

The European Perception of the Native American,
1750 - 1850

Stephanie Rose Pratt
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This thesis is less than 70,000 words in length, exclusive of notes, bibliography and appendices.

I declare this thesis to be based on original research carried out by myself over a period of six years, from September 1983 to September 1989.

To the memory of my father,

John N. Pratt

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ABSTRACT

The thesis on which I have based my research proposes that while the European perception of the Native American from 1750 to 1850 came to be mediated via all the visual arts, it was specifically via the graphic media that the proliferation of imagery concerning the Native American developed certain iconic and representational conventions and that these consistently overwhelmed other sources of information, from experience to written interpretation. The ubiquity of certain modes of presentation, of figure-types, and of synecdoches which stood for the Native American (e.g. feather decoration or the tomahawk) resulted almost entirely from graphic methods of visual elucidation. The tyranny of such visual types lies not only in their effective re-constitution of known, familiar imagery but also in the qualitative characterization of the Native American figure. In their reduction of the figure to symbolic and emblematic patterns of content, these few visual tokens belied the greater, complex reality of Native American existence, and left the European perception of it in a static position. It is only through the collation and analysis of all the various modes of visual expression, both graphic and 'high' art instances, that these tokens of the visual representation of the Native American can be discerned and their proliferation be analysed as a determinant in the 'construction' of the Native American.

PLATES

1. Theodore de Bry, after John White, "A Weroan or Great Lord of Virginia," copper engraving (1590) in Theodore de Bry, Historia Americae (Part I)(1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
2. John White, Indian in body paint, watercolour, (c.1585), 26.3 x 15 cm (10 3/8 x 5 7/8 in), British Library, London.
3. and 3a. French, "Huron Warriors," copper engraving, (1664) in François Du Creux, Historia Canadensis (1664), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
4. Anonymous, French, Various tribal figures, copper engraving, (1724) in Joseph Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premier temps, (vol. I)(1724), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
5. Anonymous, French, "Souian Man, Iroquois Woman and Algonkian Man and Woman," copper engraving, (1724) in Joseph Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premier temps, (vol.I)(1724), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
6. French, "Huron Women," copper engraving, (1664) in François Du Creux, Historia Canadensis, (1664), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
7. Jaspas Isac, Frontispiece, copper engraving, (1632) in Gabriel Sagard, Les Grands Voyages du Pays des Hurons, (1632), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
8. Anonymous, French, "Pictures, Tattooes and Hieroglyphics," copper engraving, (1724) in Joseph Lafitau, Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premier temps, (vol. II)(1724), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
9. Theodore de Bry, after John White, "The True Picture of One Pict," copper engraving, (1590) in Theodore de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part I)(1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
10. C. Canton, after J.B. Cruikshank, "A Leader of the Savage Tribes Recording His Victories on a Tree," copper engraving, (1817) in William Robertson, The History of America. A New Edition, (1817), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
11. Thomas Jefferys, "Habit of a Nobleman of Virginia," hand coloured engraving, (1772) in Thomas Jefferys, A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Ancient and Modern...(vol. IV)(1772), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven.
12. J.F. Ebner, "A Virginian Nobleman," hand coloured etching and engraving, (1793) in W.G. Hausleutner, Gallerie der Nationen - Amerikaner (no. 2)(1793), folio, Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

13. Theodore de Bry, Titlepage, copper engraving, (1590) in Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia published as Part I of de Bry's Historia Americae (1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
14. German, "Children and the Infirm of Virginia," copper engraving, (1777) in Johann G. Purmann, Sitten und Meinungen der Wilden in America, (vol.III)(1777), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
15. Theodore de Bry, after John White, "Their Manner of Carrying their Children..," copper engraving, (1590) in T. de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part I)(1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
16. Theodore de Bry, after John White, "The Tomb of Their Weroans," copper engraving, (1590) in T. de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part I)(1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
17. J.T.and J.I. De Bry, "Human Sacrifices on the Pyramid," copper engraving, (1601) in de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part 9)(1601), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
18. J. Chapman, "Mexico. Teo-Calli, or Idol Temple at Mexico," copper engraving, (1817) in Encyclopedia Londinensis (1817), Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry.
19. J. Chapman, after J. Ihle, "A Native Savage of America," copper engraving, (1795) , 23 x 12 cm, private collection.
20. J.T.and J.I. De Bry, "Mexican Acrobats," copper engraving, (1601) in de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part 9)(1601), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
21. Jean Claude Auguste Fauchery, "Fêtes Publiques," engraving, (1835) in L'Amérique Septentrionale et Méridionale, (1835), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
22. Johann G. Hertel after Gotfried Eichler the Younger, "America," copper engraving, (1758-60) in Hertel's edition of Ripa's Iconologia, (1758-60), reprinted (1971).
23. Theodore de Bry, after Jacques Le Moyne, "The Recreational Walks of the King and Queen," copper engraving, (1591) in Theodore de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part II)(1591), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
24. Johann Ulrich Krauss, "Daniel Kills the Dragon of Babylon," engraving, (c.1700) in Johann Ulrich Krauss, Historiche Bilder-Bibel, (5 Parts)(1698-1700), reprinted (1969).
25. Theodore de Bry, after Hans Staden, Scene of cannibalism, copper engraving, (1592) in de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part 3)(1592), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

26. and detail. English or Dutch, "Indians and Pagodas," Left door of "japanned" cabinet-on-stand, black and gold lacquer on silvered base, (1710-20), The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.
27. Gobelins Tapestry Factory, after Albert Eckhout, Frans Post and others, "Les Indes: The Elephant and the Light Bay Horse," Tapestry of dyed wool and dyed silk, (1690), 470x485 cm (185x191 in), Garde Meuble de la Couronne, Paris.
28. ? Delft, "Exotic Scene with Indian Figures," Wall decoration in tiles, (c.1700), Musee Royal du Cinquanteenaire, Brussels.
29. English or Dutch, "Indians playing basketball," end panel of "japanned" cabinet-on-stand, black and gold lacquer on silvered base, (1710-20), The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.
30. Theodore de Bry, after Jacques Le Moyne, "Games and Sports of the Timacua," copper engraving, (1591) in T. de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part II)(1591), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
31. American, Frontispiece, "Torture of two 'Virgins'," engraving (c.1799) in Affecting History of ...Fredrick Manheim's Family, (1793), reprinted (1800), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
32. Theodore de Bry, after John White, "Their dances which they use at their high feasts," copper engraving, (1590) in T. de Bry, Historia Americae, (1590), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
33. Albrecht Altdorfer (attr.), The Triumph of Maximilian I, pen and ink, watercolour, and gold on vellum, (1512-16), Albertina, Vienna.
34. Peruvian, Feather Head-dress, Cerro de Chimbote, Peru, height 77 cm, (1924), Museum of Mankind, London.
35. Pedro Reinel and Lopo Homem, Map of South America, watercolour on vellum, (c.1525), part of the "Miller Atlas", 41.5 x 59 cm (16 3/8 x 23 1/4 in) Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
36. Guillaume Le Testu, "Brazil," (1555) in Cosmographie Universelle, (1555), Ministère des Armées, Paris.
37. Delamonce, Gaspar Bailleul's Nouvelle Mappemonde, engraving (1750), folio, private collection.
38. W. Marshall, Frontispiece, copper engraving, (1640) in John Parkinson, Theatrum Botanicum, (1640), 20 x 31.5 cm, Rare Book collection, Library of the Faculty of Art and Design, Polytechnic Southwest, Exeter.
39. T. Dixon, Frontispiece, "Emblematical Representation of the Quarters of the Globe, With a Laplander, Chinese, Hottentot, Negro, and American Indian," engraving, (1822), in Oliver Goldsmith, A History of Earth and Animated Nature, (1822), 13 x 20.5 cm, private collection.

40. Theodor Galle, after Stradanus (Jan van der Street), "Vespucci Discovering America," engraving, late 16th century, British Museum, London.

41. German, probably Ausburg or Nuremburg, "The Peoples of the Islands Recently Discovered...", woodcut with colour wash, (1505), Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

42. Johann Ulrich Krauss, "Manasseh idolatrously takes auguries from birds' cries," engraving, (c.1700) in Krauss, Historiche Bilder-Bibel, (1698-1700), reprinted (1969).

43. Johann Ulrich Krauss, "Jehu destroys the Temple of Baal," engraving, (c.1700) in Krauss, Historiche Bilder-Bibel, (1698-1700), reprinted (1969).

44. Johann Ulrich Krauss, "The Presence of the Ark troubles the Philistines and they return it," engraving, (c.1700) in Krauss, Historiche Bilder-Bibel, (1698-1700), reprinted (1969).

45. Theodore de Bry, "Ritual Execution," copper engraving, (1592) in T. de Bry, Historia Americae, (Part 3)(1592), folio, British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

46. Dutch, after Jacob van Meurs, "T'Amsterdam," engraving, (1663), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

47. Joachim Wtewael, Indian Homage, drawing, (c.1610-20), 187 x 241 mm, Albertina Museum, Vienna.

48. Robert Robinson, Painted room, panel, oil on wood, mainly in green monochrome, (1696) Formerly London, No. 5, Botolph Lane now Sir John Cass's School, London.

49. Robert Robinson, Painted room, panel, oil on wood, mainly in green monochrome, (1696) Formerly London, No. 5, Botolph Lane now Sir John Cass's School, London.

50. Antonio Verrio and Henry Cooke, Charles II on horseback, oil on plaster, (1687-9) Hall, Chelsea Royal Hospital, London.

51. Sir James Thornhill, Four Continents pay Tribute, oil on plaster, (1718-25), cove, Upper Hall, Painted Hall, Greenwich Hospital, Kent.

52. Antonio Zucchi, America, oil on canvas, (1767), Eating room, Osterley Park House, London.

53. Duflos, after Bernard Picart, "The Four Continents," copper engraving, (1752) frontispiece to Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa, Voyage Historique de l'Amérique Méridionale, (vol. II)(1752), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

54. J.C.A. Fauchery, "Amerique.Oceanie.Asie.Afrique." steel engraving, (1835) in L'Amérique Septentrionale et Méridionale, (1835), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

55. Crispijn de Passe, "America," engraving, (early 17th century), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
56. William Blake, "Europe supported by Africa and America," engraving, (1796) finispage to J.D. Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, (1796), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
57. Anonymous French, Brazilian Fête at Rouen, woodcut, (1551), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
58. Jacques Callot, "Asie and Africa," etching, (1615) in La Guerra d'Amore. Festa de Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana, Cosimo Secondo, fatta in Firenze, il Carnevale de 1615, 224 x 301 mm, Rondel Library, Paris.
59. Guilio Parigi, Design for a Ballet Costume, pen, ink and watercolour, (c.1600-10), 27 x 17 cm (10 11/16 x 6 3/4 in), Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence.
60. Peter Mills and Sir Balthazar Gerbier (attr.), Design for Triumphant Arch 'Loyalty Restored' for Coronation Procession of Charles II, pen and ink on paper, (1661), Drawings Collection, British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects, London.
61. Inigo Jones, "An Indian," pen and brown ink washed with grey, (1632), 16.9 x 11.2 cm (6 5/8 x 4 7/16 in), Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.
62. Valerio Spada, "Eight Indians Dancing ...," etching, (1645), 100 x 140 mm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
63. Gobelins Factory, after Alexandre-François Desportes, "Les Nouvelles Indes: The Camel," Tapestry of dyed wool and dyed silk, and gold yarn, (1740-41), 415 x 345 cm (163 1/2 x 132 in), Garde Mueble de la Couronne, Paris.
64. English, "Anne Bracegirdle as Semernia in 'The Widow Ranter'," mezzotint, (1689), The Raymond Mander and Joe Mitcheson Theatre Collection.
65. Bernard Lens, An Indian King, mezzotint, (1704), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
66. Bernard Lens, The Indian Queen, mezzotint, (1704), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
67. James Roberts, "Miss Younge as Imoinda in 'Oroonoko'," watercolour, (1779), 8 3/8 x 5 3/4 in, sold at Christie's, London.
68. English, "Mr. Kean as Rolla," engraving, Enthoven Collection, Theatre Museum, London.
69. Dufour et Leroy, "Les Incas," wallpaper (colour prints from wood blocks), (1826), 271.8 x 55.9 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

70. Thomas Jefferys, "Habit of a Coughnowaga Woman an Indian Nation of N. America," hand coloured engraving, (1772) in A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations both Ancient and Modern, (Vol. IV)(1772), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
71. German, Ludwigsburg Porcelain Factory, Centrepiece: The Four Continents, porcelain with polychrome and gilt decoration, (c.1760), Height 31 cm (12 1/4 in), Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, New York.
72. Anon. Bristol, Tobacco Label, copper engraved, (c.1815), 2 1/2 x 3 in, Imperial Tobacco Company.
73. William Savage, Carver's model for the Figurehead on the Victory, wood, (c.1765), National Maritime Museum, London.
74. English, Armorial Bearings of the Worshipful Company of Distillers of the City of London, engraving, (1639) in Richard Wallis, London's Armory, (1677), reprinted (1971).
75. English, Worshipful Company of Distillers, commemorative medal, (c.1770), diameter 50 mm, private collection.
76. English, Samuel Calle. goldsmith., trading token, (n.d.) Exeter, Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio.
77. Germany, Meissen Porcelain Factory, America, porcelain on gilt bronze base, (c.1745), overall height 35.5 cm (14 in), Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
78. Manufacture de Jouy, after Jean-Baptiste-Marie Huet, America Paying Homage to France, plate printed cotton, (c.1784-1790), 90 x 83 cm, Musee des Arts Decoratifs, Paris.
79. English or Scottish ?, America Presenting at the Altar of Liberty Medallions of Her Illustrious Sons, plate printed, linen/cotton or cotton, (c.1785), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
80. François-Thomas Germain, Double Salt Cellar, silver, (1757-1758), height 21.5 cm, Portuguese Royal Collection, Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.
81. English. The Great Financier, or British Oeconomy for the Years 1763, 1764, 1765, copper engraving, (12 October 1765), Advert in Public Advertiser, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
82. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, America, detail of ceiling, fresco, (1753), The Residenz, Wurzburg.
83. English, The Deplorable State of America or Sc---h Government, copper engraving, (2 January 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
84. English, Goody Bull or the Second Part of the Repeal, copper engraving, (12 March 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.

85. English, The Ballance, or the American's Triumphant, copper engraving, (?March to July 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
86. English, The American Moose-deer, or away to the River Ohio, copper engraving, (? June 1755), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
87. English, Bunker's Hill, or the Blessed Effects of Family Quarrels, copper engraving, (1775), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
88. English, The Parricide. A Sketch of Modern Patriotism, copper engraving, (April 1776), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
89. T. Dent, A Memorial to William Beckford, Lord Mayor of London, copper engraving, (5 July 1770), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
90. Jean-Charles Le Vasseur, after Antoine Borel, L'Amérique independante, engraving, (1778), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
91. William Hogarth, The Times, copper engraving, (Sept.1762), 8 9/16 x 11 5/8 in, W.S. Lewis Collection.
92. English, The Triumph of America, copper engraving, (late 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
93. English, The State of the Nation. An. Dom. 1765 Etc., copper engraving, (late 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
94. G. Terry, The Parlmt dissolved, or the Devil turn'd Fortune Teller, copper engraving, (? October 1774), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
95. Anon. Portuguese, Detail of Inferno, oil on panel, (c.1550), Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.
96. English, The New Country Dance, as Danced at Cxxxx, July the 30th 1766, copper engraving, (10 September 1766) advert in The Gazetteer, British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
97. English, The Allies. Par nobile Fratrum!, copper engraving, (3 February 1780), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
98. English, Shelb--ns Sacrifice, copper engraving, (10 February 1783), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
99. James Gillray, John Bull Triumphant, copper engraving, (4 January 1780), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
100. Thomas Rowlandson, The Captive, unfinished, pen over pencil, (c.1775-80), 275 x 200 cm (10 3/16 x 7 7/8 in), D.L.J. Oppe, London.

101. Davenport, after G. Cruikshank, Dutch Weight, steel engraving, (1839) in Deidrich Knickerbocker [Washington Irving], A History of New York ..., (1839), Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter.
102. Gustave Doré, Hosannah, voici les osanores!, lithograph, (1848) chez Aubert, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
103. Angus, after Richard Corbould, Illustration to Lydia, copper engraving, (1786) in John Shebbeare, Lydia, or Filial Piety, (first publ. 1755), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.
104. John Vanderlyn, The Death of Jane MacCrea, oil on canvas, (1804), 32 x 26 1/2 in, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
105. Alfred Johannot, Titlepage vignette, The Last of the Mohicans, engraving, (1828) in Vol. XV, James Fenimore Cooper, Oeuvres Completes, (1828), Arts of the Book Collection, U.S.A.
106. Tony Johannot, Illustration to The Last of the Mohicans, engraving, (1827), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
107. Anker Smith, after Robert Smirke, The Murder of Lucinda, engraving, (1807), in Joel Barlow, The Columbiad, (1807), Columbia University Library, New York.
108. J.M.W. Turner, Vignette, The Voyage of Columbus, engraving, (1834) in Samuel Rogers, The Works, (1834), private collection.
109. Thomas Stothard, Tailpiece, The Voyage of Columbus, engraving, (1827) in Samuel Rogers, The Works, (1834), private collection.
110. Francesco Bartolozzi, after Henry Ramberg, The Death of Cora, stipple engraving, (1789), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
111. Unknown, Weeping Dacia, marble, (Roman, Trajan's Forum), height (keystone) 120 m, (panel) 0.75 m, Musei Capitolini (Palazzo Dei Conservatori), Rome.
112. Dalziel Brothers, Illustration to William Lisle Bowles' The Home of the Old Indian, wood engraving, (1857) in R. A. Willmott (ed.), The Poets of the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1857), Library of the Faculty of Art and Design, Polytechnic Southwest, Exeter.
113. Thomas Stothard, "Dying Indian Embraced by Hope," Illustration to Pope's Essay on Man, watercolour, (c.1797), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
114. Charles Heath, after Richard Westall, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, steel engraving, (1822) in Thomas Campbell, Gertrude of Wyoming and Other Poems, (1822), private collection.

115. Charles Heath, after Richard Westall, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, steel engraving, (1822) in Thomas Campbell, Gertrude of Wyoming and Other Poems, (1822), private collection.
116. English, The Three Cherokee Chiefs in London, copper engraving, (1762), British Museum, London.
117. Cornelius Varley, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, drawing, (sepia, wash), (1810), 24.2 x 33.8 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
118. Alfred Edward Chalon, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, drawing, (sepia, wash), (1810), 22.9 x 33.4 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
119. Henry Pierce Bone, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, drawing, (sepia, wash), (1810), 23.8 x 29.9 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
120. Francis Stevens, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, drawing, (sepia, wash), (1810), 23.1 x 37 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
121. Hans Burgkmair (attr.), Indian Holding a Mexican Shield, pen, ink, and wash, (post 1519), British Museum, London.
122. Thomas Williams, after William Harvey, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, wood engraving, (1840) in Thomas Campbell, The Poetical Works, (London, 1840), private collection.
123. Thompson, after William Harvey, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, wood engraving, (1840) in Thomas Campbell, The Poetical Works, (London, 1840), private collection.
124. James Barry, The Death of General Wolfe, oil on canvas, (exhibited 1776), 58 1/2 x 93 in, New Brunswick Museum, New Brunswick.
125. After William Harvey, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, wood engraving, (1840) in Thomas Campbell, The Poetical Works, (London, 1840), private collection.
126. Thompson, after William Harvey, Illustration to Gertrude of Wyoming, wood engraving, (1840) in Thomas Campbell, The Poetical Works, (London, 1840), private collection.
127. French, "L'Amérique," Titlepage, copper engraving, (1816) in Giraud, Beautes de L'Histoire d'Amérique, (Paris, 1816), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
128. Benjamin West, "Indian Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet," copper engraving, (1766) in William Smith, An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians Under the Command of Henry Bouquet Esq., (London, 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

129. Benjamin West, "Indians Delivering Up the Captives to Bouquet," copper engraving, (1766) in William Smith, An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians Under the Command of Henry Bouquet Esq., (London, 1766), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

130. Anon. English, "A Man and Woman of the Ottigaumies," copper engraving, (1778) in Jonathan Carver, Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America (London, 1778), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

131. Anon. English, "A Man and Woman of the Naudowessies," copper engraving, (1778) in Jonathan Carver, Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America (London, 1778), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

132. C. Grignion, "A Man and Woman of the Chipeways" and "A Man and Woman of the Naudowessies," copper engraving, (c.1787) engraved for Banke's New System of Geography published by Royal Authority (1787), 37 x 23.2 cm, private collection.

133. Arthur Devis, Edward Rookes Leeds and Family, oil on canvas, (c.1757-63), 40 x 50 in, Arthur Tooth and Sons, Yorkshire, purchased 1838. Capt. and the Hon. Mrs. MacDonald-Buchanan.

134. Jean Simon, after John Verelst, Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, King of the Maquas, mezzotint, (1710), 35.5 x 26 cm (14 x 10 1/4 in), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

135. English, "An Indian Warrior Entering His Wigwam with a Scalp," copper engraving, (1791) in Thomas Anburey, Travels Through the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America, 2nd ed. (London, 1791), British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, London.

136. Unknown, Apollo Belvedere, marble, (Roman copy, early Hadrianic), Height, 2.24 m, Musei Vaticani (Belvedere Courtyard), Rome.

137. English, "The Sufferings of Mrs. Howe and Her Daughters," engraving, (c.1815) in The Affecting History of Mrs. Howe, The Wife of a British Officer in America, (London, 1815). Reprinted (New York, 1977), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

138. W.H. Mote, after William Perring, "America," in Finden's Tableaux, steel engraving, (1845), 35.3 x 25.4 cm, private collection.

