit of sleeping outside.

In an additional coincidence, Long's next expedition met Tanner in 1823 along what

is now the border between Minnesota and Ontario. Edwin James was not on that expedition. While Long had written to James offering a position on that expedition, the letter did not reach him in time. In the meantime, William Keating was hired provisionally, with the understanding that if James could catch up, Keating would forfeit his pay and continue on a volunteer basis.<sup>38</sup> Keating's hopes to publish a more comprehensive version of Tanner's life story were frustrated by Tanner's slow recovery from a gunshot wound, but Keating noted that "Tanner had promised to supply us with the particulars of his life and adventures, and with a full account of the manners and habits of the Ottawas and Chippewas."<sup>39</sup> Tanner's gunshot wound was suffered as he was trying to move his Native American wife and their children to Mackinac Island where he could work as an interpreter. Apparently his wife was unhappy with the plan, and went so far as to convince another man to attempt to murder Tanner and run away with her. Tanner's life is marked by violence and conflict, and this incident is all too emblematic of his struggle. Long's journal does not make any note of having previously met Tanner in Cape Girardeau, saying only that "his history is an eventful one, sketches of which have been circulated thro' the medium of the Newspapers of the U. States."<sup>40</sup>

James, frustrated by being replaced by Keating, redeemed himself by recording the story of John Tanner in 1827. James spent the previous three years posted as an army doctor at Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien (in present-day Wisconsin, on the Mississippi River). During this time, James had grown increasingly interested in Native Americans, and had even delivered three studies on Native American languages and customs to the Philadelphia and New York libraries in 1826.<sup>41</sup> James was sent to Fort Mackinac in 1827, before being sent to Fort Brady at Sault Ste. Marie the next year.<sup>42</sup> The collaboration between James and Tanner during that year at Fort Mackinac was extraordinarily productive, as Tanner delivered the manuscript of the captivity narrative to a publisher in New

York the following summer—only to find upon his return that his job at Mackinac had been terminated. So Tanner headed to Sault Ste. Marie, where he was hired by the famous Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and was reunited with James.

Despite the fact that Tanner was illiterate and even had to relearn English during the 1820s, James's name and introduction have been completely purged from recent editions of the narrative, which are part of the well-regarded Penguin Nature Library. The collaboration with Tanner was so seamless that Penguin and its volume editor Louise Erdrich apparently decided to repackage the book as an autobiography, despite leaving James's editorial footnotes in the text, and despite several scenes in the book that clearly show Tanner's inability to speak English during much of his life. James's name appears neither in the book's front matter nor in Erdrich's introduction, while James's 1830 introduction and the second part of the original book have been excised. Those deleted sections consisted of James's ethnographic and philological work, some of which cited Tanner as a source. Impressively, James's appendixes are scrupulously documented with sources.

The resulting text, which Penguin has reprinted regularly through the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, is an unusual book. Rather than a captivity narrative emphasizing Tanner's return, the latest reprint now functions as an American Indian autobiography, as Gordon Sayre argues convincingly.<sup>43</sup> While Tanner certainly had become transculturated, the text itself is so reliant upon the skills of James as an editor that his contributions cannot be overlooked. By retrieving James's unique contributions and goals, the narrative can be understood within the richness of its contextual production, rather than read in isolation from the events that led to its publication. Despite the accuracy of the text, Tanner's *Narrative* would fail as American Indian autobiography if it was still published with James's lengthy 1830 introduction arguing against the Indian Relocation Act, or with the original ethnographic and linguistic section

that is nearly half as long as the narrative itself.<sup>44</sup>

By all measures, James's efforts in recording Tanner's story resulted in a remarkably accurate portrayal of the life of a subsistence Ojibwe or Ottawa hunter. That any additions to Tanner's story by the literate collaborator James are nearly impossible to ascertain is to James's credit: other texts such as James Seaver's *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824) and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* (1839) have been widely criticized for corrupting and disguising the oral narratives upon which they are based. June Namias explains the many permutations the Jemison text has undergone, choosing to republish Seaver's original document due to the impossibility of finding Jemison's own voice.<sup>45</sup> Margaret Fuller, in her reviews of various Native American studies, critiqued Schoolcraft by saying "a worse use could hardly have been made of such fine material."<sup>46</sup>

