

The American National Plot Visualized: The Reinterpretation of Indian Captivity
Narratives at the End of the Nineteenth Century
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To my husband who supported me every step of the way and to my mom who raised me
to have the strength and courage I needed to finish...

Thank you so much and I love you.

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Introduction

“But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended him; that instead of turning his hand against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole Land.”

Mary Rowlandson, from *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 1682

“The sub-divisions of this once powerful people (Apaches), a warlike tribe, many asunder, and the different bands were settled on reservations. They were, to all intents and purposes, a captive race, imprisoned on carefully guarded tracts of land.”

New York Times article from September 20, 1881¹

“Unlike all previous newcomers, Anglo-Americans came in large enough numbers that they did not have to compromise. To them, the land as theirs to take, their own self-proclaimed native ground, cultivated not through diplomacy and incorporation but through violence and exclusion.”

From Kathleen DuVal’s *The Native Ground*, 2006

Anglo-American perceptions of Native Americans² evolved from the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the changing ways in which the American national identity was being formed through literature and art to a significant degree by way of captivity narratives. In early American history, tensions among Native Americans and enslaved African Americans with Euro-Americans led to the social development of race, as a form of oppression against ethnicities deemed “inferior.” Specifically, as one scholar notes, “the history of slavery makes especially clear that racism took strong hold in the western Atlantic, with powerful implications for the

¹ Robert G. Hays, *A Race at Bay: New York Times Editorials on "the Indian Problem," 1860-1900* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1997).

² I use the terms Native American and Indian interchangeably in this thesis, as many Native people identify themselves by one or both terms.

populations that mingled in the Americas, for the social structures of colonial societies, and for the idea of political rights on either side of the Atlantic.”³

One way that Native Americans were pictured as “inferior” was through Native American captivity narratives. I have focused on comparing and analyzing visual representations of these narratives in popular culture from Mary Rowlandson’s first published narrative in 1682 (the narrative was based on the real-life experiences of Rowlandson as a female captive) to contemporary Native artists’ interpretations in the twenty-first century. Despite the importance of how early American captivity narratives were used two hundred years after Mary Rowlandson’s bestselling narrative was published, little has been written on the way these narratives were pictured through performance, paintings, and drawings at the turn of the century. Often interpretations about captivity narratives remain focused on seventeenth and eighteenth-century American narratives and have little connection to the way the narratives were used at the turn of the twentieth century. Making historical and pictorial connections between the narratives, even though they were sometimes experienced and written centuries before the visual representations were made, is fundamental to understanding their context and importance to American as well as Native American art history.

The two categories of art history have been separated into Native American art history and American art history, thereby excluding Native American art and culture from being considered American. Although it is impossible to know what all white Americans thought about Native Americans, I tried to qualify what the majority of the American public might have thought about certain aspects of Native culture whenever

³ Joyce E. Chaplin “Race” in David Armitage and M J. Braddick, eds, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 173.

possible. Similarly, there are many different and distinct Native American groups, so I tried to distinguish between the different tribes whenever I discussed a particular event or area. In addition to understanding how the majority of Anglo-Americans understood Native culture at the turn of the century, the original intent and evolution of those ideas are significant. My interpretation of captivity narratives at the end of the nineteenth century is unique to the current scholarship on the subject because I not only consider Native Americans as captives rather than captors, but I also look at how and why that change occurred in the context of racial standards set by the American public at the end of the nineteenth century and the effect that had on art in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

I became fascinated by the subject of captivity after I first saw Eanger Irving Couse's history painting, *The Captive* of 1891 (fig. 1), in person at the Phoenix Art Museum in preparation for a possible paper topic for a seminar entitled, "Death and Dying in American Art." I had seen reproductions of the painting online and in a catalogue from a library book, so I thought I knew what to expect. However, the immensity of the canvas size, 48.8 inches x 60 inches, and the intensity of the figures within the painting were far more intriguing than I initially thought when I looked at the printed and digital reproductions. What I was initially struck with was how the painting kept me interested and kept me looking at layer after layer of meaning. Then, I met with Jerry Smith, the Curator of American and Western American Art at the Phoenix Art Museum, and was subsequently allowed access to their stored records of material about *The Captive*. During my research, I found that the story about Lorinda Bewley's actual captivity in 1847 to be as mysterious and interesting as the painting of it decades later. I

knew then that the American public's fascination with the subject of captivity at the end of the nineteenth century could make a great subject for a thesis. As I researched the history of captivity stories and the role that Native Americans played within those narratives, I found that the Native American character, whether fictional or nonfictional, was always cast as the villainous captor. In addition, I noticed that no one had ever looked at ways in which Native Americans were held captive by the many Euro-American settlers and Anglo-American pioneers that moved onto Native land, especially during a time in American history when Anglo-Americans were no longer at much risk for being taken captive by Indians.

As a result of my research on captivity narratives, I aim to reposition the Native American as both the captive and captor within the narratives as they evolved from the first published narrative in 1682 to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, my last chapter goes beyond the nineteenth century and discusses the various uses of captivity imagery in contemporary art and performance from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. I will utilize visual examples by both Anglo-American and Native American artists, so that the lines of division between what is considered "Native American" and what is considered "American" art history are overlapping. Captivity narratives have largely been studied as representative of the white woman's experience during and after her captivity. I would like to broaden the scope to include Native American experiences of captivity as well as show that the relationship between Anglo-American and Native American was more complicated at the end of the nineteenth century than the traditional "us versus them" approach. Other than comparative visual analysis, I will integrate into my argument modern scholar Joyce

Chaplin's chapter based on the development of race in the British Atlantic world during the colonization of North America from 1500-1800. Chaplin's insights into how race was defined by white colonizers will support my claims on how captivity narratives were originally written and promoted versus how late nineteenth-century Americans thought of them.

Concepts and bias about race had proliferated since the early eighteenth century, and by the nineteenth century, prejudices – visual, philosophical, literary, and otherwise – had significantly impacted all the arts. Accordingly, both Native Americans and African Americans were viewed as physically, morally, and intellectually inferior, a shared dehumanization that linked them in other ways. In fact, black American identification with the Native American will be explored further in the final chapter in terms of the Mardi Gras Indian phenomenon, which began in the nineteenth century and still continues today. Due to these tainted biases, Native Americans were deemed “strikingly weak” because of the high rates of sickness after contact with Europeans, while African men and women were used as physical laborers because of their supposed ability to “bear physical hardship.”⁴ As a result, early American colonizers tried to stamp out the “frail” Native Americans in both body and spirit and enslave the “hearty” Africans. The final chapter of this study will examine the parallels between Native American captivity narratives and contemporary interpretations of these stories and ideas in the Mardi Gras Indian costumes and performance by black Americans.

Believing such racist categorizations of both groups, most white Americans considered themselves to be the apex of civilization and adhered to their own racial and

⁴ Ibid, 179-180.

religious standards as Caucasian Christians.⁵ As a result, Native Americans and other allegedly “inferior” races were perceived as markedly different, unimportant, and invisible, or, as scholar Julie Schimmel points out, “Indians were not seen at all, at least in terms of the cultural organization particular to Indian tribes or in terms of the negative impact white contact had on Indian culture.”⁶ Instead, Native Americans were made visible through the negative impact they had on early white settler’s ability to live peacefully within the New World. Because Native American captivity narratives, written by Anglo-Americans,⁷ were based on the experiences of devout female characters that suffered greatly as a result of their Indian captors, they became the perfect weapons used to condemn Native Americans. With the advent of the foundational captivity narrative, *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson in 1682*, a desire developed for the experiences of female captives by the white colonists (Mrs. Rowlandson was a real person and one of the first women to document her experiences in print as a female captive among the Indians). Perhaps the reason that female captivity stories, as opposed to male captivity, were so popular can be attributed to female vulnerability, since women were the supposedly “weaker sex” in need of protection and rescuing. This preconception both heightened the drama within women’s stories as well as promoted the idea that the savagery of the Indians knew no bounds even against the innocence of women and children.

⁵ Julie Schimmel, “Inventing the ‘Indian’” in *The West As America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* by William H Truettner and Nancy K. Anderson (Washington: Published for the National Museum of American Art by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 211.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Captivity stories of English explorers by Barbary pirates was a well-established genre in English literature before the captivity narratives based in North America began being published in the 18th century.

Although by the end of the nineteenth century they were no longer being written as firsthand accounts of true events nor were Native Americans taking Anglo-Americans captive as a part of warfare, captivity narratives were still being recreated for American audiences through paintings, performances, “dime-store” novels and drawings. After the 1850’s, the female captivity rhetoric survived in formulaic stories meant for the fanciful entertainment of white American readers in dime novels. The threat of being taken into captivity no longer existed for the majority of the American population, as the wild landscape had been tamed and the Western frontier had been deemed closed in 1893 by Frederick Jackson Turner. However, even though the threat of captivity was all but gone, the majority of American audiences still “lusted” after captive stories like the death of Jane McCrea (McCrea was another actual captive whose fate will be discussed subsequently in this chapter). A late nineteenth-century interpretation of the story was drawn for Benson J. Lossing’s *Our Country* of 1888 (fig. 2) and shows the Indians, who were traditionally cast as McCrea’s attackers, as defending her. By 1888, the audience reaction to the display of captivity narratives was not out of fear of being taken captive, but shifted to the excitement of the spectacle. Indians were thus no longer simply seen as part of the wild landscape, but rather as ancient relics of a soon-to-be extinct past. In fact, what was left of the adult Indian population was being forced onto reservations and into prison camps, while much of the younger generations were forced to attend boarding schools and assimilate completely into white culture. Ironically, at the same time that Indians were coerced into denouncing and rejecting their culture, the craze for collecting all things Indian-made was at its height at the turn of the century.⁸ Because of

⁸ The term “Indian Craze” was developed by Elizabeth Hutchinson in her book, *The Indian Craze:*

assimilation and segregation strategies against Indian culture, the notion that Indian culture would disappear was quickly becoming a reality. Depicting captivity narratives and tales through art in performances and paintings was a way for the majority of white American audiences to enjoy partially fabricated Indian culture in a controlled setting without actually condoning the continuation of that culture.

In early American history, 1789-1849, the indigenous population understood that their Native land was being taken over by the hordes of Euro-American settlers claiming that the land was now theirs. The settlers brought disease and death to the Native populations as they pushed further West in the American landscape. As a way of avenging their loved ones' deaths and in order to regulate their population levels, some Indian groups took captives.⁹ From the perspective of the settlers, they were being brutally attacked without a legitimate cause. The pictorial representations within the pages of captivity narratives supported that often-negative image of the Native American. And, as the written captivity stories became formulaic representations of the original stories written in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the visual images that accompanied the narratives became more popular. The use of captivity narratives as a way to instill fear into the white public had not changed over the centuries, but the representations of captivity during the last quarter of the nineteenth century did, producing emotions of fear in order to shock and thrill many white American audiences.

Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). The term refers to the collecting and display of Native American-made objects by non-Native Americans at the turn of the century.

⁹ Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture," in *The American Indian Past and Present*, Roger L. Nichols (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 105-126.

Anglo-Americans' claim to the land was the result of how Americans were defined through and unified by the "endless" landscape that had, under the misguided notion of Manifest Destiny, allegedly been given to them by their God. The indigenous population had no real claim to the land in the eyes of colonists because Native Americans were not considered as having equal status as landowners. The way the Native population thought about land rights was very different and thus deemed "inferior" from the colonists' claim to the land. In a woodcut that first appeared in a 1773 edition of Mary Rowlandson's narrative (fig. 3), Rowlandson is depicted as an armed defender of her home.¹⁰ The Native Americans, pictured with axes, are shown as the ones invading her territory, even though her home was built on Native land.

The importance of land ownership for Anglo-Americans was connected to the early North American cultural environment, which had three key players, Britain, France, and Spain, all hoping to gain control over North American soil. Anglo-Americans' claim to the land was a reflection of both their geographical literacy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in addition to their expansionist agenda. Geographical literacy relates to how early Americans looked at and read maps. Most people lacked the ability to read texts or novels, but could read a map.¹¹ Therefore, the construction of the American landscape through map-making was of the utmost importance in unifying Americans around their claim to the land. By mapping out the Western landscape during the Lewis and Clark expedition (fig. 4), the beginning of the "federal project of territorial

¹⁰ Interestingly, Rowlandson is shown defending her home, while her husband is nowhere to be seen. Presumably, he left to fight the Indian attackers as they were entering the town, while Rowlandson was left to defend her home. Her fierceness indicates that she is a very strong woman, as she faces certain death at the hands of the Indians.

¹¹ Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 15.

enclosure and western colonization, the national plot of an American continental empire” was born.¹² Contrary to public perception, the leaders of this seminal mapmaking expedition were not Lewis and Clark, but the Native American people who lived on and knew the geographical lay of the land as well as the epistemology of the land. The expedition, which subsequently motivated the unification of a white American national identity under a geographic narrative, was led by Native Americans and, as a result, was based on Native American geographies. Yet the maps that were based on Native American knowledge would in no way help to legitimize their claim to the land. In the Native American mind, white settlers were stealing their land, and they were fighting in defense of their territory. In the Anglo-American mind, the Native American could not own land because not only were they an “inferior” race, but also because of their migration patterns, they did not stay in one place and therefore could not stake claim on any one piece of land. Contrary to that belief, many Native American communities were continuously occupied for hundreds and even thousands of years. The situation of land ownership had changed quite significantly from the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the fight over American land rights continued to be fought between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans, although Indians were being forced onto federally regulated reservations. The issue had been complicated as settlers moved West and the availability of land diminished. As land became scarce, the Native American population decreased, due to disease and other factors. Where would the American government relocate the remaining indigenous

¹² Ibid, 206.

population and how would they justify the forceful removal of an entire group of people? The simple solution, some scholars argue, was to exploit the narratives that had terrified countless thousands in order to promote how “degenerate” Indians were in the minds of the white female captives.¹³ The fear from the captives’ perspective in the written stories would continue to be a successful tool in subjecting Indians to the Anglo agenda, even as the actual threat of Indian raids had lessened almost completely by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The problem was that the Native people fought back against their captivity and, as a result, the majority of the white American public began to have doubts about how well Native Americans were being treated. The depictions of Native Americans rendered in drawings, paintings, and performances became less overtly negative while also gaining a more theatrical aspect. The difference in how captivity narratives were visualized reflects the change in the relationship between Native and non-Native Americans from the original “discovery” of the New World by Europeans to the formation of American culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

European perceptions of Native Americans began with the discovery of the New World in the sixteenth century and brought with it new ways of understanding the world and the people within it. For Europeans, the problem of identifying who the indigenous populations were and how they related to Europeans themselves posed a serious challenge. Neither biblical nor classical texts discussed the native population in the newly discovered world, so the European explorers did not understand this new race of

¹³ Kathryn Z. Derounian-Stodola, *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 46, 112, 225. Mary Rowlandson refers to her captors as “those roaring Lions, and Salvage Bears, that feared neither God, nor Man, nor the Devil.” Mary Kinnan and Mary Godfrey both call their captors savages on numerous occasions.

people or where they came from.¹⁴ Because of the theory of monogenesis, Europeans saw all humanity as coming from one lineage.¹⁵ Thus, the Amerindians could not be “from a distinct branch of humanity,” but belonged to a shared one.¹⁶ As a result, they were not considered by Euro-Americans as subhuman due to their innate qualities, but as a product of their environment, which allowed for some improvement if they were given the opportunity.¹⁷ Theodore de Bry’s engraving from his book of illustrated travels about America, *Grands Voyages, Part I*, 1590 (fig. 5) pictures an Amerindian standing on a precipice imbedded in nature and surrounded by implements of war. He has just decapitated the white European travelers, whose heads are drawn in the Indian’s right fist and in the foreground next to his left foot. His pose and physical characteristics look more like a Greco-Roman nude statue than the iconic dark-skinned Native American image that would be used centuries later.¹⁸ Because Europeans saw the Amerindians as coming from a shared lineage, they drew them in their own likeness. The “savageness” of the Native American could be eliminated, if they were taken out of their “wild” surroundings. Yet a few centuries later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, white Americans painted the Native populations to look more like monsters than men thereby placing the Native population into a lower physical category, which could not be altered in any way, in order to justify the subordination of their culture and the settling of their

¹⁴ Discussed in Bernadette Bucher’s *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of De Bry’s Great Voyages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) and Joyce Chaplin’s “Race,” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, David Armitage and M J. Braddick, eds. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 180.

¹⁵ Susan Buck-Morss, “Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin’s Artwork Essay Reconsidered,” *October* 62 (1992): 8.

¹⁶ Chaplin, 180.

¹⁷ This theory would be the basis for forced cultural assimilation of Native Americans by Richard Henry Pratt and others.

¹⁸ Bucher, 11.

land.¹⁹ The difference between how Europeans imagined and pictured the Amerindians in the sixteenth century versus the nineteenth century attests to the development of racial theory and beliefs in American history.

The early American narratives written by Mary Rowlandson as well as by many other captives such as Hannah Dustan, Elizabeth Hanson, Jemima Howe, and Mary Kinnan, were a few of the first best-selling books and were often literally read to pieces because of their popularity.²⁰ Their popularity was motivated by readers' reactions to the female-driven narratives. As June Namias, Associate Professor of History at University of Alaska and contemporary author of *White Captives*, explains, there is an "aura of latent sexuality that surrounds captivity" in the mind of the male reader.²¹ However, according to the narratives, the reality of any unwanted sexual seduction or molestation was not apparent and was even denied by the female captives.²² Anglo-American colonists were perplexed by the apparent lack of sexual passion that Native American men had for female captives. According to scholar Sharon Block, the colonists explained away their

¹⁹ June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 99. "Nineteenth-century anthropology increasingly argued for a superior and inferior races and rejected earlier ideas of a single humanity. Reginald Horseman argues that the evolution of racial thought in both American and Europe was directly related to 'the need to justify exploitation and destruction.'"

²⁰ Richard Vanderbeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative As Ritual," *American Literature* 43.4 (1972): 548. Vanderbeets notes that the narratives were so popular, first editions are a rare find.

²¹ Namias, 11.

²² Also, Captive women could have been raped or abused during their abduction, but chose not to say anything because of the humiliation and shame associated with being raped combined with the negative moral and religious implications held against them by their peers. At this time, all written accounts of female captivity stress the physical and emotional hardships they endured, but they never mention being raped or sexually abused in any way by their captors. See Mary Rowlandson's "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mary Rowlandson," in *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, Kathryn Z. Derounian-Stodola (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 46. "I have been in the midst of those roaring Lions, and Salvage Bears, that feared neither God, nor Man, nor the Devil, by night and day, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together; and yet not one of them ever offered the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action." See also Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*, 228-230. Early Americans did not "view captive white women's eventual forced adoption as wives as rape. (228) Indians adopted women into their social structure; they did not turn to rape to remake Anglo-American society. Thus, by the eighteenth century, Americans were sure that Indians would not rape captive women." (230)

lack of interest in rape by “frequently commenting on the sexual availability of Native American women.”²³ Among those knowledgeable in this area were the fur traders, who knew how “available” Indian women were. In Alfred Jacob Miller’s *The Trapper’s Bride* of 1845 (fig. 6), the fear of miscegenation by Euro-Americans was limited to Native men marrying white women and not of white men marrying Indian women. No one in Miller’s painting looks fearful or upset in any way with the marriage of a non-Native man with a Native woman. In fact, they all seem to be taking an active part in the ceremony and the bride’s father even gently nudges her towards her new white husband. Therefore, the interest for readers was in the ultimate fate of the female captives’ redemption or lack of salvation and not in whether they would be the victims of sexual abuse. This was a reversal of their own fears and anxieties of marriage between indigenous men and Anglo-American women.²⁴ Readers were titillated by the exposure of white female captives to the savage outside world and to their Native American captors, but were also reassured by the captives’ claims of having preserved their purity despite their circumstances.

By the later nineteenth century, however, the real threat of sexual molestation by and possible marriage to Indian captors had been well documented,²⁵ and that was one of

²³ Block, 227.

²⁴ Namias, 11.

²⁵ Ibid, 98-112, 225. Namias discusses James E. Seaver’s as-told-to biography of Mary Jemison (1824) and her marriages to She-nin-jee, who died shortly after they were married, and Hiokatoo, who she was married to for fifty years. Jemison described one of her husbands as “noble man,” but Seaver and later editors “made him [Hiokatoo] appear more brutal.” (98-99) “Female accounts, especially the Frail Flower narratives, deny the existence of sexual attraction and companionship. Rather, they are filled with forced marriages, dirt, and brutality.” (99) “From the early republic to the 1820s we find an occasional coy allusion and happy marriages with Indians, but also stories of threatening and brutal Indian males.” (109) See also Sarah F. Wakefield, *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees* (Fairfield: Galleon Press, 1985), 5-8, 40, 61, 123. In a letter from 1864 to President Lincoln about a Minnesota captivity, “after moving the captives [a sick mother and a beautiful little daughter] to another location, ‘these fields incarnate’ guarded the sick mother and took the girl ‘outside of the lodge, removed all her clothes, and fasted her upon her back on the ground . . . One by one they violated her person’ until ‘they left her dead on the ground . . . within a few feet of a sick and dying mother.’” (6) See also, Derounian-Stodola, *Women’s Captivity Narratives*, xvi.

the reasons why Eager Irving Couse's *The Captive*, 1891, (fig. 1), the focus of Chapter Three, was and is so disturbing to viewers. Lorinda Bewley, the female captive with arms and legs bound in this painting, is under the control of the Native man who sits behind her. In *The Captive*, there is no Anglo rescuer in the background, yet there is also no immediate threat of physical violence either. A comparison of Couse's *The Captive* with John Vanderlyn's *Death of Jane McCrea* from 1804 (fig. 7), renders a stark difference in how the two women were portrayed at the hands of their Native captors. Even though the threat of sexual violence was less likely to happen to a female captive in 1804 than later in the nineteenth century, Vanderlyn has heightened the threat by depicting McCrea as she is being murdered. However, Couse has lessened the violence by portraying Bewley after the attack has occurred. Bewley's fate is as yet undecided in the painting and could have ended similarly to Mary Jemison's fate. Jemison willingly became part of her captor's family,²⁶ although many white viewers would have seen Bewley's conversion as a betrayal of Anglo-American culture more than a religious conversion due to cultural capitulation in order to survive. Even though the Indian male, Chief Five Crows, in Couse's painting is obviously "taken" with Bewley, as he is literally captivated by her pale skin and blond hair, and may have even wanted her as his bride, the sexual brutality of the woman's imminent death is not depicted there as it is in *Death of Jane McCrea*. Bewley has already been attacked, and since the Chief's pose is not at

"While it is rue, then as now, that women may be loath to admit they were raped, the historical record indicates that rape was rare . . . some historians believe that by the nineteenth century, these Indians [Plains and Midwestern Indians] had merely assimilated what was originally a white cultural practice." See also, Frederick Drimmer, *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870* (New York: Dover, 1985), 13. ". . . at a somewhat later period, numerous cases of violation were reported by white women captured by Indians west of the Mississippi."

²⁶ Namias, 98. At first, Jemison married Sheninjee with 'a degree of reluctance,' but eventually the marriage turned into "a love match."

all threatening (though his gaze may be), then perhaps the viewer can assume the violence will end there or has ended. The contemplative expression of Chief Five Crows adds to the ambiguity of Bewley's fate. Couse's more sympathetic view of the Native American individual was mirrored by the nineteenth-century American public, who saw the fate of the "traditional" Native American as "disappearing" from the landscape, as a result of assimilation tactics and reservation life. Couse has presented viewers with a more ambiguous view of Indian captivity from the captor's perspective by showing the psychology of both participants involved in the captivity rather than only showing the supposed "brutality" of the Native American people.

Motivations for taking captives by Native Americans were a result of the way that they waged war. Euro-Americans did not fully understand the reasoning behind the seizure of captives in the process of Native warfare. Modern scholars Jill Lepore and Daniel Richter discuss the importance of the "mourning war" in Native American culture as a part of preserving a stable population level.²⁷ For many indigenous people of the Northeast, the "mourning war" was not only for preservation of population numbers, but was also deeply rooted in emotional reasons as well. When an Indian loved one died in battle, his soul was not saved in Heaven as it would have been in Protestant religions, but would be tragically doomed to wander the earth forever.²⁸ Thus, to ease the mourner's grief of a lost family member, whose death was tragic rather than heroic, the mourning war would target enemies in order to take captives. The captives would be adopted into

²⁷ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998); Daniel K. Richter's "War and Culture," in *The American Indian Past and Present*, Roger L. Nichols (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 105-126. The mourning war served a dual purpose for the Iroquois. It showed the superiority of the Iroquois over their enemies while also allowing the mourning families to vent their grief.

²⁸ Richter, 110.

the family, tortured by the grieving family, or redeemed back into their own families in exchange for a reward.²⁹ Captive redemption was not a part of traditional Indian captivity practices, but was later adopted as Euro-American colonists outnumbered Indian captives and the reward for returning the captives outweighed the reasons for keeping them.

Captive redemption was an important part of imprisoned narratives because it showed religious purity as well as the power and strength of religious conviction within the female captive. The superiority of the Protestant religion over indigenous beliefs had already been “proven” with the conversion and marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe in the spring of 1614.³⁰ In the painting *The Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia* by John Gadsby Chapman, 1840 (fig. 8), Pocahontas’s successful transformation as a civilized Christian is shown as the divine light literally illuminates her white dress and thus her purity and faith. The faith in God that supposedly saved Pocahontas from a life of wildness and godlessness is the same faith that would redeem Mary Rowlandson sixty-one years later. As in *The Trapper’s Bride* (fig. 5), Chapman’s painting embodies the sentiment that “the benefits of Euro-American civilization were so abundant that the uncivilized Indians would recognize and readily embrace them.”³¹ Their cause was so righteous that the Native Americans not only wanted to embrace them, but also would do

²⁹ Ibid, 108; Namias, *White Captives*, 7-8; Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 211-215. Great Plains and Southeastern Indians, such as the Osage and Cherokee, also participated in captive-taking, but did not practice mourning wars; Derounian-Stodola, *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*, xv-xviii.

³⁰ Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 64-71. One year after Pocahontas was captured, she was baptized as Rebecca. Her biblical name was chosen based on the “epic character of the marriage, for Rebecca, upon leaving her people to marry Abraham’s son, was told, ‘Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and on people shall be stronger than the other people; and the older shall serve the younger’ (Genesis 25:23),” 65.

³¹ Peter H. Hassrick, *The American West: Out of Myth, into Reality* (Washington, D.C.: Trust for Museum Exhibitions in association with the Mississippi museum of Art, 2000), 119.

so willingly. Of course, not every indigenous person could be converted so easily, if at all. Yet it was the supposed duty of the colonist to “seek their Salvation,” just as it was the duty of the captive to seek their own salvation and keep their faith during their captivity until they could be “redeemed.”³² However, some captives were never “redeemed.” As discussed above, one of the reasons for a captive staying imprisoned, other than financial difficulty in paying the ransom on the part of her family, was that she had the potential to serve as a replacement for a lost family member. Mary Jemison was an example of this outcome when she decided to stay with her captors, the Shawnee, in 1758.³³ Thus, there was always the possibility that if the captive’s faith was not strong enough, she might become a “white Indian.” The possibility of a negative outcome from her “test of faith” was what kept the readers engaged. How would the story end? Would she be overcome in mind and spirit by her captors or come out stronger in her faith as a pure and pious member of white society? But religious faith was not the only reason for the publishing of these narratives and for their success.³⁴ Scholar Roy Harvey Pearce highlights the use of captivity narratives as religious documents and also as propaganda for political gain as well as for such religious leaders as the Puritan ministers Increase and Cotton Mather.³⁵

³² Full Quote: “Tho’ they be Brutish Persons; yet, they are of Mankind, and so objects of compassion. It is an act of Love to our nature to seek their Salvation . . .” by Reverend Solomon Stoddard, 1723. From Roy Harvey Pearce’s *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953).

³³ Derounian-Stodola, *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*, 119. Although she became a part of the Seneca family that she was taken captive by, she never fully renounced white culture.

³⁴ The narratives were also used as examples of endurance in religious faith, personal strength of women in the absence of a male savior, and the reclaiming of being a “lady” after redemption.

³⁵ Roy H. Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953).

In addition, the published accounts of a woman being put in harm's way by supposedly "barbaric" outsiders created opportunities to use the narratives as a source of political authority. Captivity narratives often went through several editions and were invariably mediated or even written by a male author.³⁶ The Puritan minister Increase Mather has been ascribed as the author of the introduction to Mary Rowlandson's narrative and may have had a hand in editing the narrative as well. Although it is unknown how much influence religious leaders like Mather had on such narratives, they definitely had some influence over the construction of the female-driven tales. Scholar Lorraine Carroll analyzes the way that men influenced the female-authored texts in order to show how men were able to "impute their own productions of power onto the female captives."³⁷ Cotton Mather, son of Increase, knew that there were "more women than men in the Church" and thus wanted females in his congregation to behave as the most virtuous and moral Puritan women.³⁸ Accordingly, he promoted the narratives "as a model of a virtuous woman for his own political, social, and religious interests."³⁹ Cotton and Increase were not the only men who used such incidents for their own political advantage. The murder of Jane McCrea was a well-known story that was used to promote certain political agendas. McCrea was an innocent American woman who was tragically killed by Indians allied with English forces in 1777. The incident created such a widespread interest that newspapers all over the country recounted the tale of the

³⁶ Derounian-Stodola, *Women's Narratives*, 3. Rowlandson's narrative went through four editions the year it was published in 1682. See also Vanderbeets, "Narrative as Ritual," 548. Vanderbeets writes about thirty known editions of Mary Rowlandson's narrative.

³⁷ Lorraine Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag: Gender Impersonation, Captivity, and the Writing of History* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2007), 7.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 8.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 17.

martyred revolutionary heroine.⁴⁰ However, as scholar Samuel Edgerton notes, “if any pictures or broadsides of Jane McCrea appeared in the years immediately following they have not survived.”⁴¹ Vanderlyn’s *The Death of Jane McCrea* of 1804 (fig. 7) was not only one of the first depictions of a captivity narrative, but also was the first indigenous American history painting accepted into the Paris salon.⁴² The true historical event of what happened to Jane McCrea was not as important as the legend that it had become and the propagation of that narrative pictured in Vanderlyn’s painting. A little less than a century later, “accounts of the tragedy were less frequent and when appearing were in the nature of debunking the tale” quite a bit from Vanderlyn’s early nineteenth century interpretation.⁴³ In the drawing by an unknown artist *Death of Jane M’Crea* (fig. 1) of 1888, McCrea is no longer being brutally attacked and killed by her Indian captors. The new interpretation was that “she had accidently [sic] been killed in a fusillade of shots fired by pursuing Americans!”⁴⁴ Neither Indians nor the British even figured into her death and it seemed that her Indian captors were actually attempting to protect her from the invading forces. This new interpretation of a captivity narrative from past American history is reflective of the changing sentiment that late nineteenth-century Americans had for Native Americans and supports my use of various methodological arguments based on the subject matter and period of each chapter.

⁴⁰ For the complete story of Jane McCrea see: Samuel Y. Edgerton. “The Murder of Jane McCrea: The Tragedy of an American Tableau D’histoire.” *Art Bulletin* 47.4 (1965): 481-492; Namias, *White Captives*, 117-144.

⁴¹ Edgerton, 483.

⁴² *Ibid*, 484.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 483 and 492. The details of the actual event have been obscured by centuries of legend, but about “fifty years ago, James Austin Holden, State Historian of New York, assiduously examined the evidence and concluded in brief that Jane was being led, probably on horseback, when her immediate captors came upon another party of Indians.’ A dispute arose as to who should bring the white girl to the English. In the heat of this argument, one of the braves fired at her, struck her down with his tomahawk and, as the accounts of the time relate, ‘tore off her scalp.’”

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 492.

My approach to the pictured captivity narratives at the turn of the century relies on the development of ideas on racism and the evolving sympathies for Native Americans. This is not to say that the majority of Americans were deeply compassionate about the plight of the Indian, but during the nineteenth century there was a definite evolution in how many Americans thought about the indigenous population. Indian products were becoming valued commodities and even Indians themselves were highly valued performers in Wild West shows. Yet, the performers were still “captives” on display for the entertainment of American viewers. Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait’s *The Last War Whoop* of 1855 (fig. 9) presents a somewhat sentimental view of the impending death of the Native American man depicted, but also sympathizes with the extinction of the Native population as a whole. As a result of the dwindling Western frontier, the idea that Native and non-Native people could live together peacefully was fading as well. Euro-American colonists believed that the American landscape was limitless and as long as the indigenous population could be pushed west, the “Indian problem” could stay west of settled American land. In paintings such as John Gast’s *American Progress* of 1872 (fig. 10), the seemingly endless American landscape was celebrated as the pioneering Anglo-American colonists brave enough to build their homes and towns on it were migrating West. However, the result of “progress” was that the Native population was being pushed further and further out of the picture, literally and metaphorically. In this composition, the rising sun from the East lights the way for the American explorers as they travel towards the dark and stormy Western landscape. The “uncivilized” Indians, alongside the wild animals, are running away from the settlers and away from the light of the “civilized” world. Gast has placed the embodiment of American Progress in the

center of the canvas leading the charge, while holding a school book and telegraph wire, the tools of education and technology. At the time of Gast's painting, the indigenous population was already being moved onto small, unwanted pieces of land because there was nowhere left to push them.⁴⁵ The vast American landscape was finite and so the indigenous population got what was left over after the American government and white settlers took what they wanted. The title of Tait's painting, *The Last War Whoop*, could refer to the last time that the Indian pictured in the painting would cry out or it could mean that the Indian war against much of the white American population was coming to an end. Either way, the painting represents the Anglo-American fantasy of watching and being directly involved in the demise of the Native American. Native Americans would suffer greatly as a result of the majority of Americans identifying themselves as superior.

Current scholarship tends to center either on interpretation of the Indian captivity narratives and how those narratives affected the culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries or on the cultural significance of the individual performances and paintings in late nineteenth century culture. Roy Harvey Pearce's cultural perspective was the standard by which later scholars would study the Native American captivity narratives. Pearce's article "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative" from 1947 discusses how these narratives affected not only Anglo-American culture, but also literature. Following in the research path set by Pearce, June Namias forty years later considers how captivity "pictures, stories, and histories helped the Euro-American culture struggle through questions of cultural and gender identity during periods of extreme

⁴⁵ In 1851, Congress passed the Indian Appropriations Act, which allowed for the creation of Indian reservations.

change and uncertainty.”⁴⁶ Through analysis of paintings such as John Vanderlyn’s *Death of Jane McCrea* (fig. 7) and John Mix Stanley’s *Osage Scalp Dance* (fig. 11), she demonstrates how visual representations were as compelling as the literature produced about the captivity of white women.