139. Thomas Carter and Joseph Ekstein, after designs by Robert Adam, The Townshend Monument, marble, (1761), Westminster Abbey.

140. Robert Adam, Designs for the Townshend Monument, pencil, pen and wash, (1760), Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

141. L. Portman, after Jaques Kuyper, "Noord-Indianen," coloured engraving, (c.1818) in Martinus Stuart, De Mensch zoo als bij Voorkomt op den Bekenden Aardbol (1818), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

142. F.C. Lewis, after George Heriot, "Encampment of Domiciliated Indians," aquatint, (1807) in George Heriot, Travels Through The Canadas, (London, 1807), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
143. J. Cousen, after W.H. Bartlett, "Wigwam in the Forest," Titlepage, steel engraving, (1842) in Nathaniel P. Willis, Canadian Scenery, (London, 1842), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
144. Stadler, after George Heriot, "Costume of Domiciliated Indians of North America," aquatint, (1807) in George Heriot, Travels Through The Canadas, (London, 1807), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
145. George Morland, Gipsy Encampment, oil on canvas, (1791), 24 1/2 x 29 1/2 in, Sir Walter Gilbey, Bart.
146. W.H. Pyne, Rural Types, aquatint, (1808) in Ackermann's edition of W.H. Pyne's 'Microcosm', (London, 1824). Reprinted (New York, 1977).
147. W.H. Pyne, Gypsies, aquatint, (1808) in Ackermann's edition of W.H. Pyne's 'Microcosm', (London, 1824). Reprinted (New York, 1977).
148. Anon. English, "Indian Family," copper engraving, (1811) in Robert Sutcliff, Travels in Some Parts of North America in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806, (York, 1811), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
149. John Lambert, An Indian and his Squaw, engraving, (1810) in John Lambert, Travels Through Lower Canada and the United States of North America...(London, 1810), 20 x 11.5 cm, British Museum, London.
150. George Walker, "Collier," aquatint, (1814) in George Walker, Costumes of Yorkshire, (London, 1814), reprinted (1978).
151. Benjamin West, The Death of General Wolfe, oil on canvas, (1770), 59 1/2 x 84 in, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Gift of the Duke of Westminster.
152. Benjamin West, The Savage Warrior Taking Leave of His Family, oil on canvas, (c. 1761), 60 x 48 cm (23 3/5 x 18 4/5 in), The Trustees of the Hunterian Collection and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London.
153. Benjamin West, General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer from the Tomahawk of a North American Indian, oil on canvas, (c.1764-68), Derby Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
154. Benjamin West, William Penn's Treaty With the Indians, oil on canvas, (1771), 75 1/2 x 107 1/2 in, The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Joseph and Sarah Harrison Collection.
155. J. Taylor, after Woodruff, General Burgoyne and the Indians in 1777, copper engraving, (1804) in Smollett and Hume, History of England (1804), 133 x 190 mm, British Museum, London.

156. Anon. English, The English Pursuing Their Victory and Hunting the Indians, engraving, (1817) in William Robertson, The History of America - A New Edition, (London, 1817), 17 x 12 cm, British Museum, London.

157. J.K. Sherwin, after John Webber, A Man of the Sandwich Islands with His Helmet, engraving, (c.1784) in Cook and King, Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, (London, 1784), British Museum, London

158. J.C. Armytage, after E.H. Corbould, The Pequod War, steel engraving, (c. 1845), 24.8 x 16 cm, private collection.

159. George Catlin, Kee-O-Kuk, The Running Fox, oil on canvas, (c.1835), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

160. J.C. Armytage, after H. Warren, Gen l. Burgoyne Addressing the Indians, steel engraving, (c.1845), 24.8 x 16 cm, private collection.

161. George Catlin, Greater Wonder. A Cree Woman Carrying Her Baby in Her Robe, oil on canvas, (c.1832), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

162. James Barry, detail from Commerce, or the Triumph of the Thames, oil on canvas, (revised 1801), For the rooms at the Society of Arts, London.

163. John Trumbull, The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec, oil on canvas, (1786), 62.6 x 94.1 cm (24 5/8 x 37 in), Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

164. John Trumbull, Study for The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec, pen and ink, wash, and pencil on paper, (c.1785), 14 x 20.4 cm (5 1/2 x 8 1/16 in), Fordham University Library, Charles Allen Munn Collection.

165. English, Gorget engraved with the Royal Arms of George III, inscribed to "Loyal Chief Outacite Cherokee Warrior," silver, (c.1762), Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

166. Jacques Louis David, The Sabine Women, oil on canvas, (1799), Musee du Louvre, Paris.

167. Joseph Wright of Derby, The Indian Widow, oil on canvas, (1785), 101.6 x 127 cm (39 1/2 x 49 5/8 in), Derby Museums and Art Gallery, Derby.

168. Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, The Entombment of Atala, oil on canvas, (1808), 207 x 267 cm (81 1/2 x 105 in), Musee du Louvre, Paris.

169. Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, The Death of Atala, pen and brown ink, (c.1806-1807), 32.8 x 42.5 cm (12 7/8 x 16 5/8 in), The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

170. Eugene Delacroix, Les Natchez, oil on canvas, (1824-1825), 90 x 116 cm (37 7/16 x 45 11/16 in), Lord and Lady Walston Collection, Royston, Hertfordshire.

171. Jean-Jacques-Francois Le Barbier, the Elder, Canadian Indians at Their Child's Grave, oil on canvas, (1781), 87 x 63 cm (34 3/8 x 24 7/8 in), Musee des Beaux Arts de Rouen, Rouen.
172. Henry Perronet Briggs, The First Conference Between the Spaniards and the Peruvians, 1531, oil on canvas, (c.1826), The Tate Gallery, London.
173. John Everett Millais, Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru, oil on canvas, (1846), 128.3 x 171.7 cm (50 1/2 x 67 5/8 in), The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
174. Jean Simon, after John Verelst, Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperor of the Six Nations, mezzotint, (1710), The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
175. Thomas Gainsborough, Portrait of Samuel Kilderbee, oil on canvas, (c.1755), 50 1/2 x 40 1/2 in, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.
176. Isaac Basire, after Markham, "Oukah Ulah, Skalilosken Ketagustah, Tathowe, Clogittah, Kollannah, Ukaneequa, Onaconoa." copper engraving, (c.1730), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
177. John Faber, after William Verelst, TomoChachi, or King of the Yamacraw, and Toanahowi, his nephew, mezzotint, (c.1734), British Museum, London.
178. Willem Verelst, The Common Council of Georgia Receiving the Indian Chiefs, oil on canvas, (1734-35), The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.
179. Francis Parsons, Cunne Shote, Cherokee Chief, oil on canvas, (1762), 36 1/2 x 28 1/2 in, Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Okla.
180. English. Broadsheet, "A New Humourous Song on the Cherokee Chiefs" by H. Howard, engraving, (after 1762), British Museum, London.
181. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Scyacust Ukah, oil on canvas, (1762), 48 x 35 1/2 in, Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Okla.
182. George Romney, Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant, The Mohawk Chief, oil on canvas, (1775-76), The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
183. Gilbert Stuart, Thayendanegea, oil on canvas, (1786), 24 x 30 in, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, N. Y.
184. Thomas Phillips, Portrait of Tyroninhokarawen, Captain John Norton, oil on canvas, (c.1804), Syon House, His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.
185. William Hodges, Cherokee or Creek Indian, oil on canvas, (1790-91), 29 1/2 x 24 1/2 in, Royal College of Surgeons of England, London, Hunterian Collection.

186. William Hodges, Cherokee or Creek Indian, oil on canvas, (1790-91), 29 1/2 x 24 1/2 in, Royal College of Surgeons of England, London, Hunterian Collection.
187. Sir Peter Francis Bourgeois, The Inside of a Rotunda with Several Portraits of Polish Noblemen and Ladies, the Cherokee Chiefs, and other figures, oil on canvas, (exhibited 1791), 191 x 157 cm, Muzeum Narodowe W Warszawie, Warsaw, Poland.
188. Alexander Nasmyth, Portrait of John Sakeouse, oil on canvas, (1817), Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
189. John Russell, Micoc, and Tootac, her Son, canvas, (exhibited 1769), untraced, photo furnished by the Witt Library, London.
190. W.D. Lizars, after Amelia Anderson, John Sakeouse, A Native of Jacob Sound, Greenland, copper engraving, (c.1817), 12.5 x 19.3 cm, private collection.
191. Frank Wilkin, Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, oil on canvas, (1841), 2.44 x 1 m, Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Neb.
192. Day and Haghe, after Frank Wilkin, Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, lithograph, (1841) in Dr. Andrew Welch, The Early Days and Remembrances of Ocoala Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, (London, 1841), Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
193. John Webber, Woman of Prince William Sound, watercolour, (1778), British Museum, London.
194. Thomas Jefferys, "A Mohawk of the Six Nations," copper engraving, (1772) in Jefferys, A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations..., (London, 1757 and 1772), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven.
195. John Webber, Village of Yuquot in Nootka Sound, watercolour, (1778), British Museum, London.
196. Tomas de Suria, "Gefe de Nutka", pencil, (1791), 18.3 x 12.5 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.
197. Nootkan, Chiefs hat of cedar bark, spruce or cedar root and grass, design shows figures hunting whales, (not dated), height 28.5 cm., British Museum, London.
198. Jose Cardero (attr.), Portrait of the Second Wife of Tetaku, watercolour, (post 1791), 26.1 x 23 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.
199. Jose Cardero (attr.), Portrait of Tetaku, watercolour, (post 1791), 26.2 x 20.4 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.
200. Jose Cardero (attr.), Portrait of a Chief of Puerto del Descanso, watercolour, (post 1791), 26.3 x 20.7 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.
201. Jose Cardero (attr.), Portrait of an Indian from Salida de las Goletas (Island of Quadra and Vancouver), watercolour, (post 1791), 26.2 x 20.6 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.

202. Tomas de Suria (attr.), An Indian of Mulgrave, pen and wash, (1791), 21 x 9.8 cm, Museo de America Coll., Madrid.
203. Louis Choris, A leather tent of the Aleuts, watercolour, (1816-17), Coe Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven.
204. Thomas Stothard, "Callicum and Maquilla - Chiefs of Nootka Sound," copper engraving, (c.1790), British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, London.
205. Thomas Davies, A View of Pointe-Levis Opposite Quebec, watercolour, (1788), National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
206. Thomas Davies, Action Off Fort La Galette, watercolour, (c.1760), National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
207. Thomas Davies, View of Niagara, Just above Horseshoe Falls, watercolour, (c.1762), private collection.
208. Basil Hall, "Missassagua Indians," etching, (1827-28) in Hall, Forty Etchings made with the Camera Lucida, (London, 1829), Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter.
209. Basil Hall, "The Chiefs of the Creek Nation and Georgian Squatter," etching, (1827-28) in Hall, Forty Etchings made with the Camera Lucida, (London, 1829), Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter.
210. Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin, Payouska - Chef des Grands Osages, crayon drawing on pink paper, (c.1806), 22 x 16 in, The New York Historical Society, New York.
211. Karl Bodmer, Stomick-Sosack or Bull's Back Fat, Blackfoot Chief, watercolour on paper, (c.1833), 12 3/8 x 9 3/4 in, InterNorth Art Foundation on permanent loan to the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Neb.
212. George Catlin, Stu-mick-o-sucks, the Buffalo's Back Fat, oil on canvas, (1832), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
213. Karl Bodmer, Attack on Fort Mackenzie August 28, 1833, engraving with aquatint, hand coloured, (post 1833), 16 1/4 x 21 1/2 in, on permanent loan to the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Neb.
214. Karl Bodmer, Pioch-Kiain (Distant Bear), watercolour on paper, (c. 1833), 12 3/8 x 10 1/8 in, on permanent loan to the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Neb.
215. Alfred Jacob Miller, Snake and Sioux Indians on the Warpath, oil on canvas, (1836-37), 29 x 36 in, Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Okla.
216. George Catlin, "Sioux Women Dressing Hides," line drawing, (c.1840), New York Public Library, New York.
217. George Catlin, Crow Warriors Bathing in Yellowstone, oil on canvas, (c.1832), American Museum of Natural History, New York.

218. George Catlin, Crow Chief at his Toilet, oil on canvas, (c.1832), American Museum of Natural History, New York.
219. Charles Bird King, Petalesharro, oil on wood, (c. 1822), 17 1/2 x 13 3/4 in, The Warner Coll., Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
220. German, "Petalesharro", Transfer print on china plate, (c. 1895), Krautheim Selb Bavaria, Germany.
221. German, Meissen Porcelain Factory Teapot, (c. 1730), Height 11.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York.
222. English, America, from a set of the Continents. Bow Factory, (c. 1760 -65), private collection.
223. English, "William Penn's Treaty With The Indians", Plate-printed cotton in red, (c. 1785) with blue threads. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
224. Northern Slesvig, America, patterns from reversible fabrics, (late 18th C), private collection.
225. John Flaxman, Simcoe Memorial, marble, (1813-15), South Quire Aisle, Exeter Cathedral.
226. John Flaxman, Design for the Simcoe Memorial, pencil on paper, (c. 1815), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
227. English, Harlequinade, copper engraving, (1772) printed by Robert Sayer, London, 1772, Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
228. English or French, Folding book with globe in a box, copper engraving, (early 19th C), British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven.

Introduction

Current debates on the study of representation, called a "crisis" by Said (Critical Inquiry, 15, 2, Winter 1989), have brought the problem of discussing the "other" full circle. Initially, the adoption of a relativist stance with respect to the images made of "others"¹ was seen as the most appropriate way of coming to terms with those images. Now, the debate itself has turned inward and questions the imaging processes as they extend from human perceptual bases. Thus, in this context, no representation is free of human contingencies nor can values be placed on the extent that representation captures a so-called lived reality. Furthermore, it has been pointed out by Said and others that discussion about representation most often takes place within the intellectual discourses of a dominant culture. This means that inquiry about images can never be wholly free from cultural assumptions "shot through" the dominant Western society. Misrepresentation takes place, but do we as scholars connive in re-establishing these sets of assumptions? To discuss relative categories of misrepresentation would therefore be in a sense non-productive. One point needs to be made here with reference to misrepresentation. While one can question how representations are found to be problematic, one always does so within the bounds of one's own culture. In the case of Native Americans, or any group not fully participating in the imaging processes of the dominant culture, it is possible that their (the Native Americans') relationship to that dominant culture may be misrepresented in a systematic way which can be interpreted historically. It is my belief that images made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at least can be analyzed in terms of this basic Marxist description. I have, therefore, chosen to discuss aspects of "misrepresentation" largely along these lines while still keeping in mind that the idea of representing is itself largely

unresolved. As it is possible to discuss aspects of culture in terms of their participation in an ideological structure, it is also possible to discuss how cultural productions add to and extend from the commonly-held, dominant perceptions formed by any one group to help them describe another.

The topic of the European perception of Native Americans has received substantial scholarly attention in the past and has been the subject of several important exhibitions.² I am nevertheless convinced that the task of mapping out European perceptions is worth doing once more for a number of reasons. First, recently published works on the history and exploration of America tend to use artistic imagery as a source of apt illustration, without seeking to analyze its contemporary meaning and debt to tradition. A case in point is W.P. Cumming, et.al. (eds.) The Exploration of North America 1630 - 1776 (London, 1974), where no distinction is made between the visual material and the written text in terms of each medium's status as an historical record. Even more problematic is the invitation by some authors that their readers should compare the visual record with written accounts in order to "see" more lucidly those peoples being depicted. Clearly visual and verbal representations of events and peoples adopt different strategies and operate within distinctive traditions. Each seeks to answer the expectations of their intended audience but they do this with quite different techniques, and to collapse visual imagery into the same category as verbal discourse is to do violence to the specific iconic qualities possessed by images. In a number of recent accounts this distinction has not been drawn and the images have been left as mute support or background colour to an accurately analysed verbal text.³ Second, although some individual images have been analysed in some

depth, they tend to be high art instances in the main whose attraction lies in the fame of their originators - for example, Benjamin West, Joseph Wright, G. B. Tiepolo, and John Flaxman. By separating these canonical images from the broad mass of visual imagery in which they participate their contextual analysis has been inevitably frustrated. In linking these images together I intend to reveal the existence of a tradition of representation that hands on to later generations a visual construct capable of falsifying data and resulting in misrepresentation.

Compared to the scholarly treatment of issues surrounding the depiction of other so-called racial types, such as the "Black Man" or the "Oriental", the "Indian" of America has received very little attention overall despite certain interested groups.⁴ To illustrate my point, several important studies have been published recently which have tried to disentangle or deconstruct the perception of these other typical figures. Regarding the images made of Australian Aborigines, the editors Ian and Tamsin Donaldson brought together a number of essays concerning the representation of this figure in Seeing The First Australians (Sydney, 1985). The image of the Black Man has been recently examined in connection with the work of Hogarth in David Dabydeen's Hogarth's Blacks (First published 1985; Manchester, 1987) and has also been the subject of a three volume catalogue published by the de Menil Foundation, The Image of the Black Man in Art (New York, 1985) the latter of which has provided a standard reference work for use by the scholarly community. Images of "Orientals" and the European concept of Orientalism has been covered in the seminal work of Edward Said in Orientalism(first pub. 1978, reissued 1985). It has also been discussed in the catalogues to two recent exhibitions, one at the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, New York titled Orientalism -

The Near East in French Painting, 1800 - 1880, catalogue by Donald A. Rosenthal (1982); and one at the Royal Academy of Arts in London called Orientalism (1984).

The lack of any similar treatment in recent years of imagery made about Native Americans suggests that my topic is somehow out of fashion among the organizers of art exhibitions in this country. Also it implies that the subject of the Native American figure is to all intents and purposes a closed book. But why should the American "Indian" (or "Native American" as I have chosen to refer to him) frequently be left out of the debate on representation and misrepresentation? Is it just that his figure holds no interest for art historians? Or is it a matter of the Native American figure being already co-opted into myth to the point where his artificial construction has become invisible? If the latter case holds at all, and to a large extent I believe it does, then it is imperative that the myth be analysed and deconstructed. This is especially important at a time when Native American rights and their chances of social equality within American society are still in a precarious state. With health, welfare and education programmes all cut from the American National budget during the Reagan era the continued misrepresentation of the Native American can be seen as both symptom and cause of his low status, even invisibility, within American culture. The deconstruction of racially stereotypic figures has proved an effective agency for change in the case of "Blacks" and "Orientals"; it is vital that a voice be developed for the Native American which can make the same case.

Having said this, I am aware of the significant amount of previous scholarship pertaining to the representation of Native Americans and have accordingly set limits to the kind and type of visual material with

which I may concern myself. That is, due to scholarly interest in the area of early imagery I have directed most of my research to images made during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such previous studies as that edited by Fredi Chiappelli First Images of America - The Impact of the New World on the Old (Berkeley, 1976) and Stefan Lorant's The New World - First Pictures of America (First published 1946, New York, 1965) have covered the ground of earliest imagery to a large extent and thus allowed me to concentrate my research on the later, still largely ignored, visual material. It is also important to note that, notwithstanding the excellence of the work being done on the immediate post-discovery period, the issue of realism versus construct has not been analysed at length. William Sturtevant indeed implies that the ethnographic potential of the artistic record is one of its major attractions, rather than its elaboration of visual types.⁵ However, it is precisely in those works which are ethnographically suspect that my thesis comes into its own. I hope to trace how images can themselves become free-floating elements to be picked up and used by artists in the construction of a visual type and how this process was in the end detrimental to a clear perception of the Native American.

While it has been necessary to concentrate on visual sources of imagery to develop this thesis it is also important to point out how the wider context of the image of the Wild Man in Western thought has dominated perceptions of the Native American and how certain precursors might be found in the folk characters of Mediaeval culture. As this subject has been discussed in detail in such seminal studies as Richard Bernheimer's Wild Men in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1952) and in the more recent compilation of essays entitled The Wild Man Within - An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism, edited by

Edward Dudley and Maximilian Novak, (Pittsburgh, 1972) I have not thought it necessary to rehearse the already extensive analysis of this figure of folk custom. On the other hand I have drawn extensively from the literature on Primitivism in order to place the perception of the Native American within a history of contemporary thought in order that the assumptions surrounding its character are more easily revealed. Such ground breaking work as that of Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas in Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (Baltimore, 1935) and Lois Whitney's Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore, 1934) provided a framework onto which my discussion of the images of Native Americans might be placed, in that my thesis is essentially about the processes of European or Western thought and not about ethnography as such. Other models for the thrust of my thesis are Henri Baudet's Paradise on Earth (first published 1959, New Haven, 1965) which first voiced the notion of an "other" necessary to the construction of ideas about civilization and progress in culture; and Roy Harvey Pearce's Savagism and Civilization(Baltimore, 1967) which set the binary opposition between a savage nature and an inherent nobility in men into the context of American thought.⁶

Perhaps the most appropriate model for the kind of examination I have attempted is Bernard Smith's European Vision and the South Pacific (Oxford, 1960, reprinted 1985) which brought together disparate kinds of visual material from images such as those made by Captain Cook's artists to those images of Pacific peoples which occurred in more popular media.⁷ His preface to the second edition mentions an attitude of "extreme cultural relativism" which might be adopted when discussing images or the perception of a race that is outside one's own racial

affiliation. From the existence of the debate on representation, mentioned above, it seems that this stance is unworkable. Smith makes it clear that his work is not to be seen in this light as it is "possible, with the exercise of reasonable care, to distinguish accurate and faithful description from the distortions and errors so frequently attendant upon the interpretation of the novel." (p. vii.) With this statement Smith has implied that an element of "truth" exists in certain types of representation that makes it possible to derive from them information of, say, an ethnographic kind and to read the images as records of how things were "seen" by observers, leaving aside of course the notion of how art functions. It is my aim however to look hard at the concept of representation as a means of picturing the actual world and to present the idea of a dominant perceptive process which is active and participates in the formation of culture as the most tenable stance one can take with respect to the images of "other" cultures.