Yet even the supposed authenticity that has allowed Tanner's *Narrative* to be repackaged as American Indian autobiography has been criticized. Namias finds the story unconvincing purely because of the extensive recollections of hunting: "[Tanner] told of every bear and elk he killed and probably a good number he never saw."<sup>47</sup> These lengthy stories should instead be taken as evidence of Tanner's assimilation into an oral culture, and James's allegiance to presenting the story accurately. Critics also found the story difficult to fit into their notions of what a captivity narrative should consist of. One 1830 reviewer of Tanner's *Narrative*, who was extremely positive about the book, found his impression of Native Americans quite different from the unapologetically stark narrative Tanner and James present: "the book . . . presents as painful a view of the Indian character as ever fell under our notice; we know no work of equal extent that is so replete with the story of drunken brawls, of low artifices, of petty thievings, of idle vaunts, and cowardly desertions."<sup>48</sup> The book is thus uniquely poised to dispel romanticized notions of Native Americans while yet asserting their humanity.

The struggles of Tanner to avoid alcohol and to subsist upon the land are fully developed and show an individualized and human effort to live a traditional Ojibwe/Ottawa life in the face of white encroachment. Even later writers, such as Catlin, who are often held up as being sympathetic to Native Americans, are ultimately unable to avoid romanticizing their subject; therefore, James's efforts rank among the very best representations of the period.

While subtle, James's presence in the text may be discerned in how the names of plants, animals, and places are given in both English and Native languages with remarkable specificity. One straightforward example from Tanner's *Narrative*: "Then we put our canoes into a small stream, which they called Begwionusk, from the begwionusk, or cow parsley, which grows upon it."<sup>49</sup> Cross-cultural collaboration is notable here, as no one language or culture is privileged over the other. This sensitive treatment also extends to the people that appear in the text. As Fierst notes, powerful white figures such as Major Long or Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory, are mentioned only in passing, while the most fully developed characters are Native Americans, including Netnokwa, Tanner's adoptive mother, and others like Peshauga and Little Clam.<sup>50</sup> James's presence is easy to remove from the narrative, precisely because he kept his promise that "[Tanner's] whole story was given as it stands, without hints, suggestions, leading questions, or advice of any kind, other than 'to conceal nothing.'"<sup>51</sup> Unlike so many other writers, who offered versions of this formulaic promise of authenticity and failed to honor their pledge, James's primary concealment was of his own hand in the text.

#### SAULT STE. MARIE: REMOVALS OF THE 1830S

The removal of James's name from his literary efforts happened throughout his life. Starting in 1828 and continuing into the early 1830s, Tanner, James, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft all lived in the small outpost

of Sault Ste. Marie, on the shores of Lake Superior. Schoolcraft had originally hired Tanner as an interpreter, and James worked there in the capacity of a surgeon for the U.S. Army. Schoolcraft's national debut, much like James's, came as a writer of an account of an expedition published in the early 1820s. Unlike James, however, Schoolcraft hurriedly published the work without the help or even the knowledge of other expedition members. David Bates Douglass, another member of the expedition, was led by Schoolcraft to believe that they were to collaborate, and was thus unpleasantly surprised by Schoolcraft's publication of the expedition narrative mere months after the expedition had returned.<sup>52</sup>

Schoolcraft soon turned his focus and prodigious output to Native American myths and language, publishing several widely read books. Most scholars now believe that Schoolcraft also published his wife's essays as his own.<sup>53</sup> Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, of Ojibwe descent, was an excellent writer who had full access to Native American folklore and other stories as a result of her family connections and her fluency in French, English, and Ojibwe. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, aided by this silent and unusual collaboration with his talented wife, quickly eclipsed James's career. Schoolcraft's early Native American publications are considered the inspiration for Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's influential fictionalized representations of Native Americans in his best-selling long poem, *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855).

