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Troy Bickham. *Savages Within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005. xii+302pp. US$125. ISBN 978-0199-2896-6.

Tim Fulford. *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture 1756–1830*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. x+318pp. US$125. ISBN 978-0-19-927337-9.

The figure of the North American "Indian" has long been appropriated into American national and literary history, generally as either a fierce and cruel savage, terrorizing the colonial settlements of the Eastern seaboard, or as a symbol of the vanishing frontier during westward expansion. In both cases, the "savage," noble or ignoble, has been seen in exceptionalist narratives of history as a harbinger of or catalyst for the formation of the uniquely American nation. Yet the "Indian" was truly a transatlantic figure, haunting the imaginations of not only colonists, soldiers, and traders in North America, but also the people who remained in Britain. Particularly from the 1750s onward, as the steady stream of Britons crossing the Atlantic both ways for military and economic endeavours increased dramatically, writing from the colonies was widely circulated throughout Britain in the form of travel writing, ethnography, and newspaper reports, and was interspersed throughout the novels, plays, and poetry of the period. And actual First Nations people visited Britain throughout the eighteenth century on diplomatic missions, drawing crowds in the bustling streets of London as well as the fashionable parlours of Bath.

Both Troy Bickham and Tim Fulford explore the perceptions that Britons held of Indigenous North Americans during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, for the most part disregarding the sometimes vastly different representations of Native people in North American colonial writing. Bickham's *Savages Within the Empire* looks at how representations of First Nations people reflected and affected British culture; since Native people loomed larger than any other non-European group in the British imaginary beginning after 1750, the ways in which "Indians" were perceived offers an important insight into how all classes interacted with the emerging culture and policies of imperialism and nationalism. The book focuses on print culture such as newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets, the consumption of material culture in the form of museum displays and private collections of Indian objects, British governmental policy towards Native populations, Anglican missionary efforts in the colonies,

and Scottish Enlightenment discourse on human development. Bickham does not give a central role to "Indians' cameo appearances in literature and the streets of London" (9), instead arguing that, besides this being a well-explored area, "Indians did not loom large in the art world, and they were not great icons in literary fiction" during the period he is exploring (13). While this observation is perhaps debatable, his point is taken; by looking at the broader public sphere, Bickham is able to cover the ways in which a greater majority of people were likely to encounter representations of Indians.

Bickham's date range is specifically focused on the years between 1754 and 1783, a period that witnessed the Seven Years' War, Pontiac's Rebellion, and the American Revolution. These conflicts led to what was an indisputably heightened interest among all social classes in Britain in overseas affairs; his choice of primary texts is meant to range beyond the interests of the expanding commercial middle class. His section on material culture, for example, looks at the various ethnographic collections of Native objects available for public viewing, including the Leverian Museum, coffeehouse displays, and, of course, the British Museum. Of the last, Bickham notes that while Indian artifacts accounted for only 0.2 per cent of the Museum's collection, they "received grossly disproportionate display space, and with it visitors' attentions" (40). While he notes that the British Museum was in some ways socially restrictive in terms of who was allowed in for a tour, it was still the case that the demographic for admission was quite broad in comparison to private museums that charged an admission fee.

Fulford's *Romantic Indians* looks at the intercultural relations between Britons at home, colonists in North America, and First Nations people, attending in particular to the important role that the figure of the North American Indian played in the formation and articulation of British Romanticism. Despite the pervasive presence of Indians in Romantic poetry, Fulford rightly points out that an assessment of their importance to the politics and aesthetics of Romanticism has not been sufficiently addressed. Fulford divides his book into three distinct sections: the first centres on factual writing such as histories, travellers' accounts, and captivity narratives; the next, and most substantial, on British fiction, including Tobias Smollett and Charlotte Smith, though perhaps more importantly Romantic poets including William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey; and the last few chapters are dedicated to lesser known Native American writings, including works by adopted Mohawk John Norton (or Teyoninhokarawen), Pequot William Apess, and Ojibwa writer George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh). The structure of the book allows Fulford to provide a rough

genealogy of sorts, tracing the movement from the contact zone, into British writing, and back to the Native authors who (re)appropriated the discourse of Romanticism. The most compelling part of the book, however, is the middle section on Romantic authors. Fulford argues that Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" is a poem "that could not have been written if Coleridge had not read [Samuel] Hearne's account of Native American shamanism and found there an insight into the psychology of belief" (161). Similarly, the relatively forgotten genre of the "Indian song," which aimed to reproduce the power and immediacy of Native American oratory in travel narratives and ethnography, profoundly influenced the composition of the *Lyrical Ballads* (Wordsworth and Coleridge) and a number of Southey's important works. Fulford also documents the movement of many Romantic thinkers from idealizing Indians to, by the 1820s, calling for their colonization. This is especially pronounced in Southey and Coleridge, whose fantasy of the Pantisocracy went from a vision of liberation to an imperial mission.

The final section of the book is important because Fulford draws attention to lesser known authors who self-identified as belonging to or who claimed to be raised within a First Nation. Some of the chapters are rather short, but his discussion of Copway and the white campaigner and conman John Hunter are fascinating and germane to the central ideas of the book. It is admittedly true that Fulford tends to eschew texts produced and read by white colonists in North America and the newly emergent American state, but this is an excusable omission given the goal of his work to decentre the culture of colonialism.

These two books contribute to the ongoing academic interest in transatlanticism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century culture, and they unsettle the long tradition of American scholarship that places the figure of the Indian into narratives about the birth of the national psyche or literary tradition. At the same time, Fulford and Bickham show the influence of North American Native people on Britons at home, thus placing such developments as the emergence of a national identity and Romanticism within a transatlantic, transnational context.

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