I believe it is almost impossible (however important it is to try) for Europeans to give an adequate picture of other cultures such as the Native American's. The complexity of meanings in such cultural artifacts as a "calumet" or "Peace Pipe" or a decorated buckskin are impossible to perceive in all their depth and resonance if one is not inside the culture which produced them. The representation of these items in three dimensional perspective and other conventional Western styles is unable to give an adequate rendition of the meanings which these items had or how they functioned within the society.⁸ (This difficulty of apprehension would be frustrating but not especially damaging were the scrutiny of these images disinterested. But when visual schemata are one of the means whereby a culture is "understood" and engaged with then any misapprehension is serious and possibly lethal.) We can only know

objects or things if they are given meaning in relation to our own set of values or mental constructs. Language connives in this way of representing in that it designates the meaning of items through the process of naming. The object now known in our dominant culture as a "Peace pipe" has a specified meaning. We cannot now recover its original meaning unless we look to the language and culture which saw its creation.

It is obvious by now that I found Smith's approach useful but not altogether adequate to encompass the kind of analysis which I hope to provide. It is to another recent approach that I have turned in developing a model from which to work. Tzvetan Todorov's The Conquest of America - The Question of the Other (first pub. 1982, transl. by Richard Howard, New York, 1985) provides an appropriate model in that he calls attention to the element of language in the process of constructing images and that the cultural "Conquest" comes about through the inability of language to make room for concepts which are outside its limits of comprehension.⁹ This fact was the fulcrum from which colonization took its driving power and was the element which essentially destroyed Native Mexican culture as it had been lived before the invasion of the White Man. Todorov's approach therefore assumed the impossibility of understanding Native American culture through anything but those cultural productions made by the "Indians" themselves. I too have tried to remain constantly aware of this problem.

I do not feel alone in taking up this stance. Recently an exhibition organized by the Museum of Mankind and entitled Lost Magic Kingdoms gave as its raison d'etre the notion of a problematic nature to the study of ethnography. It wanted to examine the structure of the Museum's holdings, and how such holdings were presented to the public.

The exhibition organizers¹⁰, in choosing items to be displayed from the Museum's holdings revealed an attitude which could be termed a type of cultural relativism. They felt historically there had been problems with the display of items and that to "display exotic material implies a prior attempt to classify what is displayed." The principles which stood behind the display, "in practice, were rarely able to encompass neatly the materials exhibited, especially when little written information was provided to go with them. In many cases objects were categorized in ways which it was hoped would be familiar to the visitor from his own life, for example by classing exotic items as "cooking utensils", "hunting gear", or "clothing"."(p. 28) I have tried to show in this thesis how the taxonomic approach on the one hand and the desire to assimilate new experience to familiar realities on the other led to the image of the Native American becoming radically divorced from Native American culture.

A final model for my work exists in a study of the late sixteenth century illustrations by Johannes de Bry and his family. Bernadette Bucher's Icon and Conquest (transl. Basia Miller Gulati, Chicago, 1981) attempts a structural analysis of these images and takes a hard look at the de Bry volumes in order to uncover the redactions which seem always attendant on imagery concerned with representing the "Other". In limiting her analysis to a single specific source of imagery, Bucher has perhaps run the risk of restricting the application of her thesis to just one instance, that of de Bry's images alone. My approach goes further in wishing to present a synoptic view of the wide range of materials contingent on representation as they had existed by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thereby providing readers with a chance to follow the complicated web of perception as it stretched

throughout both high and low culture. The spreading of my net over a wide area has meant that further connections can be made between disparate images of Native Americans such that ultimately an entire cultural cliché can be deconstructed.

I must of course give a bow of recognition to the work of Hugh Honour whose catalogue and book, The European Vision of America (Cleveland, 1976) and The New Golden Land - European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York, 1975) respectively, were the instigation for my research. His achievements are unequalled in the field and his deft working through the mass of European-produced items represents a coherent and viable overview of the subject at hand. In covering the entire period since discovery Honour has not been allowed the space necessary for a detailed discussion of specific items. However it is hoped that by giving room for detailed analysis of such items as engravings my thesis will add to the understanding already generated by such notable authorities as Honour, Smith and others.¹¹

Finally, a note on the methods used in elucidating my arguments in the thesis. In terms of a nomenclature for the Native American I have chosen this phrase instead of the more traditional American Indian or "Red" Indian as he is sometimes referred to in contemporary British society. I have not on the other hand attempted to take account of the feminist argument and still continue to use the pronoun "he" when referring to the Native American in the abstract. In some cases, though, it was necessary to refer to the Native American as an Indian because the written historical record had done so. Broadly speaking, then, "Native Americans" refers to the actual aboriginal peoples of America and "Indians" to their representations.

In dividing the contents of my thesis according to the medium and

the type of subject in which the Native American appeared I have hopefully organized the material in such a way as to present my argument more clearly and carefully. A lot of the background material and substantiation for my arguments is contained in the footnotes to each chapter where interested readers may look for more information on a given subject. So, too, must the reader be aware of the fact that my thesis has not attempted to create a corpus of all imagery devised during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There simply was not enough space for such a venture nor could deep analysis be made of the material if such quantities were included. Instead my goal has been to present one or two typical cases in each of the categories that will serve as exemplars for the whole of a specified group of images. In this way the approach I have taken in my work has been dependent upon both the attitude of the investigative journalist and the curiosity of the empirical scientist.

Notes -

1. In referring to the idea of an "other", that is, someone or something which is outside one's own culture, I am continuing a usage that had originally been voiced by authors such as Henri Baudet. The coinage of this particular word to mean those European-held beliefs about racial difference and type was first made to my knowledge by Edward Said and Tzvetan Todorov. For the discussion of a "crisis" in the study of representation see Edward Said, "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors," Critical Inquiry, 15, 2 (Winter 1989), pp. 205-225.
2. Scholarly attention has often been directed towards the earliest visual imagery as in the congress held at University of California, Los Angeles in 1975. The congress published its papers under the title First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, (edited by Fredi Chiappelli), Los Angeles, 1976. Exhibitions concerning the visual representation of the Native American were held in 1958 and 1975.

The first exhibition was held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia under the title, The Noble Savage. The American Indian in Art, (1958), catalogue by R.C. Smith. The second exhibition entitled The European Vision of America looked at a broader scope of imagery. It was held in conjunction with the bicentenary of the United States and was organized by the Cleveland Museum of Art with the collaboration of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. and the Reunion des Musees Nationaux, Paris, (1975), catalogue by Hugh Honour.

3. For instance, Olive P. Dickason's The Myth of the Savage. And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas (Edmonton, 1984) contains fluent and insightful analyses of the historical situation in Canada while leaving the illustrations to her text without sufficient historical explanation. Colin G. Calloway's Crown and Calumet. British - Indian Relations, 1783-1815, (Norman, 1987) discusses the complexity and problematic nature of relationships between different Native American groups and the British colonial, military and economic interests in North America with an eye to uncovering the misconceptions held about the Native inhabitants of the frontier regions. However, the author does not include a discussion of the manner in which visual images made of Native Americans might have had a mediating function in terms of perceptions. In the catalogue to an exhibition held at the Oregon Historical Society called Voyages of Enlightenment - Malaspina on the Northwest Coast 1791 - 1792, the authors Vaughan, Crownhart-Vaughan and Palau de Iglesias state that one portrait made on this voyage "has great historical interest because ...of the so perfectly depicted ethnographic details of his hat, clothing, ornamentation and physical features." (p. 35) Following this statement the authors include a text from Cook's journals by which the reader is meant to judge the accuracy of the artist's rendition. John C. Ewers, in a catalogue to an exhibition held in 1984, (Views of a Vanishing Frontier, Center for Western Studies, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, 1984) states that an image made by Karl Bodmer of Fort MacKenzie "remains the most accurate and dramatic portrayal of an intertribal battle by a white artist who had witnessed the action." (p.60) What has been ignored here is the artist's debt to European modes of depiction in that Bodmer's composition is closely based on traditional battle pictures and scenes from ancient history.

4. One of the areas of concentration at a recent conference of art historians in England was the issue of race and representation. The Annual Conference of Art Historians held at Brighton in 1985 included papers given on the representation of Blacks in Art and on the representation of Orientalist subjects. None of the papers in this section dealt with the representation of Native Americans.

5. Sturtevant states in an article about the earliest visual images of Indians that his "list omits illustrations that plainly have no basis in New World ethnography and ones that derive from those listed without adding any new first-hand information." See W.C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in Fredi Chiappelli (ed.), First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old, Los Angeles, 1976, p. 419.

6. I have used the term "other" to signify the range of notions which for Westerners have long held the negative connotations of "barbarian", "savage" or "foreigner". Thus, the "other" not only refers to the aspects of racial difference contained in a term like "Indian" but it also refers to the aspect of distance, the faraway landscape where such "exotic" people live. See Note 1.

7. Smith traced the extent of influence of certain visual images on subsequent, often graphic, visual works. That is, his study made correlations between the kind of subjects chosen for illustration and how those subjects were represented. His emphasis on the problems with the graphic representations of native peoples led to my focussing on the graphic illustrations in particular.
8. See J.C.H. King, Smoking Pipes of the North American Indian, (London, 1977), for a discussion of the relevance and meaning of smoking tobacco in the cultural and spiritual life of various North American tribes.
9. See also Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters, New York and London, 1986, for an intelligent analysis of the role of language in supporting of European colonialism.
10. The article "Paolozzi and Identity" by Malcolm McLeod discusses the rationale behind the exhibition, how it was conceived and the role Paolozzi played in choosing items from the Museum's ethnographic collections. See catalogue to the exhibition Lost Magic Kingdoms. And Six Paper Moons from Nahuatl by Eduardo Paolozzi, (London, 1985), pp. 15-58.
11. Other important works in this area of study include Ellwood Parry, The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art, 1590 - 1900, George Braziller, New York, 1974; Bradford F. Swan, "Prints of the American Indian 1670 - 1775," in Boston Prints and Printmakers 1670 - 1775, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, 1973, pp. 241-82; and Elizabeth McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765 - 1783" and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783 - 1815," in Winterthur Portfolio II (1965), pp. 65-81, and III (1967), pp. 37-66.

Chapter One - The Construction of an Iconic Type:
The Influence of de Bry's America

Without a doubt the most important source for all later engravings made of the Native American was the fourteen volume series of travel accounts published by Theodore de Bry and family in the late sixteenth century. In the broad range of its coverage, from the Northern parts of the American continent to the Straits of Magellan, Theodore de Bry's Historia Americae (The Grand Voyages) first published between 1590 and 1634¹, helped to formulate the principal conceptions both in literary and visual terms of the Native American figure from the seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century's development of new visual clichés in imagery made of the Plains Indians. Of major interest to this thesis are the first two parts of the America series (I will now refer to the whole of the Grand Voyages as such for the rest of the discussion); Part I describes the English ventures in Virginia in 1585 and Part II relates to the Rene Laudonniere expedition to Florida in 1564². These works comprised one of the major sources of information on how the Native peoples of North and South America appeared to Europeans, and thus are crucial in the origination and continuation of a visual type which stood for all Native American peoples during the period to which this study is addressed.

Theodore de Bry was born in Liège in 1528 but spent most of his working life in Frankfurt. Principally de Bry, but after his death other family members, produced the fourteen volumes which made up the History of America; a publishing feat which was instantly recognized and stood for many years as the standard reference work on America and its peoples. Both the illustrations and the texts of each of the volumes as

a whole cover a wide geographic range that spans many aspects of Native American life from daily pursuits to more serious matters such as wartime or burial practices. The sources for each of the narratives found in the de Bry volumes come from a variety of different voyage and travel texts, most of them of first-hand quality.

The first volume in America contains the account written by Thomas Hariot concerning an English voyage to Roanoke (then referred to as Virginia but now a part of the state of North Carolina) in 1585. A member of the English expedition and Virginia's first governor John White was, in addition, acting as the official draughtsman on the voyage. His drawings were engraved by de Bry after the latter had obtained them with the help of an English publisher, Richard Hakluyt. They were in one sense the inspiration for the whole publishing venture. Volume Two of America consisted of another expeditionary account chronologically earlier than the English voyage but placed second by de Bry due to the wishes of Hakluyt, (also perhaps as a condition of him receiving the White drawings.) The earlier French expedition of 1562, headed by Rene Laudonnière, took along an official draughtsman as well, Jacques Le Moyne, whose drawings of the Timacua of what is now Florida would furnish de Bry with another source of first-hand imagery.³

Thus at the outset of his work de Bry had gained for his volumes a kind of authenticity which other publishers of books about America did not achieve. The ability of de Bry to organize his sources and to masterfully make sense of the many strands in the narrative of discovery and conquest gave weight and prestige to his work thus setting a precedent. These graphic images were to many readers and artists alike the only means of viewing in any way peoples encountered on the early voyages. Since they were the first detailed images, they made a

lasting impression on those artists who were called upon to make further images of the Native American.

As de Bry was an engraver he was not able to reproduce exactly the images made by John White or Le Moyne. Instead he had to translate the drawings into precise but nevertheless, altered reproductions. Leaving aside this issue of how images created in the graphic medium constitute a separate case of visual imaging different to that used in the original drawings, some general observations can be made as to how White's or Le Moyne's figures were changed by making them into engravings.

In the plate from de Bry entitled "A Weroan or Great Lord of Virginia", the figure of a male warrior is shown standing both from the front and back views in order to give full elucidation to the accompanying text.⁴ (Plate 1) His pose and the placement of his limbs are stylized to the extent that they follow certain artistic conventions of the era in which de Bry was working, and are part of the Mannerist concern with representing nobility in a classicized way, the origin of which began during the Renaissance.⁵ In other words, this figure having been described as a Lord or "prince" must be shown in a manner that underlines this distinction. His station in the community determines the mode of presentation which tells the viewers that they may equate this figure with known representations of European rulers. Particularly noticeable is the gesture of the left arm which is bent outward and turned back at the wrist in an exaggerated style. This may have had a contemporary meaning which is lost to present day viewers but obviously had a particular meaning to de Bry's audience. Also, the long curving sway of the body and its classical pose, the developed musculature of the torso and limbs, and the regularity of features point to a conventional approach when representing this Indian man. The

placement of the Virginian Lord's feet with one foot raised on to the toes is yet another aspect which probably derives from contemporary portraiture. Hence, we are not meant to read the figure as an active individual like the hunting figures in the background. Instead this is an instance of Virginian Lordship abstracted from a real personage and assimilated to extant European models.⁶

Many of these classicizing, essentially artistic, conventions are detected in White's original drawings⁷ (Plate 2), however the graphic medium has by its very nature emphasized the developed musculature of the Weroan's figure and slightly altered the pose of the original. In fact the Mannerist tendencies in de Bry's work have changed the overall expression of the originals and they therefore have an entirely different feeling to that of the drawings. If one can make any general point about the alterations de Bry made on White's (and by inference, Le Moyne's) drawings it would be that the graphic medium has put into relief those formal relationships which colour tends to mask. The most important point for later imagery that was based on de Bry's America is that his images were the first in a series of mistranslations. As mentioned before, de Bry's images became a precedent for many artists who followed. Thus, the initial misunderstanding was carried forward into the later representations of the Native American.

In order to uncover how and why graphic artists were largely dependent on de Bry's America, we must first ask the question whether there were any other ways of finding new or different sources of information besides de Bry's and whether such information was as valuable or well presented as was the German engraver's. That is, first, was it possible to view a real Native American in his "natural" environment uncorrupted by contact with the Europeans? And second, was

there an alternative visual tradition to that contained in America? The answer to both questions is simply no. However, in spite of the scarcity of imagery concerning the American "Indians" and in having no chance to directly view them as they lived their daily lives, the engravers who worked after de Bry were clearly unsophisticated in their adoption of the imagery made about the "Virginia" and "Florida" Indians. Often directly borrowing the de Bry imagery, sometimes with acknowledgement but often without it, the illustrator of Native American peoples was going to turn to the most important and factual of his sources of visual information and this turned out to be de Bry's volumes. These were re-issued in several languages over a number of years. An example of the range of de Bry's publication is shown in the details of volumes One and Two. Part I came out in 1590 in English, French, German and Latin and was reprinted in German again in 1600 and 1620. Part II was only ever published in German and Latin and came out first in 1591 and then was republished in 1603 and 1609 in German and Latin respectively. Further reissues followed published in German in 1617, 1631 and 1655 which were abridgements of most of the original America. The range of his bibliographic influence, therefore, extends well into the seventeenth century⁸.

At the outset something was present in the manner in which de Bry had devised his subjects and in their containment in a packaged design which helped to encase the idea of the Indian within a familiar and Eurocentric viewpoint. So successful was this formula that subsequent interpreters of de Bry's imagery seem to have lost contact with the substance of the imagery and used it instead as a pattern-book. The efficacy of de Bry's presentation of the Indian is thus signalled by the rapidity with which the new information was assimilated. Assimilated to

the point that all Native Americans could easily be represented as "Virginians" or "Florida Indians". Because de Bry could claim a direct link with actual records of Native American culture the readers of his volumes could assume they were viewing the real thing, separate though it was from current Native American life or those existences not covered in de Bry's volumes. These images therefore became the epitome of how life was lived on the American continent.

The attraction which de Bry's images must have held for artists lay primarily in his ability to synthesize and systematize disparate visual material into a coherent whole. This unified vision of Native American culture can be glimpsed in the tendency for later illustrators to take a single figure from each of the parts of de Bry's magnum opus and present them as a catalogue of different tribal types. In this way the original scope of de Bry's work is not lost but the original context of representation is forgotten. De Bry had taken the voyage material and had given it a formulation which helped to decipher its complexities for viewers. However, the imitators of de Bry saw fit to dislodge the figures rather indiscriminately in order to present as full a range as was possible for their catalogues of Indian dress.

During the seventeenth century there appeared certain publications which tried to imitate the style and thoroughness of de Bry's work, such as Johannes de Laet's L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales (1640), but essentially these works could only add to the visual corpus and would not diminish the importance of the earlier work. They served to extend de Bry's range of subjects and they certainly had an impact on engravers of their time. However, the influence they had was not as long-lasting nor as extensive as de Bry's. They therefore do not deserve the same kind of analysis which will be

given to de Bry's imagery. One example from the seventeenth century can serve to show how the influence of de Bry's engraved works often amounted to a complete lifting of a specific figure out of context and placing him or her in a new arrangement in which to be presented. The Historia Canadensis (1664) by François du Creux has been described as a "skillful summary of the Jesuit Relations with some use of Champlain's Voyages and other sources."⁹ The illustrations to this publication however reveal an interesting relationship to de Bry's previous formulations in Parts I and II of America. In the illustration of Huron warriors there are certain attitudes in the limbs and the bodies of the figures which match up with those found in one particular image devised by de Bry from John White's drawings. (Plate 1)

De Bry's influence is revealed in the engravings to the Historia Canadensis if one examines the clearly derivative poses adopted by the Huron warriors as seen in (Plate 3). Two of the men exhibit the same idiosyncratic way of placing the back of the wrist of the bent arm against the hip found in de Bry's Virginian Lord. Some of these Huron men also adopt the stance of de Bry's man with the feet slightly turned out and one of them raised onto the toes. (Plate 3a) The musculature of the Huron men is not quite as classicized as that of de Bry's Indians but they show the same heavy Mannerist proportions with thick calves, full chests and sturdy physiques. In essence, we have a case where the images of de Bry have been taken apart and rebuilt into a new formulation which would suit the dictates of a different circumstance. That is, the commission called for Huron warriors and this illustrator found an image in de Bry that was suitable for just such a figure or figures. In taking travel material from Champlain, this compiler of voyage literature and his illustrator were given clues as to how the

figures should appear from the narratives themselves and this is shown in the type of costume and accoutrement provided. However, the reliance on de Bry is obvious in that a basic structure taken from his imagery has been clothed in Huron-like habiliment and results in the construction of an Indian type rather than an illustration of seventeenth century Huron culture.

Du Creux's imagery had an impact of its own despite its reliance on de Bry.¹⁰ In a work by another Jesuit father one can find images culled from both the Historia Canadensis of du Creux and the History of America of de Bry. The illustrator of Pere Joseph Lafitau's Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premier temps (1724) borrowed images from a number of sources but the single figures shown in two separate plates are clearly derived from the above two sources. Lafitau's tract was written as a piece of comparative ethnography which purported to show how similar were the customs of ancient peoples to those of the American Indians. It therefore was a primary document in the formulation of a primitivist attitude to Native Americans which found its fullest expression during the heyday of cultural relativism in the eighteenth century.¹¹ The illustrator of Lafitau's account was required to make visually clear the rather complex ideas and ideology of the text. The result however is somewhat diagrammatic, as the comparisons amount visually to a simple juxtaposition of ancient subjects next to those of Native Americans.¹²

Several of the plates are of interest in that they reveal both the extent of visual borrowing from earlier sources and how such borrowings are developed to fit the new circumstances and the meanings associated with them. In two of the plates to Volume One of Moeurs there are several Native American figures lined up next to each other along a bare

undifferentiated landscape as if on parade or part of a procession of differing peoples. Plate III includes a man and woman of Virginia, and a man and woman of Florida.¹³ These are based on de Bry's relevant images but have been altered slightly by the illustrator (the plates were not signed) in order to conform to eighteenth century conventions of deportment; (Plate 4) particularly seen in the figure of the Florida woman who holds a fan demurely to her face as she looks toward her male partner. A contemporary caste is given to the figure which aligns her within the context of eighteenth century tastes for appropriate behaviour between the sexes, something which can be seen in other French publications about Native Americans made contemporaneously with Lafitau's (for example, Bernard Picart and Bruzen de la Martinière's Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous peuples du Monde, (1723). This stylised version of de Bry includes the basics of the original but has enhanced them to suit a new set of textual correlates. (Plate 23)

In general, we can see in both the above plate and in plate II of Volume One, a loosening of de Bry's strictly located geographical context as various "pairs" of Indian figures are placed side by side along a line of bare earth with no background to provide a meaningful environment. Of course, de Bry's backgrounds were inventions, but their simulated context represents an attempt to position Indians within an explanatory context; de Bry's followers, in deracinating their figures, abandoned any attempt to see the Native American within a geographical and cultural location. Thus, in plate II, Lafitau's illustrator has included a "Siouan" Indian (the figure in the top left of the plate), an "Iroquois" next to him, and then a man and woman of the "Algonkian" tribes. (Plate 5) The Siouan man and the pair of Algonkian Indians are

derived from illustrations in du Creux's Historia Canadensis (1664) however in the latter they are all described as "Huron".(Plates 3 and 6)

The Iroquois woman is an adaptation of a figure on the frontispiece to Gabriel Sagard's Les Grands Voyages du Pays des Hurons(1632) (Plate 7) in which case it is likely that she was meant originally to have portrayed a Huron not an Iroquois, the former being an Algonkian speaking tribe and the latter a Siouan.