Importantly, Tanner and James retained a working relationship until James left Sault Ste. Marie in 1832, which marked the end of five years of collaboration. James's translation of the New Testament into Ojibwe clearly identifies Tanner as a coauthor.<sup>54</sup> James also published various shorter papers on Native American languages during this period. These ethnographic and linguistic studies are marked by respect for their subject. For example, James's address to the American Lyceum in New York, delivered in 1833, contains many appreciative passages such as this one: "Instead of the easy word *horse*, he [Ojibwe speaker] employs, in

accordance with the combining and explanatory genius of his own language, the compound *babashekokashe*, a word worthy of Linnaeus himself, signifying *the animal that has a single nail on each leg*."<sup>55</sup> This later address mirrors James's early writing about Native American languages. In *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, James wrote, "The free and easy spirit of the Indian is carried even into their language, and may be recognized there, by its absolute destitution of a single word, drawn from the language of a civilized people. . . . [Native Americans] universally and in every instance reject the names which they originally hear for such men and things, and apply others, which they readily invent."<sup>56</sup> James uses the word "civilized" not as a marker of superiority, but instead allows for the coexistence of both languages. Conflicts between Native Americans and European Americans in a single landscape, however, only intensified throughout James's time in Michigan Territory.

Schoolcraft's support of the Indian Removal Act is apparent in a letter he wrote to Governor Lewis Cass in late 1829: "The great question of the removal of the Indian is . . . put to rest. . . . It only requires the moral courage necessary to avow the principle, and to reconcile the moral feelings of the friends of the Indians."<sup>57</sup> While the letter does not explicitly single out James, Schoolcraft did later engage James more directly following the publication of Tanner's *Narrative*. James and Schoolcraft waged various letter-writing campaigns against each other, some of which involved Tanner. Other points of conflict included funding for a Native American school, and a battle over Schoolcraft's tacit permission to allow alcohol in the settlement despite laws to the contrary and over the objections of the local temperance society.<sup>58</sup>

The private letters gave way to public silence, as James and Schoolcraft refused to cite each other's work after Tanner's *Narrative* was published in 1830. That same year, in his post as Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, Schoolcraft terminated James's freelance services as medical

doctor, although James remained employed in the settlement at Fort Brady.<sup>59</sup> Schoolcraft may have been jealous of Tanner's allegiance to James, who was culturally Ojibwe. Richard Bremer's biography of Schoolcraft makes clear that James's next project, a collaborative translation of the New Testament with Tanner, "might well put Schoolcraft's own reputation as a Chippewa [Ojibwe] scholar in the shade."<sup>60</sup> While the translation was published, it was never widely adopted.

The greater problem was not one of professional competition, but arose from the fact that Tanner was caught between employer and collaborator, and, being relatively powerless, personally suffered more than did James or Schoolcraft. Perhaps Tanner's most keenly felt blow occurred when Schoolcraft pushed a law through the territorial legislature that granted power to the local sheriff to remove Tanner's daughter Martha and place her in "some missionary establishment, or such other place of safety as he may deem expedient."<sup>61</sup> This extraordinary law, which named John Tanner and his daughter Martha individually, was passed on July 30, 1830.<sup>62</sup> President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act had been passed by Congress only two months earlier, and was signed by Jackson on May 28. Schoolcraft's law, then, echoes the national policy on the level of the tiny frontier settlement of Sault Ste. Marie.