In her 1999 book, *Captivating Selves, Captivating Others*, Pauline Strong is careful not to associate the term “Selves” to mean the collective “English mind,” but rather “a hegemonic typification of identity.”⁴⁷ The term is related to Roy Harvey Pearce’s book, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* from 1965, in which Pearce constructs the Indian as important to the English mind, ‘not for what he was in and of himself, but for what he showed civilized men they were not and must not be.’⁴⁸ Strong expands upon the oppositional relationship that Pearce explains in his book. In past analyses like the one by Pearce, the self is implicitly the white Self and is always in direct opposition to the other or Indian Other. The idea of the “Captivating Self” versus the “Captivating Other,” as argued by Strong, does not use the terms as implicitly white versus “red” or colonist versus Indian. Rather, she relates the terms as being interchangeable, so that the Self could imply colonist or Indian and the Other was also dependent on the specific captivity story. For instance, if the captivity story of Mary Rowlandson is the traditional narrative, then Rowlandson would be the Self and her Indian captors would be the Other. However, if one views captives as not only being the Self, but as being the Other, then the Fort Marion prisoners would be and should be considered captives.

⁴⁶ Namias, 11.

⁴⁷ Strong, 8.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

As noted earlier, the use of early American captivity narratives changed dramatically at the end of the nineteenth century, as a result of the contemporary concept of race based on physical, social, and cultural classification in America. Race was used in early American history and later in nineteenth-century American history as a tool to prove that the Indian population was inferior to Anglo-Americans. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Native American population was seen as weak-minded and physically inferior because of its inability to resist the epidemics that the colonizing populations brought with them.⁴⁹ Native Americans' unfortunate susceptibility to disease allowed European colonists to support their claim that the indigenous population was physically subordinate and therefore ethically impotent as well, although they were thought of as "capable of civil and ethical improvement."⁵⁰ Yet as definitions of race continued to develop, so did the idea that Native Americans were not fully human and could not be converted into "civilized" white society without being completely stripped of all things relating to their Native culture. Richard Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, pioneered these attitudes in the 1870's and they became popularized after the "successful" assimilation of the Fort Marion prisoners.

The Indian prisoners from Fort Marion, included in Chapter One, are most well-known for the ledger drawings they produced while incarcerated. In the last fifty years, the collecting of these ledger drawings has become more popular as the prices for Fort Marion ledger drawings have increased, and this has also piqued public interest as a whole. A recent collection of drawings from Fort Marion was published in 2007 by the

⁴⁹ Chaplin, 179. See also Block, 226-230, for more information on Anglo-American views of Native American men as effeminate and physically inferior.

⁵⁰ Chaplin, 180.

University of Oklahoma Press in conjunction with an exhibit at the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum entitled “Beyond the Prison Gates: The Fort Marion Experience and Its Artistic Legacy.” This exhibition catalogue has exhaustive text about each ledger drawing in the collection and even communicates the individual perspectives of the collectors, Arthur and Shifra Silberman. I will use the collectors’ observations from personal interviews about the Fort Marion ledger drawings as well as the opinions of Curator George Miles from the Yale Collection of Western Americana and Candace S. Greene, Ethnologist with the Collections and Archives Program of the Department of Anthropology in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, in order to carefully analyze the idea that the Fort Marion artists were compelled by disciplinary actions to perform on demand. The idea that Fort Marion artists were coerced into making ledger drawings and participating in performances for the white public, while incarcerated, relates to the theory of Panopticism.

Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832, a leading theorist in Anglo-American philosophy of law, created a model for a type of prison called Panopticon. The concept of the prison allows a prisoner to be under the constant surveillance of an ‘instructor’ who would never be seen by the prisoner. Foucault described the significance of ‘Panopticism’ in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Michel Foucault’s interpretation of Panopticism and the effects that spatial partitioning, as a disciplinary mechanism, directly relates to the treatment and imprisonment of the Fort Marion prisoners in the production of their drawings and performances. The overall goal of Panopticism is “to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic

functioning of power.”⁵¹ The question of whether the drawings can be considered “authentic” will be negotiated based on the status of these drawings as prisoner art. The imprisonment and subsequent assimilation tactics used on the prisoners cut them off from all Native contact and left them with only one option, which was to survive in the environment in which they were contained.

The Americas are a unique case study when examining the “modern Atlantic world.” Even though the term “post-colonial” does not directly apply to the study of the Americas because the indigenous population continues to be colonized to this day, many of the theories that relate to post-colonial cultures in my opinion also apply to the study of Native American and Anglo-American relations both before and after British rule. “Post-colonial” originally related to India after the colonial population had “passed away.”⁵² However, in the Americas the colonial populations stayed, although the imperial regime of Britain officially ended, so the cultural legacies imposed on Native Americans were deeply imbedded in the American consciousness. As a result, I will focus on post-colonial theory that relates specifically to issues postcolonial countries have in common with the Americas as well as issues of visual display. At the end of the nineteenth century in the United States and abroad, there was a rise in the popularity of collecting and viewing exotic cultural commodities relating to Native American production, e.g., at World’s Fairs and in Wild West shows. Accordingly, Native American people were considered commodities as well and were put on display by way of ethnographic villages in World’s Fairs, beginning with the 1876 Centennial Exposition

⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 201.

⁵² Chaplin, 190.

in Philadelphia, and through performances held both at the Fort Marion prison and in Buffalo Bill's Wild West.⁵³

Frederick Ward Putnam, the director and curator of the Peabody Museum at Harvard in 1891, discussed his vision for the Indian village he proposed be included at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 by proclaiming that Indians “have about vanished into history, and now is the last opportunity for the world to see them and to realize what their condition, their life, their customs, their arts were four centuries ago. The great object lesson then will not be completed without their being present.”⁵⁴ In contrast to Putnam's speech, Native American life at the end of the nineteenth century was certainly not comparable to their life four centuries earlier, before Columbus had discovered what he thought was America, but nineteenth century Americans did not see it that way. In examining Putnam's speech and his opinions on the importance of ethnological exhibits, historical insights can be made about the public opinions of Native American culture. Anglo-American culture saw Native Americans as objects frozen in a Pre-Columbian history and wanted to “possess” and be a part of that history through the collection of Native art and as viewers of the Wild West shows, as a way of celebrating the “accession of civilized power over nature and primitives.”⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the lack of firsthand accounts by Native Americans forces scholars to look only at how the American public saw themselves in relation to the indigenous population, which allows some insight into how Native Americans were treated and perceived.

⁵³ Curtis M. Hinsley, “The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 346.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 346-347.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 345.

Chapter One, *Captors Taken Captive: The Irony of Fort Marion Ledger*

Drawings, discusses the assimilation tactics used at the end of the nineteenth century in Indian boarding schools which were originally practiced on the prisoners at Fort Marion by Richard Pratt during the 1870's. During the Antebellum period, the social balance of the New Republic needed to be restored and the answer was to create asylums where outcasts from society could go to be re-formed.⁵⁶ The idea was to change institutional patients and convicts from social deviants to well-adjusted people who were no longer a burden to society. The concept was easily transferred to Indian convicts, who were also considered social deviants and were seen as a burden on white society. In Chapter One, I will look closely at ledger drawings made by Fort Marion prisoners, who drew and "translated" their captivity onto paper. The ledger drawings, such as "Indian prisoners being photographed" (fig. 12), were drawn from the prisoners' point of view. This drawing by an unknown Fort Marion prisoner points to many key issues to be addressed, such as whether "prisoner art" made by incarcerated Indians can be "authentic" Indian art and how coercion strategies factor into the prisoners' performances and drawings. The consensus among twenty-first century scholars is that these drawings have a relatively "quiet past,"⁵⁷ meaning that the issues surrounding these drawings have not been fully recognized. Contrary to that sentiment, Fort Marion ledger drawings can be seen as having an inherently complex past by the very fact that they were drawn and sold by prisoners taken captive for no other reason than they were defending their right to live on their Native land.

⁵⁶ David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 10.

⁵⁷ George Miles, Curator, Yale Collection of Western Americana, E-mail Interview, 11 May 2010.

As Chapter Two, *Buffalo Bill and the Theatricality of Indian Captivity*, will reveal, Buffalo Bill was a polarizing figure in the lives of the Native American performers in his show, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, during a volatile time in the history of Native American and white American relations. A Wild West program cover from 1900 (fig. 13) pictures the Native American performers as the stereotypical "savage" attackers as they descend on the "innocent" white colonists who are pictured as trying to defend their stagecoach. This type of poster was typical of the message that Buffalo Bill wanted to convey about his show. The main attraction was the nail-biting Indian raid, where the audience could safely watch as the Indian performers were portrayed as the "savage" attackers who were slaughtered one by one. Sitting Bull (fig. 14) spent some time traveling with the Wild West show, as did twenty-three of the Lakota Ghost Dancers who survived the massacre at Wounded Knee.⁵⁸ Buffalo Bill obviously wanted particular Indians to join his show in order to make it more successful, but he advocated for all Native Americans. He sympathized with them about how they had been treated and, in the photograph by John C. H. Grabill (fig. 15), is pictured riding with General Miles, who spoke out against the military action at Wounded Knee, saying that it was a "horrific and possibly even premeditated slaughter."⁵⁹ Thus, early in his life, Buffalo Bill was an Indian killing all-American hero, but later his actions signaled a change that was arguably happening elsewhere throughout America.

Chapter Three, *Eanger Irving Couse's The Captive: Challenging the Indian Captor Stereotype in Late Nineteenth-Century Art*, will explore Couse's history painting

⁵⁸ Michelle A. Abate, "'Bury My Heart in Recent History': Mark Twain's 'Hellfire Hotchkiss,' the Massacre at Wounded Knee, and the Dime Novel Western," *American Literary Realism* 42.2 (Winter 2010): 115.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

of 1891 (fig. 1), which reflected contemporary white cultural anxiety against Indian culture and the painful emotional degradation that the Native American population suffered at the hands of Anglo-American culture. The tension between Indian culture and the majority of the American public usually led to negative images of supposed Indian brutality as a way of legitimizing the confiscation of their land. But towards the end of the nineteenth century, images were creating a new Indian stereotype that was more positive than the outright image of violence and aggression. This chapter will solidify the idea that people could identify in some way with both the image of the frail frontier woman as well as with the contemplative Indian chief. Also, I will compare Couse's *The Captive* with other artists' depictions of captivity, such as Charles Wimar's *The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians* of 1853 (fig. 16) and Henry Farny's *The Captive (The Prisoner)* of 1885 (fig. 17). The ambiguities within Couse's history painting allow for a unique perspective of how Native Americans were perceived by many Americans at the end of the nineteenth century.

In my final chapter, *Re-visions of the Past in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Kent Monkman, Arthur Amiotte, and the Mardi Gras Indian*, I will explore how the twentieth and twenty-first centuries brought with it many re-visions of past captivity narratives and images in the art of Monkman and Amiotte as well as through the Mardi Gras Indian. The popularity and persistence of the subject of Indian captivity in art has continued into the present by Native artists and non-Native performers alike. The appropriation of Native American captivity imagery from the nineteenth century is central to the work of Monkman, Amiotte, and the Mardi Gras Indians, although they all use captive imagery in dramatically different ways. Monkman's paintings (fig. 18) are

compositionally similar to iconic nineteenth-century master works of art, yet he imbues the traditional representation with his own radically sexualized and unique point of view. Amiotte also includes his own Native voice within his work, but his inspiration comes from traditional ledger drawings. In a pointed and sharp-witted manner, his collages reveal the discrepancy of Lakota culture between traditional practices and modern-day life. He also explores the experiences of Lakota people in Europe, during the Wild West show era of the early 20th century (fig. 19). Unlike Monkman and Amiotte, Mardi Gras Indians are not Native artists. Mardi Gras Indians are black American men dressed in elaborately decorated suits, who dance and sing during New Orleans Mardi Gras. Plains Indian ceremonial apparel and subject matter serves as inspiration for their hand-made suits and the decoration sewn onto their suits. One Mardi Gras Indian (fig. 20) chose to sew a scene onto his apron where Native Americans have taken white colonists captive. The question as to why black Creole men appropriated uniquely Indian garb and subjects is still debated today. The goal of Chapter Four will be to illustrate the various ways in which contemporary artists and performers choose to display scenes of past captivity imagery into their artwork and how the reinterpretation of captivity narratives in the twenty first century relates to Native American identity during the nineteenth century and today.

As this thesis will demonstrate in the unfolding chapters, there are several key distinctions that can be made about Native American captivity narratives. The drawings associated with captivity narratives from popular “dime novels,” such as the title page for Mary Rowlandson’s narrative (fig. 2) and *Opechancanough’s Warriors Falling on Virginia Colonists in 1622* (fig. 21), in the mid-nineteenth century visualized the Indian

as a “savage,” while also distinguishing the white population in opposition to the supposed “barbarity” of the Indian. At the same time, the Fort Marion ledger drawings expressed how Native Americans viewed themselves and their incarceration, as a result of defending their communities and families from the white settlers land claims. During the late nineteenth century, the popularity of Western literature and performance rose dramatically and continued to cast the Indian as the violent attacker in shows such as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. However, the controversy that followed the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 changed the way that many white Americans felt about the indigenous population and the way that the federal government was treating them. Anglo-American artists such as Couse portrayed the Native American captor as less violent and were more mindful of the future fate of the Indian. The turn of the century led the majority of the white American public to see the Indian as having a future within the public realm, but that future was yet undetermined. Contemporary manifestations of nineteenth-century images from captivity narratives in works by Native and non-Native artists reflect the enduring legacy of the Plains Indian stereotype, as well as how modern Americans are using those stereotypes in order to confront and deflate them.

Chapter 1

Captors Taken Captive: The Irony of Fort Marion Ledger Drawings

“When these Indians were to be sent from Fort Sill, I wrote you that ‘much could and should be done for them while undergoing this banishment.’ If forty or fifty of them can speak our language on their return and all have a fair knowledge and practice of labor and its benefits, I think you will be pleased with the experiment. This seems in a fair way of accomplishment.”

Richard Pratt, Caretaker of Indian Prisoners, in a letter to General P. H. Sheridan from March 21, 1876 regarding his progress with the Fort Marion Indians⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Richard H. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 171.

“Other incidents along the journey were more dangerous than the teeming crowds, and they must have increased the prisoners’ fears. As they were arriving at Nashville, the Kiowa chief Lean Bear attempted suicide by stabbing himself with a knife; he then stabbed two of the guards . . . As the Southern Cheyenne chief Grey Beard has also attempted suicide at Fort Leavenworth, Pratt took extra time with him: ‘Going through the cars with my oldest daughter, then six years of age, I stopped to talk with Gray Beard. He said he had only one child and that was a little girl just about my daughter’s age. He asked me how I would like to have chains on my legs as he had and to be taken a long distance from my home, my wife, and little girl, as he was, and his voice trembled with deepest emotion. It was a hard question.’”

The impact of the Indian prisoners’ transport from their Native homes to Fort Marion in 1875⁶¹

In Native American captivity narratives and “dime novels” written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the captor was most likely Native American, while the captive was Anglo-American. The reality for Native Americans outside of these stories, however, was quite different. Indians were taken as captive slaves as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century by Spanish explorers, and their bondage lasted through the early eighteenth century.⁶² At the end of the nineteenth century, Indians were again taken captive. But this time they were not taken captive as slaves in order to work under a white master; instead they were taken captive as a way to extricate and segregate them from white society. Furthermore, the captors of Native Americans had changed from British colonizers to white Americans who had settled and claimed North America as their own land. While the Indians were held captive, the public could view them in a new and safe environment, away from the effects of their culture. The thinking was that such Indian prisoners could be reformed and could eventually be set free from their Native culture. In the minds of the Anglo-American public, the reason behind why the Native

⁶¹ Joyce M. Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 24.

⁶² Chaplin, 181.

population was seen as “subhuman” was not simply a result of their difference in skin color when compared to the non-Native population, but had more to do with their Native culture and way of life. Their “savage” Native culture was perceived to be “proof” of their allegedly inferior status and the foundation for the Native population’s aggression towards the incoming white masses moving westward. If Native culture could be eradicated, then the Indian might have a chance of survival as an “integrated” part of the white American population. So it was thought that the best approach to the Indian “problem” was to gather together the Indians who were exacerbating problems in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad⁶³ and who were known to attack white settlers moving westward and to exile them to Fort Marion. Military and governmental agencies selected the prisoners from the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes,⁶⁴ all considered the “worst Indian offenders” at that time, and sent them to Fort Marion in Florida.⁶⁵

The complexity of the production of Native American “ledger art” as it pertains to ethical issues in the visual arts is inextricably linked with the prisoners at Fort Marion, who made ledger drawings during their incarceration in Saint Augustine from 1875-1878. The relationship between Indians and non-Indians was plagued by mistrust, constant clashes, and mounting tension. Native raiding parties, made up of resistance leaders,

⁶³ William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1990), 434-440. William T. Sherman recounts his participation on the Indian Peace Commission of 1867-8, in which he states that the commission “did prepare the way for the great Pacific Railroads, which, for better or worse, have settled the fate of the buffalo and Indian forever” (436).

⁶⁴ Sherman, 434-440. Sherman states that efforts to relocate Sioux, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes failed, while an agreement was made with the Navajos. This may be the reason that tribesmen from the specific tribes were targeted as prisoners for incarceration at Fort Marion.

⁶⁵ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 14. After the Buffalo War (war to determine who would have control over buffalo ranges), the leaders who represented the greatest threat were chosen. For more information see Brad D. Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 10-11.

were a constant threat to the non-Indian populations settling near Indian Territory (fig. 22). One such threat was a Southern Cheyenne man named Medicine Water, who was chosen to go to Fort Marion because of his known involvement in several raids including the murder and captivity of a German family on September 11th, 1874.⁶⁶ Other men chosen to go to Fort Marion had similar charges against them, such as murdering Anglo buffalo hunters, while others were charged with petty crimes, such as stealing horses or “being ‘ringleaders’ in attempted murder.”⁶⁷ One man, Star, a Cheyenne warrior, had no charges lodged against him at all.⁶⁸ Although their crimes may have varied, the one constant was that during their time in captivity, the Indian prisoners⁶⁹ drew scenes from their past and present. Many of those scenes were representations of their journey to Fort Marion (fig. 23) and their subsequent captivity at Saint Augustine (fig. 24). The Fort Marion ledger drawings are pictorial versions of captivity narratives in that they tell a story of captivity through the firsthand account of the person that experienced it. As discussed in the introduction, the captivity narrative during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was quite different from the original narratives⁷⁰ from early American history as a result of the decreasing regularity of actual captivities during the 1870s and

⁶⁶ Lookingbill, 22. Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 18.

⁶⁷ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 18.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ How many of the prisoners produced drawings are unknown, since there is no record and many of the drawings are not signed or attributed to a particular prisoner.

⁷⁰ Leonard Cassuto, *The Inhuman Race: The Racial Grotesque in American Literature and Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 46-48. Cassuto asserts that captivity narratives were popular during the late seventeenth century in Puritan society because the narratives were a way of classifying Indians and themselves during their prolonged close contact with Indians. Puritan captivity narratives were based on the captives’ experiences of being taken captive by Native Americans. Daryl Jones, *The Dime Novel Western* (Bowling Green: Popular Press, Bowling Green State University, 1978), 26-31. The Western Hero in early Dime Novels “lived by the motto that ‘the only good Indian is a dead Indian’ . . . and was often the lone survivor of a family massacred by savages.” Dime Novels were based on imaginary or real characters, but they often had characteristic elements that were used in several different novels, such as Daniel Boone, the Backwoodsman, or Buffalo Bill, the Plainsman.

1880s.⁷¹ Native American captivity narratives had begun to change in format when the practice of taking captives by Native Americans decreased. This cause and effect relationship came about through circumstances relating to Native Americans being placed on reservations in addition to “the coming of railroads, destruction of the buffalo, and the unrelenting military pressure that finally ended the traditional life styles of the Indians.”⁷² Indians were now the ones being taken captive and their captivity was not written about in legends based on white heroism and Indian tragedy, but was instead literally drawn out by the captives. These drawings had a cathartic appeal for the prisoners, but were also used for the benefit of tourist entertainment as well as for the monetary gain of the captives and captors alike.

From the eighteenth century in America, Plains Indians such as the Blackfeet, Lakota, and Kiowa began to express their oral traditions and important historical events through pictographic drawings originally rendered on buffalo hides, subsequently to become “ledger art” (fig. 25).⁷³ Due to the encouragement of buffalo hunting by the US government in the 1870s, buffalo hide became scarce (fig. 26).⁷⁴ As a result, ledger art evolved into drawings made on paper (fig. 27), yet continued to depict historical events in the same pictographic style as the original ledger art. Ledger art began as a production

⁷¹ Gregory and Susan Michno, *A Fate Worse Than Death: Indian Captivities in the West, 1830-1885* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 2007), 407.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Greene, Candace S. and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 300-310.

⁷⁴ Pratt, 63. Pratt details the unnecessary killing of buffalo by General John Pope, the commander of the Department of the Missouri in 1870 and the subsequent order by the military of the destruction of the buffalo because “the Indian could not be controlled on their reservations as long as their greatest resource, the buffalo, were so plentiful.” See David D. Smits’s “The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883.” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25.3 (1994): 316-319. Smits recounts that Army commanders would “customarily treat distinguished travelers to hunts in buffalo country” in the late 1860s and throughout the 1870s. See also Emma Hanson and Beatrice Medicine’s *Memory and Vision: Arts, Cultures, and Lives of Plains Indian Peoples* (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 2007), 211-214.

made by Native Americans for a native audience. However, after the mid-1870s ledger art became almost exclusively made for non-Native Americans, mostly tourists.⁷⁵ The possibility that the Native population could actually disappear, as was predicted by Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787)⁷⁶, was becoming a reality due to losses suffered from disease and warfare. From the Anglo-American perspective, containing the “Indian problem” would help promote a stable society, with the added benefit of transforming Native Americans into a more “Americanized” and compliant culture.⁷⁷ The thinking was that although they would never become social equals, they could be “tamed” and taught to integrate into a white-centered society. The Indians’ very nature was seen as having been infected in both mind and body.⁷⁸ The only way to “cure” their infectious nature was to completely stamp out any trace of their heritage or identity as Native people. Richard Pratt, who was the caretaker and jailor at Fort Marion as well as founder of the Carlisle Indian School, developed a foundational approach during the 1860s and 1870s, which relied on the idea that the Indian population could be “saved” if they completely cut themselves off from all contact with their Native identity.⁷⁹ Under close supervision and with the threat of disciplinary action, the alleged “plague” of Native society could thus be managed by dominant white order. Civility and

⁷⁵ Craig D. Bates et al., *The Cheyenne/Arapaho Ledger Book: From the Pamplin Collection* (Portland: Robert B. Pamplin Jr, 2003), 2.

⁷⁶ Chaplin, 189-190. “Jefferson’s racism in regard to Amerindians was more subtle relying as it did on the idea, again a longstanding one, that their population was doomed to decline, even to the point of extinction.”

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 173-193.

⁷⁸ Cassuto, 31. American Puritans spent a lot of “emotional energy in keeping the Indians lodged in the ‘nonhuman’ category.” According to the Puritans, the Native population was not English, and therefore not human.

⁷⁹ Pratt, 7-8. Pratt and a fellow officer discussed the proposed fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution as well as the Declaration of Independence in relation to the case of the Indian and the “Negro.” Pratt concluded that he “cannot see otherwise than that all the gross injustices to both races which have followed and become indurated policies are primarily the result of national neglect to give the opportunities and enforce the safeguards of our Declaration and Constitution.

social order for much of white American society were not the only benefits of locking up Native American so-called criminals. The production of crafts and ledger art by Fort Marion prisoners proved to be profitable for Anglo-American society over several generations. The popularity of Indian crafts brought the prisoners and the prison notoriety as well as profitability.

Ledger drawings made by Fort Marion prisoners were a source of profit for the prisoners as well as Pratt and the US government, and were sold to the thousands of public tourists⁸⁰ that visited, during the three years of the prisoners' captivity, and were also given to public figures whom Richard Pratt deemed important to his cause.⁸¹ The visual representations by Fort Marion prisoners during their incarceration represent their years of captivity as an "ingenious cage,"⁸² literally and figuratively, which successfully separated the prisoners from their Native heritage and culture. Although the prisoners were placed in a concrete fortress, they were not contained within the walls at all times. In a drawing by an artist identified as Zotom (fig. 24), the prisoners are lined up on the parapet of the Fort, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. The scene does not look menacing in any way, even though the prisoners are obviously confined to the roof and are being monitored by two prison guards on each side of them. However, the prisoners are facing a rather idyllic water landscape with boats skimming the water and two lighthouses on an inlet in front of them. The prisoners are still in their colorful and personalized Native dress. In this drawing, they have not yet been stripped of their clothes and forced to cut

⁸⁰ Lookingbill, 84. The crowds were so numerous that they were prohibited from visiting on Sundays, so the prisoners had a day off.

⁸¹ Ibid, 86. Pratt's "cause" was the assimilation of Plains Indian warriors and the successful placement of all Indians onto reservations. Among the people that received the drawings were General William T. Sherman, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John W. Smith, as well as senators and prominent philanthropists.

⁸² Foucault, *Discipline*, 205.

off their hair. In a later drawing by the same artist (fig. 28), the prisoners are pictured in military clothing issued by the United States government.⁸³ The harsh reality was that the forced removal and separation from their Native culture was only the first step of the captive experience, which the Fort Marion prisoners would have to endure.

The Native American prisoners were placed in the penitentiary at Fort Marion at the height of interest by non-natives in collecting ledger art during the nineteenth century. The market and commercialization of Native American art had fully developed at the end of the nineteenth century⁸⁴ and has continued to the present day. Elizabeth Hutchinson, a modern scholar, has argued that the increased availability of Native American art was a result of the increase in production of art for sale on reservations and in government boarding schools, which led to the “idea that art could be a means by which both Indians and non-Indians could contribute to American modernity.”⁸⁵ The Native Indian arts programs at the various Indian boarding schools were developed by the US government out of the success that the selling of ledger art and other crafts had at the Fort Marion prison.⁸⁶ The popularity in collecting Fort Marion ledger art could have developed from a combination of factors surrounding the location of Fort Marion and the interest that the prisoners created among the public. Fort Marion is located in Saint Augustine, Florida, which was a popular tourist destination during post-Civil war years and attracted

⁸³ Pratt, 118. Pratt states that “they were emphatically told that the clothing belonged to the United States Government and that it was only loaned to them so that they might dress themselves becomingly, like the people they were meeting daily, and thus rid themselves of the stare of visitors who invariably noted every difference between them and ourselves.”

⁸⁴ Hutchinson, 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. Hutchinson is referring to the goals of Angel DeCora, an Indian artist, who “desired to demonstrate the modernity of Indian people and their potential to contribute to American culture . . . as did the many educated Indian people of her generation.”

⁸⁶ Lookingbill, 5. “In an award-winning study of Indian education, David Wallace Adams wrote that the prison school at the old Spanish castle constituted a ‘bold experiment.’ He found that it served as a model for the programs educating children at off-reservation boarding schools in later years.”

thousands of people who were looking for a coastal vacation.⁸⁷ Even the prisoners themselves were a curiosity and a popular sightseeing attraction featured in guidebooks for tourists.⁸⁸ During the prisoner train transport, a distance of 165 miles from Fort Sill to Fort Marion, crowds of curious public spectators would wait at each train station to “catch a glimpse of the prisoners as they passed through.”⁸⁹ In this ledger drawing by Zotom (fig. 29), the crowd of spectators can be seen to the left of the train as it is pulling into the station at Indianapolis.

Some of the ledger drawings were sold with the profits given to the Indian who produced the art, while other drawings were produced exclusively for Richard Pratt (figure drawn on the left in military garb in fig. 30), their caregiver, so he could use them as examples of the success of Indian assimilation.⁹⁰ Pratt gave the ledger drawings to institutions such as the United States National Museum (now known as the Smithsonian Institution), as well as to ranking military officers in order to “demonstrate the industry of his men.”⁹¹ After the turn of the century, the Fort Marion ledger drawings were categorized as “inauthentic” due to the fact that the Indian artists were under the influence of non-Native people during their time at Fort Marion and this was seen to have “contaminated” what would have been an otherwise legitimate Indian production.⁹² However, the 1970s gave rise to a new generation of collectors who appreciated and sought out Fort Marion drawings for their unique and exotic appeal. During that time many of the drawings, such as Bear’s Heart drawing (fig. 31), became part of private

⁸⁷ Hutchinson, 25; Lookingbill, 83-84.

⁸⁸ Lookingbill, 84-85.

⁸⁹ Szabo, *Silberman Collection*, 21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 161.

⁹¹ Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art From Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 69.

⁹² Szabo, *Silberman Collection*, 165-173.

collections, such as The Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, while other drawings are now in public institutions, like The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. The consensus among scholars at public institutions and collectors of Fort Marion ledger drawings is that the drawings have a “quiet (legal and ethical) past.”⁹³ This conclusion is upheld by examining the production of these drawings as prisoner art and taking into account the recent popularity of these specific drawings by collectors as well as public institutions. From a strictly legal standpoint, many of the drawings were made in anticipation of sale and belong to the tourists who bought them, so there is no legal concern about the ownership or public exhibition of the drawings. On the other hand, the inherent complexity of viewing these drawings as art made in captivity makes their past quite complicated. The drawings were made voluntarily for tourists, yet contrary to that sentiment, the artists were still prisoners held against their will and under the supervision of a Captain in the army that had “fought hard to physically destroy Native people” and who continued to believe that Native culture should die.⁹⁴ In a world where “untouched Indian culture” no longer existed and the assimilation of the Indian self was paramount, authentic Indian art was seen as contaminated by the very culture that wished to dominate and assimilate them.⁹⁵

The latter half of the nineteenth century was a polarizing point in the production and reception of Native arts because Indian culture itself was changing so dramatically.

As a Native American artist, Angel DeCora said at the first conference of the Society of

⁹³ Miles, E-mail Interview, 11 May 2010. Miles’s comment about the “quiet past” of Fort Marion ledger drawings is in reference to whether or not these drawings have had any legal or ethical controversies surrounding them or if these drawings are more problematic than collecting any other kind of historical document or object of art.

⁹⁴ Szabo, *Silberman Collection*, 25.

⁹⁵ Christine Edwards Allred. “Real Indian Art” in *True West: Authenticity and the American West*, eds. William R. Handley and Nathaniel Lewis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 119.

American Indians in the fall of 1911, “The Indian in his native dress is a thing of the past, but his art that is inborn shall endure.”⁹⁶ Authenticity, as the term relates to Native art and artists, was a controversial subject beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth century, especially when applied to the artistic production of the prisoners from Fort Marion. Legitimacy of Native American culture has come from the longstanding belief by white Americans that Native tradition predates interaction with European Americans.⁹⁷ If any evidence of acculturation has taken place in Native American artwork, the works are seen as far less valuable to collectors because they are less “Indian.”⁹⁸ The artwork from Fort Marion is doubly problematic because it “was not made in the cultural setting from which the artists came from and it was given to tourists and people who promoted assimilation.”⁹⁹ Yet, even while these artists were being accused of acculturation in their art, they were also being asked to completely give up their Indian selves. The dichotomy between their past and their present made the Fort Marion prisoners unique. Fort Marion artists were considered some of the last of a “vanishing race” by the majority of the white American public, whose work would be relegated to Indian craft collections in white American homes. Therefore, the importance of collecting and preserving Fort Marion drawings has always been an aspect of the works themselves.

The importance of the historical and cultural preservation as well as the degree of surveillance imposed upon the prisoners is exemplified in the ledger drawing *Indian Prisoners at Fort Marion Begin Photographed* (fig. 12). Just as the prison facilitators

⁹⁶ Hutchinson, 1.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 1-2.

⁹⁸ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 171.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 172.

wanted to preserve the historical moment pictured in this ledger drawing, museums and collectors also want to preserve the history of Fort Marion. The value and historical importance of preserving these drawings is due to the fact that they were a unique production to Fort Marion, at a time in history when Indians were seen as “vanishing” from the American landscape. Although the prisoners were held in St. Augustine for only three years, they were able to produce a relatively high number of ledger books and drawings because of the time afforded to them, as a result of captivity as well as because of their access to art supplies, such as blank ledger books, pencils, watercolors, and crayons.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the experience of drawing their captivity was a cathartic exercise for the prisoners, just as writing her tale of captivity had been for Mary Rowlandson in 1682.¹⁰¹ Or possibly the prisoners were compelled to create such art by strong disciplinary pressures under the guise of casual surveillance. The man smoking the pipe and the guard dressed in military clothing are there in order to document the prisoners, but their presence also indicates a degree of hostility. Even though the prisoners are not contained behind prison bars and seem to be completely visible to anyone who could look into the courtyard, the threat of power is there. Additionally, the prisoners were treated with seemingly relaxed standards and were paraded in plain view of the tourists that came to visit them, but the “visibility is [was] a trap”¹⁰² because the prisoners were still in a situation where they were constantly being observed and regulated by an authoritarian.

¹⁰⁰ Joyce M. Szabo, “From General Souvenir to Personal Memento: Fort Marion Drawings and the Significance of Books,” in *Painters, Patrons, and Identity: Essays in Native American Art to Honor J.J. Brody*, Joyce M Szabo and J. J. Brody (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 49. See also Colin Rhodes, *Outsider Art: Spontaneous Alternatives* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 141. Rhodes discusses the need for prisoners to keep their minds active while in prison.

¹⁰¹ Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, 51. Rowlandson comments at the end of her narrative, “I have learned to look beyond present and smaller troubles, and to be quieted under them, as *Moses* said, *Exod.* 14. 13. *Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord.*”

¹⁰² Foucault, *Discipline*, 200.

In the case of the Fort Marion prisoners, they were at the mercy of Pratt, a somewhat sympathetic authority, but still a dictator.

Although the prisoners were under strict prison guard, they maintained ways of resisting their captors by controlling some of the content in their drawings and what that content represented within their tribal communities. Many of the drawings represented life before the prisoners' incarceration and were used "to establish their cultural positions."¹⁰³ Tichkematse's drawing of a Cheyenne man hunting a buffalo on horseback from 1879 (fig. 32) could be used as evidence of his own hunting prowess. During warrior society gatherings, men would retell and act out their stories of bravery in battle in order to solidify their standings within their communities.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the majority of the artists in Fort Marion were younger men because many times older men were already well-established leaders or chiefs. The younger artists represented the status of their tribe and their individual status within their tribe, such as Bear's Heart drawing of four Cheyenne men (fig. 31), which in this case reinforced their status as leaders of resistance within Fort Marion. Clearly, the men in Bear's Heart's drawing are dressed for an important social gathering in which social standing would be a factor, much like the non-Native military uniforms they were required to wear during their confinement at Fort Marion. However, in this case, they were depicted in their native garb, which had cultural meaning that Pratt and the other guards would not fully understand. This subtle act of resistance, i.e. their ability to keep their native social structure intact, against assimilation tactics and against the goal of stripping them of their native identities impacted how they interacted with each other within the prison as well as how Pratt and

¹⁰³ Szabo, *Silberman*, 29.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

the other guards treated them. Although in the twentieth century, the dichotomy of Fort Marion artists as “traditional” and “modern” Indians, as a result of their imprisonment, complicated the collecting of their drawings.