Consequently, one can find the traces of de Bry and other illustrators brought together within the Lafitau illustrations with no apparent concern as to how such divergent information on tribal life would coalesce. In his favour Lafitau has given the sources of imagery in the explanatory notes to the illustrations found in the back of his text; but in spite of this nominal gesture towards historical accuracy, the essential historicism in his work is part of its structure and the illustrations take part in a primitivist narrative.

Plate III of Volume Two (Plate 8) also extends an image in de Bry further in that it includes a perception of Indian practices of body ornamentation and "picture-writing" as equivalents to an ancient form of European literary development of a supposedly similar nature. In de Bry's America, Part I, two images included at the end were meant to illustrate the idea that the European forefathers, the Celts and Picts, had been as savage as the Native Americans shown in the illustrations to Harriot's account.(Plate 9) The Pictish man and woman, drawn by John White and engraved by de Bry, hold their wartime implements with a poise and grace also associated with the de Bry images of Indians. They have on their bodies a type of painted ornamentation that might be associated with that of the Indian peoples shown in de Bry's volumes. The poet Ebenezer Cooke draws a similar distinction between the Indian and the

Pict in his poem of 1708, The Sotweed Factor,¹⁴ which is indicative of the extent to which this comparison had been developed by the eighteenth century. In Moeurs, the male Pict reappears carrying the human head denoting the savagery of the tribesman depicted. Perhaps more than the body ornamentation or tattooing, the practice of defacing the dead human body, allied as it was to the practice of cannibalism, was the underlying link to be made between the figures of the Pict and the Indian. Lafitau emphasized the subject of "picture-writing", for his illustrator has depicted an Indian figure inscribing a message in the bark on a tree. Curiously, a derivative image appears much later in Robertson's The History of America (1777) in a new edition of 1817. (Plate 10) Also in the illustration to Lafitau's text is one of du Creux' Huron figures displaying the body painting or tattooing which links him to a type of picture-writing as practiced by the "ancient" savages.¹⁵

Lafitau's text and its illustrations were extremely influential in carrying through this form of cultural primitivism from de Bry's time up to the eighteenth century and beyond. Moeurs by Lafitau was published in German in 1752 in a text called Algemeine Geschichte der Landen und Volken von Amerika and so brought the French Jesuit perception of Canadian Indians to other parts of Europe. Lafitau's plates were included in the German volume and thus reveal an attitude to Indian culture which was becoming more widespread in the 1750's. It seemed as though an interest in comparing Europeans to the Native Americans was reaching a zenith.

The eighteenth century was also a time when the pattern books or books of "the costumes of the World" saw an increase in popularity. As a method of depiction, the catalogue of different nations or the costume

book had been in existence since the sixteenth century. However, in terms of their depiction of Native American subjects they had been limited in their choice due to the scarcity of material from which to make illustrations. By the mid-eighteenth century costume books such as Thomas Jefferys' A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations both Ancient and Modern (vols. I and II, 1757) and (vols. III and IV, 1772), published to provide the theatre and fancy dress players with ideas about costume, might include such various images as an "Iroquois", an "Ottawa", a "Mohawk" and a de Bry-like "Virginian".(Plate 11) Jefferys included several of the de Bry-type Indians in his Collection and thereby brought to the theatrical costuming of figures a sense of an ethnographically sound figure-type.

An interesting book published later in the century, Gallerie der Nationen (1793) by W.G. Hausleutner repeated many of the subjects that Jefferys had first culled from de Bry. One example where a de Bry subject is again reproduced, slightly adapted, is the plate entitled "Ein Virginischer Edelmann" or A Nobleman of Virginia.(Plate 12) Here we see not the swaying pose of the "Weroan or Lord of Virginia" in the illustration of Part I of America (Plate 1) but another figure taken via Jefferys from the titlepage to Part I, Thomas Hariot's A Briefe and True Report (first pub. 1589, republished by de Bry 1590). The left hand figure standing on a raised plinth in the titlepage of de Bry's volume is the same nobleman as shown in both Jefferys' and Hausleutner's work.(Plate 13) His pose in the eighteenth century versions is similar to that shown in de Bry's engraving and in the Hausleutner plate the Virginian man is posed in front of a hilly and pleasantly cultivated landscape somewhat reminiscent of de Bry's background landscape of the Lord or "Weroan" shown in the body of the text in America. The

specificity of de Bry's work has been lost in the process of repetition and reproduction in that the Virginian figure is detached from his actual community (Pomeeic or Secoton), where he was a lord or leader, and is thus more general in his presentation.

In some sense German illustrators were bound to rely more than others on de Bry's works as most editions of America were published in German. A book published in 1777 under the title Sitten und Meinungen der Wilden in America by Johann G. Purmann contains many of the subjects of de Bry's first two volumes. Some reorganizing of the images is present though in such plates as "Kinder und Kranche der Virginier" (Plate 14). Here the image of de Bry's mother and child from the plate "Their Manner of Careyng Their Children" (Plate 15) appears next to a tree with an infant strapped to a cradle board, a subject that is frequently illustrated in the books about America. These maternal subjects are illustrated in the top half of the plate in Purmann's work while on the bottom is shown a subject derived from de Bry's image of "The Tombe of Their Werowans".(Plate 16) Purmann's illustrator has not been as thorough as de Bry himself in detailing the figures' dress and body ornamentation and their hairstyles. Also the meaning of the original image is changed in that "Kranche" means sick or ill. The definition in the sixteenth century work is almost entirely lost in this imitator's renditions of the subjects at hand and, taken as a whole, Purmann's illustrations look more swiftly executed and more crudely rendered. Perhaps trends in publishing, the popularity of travel literature at this time and the ease of copperplate engraving contributed to the look of these plates and meant they would only need to be a hasty reworking of de Bry's tried and tested subject-matter.

Alongside the tendency to take images from the Virginia and Florida

subjects in America was the similar and to some extent more frequent use of de Bry's Mexican subject-matter. In particular one can find certain motifs taken from the Mexican subjects which seem to appear and reappear consistently in later illustrations about Mexican Indians. One topic which apparently had a gruesome fascination for Europeans was the reported practice of human sacrifice by the Aztecs in Mexico before the coming of the Spanish invaders. Its cruel and savage connotations were recorded in the Spanish account by Jose de Acosta, whose Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias (1590), was issued in part as Part IX of America under the title De Novi Orbis Natura(1601), the natives of Mexico "had a ceremony" where:

"A prisoner was taken to the top of [the Mountain of the Round Skulls] where the sacrifice took place. Six priests stood there awaiting him. Four held the man over a stone and put a wooden band round his neck. Then the fifth, who was the high priest, cut open his breast and took the heart, still warm and pulsating, showed it to the people, and cast it on the image of their god. The body was rolled down the steps."¹⁶

The illustration of this event in the de Bry volume follows the text in showing the four men and high priest performing the act of sacrifice and also how the body was thrown down the steps of the Temple.(Plate 17) However, the "mountain of skulls" and the structure of the temple itself are probably an invention of the illustrator's, based on his vague knowledge as garnered from the literature of the Mexican Conquest.

Following de Bry's example, the engraver J. Chapman illustrated the 1817 edition of the Encyclopedia Londinensis with one plate based on an illustration in America and titled "Mexico". It was described on the bottom of the plate as "Teo-calli, or Idol Temple at Mexico, with the Priest offering human Sacrifice."(Plate 18) This work has a clear basis in de Bry's engraving of the same subject, shown in the general

placement and poses of the central figures at the top of the Temple and in the two kiosks or shrines shown behind this central group of figures. More interesting, though, is the general tenor of the nineteenth century version which has heightened the drama and sense of emotion in the figures by including a group who react to the scene of sacrifice by hiding their eyes or pointing to it in horror. The priest holds up the human heart dripping with blood and steaming, an element which de Bry had left to the imagination. J. Chapman was also the engraver of another (undated) work entitled "A Native Savage of America" which also reveals his awareness of the South American imagery contained in the de Bry volumes. (Plate 19)

Another image which held the attention of illustrators and had a certain measure of popularity was the de Bry subject of Mexican dancers or acrobats. In this plate, also from the volume called De Novi Orbis Natura, figures are shown dressed in stylized feather skirts with some wearing the ubiquitous feather head-dresses dancing or joining in festivities under the title "Indian dancers". The two main figures occupying a central position in the plate are performing a feat of some agility with one man balancing on the other's left shoulder. (Plate 20) The description in de Bry states:

"in other [dances] they ... jumped on each others' shoulders. They also had a special dance to assemble all the dancers. The instruments used are a collection of drums accompanied by singers. ... The most usual dance, commonly made in spacious places, was the mittotte, a dance they held so brave and honourable that the King himself danced."¹⁷

The subject of the dancing Mexican Indians who balance on the shoulders of their partners is again included in the illustrations to Purmann's Sitten und Meinungen (vol.II) and in a publication in 1835 called L'Amerique Septentrionale and Meridionale published by order of the

Societe de Geographes et d'hommes des lettres. Given the description of "Fetes Publiques" in the latter book, this version of de Bry's dancing Mexicans has been recast to give a new complexion to the scene. Here the central image is retained but reversed and the dancers given more of an allegorical look in their feather costumes. The background scene is entirely changed with many elaborations made to the original background dancing figures.¹⁸(Plate 21) In essence what is represented here is a denatured form of de Bry-type imagery taken out of the context of de Acosta's account, altered from de Bry's original and placed within a new history of the Americas that must be informed by greater knowledge and experience of the Americas. It contains elements of the original illustration in the pose of the central figures and their feather costumes but loses the ethnographic connotation inherent in de Bry's work by changing the scene and giving the balancing act the look of just that, a beach sideshow with entertainers and jugglers such as would be found in any European resort.

In spite of the general tendency to use de Bry-like imagery in the illustrations to volumes about the history and peoples of America, there were concomittant examples where the imagery of de Bry's America turned up in contexts outside that of travel literature. Such books as the 1760 edition of Ripa's Iconologia by Johann G. Hertel¹⁹ (Plate 22) were meant to be used by designers and artists as a source for all kinds of imagery. In the engraved illustration of the continent of America the main figure is a Native man based on the image of de Bry's King of Florida taken from Part II of America.(Plate 23) What should be noted here is the fact that allegorical treatment of the Indian figure saw fit to base its imagery in known ethnographical imagery like de Bry's. It is interesting to discover that the imagery in the Iconologia destined

to be used by artists as a tool for the symbolic representation of ideas would rely on an ostensibly ethnographic representation in order to achieve some measure of accuracy. In like manner the late seventeenth century designer of cartouches, Johann Ulrich Krauss, felt it was illustrative of the "dragon of Babylon" to include as supporters of a cartouche de Bry's images of cannibalism taken from Part III of America, the account of captivity by Hans Staden.(first pub. 1557)²⁰(Plates 24 and 25) In another example, the images of de Bry's Florida and Virginia Indians (Plate 1) were used to adorn a "japanned" desk of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.(Plate 26 and detail) Huth and Randall, Jr. have described the sources for most of the designs on the chest and have revealed how de Bry's figures were combined with other more common forms of decoration in lacquer in this unique example.²¹ Somewhat typical of this period in the early part of the eighteenth century is the combination of Eastern and Western imagery in the design of decorative items. For instance, one can find various types of exotic imagery combined in a decorative scheme about the "Indies", both east and west; "oriental" imagery might, for instance, inform the subject of an item of chinoiserie. This fusion is witnessed in the combination of various flora and fauna of distant countries into an overall decorative design found in the tapestries designed by the Gobelin factory in the 1680's.²²(Plate 27) Also seen in ceramics, a feather garmented Indian figure could be placed among other typical chinoiserie subjects in such items as a teapot design by Meissen (c.1730) or as part of a scene shown on tiles made by a Dutch firm in the early 1700's.(Plate 28) The use of de Bry imagery on a japanned desk is thus not so unexpected when viewed in the light of such mixtures of exotica.

The designer of the japanned chest, possibly English or Dutch created a piece which indeed may have been influenced in its choice of subject-matter by some interested patron.²³ However, in his reworking of de Bry's images he has dissolved the original formulation and serious content of the images and shown them in an exotic, unspecified context. Interestingly he has borrowed the images of Florida Indians playing a ball game which was taken from plate 10 in Part II of America.(Plates 29 and 30) This image was certainly more appropriate for the commission than others which might have been chosen such as the images of the war between different factions in the Timacua society. However, in its combination with other kinds of exotic Chinese imagery and the addition of tropical birds placed in the air above the ball-players, this adaptation of de Bry can only show that his images, while containing some first-hand "truths" were not restricted to such serious contexts as that of history or travel. Rather they were thought of as the stuff of dreams or fantasy which might adorn a bedchamber or dining room.

On the left door of the cabinet more of de Bry's Indians are shown; this time some of the figures made from John White's drawings appear in the foreground of the scene in front of several Oriental pagodas.(Plate 26 and detail) The Indians' strange and hence exotic attire as depicted in de Bry is shown here but in less detail, due to obvious technical limitations.²⁴ Yet the artist has given indications of the specificity of de Bry's figures in head ornamentation, implements used for hunting or warfare and the rattle which the child of "Pomeiooc" holds in her right hand in both de Bry and this figure on the cabinet.

Somehow reconciled in the mind of this designer was the fact that Virginian and Floridan Indians belonged in an essentially Oriental piece

and that their exotic and different behaviour , dress and ornamentation made them a necessary part of the decorative plan of the work. In this way, divisions were blurred between the cultures that were depicted on the furniture, for their connotations as separate entities became subsumed within European notions of the exotic and of what constituted the Indies.²⁵

Finally, an instance of imagery based on de Bry's engravings which frankly distorts his original intention was the frontispiece to an anthology of captivity accounts, the Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Fredric Manheim's Family published in Philadelphia in 1793 and 1800. (Plate 31) The plate is meant to portray 'the fortune of two "helpless virgins"' and is constructed out of the image which John White made of some inhabitants of Secotan Village, dancing around three native girls whose arms are intertwined around each other.(Plate 32) In White's drawing, copied faithfully by de Bry in terms of composition and details of dress and ornamentation, several tall poles are shown with faces carved on them, towards which the dancers gesture. The explanatory letterpress accompanying the plate further clarifies the meaning of this ritual dance. However, in the illustration to the Affecting History none of the carved poles are shown, tomahawks and other weapons have been given to the dancers instead of gourds and vegetation, and the three central figures have been changed into two totally naked captives tied to a central pole. Perhaps the most destructive alteration to White's original intention is the addition of a bonfire of burning logs behind the captives which is presumably here to indicate the torture (or cannibalism?) that awaits them. This late eighteenth century use of de Bry's images has clearly abandoned the original relationship of the figures to a specific Virginian context and

has given them instead an entirely new set of visual and associational co-ordinates. The original image of dancing figures has become a signifier of violence and cruelty, precisely reversing John White's attempts at ethnographic accuracy. This instance points to a general diminution of de Bry's importance for engravers of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when compared to the highly influential impact of the History of America in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As such, it is part of an overall lessening of interest in the Native American as a new phenomenon, requiring detailed ethnographic study both in himself and in his cultural practices. In the chapters that follow we will be examining the results of this waning interest and the concomitant developing refusal to see the Native American as "other", both unique and separate from European existence.

Many of the graphic images discussed above contained an ethnographic basis in their depictions of Native Americans to the extent that their images showed an attention to the classification and systemization of Native American culture as given in the voyage literature. It was a way of perceiving Indian culture which likened it to known European forms of cultural expression, the *fêtes* and the aristocracy of Europe, but insisted on racial difference at the same time through the use of iconic devices like the feather skirts and darker skin tone. Largely, the purpose of such works as the Indian costume plate or the "histories" of America was to systematize Native American culture in order to make it more comprehensible for Europeans. Early methods of such organization include the allegory of America, a literary and visual trop in which an Indian usually embodied the continent. It was a popular way of imaging America and was employed as a decorative device by artists.

Notes -

1. The following table lists the dates of publication of each of the separate Parts of *Historia Americae*, the total of which ran to fourteen. Also included are reissues of each volume and the languages in which each were published (This turned out to be almost exclusively Latin and German):

	Latin	English	German	French
Parts I	1590	1590	1590,1600,1620	1590
II	1591,1609		1591,1603	
III	1592,1605,1630		1593	
IV	1594,1610		1594,1613	
V	1595,1617		1595,1613	
VI	1596,1617		1597,1619	
VII	1599,1625		1597,1617	
VIII	1599,1625		1599,1600,1624	
IX	1602,1633		1601,1602+	
X	1619		1618	
XI	1619,1620		1619,1620+	
XII	1624		1623	
XIII	1634		1628	
XIV			1630	(+appendix)

2. De Bry published the first two parts of his voyage accounts out of chronological sequence due to the wishes of Richard Hakluyt. The latter hoped to publicize the English account with de Bry's help as Royal support for the English colonial venture in America was in a precarious and uncertain state. De Bry's publication of the English voyage of 1585 before the earlier French voyage of 1562-4 would therefore keep the reading public's attention set on the contemporary colonial ventures taking place in America. See Michael Alexander (ed.), *Discovering the New World. Based on the Works of Theodore de Bry*, New York, 1976, pp. 9-10.

3. De Bry travelled to London in 1585 to hopefully obtain the rights to publication of Jacques Le Moyne's drawings, but the latter wouldn't sell. A year later, after Le Moyne's death, de Bry returned to London and bought the pictures made by the French artist. See Alexander, *op. cit.*

4. The text that accompanied de Bry's illustration of "A Weroan or Great Lord of Virginia" contained the following description of the figure:

"The Princes of Virginia are attired in such manner as is expressed in this figure. They wear the hair of their heads long and bind up the end in a knot under their ears. Yet they cut the top of their heads from the forehead to the nape of the neck in manner of a cockscomb, sticking a fair long feather of some bird at the beginning of the crest worn upon their foreheads, and another short one on both sides about their ears.... When they go to battle they paint their bodies in the most terrible manner that they can devise."

5. Neoplatonic theories of beauty were just one aspect of a growing interest in classical thought which began blossoming in the Fourteenth

and Fifteenth Centuries. In the later age of Mannerism these theories had become solidified into a tendency to stylize certain classical qualities and proportions when making images of the human nude form. See John Shearman, Mannerism, first publ. 1967, Harmondsworth, 1979, p.42.

6. Karen Ordahl Kupperman argues that by looking at evidence in the travel literature of the time (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) it is possible to prove that Native Americans were not perceived by the colonists at any rate as the exemplars of a savage or barbaric nature in mankind. Instead they were perceived as living on an almost equivalent basis to the English and that certain elements in Native American life could be likened to similar elements in English society back home. See Karen O. Kupperman, Settling With the Indians. The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, London, 1980.

7. Only one drawing by Le Moyne is still in existence from which to judge. Certain authors have noted that de Bry's hand only slightly influenced the feel of the drawings after they were engraved. See Alexander, op. cit.

8. See note 1 for details of publication. In 1617 a German abridgement of Parts I-IX was published by N. Hoffmann of Frankfurt. In 1631 another German abridgement appeared, this time of Parts I-XIII which included a re-issue of Part XIV. This 1631 edition was published by M. Merian, again of Frankfurt. Then in 1655 yet another edition of America appeared published in German.

9. This description of the Historia Canadensis points to its author's use of several sources for most of the written material contained within it and the editorial quality of much of the travel writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From W.P. Cumming et.al., The Exploration of North America 1630-1776, London, 1974, p. 44 (part of the explanation of plate 57).

10. The images of Huron men and women from Historia Canadensis reappear in several editions of J. Lafitau's Moeurs des Sauvages (1724), and they also seem connected to the images of Ottawa and Souian Indians that are part of the illustrations to the mysterious manuscript called the Codex Canadensis dated c. 1700. The authorship of the codex has been attributed to Father Louis Nicolas, a Jesuit missionary living in Canada during the years 1667 to 1675. He was defrocked in 1675. It seems likely that Father Nicolas would have seen the Historia Canadensis as it was published by the Jesuit press in 1664 and that he might have taken a copy with him on his travels to Canada. If he is also the artist who furnished the sketches for the Codex perhaps the ready-made imagery in Father DuCreux' book gave him the necessary graphic precedents from which to work. In the sketch of the "Roy de La Grande Nation des Nadouessioueks" (Sioux) one finds the same attitude to the body and head as that found in one Huron warrior in the Historia. Also the Souian man adopts the de Bry-like pose with one arm bent and the hand of the bent arm turned back with the back of the wrist touching the waist. For a discussion of the Codex Canadensis see W.P. Cumming et. al., op. cit., p.29, (in explanation to plate 36).