After Tanner's ally Edwin James moved, the remainder of Tanner's life was spent living a near-subsistence existence on the periphery of Sault Ste. Marie. He disappeared in 1847 after being publicly blamed for the murder of Schoolcraft's brother—a crime Tanner almost certainly did not commit.<sup>63</sup> When Schoolcraft publicly discussed James and Tanner in his 1851 memoirs, his feelings remained quite strong. Schoolcraft claimed that Tanner felt betrayed by James's ability to leave the settlement: "Dr. James . . . made a mere pack-horse of Indian opinions of him [Tanner], did not suspect his fidelity, and put many things in his narrative which made the whites about St. Mary's [Sault Ste. Marie] call him an

old liar."<sup>64</sup> Schoolcraft's memoirs make clear that Tanner, whom Schoolcraft refers to as "Caliban," was not forgiven either.<sup>65</sup> James's statements about Schoolcraft are less forceful. For example, a letter dated October 4, 1831, mentions Schoolcraft only as the man that the letter-carrier had traveled with, yet James does allude to general struggles later in the article: "In this [temperance organizing] and in some of the rest of my chivalrous doing, I encounter opposition."<sup>66</sup> Regardless of their personal feelings, the three men were at the epicenter of a national debate, despite living in a tiny frontier settlement. While Henry Rowe Schoolcraft continued his literary output for decades, both Tanner and James faded from prominence.

#### "RARE OR VERY LOCAL": JAMES'S FINAL DECADES

James was only in his midthirties when he left Sault Ste. Marie, but he never achieved great public success after the publication of Tanner's *Narrative*. Some time was spent back in Albany, New York, where he became involved in the temperance movement, especially after resigning from his post in the army. By 1837 James had returned to the frontier, settling permanently on 320 acres outside Burlington, Iowa. James had a brief and frustrating experience as an Indian agent at Council Bluffs but maintained his farm until his death in 1861.<sup>67</sup>

James, while no longer traveling himself, remained painfully aware of the injustice caused by Native American relocation. Letters from the final decade of his life are far different from the high-spirited texts he produced in his twenties and thirties. While James's early work was influential among elite circles in the East—circles in which he had moved quite ably—his retrospective self-assessments grew increasingly humble and melancholy after many years spent as a farmer and surveyor.<sup>68</sup> His efforts on behalf of social justice, however, never ceased. A highlight for James in later years was his farm's status as a stop on the Underground Railroad. The only fugitive slave case in Iowa's history dealt with a man arrested in James's presence.



After a brief hearing, the accused fugitive, named Dick, was released. “[M]ore than a thousand exulting people escorted Dick to the ferry-boat upon which Dr. James, Dick and plenty of guards crossed the river [. . .] towards Chicago without detention.”<sup>69</sup>

In an 1859 letter to C. C. Parry, the first botanist after James to climb Pikes Peak, decades after his own hour on the summit, James reflected:

I became a settler in Iowa twenty-two years ago and of course have seen great changes. The locomotive engine and the railroad car scour the plain in place of the wolf and curlew. Mayweed and dog fennel, stink weed and mullein have taken the place of “purple flox and the mocassin [*sic*] flower,” the Celt, the Dane, the Swede and the Dutchman are instead of Black Hawk and Wabashaw, Wabouse, Manny-Ozit and their bands.<sup>70</sup>

This letter clearly connects the industrial revolution and westward expansion with the twin dislocation of native plants and Native Americans. James’s lifelong insistence on racial equality is strikingly modern. His precise observations and concern for environmental and social justice never left him, even as his idealism was tested by his circumstances.

Unfortunately, most commentators have taken James’s lack of literary output in his final decades as a sign that he was embittered and cranky. This judgment may or may not be faulty, but it certainly misses the legacy of James’s remarkable life. He never compromised his moral judgments and never stopped contributing to the struggle for justice on the American frontier. An especially touching and philosophical reply to questions of James’s later output is offered by his 1854 answer to John Torrey’s questions about what James had been working on. James replied,

As this world counts doing: *little or nothing*. It did not take me long to discover that it was not for me to make my mark upon the age and having settled that point to

my own satisfaction I determined to make it on myself. I said “I will rule my own spirit and thus be greater than he that taketh the city.” . . . [T]o a true lover of nature like yourself, I will say no more about these things. . . . It enters into my day dreams that I may yet go forth to gather weeds and stones and rubbish for the use of some who may value such things, and perhaps drop this life-wearied body beside some solitary stream in the wilderness.<sup>71</sup>