As a result of the Indians’ captivity, the collecting of the drawings has become “problematic to some collectors of Native American art” in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁵ In order to understand how tourists viewed the Fort Marion ledger drawings in the nineteenth century, the contemporary collecting and acquisition of these drawings must be analyzed. The investment opportunity as a result of the relatively recent rise in popularity of the images appealed to the private and public collectors alike. Many collectors today also have an emotional attachment to the images of a more “traditional” Native American past, just as the tourists did when the images were first collected. The nostalgia for historic Indian culture has lasted through the twentieth century. The time when these drawings were originally conceived is seen as one before Native art was in its pure form prior to its supposed corruption by Anglo-American cultural influence. Arthur Silberman, a collector of Native American art since the 1960’s, best exemplifies this attitude in a quote from The Silberman Collection catalogue:

*Contemporary Native American painting as we know it today is essentially as (it) developed in Fort Marion. Nostalgia became irrevocably bound to Indian painting: a longing for the golden days coupled with a determination to hold on to what is Indian. From nostalgia flowed Idealization – the desire to capture the perfect essence. Even the decorative aspect of Indian art which has prevailed in utensils and adornments became evident in some of the Fort Marion drawings.*¹⁰⁶

Silberman’s quotation touches on a few points about the emotional connection that current collectors have with the particular art produced out of Fort Marion. Because

¹⁰⁵ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 172.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

Silberman feels a personal connection to the past through owning an Indian object from the Fort Marion past, that gives him a degree of “control” or at least possession over Native American culture and heritage as well. The ownership of a piece of Native heritage is a way for non-Native people to “own” a Native American and a piece of their “authentic” past. The control lies in his possession and subsequent legal rights over the drawings. The documentation and publication of the Fort Marion drawings increase their value as historical documents as well as their monetary value and reflects the imprisonment of Native Americans in the nineteenth century, which implicates the collectors of such works as taking advantage of a culture that has already been decimated. Yet, the Silbermans also use the drawings as a way to educate the public about the events that surrounded the imprisonment of Native Americans at Fort Marion, the prisoners themselves, and about the production of Fort Marion ledger drawings. The obvious sentimentality by the American public for images and objects of “traditional” Native life before the incarceration of Fort Marion artists and before the “contamination by outside sources” is apparent and, as a result, these drawings were not seen as “authentic” native art until recently.¹⁰⁷ During their time at Fort Marion, the Native American prisoners were essentially “playing Indian” for a white audience, which had expectations of how Indians acted, what they wore, and eventually, what they should draw.¹⁰⁸ A possible reaction from the expectations of white patrons was for Fort Marion artists to produce works they thought would please their patrons, rather than drawing scenes for their own pleasure. This is not to say that the artists did not also draw from sources that were true

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 6. Because the ledger drawings were originally created for white tourists and not for a Native audience, the drawings were seen as less “Indian.”

¹⁰⁸ Lookingbill, 105.

to life, but just as all artists sometimes do, they would be flexible in an effort to meet their patrons' expectations in order to make the most money.¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, the Fort Marion ledger drawings were produced and sold in order to financially help their struggling families, who were forced to live on reservations in often-horrible conditions.

The rise in scholarship and interest in human rights as well as a renewed enthusiasm for Native American studies during the 1970's piqued the interest of scholars and collectors who began studying and buying the drawings of Fort Marion artists.¹¹⁰ Because scholars were writing about and publishing the drawings, the drawings' popularity rose within the community of collectors of Native American art.¹¹¹ Subsequently, Native American art was offered through major auction houses, which further legitimized the collecting of such art. The rise in popularity of the Fort Marion ledger drawings in the 1970s and 1980s also coincides with the inclusion of ledger drawings in folk art publications, such as Elizabeth Warren's *Young America: A Folk History* as well as with the rise in cases of abuse towards Indian collections within the context of the museum.¹¹² Instances of museum abuse of their Native American collections were being spotlighted, e.g. in the case for The Maryhill Museum's Director, Clifford Dolph. Dolph was asked to step down after serving 35 years as director because

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 86.

¹¹⁰ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 4.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 7.

¹¹² The rise of Outsider Art or Self-Taught also coincides with the art communities acceptance of ledger art as an authentic artwork. Outsider Art was a term coined by British writer Roger Cardinal in his book, *Outsider Art*, 1972, and was adopted in America in the 1970s. The link of Outsider Art with Fort Marion ledger drawings can be seen in the subject matter and conditions of production associated with Outsider Art. Outsider Art was not just different from mainstream or Western art, but was excluded and also marginalized by "the very culture that supports the market for mainstream art." The artists of Outsider Art came from poor backgrounds, impoverishment, and social inequality as well as were incarcerated in prison for a length of time. These definitions directly correspond to the way the Fort Marion art was produced as well as how the art collectors saw the artists themselves. For more information see Rhodes, *Outsider Art* and Charles Russell, *Self-taught Art: The Culture and Aesthetics of American Vernacular Art* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001).

he was neglecting his fiduciary responsibilities to care for the museum's Native American collections. He was systematically disposing of the museum's Indian basket collection in order to increase the museum's collection of chess sets and other objects.¹¹³ As a result of the historical events of the 1970s, private collectors and public institutions began a new era in collecting Native American art. And because the Fort Marion ledger drawings illustrated a time in history when Native Americans were literally being pushed and pulled between two cultures, trying to stay true to their own culture while struggling to assimilate into white culture, the artists produced a unique and exotic art. This is best exemplified in the drawing *Between Two Cultures* (fig. 33) by Wo-Haw, a Kiowa who was accused of being a combatant in the Red River War of 1874 and 1875 and then subsequently imprisoned at Fort Marion, as he acts as the dividing line between two worlds in opposition of each other. He obviously still relates to the world he knows through his Native dress and long hair, yet he looks towards the changing American landscapes of non-Native architecture and cattle farming. The prisoners at Fort Marion were figuratively forced to stand where Wo-Haw stands in his drawing during their time in St. Augustine, as both active Native leaders in opposition to white oppression and as experimental pawns in the assimilation tactics of white culture. The position of Fort Marion prisoners' was a unique one and out of their imprisonment, as Kiowa and Cheyenne warriors, came an artistic production that has become so popular among contemporary art collectors and museum institutions that it has risen above the status of

¹¹³ Patricia Failing, "The Maryhill Museum: A Case History of Cultural Abuse," *Art News* 76 (March 1977): 89.

Folk art, and is worth more than ledger art that has no association with Fort Marion in the contemporary art market.¹¹⁴

Since the drawings were not originally seen as high art but as tourist commodities, many drawings were lost or thrown away after generations of ownership.¹¹⁵ Currently, with the recent rise in interest in the drawings, the owners of the drawings are selling them off and treating them as exotic commodities of a “vanished” Indian past, essentially embracing authenticity as based in the new culture of collecting that has developed. The increases in value and collecting Fort Marion ledger drawings have also made some collectors disregard their past when discussing the issues surrounding the production of these works. Neglecting the unique history of these works would seem to indicate that their past should not affect the current collecting of them and that their past is irrelevant or has been overcomplicated. Arthur Silberman addresses his personal views on the subject by saying:

Evident in many of the drawings is a sense of innocence and euphoria, paradoxical, it would seem, coming from people in prison. Fort Marion art was by no means concentration camp art. It would also not be correct to ascribe it to an escapist or compensatory mechanism – the recalling of better days to make reality bearable. The Fort Marion experience was unique in Indian-white relations. At first, upon arrival, the men were demoralized and despondent fully expecting to be executed. However, soon they regained hope.¹¹⁶

Silberman recognizes that because the drawings were made in a prison environment, they have the potential for being viewed as “concentration camp art,” but he dismisses that view by saying that it is too obvious and untrue to subscribe to the idea that the prisoners

¹¹⁴ Christie’s Auction House, 20 June 2010
<http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=313757&sid=b93ef2bf-7605-42cf-ab51-ab373aed55c2>. On November 6, 1997, a book of Fort Marion ledger art was sold through Christie’s for \$74,000, while two ledger drawings unaffiliated with Fort Marion sold for \$2,070 on May, 25, 1999.

¹¹⁵ Szabo, *Fort Marion*, 8.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

simply made the art as a way to escape the terrible conditions of their confinement because the conditions were not terrible at the prison. The prisoners' lives at Fort Marion were not comparable to the conditions under which concentration camp victims lived with during their incarceration. Additionally, some Fort Marion prisoners' did indeed "soon regain hope" and even used their experiences at Fort Marion to thrive within the white American community after their release. On the other hand, the fact remains that they were forcibly separated from their culture and their families and thrown into a stone prison in order to be "Americanized." As Silberman states, the Fort Marion experience should not be directly compared to concentration camp art, yet both the Jewish people and Native Americans were punished because of their cultural heritage and belief systems. Silberman's quotation is echoed in the thoughts of Candace Greene and George Miles, two prominent scholars in the fields of Native American and American West art. Candace Greene, a scholar and the Head of Special Projects at the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian, writes that "the prisoners were evidently not coerced into making the drawings . . . and that while the prisoners deplored imprisonment, they celebrated the art production."¹¹⁷ Miles, having a similar opinion, also commented that "while he was sure that their relationship (between Pratt and the prisoners) was complicated, he has not seen much evidence to suggest that they were coerced into producing the drawings or compelled to surrender them to Pratt."¹¹⁸ Given the opportunity to make money from the constant flow of tourists that visited the prison, the choice for the Indian prisoners was probably not a hard one. However, that does not mean

¹¹⁷ Candace S. Greene, Special Projects, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, E-mail interview, 15 May 2010.

¹¹⁸ Miles, E-mail Interview, 11 May 2010.

that there is no evidence for coercion. Unlike the prisoners in concentration camps, the Fort Marion prisoners were not treated with brutal force, but the power that Pratt had over the Indian prisoners was one of a lighter, more effective construction of subtle manipulation.¹¹⁹

Because the Fort Marion ledger drawings were prisoner art and the artists were under the supervision of Pratt, who was involved in the management of all “prison industries,” which included the drawings, his relationship to the drawings and to the prisoners is an important and complicated one. These factors speak to the polarized relationship Pratt had with the ownership and sale of the ledger drawings as well as with the prisoners themselves. The photograph, “Captain Pratt and Indian boys posed in front of building, taken at Fort Marion, Florida in March or April 1878” (fig. 34), reflects Pratt’s pride in taking some of the supposedly “worst Indian criminals,” according to the US government, and converting them to a white system of dress and culture. The Native American men have been clothed in military uniforms and given ranks based on their Native system of rank. Pratt stands to the left of the second row from the bottom, but separates himself slightly, so the viewer does not forget who is in charge of the prisoners because although they have been reformed in their dress and manner, they are still prisoners. Pratt had a level of closeness with his prisoners that defied the conventional warden/prisoner relationship, which makes him as somewhat sympathetic character in the fight for Indian assimilation. Pratt understood that the Indian population needed to evolve in order to survive because their culture was seen as a stain on American culture and values. However, Pratt was “sworn as an army officer ‘to support and defend the

¹¹⁹ Foucault, *Discipline*, 209.

Constitution of the United States,' a document that provided 'All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to its jurisdiction, as citizens thereof.'" The Constitution was in direct opposition to the idea that Indians should be "imprisoned on separate tribal reservations."¹²⁰ Pratt wrote, he thought "the (Native American) race has been treated as inimical and alien to our interests and has never been admitted the opportunities to become the useful fellow citizens we extend to the immigrating races."¹²¹ Perhaps his opinion affected his role as warden and allowed him to develop personal relationships with many of the prisoners during their imprisonment, which continued even after they were released. Some continued their education at the Hampton Institute and went on to teach at the Carlisle Boarding School in Pennsylvania, where Pratt founded an Indian boarding school for children. Others continued to write to Pratt after they returned to the Indian Reservations, about reservation life and the frustrations and experiences that came with that life.¹²²

Pratt advocated for the prisoners' return or, at least, to have their families come and live at the prison with them, although he has ulterior motives that had to do with the success of his program. The prisoners were less likely to lose the "lifestyle they had adopted" after their release if their families took part in the process.¹²³ Pratt was worried about "his Indians" becoming the "wild savages" he had worked so hard to eradicate. He was also against reservation life for Indians and wanted Native Americans to be given the

¹²⁰ Pratt, 7.

¹²¹ Ibid, 116.

¹²² Szabo, "From General Souvenir to Personal Memento," 65.

¹²³ Pratt, 172. In a letter written to General P.H. Sheridan Pratt expresses his regret that the families of the prisoners were not there to "share the progress of the men . . . for these men will lose so much of what they have gained when they go back and join their wives and families who have not advanced."

same chance that had been offered “to the immigrating races.”¹²⁴ All of his motivations are illustrated in his now famous speech before the National Convention of Charities and Correction on June 28, 1892:

*A great General has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in a race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man.*¹²⁵

The simple meaning behind his speech is that to save the Native American man, the culture should be eradicated. He believed that the policy of separating Native Americans from white culture and onto reservations would only continue to add to the problems that were building between them and the government. By cutting their hair to a short length, keeping them clean, having them attend church, and forbidding them to wear scalp locks and breech cloths in favor of wearing uniforms, Pratt saw the once-feared Indian transformed into a reputable member of society.¹²⁶

As custodian of the prisoners, Pratt did not necessarily have the Indians’ best interests in the forefront of his mind. Pratt’s agenda was of the utmost importance and the Indians were there to help him achieve his goals. Pratt used the ledger books as an example of what could be achieved when Indians were given an opportunity to be productive. Pratt presented the Fort Marion drawings as gifts to important visitors, who might be of future benefit to Pratt or to his assimilationist plan.¹²⁷ The recipients of the ledger books ranged from generals and bishops to wealthy East coast humanitarians. Pratt gifted the ledger books and drawings as part of his political campaign agenda, which was to get rid of the reservations and unite the prisoners with their families. Pratt

¹²⁴ Ibid, 116.

¹²⁵ Lookingbill, 6.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 74.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 74. Also Szabo, “From General Souvenir to Personal Memento,” 51.

presented a book in Washington, D.C. drawn by Making Medicine (Cheyenne) and Zotom (Kiowa), which had earlier and later drawings from each of the artists. The earlier drawings represented their life on the Plains (fig. 32), while the later drawings represented their captivity and travel to Fort Marion (fig. 35). According to Pratt, the dichotomy between the two ledger drawings visualized the positive evolution that the Indians had made under his guidance. Pratt thought that the prisoners were illustrating what their lives had been like before their imprisonment and then how they had evolved physically and culturally as a result of his “encouragement, discipline, employment and education.”¹²⁸

The curiosity from the general public about Fort Marion prisoners resulted in visitors’ hours and public performances to cultivate the “utmost freedom between visitors and Indians” in order to promote a better understanding between white and Indian cultures.¹²⁹ Tourists were welcomed every day except Sundays, a policy that upset some visitors, who thought the prisoners should be displayed seven days a week.¹³⁰ For white tourists, visiting the Fort Marion prisoners was a way to experience the exotic Native American in a controlled setting. Visitors flocked to the Fort, wanting to see the Plains Indians they were reading about in dime novels and imagining in lowbrow theater, such as Buffalo Bill’s play *Scouts of the Plains* (fig. 36).¹³¹ During the period of the Fort Marion prisoners’ incarceration, the historic Battle of Little Big Horn took place, which added an element of perceived danger to the existing interest by the public.¹³² Even

¹²⁸ Szabo, “From General Souvenir to Personal Memento,” 52.

¹²⁹ Pratt, 120.

¹³⁰ For discussion on the crowds, see Lookingbill, 83-84.

¹³¹ Lookingbill, 82. The popularity of the Indian drama, *Scouts of the Plains*, 1873-74, led to the development of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1883, which became a national and international success.

¹³² Pratt, 53.

though the Fort Marion prisoners were not involved in Little Bighorn, many tourists associated the prisoners at Fort Marion with the Native Americans fighting in Plains Indian wars. Pratt did his best to dispel “negative opinions generated elsewhere and improve views of the Native prisoners in his charge” through performances, such as the “buffalo” hunt held on an Independence Day celebration in 1875.¹³³

The prisoners performed many different types of entertainment for the enjoyment of countless tourists. These public performances were similar to the Indian displays included in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and at the World’s Fairs, such as the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition held in Seattle in 1909. For example, prisoners gave archery lessons to the public and held archery contests, since this activity was a popular women’s sport at the end of the nineteenth century (fig. 37). One Kiowa prisoner, Etahdleuh Doanmoe, sang a love song for his audience. One of the most elaborate performances was at the St. Augustine Yacht Club (fig. 38), where two Indian prisoners fought a bull. The bullfight was staged as a contest to show the Indians as expert horsemen and in order to prove that “Pratt’s Indians” were more skillful and manly than the bullfighters in the Spanish tradition of bullfighting.¹³⁴ Two Indian contestants on horseback were pitted against a huge bull named Toro, without the aid of a gun, bows, or arrows. One of the men, White Horse, used his knife and stabbed the bull in the loin, severing the spinal column of the animal, which instantly killed it. As part of the show, White Horse then dismounted his horse, slit a hole in the bull’s side, pulled out the kidney, and proceeded to eat it raw to the

¹³³ Joyce M. Szabo, *Imprisoned Art, Complex Patronage: Plains Drawings by Howling Wolf and Zotom at the Autry National Center* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011), 39.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 54. Also Lookingbill, 89.

horror and delight of the crowd.¹³⁵ The desire of the public for this type of Indian performance was mirrored by Pratt's own desire for wanting to be a showman analogous to Buffalo Bill. Pratt eventually ended the performances because "they were not calculated to promote any advantage to the interracial respect" and assimilation of the Indians was his ultimate goal, not the entertainment of the visitors.¹³⁶ Pratt writes "had he been so minded, he could have handled the Indians more wisely and out "Buffalo Billed" Mr. Cody in his line."¹³⁷

Pratt's quote points to his belief that the prisoners, their performances, and their art production would and should bend under his ultimate will. Although short-lived, the Indian performances were a way of manipulating the Indian captives into performing on command for a white audience. This idea extends to the production and selling of the ledger drawings to the public as well. The public did not appreciate Native American culture for its right to be a part of American culture, but instead understood them to be outsiders and polluters of what was now a white-centered society in America. Thus, although Native culture was in jeopardy of becoming extinct, American audiences wanted to see the so-called savage side of the Native American. The thrilling experience of watching a Native American perform in a show or create a craft for sale was akin to watching them in their Native environment, which, in reality, was no longer possible. Native life on the Plains had become restricted to reservations, which they were not allowed to leave.¹³⁸ Native artists were not valued by many of the tourists or collectors in

¹³⁵ According to the firsthand account of Nye in his book, Wilbur S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), 250-53.

¹³⁶ Pratt, *Battlefield*, 121.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ In most cases Indians were not allowed to leave the reservations unless they went to boarding school or participated in performances or displays, such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West or in World's Fairs.

the same way as white artists. Native art was seen as “the union of America’s imagined Indian and the West’s historical fascination with non-Western, or ‘primitive,’ objects.”¹³⁹ For the tourists, the value of ledger drawings came from the documentation of a vacation they had in St. Augustine as well as from the object being a “relic of a primitive race” that was soon vanishing.¹⁴⁰ For the artists who produced the ledger drawings, the value came from the money that was received from the sale of the drawings to the tourists.

At the time when the ledger drawings were being produced, the city of Saint Augustine and the many groups of people were benefitting from the prisoners selling their ledger drawings. The various groups included tourists, Pratt, and the artists themselves.¹⁴¹ Tourists traveled from all over the country to view the Indian chiefs and warriors before their culture completely “disappeared” and they were assimilated into white culture. Visitors were also attracted to the “thrilling” pseudo-danger of such encounters and the opportunity to witness for themselves a nearly “extinct” race. Bought by visitors, the ledger art was being sold as souvenirs for the white public. A variety of different ledger books were available for \$2 per book, or the tourist could buy the drawings individually for a lesser price.¹⁴² For some tourists, the books represented a souvenir of their experience at Fort Marion and for others, the ledger drawings served as an example of the betterment of the Indians’ lives during their incarceration.¹⁴³ The ledger books were also given to teachers and interpreters employed at the school in Fort Marion. George Fox, an interpreter pictured in the lower right of the drawing smoking

¹³⁹ Margaret D. Dubin, *Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 11.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Lookingbill, 104.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 85. Also Szabo, “From General Souvenir to Personal Memento,” 49.

¹⁴³ Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 70.

his pipe, was depicted in many Fort Marion ledger drawings (fig. 12). Finally, the artists themselves also benefitted from the monetary value of the ledger drawings and from the proceeds of their performances. But if there is anything that these ledger drawings can communicate to contemporary observers, it is that the artists who made them were not simply making a living producing art, but were coerced as a result of their captivity. In the drawing *Shingling the Roof* (fig. 39), by Making Medicine, the prisoners are shown re-shingling the roof, while three guards stand and watch over them. It seems doubtful that any activity of any kind was performed without a guard present. Why would the activity of drawing be any different? And if that were the case, then the implied and subtle force would also accompany the presence of a guard at the prison. It is true that there is certainly more pleasure that comes from drawing a picture than from shingling a roof, but the outcome of the activity is not what is important here. The coercion or regulation of prisoners according to Foucault “does so not for power itself . . . its aim is to strengthen the social forces – to increase production and to develop the economy.”¹⁴⁴ After all, the artists who sold their ledger drawings did not ultimately have control of the drawings themselves or the monetary gain. In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the monetary value, which has been solely for the benefit of the collectors, past and present, most, if not all, of whom are non-Native.

Since the drawings are not nationally designated “cultural property” or grave goods and have no legal issues associated with them, then does the public have the responsibility to think about the complexity of their past history? How do these drawings fit within our complex history of Indian-white relations in the nineteenth century as well

¹⁴⁴ Foucault, *Discipline*, 208.

as today? Many of the drawings come from private collectors, descendants of the original tourists as well as from Pratt's descendants, and there is no way to know if the artists gave or sold Pratt the drawings or if some were taken. Many of the drawings are arranged in groupings based on stylistic analysis, but the artists of the drawings are for the most part still anonymous, because without a signature on the drawings, there is no way to determine who the specific Indian artist was. Also, descendants of the artists, according to Candace Greene, see the selling of the artwork as a natural transaction. Plains Indian people (Kiowa and Cheyenne) have a strong sense of individual rights, which would agree with Western law about transferring title through sale.¹⁴⁵ Yet the implied ethical issue associated with ownership of these drawings by non-Native collectors creates a moral problem in lieu of a legal one. The Silbermans and other collectors seem to be opening discussion about these drawings and their complex histories in order to hopefully change the perception of the public to include the Native American experience in America's history as a part of their own history rather than in opposition to it.

In the face of assimilation and constant surveillance, Native Americans in captivity produced art as a way to endure, and sometimes subtly resist, the white culture that sought to destroy their traditional values and culture.¹⁴⁶ The success of ledger art production at Fort Marion can be measured by the way in which art education was taught to the younger generation of Indians in boarding schools at the turn of the century, as well as through the monetary success the selling and auctioning of these works have had

¹⁴⁵ Greene, Email interview. Greene does not discuss how artists' descendants feel about the current collecting and selling of the ledger drawings at auction houses.

¹⁴⁶ Hutchinson, 88.

recently. The educational training, particularly in art production, of the prisoners at Fort Marion became the standard on which later off-reservation Indian boarding schools were modeled.¹⁴⁷ The same assimilation tactics were used in boarding schools that were used in Fort Marion, such as cutting off the students' hair, stripping them of their native clothes, and forbidding them to use their native language, as exemplified in the two photographs by J. N. Choate showing the before and after shots of Mary Perry, John Chaves, and Bennie Thomas, who were Pueblo Indians (figs. 40 & 41). These Indian students were also encouraged to produce art for the public, similar to Fort Marion prisoners selling art to the public, such as weaving (fig. 42) and beadwork (fig. 43), although the profits were not likely kept by the students at the boarding schools.¹⁴⁸ Recently, as noted above, the success of Fort Marion ledger drawings has been through the sale of these drawings at auction. George Miles and Candace Greene both noted that the original collectors of ledger drawings could not have known of the "aftermarket" value that has developed in recent years. Collectors such as the Silbermans realize that with the rise in the "aftermarket" value, their responsibility to openly engage with the complicated and questionable ethics of the past increases. By working with University educators and scholars, with the ultimate goal of shedding light on this time in history when tensions between Native and non-Native people were at their peak, collectors and scholars alike have begun to work in a positive direction.

Chapter 2

¹⁴⁷ Lookingbill, 5. For discussion on the early 20th century curriculum set in Indian boarding schools on art production, see Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 79-99.

¹⁴⁸ Hutchinson, 89.

On the Borders of Cultural and Self-Identification in Buffalo Bill's Wild West at the end of the Nineteenth Century

“Tell this fool that I did not murder Custer; it was a fight in open day. He would have killed me if he could. I have answered to my people for the dead on my side. Let Custer's friends answer to his people for the dead on his side.”

Sitting Bull, 1885¹⁴⁹

“Let the people consider instead for Indians forced by the government to farm or run cattle on marginal lands with only meager assistance to fall back on should crops fail or cattle sicken and die. Traveling would enable the Show Indians to appreciate the inevitability of progress as represented in the numbers, achievements, and technology of ‘the white race.’”

Cody's argument, against the criticism by reformers, for allowing Indians to perform in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 1886¹⁵⁰

With the promise of its arrival in the advertising posters in the United States and France (figs. 44 & 45), Buffalo Bill's Wild West was the new frontier of theater in which white masculine as well as Native American identities could be played out for a national and international audience. Buffalo Bill's Wild West began at the end of the nineteenth century and continued into the early twentieth century, until William Cody could no longer compete with moving pictures, which projected the “old West” for thousands all across the nation, so he announced his “farewell” in 1910 (fig. 46).¹⁵¹ Buffalo Bill's Wild West was the first of its kind in America, but as the twentieth century approached it became one among many such phenomena. Cody's success was

¹⁴⁹ L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 28. Sitting Bull's answer when a representative from the Indian Rights Association asked if he had any regret for his share in the Custer massacre.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

¹⁵¹ Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 234. See also Sam Maddra, *Hostiles?: The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 415.

due in part to his showman personality as a masculine hero from the Wild West.¹⁵² However, he could not have produced a successful show without the performers, yet the performers alone did not necessarily make a successful show either. For example, Howling Wolf (fig. 47), a Southern Cheyenne warrior and former prisoner at Fort Marion, participated in a small Wild West show in Texas after his release, in order to get away from “the reality of reservation life,” but neither he nor the show had notoriety before he died.¹⁵³ Another well-known Native American, Sitting Bull (fig. 14), the Hunkpapa medicine man with influence among the Lakota, went on a brief tour in 1884 without much success before he joined Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1885.¹⁵⁴ Buffalo Bill’s Wild West had a prolific effect on the public’s perceptions of Native Americans, while also allowing the Indian performers the ability to exercise some small freedoms as well as their own voice and identities while traveling with the show. Unfortunately, the Indian performers could not control the interpretation of their message because the government and the white public managed how the message would be relayed in the media. Within his Wild West extravaganza, Cody forged his own identity as well as fostered the public’s imagination of Indian identities, which created his successful Wild West show. Cody not only influenced how the white public

¹⁵² Maddra, 148-9. Cody had long hair, which was considered to be a feminine trait when looking at the physical appearance of a Native American man. Yet, because of his ability to grow a beard, he was seen as very masculine. Many Native American men ‘with their bare faces, makes them difficult to tell, at a glance, from the women,’ according to British observers. See also Jill Jones, *Eiffel's Tower: And the World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count* (New York, N.Y.: Viking, 2009), 121. The idea of “National Manhood” was tied to the land as well as in physical strength, hardiness, and endurance. See also Sherry L. Smith, “George Bird Grinnell and the ‘vanishing’ Plains Indians,” *Montana: the Magazine of Western History* 50.3 (2000): 22.

¹⁵³ Szabo, *Imprisoned Art*, 50.

¹⁵⁴ Moses, 26.

came to view American history, but also how Native Americans saw themselves as well as perceived white “civilization.”

Towards the end of the nineteenth century in America, the public had a preformed image of the Native American from the published accounts of captivity and torture by white settlers, such as Mary Rowlandson, which spread across the country, as well as from the newly popularized dime novels of Western heroes like “Buffalo Bill” Cody, whose life was first sensationalized in Ned Buntline’s *Buffalo Bill, King of the Border Men*.¹⁵⁵ The American public’s actual exposure to Native Americans derived mostly from newspaper accounts and from images such as those on coins (fig. 48) and the carved Cigar Store Indians, which were placed in front of a tobacco stores as advertisements (fig. 49).¹⁵⁶ Although newspaper articles dealt with many issues during an era besieged by what was called the “Indian problem,” circulation and influence of those articles was limited to the surrounding areas of publication. For instance, the *New York Times* published thousands of articles on this subject from 1860 through 1900, but many of the readers were restricted to New York and there was a “great deal of public apathy and ignorance on the topic.”¹⁵⁷ Europeans had even less knowledge of Native Americans, especially before the tour of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in 1887.¹⁵⁸

The expectation of the white public was that Native Americans were tied to the

¹⁵⁵ William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: Norton, 1986), 288. Ned Buntline’s dime novel was the first of more than 500 published accounts of the exploits of Buffalo Bill.

¹⁵⁶ Eleanor Gross, *Containing the Indian Threat: Cigar-store Indians in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Master’s Thesis, University of Washington, 2011). See also Moses, *Wild West Shows*, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Hays, 255.

¹⁵⁸ Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower: And the World’s Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count* (New York, N.Y.: Viking, 2009), 130. The last French encounter with American Indians was the tour of George Caitlin’s 500 works of art, in which he brought twelve Iowa Indians, a half a century before Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show came to France in 1887.

American landscape, which was slowly disappearing as civilization was spreading across the West, implying the demise of the Indian population. In John Mix Stanley's *Group of Piegan Indians* of 1867 (fig. 50), Native Americans are centrally located within the landscape around them. One Piegan Indian, located to the left of the boulder, gazes out into the seemingly infinite space in front of him. The other Native American men form smaller groups that surround the space on the cliff and look comfortable in their natural surroundings. The Indian standing on the boulder, holds his staff defiantly, laying claim to the landscape as under the control and possession of the men surrounding it, thus designating the Indians as concretely planted in the Western landscape. Although the guns, painted at the feet of the two Indians in front of the boulder, suggest trade happening with white frontiersman as well as the need for protection from invading pioneers and other groups of Native Americans. The Indians are masters over the Western landscape, but whether they will stay in that position is questioned. As John Mix Stanley implies in his placement of the Indians within a natural setting, Indians could not be placed in a modern context of a city or in another industrialized setting. Theodore Roosevelt wrote in his 1913 autobiography "that the land of the West has gone now, 'gone, gone with lost Atlantis,' gone to the isle of ghosts and of strange dead memories."¹⁵⁹ Roosevelt was referring to the realization that America's landscape was not infinite¹⁶⁰ and with the settling of the American West, the

¹⁵⁹ Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 225.

¹⁶⁰ The 1890 Census Report declared an end to the frontier. See Brian W. Dippie, "This Bold but Wasting Race: Stereotypes and American Indian Policy," *Montana: the Magazine of Western History* 23.1 (1973): 11.

Indian population was soon to be ‘gone, gone’ like the Western landscape and the buffalo would soon be gone too.¹⁶¹

The idea that the Native American race was doomed to slowly die out was popularized by the early eighteenth century. Associate Justice Joseph Story, a lawyer who served on the Supreme Court of the United States from 1811 to 1845, gave a speech in 1828 to commemorate the first settlement of Salem, Massachusetts, in which he stated, ‘by a law of their nature, they seem destined to a slow but sure extinction. Everywhere, at the approach of the white man, they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone for ever. They pass mournfully by us, and they return no more.’¹⁶² The established “Vanishing Race” theory had been prevalent in the American mind ever since this pronouncement, despite various Indian experts proving that theory to be completely false. A pamphlet from 1877 by the Bureau of Education “suggested strongly that the Indian birthrate actually exceeded the death rate, and that the Indian population was on the rise.”¹⁶³ Yet, the Vanishing Race theory was so strong in the American mind that “it remains potent to this day.”¹⁶⁴ Tompkins H. Matteson’s 1847 painting, *The Last of the Race* (fig. 51), underscores the public stereotype at the time that the Native American population was indeed doomed to live on only in history books. In a similar figural formation to Stanley’s *Group of Piegan Indians* (fig. 50) placed on a boulder, the

¹⁶¹ Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 225. Association with the “sad fate of the buffalo” is exemplified in this poem:

*On reservations now the blood grows cold
In savage veins, where once ‘twas fierce and bold.
The Indian-proud-is destined soon to go,
As in the Passing of the Buffalo.*

¹⁶² Dippie, *Wasting Race*, 3.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

central figure in Matteson's painting forms the compositional pinnacle of the figure grouping and looks as though he carries the burden of responsibility for the small group. He has his head down and his hand on his chin in contemplation of what is to be done with the last of his race. Two figures on either side of the central figure are slumped over in mourning of the many members of their group that have been lost to civilization, while the woman to the far right is clutching to her baby and looking back in fear of what is behind them. Although they seem to be physically healthy, their demise is inevitable. Yet, the 1840's brought with it new public policies that confronted the idea of the "Non-vanishing American" who was to be assimilated and made to join "civilization."¹⁶⁵ Brian W. Dippie, emeritus faculty at the University of Victoria, argues that a reversal of the Non-vanishing American returned after the congressional passage of the General Allotment Act in 1887, which "projected once again his disappearance through absorption."¹⁶⁶ The ink drawing, *The Last of His Race* (fig. 52), 1899, by Charles M. Russell, explores the sentiment and reality of the fate of the Indian. Although the Native American pictured is certainly not the "last of his race" as the title implies, the scene was not a total fabrication either. The Indian in the drawing would have been "instantly recognized by any resident of Great Falls," Montana, as one of the many homeless Cree, Chippewa, or Metis people.¹⁶⁷ The Indian looks withered and defeated as he slumps onto the stick he is holding. The decrepit man's old age and relationship to a distant past is further accentuated when compared to the young, vibrant New Woman who is passing by him. She represents all that is

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 9.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 11.

¹⁶⁷ Alexander Nemerov, "Projecting the Future: Film and Race in the Art of Charles Russell," *American Art* 8.1 (1994): 83.

modern and new in her style of dress and in her independence as she rides alone on the road. The road diagonally divides the landscape, which separates the “civilized” cityscape of Great Falls from the “uncivilized” surrounding hills where the homeless Native people lived. The clouds of smoke emanating from the smokestack in the left background form a scene of “ghostly warriors hunting ghostly buffalo.”¹⁶⁸ The “ghostly” past of the Indian and the buffalo is echoed in the left foreground with the buffalo skull that points in the direction of the hills and away from civilization. The buffalo was just as much a part of the American past as the Indian. In Remington’s painting, *Conjuring Back the Buffalo*, 1892 (fig. 53), “a lone Indian is appealing the return of the buffalo and a disappearing way of life.”¹⁶⁹ Though the Indian is compared with the near-extinct buffalo, what seemed to be disappearing was the way of life that the Indian and the buffalo shared before white civilization appropriated Indian land. Similarly to white American audiences’ view of the “vanishing” Indian, Europeans’ echoed that sentiment with the performers in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West as “fine old specimen(s) of the decaying red man.”¹⁷⁰

Whether or not Buffalo Bill believed that the Indian race was “vanishing” is not known, however he certainly promoted them according to that belief as a way to draw the American and European public to his shows. During the European tour, the British public perceived the Lakota performers “as exotic ‘specimens’; according to the prevailing concept of Social Darwinism, they were representatives of an inferior and

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 82-83.

¹⁶⁹ Brian W. Dippie, “Photographic Allegories and Indian Destiny,” *Montana: the Magazine of Western History* 42.3 (1992): 55.