11. Lafitau's work had drawn on previous accounts such as Jose de Acosta's De Procuranda and the same author's Historia natural y moral de las Indias (1590). "Lafitau took Acosta's thesis to what seemed to him to be its inevitable conclusion. If, he argued, the Indians were the descendants of migrants from Europe it should be possible to discover which part of Europe they had come from. And once that had been done, it would be possible to use the observable facts about Indian life to throw light upon the European past." Anthony Pagden, The Fall of

Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 200-201.

12. Perhaps the diagrammatic quality of these illustrations is the result of Lafitau's cursory comments in the explication of his plates. See note 14.

13. The plate also includes images of a man and a woman "Carib", a "Brazilian" figure group, and between these two images, the figure of an "acephalus" or mediaeval "Blemmyae", the men with "their faces on their chests." These latter "lack heads and necks and make up part of Shakespeare's 'Anthropophagi, and men whose heads/Do grow beneath their shoulders.'" They supposedly lived in the deserts of Libya. These descriptions and the quote from Shakespeare are taken from John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Mediaeval Art and Thought, Cambridge, 1981, p. 12.

14. "But Indians strange did soon appear,
in hot persuit of wounded Deer;
No mortal creature can express
His wild fantastic Air and Dress;
His painted Skin in colours dy'd,
His sable Hair in Satchel ty'd,
Shew'd Savages not free from Pride:

Widows and Wives, were bath'd in Grease
Of Cub and Bear, whose supple oil
Prepar'd his limbs 'gainst Heal or Toil.
Thus naked Pict in battel fought,
Or undisguis'd his Mistress sought."

As quoted in Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence. The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860, Middletown, 1973, pp. 193-94.

15. Lafitau's explanation of the image in Plate III of Vol. Two is as follows:

"La Planche 3. nous met sous les yeux les Peintures
Caustiques et Hieroglyphiques. 1. Pict ancien. Theodor
de Bry India Occid. Part I Icon I. 2. Sauvage peint,
parallele au Picte represente dans la Figure premiere.
Creuxius, Hist. Canad. pag. 79. Entre ces deux
personnages est un sauvage de l'Amerique Septentrion-
ale, 3. gravant son portraits sur un arbre, et ecrivant
a sa maniere ce qu'il veut faire connoitre par cette
espece de monument ..."

Thus Lafitau both acknowledges his sources and uses them to develop a thesis that all these methods of picture writing are equivalent.

16. Taken from Michael Alexander (ed.), op. cit., p. 163.

17. Ibid, p. 156.

18. The illustration in L'Amérique Septentrionale is possibly derived from a similar plate in Lafitau's Moeurs des sauvages (1724).

19. See Edward A. Maser (ed.), Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery. The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's Iconologia, New York, 1971.

20. De Bry obtained the publishing rights to Hans Staden's account which was one of the reasons the master engraver began his project on the History of America. Michael Alexander (ed.), op. cit., p. 8.

21. Hans Huth and Richard H. Randall Jr., "American Indian Decoration on a 'Japanned' Desk in the Walters Art Gallery," Connoisseur, 192 (July 1976), pp. 224-9.

22. For a description of the circumstances of production of the Gobelin

tapestries "Les Indes", see M. Benisovich, "The History of the Tenture des Indes," Burlington, 83 (1943), pp. 216-225; and T. Bodkin, "Les Nouvelles Tentures des Indes," Burlington, 84 (1944), pp. 65-66.

23. Huth and Randall Jr., op. cit., p. 225-26.

24. Ibid.

25. T. Hahn discusses the "mistake" which Columbus made on designating the Native Americans as "Indians". Hahn places the misnomer in the context of sixteenth century perceptions of India and the Far East which help to explain the term, its meaning being less specific than that which would have denoted the inhabitants of the continent of India alone. Apparently it was used in a broader sense to designate those exotic, faraway cultures removed from ordinary life and existing in an uncomplicated and "pure" environment. Interestingly the accounts of Cook's voyages to the South Pacific during the 1770's also refer to the native inhabitants as "Indians". Thomas Hahn, "Indians East and West: Primitivism, and Savagery in English discovery narratives of the sixteenth century," The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 8 (1978), I, pp. 77-114. For accounts of Cook's voyages see Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, first published 1960, New Haven, 1985. Also the same author's article "First European Depictions," in Seeing the First Australians, edited by Ian and Tamsin Donaldson, Sydney, 1985, p. 29.

Chapter Two - Sign Language: The Indian as Allegorical Figure

The Indian as a symbol of various European concepts, ideas and ideologies has been examined by a number of investigators.¹ Standardization of the Native American figure occurred through the rhetorical pattern of allegory, where a visual construction might stand for (or replace) an idea as it was fully written out. Used as a shorthand method for expressing a complicated notion within a single visual design, allegorical representations became a standard artistic convention in the Renaissance. Allegorical handbooks were created by designers for artists, which grouped similar allegorical elements under the appropriate subjects to which they referred.²

In the case of the Native American, the allegorical subject to which he or she was most crucially aligned was that of the Continents or "Four Parts of the World".³ As a representative or symbolical embodiment of the Continent of America, the Native American figure would find elucidation in a variety of contexts. This chapter will focus, specifically, on the ways in which Native American figures were employed in allegorical arrangements, from the pattern of the Four Continents to other less pervasive ones. A connection with material discussed in subsequent chapters may be discerned, in that the tendency to abstract and allegorize by picking out particular features to stand for the whole of the Native American personage does not disappear altogether after the eighteenth-century, even though the use of formal allegory does. Allegorical feeling can be detected in imagery made in connection with travel accounts, narratives of captivity, fictional literature and written histories of America. Thus the pervasive influence of allegory

invests most images of Native Americans and informs them even as formal allegory loses its momentum.

The consistent use of allegory with respect to images of Native Americans can be explained more fully by examining briefly the history and development of the Allegory of America as it came to be delineated in the sixteenth-century and later. America symbolized in human form was derived initially from experience of those peoples whom Europeans had first encountered within the territories of what was known collectively as the New World. These were the inhabitants of the central and southern parts of the continent of America; the Caribbean and Mexican cultures and those along the estuaries of the larger rivers in present day Brazil and Northern Venezuela. Perhaps even more important to the constructed image of America, were those captive peoples and their artifacts taken back to Europe after initial exploratory ventures, and as a consequence of the Mexican Conquest (1519 - 1521).

To take one example of this process, the earliest artistic representations of the brightly coloured feather adornment worn by certain Brazilian tribespeople or those ceremonial costumes used by members of Mexican cultures, such as the Aztecs, were simplified in a drawing attributed to Albrecht Altdorfer, The Triumph of Maximilian I of 1512-16 (Plate 33), and were there stylized in the feather skirts and head-dresses worn by a guard of warriors. Significantly, it was the exotic nature of a feather crown and feather garment that would become the universal symbol of America; its formulation derived from experience of actual Native American peoples and their accoutrement (Plate 34), but its power derived from a simplification of detail.

It is worth noting here that allegory allows this concentration on detail such that one item can function as a synecdoche for the whole

figure. There is therefore a double displacement of the actual Native American. First the whole figure stands for the continent, then elements of the figure become the signs by which the figure himself is recognized. Any given attribute, be it a feather head-dress or tomahawk, that continues to be reproduced over and over again gains intensity through a process of repetition and refinement. The Native American personage who exists behind the symbolic attribute or attributes, such as the feather crown, seems to dwindle in importance and is forgotten as a result of this process.

It was in illustrations on certain maps of the New World that initial steps were taken towards the development of a standardized Native American personage. Native American peoples who were depicted within these works "inhabited" interior or uncharted regions on the maps' surfaces. That is, they were shown in active roles, hunting, making war or were simply dispersed within the landscape. Sometimes, they appeared wearing garments made from brightly coloured plumage of the tropical birds also seen in the maps' illustrations. (Plate 35) Direct observation and hearsay contributed to the initial association of the New World inhabitant with the feathered adornment he sometimes wore⁴; however, it was soon clear that the bright feathers were becoming visually synonymous with the experience of America. They were an indication to the viewer that it was an American scene being observed. Other animals and certain plants would also become synonymous with the American continent since they too had appeared in the early illustrations, particularly such creatures as the alligator, the iguana and the parrot; species which were not indigenous to Europe.

The native inhabitants of "Mundus Novus" that were portrayed in the earliest mappimondi, such as the Miller Atlas of 1525 (attributed to

Lopo Homem and Pedro Reinel), and in later works such as the Cosmographie Universelle by Guillaume Le Testu (1555) appeared in the landscape in geographical ways; i.e. their relationship to the land and its flora and fauna was clearly established in the illustration. (Plate 36) To a certain extent, these Native American figures began as beings existing in the 'real' space on a map, each visually conceived as a concrete entity, and therefore were 'realized' as 'other', a person both separate and unique from the viewer, and living on an equivalent basis with oneself. In time this realization became impossible to accept, as colonial interests pressed for the settlement of a "sparsely populated"⁵ landmass. Exploration resulted in geographical information whose physical markers signified an available and unpopulated terrain. This plenitude of signs of absence filled in the space once occupied by a presence; and as a result the Native American figure was forced out of the space of the continent and brought within the confines of the decorative space of the margins or cartouche. Necessarily, the removal of the Native American figure to the margins altered the role of such representation and a process of marginalization and simplification of detail was set in motion. Cartographic requirements here march hand in hand with the settlement process. The shrinking space inside the map's outlines left less and less room to explore the complexity of the Native American figure or his traditional way of life (rudimentary though this had been). Equally, it was necessary to promote the idea of vast, unpopulated areas of the continent in order to stimulate settlement, as this was the key to establishing colonial rights over an area.⁶ Developments in cartographic techniques and the high status given to accurate maps of the New World certainly speeded this process and helped to establish the Native American's place in a decorative capacity.

Witness the designs seen on maps of the eighteenth century such as the Nouvelle Mappemonde by Bailleul (1750). (Plate 37) In this map the figures of the Continents have been relegated to the bottom spaces of the design to leave the central space open for a stereoscopic projection of the world. It is here that the context of allegory becomes most crucial, for the symbolic action of allegory removes the image one step from immediate experience and provides the viewer with an 'unreal' stylization of qualities that they can readily interpret. It was in the cartouche that the Indian figure became prolific, via allegory, as he or she was immured mainly in a fantastic and superficial context that allowed the figure to be envisioned as symbolic and thus unthreatening.⁷

A similar case could be made for the use of allegorical-type figures in the design of frontispieces for books. The function of a frontispiece which both embellishes and encapsulates the text, ensured that Indian figures in such a context functioned symbolically. For instance, in a book such as the Theatrum Botanicum or An Universall and Compleat Herball by John Parkinson (1640) the figure of America sits astride a llama and is surrounded by plants associated with the continent such as the sunflower and the cactus. (Plate 38) Here the figure is an indication of the diversity of plant and animal life in her corner of the world. As late as 1822 this same mode of expressing the diversity of the natural world in terms of its human types was shown in the frontispiece to Oliver Goldsmith's A History of the Earth and Animated Nature (1822). This work shows the allegorical figures aloft in the air while the actual "races" inhabit the earth with a fantastic volcano erupting in the background. (Plate 39) Simplification of the widely variable dress of the Native American peoples into a single recognized allegory of the continent also occurred outside book

illustration. In the form of prints, allegorical interpretations of America appeared from a very early date. Theodore Galle's engraved version of a drawing by Stradanus from the late sixteenth-century shows the developing set of allegorical traits in a process of solidification.(Plate 40) Like the figures on the maps, this 'America' is shown inhabiting a landscape. However in this work a seated female figure decorated with metal ankle bands, a skirt made of feathers and a feather cap is placed in an idealized landscape where leafy trees create a bower that envelopes and surrounds her. This is hardly the same kind of scene that was depicted on the maps' surfaces, for here the context has been mythologized and the figure's function changed in order to enact a different symbolic role. She is no longer an active figure engaged in daily pursuits. Her femininity itself adds to this inactivity in that a female persona would tend to be viewed as non-aggressive, generous and fecund, waiting to be animated by the male figure of her discoverer, Amerigo Vespucci.

Action is depicted in this print however in a background scene. The small figures who are roasting a human limb in the distance are included in the scene not just to show activity but to invest the image with the element of monstrosity, a direct result of similar imagery displayed on the early maps of the newly discovered World. The act of cannibalism preoccupied the first delineators of the Native American as seen in a German woodcut of 1505.(Plate 41) These early woodcuts alluded to ancient beliefs about the anthropophagi and other monstrous races who lived in the most remote areas of the known universe from a Eurocentric viewpoint.⁸ They re-established a long held notion that man-eaters existed on the outer reaches or edges of the world where men had been shunned by God and led lives symbolic of the Fall of Man into

eternal darkness. Allegories of America would draw on details from this older mythology of monstrous races and would translate the whole issue of cannibalism into a single visual element, often that of the severed human head or limb. If a severed head was shown, it was usually of European visage and was emblematic of the inherent "savageness" of the American environment.

By the late sixteenth-century a specific iconography had developed for the figure of America where special reference was made to the figure's dark skin, his "otherness". In Cesare Ripa's allegorical handbook the Iconologia (first published in 1593) the personification of America is a male figure but this is not as significant as the traits he has been given. Ripa's work was extremely popular, was first illustrated in 1603, and appeared as late as the eighteenth century in a German edition by Johann Georg Hertel published in 1758 - 60. It is important to enunciate the iconography of the allegory as it was first formulated in the Renaissance and then handed on to later scholars, artists and designers in the eighteenth-century. Hertel's edition includes a short text derived from Ripa along with a full page illustration:

The personification of America is a dark man, a native chieftain certainly, who sits among many objects associated with America. He is elaborately tattooed, and wears a feather headdress, many beads, and a decorated animal hide. He holds a spear with a jagged head. About the main figure are bits of coral, pearls, a basket of gold dust (?), arrows, spotted hides, a large nautilus shell, a human head, war clubs, a bow, and a monstrous animal, perhaps an iguana or an armadillo.⁹ (Plate 22)

The figure in the illustration follows the description, for his body tattooing is clearly visible and his royal status indicated by a crown of feathers and an attendant placed behind his right shoulder. Strong

allegorical import is evident in the profusion of detail in the scene but also in the prominent elements of the iguana, the spear, a bow and quiver of arrows placed around the figure. Slightly de-emphasized on the other hand is the human face, a severed head, on which the "King" of America rests his hand. The background scenes in this work as well as the central figure are clearly derived from illustrations in the Historia Americae of the deBry family published between 1590 and 1634, the source most often relied upon in subsequent graphic portrayals of the Native American.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the de Bry illustrations that have been chosen here were those associated with tribes or groups on the Northern continent and thus are in contrast to the usual allegorical figure derived from South American-inspired imagery. Nevertheless the Hertel allegorical figure exhibits most of the traditional features of the continent of America as Native King or Queen and is typical of the period from early to mid-eighteenth century when the allegory of America as a Native American was at its most prolific.

With time and constant repetition, each of the attributes listed in the Iconologia had become as important in invoking the idea of America as had the entire image. In some cases a single element in America's visage could be used to hint at the exoticism associated with a distant landscape. Designers were quick to envision the decorative possibilities of the American figure's feather garments and began to exploit these features in all kinds of ways. Stylistically, the elaborate plumage sometimes given to the allegorical American figures tended to soften forms and create arabesque-like curves and folds within which the figures became enveloped.(Plate 42) This blending of the functional attire of the Native American with the purely decorative

aspects of line and plasticity tended to submerge his "otherness" in a more acceptable mode of depiction. The allegorical representation of America was one way of including new and dramatic features in an essentially Europeanized vision. In some ways this explains the popularity of the theme of allegory up until the eighteenth-century, for it kept the issue of the Native American as a real entity enclosed in elaborate paraphernalia and instead treated the Indian as a disembodied concept.

As an example of the ways in which designers could exploit the Native American's features and invoke the feeling of allegory without actually reproducing the entire figure of America (a synecdoche of sorts), one could examine a set of designs for cartouches that were produced during the closing years of the seventeenth-century. American 'Indian' figures supply a highly decorative function in the designs for a Bible by the German designer-engraver, Johann Ulrich Krauss. Representations of this kind are examples of a transition from the illustrative figures who originally appeared on the surface of maps to those who became transformed into the personification of America. The Indians in Krauss' designs function in a symbolic manner in that they illustrate concepts thought to be important or moral and which pertain to the biblical subject-matter inside the cartouche, somewhat in the same manner as had the monstrous races of illuminated manuscripts.¹¹ Yet unlike the figure of America, Krauss' Indians do not physically embody the qualities they symbolize.

The Historiche Bilder-Bibel, both designed and engraved by Krauss, was published in Augsburg in five parts between 1698 and 1700.¹² Several of the plates (Plates 43, 44 and 24) include Indian figures who are sometimes seated on the curve of the cartouche as part of the

scrollwork and are usually displayed in feather crowns and garments. The reasons for their inclusion in the Krauss designs are not always clear, for the textual scenes inside the cartouches refer to biblical passages. Perhaps their inclusion derives in part from allegory in that America had become synonymous with a wilderness environment and as a region where atrocities such as cannibalism had occurred. The Indian figure could therefore invoke such imagery in the viewers' minds. The biblical text which states that "the presence of the ark troubles the Philistines and they return it"¹³ indicated to the artist that the Muslim East and "savage" Indians were appropriate indicators of philistinism. (Plate 44) The figures in this cartouche are loosely based on the representations of Brazilian tribespeople contained in the travel accounts published during the middle of the sixteenth-century, especially those in de Bry's Historia Americae (Tertia Pars). (Plate 45) The Tupinamba of Hans Staden's account reappear in the Krauss designs, except that the groups who were active in the account of captivity and in de Bry's illustrations to that account are separated here into lone male and female figures who take up their places on each side of the cartouche. The ceremonial war clubs which the male figures carry in the de Bry illustrations do not assume a similar meaning when used decoratively in a cartouche design. Again, the methods of simplification of detail and removal from relevant context have meant that the allegorized Indian is also an innocuous figure.

If one returns at this point to graphic representations stimulated by the conquest of Mexico, such as the German representations of the Triumph of Maximilian I, it is easier to see how elements of ethnographic content, such as the Brazilian war club or ceremonial weapon came to be valued in a decorative sense. As mentioned above, the

potential of the Native American warrior to commit atrocities through the use of his club was often de-emphasized in allegorical representations, where background scenes or peripheral elements made reference to the act of cannibalism but never expressed it as a central theme. The depiction of a decorated guard of 'Indian'¹⁴ warriors seeks to display the variety of peoples present in the lands ruled by the European powers. In this context the Native American's weaponry adds strength to the spectacle of the Emperor's power but does not actually threaten to disrupt the proceedings.

Semi-nude figures covered in garments of feathers were likewise often depicted in the act of paying homage to the symbol of the European power, its monarch or leader. Again, it was a theme which suited allegorical interpretation, for in many cases it included the Four Continents, who were often shown bringing tribute to the European leader in the form of treasures, spices, raw materials and other items symbolic of wealth. The symbolic expression of far-reaching colonial influence entailed in the scene of tribute can be found in the illustrations to various texts, histories, chronologies, etc. published during the period leading up to America's independence.

In the "emblematic" engraving after Jacob van Meurs, the city of Amsterdam, a female seated on a throne and wearing a crown, receives the personages representing the Four Parts of the World. (Plate 46) Entitled "T'Amsterdam", it was published in 1663 and was probably the frontispiece to the Historiche Beschryvinghe von Amsterdam. The figure symbolic of America kneels in the foreground and offers to the crowned figurehead a rolled parcel of wood or possibly tobacco.¹⁵ Dressed in a skirt made of feathers and a circular crown of feathers placed on his head, this figure exhibits the same kind of features as the typical

allegorical figure. Much more elaborately detailed are the Indian figures who occupy part of a drawing in a series of works designed in the 1610's to elucidate the history of the Netherlands. Beautifully executed by Joachim Wtewael, these drawings include as an endpiece a design entitled Indian Homage. (Plate 47) In this drawing two American or West Indian men dressed in skirts of leather patchwork and wearing fanciful feather head-dresses stand at the back of an entourage of 'Indian' delegates which include such figures as a Turkish prince and an East Indian representative.¹⁶ This group is assembled to show the extent of Dutch trading and influence as well as lending a fitting conclusion to the vicissitudes attendant to the life of 'Lady Belgica'.

The underlying message in both these works is that the Native American's finery, his treasures and the produce of the American lands add to the greater glory and mercantile achievement of the colonising power. Essentially, neither the native figures nor their goods have an autonomous existence outside the context of the European court in which they appear, for in these works the figures denoting America (or even the Indies) function solely as additions to the growing empire. They are usually the most physically distant from the figurehead of Europe and in this sense are seen as late arrivals, peripheral to the central diplomatic or colonial contact being documented. Perhaps this suited the dictates of allegory as America had been the last continent to have been discovered (Terra Australis was not yet included in traditional renditions of the Continents) and therefore should be shown symbolically as the farthest removed from the European centre.