In the end, a comparison between Edwin James and an early description of the alpine shrub *Jamesia americana* rings true. Asa Gray and Torrey—whose work offers another fine example of successful collaboration—wrote an ambitious 1838 book to describe all known flora in North America. Their description of *Jamesia americana* mentions that the plant is “probably rare or very local, as no other botanist seems to have met with it.”<sup>72</sup>

While James’s name has been removed from the landscape and the texts in many ways, I believe that a reappraisal is important. Obviously, a contemporary renaming of Pikes Peak after James, the first man to record an ascent, and who was the mountain’s namesake for a couple of decades, is not possible. However, the mountain eventually named after James—James Peak, near Idaho Springs, Colorado—is an appropriate mountain to bear Edwin James’s name. This significant peak stands 13,294 feet high and is the centerpiece of the James Peak Wilderness Area. A total of about 14,000 acres were designated as a federal wilderness area by the “James Peak Wilderness and Protection Area Act,” or H.R. 1576, on August 21, 2002.<sup>73</sup> While the thousands of annual visitors to James Peak Wilderness do give passing attention to the legacy of James, renewing James’s name and importance in literary and historical fields is just as important as effects on the landscape itself.

James may be best known for his ascent of Pikes Peak and his official title as botanist for the Long expedition. Yet James consistently advanced a forceful argument for environmental and social justice throughout the rapidly

changing world of the early nineteenth century. Although he has been relegated to footnotes due in large part to his willingness to collaborate, I argue that cross-cultural collaboration is a valuable way to build bridges between differences that many Americans once viewed as insurmountable. James's literary output and fascinating life story should be celebrated as a model of foresight that illuminates the connections between environment and ethnicity.

## NOTES

1. John Tanner, *The Falcon: A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, ed. Louise Erdrich (New York: Penguin Books, 1994). Several editions of this book are discussed later in this essay.
2. Lisa M. Logan, "'Cross-Cultural Conversations': The Captivity Narrative," in *A Companion to Literatures of Colonial America*, ed. Susan Castillo and Ivy Schweitzer (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 464-79.
3. Rebecca Blevins Faery, *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 191.
4. Arnold Krupat, *All That Remains: Varieties of Indigenous Expression* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 51.
5. *Ibid.*, 52.
6. Roger L. Williams, *A Region of Astonishing Beauty: The Botanical Exploration of the Rocky Mountains* (Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart, 2003), 29. A foundational source that Williams may have been influenced by is Susan Delano McKelvey, *Botanical Explorations of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850* (Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, 1955).
7. Lee Clark Mitchell, *Witnesses to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 263.
8. Maxine Benson, "Edwin James: Scientist, Linguist, Humanitarian" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1968), 7. Benson's unpublished dissertation remains the authoritative source of information on Edwin James, and includes a bibliography of all extant archival sources and letters known of at the time of its writing.
9. *Ibid.*, 14-25.
10. George Miles, "The Edwin James Letter Book at Yale," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 35. These letters, which were purchased by the Yale Collection of Western Americana, begin in 1819.
11. Carlo Rotella, "Travels in a Subjective West: The Letters of Edwin James and Major Stephen Long's Scientific Expedition of 1819-1820," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 28.
12. Benson, "Edwin James," 43-44. John Torrey had a hand in the appointment by writing a recommendation for James.
13. Major Stephen H. Long complimented James's writing style in an 1855 letter to James, saying his prose was "a feast of Reason and flow of Soul." This phrase was in service of an attempt to convince James to work on a multivolume set about Long's career, to be called *Mississippiania*, and definitively shows that the two men had a long and complimentary relationship. Portions of the letter appear in Benson, "Edwin James," 335.
14. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Sec'y of War: Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1823), 2: 386-87.
15. *Ibid.*, 2: 161.
16. Williams, *A Region of Astonishing Beauty*, 22-23.
17. Benson, "Edwin James," qtd. 116.
18. *Ibid.*, 116-18.
19. John Torrey, "Descriptions of some new or rare Plants from the Rocky Mountains, collected in July, 1820, by Dr. Edwin James: Read before the Lyceum, Sept. 22, 1823," *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New-York* (New York: J. Seymour, 1824), 1: 30.
20. Joseph Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1950), 14-15.
21. Benson, "Edwin James," 89-95.
22. Edwin James, diary entry, June 14, 1822, "Diary and Journal Notes, 1820-1827" (3 vols. bound as one). Lent to the Bancroft Library for microfilming in August 1956 by the Columbia University Library, New York), James's journal covers most of the 1820s, albeit with many gaps in time. Rotella's concerns about James's self-doubt and cynicism can be traced in some sections. Ironically, James recorded climbing Pike's Hill, in Minnesota, while studying geology.
23. Robert Thacker, "The Plains Landscape and Descriptive Technique," *Great Plains Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1982): 146-56; Herbert V. Fackler, "Cooper's Pawnees," *American Notes and Queries* 6 no. 2 (October 1967): 21-22.
24. Anonymous Book Review, "Art. XVII.—Account of an expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . ." *North American Review* 7, no. 2 (April 1823): 242-69.
25. James, *Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, 1:172.