¹⁷⁰ Maddra, 152. The Manchester Weekly Times made this statement about Lone Bull during the Wild West tour in England.

doomed race whose survivors would be integrated into the dominant world of white civilization.”¹⁷¹ In this advertisement for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West (fig. 54), the Indian in the foreground is dancing around a fiery red pit in a feather headdress and loincloth. The dramatic red lighting of the fire highlights the dancer’s body, such that his eyes are replaced with glowing red holes in his face, enhancing his “savagery” and “wildness.” The text at the bottom of the poster focuses on the fact that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West has “Real Redskins and Realistic Frontier scenes.” Including “authentic” Indians was paramount for the success of his Wild West show because of the public’s insatiable appetite for the adventure and danger of the Wild West combined with their interest in a genuine retelling of Western history, including the involvement of the Native population. The thrill of the audience came from being so close to the action and witnessing first-hand theatrical displays of Native American shooting prowess, as recreated in this poster (fig. 55), as a Native American literally takes aim and has the viewer in his sights. In a note to Cody by Mark Twain, the famous author, he explained that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West ‘brought vividly back the breezy, wild life of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, and stirred me like a war song. Down to its smallest details, the show was genuine . . . it is wholly free from sham and insincerity and the effects it produced upon me by its spectacles were identical with those wrought upon me a long time ago by the same spectacles on the frontier.’¹⁷²

Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was assuredly not the only Wild West performance in the country and was only one more of a hundred from 1883 to the 1930s, but it was the

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 148.

¹⁷² Daryl Jones, *The Dime Novel Western* (Bowling Green: Popular Press, Bowling Green State University, 1978), 64.

first and most successful Wild West show of its time.¹⁷³ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Richard Pratt held performances for the public during the period of the Fort Marion prisoners' incarceration from 1875 to 1878. However, Pratt had not "out 'Buffalo Billed' Mr. Cody,"¹⁷⁴ because parading Indians around in performances did not fit within Pratt's agenda of Indian assimilation. Other Wild West shows, such as Cheyenne Bill's Big Show and Pawnee Bill's Wild West show, had limited success. Cheyenne Bill, aka William J. Gabriel, gained notoriety during his "removal of Chief Little Chief and the Cheyenne Indian from Pine Ridge, Dakota, to Fort Keogh, Montana, after the close of the Wounded Knee campaign in the fall of 1888" and performed a show at the Seattle Fair in 1909 with several Sioux Chiefs (fig. 56), who fought under Sitting Bull.¹⁷⁵ One of the highlights of the show was the re-creation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which took place on September 11th, 1857, in Southern Utah. Ironically, this event has been deemed 'a crime that has no parallel in American history for atrocity,' because a group of militia members made up of Utah's Mormon settlers, dressed as Southern Paiute Indians, were the attackers of the emigrant wagon train.¹⁷⁶ A total of about 120 innocent men, women, and children were killed by the militia members. The reason behind the massacre is still somewhat elusive. However, by the time that the massacre was recreated for American audiences in 1909, nine indictments had been made and the public knew who had been at fault for the death of the Kansas emigrants. Yet, the show presented "Sioux Indians

¹⁷³ Allen L. Farnum et al., *Pawnee Bill's Historic Wild West: A Photo Documentary of the 1900-1905 Show Tours* (West Chester: Schiffer Pub, 1992), 11.

¹⁷⁴ Pratt, *Battlefield*, 121.

¹⁷⁵ "Cheyenne Bill's Well-Known Wild West Show to Give Its First Performance Next Saturday Night," *Seattle Times*, July 13, 1909: D1.

¹⁷⁶ Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), xiii.

exterminating a small colony of whites,” instead of the actual murderers, the members of the Utah Territorial Militia.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, it is not known whether the Indian performers knew the truth behind the reenactment. A journalist from the *Seattle Times* in 1909 noted that many of the performers could not speak English and even the ones that did have an education “reverted to the savage tongue and customs of their forefathers.”¹⁷⁸ White audiences seldom heard native voices whether they could speak English or not. Interestingly, in a speech made by Sitting Bull during the 1884 Alvaren Allen tour in Philadelphia, a white translator purposely altered his words. As remembered by Standing Bear, a young Lakota man and a student of the Carlisle Indian School, Sitting Bull discussed how there was a great need for an end to the fighting between his culture and white American culture as well as an obligation to educate Indian children.¹⁷⁹ Yet, his words were “translated” into an elaborate story of his involvement in Little Bighorn, “complete with warriors springing from ambush to wipe out all of Custer’s soldiers.”¹⁸⁰ Sitting Bull’s involvement in the exhibition tour brought in packed houses, but ultimately the Standing Rock Indian agent, James McLaughlin (fig. 57), “turned aside efforts to have Sitting Bull appear in the Dakota exhibits at the forthcoming New Orleans Exposition.”¹⁸¹ Sitting Bull’s next performance would be with the legendary showman Buffalo Bill, who had been trying to get Sitting Bull to join his show for some time. Another showman, Pawnee Bill, also recruited certain Native Americans for their popularity and fame. Major Gordon W.

¹⁷⁷ “Cheyenne Bill’s Well-Known Wild West Show,” *Seattle Times*.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Robert M. Utley, *Sitting Bull: The Life and Times of an American Patriot* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 2008), 263.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 264.

Lillie, or Pawnee Bill as he would later be called, had toured with Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1883 as an interpreter and manager of the Pawnee Indians who had been hired to appear in the show. After a few seasons with Buffalo Bill, however, Pawnee Bill had the idea to start his own Wild West show and marketed his own show similarly to Buffalo Bill's Wild West.¹⁸² Lillie included Geronimo, a Chiricahua Apache, who had been the leader of "significant Indian guerrilla action in the United States" during the last half of the nineteenth century until he surrendered to General Miles in 1887.¹⁸³ Geronimo is shown at the center in a poster (fig. 58) from the 1906 season as 'the worst Indian that ever lived.'¹⁸⁴ Eventually Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill joined their two competing shows together in 1909 and renamed it "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Pawnee Bill's Far East." Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill continued as partners until 1913, when Buffalo Bill retired and the combined show was forced to close due to Buffalo Bill's debts.¹⁸⁵ Although Cody was not a savvy businessman, he managed to maintain his show for thirty years, and it remains one of the most infamous Wild West shows ever created. Buffalo Bill's Wild West had the success that previous theatrical productions lacked because of Cody's use of authentic historical figures and Western histories (fig. 59), which were cultivated by his long history of appropriation and showman personality.

William Frederick Cody's nickname of "Buffalo Bill" reflected his showman ego, established as a result of his "exploits as a buffalo hunter employed by

¹⁸² Farnum, 7.

¹⁸³ Peter Nabokov, *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992* (New York: Viking, 1991), 112.

¹⁸⁴ Farnum, 2.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

construction crews of the Kansas Pacific Railroad,”¹⁸⁶ also echoed his beginnings as a storyteller and dime novel hero. Later during Cody’s career in the American military, he told stories that falsely yet strategically placed him in a crucial role in the conflicts and in the resolution of those events. Continuing in the theatrical tradition, the exaggerated reenactments of those events in his Wild West show had historical importance in the minds of American audiences while also relating to his dime novel character as a gun-wielding Indian killer.¹⁸⁷ Cody’s appropriation of being an “all American hero” who helped to “tame” the West was a fundamental reason for the success of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West within the United States and internationally, while conjointly perpetuating the negative stereotype of the “savage” Native American within the minds of Americans and Europeans. Buffalo Bill used the public’s view of Native Americans to mold his Wild West show performances in a way that would elevate his own identity as a masculine hero. Compared to the photograph of Cody as a younger buffalo killer (fig. 60), the cover from a Buffalo Bill dime novel (fig. 61) shows him as an Indian killer and elevates his status to a “real” Wild West pioneer and explorer.¹⁸⁸ His gun toting, action celebrity status in dime novels transferred over to the show seamlessly.

¹⁸⁶ Jones, 61-65. Cody was one of a few hunters under contract with the Kansas Pacific Railroad to supply the rail crews with buffalo meat. Because the nickname “Buffalo Bill” was originally given to another man, Bill Comstock, Cody challenged Comstock to a shooting match for the exclusive right to the nickname, which Cody won.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 62. Critics of the play, *The Scouts of the Plains*, did not react favorably to the amount of gunplay and Indian killing.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 25. Cody’s nickname and showman personality eventually caught the attention of the veteran writer, Edward Zane Carroll Judson, also known as “Ned Bluntline,” who was looking for a new dime novel hero. Not only did Cody have a catchy name, but he also had many stories of his exploits in the West. The success of the dime novel, originally titled “Buffalo Bill, the King of the Border Men” in 1869, led Buffalo Bill to “struck [strike] out on his own.” His decision to create a Wild West show only added to his popularity among the public, and he was featured in several hundred more dime novels in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

John Burke (fig. 62), the press agent for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, promoted the show as educational which pictured the "real life open spaces of the Western plains and the eternal fight between the white and the Indians."¹⁸⁹ The idea of presenting the Indians as a part of a living history was intricately connected to people's notions that displaying indigenous cultures had ethnological value. A local Atlanta newspaper journalist for *The Constitution* wrote, "Buffalo Bill's show had been accepted as the 'key to all,' and was voted the most genuine of ethnological exhibits from its composition of so many races and nationalities."¹⁹⁰ Nate Salisbury, Buffalo Bill's business manager (fig. 63), told an interviewer at Atlanta's Midway Heights Fair that "a 'negro village' would be a part of the concession and that it too would be ethnological" like the Indian villages, which were part of the performances.¹⁹¹ Since images similar to Irving R. Bacon's *Conquest of the Prairie* of 1908 (fig. 64) commonly associated Indians with sleeping outdoors in Teepees on the Plains, Indian Villages were set up outside fair grounds during the tour of Buffalo Bill's Wild West (fig. 65). The Indians were never allowed to sleep or stay in a hotel, presumably because they were banned by local laws, as other performers did, but lived in the encampments set up beside the performance grounds, as part of living exhibitions within the show.¹⁹² During the Paris Exposition of 1889, the Indian Village fascinated the Parisian public, especially the

¹⁸⁹ Naila Clerici, "Native Americans in Columbus's Home Land: A Show within the Show," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, Christian F. Feest (Aachen: Alano Verlag/Edition Herodot, 1989), 415.

¹⁹⁰ As quoted in Robert W. Rydell's *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 96-97.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁹² Daniele Fiorentino, "'Those Red-Brick Faces': European Press Reactions to the Indians of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, Christian F. Feest (Aachen: Alano Verlag/Edition Herodot, 1989), 408. *Le Petit Journal*, a Paris journal, was referring to the mistreatment and discrimination of the Indians on tour with Buffalo Bill's Wild West when discussing the separation between Colonel Cody and his friends from the rest of the performers in their living and travel quarters.

women, who were delighted by their “lack of dress.”¹⁹³ At the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha of 1898, Buffalo Bill’s two-day show was hailed as “the greatest ethnological event in the world,” which will teach “the splendid position held by Uncle Sam in the council of powers of the Earth.”¹⁹⁴ From the white perspective, the Native Americans’ inherent inability to evolve as white culture had done demonstrates their lack of power, giving Uncle Sam (America) the position of having power over Native Americans and other indigenous cultures. From Cody’s perspective, he certainly had control over much of the content in the performances and even proclaimed himself the ultimate hero in many of the historical events, which were played out on the Wild West arena.

The first of these historical events, which were enacted on the Buffalo Bill’s Wild West stage, was the fight at Summit Springs, sometimes referred to as Susanna Springs, Colorado. On stage, Buffalo Bill took credit for the rescue of two white women, who were being held captive by a Cheyenne group of Native Americans called the Dog Soldiers. In Cody’s autobiography, he also took credit for the killing of the Dog Soldiers leader, Chief Tall Bull (fig. 66), a point that was corroborated later by General Eugene Carr.¹⁹⁵ According to Cody, “when he (Tall Bull) was not more than thirty yards distant I fired, and the next moment he tumbled from the saddle, and the horse kept on without his rider.”¹⁹⁶ In Buffalo Bill’s Wild West poster of the death of

¹⁹³ Jonnes, 131.

¹⁹⁴ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, 120. The publication, *Omaha Bee*, was referencing the “ethnological parade” headed by Buffalo Bill and the Indian Congress.

¹⁹⁵ James Jefferson Broome, *Dog Soldier Justice: The Ordeal of Susanna Alderdice in the Kansas Indian War* (Lincoln: Lincoln County Historical Society, 2003), 167-169. Carr gave Cody an account for his Wild West show, although Carr also wrote a letter of recommendation for Sergeant Daniel McGrath, in 1901, who he gives credit for killing Tall Bull.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 170.

Tall Bull (fig. 67), Tall Bull is depicted on his horse in the high bluffs near his village. Buffalo Bill has taken his shot and successfully killed Tall Bull, but in reality Cody's involvement was minor and whether he was involved at all in the rescue of the two captive women from the Dog Soldiers is questionable.¹⁹⁷ Cody was part of the military party, led by General Carr, on the Republican River Expedition that was sent to find the Dog Soldiers. They were sent after the Dog Soldiers because they had not only taken many white women captive in the past, but also were violent and beyond government control. Less than a year earlier, General Custer had "recaptured" two women, Sarah White and Veronica Morgan, from the same group of men.¹⁹⁸ Being taken captive, and held by Indian captors, was a legitimate fear for white female settlers during the American movement across the Great Plains. Plains Indians did not take kindly to white settlers staking claim on land they believed was theirs and had been theirs for centuries beforehand.¹⁹⁹ Attacking wagon trains of settlers and taking captives was a way for Plains Indians to instill fear in settlers, who were moving westward, while also repopulating their own dwindling populations due to war and disease. Paintings such as Emanuel Leutze's *Indians Attacking a Wagon Train* of 1863 (fig. 68) and Carl Wimar's *The Attack on the Emigrant Train* of 1856 (fig. 69) depicted the white settlers defending their women and children from the savage and cruel Indian attackers. The fear and anxiety of possible captivity was a prevalent part of the "Western experience"

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 152-153. In Cody's autobiography, he discussed women's shoe prints that he saw at one of the deserted Dog Soldier camps, but captive women would have worn moccasins and not Western style clothing or shoes.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 145. Based on the accounts of both women as well as a letter written by Mrs. Morgan to her congressman explaining how she was taken prisoner on August 13th, 1868, and rescued by Custer on March 18th, 1869.

¹⁹⁹ Because of factors, such as the differences between how white settlers defined owning land versus how Native Americans defined land ownership, the white settlers believed they had the "right" to populate and own indigenous lands.

in the minds of white culture, so naturally Buffalo Bill wanted to include a performance of Indians attacking emigrant wagons as well as the reenactment of the fight at Susanna Springs was one such performance. The similarity between scenes of Indians attacking the immigrant wagons on the cover of Buffalo Bill's program (fig. 13) to the Indians attacking the white settlers in the paintings by Leutze as well as by Wimar is immediately apparent. The imagery of the two paintings and the program cover, all composed by white artists, would have the viewer believe that hordes of brutal Native American warriors would attack wagon trains filled with innocent white women and children without provocation or purpose. Many times, as was the case at the battle at Susanna Springs, the fighting was not exclusively between white settlers on one side and Indian warriors on the other. White artists did not take into account that not all Indians were from the same social group, and that just because groups of Indians were perhaps from the same area did not mean that they were allies with one another or that they worked together in any capacity.

The Battle of Summit Springs in July 1869 marked the culmination of hostility between Chief Tall Bull's Dog Soldiers and Major Eugene Carr. With the aim of saving two captive women, the battle ended during the raid on Tall Bull's Indian village.²⁰⁰ In the painting, *The Summit Springs Rescue*, 1869 (fig. 70), Charles Schreyvogel depicts Buffalo Bill shooting a Cheyenne Dog Soldier who has the captive, Susanna Alderdice, by the hair. The scene in the painting is typical of Buffalo Bill's showman personality as the gallant rescuer and Indian killer, yet the actual rescue was quite different and much more complicated than the painting would suggest. Tall Bull

²⁰⁰ Jeff Broome, "Susanna Alderdice and the Cheyennes," *Wild West* 16.3 (2003), 39.

and his Dog Soldiers attacked a new Danish settlement and took the two women captive as an act of revenge against Major Carr “for the death of his people.”²⁰¹ Months later, Major Carr attacked the Indian village containing the two female captives and managed to save one of the two captives, Maria Weichel. During the raid, both captives were sought by Tall Bull and other Dog Soldiers in order to be killed. Both women were gravely wounded and while Maria ultimately survived, Susanna did not.²⁰² Major Carr could not have successfully attacked and captured the village without the help of the Pawnee Indians. According to Cheyenne accounts of the fight at Susanna Springs, “more credit should have been given to the Pawnee Indians rather than the (white) soldiers” during the capture of the village and the rescue of two female captives.²⁰³ Of course the Pawnee Indians were not “friendly warriors, as the Cheyenne first thought,” and when the Pawnee scouts showed up at the Dog Soldier’s camp they gave Carr’s soldiers a surprise advantage.²⁰⁴ Although Buffalo Bill took credit for the capture of Tall Bull’s Indian village, many Pawnee Indians later took part in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West (fig. 71). The “hero” was most certainly one or more of the Pawnee Indians and not Buffalo Bill, as he wanted his audience to believe. Although Cody represented this historical battle in his show as a clash between white and Indian culture, the historical reality was much more complex. However, white audiences would only be exposed to Cody’s interpretation of the Battle at Summit Springs and would not have known who the real “heroes” were.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 42.

²⁰² Ibid, 39, 72.

²⁰³ Broome, 173.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 173. According to the Cheyenne accounts of the events in Susanna Springs.

Another historical event, the Battle of Little Big Horn, was both a pivotal moment during the so-called Indian Wars and a central performance in the Wild West show. The actual event was fought on June 25, 1876 and was perceived to be a victory by the Native Americans against General Custer and the Seventh Cavalry Regiment of the United States Army. The conflict began as a result of government pressure to push Lakota off the Black Hills in order to preserve miners' interests from the Lakota people.²⁰⁵ The Lakota did not have any interest in mining, but they did want to keep their land, not only because the Black Hills belonged to them and were considered sacred, but also because their source of food and shelter, the buffalo, roamed on those Hills. The US government, unhindered by the woes of the Indian, ordered the Lakota to appear at the US Indian Agencies by January 1st, 1876, or be considered a threat. The Lakota were unaware of this order from the government and so they did not make an appearance at the Agency. Therefore, the US government twisted the incident into an act of war by the Lakota and declared "all 'free' Indians led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse to be hostile."²⁰⁶ The true combatants were the leaders and politicians representing the US government, who distorted any action by the Indians, even in defense of their lands and their people, as acts of unprovoked aggression against the US government and the American people themselves. This political cartoon from 1890 (fig. 72) attacks the corruption of government Indian Agents, who were supposed to be helping the Indians to adjust to reservation life. Even though this cartoon is from 1890, the corruption began much earlier and can be clearly outlined from the outcome of the

²⁰⁵ Matthew Basso et al., *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 101.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 101.

Lakota trying to defend their lands, lands that had been “protected” under an American-based Treaty.²⁰⁷

The American public considered General Custer’s death during The Battle of Little Bighorn a national tragedy, but because of the “heroic” action taken by Cody in killing Custer’s killer, Custer’s death was avenged. The legend, as told by Cody, was that he hunted down Custer’s supposed killer, then killed and scalped him. Of course, he enacted his “heroic deed” in his Wild West show before the cheers of an audience. But, who was Custer’s killer and who would play the part of Custer’s killer at the climax of the show during the recreation of the Battle of Little Bighorn? Buffalo Bill attributed Yellow Hand as having killed Custer and even had his supposed scalp on display among his other souvenirs in his tent (fig. 73) at the performances in Paris.²⁰⁸ Although Cody claimed Custer’s killer was Yellow Hand, another Native American came forward claiming to be Custer’s killer. Rain-in-the-Face (fig. 74) was thought to have killed Custer by many Americans including poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who wrote a poem, entitled “The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face.”²⁰⁹

*. . . But the foemen fled in the night, And Rain-In-The-Face, in his flight, Uplifted in air, As a ghastly trophy, bore The brave heart, that beat no more, Of the White Chief with yellow hair.*²¹⁰

Rain-in-the-Face later said that although he was indeed a part of the battle, he was not sure if he killed Custer because “in that fight the excitement was so great that we

²⁰⁷ Ibid. Ulysses S. Grant ordered his army NOT to enforce the provision of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty prohibiting non-Indians from entering Lakota territory.

²⁰⁸ Jonnes, 139.

²⁰⁹ William F. Cody, *Buffalo Bill's Life Story: An Autobiography* (New York: Skyhorse Pub, 2010), 94-98. Interestingly, Cody and Rain-in-the-Face knew each other from the vicinity of Fort Laramie (sometime during the 1850s or 60s) before the days of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Rain-in-the-Face actually saved Cody’s life from a group of Sioux warriors who intended to kill him and take his food and belongings.

²¹⁰ Frank Henry Goodyear, *Faces of the Frontier: Photographic Portraits from the American West, 1845-1924* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 112.

scarcely recognized our nearest friends.”²¹¹ Sitting Bull was not Custer’s killer, although he did take part in the Battle of Little Bighorn and he was even mentioned as one of the “Savage, unmerciful!” by Longfellow because of his prominent role as a leader among the Sioux people. During his short time with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, he would play the role of Yellow Hand and re-enact the murder of Custer (fig. 75) as well as his ultimate victory at Little Big Horn then later get scalped by Custer (figs. 76 & 77). During the performance, especially in the United States, the disapproving boos from the audiences at the Indian victory at Little Big Horn, prompted Sitting Bull to yell insults in his own tongue, which forced the translators to “think of their feet.”²¹² Apparently, the audiences treated Sitting Bull with more respect in Canada, perhaps because the Battle at Little Big Horn was not as close in their hearts and minds.²¹³

Unfortunately, the consequence of the Indian victory against the US government at Little Big Horn was that the US government had an even more passionately driven resolve to restrict Native Americans to reservations.²¹⁴ The US government used the defeat to “prove” to the Anglo-American public that the Indians were brutal savages that massacred a beloved hero, General Custer. Yet, as Wooden Leg, a young Cheyenne who fought in the Battle, explains, “It was not a massacre, but a hotly contested battle between two armed forces.”²¹⁵ Cody seemed to share this sentiment and was quoted in a Canadian newspaper as saying,

The defeat of Custer was not a massacre. The Indians were being pursued by skilled fighters with orders to kill. For centuries they had been hounded from the Atlantic to

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Alvin M. Josephy, *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 439.

²¹³ Moses, 27.

²¹⁴ Basso, *Across*, 101.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 100.

*the Pacific and back again. They had their wives and little ones to protect and they were fighting for their existence. With the end of Custer they considered that their greatest enemy had passed away.*²¹⁶

Although Cody was not a Native American himself, he was certainly one of the more sympathetic advocates of the Native American experience. However, he was not necessarily completely sympathetic to their plight because he obviously had no qualms with changing certain aspects of historical accuracy in order to promote his own white hero ego. Also, he used Indians as objects for display, but at least he had some perspective on what white settlement in North America had on the Indian family. In a *New York Times* editorial of March 14, 1891 Cody was said to have “collected testimonials from army officers as to the expediency of having him give as many as possible of the Sioux a chance to see the world (in his show) and earn money instead of stay home to brood over the millennium.”²¹⁷ Cody also argued that Indian participation in the Wild West shows would “enable the Show Indians to appreciate the inevitability of progress as represented in the numbers, achievements, and technology of ‘the white race.’”²¹⁸ But why would Native Americans choose to participate in these performances of the many historical events that they were directly involved in and suffered from as a result of the outcomes of those events? Especially when, as was obvious in cities around the world, the Indians were disrespected and treated as innocent, almost childlike, less-than-humans, as they were in Paris, or as weak or effeminate enemies and “savages,” as they were in Britain and the US.²¹⁹ With so

²¹⁶ Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 319.

²¹⁷ Hays, 200.

²¹⁸ Moses, 65.

²¹⁹ Jonnes, 132. See Maddra, 148-9. See also David Armitage and M. J. Braddick, “The British Atlantic World,” 180-181.

many negative stereotypes and so many negative people staring with hatred and fear, how did the Native American performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West have the courage to face such unfair treatment and resentment? The answers are not easy and, in some cases, impossible to determine, since often the only Indian reactions on record are those that were published during their performances and were responses to questions asked by white reporters.

Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show staged performances based on what the white public considered "traditional" Indian culture and white American history. This poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West (fig. 78) displays the Native American performers as half-naked "savages" who preyed on the "innocent" white frontier people moving westward, akin to the many captivity stories and dime novels that were popular during the nineteenth century. While these performances gained popularity among Americans as well as the international public, the American government continued to wage war in the hopes of suppressing Native American culture permanently because 'savage and civilized life cannot live and prosper on the same ground. One of the two must die.'²²⁰ After the Civil War, the American government began to realize that the once endless Western landscape, "perhaps needing centuries of growth and development by hardy pioneers, had become a bounded land, a finite resource."²²¹ With the Native American population pushed Westward, the land they now occupied seemed to be in excess of their needs versus the needs of the rest of the American population that was moving West. Thus, the answer to the question of where to place the native population next

²²⁰ Moses, 61. Extract from the Annual Report of the *Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Oct. 24, 1881, in *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 155-57.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 61.

came from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, a prominent Methodist layman, who wrote in his annual report in October 1881 that

‘the greatest kindness the government can bestow upon the Indian is to teach him to labor for his own support. I am very decidedly of (the) opinion that ultimate and final success never can be reached without adding to all other means and appliances the location of each (Indian) family, or adult Indian who has no family, on a certain number of acres of land which they may call their own and hold by a title as good and strong as a United States patent can make it.’

Eventually in 1887, Congress passed a legislation called the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), which subdivided Indian Reservations and sold surplus land to homesteaders. The income from the land sales would go to education programs for the allotted tribes in order to ‘detrribalize’ Indians.²²² Wild West shows, such as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, interfered with the assimilation and isolation campaign that the government wanted to continue, yet the government could not legally limit the Native American participation in the shows. However in the winter of 1866, the Indian Bureau began to try and limit the amount of participation by Native performers in the shows by requiring the shows to create contracts for their performers. The contract had to “provide their Indian with adequate food, shelter, and medical care; to pay ‘fair and reasonable salaries; to hire chaplain and interpreters to accompany the performer; and to return the Show Indian to their reservations at the close of their contracts. Violation of the contract carried a penalty of forfeiture of surety bond (usually ten to twenty thousand dollars, depending upon the number of Indian) and the inability again to employ Indians.”²²³ For an Indian relegated to a depressed reservation, a life of travel

²²² As quoted in Moses, 63

²²³ Ibid, 64.

with a Wild West show was the only choice to escape the reservation and make money at the same time.

In the special cases where certain Native Americans were recruited by Buffalo Bill to join the touring show, they had the ability to negotiate their contracts and attain certain rights of name and image that other performers would not have had. Buffalo Bill promoted certain performances around a certain famous Chief based on the recognition of his name in the public's mind, as seen in this poster, which promotes Chief Iron Tail's role in the show (fig. 79). Similarly, the newspaper advertisement for a Montreal performance highlights the "Renowned Sioux Chief," Sitting Bull, in the performance (fig. 80). Because Buffalo Bill wanted Sitting Bull to be a part of his show, Sitting Bull negotiated the terms of his contract and was granted 'the sole right to sell his own Photographs and Autographs.'²²⁴ Sitting Bull may have had an adverse attitude during his performances, but one way he saw that he could get revenge for the white audience's insults was to sell his photographs and autographs at high prices and keep the profits for himself.²²⁵ Other performers who were given special attention were the Lakota disciples of the Ghost Dance in 1890. Short Bull and Kicking Bear (fig. 81) were two such men thought to have brought the Ghost Dance to the Sioux reservations. As a result, Buffalo Bill advertised the inclusion of these two men as "hostiles" during their British tour, which was a belief that the British public shared.²²⁶ Not all

²²⁴ Pfaller, "Enemies," 22. Sitting Bull received \$50 a week in addition to the \$125 bonus and two weeks' salary he was given in advance. Also, he took five other Indians with him, who received \$25 a week.

²²⁵ Ibid, 23.

²²⁶ Maddra, 140-141. The portrayal of Kicking Bear and Short Bull as hostiles suited the show's interests because Britain's public believed these men were the reason that the Ghost Dance had turned into a "warlike demonstration."

performers had this type of power that men like Buffalo Bill and Iron Tail had, and not all Indian performers shared Sitting Bull's negative opinion of white culture.

Many Indian performers felt thankful for being permitted to join tours with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and spoke highly of their experience on tour with Buffalo Bill.²²⁷ Although "Show Indians" were often portrayed as "savages," they also performed skills "that reflected positively on Plains Indian culture, such as horsemanship, and their dances, songs, and games."²²⁸ In this photograph from Pawnee Bill's Wild West (fig. 82), a group of Indians are shown performing a "cremation dance"²²⁹ during the show, which would allow audiences to see a more complete view of Indian life, separate from the unflattering images portrayed in newspapers, in dime novels, and on stage. The one thing that is clear is that many Indians wanted to be a part of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and would come to the selections ceremony every year in order to audition for Buffalo Bill's show. As many as five or six hundred Native Americans would show up to the selection process held in Rushville, Nebraska, before performances began again in the spring.²³⁰ After the performers toured with the Wild West show, many of the performers shared their positive experiences. Short Bull asserted that "he was now happy and contented with General Cody, Major Burke, and Mr. Nate Salisbury" and that "we go everywhere and see all the great works of the

²²⁷ Kasson, 163. I use the term "permitted" to join tours in the context that all Indians were forced to stay on reservations by Indian Agents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs unless they were permitted to leave go on tour with Wild West shows.

²²⁸ Ibid, 163.

²²⁹ The photographer, Harry Bock, labeled this photograph of the Indians performing a cremation dance. There is no further evidence or explanation of what a cremation dance was or why the performers chose to recreate this particular dance in Pawnee's Wild West.

²³⁰ Moses, 24. Only a small amount of the people who tried-out would be chosen to go on tour.

Country (England) through which we travel. It learns us much.”²³¹ Short Bull was credited as being an intelligent and “decent fellow,” one who seemed to appreciate touring with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and seeing new places as well as being exposed to new ideas.²³²

Native Americans as well as white reactions to Buffalo Bill’s Wild West ranged from very positive to inherently negative. One reason for many positive reactions by the performers could have been that Indians would probably not have wanted to disrespect the crowds, who were coming to the performances to see them and ultimately paid their salaries. Perhaps the Indian performers were also genuinely glad to be able to participate in the Wild West show and travel the world, especially after they were forced onto reservations, which turned the migratory hunting people into stationary farmers. The horrible conditions on the reservation can be seen in this photograph from 1890 (fig. 83) as Sioux women are shown lining up to receive food rations because there was a terrible crop failure that year on the reservation. As a result, Sioux families were on the verge of starvation, since their food rations had been cut by 20 percent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to “help” the Indians in transitioning from hunting to farming.²³³ This situation was not unique to the Sioux. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, along with Indian Agents on the reservations, believed that Indians should stay on the reservations and adjust to their new lives as farmers. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Atkins, did not want Indians touring with Buffalo Bill and in his refusal to let Sitting Bull leave the reservation wrote “that he was decidedly opposed to

²³¹ Maddra, 153 and 158.

²³² Ibid, 153.

²³³ Josephy, 439.

the plan because the Indians should be busy planting crops and not ‘roving the country exhibiting themselves and visiting places where they would naturally come in contact with evil associates and degrading immoralities,’” as if being relegated to a reservation and having freedoms taken away was not a degrading immorality.²³⁴ Many of the negative reactions to Indians touring with Wild West shows probably stems from the fact that many of these government agencies wanted Indians to become assimilated into white culture, instead of participating in Wild West shows that only encouraged their native traditions.²³⁵ But the Bureau of Indian Affairs was not the only one that disagreed with Indians performing in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. Chauncey Yellow Robe (fig. 84), whose mother was the niece of Sitting Bull, was proud of his affiliation with Richard Pratt and the Carlisle Indian School and married a Caucasian woman. From a document printed in 1914 by Yellow Robe, he condemns the Wild West show for “permitting special privileges” to the performers in the show and views the show as “the white man perpetuating the tribal habits and customs.”²³⁶ Ever the promoter of assimilation, Yellow Robe only allows for his fellow Native Americans the choice of assimilation as a way to move forward. Even though Cody was obviously in favor of Indians traveling in his show, he thought that the shows had the power to “enable the Show Indians to appreciate the inevitability of progress as represented in the numbers, achievements, and technology of ‘the white race.’”²³⁷ So, it seems that no matter what the opinion of the person, the outcome of assimilation for the Indian was seen as the

²³⁴ Louis Pfaller. “Enemies in ’76, Friends in ’85- Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill,” *The Journal of the National Archives* v. 1, no. 2, Fall, 1969, 21.

²³⁵ Kasson, 164.

²³⁶ Frederick E. Hoxie, *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), 118.

²³⁷ Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 415.

best option for the “Indian problem” by white American culture. In a *New York Times* editorial from April 29, 1882 the author writes, “It is admitted on all sides, we may assume, that the Indian must be civilized before ‘the problem’ of which he is the chief factor can be solved.”²³⁸ Ten years later, Richard Pratt’s speech, made on June 28, 1892, in which he said, “kill the Indian in him and save the man,” became the motto for Indian boarding schools around the country.²³⁹ The quotation also aligns Pratt’s belief with Cody’s assumption, which was that the “Indian problem” would continue if the US government kept Native Americans isolated from white society on reservations. Instead, they thought Indians should be educated and assimilated, so they have the opportunity to become incorporated into white society as “useful fellow citizens.”²⁴⁰ Sitting Bull would certainly not agree with Cody, Yellow Robe, or Pratt, and in his case, his involvement with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West strengthened his resolve to revive all the Indian dances and customs that had been discontinued, the sun dance included.²⁴¹ After his last performance of the season, when he was asked whether he would return the next year to the show, Sitting Bull replied, “The wigwam is a better place for the red man. He is sick of the houses and the noises and multitude of men.”²⁴² Although some Native Americans seemed to graciously tolerate the big cities and the “civilized” white way of life, many Native Americans were not impressed. Black Elk traveled to England with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and even met Queen Victoria.²⁴³ The only thing that Black Elk seemed impressed with was white culture’s faith in God,

²³⁸ Hays, 288.

²³⁹ Lookingbill, 6.

²⁴⁰ Pratt, 117.

²⁴¹ Pfaller, “Enemies,” 27.

²⁴² Ibid, 26.

²⁴³ Moses, 53. From a text Black Elk wrote about his experience during and after the performance for ‘Grandmother England.’

saying that he believed that religion was their “one good custom” and that he desired to “understand the European perception of God.”²⁴⁴ But when discussing the performances in the Wild West show, he “enjoyed the Indian part of the shows that he (and other Indians) put on . . . but he did not care much about the white people’s parts.”²⁴⁵ Today, it is hard to know whether he did not care for the ‘white people’s parts’ because of the content or because of their performance, but it is clear that many Indians did not have a favorable view of white culture.