The most luxurious context for the depiction of allegorical figures of the Four Continents was their use as interior decorations for public buildings, royal palaces and private homes during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. One such instance of the use of Native American imagery in the decoration of a private home are the paintings done by Robert Robinson in 1696 for the house at No. 5, Botolph Lane, and now in Sir John Cass's School, Aldgate. (Plates 48 and 49) According to Croft-Murray, the paintings may have been commissioned by a merchant, perhaps a member of the Grocer's Company.¹⁷ Robinson's designs contain feather dressed Indians along the lines of the allegories but perhaps meant to indicate a Peruvian or Mexican setting. On the other hand, in many of these interior painted works the continental figures occupy the extreme edges of the design as they were symbolic of the macropicture of the World. The painting by Antonio Verrio and Henry Cooke (1687 - 90) in the Chelsea Royal Hospital depicts Charles II on horseback in front of the hospital.(Plate 50) To the extreme right are depicted the Four Continents who attend the King and represent the glories of his Reign.¹⁸ Ceiling decorations carried out by Sir James Thornhill in the years 1718 to 1725 for the Royal Naval College at Greenwich are perhaps the most impressive designs created in England at this time to include the figure of an allegorical Native American. The ceiling painting in the Upper Hall of the large Dining Hall contains the representatives of each continent, Europe, Asia, Africa and America. They each display attributes which by this date had become associated with their separate geographical spaces, the most prominent feature of America being her brightly-coloured red and white feather head-dress. (Plate 51)

The decorations on the Upper Hall ceiling were created with a specific theme in mind. Thornhill's plan was to present the figures of the Hanoverian rulers in such a way as to highlight the technical advances attained under Protestant rule and its patronage. The design which contains the allegorical figures of the continents has, as its

main theme, a scene with the portrait busts of Queen Anne and King George I being saluted by the Virtues and acclaimed by the World.¹⁹ Each continental figure occupies an area on the edge of the design and is seated above one of the four walls, thus the design reflects the cosmological arrangement of the World into four distinct regions. All the faces of the figures have been turned to look slightly upward and outward as if to direct the viewer towards the centre of the ceiling space. Asia and Africa raise one arm in tribute, and America lifts her unstrung bow as if to indicate allegiance. While all the figures which represent the continents are shown occupying positions equivalent with respect to the rulers' portraits, it is only the figure of Europe which can be glimpsed from the lower Dining Hall area; she is depicted above the back wall and is seated the 'right way up' to those standing on the ground and viewing her from below in the larger dining space. A design such as Thornhill's seeks to reiterate the dominant and important position of Europe with respect to the other continents.

The dining room in Osterley Park House, near London, also contains representations of the Four Continents but painted on a more intimate scale than those at Greenwich. This time the theme of the room used for banqueting was that of the god Bacchus, wine being his traditional element. Antonio Zucchi (1726-95) carried out the painting of the four continents in his role as the principal decorative painter under the designer Robert Adam.²⁰ These paintings were executed in 1767. Each of the continents is situated above a door leading out of the room; the figure of America is portrayed above the door leading from the Eating Room into the East side of the adjacent Gallery. (Plate 52) She is given a feather tiara but is dressed in classically inspired garments that drape and flow about her form. In this way she becomes less of a

distinctive personage from the other figures and has been adapted to conform to the decorousness and antique-inspired formality of the room. A baroque vision of semi-nudity and exotic colouring would not have suited this commission.

By the middle of the eighteenth century traditional allegorical figures had been adapted to suit the taste of a new era. As the eighteenth century progressed into the nineteenth further changes occurred that would have profound implications for the use of an allegorical American figure. This development is typified by the following example. The allegory of America portrayed as a Native American princess appears in the design of two separate engravings, the first published in 1752 and the second in 1835. Both plates depict a meeting of the four continents, but this time the figure of Europe is not among them. Instead a new personage had joined the arrangement and has caused Europe to relinquish her central role. In the earlier work, the frontispiece to Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa's Voyage Historique de l'Amérique Méridionale, (Plate 53), Asia, Oceania, America and Africa are the four personages who have been gathered together in a unique arrangement.²¹ It is notable that in place of the customary eurocentric design, Asia is placed in the centre and is given the most light. She seems here to luminesce from the page. Yet, in spite of the fact that Asia is the focal point of the work, the figure of America had been emphasized. In this design the artist has placed her in the right foreground and slightly removed her from the central group. Larger in scale because closer to the viewer, she is distinctive in the youthful features given her and her semi-nudity. In this work she appears to have just arrived on the scene, a new continent that had been undisclosed to classical authors. Her skin is given a shining hue

by the use of cross-hatching and like her fellow continent Africa, also given dark shading. The lack of elaborate drapery on the American figure reinforces the distinctions within the group in that only Africa and America are seen as nudes. A hierarchy in the pattern of the arrangement is brought to mind as the figures with the lighter skin tones are also those who are more fully clothed. The implication is that a bond ties Africa and America together in their shared non-white qualities and that an inherent scale of value based on colour places them at the opposite end of a scale whose ideal is ultimately the European caucasian.

Unlike her simplified ornamentation, America's pose and the drapery that just covers her hips give a more complicated air of grace and refinement to the figure. Articulated hands and fingers and the poised positioning of her limbs add further to the neo-classical feeling of the work and invest the figure with an expression of heightened sensibility. A calm visage and noble bearing were deemed the appropriate means for the delineation of mythological beings during this period, but its presence here had effected a change in the ethnographic delineation of the figure such that she becomes a curious amalgam of the European Court and Central America. Thus, like the "America" of Osterley Park House, she has been classicized and made to conform to a vision that saw the natural world through the lenses of pastoral antique tradition. Paralleled in contemporary poetry, such as Joseph Warton's Ode to Fancy (1746), America becomes a metaphor for pastoral dreams of nymphs desporting themselves in a rural haven. For Warton, Fancy is:

"A nymph with loosely-flowing hair,
with buskin'd leg, and bosom bare,
Thy waist with myrtle-girdle bound,
Thy brows with Indian feathers crown'd."²²

In this engraving we find Warton's vision brought to life. Yet the

artist has included many elements which give the figure of America strong allegorical significance. Grouped around her are the animals that had become associated with the geographical space of the Southern American continent; the iguana and the horned toad. An important allegorical element associated with the figure of America appears under her left foot in the grotesque human head pierced by an arrow. However it is her classical pose and the gentility of her figure which aligns her with the pastoral vision of Warton.

As a whole the plate works to underline the serenity and its mythological significance in the meeting of the distant parts of the World. The circular movement created in the eye by swirling clouds, drapery and abundant foliage stimulate a feeling of harmony and serenity in the viewer, for in so far as each continent inhabits an idealized environment, they are seen as representatives of worlds where Europeans might feel comfortable or which they might come to inhabit. The engraving has a rich textural surface loaded with visual stimuli that reminds one of certain earlier allegorical prints of America where artists felt the need to provide a quantity of information within a single scene; for instance, the plate showing Vespucci "discovering" America by Theodore Galle and discussed above. (Plate 40)

Within the terms of the symbolism involved in allegory this interpretation of the early eighteenth-century reveals a bias. America's features of nobility of expression and a graceful sensibility had long been reserved for the portraits of heads of state or for recognized historical personages and not for the portrayal of differing races. While it may be noted that classicized figures of American 'Indians' had appeared before this date, such as in the work of the de Bry's in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the motivation for

such use was not the same as that of the neo-classical arrangement found in this frontispiece. In the illustration America is given a noble bearing, but this Native American "monarch" is in essence a visual substitute for the actual ruler, the head of the European nation or state. America is only symbolically crowned in the allegory for she is an embodiment of an entire group rather than an individual leader. It is the context of the allegory, therefore, that establishes the noble Indian figure but that 'nobility' should not be read as a quality of real Native Americans.

While this artist had been able to create a viable instance of an allegorical Indian as America, those working after him in the nineteenth-century would find the context of allegory problematical if not thoroughly antiquated. It may have been the 1752 edition of the Voyage Historique that inspired a later translation of the original engraving. This later engraving of 1835 (Plate 54) can be viewed as the endpiece to a long history of the use of a Native American figure in the context of allegory as it reflects, through its changes to and manipulations of the original subject, its author's uneasiness with the context itself. As the frontispiece to the volumes entitled L'Amérique Septentrionale et Méridionale²³, it has at first sight the same symbolic meeting of the continents seen in the earlier eighteenth-century design. However, Fauchery, the engraver and delineator of the plate, has made several revisions of the original design including the complete reworking of the figures of Asia and Oceania. The other two figures remain essentially unchanged in outline; however they have been purified of important allegorical detail. As will be seen, a new aesthetic is present here and much of the detail in the eighteenth-century design which lent the engraved surface a patterned, textural

quality has been removed. The result is a much simpler surface whose open, cloud-swept sky seems to breathe light and atmosphere all around the figures. These beings inhabit a real space and have lost the heady, dreamlike ambience of the earlier version.

Artistic concerns for a more realistic interpretation of native peoples would have affected the reworking of this plate, even though its subject is ostensibly a mythological event, for by this date there had emerged a great amount of new thought whose sole aim was to prove scientifically the origin of the differing races of mankind.²⁴ Within artistic practice too there had been a large move towards naturalism in representation which sought to portray objects from direct observation and not to base them on any ideal form or model.

The reworked figures of Asia and Oceania are interesting in that changes in their overall appearance, costume and gender have weakened their allegorical import and thus made problematic the context which had brought these figures together originally. Oceania now assumes the visage of a mythological figure, a river god or Neptune with long, flowing silver hair and a beard. This is not so unexpected as there had existed before this time a tradition of representing each of the continents by their great rivers, as seen, for example, in the fountains of the Piazza Navona in Rome by Bernini (1651). However, the figure of Asia, dressed in a sari and head scarf, does not appear in a mythological context at all but is a study in the Orientalist taste for Eastern finery that was current in France at this time.²⁵ She is ethnographically correct to the extent that her appearance conjures in the mind an idea of a separate, distinct group of people; whereas Oceania can merely symbolize distant lands, rivers or a specific geography and has no ethnic attributes at all.

The figure of America in this piece retains certain of her eighteenth-century features such as her delicate pose and articulated hands but she has lost the distinctive ethnic qualities apparent in her dark skin tone. On her head is a tiara made of ostrich plumes and she has been given a feathered strap across her chest to carry her quiver of arrows. The use of anomalies such as the crown made of ostrich feathers and a lighter skin colouring become significant if one examines the work of other artists, both British and American, who created similar figures in the early years of the nineteenth-century and whose subject-matter was the representation of an allegory of the United States.

Elizabeth McClung-Fleming's study of the allegorical figure of America, has shown that the figure of the United States was derived from the original allegory of America but as a hybrid type constructed of various elements, some taken from attributes that were present in the Native American-based figure and others derived from classical models. This new personage was often referred to as Columbia.²⁶ Pertinent to this discussion was the fact that Columbia often appeared wearing a tiara made of plumes which resembled ostrich feathers. Very little remains in these instances of the ethnicity that was inherent in the original allegorical figure, derived from experience of the indigenous peoples of America. A growing sense of a new complexion on the face of America must surely have influenced artists working both in America and abroad.

In the change from an American Indian princess to a "Greek goddess" robed and plumed, the feather ornamentation and skin tone are not all that have been replaced. Returning to the case in point, in the 1752 engraving America is distinguished from her fellow continents by

several precise details, probably based on studies of Central or South American peoples. Her profile retains some indigenous features and native costume is suggested in the beads worn at the neck and on the ankles and in the earring worn in her left ear; all of which reveal the artist's vague awareness of the appropriateness of these elements of tribal appearance. Her accoutrements reappear in the later frontispiece by Fauchery as a drooping necklace and as solid cuffs or bands on the ankles. The drapery on both figures is similarly placed around the hips but, again, in the early work Native American techniques are hinted at by the evidence of some pattern or weaving in the fabric. No such detail is provided in the later work where a white robe or cloth has replaced what might have been thought of as a blanket or skirt.

The most serious weakening of the ethnically specific allegory in the nineteenth-century plate is the loss of the severed head pierced by an arrow which lay at the feet of the figure of America in the earlier work. Fauchery has removed it completely and America in his design stands placidly without a further note of hostility. This traditional symbol of the severed head, long connected with the invocation of America, was waning in popularity; whereas scenes of scalping, capture and torture of prisoners shown in the literature of travel and the captivity narratives were finding a greater audience.²⁷ The presence of the severed head in allegory at this time would therefore have seemed a puzzling inclusion while current atrocities could not generate an iconic replacement for it.

Fauchery's design ignores the issue of America's ethnic features because to a large extent the figure of the Native American in allegory had outgrown its viability. The symbolic equation of America with her original inhabitants was no longer the outstanding feature in

representations of the continent. The abstract notion of Liberty, together with classical notions of a citizenry or new republic seemed to outstrip the older cosmological reference points. In fact, as developments in the natural sciences began to take hold in the nineteenth century, it seemed that the abstract Native American figure was destined to be compartmentalized, not as a cosmological symbol, but as a racial type. It is significant that Native American groups were travelling in Europe during this period of the nineteenth century and were therefore available for scrutiny by artists; however the interest directed towards these groups was of a documentary or ethnographic quality and their presence could no longer seriously inform the symbolic language of allegory.²⁸ At the time Fauchery worked on L'Amérique Septentrionale allegory as a means of illustrating various racial qualities had become static, locked in the position of an antique language. Allegory served an essentially decorative purpose which aimed to achieve a unity of impact through the manipulation of form and subject-matter. This too would have been viewed as rather antiquated in the light of a growing taste for a more discursive approach to depiction, a naturalism of sorts. This naturalism is evident in Fauchery's reworking of Asia but its threat to the allegorical tradition is manifest in the way Oceania becomes emptily rhetorical by contrast. Following this interpretation Africa, like Oceania, is a graphic convenience for an over-complex subject, reliant on entirely conventional understanding for its meaning to be understood. America functions in this way too and the significance of that for us is the realization that no amount of ethnographic information could revivify the allegory. Unlike Asia, still in the process of achieving conceptual form, America was a stable but entirely rhetorical device. The reduction

in ethnic features compared to the plate of 1752 points to a disconnection between the Native American and the continent she represented. Whereas in Asia increased naturalism cemented the tie between figure and continent, in America increased stylization had the reverse effect. This shift in meaning can be seen as a direct consequence of the relative importance of the indigenous populations in the two continents. Fauchery's Native American princess marks the end of a tradition; her hollow form has become the chrysalis from which the figure of Columbia will emerge.

Allegory as a means of portraying native features is in essence a method for their neutralization. It seeks to locate the Native American within a framework that is both symbolical and familiar. In its earliest stages, as in the print by Crispijn de Passe (Plate 55), America's inhabitants were likened to the monstrous races, in that the central figure is shown here receiving a tray of disembodied heads and is provided with further evidence of cannibalism by the pot next to her filled with amputated limbs of victims. What then occurred in the development of the allegory of America was a process of incorporation of the figure into baroque and neoclassical themes and a negation of ethnicity, which in the final analysis left the Indian "princess" stripped of any of her Native American-like qualities. In the first stage of this process, the element of savagery in the form of cruel atrocities was telescoped into the single element of the severed head of European visage. In the eighteenth century it was used by some artists in an entirely decorative manner as a hand-rest or footstool on which the allegorical figure could rest. The violence had been literally boiled down to a tiny fraction of its former potency. While America's ethnicity was still present in the allegory in the attributes such as

skin colour and feathered adornment, she was only the shadow of the richly described figure that she once had been.

This is not to imply that the violent element disappeared entirely from graphic representations of the Native American, for a different role had been developing concurrently with the allegorized figures. As stated above, the violence of the severed head, which had fallen into disuse by the late eighteenth century, resurfaced in scenes illustrating the captivities and accounts of travel that had become highly popular during the later period. What this tended to achieve was an extension of the allegory, where frontier areas were associated with the unknown and with the wild peoples thought to inhabit them. Visually it took the form of scenes of scalping or torture which reminded viewers that the Native Americans were capable of extreme cruelty. It also underlined their difference from the viewer, much in the same way as had the original allegory. This reinvention of the older allegorical arrangement in a new set of coordinates is interesting in the light of the trend towards "naturalism" and "scientific objectivity" in images of Indians.²⁹

Finally, allegory had itself become an unfashionable device in that its mode of presentation stood for a schematic world now illuminated by the lamp of science. Allegory did exist after the turn of the century and well into the later 1800s in the context of officialdom and public works, where monuments such as John Bell's Albert Memorial of 1869-70 contain the figures of the four continents. America in this work is however symbolized by a conglomeration of several figures, the Native American being just one component. Highly idealized figures with generalized features were much more the norm as they were felt more suited to the depiction of abstract notions such as nationhood or

Liberty. The ethnicity which had been the hallmark of the original figure was largely unacceptable in this context.

A tailpiece to this discussion is the stark conceptualization of the allegory of the continents by William Blake. In this engraving of 1796 entitled "Europe supported by Africa and America", the artist has provided almost no decorative details to each of the single figures. (Plate 56) Here they exist in a purified form where each "type" stands in clear illustration of their nude forms without the usual cloaking of the body in dress, ornamentation and habit. This plate was used as the finis page to an account by Blake's friend, J.G. Stedman, in a Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition , against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam and as such is Blake's only statement on allegory as a device for the depiction of ethnic qualities.³⁰ In a weird parody of the three graces, Blake's two ethnic figures are physically restrained by the figure of Europe. As she coyly averts her eyes from the attention of the spectator, she holds Africa's hand in her right hand while she simultaneously wraps her left arm around the neck and shoulders of America. They both give physical support by the placement of their hands around Europe's waist and on her back: The group seen indissolubly linked through pictorial means, such that it is unclear where one arm ends and another begins. Still, America and Africa glare forcibly from the page as if to call the spectator to view their inextricable bonds. In fact, a rope-like cable is held between the hands of Europe encasing all the figures and this separates the group from those looking on as if to state that the damage has already been accomplished. Blake has thus made a mockery of the entire concept of the "Four Quarters" or parts of the World, in that he clearly reveals the ethnocentrism which had been apparent in the allegory from the

beginning. He characterizes the figures in his allegory such that they adopt the strong position of opposites, their deep colours in contradistinction to the whiteness of their captor. Blake's recognition of America's otherness places his work closer to the earlier characterizations of America as Indian Queen but subverts them for his own purposes. In this satire of the sad state of colonial intervention in distant cultures, this print approaches in emphasis the strategy of the political cartoon.

Notes -

1. See, for example, Gilbert Chinard, L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique, Paris, 1913; Lois Whitney, Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century, Baltimore, 1934; Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization, A Study of the Indian and the American Mind, Baltimore, 1953, in which is traced the extent to which the Indian played a symbolic role in the literature of France, England and America respectively.

2. The most influential of the allegorical handbooks was Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, first published in Rome in 1593, and illustrated in many of its subsequent editions. The edition referred to in this thesis is that of the German publisher Johann Georg Hertel whose edition, illustrated with the help of the painter Gottfried Eichler the Younger, was published in the years 1758-1760.

3. The concept of "four" continents as opposed to the mediaeval notion of a tripartite world came about as a way of incorporating new information within an existing framework of ideas. The idea of a new, undiscovered continent was made more understandable by giving it an identity consonant with existing geographical understanding. America was thus given a classical status and a symbolic personage to represent its presence in the eternal scheme of things. The Indian figure soon became the standard way of elucidating America symbolically. See J.R.Hale, Renaissance Exploration, London, 1968.

4. Early accounts of contact with Native Americans emphasise their nakedness but also mention the use of feather adornment. Native American costume and adornment would have appeared to European observers of the sixteenth century as scanty clothing. For example, Cartier's Première Relacion, concerning his voyage of 1534, describes the inhabitants he encountered (Iroquois/Beothuk?) thus: "The men are well enough formed but untamed and savage. they wear their hair bound on top of their heads like a fistful of twisted hay, sticking into it a pin or something and adding some birds' feathers." See Samuel E. Morison, The Great Explorers - The European Discovery of America, New York, 1978, p.184.

5. Descriptions of the population of the New World, with reference to North America, stress its barren and unpopulated aspects. See Carl Ortwin Sauer, Sixteenth Century North America: its land and people, Berkeley, 1975.
6. Robert Berkhofer is particularly illuminating concerning the concepts of terra nullis and vacuum domicilium as these terms were employed in Papal decrees. "...the degree of vacancy was often a matter of differences in European and native land usage. What to white eyes appeared empty or underutilized according to European practices was seen as owned and fully utilized according to tribal custom and economy." Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., The White Man's Indian, New York, 1978, pp. 120-121.
7. See G.N.G. Clarke, "Taking possession: the cartouche as cultural text in eighteenth century American maps", Word and Image, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 1988, pp. 455-474.
8. See John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Mediaeval Art and Thought, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1981, pp. 34-35.
9. Edward A. Maser (ed.) Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery, the 1758-1760 Hertel edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia', New York, 1971, no. 105.
10. See Chapter one for a more detailed discussion of the influence of de Bry's imagery on later graphic works.
11. Friedman makes the point that the marvellous and monstrous races lived in areas the farthest removed from Jerusalem and were therefore "symbolically the farthest from Christ of anything in the creation." Op. cit. p.37
12. Edward A. Maser (ed.) Baroque Cartouches for Designers and Artists designed by Johann Ulrich Krauss, New York, 1969.
13. Ibid., p. xii.
14. Hugh Honour has pointed out the possibility of there being a confusion between east and west in graphic images of the Triumph, for the peoples appearing in the Indian section of the procession are labelled as coming from "Calicut" or Calcutta but are given feather garments. Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time, New York, 1975, p.13.
15. Tobacco was imported into Europe in the form of a roll or bundle and appears in other graphic works of this era. See Elizabeth McGrath, "A Netherlandish History by Joachim Wtewael," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 38, 1975, p.214.
16. Elizabeth McGrath has pointed to the similarities between Wtewael's Native American imagery and that of the sixteenth century engraver Theodor de Bry whose Florida 'Indians' also wear a "latticed skirt of apparently leathern thongs." Op. cit., p.214.
17. Edward Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England. 1537 - 1837, vol. I, London, 1962, p.46.
18. Ibid., p. 66.
19. Ibid., p. 75-76.
20. John Hardy and Maurice Tomlin, Osterley Park House, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1985, p. 30.
21. The Voyage Historique was published in French in Amsterdam and Leipzig in 1752 but this frontispiece was engraved after a design by Bernard Picart (d.1734) who was active in Amsterdam in the 1720s. The inclusion of the figure of Oceania stems from Picart and may possibly represent the notion of a fifth antipodal continent, Terra Australis, that had been postulated since classical times and had recently been discovered by Dutch navigators. The emphasis on Asia was a result of Picart's interest in world religions, as seen in his publication

Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des tous peuples du Monde (1723). The East had long been thought of as the most ancient and venerated of lands.