26. *Ibid.*, 2:55-56. Bears are discussed in pages 52-57.
27. *Ibid.*, 1:469-81. Discussion of bison appears on nearly every page from 461 to 488.
28. *Ibid.*, 1:474.
29. *Ibid.*, 1:472.
30. *Ibid.*, 1:482.
31. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1975), 254.
32. John Hausdoerffer, *Catlin's Lament: Indians, Manifest Destiny, and the Ethics of Nature* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2009), 19.
33. L. H. Pammel, "Dr. Edwin James," *Annals of Iowa* 8, no. 3 (October 1907): 160-85. This letter to James's brother is dated January 26, 1832, and appears on pages 183-84.
34. Edwin James, introduction to *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* by John Tanner and Edwin James, M.D. (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1956), xxxi. This edition features a helpful introduction by Noel Loomis covering Tanner's later years, and also reprints James's introduction and part 2, which makes it the most recent and most available edition that does so.
35. Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 5.
36. John Tanner and Edwin James, M.D., *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1956), 257.
37. John Fierst, "Strange Eloquence: Another Look at *The Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1996), 231.
38. Lucile M. Kane, June D. Holmquist, and Carolyn Gilman, introduction to *The Northern Expeditions of Stephen H. Long: The Journals of 1817 and 1823 and Related Documents* by Stephen H. Long (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1978), 24.
39. William Hypolitus Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c., &c., Performed in the Year 1823, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Under the Command of Stephen H. Long, Major, U.S.T.E.* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824), 128.
40. Stephen H. Long, *The Northern Expeditions of Stephen H. Long: The Journals of 1817 and 1823 and Related Documents* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1978), 214.
41. Benson, "Edwin James," 197-98.
42. *Ibid.*, 172.
43. Gordon M. Sayre, "Abridging between Two Worlds: John Tanner as American Indian Autobiography," *American Literary History* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 480-99.
44. Tanner and James, *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*.
45. June Namias, editor's introduction to *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* by James E. Seaver (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 3-45.
46. Margaret Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, ed. Susan Belasco Smith (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 20.
47. June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 78.
48. Anonymous, review of *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner . . .*, by John Tanner and Edwin James. *The American Quarterly Review* 8, no. 15 (September 1830): 108-34, 123.
49. Tanner and James, *Narrative*, 45.
50. Fierst, "Strange Eloquence," 224-25.
51. James, introduction to *Narrative*, xix.
52. Sydney W. Jackman and John F. Freeman, editors' introduction to *American Voyageur: The Journals of David Bates Douglass* by David Bates Douglass (Marquette: Northern Michigan University Press, 1969), xvii-xxi; also see Richard G. Bremer, *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft* (Mount Pleasant: Clarke Historical Library and Central Michigan University, 1987), 45. The narrative in question is Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journals of Travels from Detroit Northwest through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820* (Albany, NY: E. & E. Hosford, 1821).
53. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's complete writings have for the first time been published under her name in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Parker's introduction gives background on the community of Sault Ste. Marie and the extraordinary influence Henry Rowe Schoolcraft held in it as Indian agent and husband to Jane Johnston. The Schoolcrafts' collaborative relationship, at times harmonious and at other times much less so, is given in more detail in this text than in earlier articles on the subject. Parker also published many of her poems and letters, which had previously been unknown or available only in archival collections.