Even though the prevalent view by white culture at the end of the nineteenth century was that Native Americans were unwilling to evolve with civilization and so were doomed to be a “dying race,” Native Americans were constantly changing and adapting. Indians had to cross so many cultural as well as international borders because of their participation in Wild West shows and the changing landscape of their once Native land that who they once were and who they were becoming in the modern Industrialized America could be confused. On this issue, N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, was quoted in 1992 as saying, “the major issues we face now are survival- how we live in the modern world. Part of that is how to remain Indian, how to assimilate without ceasing to be an Indian.”²⁴⁶ Momaday’s reflection on Indian culture and identity is as true now as it was at the turn of the twentieth century. Every part of Native American life had to do with crossing borders, whether they were cultural borders, geographic borders, or self-reflexive borders. Red Shirt (fig. 85) said it best when he spoke about the future of the Indian:

²⁴⁴ Maddra, 147.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 156.

²⁴⁶ Nabokov, 440.

The red man is changing every season. The Indian of the next generation will not be the Indian of the last. Our buffalos are nearly gone, the deer have entirely vanished, and the white man takes more and more of our land, but through educating our children, and teaching them to farm and to use farming implements, we may not starve.²⁴⁷

So many changes happened during the course of the nineteenth century, and as a result Native Americans had to evolve just as white Americans did. Although Indian performers did not necessarily control their identities in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, they did have control over their beliefs and opinions as well as over their right about whether or not to choose to participate in the performances. As the cartoon from the *Quarterly Journal* (fig. 86) typifies, many white Americans expected Native Americans to be ignorant and wear "traditional" Plains Indian garb from the nineteenth century. However, the reality was that many Native Americans were modern people with more education and schooling than the white Americans who judged them. Native Americans were constantly challenging white cultural stereotypes by participating in performances like Buffalo Bill's Wild West and continued to change into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

²⁴⁷ Fiorentino, "Red-Brick Faces," 407.

Chapter 3

Eanger Irving Couse's *The Captive*: Challenging the Indian Captor Stereotype in Late Nineteenth-Century Art

‘Most of the time at the house of the bishop; but the Five Crows most of the nights compelled me to go to his lodge and be subject to him during the night. I obtained the privilege of going to the bishop’s house before violation on the Umatilla, and begged and cried to the bishop for protection either at his house, or to be sent to Wallawalla.’

Lorinda Bewley, 1853, in answer to the question, ‘Where did you spend your time when at the Umatilla?’, from Phillip Hunt’s *Lorinda Bewley: Pioneer Woman, Victim of Violence*²⁴⁸

“Lorinda was part of the spoils of war. He and his fellow warriors may have treated many Indian women captured during intertribal battles and made into slaves, in the same

²⁴⁸ Philip Mulkey Hunt, *Lorinda Bewley: Pioneer Woman, Victim of Violence* (Portland: The Lorinda Project, 2000), 27. This quotation is part of her testimony during a deposition about her captivity.

fashion, as concubines. Five Crows likely considered it his 'right' to help himself to this white woman and thus to fulfill his long held fantasy. Were he, and his fellow tribesmen, even aware of the concept of rape? A good question."

From Hunt's *Lorinda Bewley: Pioneer Woman, Victim of Violence*, 2000²⁴⁹

"Materials about white captives, especially those about white female captives, provide a window on North American society by showing us the anxieties of Euro-Americans of an earlier day under the threat or power of a "savage" and unknown enemy."

From June Namias's *White Captives*, 1993²⁵⁰

The type of imagery used to promote Native American captivity narratives by Anglo-Americans was inherently violent. Images that depicted Indians from early settlement, such as De Bry's engraving of an Indian warrior (fig. 4), set the stage for the stereotypically, and often misunderstood, violent nature exhibited by natives, as it was perceived by white explorers. These types of violent images would endure into the twentieth century, in part, because of the popularity that Indian captivity narratives had in dime novel stories and illustrations. One of the original series of dime novels was based on early Indian warfare in the Eastern states and included scenes of captivity. The image of the Openchancanough's warriors attacking Virginia colonists in 1622 (fig. 21) is one of many images that can be found with the pages of popular Western dime novels during the mid-to late nineteenth century. This particular dime novel illustration of Indians attacking a seemingly "innocent" white family in front of their home epitomizes how the white public thought of Indians as "soulless savages." As discussed in the Introduction, Indian attackers would often take white captives, especially women and children, who would be ransomed back to their families or they would be incorporated

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 45.

²⁵⁰ Namias, 11.

into the family of their captor. An illustration, *Oonomoo, the Huron* (fig. 87), from “Beadle Dime Novels,” 1862, depicts a Huron Indian protecting his latest captive from being reclaimed by her rescuers. Her rescuers have drawn near and her captor raises his tomahawk in an effort to fight them off. Another Indian is drawn crouching in the bushes with a rifle, ready to fire on their pursuers. Although the white rescuers are the attackers in this situation, the violence is “justified” because of the inherent brutality that lays ahead for the female captive if Indians are allowed to escape with her. A later dime novel illustration, *The Lost Trail*, by the same publisher (fig. 88), interprets a similar captivity story in which the white captive’s hopeful savior is pursuing a Native American captor. In this illustration, the Indian does not seem defiant and aggressive, but rather somewhat afraid of his pursuers. He has no visible weapons, such as a gun, tomahawk, or knife, and instead clutches onto his captive in desperation. The Indian has stopped momentarily as his captive reaches back in a hopeless attempt to be rescued and rejoin her family. The inevitability of her torture at the hands of her captor is becoming a reality as she struggles to get free of him. By contrast, Eanger Irving Couse’s *The Captive* (fig. 6), 1891, renders a very different view of female captivity from the same period as the dime novel, *The Lost Trail*. The Whitman Massacre and subsequent captivity of Lorinda Bewley took place in 1847, although Couse painted a scene from Bewley captivity in 1891. Couse’s depiction of Bewley’s captivity does not have the same inherently violent theme as earlier depictions of captivity. Also, his choice of representing Bewley’s captivity as a uniquely American subject forty-four years after the actual incident happened illustrates the changing vision of Native Americans by white Americans. *The Captive*, accordingly, reflected the contemporary white cultural anxiety that had developed throughout the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and became ingrained in the national consciousness of white cultural norms. At the same time, *The Captive* served to illustrate the complicated relationships between white captives and Indian captors, while reflecting the changing stereotype of the “savage” Indian into a stoic being of the Earth who was in danger of vanishing.

Images such as Remington’s *Missing*, 1899 (fig. 89), and *Captured*, 1899 (fig. 90), served as visual examples of the Indian as an “unfathomable savage.”²⁵¹ Although painted in the same year, *Missing* was the first of the two paintings created by Remington. These paintings pictured the positive qualities that Remington most admired in a soldier: “‘grim, no emotion,’ exhibiting ‘a perfect mental calm.’”²⁵² Both captive soldiers are shown as defiant, even in the face of certain death and torture. The soldier in *Missing* is being pulled by a noose around his neck, yet he seems eerily calm and even confident. Similarly, the soldier in *Captured* has the same stiff posture and defiant pose, even as he is almost certainly freezing. The captive is pictured without much clothing on, while the captors are dressed in heavy clothing as they huddle around a fire. The Native captors also seem confident and self-dignified in their erect posture and stance, as though they are unaware of their certain demise at the hands of white culture. In *Missing*, the Indian captors seem to have the upper hand, as the captor has tied his hands behind his back while being forced to walk with a noose around his neck. However, the skull in the right foreground foreshadows the fate of the fallen buffalo with the impending death of the Indian captors, although the Indians on horseback hardly seem aware of their bleak

²⁵¹ Brian W. Dippie, *Remington & Russell: The Sid Richardson Collection* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 36.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

future as they look confidently ahead. In *Captured*, the central Indian figure has the same outward gaze and acts as a literal compositional pillar of strength in the foreground of the painting. Yet, behind this central figure to the right is a small figure in the background that keeps a vigilant watch behind the group. Although the captors have successfully taken a white man captive and escaped into the wilderness, there is a sense that the white hunting party will soon catch up with them and the Indian captors will soon become captives themselves. Their nobility is lost as they are fleeing for their lives, presumably away from the white pursuers not far behind them. Their humanity is also called into question because of the way they treat their white captives. The strange part of these paintings is not the depiction of Indians as “savage” captors, but the landscape and clothing that Remington chose to depict. Instead of creating a realistic, modern scene, he painted a nostalgic representation of the West that would have been more accurate of the mid-nineteenth century, rather than the turn of the century. More often than not, the images of Native Americans at the end of the nineteenth century placed them in a stagnant past of tradition and custom, in opposition to white modernity and civilization.

As the turn of the nineteenth century drew near, the clash of civilizations between the “innocent” white settlers and “savage” Native Americans was no longer a part of the American imagination. The West was closed by this time and Native Americans no longer posed a serious threat to white settlement. As a result, the image of the Native American as a cold and calculated killer was changing.²⁵³ As Indians were decreasing in numbers, images of Native Americans became increasingly sentimental and tended to look towards their “traditional” past, rather than visualizing realistic depictions of Indians

²⁵³ Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 382. Also Michno, 407- 408.

in the modern world at the turn of the century. Moreover, the anthropological interest in the Native American population was popularly represented in ethnological displays at various World's Fairs and museums all over the world (fig. 91), in shows such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and through artists' various renditions of past Native and non-Native histories. The Indian population was largely unknown by most of the non-Indian population and "were only visible as performers: feathered and painted 'savages' in the immensely popular Wild West shows," except for the non-Natives living in the regions of the West and Southwest.²⁵⁴ Buffalo Bill promoted the Native American performers in his Wild West show as "real Redskins" (fig. 54) and equated their cultural decline with the decline of the buffalo. A Courier Company poster from Buffalo Bill's Wild West of an *Indian Brave on Pony* from 1902 (fig. 92) depicts "traditional" cultural icons surrounding the Native American on horseback, such as tools, weapons, a teepee, and even a buffalo. The Native American performer is pictured wearing a feather headdress and little clothing, rather than placing the performer in a modern-day setting or dressing him in Western clothing.²⁵⁵ Painting such as Charles M. Russell's *The Defiant Culprit*, 1895 (fig. 93), in which the Indians pictured are shown wearing "traditional" dress around a fire in a teepee were more commonplace than modern depictions of Native Americans, such as the portrait of Chief Iron Tail in modern dress, circa 1900 (fig. 94), or Gertrude Kasebier's portrait of Gertrude Simmons Bonnin holding a book, 1898 (fig. 95). A turn-of-the-century photographer, Edward Sheriff Curtis, capitalized on the idea of the

²⁵⁴ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans: 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 170.

²⁵⁵ "The Indians traveling with the Wild West wore traditional clothing then forbidden on the reservation." See Michelle Anne Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Kasebier* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 2007), 15.

“vanishing race” and used the concept to create the famous photographic series *The North American Indian* from 1907 to 1930.²⁵⁶ Curtis chose the frontispiece for the first volume of his series, *The Vanishing Race- Navajo* (fig. 5), because ‘the thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn in their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future.’²⁵⁷ Curtis was known to have edited out Western items or clothing that were not seen as “traditional” to Native American culture in order to recreate the stereotypical Indian for the American public. Trying to understand and study the “primitive” mind of the Native American became more important at the turn of the century than the mere retelling of “savage” stories of captivity.

Contrastingly, Couse’s eerily calm depiction of Bewley’s captivity in *The Captive* pictures an inversion of the inherently “violent” captor by depicting a stoic and contemplative Indian in its place. Couse has placed the captor in a situation in which he was powerless to change the outcome because history had already been written. The historical outcome of this particular captivity ended with the captive, Bewley, being ransomed a month after she was taken prisoner.²⁵⁸ Depicted here, Chief Five Crows had hoped that she would become his wife, thereby adding to his prestige and importance within his community. However, Bewley refused the Chief’s advances, so he ransomed her rather than trying to integrate her into his community, as was usually done with

²⁵⁶ Trachtenberg, 171- 172.

²⁵⁷ Shannon Egan, "Yet in a Primitive Condition," *American Art* 20.3 (2006): 58.

²⁵⁸ Patricia Trenton and Patrick T. Houlihan, *Native Americans: Five Centuries of Changing Images* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1989), 263.

captives of any race.²⁵⁹ The powerlessness he has over his impending decision is conveyed by the brooding expression on his face in addition to the inaction of his posture. The future that is laid out before him will not end in the way he wants it to; the irony is that his inevitable future, not hers, is at stake and was decided for him from the beginning of Anglo-American history. The combination of centuries of white brutality towards Indian culture and the dissemination of negative stereotypical images of the Native American created a war in which Indians were ill prepared.

Historically, images of Native American captivity and Indian brutality served political and propagandist functions in Anglo-American history as well as creating a fear of savagery against white women.²⁶⁰ The painting *Death of Jane McCrea* by John Vanderlyn, 1804 (fig. 7), is a popular example of how white colonists were turned into heroes while the Indians were vilified. The Revolutionary War created an opportunity for Anglo-Americans to compare themselves in opposition to their cruel oppressors.²⁶¹ This opportunity, combined with the fear of miscegenation and rape of white females by people of color, whether red Indians or black slaves, created the backdrop on which an image like *Death of Jane McCrea* would become successful.²⁶² The contrast between the

²⁵⁹ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 356. Lepore compares the brutality that Native Americans would endure in captivity in contrast to the humane treatment of white captives taken by Native Americans. Indian communities would take captives to replace dead relatives and integrate the captives into their communities as if the white captives were a part of their own families. Upon returning from captivity, some white captives would be killed by members of their own communities because they had been tainted by the Indians and should have killed themselves in order to avoid Indian contamination.

²⁶⁰ Namias, 118.

²⁶¹ Sayre, 384. The propagandist appeal of rendering the French and British as "savages" eventually lead to the "racist denunciations" of Indian cruelty that created fears of sexual aggression by the Indians on the white, female settlers.

²⁶² Block, 145. Block argues that the fear of black on white rape during the Revolutionary War was created as a way for Anglo-Americans to justify wanting freedom from British rule while owning slaves. The fear

"red cruelty and helpless white virtue" would be repeated many times, as this painting, because of the "uniquely American subject matter," became a source for American national identity.²⁶³ Artists were looking to recreate uniquely American stories on canvas and the government was looking for a way to legitimize the white colonist's move West to settle on Native American land.²⁶⁴ Images of Indian "brutality" and white "innocence" under the scope of captivity narratives were a perfect way to merge these two desires for a cohesive American mythology and identity. The "innocent" political heroine produced by Vanderlyn eventually evolved into the quintessential virtuous woman of the frontier.

The two paintings, *Osage Scalp Dance* by John Mix Stanley, 1845 (fig. 11), and *The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians* by Charles Wimar, 1853 (fig. 16) were painted around the same time as Bewley's actual captivity by Chief Five Crows. Both reflect the transformation of the white captive from a heroine to a Virgin Mary figure dressed in white. In *Osage Scalp Dance*, the woman is shown holding her child in one hand while holding her other hand up in an act of futile self-defense. Her defensive pose "opens her up to the penetration by Indian weapons," but thankfully there is a "noble savage" among the Indians who has stopped the approaching ax from descending upon her and her defenseless child.²⁶⁵ The Indian's noble gesture has cleared some of the ominous clouds that have taken over the right side of the canvas behind the more

of Indian rape soon followed as the modern conception of race as biological was formed putting the Indian in the same category as slaves.

²⁶³ Namias, 119.

²⁶⁴ Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 178. DuVal characterizes the settlers as "locusts" moving west and settling land that was still Indian property, which had not yet been bought by the American government. The settlers were seen as "locusts" because of their sheer numbers.

²⁶⁵ Rebecca Blevins Faery, *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 177.

aggressive Indians. The Indians' "savageness" is amplified by their lack of clothing, in contrast to the white child's nakedness, which is a sign of vulnerability and innocence.²⁶⁶ The darkness of the Indians accentuates the illuminated whiteness of the mother and child. A similar light shines on the woman in Wimar's *The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indian*. Daniel Boone's daughter is in a praying position highlighted by a light source coming from behind her. The light behind her head creates a halo-like effect and even her skin seems to glow as she looks helplessly over her left shoulder towards the horizon in the hopes that her presumably white, male rescuer is not far away. The Native American men portrayed in both paintings look strikingly similar in the way their clothing, hair, facial features, and bodies are depicted, except for that the Indians in Stanley's painting are darker skinned. The same is true for the female captives in each painting, who look very similar to each other when comparing their hair, dress, and facial features. The visual similarity of the female captives can be seen as a way to portray these women as representative of every frontier woman who is equally as vulnerable as the two women depicted by Stanley and Wimar.

The captive female has been an ideal pioneer woman before she was taken and "soiled" by her captors. She was seen as embodiment of purity and passivity who focused on family and the domestic sphere. Women were to fulfill the 'noble charge of training the youthful paths of virtue and true happiness.'²⁶⁷ Although most women themselves may not have been happy because of the decisions made by men, such as the decision to move westward, they were still expected to create happiness for their families

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 177.

²⁶⁷ Glenda Riley, *Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 14.

while exhibiting a delicate sensibility.²⁶⁸ The classic image of the pioneer woman as a Madonna figure was represented during the mid-nineteenth century in George Caleb Bingham's *Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers through the Cumberland Gap*, 1851/52 (fig. 97).²⁶⁹ American paintings during this time presented Manifest Destiny as an "exodus into the uncharted West" comparing the move westward by Anglo-American settlers to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt in the Christian Bible.²⁷⁰ Men armed with rifles, in case of an Indian attack, are leading the women in Bingham's painting into the wild frontier. The woman on the white horse is emblematic of the innocent and passive woman represented through her modest clothing and distant stare. Her pose and introspective gaze are similar to the woman in William Koerner's much later painting, *The Madonna of the Prairie*, 1921 (fig. 98). In *The Madonna of the Prairie*, Koerner frames the woman's head with a halo created by the Conestoga wagon.²⁷¹ The Madonna is isolated within the space of the wagon, whereas people surround the woman on the white horse in *Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers through the Cumberland Gap*, yet they both seem disconnected.²⁷² Both of these women are viewed as holy embodiments of virtue and innocence under the control and protection of white men. The duality of being a vessel of virtue yet having no control over that virtue was the plight of many pioneer women.

²⁶⁸ Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 168.

²⁶⁹ Riley, *Confronting Race*, 17.

²⁷⁰ Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, eds., *I Like America: Fictions of the Wild West* (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 45.

²⁷¹ Peter H. Hassrick, *The American West: Out of Myth, into Reality* (Washington, D.C.: Trust for Museum Exhibitions in association with the Mississippi Museum of Art, 2000), 65.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 66.

In this context, the female captive in Couse's *The Captive* represents the duality of pioneer life versus societal expectations imposed on women during the nineteenth century. Bewley has all the virtues of an innocent woman from her white dress to the mysterious light that shines on her face, which originates from the right side of the painting even though the teepee opening is on the left side. She was the innocent pioneer woman, but she has been taken out of her domestic realm and put into a dangerous situation. She is unable to protect herself and there is no sign of a rescuer coming anytime soon. The blood on her left sleeve along with her missing shoe implies that she has been struggling to no avail. Her angelic nature has been tarnished. The blood on her pure white dress has stained her innocence. Her virtue and innocence was under the control of Chief Five Crows and now she is no longer pure. She has become the Victorian allegory of the fallen woman, who has succumbed to the corruption of the untamed West. Yet, she also embodies the characteristics of a Christian martyr, as she has obviously endured much suffering at the hands of her captor.

The fallen woman represents not only a physical violation, but in most cases, a moral breakdown as in George F. Watts' *Found Drowned*, 1848-50 (Fig. 99). Another example from Russia is Vassily Grigorievich Perov's *The Drowned Woman*, 1867 (Fig. 100), which like *Found Drowned* link the women in terms of their alleged moral depravity. The dangers faced by the female urban dweller are not looked on with pity, but rather with antipathy.²⁷³ The constable in *The Drowned Woman* is smoking a pipe

²⁷³ Sally King, "Rivers and Religious Symbolism in Watt's Found Drowned," *The Victorian Web*. <http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/watts/paintings/2.html>, 11 December 2009.

just after pulling the poor woman's body out of the river.²⁷⁴ He does not seem surprised or affected by her fate, which makes her inevitable fate seem even more tragic. Because of this negative view society had of the fallen woman, “suicide was seen as her sole means of escape.”²⁷⁵ In Watts’s version of the fallen woman, the drowned woman “appears as purity and lust, as victim and destroyer in which the feminine serves as a cipher conjoining the threat of sexuality with that of death.”²⁷⁶ The victim’s face is highlighted; so that the viewer can still see her beauty before rigor mortis sets in. She could be mistaken for a sleeping beauty yet she is on the side of a river near London, known to be filthy and vile, and is in a peculiar Christ-like pose.²⁷⁷ The Victorian beauty imagined just after death reflects the frailty of a woman's virtue in the urban setting of London.

A related frailty of female virtue can be seen in Couse's *The Captive*. Here the urban jungle of London is translated into the context of the untamed West, which was in many ways more dangerous than the urban setting of London. Implicit in the idea of the fallen woman is that the woman was “wronged” by a villainous man, which would eventually lead to her suicide because she had been “contaminated.” Female captives risked the same type of “corruption” when taken captive. In order to be spared from contamination from the Native American man, the captive could chose suicide and keep

²⁷⁴ Aleksa Celebonovic, “Some Call it Kitsch: Masterpieces of Bourgeois Realism,” Trans. Peter Willis. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974. *The Victorian Web*.

<http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/watts/paintings/2.html>. 11 December 2009.

²⁷⁵ Karen Halttunen, *Murder Most Foul: The Killer and the American Gothic Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 134.

²⁷⁶ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity, and the Aesthetic* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 212.

²⁷⁷ King.

her purity or risk losing her respectability among whites and sacrifice herself sexually.²⁷⁸ After Bewley's ordeal, she retained her respect among her peers because she maintained her spiritual resolve during her torment at the hands of her captor. Her unwavering religious beliefs in the face of such hardships showed her spiritual strength and dedication. In the painting, Bewley did not choose suicide and so has become "wild" and morally corrupted by Chief Five Crows. Thus, she is depicted as an eroticized corpse because she had become a fallen woman according to Western views of morality and womanhood. Clearly, Couse meant for Bewley to look corpse-like. Close inspection reveals that her skin and lips are so pale that they have turned the cold color of blue. She looks even more lifeless and pale than the drowned woman in Watt's painting. Does depicting her as a corpse imply that she has succumbed to the advances of Chief Five Crows or that she has simply fallen victim because of the failure of her white male protector to materialize? If the interpretation of Bewley's testimony is to be believed, then Chief Five Crows raped her. However, in her testimony the word she used to describe the situation was 'violation.'²⁷⁹ She was raped several times during the Whitman Massacre, although Chief Five Crows was not a part of the actual massacre.²⁸⁰ Chief Five Crows took an interest in her only after Tamsucky, another Cayuse Indian from a different band, had taken her captive. The ambiguity of the relationship between Chief Five Crows and Bewley during her captivity is compelling in terms of their facial expressions.

²⁷⁸ After Bewley's ordeal, she retained her respect among whites because she maintained her spiritual resolve during her torment at the hands of her captor. Her unwavering religious beliefs in the face of such hardships showed her spiritual strength and dedication.

²⁷⁹ Philip Mulkey Hunt, *Lorinda Bewley: Pioneer Woman, Victim of Violence* (Portland: The Lorinda Project, 2000), 45.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 19. Lorinda was repeatedly raped by a Cayuse name Tamsucky before her captivity with Chief Five Crows.

Chief Five Crows has a distinctly sad appearance as he gazes at his captive; perhaps he has lost hope for Bewley becoming his “possession.” His emotional turmoil is internal, as opposed to a later painting by Couse, *Mourning Her Brave*, 1893 (Fig. 101). This canvas could be viewed as an informal companion piece to *The Captive* because of the similarity in size, composition, and the depicted frontier subject matter. In *Mourning Her Brave*, however, an Indian woman wails in mourning for the dead Chief beside her.²⁸¹ Her grief and sadness are externally represented, whereas the despair and powerless of Chief Five Crows is internalized. The pains for both are real, yet the pain of the female mourner is more overt. She is literally crying out for her lost love and has cut herself with a knife across her chest to numb the pain. By contrast, Chief Five Crows is rigid with a trance-like stare. The internal sadness of Chief Five Crows might relate to his lack of understanding as to why Bewley denies his advances. On the other hand, she would have deemed the Chief’s advances as a violation; therefore, her head is turned away from his stare. Both of Couse’s paintings reflect sadness; however, Couse’s rendering of the Chief’s grief is subtle and the reasoning behind that grief is unknown. The Chief could be in mourning over the fact that Bewley refuses to become his wife or he could be pondering his people’s future at the hands of white culture. The date of Chief Five Crow’s death is a mystery; so knowing whether he saw the demise of his people at the hands of the American government is hard to say. However, the failure of Indian culture to gain acceptance and understanding from Anglo-Americans before the nineteenth century would eventually lead to the demise of Five Crow’s culture and

²⁸¹ Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 189.

heritage, as he knew it to be. Although the Chief may not have seen the demise of his people firsthand, Couse certainly knew about the many injustices the Native American people suffered at the end of the nineteenth century.

Chief Five Crow's stoic expression could represent his reaction to the deadening of his culture the Indians were facing. As Indians were being forced onto reservations and their land was being taken away with laws such as the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, the pressure was high for Indians to become assimilated into white culture and laws.²⁸² The Native American people were fewer than 250,000 when Couse painted *The Captive*.²⁸³ The decreasing number of Indians and their banishment to reservations popularized the notion of the "vanishing American."²⁸⁴ In Henry Farny's *Talking Wire*, 1904 (Fig. 102), the Native American man stands next to a telegraph wire, a sign of white civilization. Instead of being associated with civilization, he looks out of place next to it and is better compared to the buffalo skull lying in the snow on the left middle ground of the canvas. As discussed earlier, the possibility of extinction of the buffalo is closely related to the possibility of extinction of the Indian. While contemporary Indians were vanishing into history books, the Western imagination of the Indian versus Cowboy was being played out on stage. This was particularly true in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, which dramatized the exploits of William F. Cody on stage for white viewers, further

²⁸² Josephy, 431-433. The Dawes General Allotment Act broke up tribal reservation land into small plots that were given to individual Indians. The rest of the allotments left over were sold to whites, which transferred 38 million acres of the original 90 million acres to white owners from Indian ownership. Assimilation was pushed on Indians by the Indian boarding schools like the one founded by Richard H. Pratt in 1879 in Carlisle, PA. The motto of Pratt's Indian boarding school: "kill the Indian in him and save the man."

²⁸³ Ibid, 432.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, 443.

turning Native American culture into a spectacle.²⁸⁵ As seen in the advertising poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 1895 (fig. 103), the "gunplay and roping to subdue the Indians and save the beautiful maiden" conflated the image of the white hero and repressed the Native American perspective even further.²⁸⁶ Couse clearly realized Chief Five Crow's gaze with the contemporary Native American's situation in mind.

Instead of depicting Chief Five Crows as a violent savage as was the case in most captivity images, Couse had chosen a fairly unimposing, even neutral, view of the Indian in a very calm demeanor. Chief Five Crows' pose is reflective of the Indian's pose in Henry Farny's version of *The Captive*, 1885 (Fig. 17), as they are both dark and brooding figures, especially when juxtaposed with the pale, white skin of their captives.²⁸⁷

Although the poses of the Indians are similar in both Farny and Couse's paintings, the Indian in Farny's painting is far more menacing than Couse's Chief, who holds no weapons. The Indian in Farny's painting is almost faceless and holds a shotgun across his lap. The contrast between the Indian's dark nature and the male captive's white purity is further heightened by the captive's semi-nakedness. The Indian is unsympathetic for his captive, whereas the viewer is unsympathetic for the Indian captor and would have seen this image as a representation of Indian "savagery" versus white "innocence." Similar to the female captive in Couse's painting, who is represented as "innocent" and "pure," the male captive in Farny's painting is also "innocent" and white. However, unlike Farny,

²⁸⁵ Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 340.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 337.

²⁸⁷ Virginia Couse Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: Image Maker for America* (Albuquerque: Albuquerque Museum, 1991), 66. Couse had most likely seen Farny's painting as an illustration in *Harper's Weekly* (13 February 1886). For more on Chief Five Crows's clothing, see Hunt, *Lorinda*, 36. That would explain why Couse chose to dress Chief Five Crows in such simple Indian garb, rather than depicting him in a Chiefly costume or in more modern Western clothing. Chief Five Crows was "reputed to be the richest man in the county" and enjoyed wearing Western clothes, as they were a sign of power and prestige.

Couse does not show the captivity narrative in such contrasting terms. Chief Five Crows is less imposing and is more representative of the stoic Indian portrayed in such images as Maynard Dixon's *What an Indian Thinks*, 1905 (Fig. 104). The long gaze of the Indian who contemplates the future of the land and his people is contrasted to the desolate landscape behind him.²⁸⁸ Chief Five Crows has a similar long distance gaze that is both looking at Bewley and looking past her. Couse relates to the plight of the Indian and reflects that sentiment through the lack of understanding both races had towards each other. Farny and Couse's paintings also differ in how each artist chose to depict the background and how that background relates to the central image of captivity.

In Farny's *The Captive*, the Indian village in the background displays continuing Indian culture, which surrounds the captor and captive, whereas Couse chose to isolate Chief Five Crows and Bewley within a confined space of the teepee, thereby omitting the presence of other Native Americans. Their isolation in tight quarters compresses the psychological effect that Bewley has on Chief Five Crows. Although Five Crows seems to be in control of his captive and she obviously holds no physical threat to the Chief, she has a rather large physical presence in the cramped teepee. Five Crows almost seems to look at her in fear of what the future holds for him and his people at the hands of her culture. When the viewer looks at this painting with the knowledge of what the future holds for the Native American people at the end of the nineteenth century, the bloody implementations of war, including the shield, bows, and arrows, can be viewed as tools of defense, rather than as instruments of aggression. The Chief's gaze can also be interpreted as a power inversion, where Lorinda holds the power of the future even

²⁸⁸ Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 363.

though the Chief has power over her now. In fact, Five Crows and the Cayuse Indians were involved in several “bad bargains” with the American government, which seemed to begin with the return of Bewley, whom Five Crows considered his ‘wife.’²⁸⁹ Even if his shield, bow, and arrows are interpreted as implements of war, Chief Five Crow’s compassion is conveyed more than his violent nature. The ax and shield next to the Chief both have blood smears on them and the ax even points towards Lorinda. Perhaps he has killed her rescuer or perhaps he had to fight for her. Either way, he is clearly not about to hurt her at this moment, but rather he seems more like her protector. Again, the tense and mildly erotic relationship between Lorinda and Chief Five Crows points to the larger relationship that white Americans and Native Americans were having during this time and would continue to have, a relationship defined by negative stereotypes, oppression and misunderstandings.

Since Chief Five Crows was the leader of the Cayuses and was reported as ‘the richest man in the country during the 1840’s,’ it would have been part of customary to have multiple wives. And indeed, Five Crows did have five wives, in addition to objects of wealth and prestige, such as ‘possessing upwards of a thousand horses, cattle, and many slaves.’²⁹⁰ Five Crows actually “dismissed” all his wives at one point in order to seek the hand of the daughter of one of the officers stationed at Fort Walla Walla. However, his proposal was rejected, and so when Bewley came into his possession, he wanted to take her as his most-prized wife. Plural marriage, polygamy, was not commonplace, but it did occur within Native American cultures partly because a woman

²⁸⁹ Hunt, 44.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 36.

would seek the security of a husband.²⁹¹ A man like Five Crows was able to give financial security to more than one wife as a result of his wealth, and that would have been seen as perfectly acceptable within his community. On the other hand, a woman could have more than one husband or be polyandrous, if there was a scarcity of women.²⁹² Plural marriage was not only misunderstood by white culture, but was condemned by the United States government. Wooden Leg, a Northern Cheyenne man and respected veteran of the battle of Little Big Horn against the U.S. Cavalry, was appointed a judge on his reservation and then told to carry out an order from Washington which stated that “Indians having two or more wives must send away all but one.”²⁹³ He carried out the order “in very low spirits;” many of the men were angered by the order, especially men who had children with multiple wives and were confused as to who would be “the father of the children” who were sent away.²⁹⁴ The inability of white culture to understand the Native American way of life led to many problems and unfair judgments. Five Crows felt entitled to care for and marry his captive, yet the American government saw this as a threat. Some white Protestants in the area argued over whether Five Crows was simply protecting Bewley, being a Christian convert himself, or whether he was “a lustful savage,” as she would later testify.²⁹⁵ Of course, the issue of what really happened and who was at fault is undocumented. However, unwillingness from both sides to understand each other only made problems worse for all involved. Towards the end of

²⁹¹ Wendell H. Oswalt. *This Land Was Theirs: A Study of Native North Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 91.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Nabokov, 230.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 231. Mormon polygamy was also attacked and the Mormon Church officially renounced the practice in 1890.

²⁹⁵ Hunt, 39.

the nineteenth century, images were creating a new Indian stereotype that was more complicated than the outright image of violence and aggression from a century earlier. Artists like Couse were beginning to see historical events from a more native-minded perspective, as well as from the Anglo perspective, and were trying to represent that new perspective in paintings like *The Captive*.

Chapter 4

Re-visions of the Past in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries: Kent Monkman, Arthur Amiotte, and the Mardi Gras Indian

“Eager for the fray, the proud, defiant warrior of the past has returned to lead the Indian through the twentieth century, unsubdued, unassimilated and unmistakably alive.”

Brian W. Dippie, in reference to The United Native Americans Inc.’s, a San Francisco-based group, symbol (fig. 105) that is patterned after the celebrated silhouette of Fraser’s *End of the Trail* statue²⁹⁶

“But we are still here! And we are constantly redefining ourselves as Native people in a fast-changing world. We cannot escape history, but we can question the subjectivity of those who wrote it.”

Kent Monkman, March 2005²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Brian W. Dippie, “This Bold but Wasting Race: Stereotypes and American Indian Policy,” *Montana: the Magazine of Western History*. 23.1 (1973): 13.

²⁹⁷ “Kent Monkman,” Smithsonian, National Museum of the American Indian, last modified March 2005, http://www.nativenetworks.si.edu/eng/rose/monkman_k.htm.

“Native cultures of the Northern Plains, their traditions and arts, have been colored and altered by historical and chronological forces, mainly the presence of Euro-American people on this continent. The influence of non-Indian materials, technology, and social interaction is as integral to the artistic development of Native arts as indigenous creativity, skill, and cultural continuity of style and technique.”

Arthur Amiotte, 2000²⁹⁸

The late twentieth and twenty-first centuries marked a new progressive era in Native American policies and attitudes by white American society. However, it was also a complicated time, riddled with questions about what fate would become the “modern” Indian, and in many ways deepened the divide between Indian culture and mainstream American life. During this turbulent time, contemporary Native artists and non-Native performers referenced nineteenth-century images of Native Americans as inspiration for new ways of looking and talking about Native relations in the modern era. The enduring spectacle created by Native American performers in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and other Wild West shows during the nineteenth century spawned interest for these same subjects in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The “traditional” nineteenth-century image of a Native American dressed in a feathered headdress hunting buffalo with a bow and arrow on horseback, as pictured in this Fort Marion drawing by Tichkematse (fig. 34), still resonated in the modern American mind. For this reason, contemporary performances as well as costumes and paintings continued to reflect many of the most iconic representations of Native Americans from the late nineteenth century. Native American captive imagery was especially important in the work of artists Kent Monkman and Arthur Amiotte as well as in the costume of a few Mardi Gras Indians. Captive

²⁹⁸ Janet C. Berlo, *Spirit Beings and Sun Dancers: Black Hawk's Vision of the Lakota World* (New York: George Braziller, in association with the New York State Historical Association, 2000), x.

imagery has allowed Native artists Monkman and Amiotte to insert their voices, the voice of the “Other,” into a previously white-dominated discourse on Native issues. Both artists strive to “define the space between Native and white cultures,” a space which questions ethnographic and historical accuracy while opening a dialogue between Native and non-Native people. The reflection of nineteenth-century Indian stereotypes and captivity imagery within their work allows them to explore those stereotypes through a modern lens. Many of the negative stereotypes created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still hold power in the modern era because the Native American community is still stifled by the constraints that took hold in the past. Specifically, the captivity imagery from ledger drawings and captivity narratives that pervaded popular culture from the late eighteenth to the turn of the twentieth century became a part of the American “success” story. Against all odds, white Americans “tamed” the land and its indigenous inhabitants, the Indians, and “won” the West.