22. Eric Partridge (ed.) The Three Warton's - a choice of their verse, London, 1927, p.83.

23. The terms Septentrionale and Meridionale were used to distinguish the two Americas, referring respectively to the northern and southern hemispheres.

24. Theories of the origin of the American Indians are discussed in Lee Eldridge Huddleston, Origins of the American Indian: European Concepts, 1492-1729, Austin, 1967. Several of the earlier theories first developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held currency as late as the 1790s. See, for example, George Burden, The Welch Indians - or a collection of papers respecting a people whose ancestors emigrated from Wales to America, in the year 1170, with Prince Madoc, London, 1797. By the 1830s American ethnologists had begun to study specific Native American aspects such as language and cranial capacity to establish their origin on a more scientific basis. See Robert E. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880 - the Early Years of American Ethnology, Norman, 1986.

25. See Edward W. Said, Orientalism - Western Conceptions of the Orient, London, 1985, p.51.

26. In a print after J.J. Barralet, America Guided by Wisdom published in Philadelphia and on a handkerchief printed in England (both circa 1815), the figures who represent the United States are given these idiosyncratic crowns with ostrich feathers attached and are draped in classically inspired robes and gowns. For a discussion of these and other prints of America see Elizabeth McClung-Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," Winterthur, Portfolio II, 1965, pp.65-81; and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess - The American Image, 1783-1815," Winterthur, Portfolio III, 1967, pp. 37-66.

27. See James Levernier and Hennig Cohen (eds.) The Indians and Their Captives, Westport, 1977. Also Richard van Der Beets, Held Captive by Indians, Knoxville, 1973.

28. See Carolyn T. Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493-1943, Norman, 1943.

29. See Chapter Nine for further discussion of these developments.

30. Robert N. Essick, William Blake, Printmaker, Princeton, 1980, pp.52-53.

Chapter Three - The Indian in Performance: Public Spectacles,
Fêtes, Theatre and Fancy Dress

The construction of an Indian type, as seen in the development of the allegory of America, was not confined to static and iconic presentation. From the mid-sixteenth century "Indians" can be found in a number of public contexts such as performance, spectacle, theatre and masquerade. Public performances, spectacles, fêtes and tournaments were some of the earliest instances where a Native American character or "Indian" was seen by a large audience. Public awareness of the allegory of America was given emphasis by the presentation of groups of foreign individuals, arranged by country of origin in a grand procession through the streets as a means of commemorating an important event or the entry of the monarch into a town. Evidence of the design of outdoor spectacles, public tournaments and fêtes is available through the surviving prints and drawings made to record these events in which Europeans might observe the simulation of an actual Native American.

As a character in the celebration of a monarch's entry into a loyal city, 'the Indian' entered the genre from an early date. Henri II's entry into Rouen in 1550 included actual Brazilian men and women in the "jungle scene" that was recreated on the banks of the River Seine. From an anonymous print made to accompany the text commemorating the visit (published 1551), The Indian figures are shown scantily dressed in short feather skirts and feather accoutrement. (Some of the figures were also described as nude.) In the print they are making war, at work in the surroundings or simply in repose.(Plate 57) While the authenticity of the Native Americans taking part in the festivities is not in question,

it is the context of their presentation which determines their overall perception in European eyes. Here, the arrangement was staged for the viewers, an American environment was constructed from European materials and the spectator was under no threat of actually being involved in the battle taking place in the forest scene. In essence, the spectacle was designed to simulate the appropriate trading relations that should exist between the Brazilians and the French and had as a grand theme the colonial rivalry between the powers of France and Portugal.¹

In later public performances no equivalent Native American element would be found. Instead, characterizations of the Indian's existence would be shown in an entirely fictionalized and fanciful light. An etching by Jacques Callot describes the principal characters and their entourages in the Carnavale of 1615 organized for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II and held in the Piazza di Santa Croce, Florence. Its title La Guerra d'Amore refers to the enthronement of the figures of Venus and Mars. It includes as the attendants of the 'victor', the "Queen of the Indies, one hundred and twenty Africans, one hundred Indians, one hundred Asiatics, one hundred and fifty Europeans, as well as savages and giants..."² The single figure of an "Indian of the Queen's Guard" is shown in Callot's illustration beneath the image of the magnificent float or "carro" on which the Queen was seated. He wears a costume made of a short skirt of long feathers, a feather neck ruff and arm bands, a strap across his chest to which is attached a quiver of arrows and a crown or skull cap decorated with tall standing feathers. (Plate 58) This Indian is similar in feeling and design to the male figures of American Indians depicted in Joachim Wtewael's Indian Homage of the early seventeenth-century (Plate 47), and both artists' Native American men may derive their inspiration from an

existing single visual source not yet detected. From their similarities one would be tempted to assume that other representations of Native Americans at this time would have similar features. In fact, the costumes of Indians which appear in the designs of Guilio Parigi created in this same decade (c.1610-1620) also have feather garments in keeping with this fanciful notion of the Native American's dress and must be related to the performance illustrated by Callot.³ (Plate 59)

As a shorthand way of making references to the Americas this visual stereotype had come to replace the actual presence of Native Americans in the tournaments and fêtes. It did not seem necessary to simulate the effect of a real environment literally inhabited by Indians. Instead Native American types were required as part of the iconography of Empire, much as they had been in the interior design of the Four Continents. Adapted from classical sources which had portrayed the images of captives in the role of support figures in the designs for edifices and monuments⁴, Native American figures appeared in the designs for triumphal arches and entry-ways which elaborated on the original classical themes. In David Loggan's engraving, Loyalty Restored and in a drawing attributed to Peter Mills and Sir Balthazar Gerbier also titled "Loyalty Restored", (Plate 60), the second triumphal arch for the Coronation of Charles II in 1661 is depicted with standing figures of the Four Continents placed at appropriate points in the arch's design.⁵ Here, once again, the figure of America was impersonated by an actor who symbolically occupies one level in a system of tiers which reaches at its apex the symbol of European naval power shown in triumph. As described at the time,

"The Triumphal arch, (to Charles II) near the Exchange, in Cornhill, which is Naval, in honour of the British

Neptune, to whose order the Sea is open or closed, adorned with eight living figures representing Europe, Asia, Africk, and America with Escutcheons, and Pendants, bearing the Arms of the Companies Trading into These Parts..."⁶

This use of the Four Continents not only reaffirms the older cosmological significance of Europe as the centre of enlightenment and great achievement but also places the American figure within the confines of an extensive Empire. Within the architecture of a Triumphal arch the Native American figure is subsumed in a classical notion of Empire and is thus perceived in such terms. The design of triumphal arches, of which this example is typical, has relevance for the representation of Native Americans in monumental sculpture of the eighteenth-century. Although a very small amount of work of this kind was actually accomplished, it is significant that in that period too certain artists envisioned the figures of Native Americans as classical support groups.⁷ This use of so-called primitive, barbarian or foreign individuals revived the ancient practice and placed a framework of expectation around the perception of Native Americans as a whole.

At this same time the character of the Indian was being portrayed in masques, ballets and other less formal performances. Unquestionably, the Four Continents motif played a substantial role in providing the opportunity for displaying the colourful feather costume of the figure of America. On the other hand there were certain instances where the Native American figure appeared in a role that was not strictly that of the allegory of America. The Queen's Shrovetide masque of 1632 at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, was called Tempe Restored and included as participants in the Anti-Masque certain figures of "bestial" connotation, the "Indians, Barbarians, lions, apes, hogs and hounds."⁸ Inigo Jones devised the theme for this anti-masque and designed the

costumes. (Plate 61) It is significant that his purpose for including such figures in the performance was to give allegorical treatment to the idea of bestiality. "The beasts ...represents unto us that sensual desire (of Circe) makes men lose their virtue and valour, turning parasites and slaves to their brutish affections."⁹ Court performances that included Indian figures thus have a connection with the sculptural use of of Native American figures as architectural supporters, for in both cases the figures are viewed within a classical framework where "barbarians" serve as foils to European ideals to which they are necessarily subordinate.

Judging from the written text provided by the poet Aurelian Townshend, the figures of the anti-masquers in Tempe Restored had no speaking parts. They performed a brief procession across the stage which amounted to an interlude in the general development of the entertainment. Similarly, the figures of an American Indian troupe appear in the ballet La Finta Pazza by Giulio Strozzi as a divertissement, performing their dance as part of a series of entr'actes. In the 1645 Paris production (the ballet was first performed in Venice in 1641), the 'ballet of the Indians' contains figures dressed in feather skirts and head-dresses, at one point holding tambourines, another time carrying parasols and another holding fighting sticks.¹⁰ (Plate 62) As seen in the etchings by Valerio Spada after drawings by Stefano Della Bella, the Indians are costumed in identical gear and are largely allegorical in feeling. Uncharacteristically, the continents do not appear in this ballet and the tone of the piece undermines any possible serious function of the Indian's presentation. In the context of a "Wild/Mad Farce or Feint", (as La Finta Pazza is translated), the placement of figures who had in

other performances represented the continent of America takes on aspects of the ridiculous. Here Native American figures appear in conjunction with Ostriches and Eunuchs which gives the work an air of unreality; it seems an almost impossible juxtaposition of qualities that eventually surround the specificity of the foreign individual with a cloud of unrelated exotica. Impossible combinations of elements in a design can be found to occur in theatre productions of a later era where certain characters take on aspects of many cultural groups all thought of as exotic. Decorative items, too, had a tendency to combine imagery associated with the Far East with that of the Americas as if to rehearse the older notion that the Indies were one single entity. Perhaps the most well known instance of decorative combining of various distinct cultural groups into a single set of designs was that of the Gobelins Factory's Tenture des Indes, the designs of which are loosely based on artists' work done while on expedition to Africa and America.¹¹ (Plate 63)

Unreality was an inherent part of the design and execution of theatrical performances too but one does find instances where care was taken to simulate actual Native American life, either through costuming or in the songs and speeches given them during the piece. The period of Restoration drama offers several cases where Native American figures, as Indians, appeared either in major roles or as incidental figures in an American environment. William Davenant's The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, Exprest by Instrumental and Vocall Musick, and by the Art of Perspectives in Scenes, &c. was performed in 1658. Based on an English translation of Las Casas called The Tears of the Indians (1656), it contained a series of scenes portraying Indians and the cruelties they suffered under Spanish occupation of their territories.¹² It has been

described as "a sort of variety show with monologues, songs, instrumental music, scenery displays, tight-rope walkers, tumblers, and dances of various kinds."¹³ Yet, for all its variety the performance had serious points to make and the Indians are shown to be less barbarous than their Spanish conquerors. Davenant's work had the overtones of a tirade against Catholic missionary practice in the New World and this was further embellished by the preparation of a sequel to the piece entitled The History of Sir Francis Drake (1659). Here, however, the Native American figures are truly incidental and "exist only to sing songs in praise" of the English.¹⁴ Other contemporary dramatic pieces that relate to the Americas include John Dryden and Sir Robert Howard's The Indian Queen (1664), Dryden's The Indian Emperor (1665) and Thomas Southerne's adaptation of Aphra Behn's novel Oroonoko (1688), first performed in 1695.

From the various titles given to these works and from an examination of their plots, one arrives at the conclusion that much of the scenery and characters in these plays drew their inspiration from experience in colonial South America. Important sources of material for tragedies were the published histories of the Conquest and such works as Las Casas' Brevissima Relacion (1552-53) which created a dramatic sensibility with respect to the fortunes of the Native American peoples and the destruction of their cultures through European intervention.¹⁵ Dramatic treatment of English colonial rule is crucial to Aphra Behn's Oroonoko (1688). She had spent some time in her youth in Surinam¹⁶ and in the theatrical production of both The Indian Queen and her own play, The Widow Ranter, (subtitled The History of Bacon in Virginia) Behn's knowledge and experience was relied upon to give accuracy to the costuming of the figures. It is known that she lent some items of

Native American accoutrement to the costume designers for these plays but as one can see in a print of Anne Bracegirdle as Semernia in The Widow Ranter of 1689, the feather adornment given the figure was largely a superficial part of the costume itself.¹⁷(Plate 64) This print has an affinity with the representation of allegorical figures of America in that she assumes the mantle of a Royal figure with attendants and wears a crown of feathers and many jewels or pearls on her person. Further evidence for the adoption of allegorically-inspired arrangements in the design of costumes and fancy dress is seen in a set of mezzotints by Bernard Lens (dated 1704) which perhaps record the performance of Dryden and Howard's Indian Queen and Dryden's Indian Emperor.¹⁸ The plates are given such titles as "The Indian Queen" and "The Indian King" and the figures in them are adorned in costumes much like that of Anne Bracegirdle's in the 1698 print.(Plates 65 and 66)

Several plays of this kind, based on South American experiences, enjoyed a great amount of popularity throughout the eighteenth-century and were often revived.¹⁹ The 1779 production of Oroonoko was recorded by the artist, James Roberts, who depicted the Indian/Black heroine, Imoinda, against a backdrop or set.²⁰ Imoinda was a native queen and a character of great sensibility and this is carried through into the watercolour drawing as one sees the actress, Miss Younge, placing one hand next to her heart as she shyly gives a furtive glance to the left. Her costume seems based on fashions of the time, however some concessions have been made to her figure in the donning of feathers in her hair and rich jewellery about her head and neck which add a touch of exoticism.(Plate 67) Thus we see that in many of the images connected with theatrical productions, actors dressed in costumes based mostly on contemporary European or historical fashion and only

superficially added elements of feathers or other exotic paraphernalia to lend them a touch of "otherness".

Another work which enjoyed some success was Richard Brinsley Sheridan's Pizarro, or the Spaniards in Peru, first performed in 1799 and given repeated showings throughout the early part of the nineteenth-century.²¹ Hailed as perhaps the eighteenth-century's most significant, "Peruvian" drama²², it was an adaptation of Kotzebue's Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rolla's Tod (1795) and is in part an indication of the general European interest at this time in cultures that were long extinct or had disappeared in the modern period. Several other literary and theatrical works were produced in these years with a Peruvian theme, the most important of them being the novel Les Incas by Marmontel (published 1777), which was the source for most of the later dramas, including Pizarro. Marmontel had created the characters of Cora and Alonzo, made them lovers and set the scene of tragedy within a South American context. In Pizarro it is the character of Rolla who is the true tragic hero for he is both a Peruvian and an admirer of Cora but ultimately he must die. His speech to the group of tribal warriors spoken during Act II, scene II is perhaps the most convincing sympathetic portrayal of the Native Americans' plight in the theatre at this time:

"My brave associates-partners of my toil, my feelings and my fame!-- can Rolla's words add vigour to the virtuous energies which inspire your hearts? --No--YOU have judged as I have, the foulness of the crafty plea by which these bold invaders would delude you--Your generous spirit has compared as mine has, the motives, which, in a war like this, can animate their minds, and OURS. --THEY by a strange frenzy driven, fight for power, for plunder and extended rule--WE serve a monarch whom we love --a God whom we adore.--Where'er they move in anger, desolation tracks their progress!--Where'er they pause in amity affliction mourns their friendship!--They boast, they come to improve our state, enlarge our thoughts, and free us from the yoke of error!--Yes--THEY will

give enlightened freedom to our minds, who are
 themselves the slaves of passion, avarice and pride.
 --They offer us their protection--Yes, such protection
 as vultures give to lambs--covering and devouring them!
 --They call on us to barter all of good we have inherited
 and proved, for the desperate chance of something
 better which they promise.--Be our plain answer this:
 The throne WE honour is the PEOPLE'S CHOICE--the laws
 we reverence are our brave Fathers' legacy--the faith we
 follow teaches us to live in bonds of charity with all man-
 kind, and die with hope of bliss beyond the grave. Tell
 your invaders this, and tell them too, we seek no change;
 and, least of all, such change as they would bring us.
 (Trumpets sound)"²³

It was this speech and the character who gave it which contemporary
 audiences found the most compelling.²⁴

Rolla's character gave several fine actors a role in which they
 could gain recognition and create fame for themselves. Seen in popular
 illustrations of the time, such as Cumberland's British Theatre and
 Bell's collection of British Theatre characters, actors such as John
 Philip Kemble and Edmund Kean can be seen in the pose Rolla adopts when
 rescuing the child of Cora and Alonzo.(Plate 68) Again, the costume of
 Rolla seems inspired from sources other than that of the Native American
 cultures from which Rolla originally came and if he is clothed more in
 the style of antique chitons and Roman imperial uniforms than anything
 remotely South American it is because the play itself spent time
 discussing Rolla's contact with Europeans. It is evident that this
 displacement is a result of two allied tendencies in eighteenth century
 thought. The dramatic form of tragedy itself, based ultimately on
 classical models, would propel a designer towards a non-specific yet
 classicising style; while this, in turn, was sanctioned by the
 characteristic Enlightenment belief that human nature is essentially the
 same irrespective of time and place. The nobility of Rolla's speech is
 predicated on such assumptions and it should occasion no surprise to
 find costume design adopting the same tactic.

Perhaps as a result of the popularity of Sheridan's play, which was revived many times in the nineteenth century, some history painters of the time chose the Spanish conquest of Peru as a theme. As we might expect it is the most dramatic episode that stimulated these depictions, the moment when the Inca ruler, Atahualpa, (Sheridan's Ataliba) is captured and made to submit to the Spanish.²⁵ Nevertheless, whatever their initial stimulus, the painters Henry Perronet Briggs, and later, John Everett Millais based their pictures of Pizarro and the Inca (1826 and 1846 respectively) not on theatre performances but on the histories of the Spanish in Peru that were written and published during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²⁶ More generally, public interest in the Inca dynasty of Peru and its eventual collapse found expression in various media throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, even in such ephemeral areas as that of wall decoration, where the wallpapers of Dufour and Leroy are typical examples of this taste for the exotic.(Plate 69)

In contradistinction to the ubiquity of the South American-inspired play or drama, there were very few plays whose Native American characters were described as being of North American tribal affiliation. The reasons for the dearth of plays, comedies and operas focusing on the tribes of North America has been traced to the fact that the authors and playwrights were somehow more familiar with the peoples, customs and conditions in North America and were thus less likely to subject their themes to imaginative treatment.²⁷ While on some level this was true, perhaps the most important factor in the representation of Native Americans on the stage was the belief that the Peruvians and the Aztecs had attained some level of cultural sophistication and could therefore be distinguished more readily by theatre audiences. That is, published

histories about these cultures which described the hierarchical pattern of their societies, their religion and their practice of sacrifice, and the elaborate dress of their leaders and priests constructed a definite image that was easier to identify than that of North American cultures. The latter, in contrast, exhibited different modes of religious practice which could not be matched in the European mind with a classical equivalent. Nor could the tribal leaders be seen to command their peoples in the way that an absolute ruler or king might exert his will. North American Indian figures in dramatic roles were therefore much more shadowy and non-specific in their function and cultural definition.

The first instance of a Northern American tribal figure in the drama of the eighteenth-century has been attributed to the character of Ulamar in John Dennis' Liberty Asserted of 1704.²⁸ The action of the play takes place in Canada where both French and British trading relations had been established. Dennis' intention seems to have been "to contrast English liberty with French tyranny,"²⁹ and to distinguish between their separate forms of colonial rule, the British version, naturally, being the more desirable. In this way Dennis' patriotic storyline can be linked to that of earlier dramatists, such as Dryden and Davenant, who had used the drama to portray the idea that the English were better at achieving appropriate relations with the native peoples of America. The character of Ulamar represents a slight change from the other Indian characters of Restoration Drama in that he is a concoction of both Native American and British ingredients. In the character of Ulamar wise and humane qualities have been grafted onto the earlier innocent child of the South American plays, for in Liberty Asserted, we find that Ulamar had been taught the secret of the "European Arts" by a friendly English captain. Consequentially, he becomes a more acceptable

character with European qualities as well as Native American ones. The Europeanization of the Native American figure will be found to occur repeatedly throughout the eighteenth-century with particular frequency in portrayals of the North American Indian.

Travel literature often provided an added weight of documentation to fictional characterisation, and the character of Ulamar may have found its genesis in one of the most notorious works of the travel genre, Baron de Lahontan's Nouveaux Voyages de M. le Baron de Lahontan which was first published in English in 1703. An even more likely source would be the same author's Dialogues curieux entre l'auteur et un sauvage de bon sens (The Hague, 1703), where the main Native American character is a chieftain named Adario. The figure of Adario in the Dialogues has close parallels with Ulamar's character in that both are described in a similar manner as Indian leaders of a class above the rest. (Lahontan claimed to have met Adario, who in real life was an actual spokesman for the Huron people and had travelled to New York and Quebec in the late seventeenth century. Adario's gifts of oratory became legendary and were noted by the chronicler of the Five Nations of Iroquois, Cadwallader Colden.)³⁰ In a much lighter vein, Adario appears as a character in Rameau's opera/ballet, Les Indes Galantes (1735, revived 1743). In the ballet's fourth entrée "Adario" is the "chief of the warriors of the savage nation" and is not specified as to tribal affiliation. Dennis' reliance on travel literature can be found repeated throughout the period; other travel writers would command similar attention and would often have their works cited as the source or documentation on which many a particular event, personage or tale was based.³¹

Thus, at the outset of the imaginative portrayal of the North

American Indian figure on the British stage, one can see a stylization of his features taking place which would eventually distance the viewer from any clear perception of his true character. Already, this character had become the embodiment of ideals which could exist only in fiction and only at a place distant from the context of a contemporary European environment. Yet, for the American Indian this ideal state could only be brought about by the influx of European contact and influence. That is, it is the combination of the uncorrupted Native American man or woman with the superior wisdom or intelligence of the European that created the figure of the "Noble Savage" in its purest form.