54. Edwin James and John Tanner, *Kekitchemanitomenahn gahbemahjeinnunk Jesus Christ, otoashke wawweendummahgawin* (Albany, NY: Packard & Van Benthuysen, 1833).
55. Edwin James, "Essay on the Chippewa Language, Read before the American Lyceum, at the third Annual Meeting, in the City of New York, May 3rd, 1833," *American Annals of Education* 3, no. 10 (October 1833): 440-46.
56. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, 1:343.
57. Bremer, *Indian Agent*, qtd. 189.
58. John T. Fierst, "Return to 'Civilization': John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie," *Minnesota History* 50, no. 1 (1986): 23-36; and Bremer, *Indian Agent*, 128. Also, Maxine Benson published an article on this conflict: "Schoolcraft, James and the 'White Indian,'" *Michigan History* 54 (1970): 86-112. For readers interested in more historical details about the dynamics among the three men, the Fierst and Benson articles are indispensable.
59. Benson, "Edwin James," 183.
60. Bremer, *Indian Agent*, 128.
61. Judge Joseph H. Steere, "Sketch of John Tanner, Known as the 'White Indian,'" *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 22 (1899): 246-54.
62. *Ibid.*, 246-54.
63. Fierst's article "Return to Civilization" does an excellent job with this phase of Tanner's life, turning up such previously unknown documents as an 1837 letter to President Martin Van Buren asking for assistance—which Tanner's daughter wrote for him—and offering compelling evidence that Tanner had been framed for the murder of James Schoolcraft.
64. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851), 601.
65. *Ibid.*, 343.
66. Pammel, "Dr. Edwin James," 182-83.
67. Benson, "Edwin James," 285-329.
68. Many fascinating letters by James during his Burlington, Iowa, years were borrowed from family members and reprinted in their entirety in 1907 and 1908. The source is L. H. Pammel, "Dr. Edwin James," *Annals of Iowa* 8, no. 3 (October 1907): 160-85. The work is continued in L. H. Pammel, "Dr. Edwin James," *Annals of Iowa* 8, no. 4 (January 1908): 277-95. Pammel's first installment is also the source for the only known extant image of James, which was "[f]rom a miniature on ivory in possession of the family" (160).
69. Details about James and the fugitive slave, Dick, are discussed by the commissioner of the U.S. Court in Burlington, who wrote a detailed article about the event. George Frazee, "The Iowa Fugitive Slave Case," *Annals of Iowa* 4, no. 2 (July 1899): 118-37. The quotation is on page 133. Frazee also suggests that one reason some saw James as eccentric was due to his well-known stance in favor of abolition. See also William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes, Governor of Iowa, 1854-1858: A Senator of the United States, 1859-1869* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876), 73.
70. Qtd. in Pammel, "Dr. Edwin James," 177.
71. *Ibid.*, 178-79.
72. Qtd. in Benson, "Edwin James," 126.
73. Official federal web site for the James Peak Wilderness, [www.fs.fed.us/r2/arnf/recreation/wilderness/jamespeak/index.shtml](http://www.fs.fed.us/r2/arnf/recreation/wilderness/jamespeak/index.shtml).