At the same time that the Native American community was pushed onto reservations and out of sight in the late nineteenth century, the non-Native African American community in New Orleans began using Plains Indian garb and captivity imagery in their costumes for participating in the Mardi Gras Indian “performances.” The Mardi Gras Indian tradition continues today and is a very important part of New Orleans cultural history. Perhaps, as mentioned in the introduction, the link between the two distinct communities has to do with their shared history of exploitation at the hands of English colonizers coupled with their ability to endure and resist against their captors. Even though white colonizers had separate agendas for the African and Native American people, both communities suffered greatly as a result and both continue to strive for

recovery. In addition to their shared exploitation, the Creole culture of New Orleans has a long history of intermarriage and interrelations among many different ethnicities, which creates unique productions to the area. Therefore, the integration of Plains Indian-style regalia by black culture and the specific use of captivity scenes on their costumes suggests that not only does the black New Orleans community sympathize and identify with the plight of the Indian, but they also recognize the effect that captivity imagery has on the public. Contemporary Native artists as well as non-Native communities are looking back to the nineteenth century for inspiration in their artwork because of the lasting stereotypes that developed. The appropriation of nineteenth century themes by Amiotte, Monkman, and the Mardi Gras Indians has opened new doors of discussion surrounding the treatment and captivity of Native Americans in American history.

The role that Native Americans played within modern American culture was continuing to evolve in the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but was still riddled with past stereotypes. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was a result of the best intentions by the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, but it once again reinforced what Nabokov calls “a white man’s idea of how they [Indian communities] should live.”²⁹⁹ The Act rejected the idea that the “Indians were a dying race – to be liquidated.”³⁰⁰ In an effort to invest in their future, the Act gave out educational loans to young Indians for higher education and curtailed the sale of Indian lands through the termination of the allotment system. Unfortunately, an adverse portion of the Act was that the governing systems set up by individual Native American tribes were replaced by a form of

²⁹⁹ Nabokov, 329.

³⁰⁰ Vivien G. Fryd, “Two Sculptures for the Capitol: Horatio Greenough's "Rescue" and Luigi Persico's "Discovery of America,” *American Art Journal* 19.2 (1987): 37.

government that “was subject to approval by the concurrence of the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative – the superintendent, which was no self-government at all.”³⁰¹ Twenty years after the IRA was implemented, the American government “granted full citizenship to the Indians, and terminated federal supervision and control of tribal affairs in 1953.”³⁰²

Reflecting a rising tide of criticism about the treatment of the Native American community, in 1958 the federal government removed two sculptures, Horatio Greenough’s *Rescue* (fig. 106) and Luigi Persico’s *Discovery of America* (fig. 107), from the United States Capitol. The two statues were commissioned, carved, and displayed outside the United States Capital building during the mid-nineteenth century. However, a century later, the two sculptures came to be seen as representations of American guilt and prejudice rather than pride. *Rescue* had created controversy since 1939 when the House recommended that the sculpture ‘be ground into dust, and scattered to the four winds, that no more remembrance may be perpetuated of our barbaric past, and that I may not be a constant reminder to our American Indian citizens.’³⁰³ The House later suggested that *Rescue* be replaced with ‘a statue of one of the great Indian leaders famous in American history.’³⁰⁴

The statue *Rescue* depicts a Euro-American man as he struggles to save a female captive and her child. Interestingly, the figures in *Rescue* reversed the traditional Anglo-American captivity scene by flipping the roles of captor and captive, so that the towering

³⁰¹ Nabokov, 329.

³⁰² Fryd, 37.

³⁰³ Ibid, 17. See also, United States Congress, House 76th Congress, 1st session, April 26, 1939, House Joint Resolution 276. Submitted by Clark Burdick, Representative from Rhode Island.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

white figure completely suppresses and dwarfs the Indian attacker. The white Euro-American man effortlessly holds the Native American man captive within his strong grip. The Native American man seems small and weak compared to his captor, who stands at least a foot taller than his captive. The white explorer glares down at the Indian in disgust, while the Native American man has a look of surprise and fear on his face. There is no doubt that the Native American man will be overtaken and possibly killed and, because the white man is protecting a mother and child, the murder will be perceived as completely justified.

The statue clearly offended the American public even before any concern was raised over the companion statue, *Discovery of America*. This controversy provides evidence that Native American captivity narratives from early America and the Native American “savage” stereotype created around those narratives had become offensive to the general public as well as to the Native American community.

But even while Native Americans were making positive strides in the public arena, the nineteenth-century campaign against Indian culture continued to have devastating results for the native population in the twentieth century. In the 1950s and 60s, the average Native American life span was forty years old, due to disease, alcoholism, and malnutrition.³⁰⁵ As a result of these poor and progressively worsening conditions for Native Americans living on reservations, there were several militant Indian demonstrations during the 1960s and 70s. Some of the movements included takeovers at

³⁰⁵ Nabokov, 358. Also, the infant mortality rate was more than twice the national average, there was an unemployment rate ten times higher than the national average, reservations had the highest teen and pre-teen suicide rate in America, liver disease from alcoholism was five times higher than the white population, Indians under twenty-four years of age were dying from alcoholism at a rate twenty-eight times the national average, and more than fifty thousand Indian families lived in unsanitary shanties or abandoned cars.

Wounded Knee, Alcatraz, and on Mount Rushmore, as well as protests and artistic responses against the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus's arrival.³⁰⁶

Unfortunately, the grim realities of Indian life had not changed much at the turn of the twenty-first century with "struggles for political sovereignty and cultural identity ignored" and murder rates on Western Indian reservations that were two or three times those "of the urban landscapes of Chicago or New Orleans."³⁰⁷

MARDI GRAS INDIANS

The contemporary struggles of the Native American as well as the African American communities were both rooted in their captivity by the American government. Although both communities strive to free themselves of their individual and perpetual stereotypes, the slavery of the African American population was of a much different structure than the "exiled" Native American captivity. However, the integration of these two communities as Mardi Gras Indians, black Americans masking as Indians, "calls attention to the initial genocide upon which American 'civilization' rests."³⁰⁸ Mardi Gras Indians began as early as the eighteenth century, but gained popularity at the end of the nineteenth century "as a safer way . . . to engage in public assertion" and self-expression.³⁰⁹ The inspiration for Mardi Gras Indian performance and costume was thought to have originated as a result of the arrival of the Plains Indian warriors that toured with Buffalo Bill's Wild West, combined with the performers' own unique

³⁰⁶ Ibid, 355-380. See also, *Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, The Submuloc Show/Columbus Woks: A Visual Commentary on the Columbus Quincentennial from the Perspective of America's First People* (Phoenix: Atlatl, 1992).

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 441.

³⁰⁸ George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 238.

³⁰⁹ Reid Mitchell, *All on a Mardi Gras Day: Episodes in the History of New Orleans Carnival* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 116.

innovations from African masking traditions. As a reporter for the *Times-Democrat* wrote in 1902, “the negroes are the only ones who came out as Indians, and they made good savages.”³¹⁰ The journalist made sure to connect the “savage Indian” with African American traditions, ensuring that both would be put into the same erroneous category in the white public mind.

Mardi Gras Indians were comprised of black men from the poorest communities in New Orleans, who were living “in a violent and segregated city” in the 1880s.³¹¹ Each neighborhood was represented by a “tribe” of fifteen to thirty working-class men dressed as hybrid of Plains Indian style costume and African masking traditions. The competition between tribes evolved from Gang violence between the various tribes to an aesthetic and performance-based matchup, where each Indian “shows off his costume, dancing a mock fight, and singing traditional songs

The claim that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West was the source of inspiration for the costume of the Mardi Gras Indian resides solely in the similarity of name of the first “tribe,” The Creole Wild West.³¹² However, current members of The Creole Wild West dispute the claim that the tribe took its name from Buffalo Bill’s famous show or that the foundation of the Mardi Gras Indian has any link to it.³¹³ Instead, Little Walter Cook, Big Chief of Creole Wild West, asserts that their beginnings reflect the shared bond that the black slaves had with the American Indian in the French colony of New Orleans, as a

³¹⁰ Ibid, 115.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Rachel Breunlin, et al., *The House of Dance and Feathers: A Museum by Ronald W. Lewis* (New Orleans: Neighborhood Story Project, 2009), 66.

³¹³ LouisianaHumanities, May 13, 2008, “The History of the Creole Wild West as Told by Themselves,” [Video File], Video posted to <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3PEAXQg-ug>.

result of the enactment of the Black Code of Louisiana in 1724.³¹⁴ The code regulated relations between blacks and colonists, and many African slaves ran away to join the Native American communities in the surrounding areas. Some Mardi Gras Indians claim both African and Native heritage and are the descendants of those people, although many have no affiliation with Native American culture.³¹⁵ Rachel Breunlin, a modern scholar, supports Cook's claim that the history of intermarriage between Africans and Indians was the basis for the Mardi Gras Indian. She also notes the use of masking and feathers by people of African descent a century before the arrival of Buffalo Bill in the 'Acts and Records of the Cabildo' of 1781.³¹⁶

Black New Orleanians masking as Indians see themselves as “honoring Indians for their resistance to US invasion, their ability to hold onto their culture under policies like assimilation and their support of African Americans” during the eighteenth century and beyond.³¹⁷ Mardi Gras Indians are honoring their own heritage as well as Native American tradition in an effort to “challenge the core dualism of American racism that defines people as either black or white.”³¹⁸ Therefore, the African masking features are as important as the Indian regalia to the dual cultural role of the Mardi Gras Indian. In this photograph (fig. 109) of Victor Harris, Big Chief of the Mandingo Warriors, he is wearing a suit of “the four colors of Africa: black is for the people, red is for the blood, green is for the land, and gold is for the richness of the land.”³¹⁹ The beaded mask of

³¹⁴ Mitchell, *All on a Mardi Gras Day*, 8.

³¹⁵ Louisiana Humanities, “Creole Wild West.”

³¹⁶ Breunlin, 66. The Attorney General declared, ‘all kinds of masking, the wearing of feathers, gathering at the local taverns, and public dancing by the negroes be prohibited this carnival season.’

³¹⁷ Mitchell, 113.

³¹⁸ Lipsitz, 238.

³¹⁹ Breunlin, 116.

Harris is strikingly similar to a modern Yoruba helmet (fig. 110) and painted wooden dance mask (fig. 111). Harris's use of cowry shells as adornment as well as the shape and scarification design in the beadwork all relate closely with African masking. Even Harris's use of a decorated umbrella to shade himself resembles African parade customs, as seen in the photograph of Ghana's Asantehene (fig. 112). The beadwork of Harris's suit is much more elaborate than the Yoruba masks and clothing on the Asantehene, however the use of red, green, gold, and black is incorporated in some way into each piece.

Despite the incorporation of African masking customs into the Mardi Gras Indian regalia as well as the connection that black New Orleanians have had with Native Americans over the centuries, the idea of African Americans using Native imagery on their costumes is still somewhat controversial. Perhaps the debate surrounds the ambiguous origin of the Mardi Gras Indian as well as the fact that many of the current Mardi Gras Indians seem to have no Native American ancestry. Another contributing factor may be that many men who participate in the masking have no idea why they dress like Indians.³²⁰

The strong resemblance of the Mardi Gras Indian costume with that of Plains Indian dress (fig. 108), particularly the use of war bonnets, beaded brow bands, feathers, and beading (figs. 71 and 108), has continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Nineteenth-century photographs of Native Americans show complementary geometric designs, feathers, beadwork, and intricately designed war bonnets shared by

³²⁰ Ibid, 114. "A contemporary Mardi Gras Indian concedes, 'People ask me why do we dress like Indians and I wonder myself. I never have seen a real Indian my color. Maybe they have them, but I never have seen them.'

Plains Indians and Mardi Gras Indians, but a black-and-white photograph cannot reveal the decorative headdresses and beadwork that both utilized as well. Native Americans sought bright feathers from local birds, such as orioles, roadrunners, and various other birds, while also using trade to obtain the bright feathers of macaws and parrots from the South American jungles, before colorful modern dyes were introduced.³²¹ Yet, the most common type of feather used in Plains Native American regalia came from turkeys or prairie chickens.³²² Similarly, Mardi Gras Indians did not have access to colored feathers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so they went to their local grocery store to find feathers from live Thanksgiving turkeys for their crowns or headpieces. The two men pictured in this studio photograph (fig. 113), Isaac Edwards and Bob Bertrand, wear a traditional style costume that closely resembles Plains Indian regalia. In later years, Mardi Gras Indians became especially well known for their use of vibrant colors and abundant plumage as well as for their beadwork illustrations.³²³ Roy Vernado (fig. 114) wears a costume that reflects those bold colors with a richly detailed assortment of beadwork patches. A detail of his beaded apron (fig. 115) depicts a fictitious battle between European explorers and Native Americans. The treacherous fight is muddled with bodies and weapons and no clear victor can yet be named. Yet, in this depiction the explorers look like the “savage” aggressors, while the Native Americans seem to be defending themselves against their brutality. The wearer might explicate the significance

³²¹ Ronald P. Koch, *Dress Clothing of the Plains Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 7.

³²² Eagle feathers were the more prestigious feather used by Plains Indians.

³²³ During the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the highly feathered period of Mardi Gras Indian dress, which is extremely bright, is more closely related to Mexican/Aztec regalia than Plains Indian.

of the scenes in his costume when his tribe meets on Mardi Gras Day,³²⁴ but even without any explanation the viewer can conclude that the masker identifies with some part of Native American culture because of the fact that the gruesome scene is figured so prominently on his costume.

Scenes of Indian resistance to and violence against white invaders, in fact, are a common source of beadwork patches in contemporary Mardi Gras Indian costumes. The beaded patch of Alphonse Robair (fig. 116) details a Native American rider holding the severed head of a white man. The arrows in the horse's legs reference the fight that happened earlier between the two men. The Indian's victory is apparent, as the white victim's body in the left background dangles upside down from a tree. Presumably, the Native American man strung him up by his ankles before he cut his head off. The headless body squirts blood from his neck as the Native American rider holds the severed head up high. Another scene of Indian dominance is displayed on Howard Miller's costume (fig. 20). He wears a beautiful blue suit with matching blue fringe, which displays many different beadwork designs. The detail from his apron (fig. 117) depicts a scene of Native American captivity, as it would have been seen during the early to mid-nineteenth century. Three white captives are roped together on the right side of the apron, while three Native American captors stand defiantly on the left. One Native American man holds up his tomahawk as his white captor cowers down just before the impending blow. Obviously, the Indian captors have complete control over their soon-to-be white oppressors. The incorporation of scenes involving Plains Indians on the

³²⁴ Smith, 67.

costumes of Mardi Gras Indians was a result of the change in how the competition between dancers was judged.

The typical Mardi Gras Indian costume began to look less like Plains Indian regalia and began to feature beadwork scenes during the late twentieth century, which led to the popularization of Indian dominance-themed images on their costumes. A big reason for the evolution in costume design from Plains Indian regalia to costumes with scenes involving Plains Indians has to do with the competition that takes place between the members of the Mardi Gras Indian tribes. Reid Mitchell argues that as “the competition [between Indians] shifted from violence to display” the costumes grew more elaborate and looked less traditional.³²⁵ Originally, Mardi Gras masking was a way for men to settle grudges and ended in gangs committing physical violence against one another. But men like Tootie Montana, Big Chief of the Yellow Pocahontas for twenty years, worked to move the competition from physical to aesthetic display.³²⁶

In the last ten years many Mardi Gras Indians have gone back to the more traditional Plains Indian style that had been so prevalent in the early twentieth century. Norman Cook (fig. 118) explains that his costume is based on the Native American performers’ costumes he saw during a Pow Wow he attended in the late 1990’s, “where more than 100,000 Indians from all over the world came together every year.”³²⁷ He goes on to say, “when I was putting together the suit, I looked at pictures I took while I was there. I made the suit with a chest plate made of bones, and used turkey quills and

³²⁵ Mitchell, 118.

³²⁶ Kalamu Salaam, “New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians and Tootie Montana” in *“He’s the Prettiest”: A Tribute to Big Chief Allison “Tootie” Montana’s 50 years of Mardi Gras Indian Suiting* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1997).

³²⁷ Breunlin, 89.

ostrich plumes to create a Mohawk look for my crown.”³²⁸ In addition to the Mardi Gras Indians, a Native artist Kent Monkman uses popularized images of Native Americans and reinterprets them in his work.

Monkman also re-manages well-known images of Native Americans by white Americans. However, Monkman recreates these images from a Native perspective, thereby taking authority away from the nineteenth-century stereotypes originally created by white culture.

KENT MONKMAN

The work of contemporary artist Kent Monkman renegotiates the power dynamics between the Euro-American colonizer and the exploited Native American, which were in part constructed by nineteenth-century Old Master artworks. Monkman’s painting *Si je t’aime prends garde à toi (If I love you, you’d best beware)* of 2007 (fig. 119), for example, combines and remakes two iconic artworks from the late nineteenth century, James Earl Fraser’s *End of the Trail* (fig. 120) and Jean-Léon Gérôme’s *Pygmalion and Galatea* (fig. 121). Monkman used Gérôme’s painting as the setting for his new interpretation of the same scene, replacing the figure of Galatea with a unique rendering of Fraser’s *End of Trail* sculpture. In the upper left-hand corner, the cupid figure masked as a Northwest Coast raven gets ready to shoot his “love” arrow into the couple. The love-struck male sculptor has fallen for his male, Native American sculpture, which changes the display of affection from heterosexual to homosexual. Monkman also shifts the figural composition within Gérôme’s painting so that his version is a mirror image of *Pygmalion and Galatea*. He faced the three figures of the sculptor, rider, and cupid, in

³²⁸ Ibid.

the opposite direction of Gérôme's figures. It is as if Monkman's work is a mirrored reversal of the myth of Pygmalion, the sculptor who fell in love with his creation, where the naked, female sculpture in Gérôme's work is replaced with a nude, male version of Fraser's *End of Trail* sculpture. The nude sculpture in *Si je t'aime prends garde à toi* inserts the homosexual male for the heterosexual norms of nineteenth-century American and European history.

Many Native American cultures were much more tolerant of homosexuals and alternative gender roles, and respected these "Two-Spirit" people as "unique contributors to their communities"³²⁹ in their roles as sacred people and shamans.³³⁰ However, after the mid-nineteenth century Anglo-Americans began to punish the Two-Spirit people (also known as "third gender" and "Berdache").³³¹ In the case of the male Two-Spirit, the American government forced them to wear "men's clothing and cut [their] hair short like a white man's."³³² Many Two-Spirit people tried to flee from government persecution and went to parts of the country where they were left alone to live how they wanted, but eventually the "berdache institution . . . had declined in the twentieth century" as a result of the unwavering punishment given to those who did not conform.³³³ Two-Spirit tradition "may have gone underground, and it may have lost a religious role, but it did not

³²⁹ Not all Native American cultures were accepting of Two-Spirited people. In fact, new research done by Robin K. Wright, Professor of Art History at University of Washington and Curator of Native American Art at the Burke Museum, has shown that Northwest Coast Native people were fairly intolerant. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 1998, 4.

³³⁰ Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 31-38.

³³¹ Fossum, Erin G. "Post-colonial Narratives in the First World: The Paintings of Kent Monkman" (Master's thesis, University of Washington, 2009), 53-56. See also Roscoe's *Changing Ones*, 6-8 and Williams's *The Spirit*, 17-30.

³³² Williams, 178.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 200.

disappear.”³³⁴ Concurrently with the oppression of Two-Spirit people, “the formation of a ‘reverse’ discourse had taken place [within the public realm]: homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or ‘naturalness’ be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified.”³³⁵

Monkman has visualized the “natural” discourse on homosexuality that was suppressed, but not entirely extinguished, from the nineteenth century and into the twenty-first century, in doing so, has legitimized indigenous, gay voices. He has also subverted hegemonic forms of white control since that by reinstating the voice of Two-Spirit people. As Erin Fossum, a University of Washington art history student, notes in her master’s thesis, “Fraser’s statue is stripped of its melodramatic symbolic power” and “instead he reaches out with force and desire to embrace his creator, his lover.”³³⁶ Yet, the Indian rider does not completely succumb to the desires of his creator. He is the one who holds the sculptor’s head in his hands, while he keeps his eyes open slightly as if he is mindful of the potential threat of his white creator.³³⁷ The rider is shown leaning over to kiss the sculptor, who is in a similar pose to Fraser’s statue. The rider is no longer slumped over, however, but has bent over in order to come down to the sculptor’s level. The sculptor, on the other hand, is straining upward on his tiptoes so he can reach the rider’s lips, totally absorbed in the moment of passion. Monkman has created a power inversion, where the Indian controls his fate as well as the “heart” of his creator. The Indian on horseback is no longer a passive figure that is resigned to the fate created by

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 101.

³³⁶ Fossum, 35-36.

³³⁷ Ibid, 61.

white culture, but actively plays a part in his future. Monkman borrowed the love story, but has infused his own Romantic image of the relationship between captor/creator and captive/fantasy.

In another example of victim and predator inversion, Monkman romanticizes a scene in *Artist and Model*, 2003, (fig. 122), which at first glance looks like a gruesome killing, but upon further inspection reveals a private sexual moment caught for the viewer. Here a cowboy was apparently photographing a Native American woman when she discovered him and decided to attack and tie him to a tree. The camera, on its side at the foot of the tree, has a tomahawk wedged in it and the cowboy has been shot with three arrows. Whether he was shot before or after he was tied to a tree is unknown. However, the cowboy is not concerned with being taken captive and shot, as he is enjoying himself sexually. His pants are down and he not only has a look of complete bliss on his face, but he also has a huge erection. The documenter is Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, Kent Monkman's alter ego as the Two-Spirit indigenous artist, who is drawing the likeness of the cowboy. Miss Chief (fig. 125) is modeled after the pop star Cher (fig. 126), who wore a glittery, Native costume for her music video of the 1973 hit "Half-Breed."³³⁸ In the painting, Miss Chief is scantily clad in her ornate, feather headdress, pink high heels and loincloth. She looks more luxurious than dangerous, with her Louis Vuitton quiver and arrows, as she documents her captive in a pictogram-style drawing on birth bark, which resembles "other representations of the figure on Native American

³³⁸ Gerald Hannon, "How Kent Monkman- a half-Cree illustrator from WINNIPEG sexed up the exploitation of First Nations people and conquered Toronto's art world," *Toronto Life*, September 6, 2012, accessed October 2, 2012, <http://www.torontolife.com/daily/hype/print-edition/2011/09/06/the-pink-indian/>, 4.

hides”³³⁹ or ledger paper. Miss Chief’s painting becomes an ideogram of the nineteenth-century frontiersman as a “stick-like male, . . . wearing a Stetson with arrows going through his body.”³⁴⁰ Monkman’s pose of the cowboy against the tree is based on paintings of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, but his facial expression is more reminiscent of the female martyr in Bernini’s sculpture, the *Ecstasy of Saint Theresa of Ávila* (fig. 123). In paintings of Saint Sebastian, such as Andrea Mantegna’s *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 124), 1457-1459, the martyr is looking up towards the sky, presumably towards God in heaven, and has a painful expression on his face.³⁴¹ Whereas, Saint Theresa has a look of divine joy on her face as she embraces her death with her eyes closed and lips parted slightly, much like the cowboy in Monkman’s painting. The tables have turned on the rugged, Western frontiersman. Not only has he been stripped of his masculinity and, to his delight, his clothes, he has also become the subject of Indian study, rather than the observer. The cowboy is not so much a captive as a willing participant in a game of sadism and masochism with the high-heeled Indian Chief documenting the experience. Willie Nelson, a well-known country singer, satirizes the stereotype of cowboy homosexuality in his cover of Ned Sublette’s song, “Cowboys are Frequently Secretly (Fond of Each Other),” released on 14 February 2006. The lyrics, “You can’t fuck with a lady that’s sleepin’ in each cowboy’s head,” from Nelson’s song explains the cowboy’s psychology at the moment of his capture. Monkman has depicted the homosexual cowboy after he has let the “lady” or his real self out of his head. A white, male cowboy taken captive by a Native man was not a remarkable experience; however, the depiction

³³⁹ Fossum, 44.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 44-45. Fossum discusses the subject of Saint Sebastian as an allegorical representation of homosexual desire and sex.

of a Western icon engaging in sexual satisfaction with another man who is of Native descent and costumed as a woman is a disturbing reversal of power.

Many men were taken into Indian captivity throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, male captivity was more common than female captivity because “men made up the fighting forces . . . and were the leaders of the onslaught onto Indian lands.”³⁴² White explorers like John Smith, the first and most well-known male Indian captive, might be taken captive several times during their survey of North America. Images depicting the legend of Pocahontas saving John Smith from his captors has been recreated many times, from the first engravings done by Theodor de Bry in 1625, such as *Captain John Smith is saved by Pocahontas* (fig. 127) to contemporary Hollywood movies like Disney’s *Pocahontas* (fig. 128) in 1995 and *The New World* (fig. 129) in 2006. The legend as well as the images has stayed the same over the centuries. In Theodor de Bry’s version, Pocahontas is seen in the left middle background leaning over Smith in order to shield him from the impending blow of the club the Native man is holding as he is shown kicking Smith from behind. Although the scene of Pocahontas saving Smith’s life is important, other scenes are incorporated into the foreground and background. De Bry depicts the full narrative and includes other elements of the story besides the act of Pocahontas shielding Smith, such as Smith being bound and led to his execution in the background and his involvement in a tribal ritual in the Powhatan longhouse in the right foreground. Another version from 1870 by an unknown artist, *Pocahontas Saving John Smith, 1607* (fig. 130), further romanticizes the scene by solely focusing on the action of Pocahontas saving Smith. The Powhatans are

³⁴² Namias, 50.

also shown more as stereotypes of Native Americans living in tipis in a mountainous region, which conjures up images of Plains Indians. Subsequent images of Pocahontas saving Smith, such as Disney's *Pocahontas* and *The New World*, replay the same drama and romance by placing Smith's rescue at the height of action during the movies.

Smith married an Indian women, but the availability of women was scarce on the frontier. It is absurd to think that all the unmarried, white men on the frontier only had sexual relationships with women. Although there is no evidence of Anglo-American men having erotic relationships with Two-Spirited Indians, there is evidence of homoerotic sentiment in cowboy poetry and letters. Various poems and letters were written by male cowboys about other male cowboys where “not one of us could be considered effeminate, neurotic or abnormal. Yet all but two engaged in homosexual activities.”³⁴³

In the painting *The Rape of Daniel Boone Junior*, 2002 (fig. 131), Monkman is undermining the historical and ethnographic presentation of Daniel Boone's captivity and the subsequent rescue of Boone's daughter, while acknowledging the homosexual relationships that developed between men on the frontier. Monkman is referencing Charles Wimar's painting of a similar subject, *The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians* (fig. 16) from 1853, but he has changed the identity of the captive from Boone's daughter to his son. Historically, Daniel Boone was a folk hero known for having been taken captive twice in 1769 and 1778, escaping both times as well as rescuing his own daughter from captivity in 1776.³⁴⁴ Of course, Boone was not seen as weak as a result of his captivities. On the contrary, he was known for infiltrating enemy camps in order to

³⁴³ Williams, 159. Williams's quotes a letter from a man who “worked in an isolated all-male Western logging camp” in the early 1900's. However, other similar letters and poems are quoted from cowboy literature as well.

³⁴⁴ Namias, 63.

learn Indian ways of fighting and military, in order to use that knowledge against them later. As a result of his masculine and brave character exemplified by the rescue of his daughter Jemima, the rescue “became a popular tale (in the mid-seventeenth century) of female weakness and male prowess.”³⁴⁵ By inserting Boone’s son into the role of Jemima, Monkman recognizes the prevalence of male captivity and undermines Boone’s power and “prowess.” The fact that Boone’s son looks absolutely delighted to be taken captive and subsequently raped by Indians suggests that his captivity is not entirely forced. Perhaps, he was taken captive against his will at first, but his naked body skipping around the beach negates that initial supposition. Unlike Boone’s daughter, who is painted praying for her rescue, Boone’s son has no desire to be rescued. He has literally freed himself from the rigid confines of his clothes and he dons only an open shirt, a spear, and a tomahawk.

Alternatively, his Native captors are the ones that look as though they need to be rescued. Similarly to Wimar’s painting, the Indian captors in Monkman’s painting appear worried. However, they are not worried that white rescuers will find them and kill them. They are worried because they are not sure what to do with their giddy, male captive. Male captivity was normally a very violent event because male captives would most likely be tortured to death during their captivity, although some were adopted into Indian society.³⁴⁶ Neither one of those scenarios fits into Monkman’s painting: Daniel Boone Junior does not look tortured by his captors nor do the captors look as though they will accept him into their families. Junior is the one that looks odd and misplaced in this nineteenth-century Western landscape, yet this anti-heroic view of Anglo-American

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 64.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 50.

culture on the frontier is rarely shown. Monkman has constructed a range of inversions from nineteenth-century captivity stories and images with an added sense of humor.

ARTHUR AMIOTTE

Another contemporary artist, Arthur Amiotte, interrogates the colonial eye using Native American and American art from the nineteenth century. Amiotte's collage series spans two decades from 1988 to 2006 and has been described as a "synthesis of multiple cultural pathways- a hybrid culture."³⁴⁷ Amiotte and Janet Berlo, a writer and historian of Native American art and culture, traveled to archives and museums all over the country and to Native communities across the Northern Plains collecting various nineteenth-century graphic arts representing Native Americans. For instance, in *Home From School* (fig. 132), Amiotte has included a photograph of a Native American girl, pictured on the right, after she returned from boarding school. The piece of ledger paper is only slightly visible underneath the photograph and applied cream-colored paint. On the left-hand side is a nineteenth-century cover page from *The Minneapolis Tribune*, which represents the ideal of female beauty at the time. The Native girl's photograph is overlaid on ledger paper in place of the magazine cover, as Native Americans would not be featured on such a cover. As explained in chapter one, ledger paper was the primary means by which many Native people represented themselves because of its availability and the fact that it was highly portable. Amiotte juxtaposes the two ideals of beauty, non-Native and Native, on either side of the work, and then includes a young, Native girl in a bright and beautiful, but more "traditional" dress in the center. He explains in a caption written on the work that although the girls were "different" when they came

³⁴⁷ Arthur Amiotte and Janet C. Berlo, *Arthur Amiotte: Collages, 1988 – 2006* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2006), 1.

home from school that “they still dressed up in their good dresses when we danced in 1912.” Amiotte is charting the change in ideal Native American feminine beauty from before forced assimilation, represented by the traditional dress of the girl in the middle, to looking more like “those white girls.”

Assimilation tactics, captivity, and isolation on reservations stamped out many Native traditions and threatened many more. As a result, white Americans wanted to collect anything “traditionally” Native, in order to prepare for the inevitability of their demise. The collectors had “little interest in the current lives of people on the reservation” and only wanted “relics” of the “disappearing” culture, such as clothing, personal belongings and even human remains.³⁴⁸ Amiotte pokes fun at these nineteenth-century collectors in his piece *The Collector and The Collected* (fig. 133). Here he layered many different photographs of the male Indian stereotype dressed in the traditional Plains Indian regalia. His commentary in the left-hand corner of the work, “they said them Indians in the east sure like our war bonnets. We should make them some and send them over there,” highlights the fact that the popularized image of the Native American wearing a war bonnet is not representative of all Native people, only a select few from the Plains and Plateau. Another caption on the right comments on the collector as a man “in the east who wanted to buy our old clothes. They said he must be past Indian cause his name is Half a Heifer. Maybe he wants to pay us in cows.” The quotation adds a lot of humor about the fat, white collector, who must be “past Indian” because-- why else would he want their “old clothes?” Amiotte manages to interweave

³⁴⁸ Arthur Amiotte, “Adversity and Renewal” in Emma Hansen and Beatrice Medicine, *Memory and Vision: Arts, Cultures, and Lives of Plains Indian Peoples* (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 2007), 205.

the one-dimensional stereotype of the nineteenth-century Native American and make it relatable to contemporary twenty-first century views of Indian culture. *The Collector and The Collected* focuses on nineteenth-century collecting practices, but still resonates with today's collectors of Fort Marion ledger drawings and the white public's continued desire for Native cultural "artifacts."

Interestingly, because of the insatiable appetite of many collectors for everything Native, a few Native American men were able to make a profit from their notoriety and could buy items of modern technology like automobiles that even many of their American counterparts off the reservation could not afford. As discussed in chapter two, the notoriety of certain Indian Chiefs such as Sitting Bull and Geronimo attracted Wild West show owners like Buffalo Bill to hire them as headliners in their show. As mentioned previously, Sitting Bull even sold his photographs for a profit while on tour with the Wild West show. Geronimo also made money selling his autographs and photographs as well as by doing appearances at expositions, such as in Omaha for the 1898 Trans Mississippi and International Exposition.³⁴⁹ With proceeds from these appearances, Geronimo bought a new car. Walter Ferguson's photograph (fig. 134) of Geronimo driving his new Locomobile Model C car was taken while he was still incarcerated at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Philip Deloria, historian and professor of American culture at the University of Michigan, supposes that Geronimo may have been photographed in a car to "look incongruous, like something of a joke." He goes on to say that the joke was on his non-Native neighbors because he owned that car and traveled widely, whereas most of the general public would not have been able to afford an

³⁴⁹ Philip J Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 147.

automobile.³⁵⁰ The dichotomy between “savage” and “civilized” is highlighted by placing Geronimo, an Apache war chief, who the public saw as representative of “traditional” and “savage” Indian culture, in a modern automobile, a symbol of white American superiority and “technical excellence.”³⁵¹

The juxtaposition of “old” and “new” or “primitive” and “modern” is reiterated in Amiotte’s collages such as *New Horse Power* (fig. 135) and *We Saw Those Cows*, 1999 (fig. 136). Adding new to horsepower in the title of *New Horse Power* could be a statement of the obvious, which is that the automobile has a new kind of horsepower, or Amiotte could be ridiculing the general public for disassociating the car engine with horses, even though the term for engine power is horsepower. In a similar fashion to Ferguson’s photograph of Geronimo driving an automobile, Amiotte has drawn Indian figures wearing “traditional” garb inside a nineteenth-century advertisement for an automobile with an American flag sticking out of the hood. The figures are drawn to look like aged ledger drawings, while the automobile was new at the time of the advertisement. The irony is that the smiling Indian figures are new drawings by a contemporary artist, while the car itself is an advertisement from a century ago. The commentary, “We sure like these automobiles. We still like our horses more” divides the car in half between a single figure driving the car as he looks ahead and the four figures riding in the back of the car. Amiotte’s almost sarcastic tone is characteristic of his work. In *We Saw Those Cows*, he writes “We saw those cows that time. They were different from our cows back home at Pine Ridge.” The remark is inserted directly underneath four ledger-drawn figures sitting in a car staring at two cows in the road. The

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid, 136.

sky is framed by an advertisement for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and the collage resembles posters from Buffalo Bill's European or American tour. The mocking tone of the figures' observation might be a result of the fact that the Native Americans who toured with Buffalo Bill had much more worldly experience than the audiences who watched the performances in Europe and in the United States. The sarcastic comments continue in *New Horse Power*, 1994 (fig. 135).

Amiotte's message in *New Horse Power*, "Those white people sure like us in our new car. Maybe they were jealous," literally underscores the image above it. The white men in the upper, right-hand corner are staring at the ledger-drawn Indians in the car as if they are jealous of their car and, perhaps, their hair. The white man in the hat has an advertisement connected to his head, similar to a thought bubble from a comic strip, which gives advice to white men about how to keep from going bald. The clipping suggests that wearing a hat causes baldness because Indians do not wear hats and do not go bald, so it must be the hats that are causing white men's hair to fall out. It's a ridiculous conclusion, but Amiotte highlights another similar and strange association on the lower portion of the same work. On the lower, left quarter of the work, an Indian in a modern-style suit is pictured next to a group of "traditional" Indians inside a cart on the right, lower hand corner. Perhaps Amiotte is comparing how a modern Indian would have dressed with the way the white public pictured them. Contemporary public perception of Native culture has not changed much from the nineteenth century. Many people would still conjure up Amiotte's ledger-drawn figures as representative of all Native American groups. Amiotte successfully challenges the public's notion of how

society viewed Native culture in the nineteenth century and how that stereotyped view still affects society today.

Political and social progress has been made in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in regard to the treatment and reception of Native American culture. However, as the work of these artists indicates, nineteenth-century images of Native Americans still have a profound effect on the public mind, as they did a century ago. Native artists and non-Native communities look towards nineteenth-century images of Native Americans for inspiration and meaning in today's world is because of the power that those stereotypes had and continue to have today. The Mardi Gras Indian combines the nineteenth-century icon of the Wild-West-show Indian with an African heritage, which associates their community struggles with the plight of the Indian. Contemporary Native artists, such as Monkman and Amiotte, appropriate nineteenth-century images of Native Americans and use those images as tools to uncover history from the Native perspective. Also, Monkman and Amiotte re-present historical visual culture as a way of confronting the contemporary public with enduring stereotypes. By altering the iconic image of Wild-West-Show Indian from the nineteenth century and creating a new interpretation of that historical image, the Mardi Gras Indian, Monkman, and Amiotte have taken power away from the white public that helped create these iconic representations.

Conclusion

“I did not see anything to help my people. I could see that the Wasichus [white people] did not care for each other the way our people did before the nation’s hoop was broken. They would take everything from each other if they could, and so there were some who had more of everything than they could use, while crowds of people had nothing at all and maybe were starving.”

Black Elk, recounting his experience when visiting New York³⁵²

“But for me, I cannot forget our old ways. Often in summer, I rise at daybreak and steal out to the cornfields; and as I hoe the corn I sing to it, as we did when I was young. No one cares for our corn songs now.”

Gilbert L. Wilson, Waheenee woman, 1927³⁵³

“The Indians would say they were defending their territory, or exercising their right to be free upon it, to follow the buffalo as they had for centuries; the while authorities would say that they were punishing the Indians for depredations against the white settler, traders, rivermen, wood gatherers, and miners, or for leaving the reservations without permission. In any case, contrary to some opinions, these actions resulted from a clash of cultures. What caused this clash is evident. The Indians lived on territories that the whites wanted. Most such collisions occur when one culture wants something from the other. It is always astonishing when the invading culture feels it has the divined right (call it Manifest Destiny or whatever) to take that something, in this case, land-from the other.”

James Welch, writer, 1986³⁵⁴

Native Americans evolved as both the captor and captive within the narratives and within images representing those narratives from Rowlandson’s first narrative in 1682 to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Native American stereotypes were developed and disseminated through captivity narratives and stories from the seventeenth century

³⁵² Arthur Amiotte and Janet C. Berlo, *Arthur Amiotte: Collages, 1988 - 2006* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2006), 17. Prior to Black Elk’s tour to Europe with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.

³⁵³ Hansen, 215.

³⁵⁴ James Welch and Paul J. Stekler, *Killing Custer: The Battle of the Little Bighorn and the Fate of the Plains Indians* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 285.

through the twenty-first century, as a way to control and manipulate the native population. In many captivity narratives written by Anglo-Americans, Native Americans were pictured as “savage” attackers that only thought about killing their captives. At the turn of the twentieth century, Native Americans were more likely to be captives rather than take captives. The American general public continues to marginalize Native American culture and view them as the one dimensional stereotype that grew out of the Wild West shows of the nineteenth century. Native American stereotyping in popular culture continues to be as prevalent in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth century. This thesis strives to engage the American public with the existing ideas and conditions that limit Native American culture, which were a result of the treatment and captivity of the Native American population in previous centuries. Also, I try to include previously excluded Native American art and artists into American studies and culture. The last chapter focuses on contemporary culture and solidifies the ideas of previous chapters by questioning what productions are considered Native American versus American and what is considered high art versus craft. My hope is that presenting contemporary issues of stereotypes that were developed from early American history will further question and blur the lines that separate Native American and American culture.

Native American captivity narratives served political, religious, and social agendas of Euro-American cultures from early American history to the turn of the twentieth century. Narratives based on the captivity of white females were of particular interest because they were a way to illustrate the steadfast religious piety of the female captives, while condemning the “savagery” of the Native American captor. Eighteenth-century narratives evolved to popularized dime novels for a much broader audience in the

nineteenth century and allowed for the “heroic” white frontiersman to take charge within these stories. At that time, the Native American population was dwindling and most of the remaining population was forced onto reservations by the American military. By the end of the nineteenth century, the real captives were not the white female captives from dime novels, but the Native American people who were held as prisoners at various prisons and Forts across the country as well as on reservations. The only way a Native American could temporarily escape the reservation or prison was to participate as performers in Wild West shows or on display in World’s Fairs. The audiences associated the Native American roles in these performances as historically accurate representations of Native Americans as aggressive “savages” in need of assimilation. However, the continued persecution by the military of the already diminishing Native American population, as well as the mishandling of various Indian uprisings, such as the Ghost Dance, left the general public with questions about whether the Native American population was a threat at all and whether they would survive into the twentieth century.

A group of Indians imprisoned at Fort Marion, 1875-1878, produced and sold their ledger art to white visitors and public officials as well as to their captor, Richard Pratt, during their confinement. The Fort Marion ledger drawings are evidence of the convicts’ experiences from their own perspectives and that is why they are worth so much to museums and collectors today. The prisoners produced the drawings as a way to endure their confinement, while at the same time subtly resisting assimilation. Pratt encouraged the production of the ledger art because he knew the drawings would help the artists ease the transition from their past Native lives to their new lives as “modern” Americans. While assimilation tactics were being used to rid Native Americans of their

traditional past, Wild West shows sought to reinforce the “savage” Indian stereotype for the entertainment of the Anglo-American public.

The cartoon from the *Quarterly Journal* in 1917 (fig. 86) epitomizes the white public’s perception of Native American culture at the turn of the twentieth century, as a result of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and other shows of the same kind. In the top portion of the cartoon, a modern white man shakes the hand of the cartoon Indian equivalent of a Native American performer in a Wild West show. The speech balloon coming out of the white man’s mouth reads, “How! Heap big Injun!” “Heap big Injun” is a degrading and stereotyped dialect that, from the perspective of the white man, he would be forced to use in order to communicate with the Indian man. Behind the white man stands his wife, who is shielding their child away from the two Native Americans as she looks toward her husband for guidance. Standing behind her husband is a Native American woman whose dialogue balloon says, “Ugh;” presumably because she cannot speak in complete sentences and is disgusted by the exchange between her husband and the white man. The “reality” of the meeting between the white and Native American man is below. Both men greet each other warmly, although the white man is completely surprised by the modern appearance and educated greeting of the Indian couple. The white man actually says, “Gosh all fish hooks,” which seems much more ignorant than both of the Indian couple’s greetings. The cartoon presents the “expected” image of the Indian from Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and juxtaposes that with the “reality” of the modern Indian. The only way most of the general public would be exposed to Native American culture was through Native American performances or on display at World’s Fairs. Therefore, images of “savage” Native Americans in feathered headdresses were prevalent in the

nineteenth century, but because of a long history of unfair, and often violent, treatment of Native Americans, new forms of representation indicate that many white Americans began to empathize somewhat with them by the early years of the twentieth century.

Couse's *The Captive*, 1891, reflected contemporary cultural anxiety about Indian culture and captivity practices, as well as referencing a lack of understanding of white culture from the Native American perspective. Evidencing a rising concern about the "disappearance" of Indian culture, Native Americans were paraded around for the entertainment of the public, written about in Western dime novels, and depicted in American historical paintings such as *The Captive*. Earlier in the nineteenth century tensions between Indian and white culture usually led to negative stereotypes of Indian "brutality" as a way of legitimizing the confiscation of their land. But towards the end of the nineteenth century, many images better reflected the intricacies of Indian culture, rather than solely relying on images of violence and aggression. Artists like Couse were beginning to sympathize with the plight of Indians and represented them as dynamic individuals who were a foundational part of the American historical landscape. For the most part, Native Americans were not in control of what was being said about them and were unable to present their opinions on the injustices of the nineteenth century. But through their art and performances as well as through the few Indians who were able to speak out, such as Sitting Bull, they were not completely "silent."

The saying "imitation is the highest form of flattery" has positive and negative connotations when it comes to the Mardi Gras Indian, Kent Monkman, and Arthur Amiotte. The Mardi Gras Indian has borrowed from the nineteenth-century Plains Indian dress as one source of the inspiration for their Mardi Gras costumes. African American

men continue to use the feathered headdresses and beadwork of nineteenth-century Native Americans as motifs in their masking costumes for the Mardi Gras day battles. Mardi Gras Indian regalia continues to reflect the Plains Indian war bonnets and dress (fig. 113), although the Mardi Gras Indian evolves with the changing tastes and attitudes of the multi-cultural community in New Orleans. During the course of the twentieth and twenty first centuries, the Mardi Gras costume became a unique production and no longer had much to do with Plains Indian culture, except for the beadwork images on the aprons of the costumes. But once again, the Mardi Gras Indian has returned to his original suit designs and reverted to the original style of costume, which resembles Plains Indian dress more closely. Even though the Plains Indian-style Mardi Gras Indian suit, such as Norman Cook's (fig. 118), has a less colorful design than the more popular style suits of Howard Miller (fig. 20) and Roy Vernado (fig. 114), perhaps the appeal comes not from the color of the costume, but the power of identifying themselves with another community who has a shared history in New Orleans and were also persecuted by Anglo-American culture.

Native American artist Kent Monkman does not replicate Native American style, but instead borrows from European and American Old Master works of the nineteenth century to create his own contemporary interpretation of the old West. Monkman uses the well-known paintings and sculptures as backdrops for his analysis of sexual relations and white masculine stereotypes on the frontier. The highly sexualized paintings deal with very serious issues of the treatment and persecution of Native Americans during the era of Westward Expansion, using a highly sarcastic and humorous tone. A different visual effect is manifest in the art of Arthur Amiotte, who also uses humor in his collages

in order to successfully examine the relationship between how the general public viewed the Native American community in the nineteenth century and how that judgment has translated into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Instead of reimagining Old Master works from a Native point of view like Monkman, Amiotte collages actual photographs, ledger receipts, and other historical visual documents within his own commentary and artwork. The reuse of nineteenth-century visual images of Native Americans speaks to the power that those images had in the nineteenth century and the fact that certain stereotypes still remains intact today. The Mardi Gras Indian uses that stereotype in order to reference the resilience of the Native American community, while Native artists like Monkman and Amiotte employ paint and collage to address those stereotypes in order to confront the contemporary public with the misconceptions they still harbor from over a century ago. Monkman and Amiotte represent a new generation of Native American artists who imbue the Native perspective into historical Native American images and reinvigorate them with a new and oppositional power. As a result, Native American artists are presenting an altered nineteenth-century history from the Native point of view and are no longer being held captive by the nineteenth-century stereotypes. My research contributes historical context for possibly leading to new

Through my research, the goals and strategies of contemporary artists like Monkman and Amiotte My research serves as historical context for appreciating the goals and strategies of contemporary artists like Monkman and Amiotte and will hopefully lead to new discoveries and interpretations of contemporary American works.

Figures



Figure 1: Eanger Irving Couse, *The Captive*, 1891

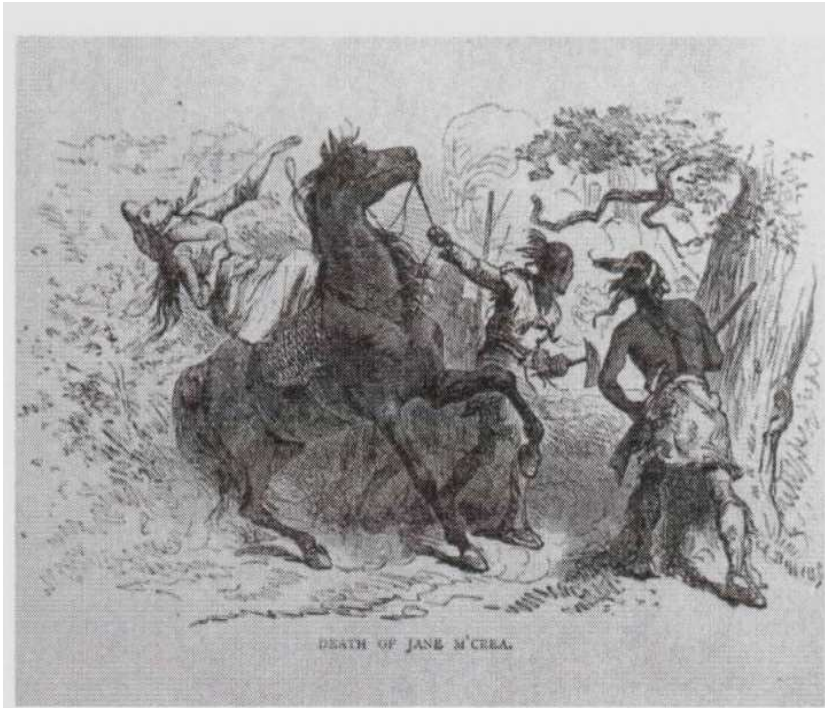


Figure 2: *Death of Jane M'Creia* (from Benson J. Lossing's *Our Country*, 1888, p. 928)

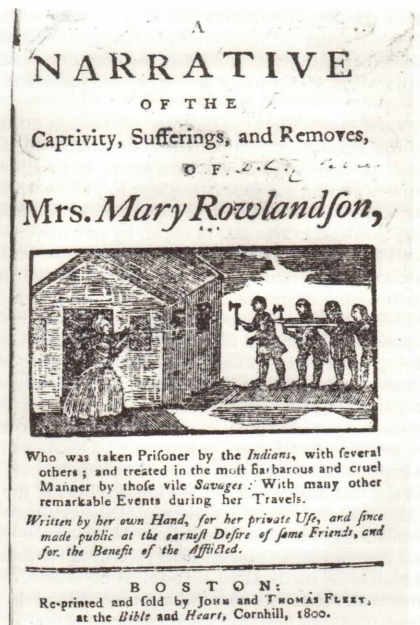


Figure 3: An armed Mary Rowlandson, a woodcut that first appeared in a 1773 edition of her narrative. Source: Title page. *A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removed of Mrs. Rowlandson* (Boston 1800), p. 186 from *Captivating Selves, Captivating Others*



Figure 4: A Map of Part of the Continent of North America, 1805 from Martin Bruckner's *The Geographic Revolution in Early America*, page 205.



Figure 5: Theodore de Bry, *Grands Voyages*, Part I, 1590



Figure 6: Alfred Jacob Miller, *The Trapper's Bride*, 1845



Figure 7: John Vanderlyn, *Death of Jane McCrea*, 1804



Figure 8: John Gadsby Chapman, *The Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia*, 1840, oil on canvas, in the U.S Capitol Rotunda, John Rolfe is shown to the right of Pocahontas; behind him are her brother, sister (seated), and Opechancanough.



Figure 9: Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait, *The Last War Whoop*, 1855, oil on canvas



Figure 10: John Gast, *American Progress*, 1872, Library of Congress



Figure 11: John Mix Stanley, *Osage Scalp Dance*, 1845

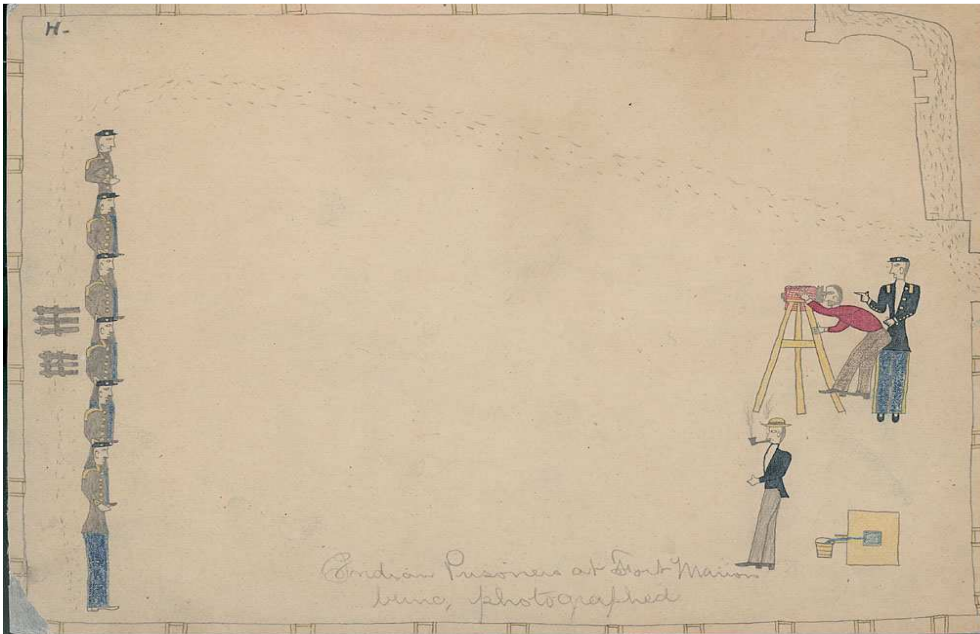


Figure 12: "Indian Prisoners at Fort Marion Being Photographed," drawing, 22 x 29 cm, (Photographer with large camera on tripod shooting row of prisoners in uniform standing on ramparts of Fort Marion, cannon in background, figure smoking pipe probably George Fox, collector of book)



Figure 13: Cover, "Historical Sketches & Program" for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World, 1900



Figure 14: Bailey, Dix, and Mead, *Sitting Bull*, albumen silver print, 12.2 x 9.1 cm, 1882



Figure 15: John C. H. Grabill, General Miles and Buffalo Bill Viewing Hostile Indian Camp near Pine Ridge, January 16, 1891



Figure 16: Charles Wimar, *The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians*, 1853



Figure 17: Henry Farny, *The Captive (The Prisoner)*, 1885



Figure 18: Kent Monkman, *Heaven and Earth*, 2001



Figure 19: Arthur Amiotte, *Lakota Travel in Europe*, 2007

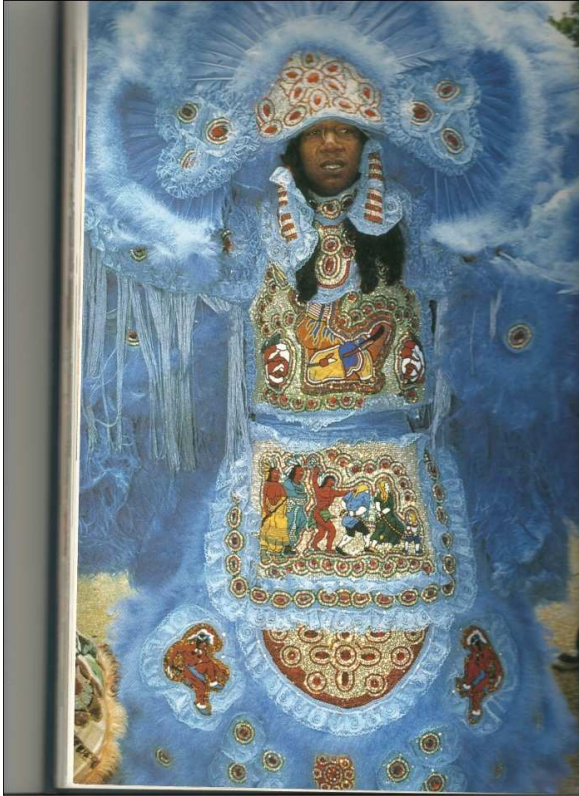


Figure 20: Mardi Gras Indian, Howard Miller, 1993, from *The House of Dance and Feathers: A Museum* by Ronald W. Lewis

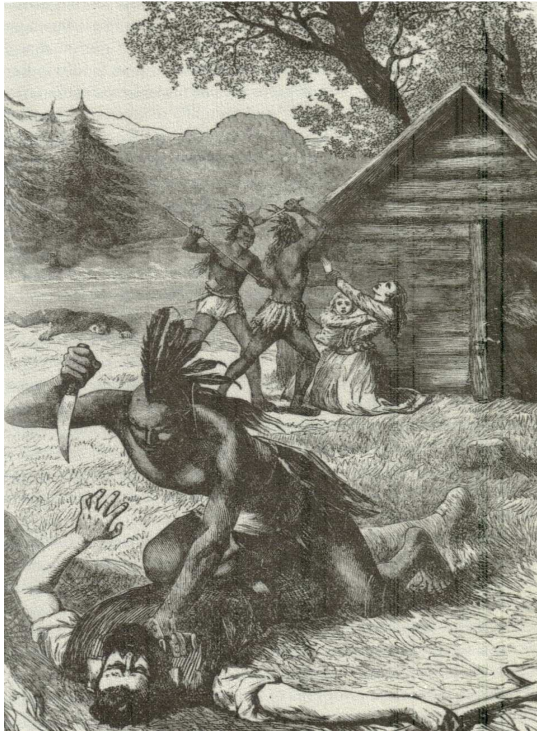


Figure 21: Image from Opechancanough's warriors falling on Virginia colonists in 1622

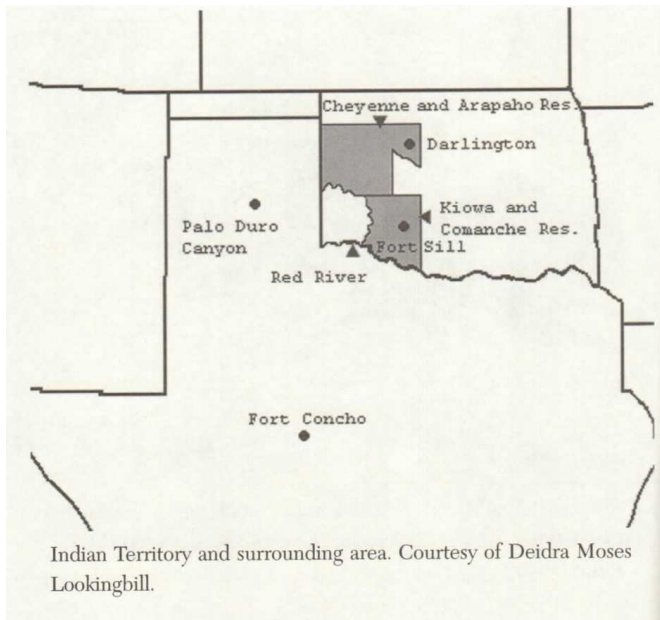


Fig. 22: Indian Territory from Brad Lookingbill's *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners*, 132.

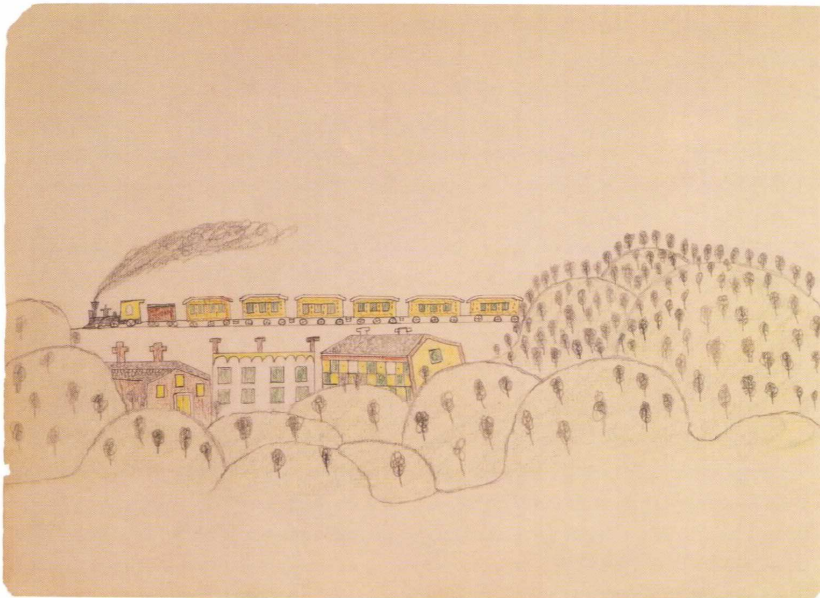


Fig. 23: Making Medicine, 6 ¼ x 7 ¾ inches, Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, from Joyce Szabo's *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*

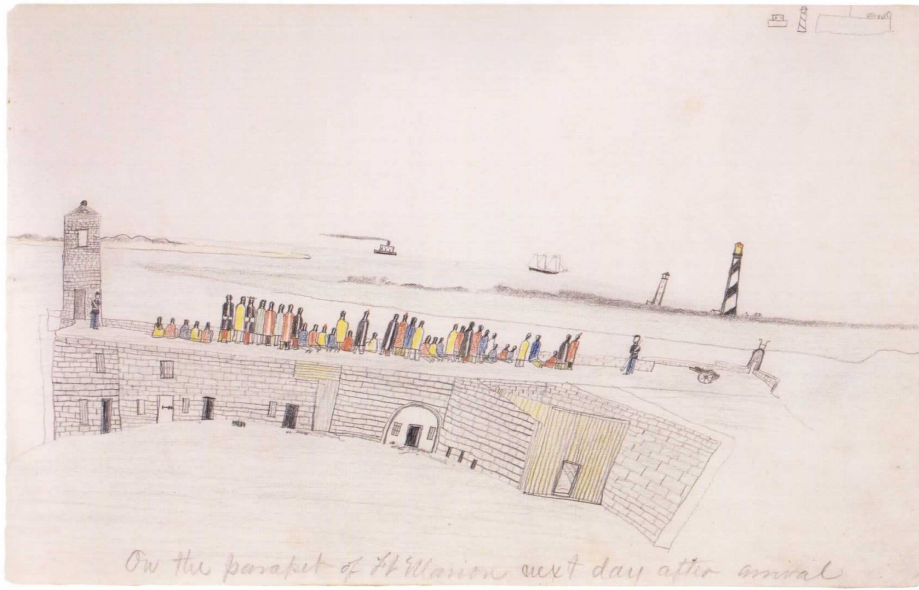


Fig. 24: Zotom, *On the Parapet of Ft. Marion Next Day after Arrival*, 8 ½ x 11 inches, Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, from Joyce Szabo's *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*



Fig. 25: Buffalo robe, Northwestern Plains artist, circa 1850–1875. Buffalo hide, paint. 86 x 94-1/4 inches. Peabody Essex Museum; gift of Stephen Wheatland, Augustus P. Loring, Thomas Barbour, and Lawrence Jenkins, 1945, E24991. Photography by Mark Sexton and Jeffrey Dykes.



Fig. 26: Photograph from the mid-1870s of a pile of American bison skulls waiting to be ground for fertilizer, circa 1870, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

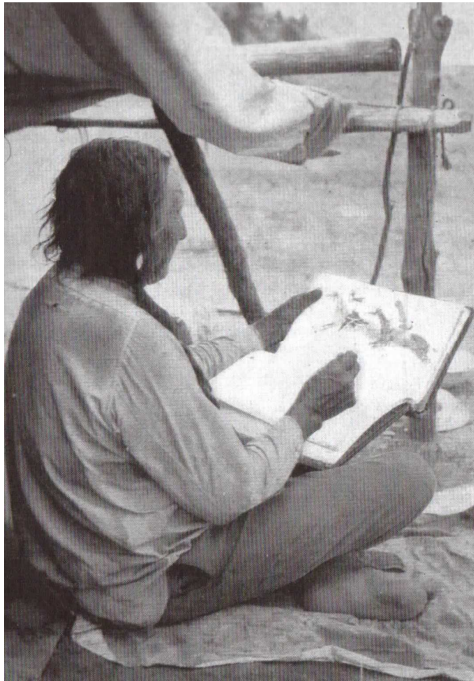


Figure 27: Richard Wooden Leg, Northern Cheyenne, drawing in a ledger book, circa 1928, photo by Thomas Marquis

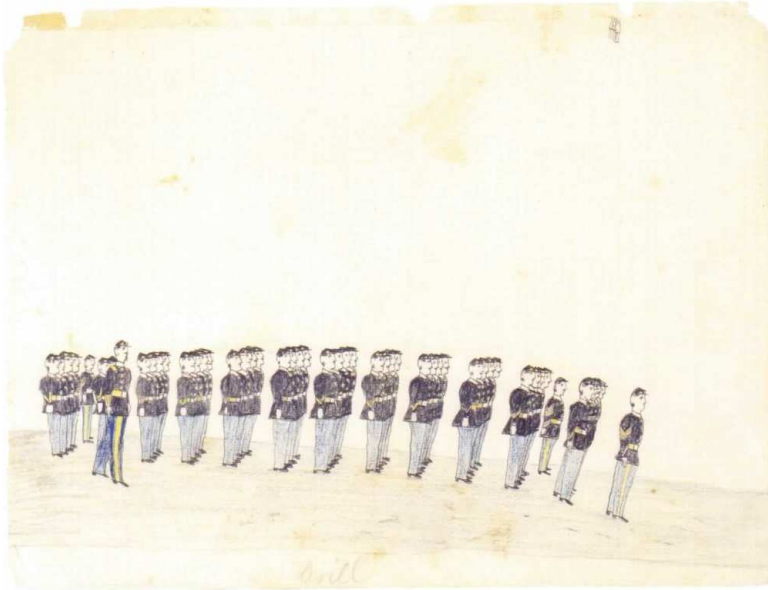


Fig. 28: Zotom, *Drill*, 8 ¼ x 10 ¾ inches, Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, from Joyce Szabo's *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*

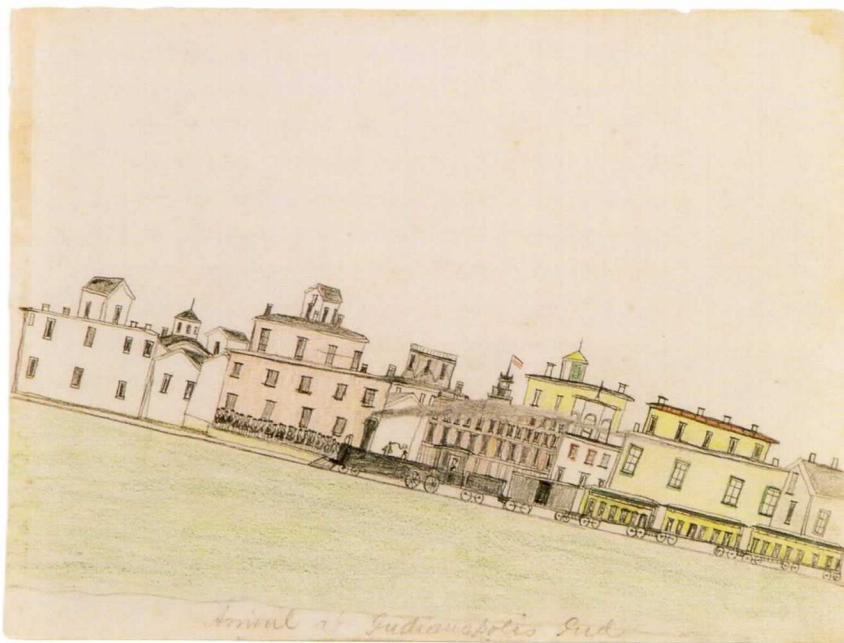


Fig. 29: Zotom, *Arrival at Indianapolis Ind.*, 8 ¼ x 11 inches. Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, from Joyce Szabo's *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*



Fig. 30: Zotom, *Captain Pratt and Mr. Fox Going to Inspection*, 8 x 10 ½ inches, Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, from Joyce Szabo's *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*



Figure 31: Bear's Heart, 8.5 x 11", Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum



Figure 32: Tichkematse drawing of Cheyenne man with quiver on horseback aiming bow and arrow at wounded buffalo, 1879 November 8



Figure 33: Wo-Haw, Kiowa, *Between two cultures*, pencil and crayon, 8.75 x 11.25"

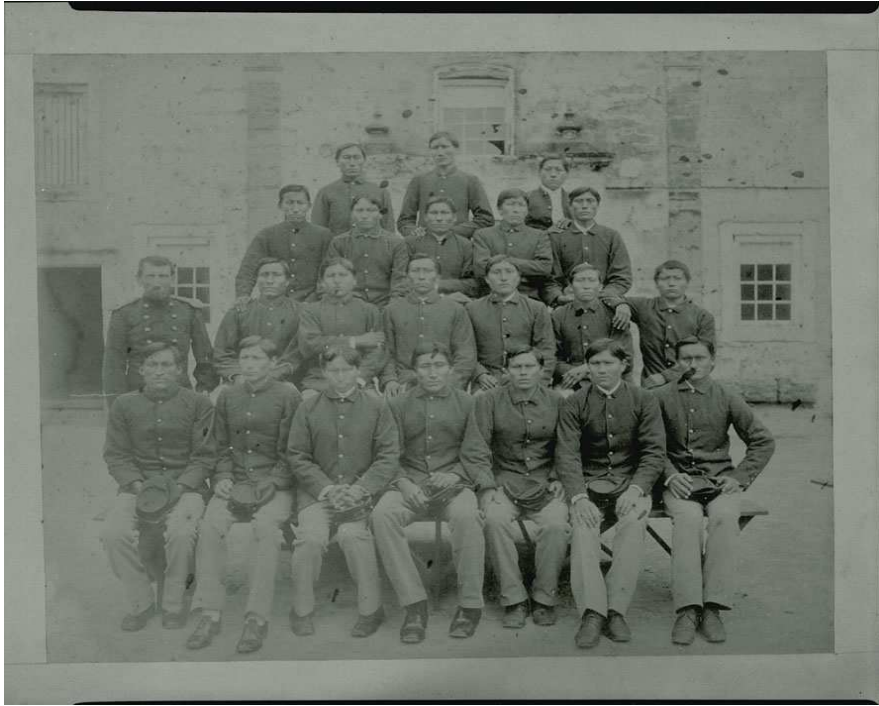


Figure 34: Captain Pratt and Indian boys posed in front of building, Fort Marion, Florida Mar or Apr 1878



Figure 35: Making Medicine drawing of wagons holding Indian prisoners traveling under Army guard through wooded area, 1875



Figure 36: Photograph of “Wild Bill” Hickok, Texas Jack, and Buffalo Bill in 1873 during the production year of “The Scouts on the Plains”



Figure 37: Making Medicine, *Lessons in Archery at Fort Marion*, no date

**Indian Sports and
War Dance.**

Under the Auspices of the St Augustine Yacht Club.

Captain R. H. Pratt, U. S. A., has kindly consented to permit the Indians under his charge to give a war dance, in costume, and display their prowess with the bow and arrow.

AFTERNOON SPORTS.
(IN FRONT OF MARKET.)

Arrow Pitching and Archery. — Over Thirty of the Braves will compete and pierce a target at the extraordinary distance of 300 Yards.

FORT SAN MARCO, 8 o'clock.

PROGRAMME OF DANCES.

INTRODUCTION — Cheyenne Walk Round.
Otago War Dance; (to which horses will be introduced.)
Kiowa Ring Dance.

The whole Troupe will be divided as follows :

Singers.

| | | |
|--------------|-------|---------------|
| White Horse, | Awik, | Buffalo Meat, |
| | | Little Chief, |
| | | Tah-die-tah. |

Dancers.

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>1st Company.</p> <p>Little Medicine, Capt.</p> <p>Tio-oo-kah-da.</p> <p>Shave Head.</p> <p>Wohaw.</p> <p>Wy-a-ko.</p> <p>Coboo.</p> <p>Tom-ko-uh.</p> <p>Zoo-ko-uh.</p> <p>Chik-tant.</p> <p>Squint-Eyes.</p> <p>Chief Killer.</p> | <p>2d Company.</p> <p>Bear's Heart, Capt.</p> <p>Nick.</p> <p>White Bear.</p> <p>White Man.</p> <p>Ta-a-way-ite.</p> <p>Maw-ko-pah.</p> <p>E-tah-die-uh.</p> <p>Packer.</p> <p>Zatom.</p> <p>Buzzard.</p> <p>Rising Bull.</p> |
|---|---|

The Committee beg leave to announce that this will positively be the last public performance of the Indians.

ADMTSSION.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Reserved Seats, (Red.) | 50 Cents. |
| To the Ramparts, (Green.) | 25 Cents. |

The Fund raised by Admission to the Fort is to be devoted to the EDUCATION OF ONE OF THE INDIANS.

COMMITTEE.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Capt. R. H. Pratt, U. S. Army. | Robt. D. Bronson, Esq., St. A. Yacht Club. |
|-----------------------------------|---|

Figure 38: *Broadside* issued during March of 1878, Wo-Haw is featured as an Indian dancer in the program held at the St. Augustine Yacht Club

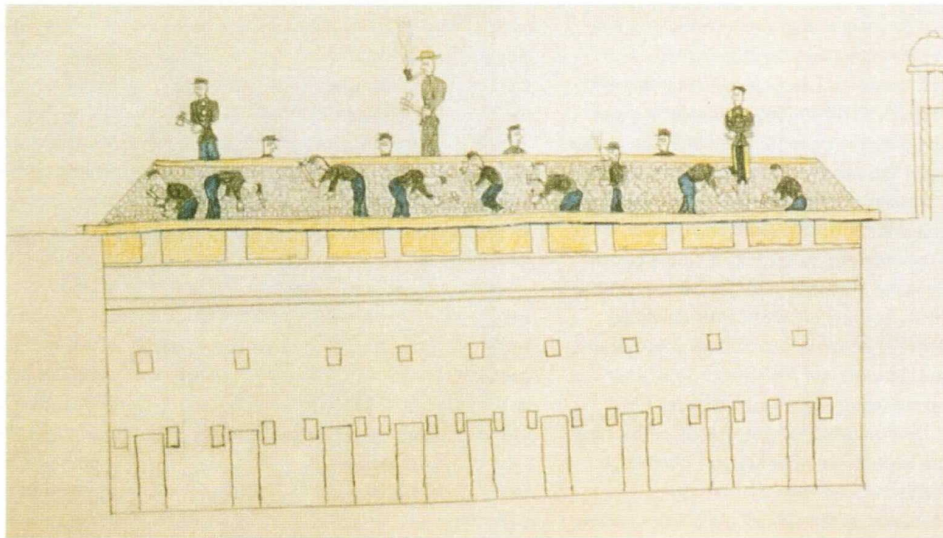


Figure 39: Making Medicine, Cheyenne, *Shingling the Roof*, 1876-77



Figure 40: J. N. Choate, *Mary Perry, John Chaves, Bennie Thomas-Pueblos*, no date, albumen print mounted on album page



Figure 41: J. N. Choate, *Mary Perry, John Chaves, Bennie Thomas-Pueblos*, no date, albumen print mounted on album page



Figure 42: A. A. Line, *Carlisle Indian School-Weaving*, no date, modern gelatin silver print from vintage glass negative

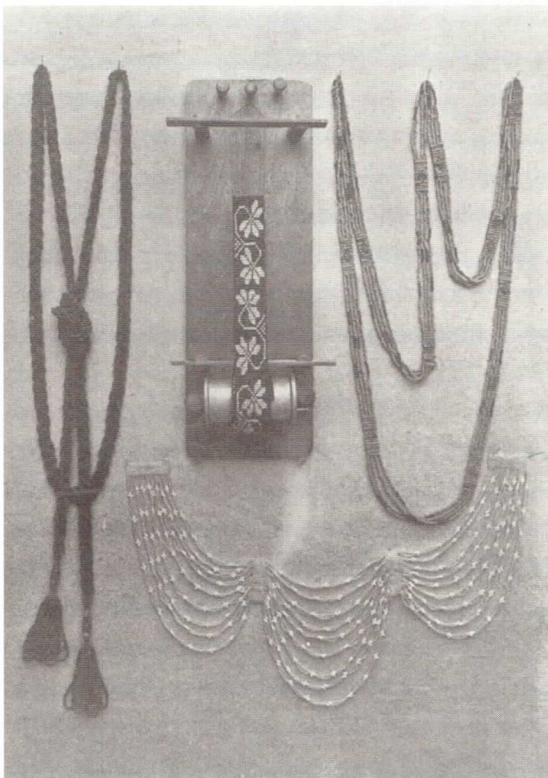


Figure 43: Illustration from G. Pomeroy, "Bead Work," *Ceramic Studio*. 6.9 (January 1905):207.

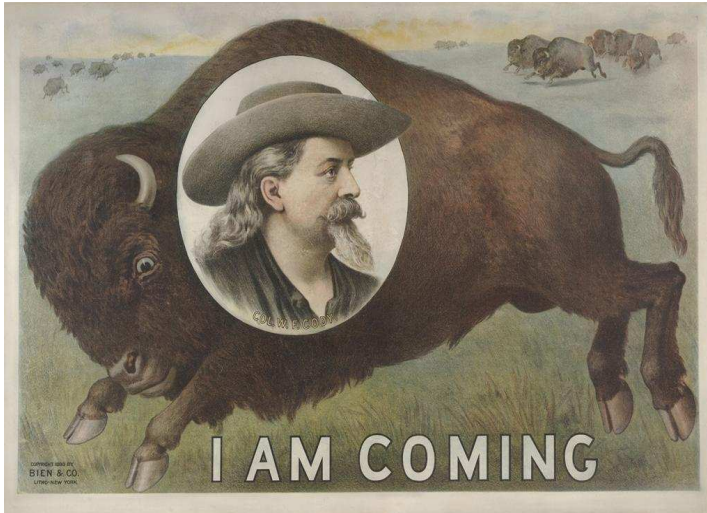


Figure 44: Bien & Co, Buffalo Bill: I Am Coming, Print, 1898, ink on paper, 28 ½ x 42 inches, ARTstor collections



Figure 45: Weiners C. H. Wall, Je Viens, prints, April 2nd, 1905, ink on paper, 35 x 39 ¾ inches, ARTstor collections

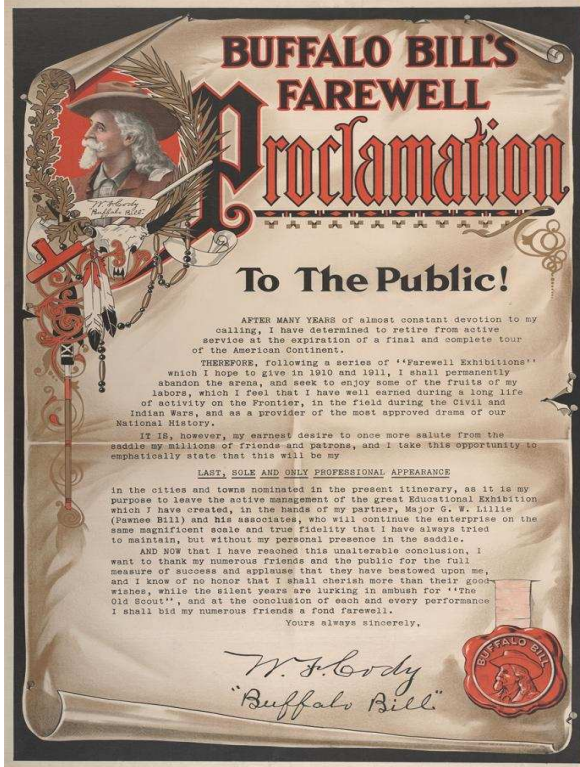


Figure 46: U.S. Litho, Buffalo Bill: Proclamation to the Public, Print, 1910, ink on paper, 40 x 27 ½ inches, ARTstor collections



Figure 47: Title page created by Eva Scott for Howling Wolf's book of drawings. All of Howling Wolf's drawings in the book are in some combination of ink, colored pencil, graphite, and crayon, 6" x 10," from Joyce Szabo's *Imprisoned Art, Complex Patronage: Plains Drawings by Howling Wolf and Zotom at the Autry National Center*, 118.



Figure 48: Indian head penny from 1908



Figure 49: Photograph in front of a Tobacco Store, circa 1880s



Figure 50: John Mix Stanley, *Group of Piegan Indians*, 1867, oil on canvas, 27 x 41"



Figure 51: Tompkins H. Matteson, *The Last of the Race*, 1847, oil on canvas, 39 3/4" x 50 1/16", New-York Historical Society, New York



Figure 52: Charles M. Russell, *The Last of His Race*, 1899, ink on paper, 38.7 x 64.1 cm, C. M. Russell Museum, Great Falls, Montana



Figure 53: Frederic Remington, *Conjuring Back the Buffalo*, 1892, oil on canvas

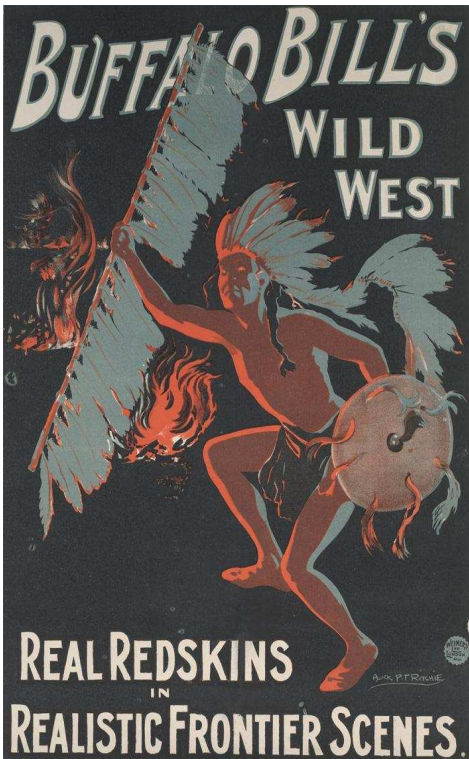


Figure 54: Weiners C. H. Wall, Buffalo Bill: Real Redskins, Print, ink on paper, 29 x 20 inches, no date, ARTstor collections



Figure 55: Sells Floto Circus & Buffalo Bill Wild West: Shooting Indian, Print, Ink on paper, 40 x 28 inches, no date, from ARTstor collections



Figure 56: *Three Sioux Chiefs with Cheyenne Bill's Big Show*, from *Seattle Times* newspaper, 13 July 1909.

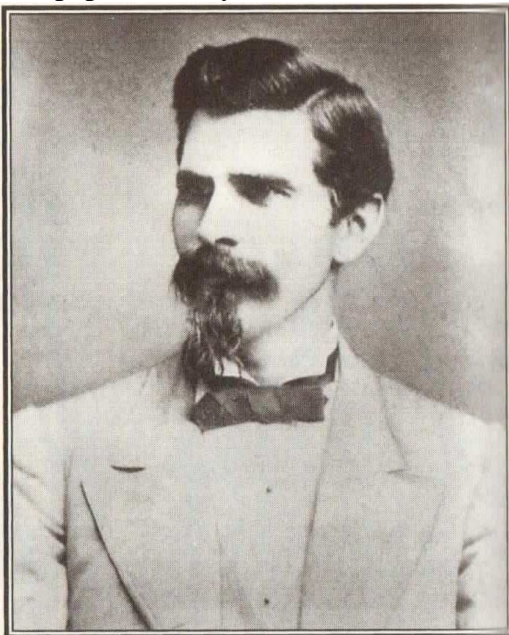


Figure 57: James McLaughlin, Standing Rock agent, North Dakota Historical Society, from Robert Utley's *Sitting Bull: The Life and Times of an American Patriot*

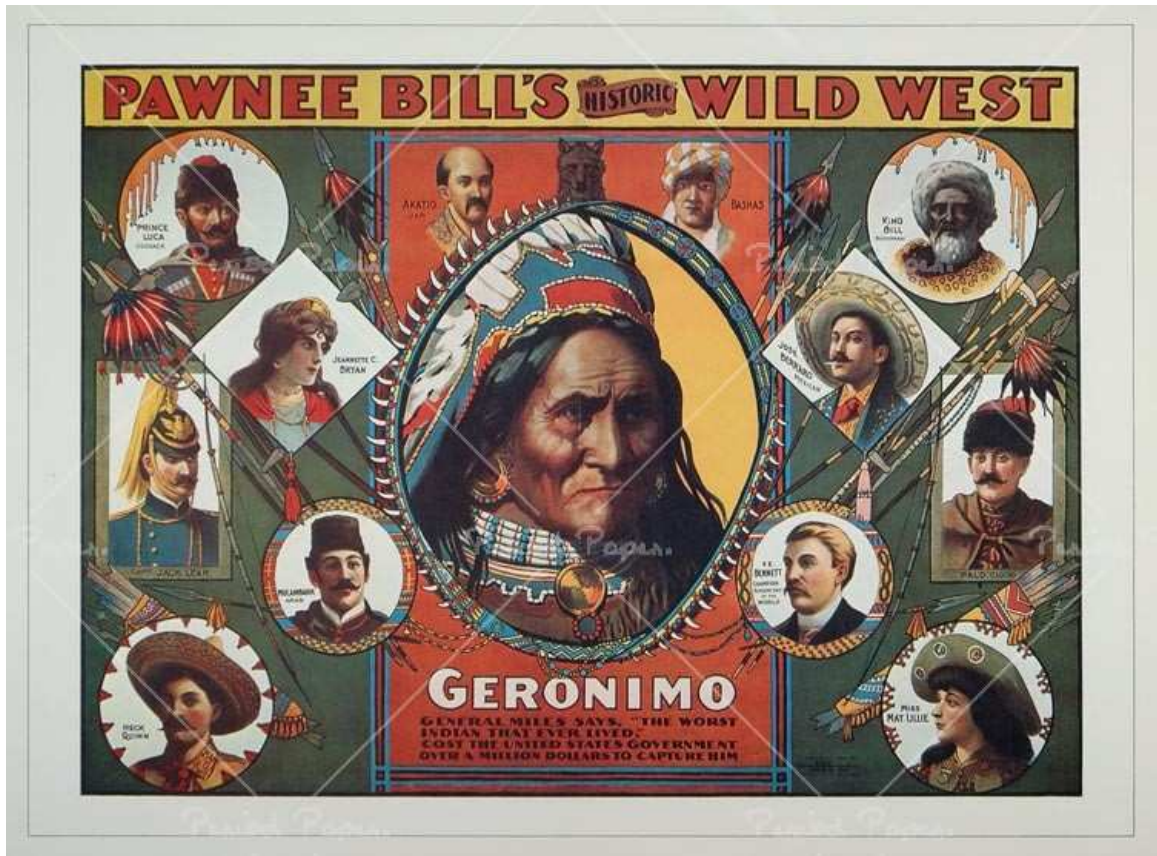


Figure 58: Geronimo poster for the 1906 season of Pawnee Bill's Wild West, 28" x 42", color lithograph, Circus World Museum

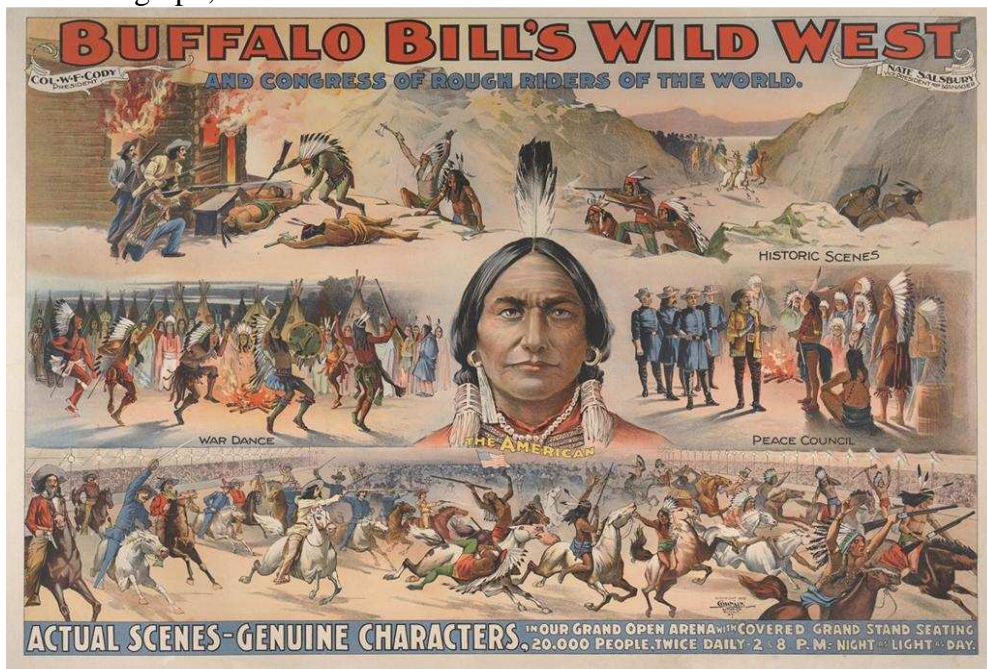


Figure 59: Currier Co., Buffalo Bill: The American, 1896, Print, ink on paper, 28 ¼ x 41 ¼ inches, ARTstor collections



Figure 60: William Frederick Cody in his younger years as a buffalo hunter

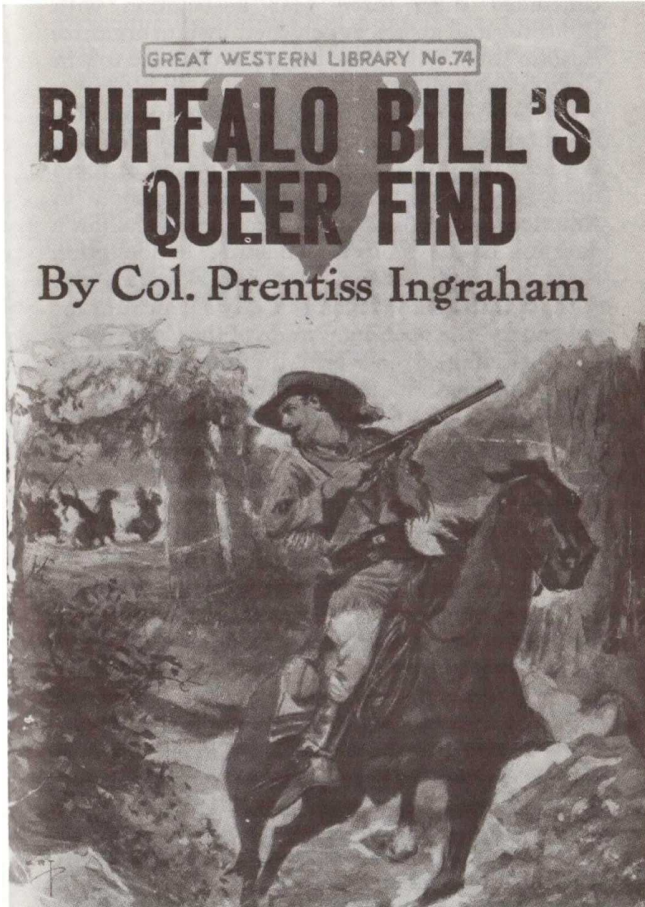


Figure 61: Cover for one of Buffalo Bill's dime novels, from Daryl Jones' *The Dime Novel Western*, 63.



Figure 62: Major John Burke, Cody's loyal press agent



Figure 63: Nate Salisbury, The formidable manager of the Wild West



Figure 64: Irving R. Bacon, *Conquest of the Prairie*, 1908, oil on canvas



Figure 65: American Indians set up camp at Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 1909, from the edited journal “The Idle Record of an Idle Summer”



Figure 66: Jeroen Vogtschmidt, *Dog Soldier Chief Tall Bull*, no date, from Jeff Broome's "Susanna Alderdice and the Cheyennes."



Figure 67: Buffalo Bill's Wild West, poster, circa 1907, [McCracken Research Library](#), [Buffalo Bill Historical Center Gift of The Coe Foundation](#)



Figure 68: Emanuel Leutze, *Indians Attacking a Wagon Train*, 1863, oil on canvas



Figure 69: Carl Wimar, *The Attack on the Emigrant Train*, circa 1856, oil on canvas



Figure 70: Charles Schreyvogel (1861-1912), *The Summit Springs Rescue*, 1869, from Jeff Broome's "Susanna Alderdice and the Cheyennes."



Figure 71: Wm. Cody (Buffalo Bill) and Pawnee Indians, Anderson at Staten Island, 1886, 9 1/2" x 14 1/2", photograph, To Cody's right are Pawnee scouts and to his left are Sioux chiefs, from Joseph Rosa and Robin May's *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography*, 86.



Figure 72: A biting cartoon of 1890 attacks corrupt government Indian agents.



Figure 73: Photograph taken at the height of Buffalo Bill's career



Figure 74: David F. Barry, Rain-in-the-Face, albumen silver print, 13.7 x 9.9 cm, 1888, from Goodyear's *Faces of the Frontier: Photographic Portraits from the American West*.



Figure 75: *The Death of Custer* at the Battle of the Little Bighorn as re-enacted in Buffalo Bill's Wild West, no date, photograph, Library of Congress



Figure 76: Cody reenacting the taking of the first scalp of Yellow Hand for Custer, scene from the film *Indian Wars*, 1913, ARTstor collections



Figure 77: "First Scalp for Custer," image from 1903 brochure for Buffalo Bill's Wild West




Figure 78: Poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West



Figure 79: Poster, "Chief Iron Tail, Last of the Great Chiefs," advertising the Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill shows, 1912

MONTREAL DRIVING PARK.
SOMETHING NEW, REALISTIC, GRAND.
 Six Performances Only, commencing Aug. 15th.
 Gates open at 1. performance at 1.30 p.m.
First of Kings.
FIRST TIME IN CANADA!
 The Greatest Revue of the Continent.

Buffalo Bills




Wild West

The following are a few of the numerous FEATURES:

THE RENOWNED SIOUX CHIEF.
SITTING BULL.
 And Staff, **WHITE EAGLE** and 52 Braves.
 The One-Legged Sioux Boy, **FRISKING KICK**
 The Great Marksman from the Western
 Border, Miss **ANNIE CALLET**
 Largest **HERD OF BUFFALO** ever exhibited.
 Grand Indian **BUFFALO HUNT**, known as
 the "SUBROUNE".
 The Phenomenal Bor Shot, **JOHNNY
 BAKER**, Cowboy Kid, **SET O'LOVER**, the un-
 equalled Cowboy shot, shooting at marbles,
 half dollars and nickels.
MUSTANG JACK, the Champion Jumper,
 jumping over a horse 16 1/2 hands high.
BUFFALO BILL will shoot at clay pigeons
 from traps; also with revolver, rifle, on foot,
 and on horseback at full speed at glass balls.
BUCK TAYLOR, King of the Cowboys, in
 novel equestrianism, **Loosing Wild Cattle**.
YELLOW HAND'S death by Buffalo Bill.
BUCKING ROBBER.
SEVEN GRAND BATTLE SCENES, similar
 to Fish Creek, Cut Knife and Batoche.
 Music furnished by the Famous Cowboy
 Band. We fulfil every promise.

COPY & SALSBUURY, Proprietors.
 Admission, 50c. Children, 25c.
 Grand Street Parade, at 10 a.m., **MONDAY**,
 August 15th.

CALEDONIAN SOCIETY



ANNUAL GAMES!

MONTREAL LACROSSE GROUNDS.
SATURDAY, 15th AUGUST.
 170 a.m.

Figure 80: Newspaper advertisement for Montreal performance, August 15th, 1885



Figure 81: Kicking Bear (left) and Short Bull (right)



Figure 82: Indian cremation dance, photograph, 1903, from Farnum's *Pawnee Bill's Wild West: A Photo Documentary of the 1900-1905 Show Tours*.



Figure 83: Photograph of 600 Oglala Sioux women waiting patiently in line on ration day at the Pine Ridge agency in South Dakota



Figure 84: Chauncey Yellow Robe and his Family

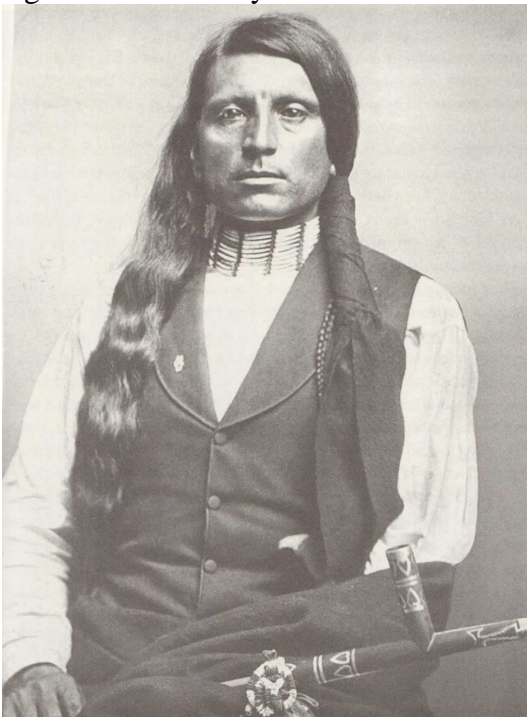


Figure 85: Red Shirt during his tour with Buffalo Bill's Wild West in England in 1887



Figure 86: "Expectation and Reality." From *Quarterly Journal*, 1917

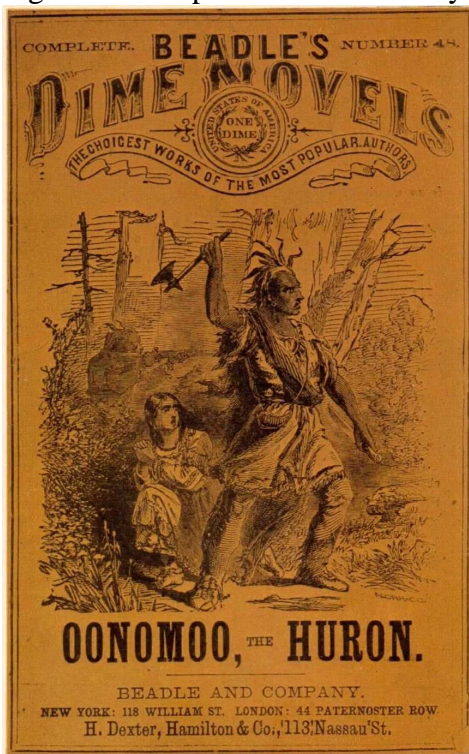


Figure 87: Edward S. Ellis, *Oonomoo, the Huron*, Illustration from Beadle and Company Dime Novel, probably appeared on June 1, 1862, from Edmund Pearson's *Dime Novels*

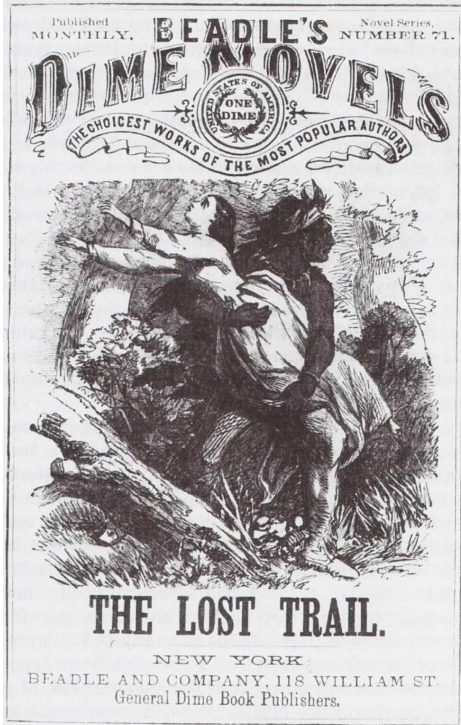


Figure 88: Cover of *The Lost Trail*, a dime novel published by Beadle and Company, 1864, Library of Congress



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Figure 101: Eanger Irving Couse, *Mourning Her Brave*, 1893



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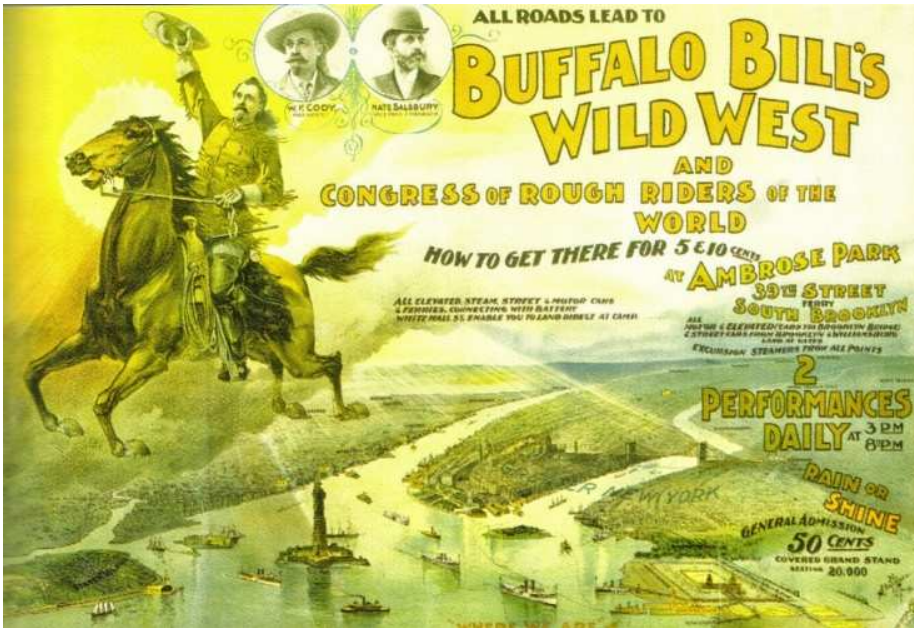


Figure 103: Anonymous Artist, *All Roads Lead to Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 1895



Figure 104: Maynard Dixon, *What an Indian Thinks*, October 1905 issue of *Sunset*



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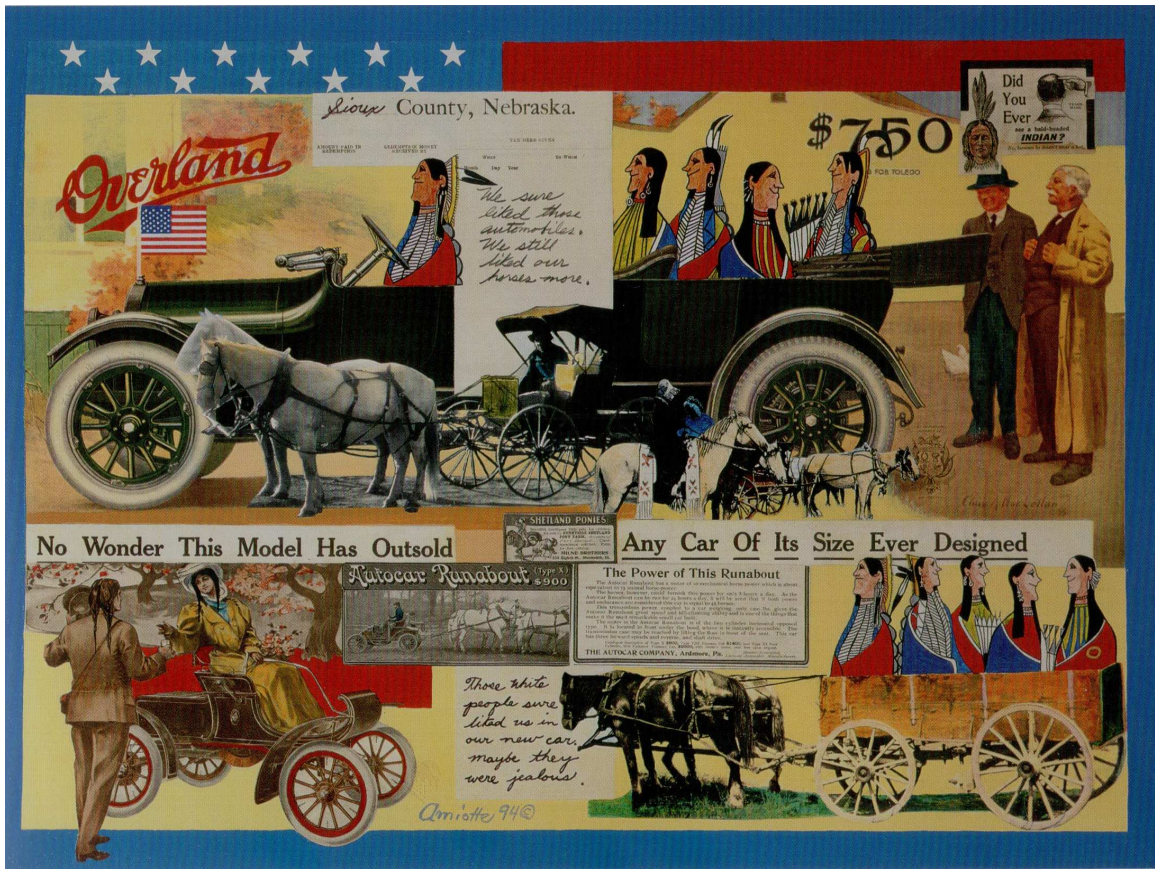


Figure 135: Arthur Amiotte, *New Horse Power*, 1994, 18 x 24, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, from Amiotte and Berlo's *Arthur Amiotte: Collages, 1988 – 2006*



Figure 136: Arthur Amiotte, *We Saw Those Cows*, 1999, 14 x 18, Collection of Miranda and Robert Donnelley, from Amiotte and Berlo's *Arthur Amiotte: Collages, 1988 – 2006*

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