As an extension of the serious dramatic role held by such characters as Ulamar, the natural wisdom and innate virtue of the North American Indian figure could be employed in a satirical or comic manner such that his 'virtue' was contrasted with the silliness of contemporary society. He could either be brought into a dialogue with a European or could be transported to a European capital to pass comment on things as they appeared to someone outside the culture, who was thus unbiased or, in stronger formulations, uncorrupted. These 'virtuous' Indians are one step removed from the characters of Indians who play actual roles within the drama, for they are no longer important to the plot in and of themselves but have been added to reduce the tone generally to that of farce. Referring to the West Indian hero in John Gay's Polly (1728, first performed 1777), Bissell states:

"Although the Indian Cawwawkee makes a very fine stage-hero, and a striking contrast to the rascally MacHeath, the light playful tone of the whole opera forbids us to regard the idealization of the savage as having any serious purpose."³²

In this way the representation of the Indian figure in satirical terms did much to divest him of any dimension, for he becomes the epitome of abstract qualities and is not allowed full development through the action of the piece. In Art and Nature (1738) by James Miller, the principle Indian character, Julio, is brought to Europe where he finds much to comment upon. The "follies of fashionable life" and the "injustice of civilized society" draw his censure but he is not asked to elaborate on his own culture's inadequacies. That is not his purpose here. He appears " in this work as little more than an oratorical, verbose personification of naivete, innocence, (and) primitive simplicity."³³ Here lies the attraction of such a character, for in his vague neutrality he can only offer a check on the extreme complication of society and can never suggest an alternative to it.

Native American characters in such works as Art and Nature (or the earlier Arlequin Sauvage) do not have very distinct tribal qualities. In other words, these characters, often located in a West Indian setting, have taken on aspects of the Black African character as well as the Native American. They therefore draw on the coexisting imagery depicting the use of Black slaves in many colonial areas and set up an enhanced construct in the development of the characterization. Taken from a generalized exotic American location where gentle climates and simple lifestyles meant a carefree existence, the features of such West Indian men and women are an amalgam of different ethnic traits and are not necessarily connected with specific historical occurrences or actual geographical locations, despite the use of a seemingly appropriate nomenclature for these characters.

Native American themes in comedy received further elucidation in the theatre and the opera as the century drew to a close and at its end,

reached a measure of popularity.³⁴ The opera Inkle and Yarico by George Colman the younger (1787) is perhaps the most important of these works, not least because it was so successful. It is representative of a number of other productions, pieces of poetry and plays, that were based on the theme of the tortured love of a young Native American "island" girl for a shipwrecked English sailor.³⁵

Colman embellished the original story³⁶ by adding further characters and leaving the central tragedy to work itself out amongst a cluster of sideplots and comic asides. He also changed the ending to give a happy resolution to Yarico's fortunes. The strong appeal of such a character as Yarico, who remains faithful and true throughout the whole of the drama but who is made to suffer the lowest degradation of having to submit to slavery, is apparent in all the versions of this theme. It occurs in many of the historical accounts of "royal" Native Americans who had originally occupied lands now being colonised, such as the Natchez of Louisiana and the Wampanoags of Massachusetts whose respective leaders had been killed and the remaining women and children believed to have been sold off to slave traders working in the West Indies.³⁷ These actual instances of maltreatment of Native American groups certainly added weight to the theatre's treatment of such themes.

While the fate of a tragi-comic character like Yarico lent a depth to certain performances that was missing from the earlier dramatizations, at the same time, the more serious character of a wise Indian, friendly to the Europeans, found new treatment as a creature of sensibility. In a play called The Indians (1790) by Professor William Richardson of Edinburgh, a character named Onothio speaks in poetic terms of the violence of his people during wartime:

"They are indeed too vehement. They feel
too ardently; too ardently resent

the sufferings of their brethren. Yet their wrath
is like the rushing of a mountain blast,
sudden but soon appeas'd. I trust they know not
the hate that rankles in a vengeful breast."³⁸

Onothio speaks generously of his fellow tribesmen while at the same time recognizing their capacity for violent action. This work was performed in London late in the century and could therefore draw on an interest in Native American wartime practices as they had occurred in earlier conflicts coinciding with the European wars of the 1750's, the 1760's and the Revolutionary period in America. As a result of tribal participation in frontier conflicts, a change had taken place in the delineation of the wise North American Indian figure, for he was now allowed to comment on his own culture rather than simply acting as a foil to the other more fully developed characters. The poetic nature of the speech of Onothio is also one step beyond the Indian's earlier presentation as a rather classicized, senatorial speaker, for his speech is now coloured with metaphorical allusions to the stuff of nature - "the rushing of a mountain blast" - which mark him as a person who thinks in the language of a natural world. Onothio's character may have sparked the imagination of the audience, for his eloquent patterns of speech and his sensible approach to his own culture reveal an intelligence and sensibility far removed from the fearsome tomahawk-wielding savages of popular report. The content and repetitive quality of Onothio's words also draws on a growing recognition of the beauty and value of Native American oratory as expressed in their "songs" and stories. Many authors and poets showed their interest in simulating Native American verse and oratory by creating their own versions of the "songs" of the American Indian.³⁹ This too was part of a more general revival of earlier poetic forms and as such was linked with the

primitivist tendencies that characterized the late eighteenth century.

In spite of this pleasing depiction of the North American Indian, in creating the character of Onothio the author began, if unwittingly, to start off a chain of representation which resulted in the eventual mythification of the Native American personage. Bissell has pointed to the resemblance between Richardson's character and the figure of Chactas in Chateaubriand's epic novel Les Natchez (1826)⁴⁰; and, if one can say that the fate of Chactas was the inevitable result of exhibiting a delicate sensibility, then the consequences of that sensibility were annihilation and tragedy. That is to say, the Native American character was at this point entering into myth as his culture, beliefs and style of existence were pushed back into an historical past time, a fading memory that could not be recovered as it had never been written down. Earlier, President Thomas Jefferson had popularized the 'last' speech of Chief Logan, a leader of the Mingo group fighting in the conflict known as Lord Dunmore's War of 1774. Logan's family had been killed previous to the conflict and Logan's hope of posterity was therefore extinguished. The killers, white soldiers, had left "not a drop of" Logan's blood running in the veins "of any person on earth" and so, "who will cry for Logan?"⁴¹

In the presentation on stage of such characters, who speak with extreme eloquence and a profound understanding of mankind's foibles, the mythification of the Native American was made easier. Insofar as the theatre provided fictionalized characters, at best abstracted from historical events, or the noble qualities of rulers long deceased or those on the verge of extinction; it could treat the Native American with a great amount of sympathy. But this sympathy relied upon the Indian being impotent to all intents and purposes, finding his or her

role as an ingenu, a disembodied commentator or an isolated representative of a tribe. These plays accept the Indian's loss of autonomy in the face of white settlement and thus present them as posing no threat or even alternative to the growth of a white America.

The Native American had therefore reached a modicum of popularity on the stage by the end of the eighteenth-century, where his figure might be treated in themes of a serious or sensationalized nature; but his personage also appeared in private gatherings in very trivial or superficial ways. The fashion for masquerades or fancy balls in England from 1730 to 1790 has been studied by Aileen Elizabeth Ribeiro.⁴² She discusses several important masquerades and masked balls, some of which contained figures dressed as American Indians. In the Duke of Richmond's masquerade of 1763 "Lady Mary Coke (came) as Imoinda," and at Lady Moira's masked ball of c.1768 there appeared some people dressed as "Indians from the Lake Huron and River Senegal."⁴³ In 1770 at the Masquerade at Carlisle House, Fanny Burney thought she saw someone dressed as an "Indian Queen."⁴⁴ Ribeiro discusses several important costume books whose editions served many generations of party-goers as the sources for their costumes' details. One of these was the four volume set by Thomas Jefferys entitled A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations (published as volumes I and II in 1757 and as III and IV in 1772).(Plate 70) Jefferys would have acknowledged this sort of purpose for his work as it was advertised alongside a list of several masked balls of this period, and it was expressly mentioned by a writer in The World, no.116, March 20, 1756, with reference to the need for such sources of material.⁴⁵

The interest in Jefferys' Collection and other publications of its kind was stimulated by concerns over the accuracy of dress given to

figures in the theatre and thus points back to the trend noted at the beginning of this chapter where certain actors were given actual Native American accoutrement to wear on stage in productions of the Restoration period. However, in the context of its presentation as an item of fun and fancy, the adoption of Native American imagery in the staging of fancy dress balls can only be seen as inconsequential and trivial. Native Americans had been incorporated as characters in a European-devised panorama which reduced their elucidation to the level of mere facade, the costume, whose cliched constituents were intended to signify "American Indian" to even the most witless spectator. The substance behind the costume has at this point entirely ceased to be recognized. Even in the special case of the Christmas pantomime of 1785, where Cook's Voyages were chosen for the main theme, the presentation of the figures of a "Man and Woman of Nootka Sound" as part of the grand procession of peoples that had been seen during Cook's travels limited their perception in crucial ways.⁴⁶ Although based on the engravings made after John Webber's detailed drawings,⁴⁷ these figures were simply graphic representation brought to life and could not lend verisimilitude to the pantomime. Taken out of the context in which the Nootka people actually lived, these Indians were presented in as flat a manner as those on the page of a travel account. Any understanding of their culture and its complexity has been frustrated by the context in which they have been shown, by the fact that they are just one of many diverse figures who comprise the event or performance and by their simplification as single representatives of their culture.

As late as 1814, the costume of an "Indian" was still part of the masquerade repertoire, firmly established in the popular imagination as a creature of fancy and entertainment alongside other recognisable

types.

"Last evening a Grand Ball was given by Mrs. Hewitt at her house in Colleton Crescent....the following are the characters which were principally conspicuous: A groupe of Indians - a Doctor Syntax - a Jew Pedlar and his wife - a Turk - a Scaramouch...."⁴⁸

This is familiar territory, for we seem to be in a trivialised version of the heterogenous spectacle symbolised by Strozzi's ballet, La Finta Pazza, referred to above. That the account has come full circle is not surprising, for the presence of the Indian figure in public performance never achieved the self-sufficiency and integrity that would have been necessary to escape from the realm of symbols and tokens.

Notes -

1. The scenes of "making war" were enacted by two tribes of native Brazilians, the "Toupinambaulx" (Tupinamba?) and the "Tabagerres" (Tabajaras?). The staged battle, or scyomachie, resulted in the defeat of the Tabagerres whose fortress was set alight. The use of actual Brazilian peoples added an air of authenticity to the proceedings and was commented on by a number of spectators. See J.M. Massa, "Le Monde Luso-Bresilien dans la Joyeuse Entree de Rouen", Les Fetes de la Renaissance III, (Proceedings of the 15th International Colloquium of Humanist Studies, Tours, July, 1972) ed. J.Jacquot and E.Konigson, Paris, 1975, pp.105-116.

2. His Majestie's Entertainments passing through the City of London to His Coronation, 1661, pp.11-12, quoted in James Hazen Hyde, "The Four Parts of the World as Represented in Old-Time Pageants and Ballets", (Part ii), Apollo, V, 1927, p.25.

3. Honour has noted the influence of designs like Parigi's on designers working in northern Europe such as Inigo Jones. See Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America, exhibition catalogue, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1975, catalogue no. 97.

4. For the idea of barbarians as support figures, and Vitruvius' description of the Farnese "Captives" as barbarians, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique, The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900, London and New Haven, 1981, pp. 170-171.

5. Loggan's engraving of the arch appears to be after a working drawing by Peter Mills and Sir Balthazar Gerbier (attr.) ; although it is possible that he saw the actual edifice at Cornhill, near the Royal

Exchange.

6. James Hazen Hyde, op. cit., (Part i), Apollo, IV, 1926, p.237.

7. See Appendix II which discusses the incidence of Native American figures in monumental sculpture of the eighteenth century.

8. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones: the Theatre of the Stuart Court, London and Berkeley, 1973, Vol. II, p.481. (Line 130 of the manuscript reproduced there).

9. Ibid., pp. 482-483. (Lines 330-340).

10. The entr'actes were included in this production of La Finta Pazza in order to delight the young Louis XIV, then seven years old. The costumes of the eight Indian dancers look as if they were derived from standard allegorical representations of America, seen also in other performances such as the Carnavale of 1615, La Guerra d'Amore, produced for the Grand Duke, Cosimo II, in Florence. See Phyllis Dearborn Massar, "The Prints of Valerio Spada- I", Print Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 3, September 1986, p.223.

11. M.Benisovich, "The History of the Tenture des Indes", The Burlington Magazine, LXXXIII, 1943, pp.216-225.

12. For the derivation from Las Casas' work see Lois Potter (ed.), The Revels History of Drama in English, Vol. 4, 1613-1660, London and New York, 1981, p.299.

13. Ibid., p.124.

14. Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage: a study in Romantic Naturalism, (First published 1928), New York, 1961, p. 34, n.5.

15. Las Casas' Brevissima Relacion (c.1552-53, limited edition) was first published in English as The Spanish Colonie (or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies, called the newe World), London, 1583. See reproduction of the English title page in Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians - a Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World, (First published 1959), London and Bloomington, 1975, p.77.

16. Aphra Behn, Oroonoko and other stories, ed.Maureen Duffy, London, 1986, p.8.

17. T.W. Craik and Clifford Leech, (general eds.), The "Revels" History of Drama in English, vol. 5, 1660 - 1750, London, 1976, p. 145.

18. The Indian Emperor; or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards was acted in December 1702 at a London theatre (Friday, 11th.) Casts were not listed. The Indian Queen was acted on Saturday January 11, 1701 at the Drury Lane Theatre (cast not listed.) The next stagings of these plays took place in 1705 - 06. See Emmett L. Avery, ed., The London Stage, 1660 - 1800, Carbondale, 1960, pp. 7, 29, 92, 95 and 122.

19. See relevant entries in Avery, The London Stage, op. cit.

20. See illustration in H.L. Mallilieu, Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920, Vol. 2, London, 1979, p.94.

21. The popularity of Sheridan's Pizarro is discussed in Leech and Craik, The 'Revels' History, Vol. VI, London, 1975, pp. 188-189. It was revived as late as 1846, for the young Millais borrowed costumes from Pizarro owned by the Princess Theatre in order to clothe live models for his picture, Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru, of 1846. See exhibition catalogue, The Pre-Raphaelites, Tate Gallery, London, 1984, pp. 48.

22. Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, New Haven, 1925, p.161.

23. Cecil Price (ed.), The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, London, 1973, Vol. II, p.669. Sam Smiles has drawn my attention to the similarity between this speech and that of Calgacus, the Caledonian

leader, recorded in Tacitus' Agricola. Both Rolla and Calgacus make the point that their enemies are weak in point of honour and have a less personal interest in the conflict, whereas the native inhabitants are fighting for their land and the survival of their race. It is certainly possible that Sheridan had read Tacitus, and it is worth exploring the idea that many examples of genuine Native American oratory may have been 'recorded' for similar reasons (to show the gallantry of a worthy but inevitably doomed foe), and with Tacitus' example and rhetorical devices as inspiration.

24. Contemporary reaction to Sheridan's play tended to mention the speech of Rolla as one of the highlights. "Pizzaro, a new Tragedy in Five Acts ...was performed last night. There are several admirable and impressive speeches allotted to Mrs. Siddons and Mr. Kemble, some of which produced an electrical effect upon the auditory." (The Morning Herald, 25 May, 1799) cited in Price, The Dramatic Works, loc. cit., p. 633.

25. The interview with Atahualpa was described in Marmontel's Les Incas, (1777), and was the version that was given in the serious histories such as William Robertson's History of America, (1777), and William Hickling Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru, (1847). The original source was probably the official history written by the Inca historian Garcilaso de la Vega in the mid sixteenth century. See Benjamin Bissell, op. cit., p.148.

26. The revival of Pizarro in 1846 may have given Millais added impetus to paint his Royal Academy debut picture, although the publication of George Jones' The History of Ancient America, anterior to the time of Columbus, second edition, London, 1843, may be the more immediate influence. Briggs referred to Robertson's History of America when exhibiting his picture at the British Institution in 1827, the year after its exhibition at the Royal Academy.

27. Bissell, op.cit.,p.174.

28. Fairchild, op.cit., p.41.

29. Ibid.,p.41.

30. Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations, Depending on the Province of New York in America, (originally published in 1727 (Part I) and 1747 (Part II); reprinted 1866), Ithaca, 1958, pp. 70-72. Occasionally visiting emissaries to England could inspire dramatic treatment. John Cleland's play Tombo-Chiqui (1758) took the name of its title character from a visit made to England in 1734 by a Creek leader, a miko (leader) called Tomochichi. The plot of the play, however, comes from another source, Arlequin Sauvage. (See note 33 below).

31. From the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century writers interested in American themes turned increasingly to travel literature as a documentary source for their plots and characters. Wordsworth, for example, cites Hearne's Journey from Hudson's Bay to the Northern ocean as the source for his poem, The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman (1798). See The Poetical Works of Wordsworth, London, 1904, p.90. Thomas Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming (1809) contained many notes explaining various phrases and concepts in the text, pointing the reader to numerous travel accounts (see Fairchild, op. cit., p.260) and citing Isaac Weld's Travels in North America in 1796 as the historical source for the crux of the poem, the so-called "massacre" at Wyoming of 1777. Campbell's Indian hero, Outalissi, has a name which sounds very similar to an actual Cherokee leader who came to England in 1762, the "warrior" Outacity (sometimes Austenaco) whose "name" is in fact a Cherokee word

denoting a title.

32. Bissell, op. cit., p.130.

33. Ibid., pp. 130-133. Bissell has related these English plays to the popular French comedy L'Arlequin Sauvage by L.F. de la Drevetiere De Lisle, first performed in 1721.

34. Bissell lists a number of late eighteenth century works which give Native American themes a comic treatment. Bissell, op. cit., pp. 137-153.

35. Sophie Turner's "Incle discovering Yarico in the Cave", a painting exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1793 (untraced), probably represents an attempt to capitalise on Colman's popular success.

36. The story first appeared in Richard Ligon's History of the Barbados (1657) and was the basis of an article by Steele in The Spectator, No. II, p.55. As related by Ligon the story contained none of the highly emotional language included in later versions. Later still, in Colman's hands, comedy smothers both this emotion and the original aura of drama in Ligon's account, leaving Yarico as a heroine of mere farce. See Bissell, op. cit., p.138.

37. Written accounts of the destruction of Native American cultures helped to mythologize certain distinguished leaders such as King Philip (or Metacom) (d.1676) of the Wampanoag. Increase Mather's A Briefe History of the War with the Indians in New England, Boston and London, 1676, related Philip's demise and the selling off of his family to slave traders and initiated a series of histories of the conflict in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Philip's rebellion had all the elements of tragedy, for in attempting to win freedom he brought about the destruction of his people. Invoking "nemesis" was a comfort to white historians who could therefore talk in terms of inevitability and absolve white settlers from guilt. See Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., The Patriot Chiefs - A Chronicle of American Indian Resistance, First published 1961, Harmondsworth, 1983, pp. 33-62; Richard Slotkin, Regeneration through Violence - The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860, Middletown, 1973, pp.79-89.

38. Bissell, op. cit., p.145.

39. See, for example, Robert Southey, Songs of the American Indians (1799), Thomas Moore, Song of the Evil Spirit of the Woods (1806), William Lisle Bowles, Song of the American Indian (1837) and Felicia Hemans, Lays of Many Lands (includes The Messenger Bird ("Brazilian"), The Stranger in Louisiana ("a song of the Mississippi Indians") and The Isle of Founts ("an Indian tradition")) and Songs of Affection (includes The Indian with his Dead Child). (c.1820s and 30s?) Most of these poems are discussed, with others, in Fairchild, op. cit., 202-215 and 258-289.

40. The fate of Chactas and his son was, like Logan, Prince Philip and others to be the last of his kind. As such, impotent and without threat to white settlement, these Indians could elicit sympathy and were given a noble bearing, lofty sentiments and a fund of rhetoric to achieve it. See Bissell, op. cit., p.145.

41. See Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, reprinted in Wilcomb Washburn, The Indian and the White Man, New York, 1964, pp.426-428.

42. A.E. Ribeiro, The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture, Courtauld Institute of Art Thesis, 1975, New York, 1984.

43. Ibid., pp.50-52.

44. Ibid., p.73.

45. Ibid., pp.284-285.

46. William Huse, "A Noble Savage on the Stage", Modern Philology, Vol.

33, 1935-1936, pp. 303-316.

47. Ibid., p. 311.

48. Trewman's Exeter Flying Post, Thursday, December 29, 1814.

Chapter Four - Everyman's Indian: The Native American in Graphic Satire

One of the most popular and democratic forms of visual expression during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the satirical or political print. Highly-charged, emotional attitudes towards recent political events in England demanded that these works be flexible enough to include changed opinion while still furnishing easily recognizable and understood messages. Adding to this was the stipulation that works of this type should be relatively economical, able to be produced instantly and distributed with a minimum of expense and effort. The results were often coarse and sometimes provided stark analysis of what were in reality complex difficult issues.

Simplification was at the heart of the bare quality which these prints exhibited. In order to provide an uncomplicated political message, it was necessary that their subjects be rather sketchily drawn and that the figures be typical; hence, figures would not draw attention to themselves individually but could be read within the message as a whole. Like hieroglyphs¹ which made sense only if each image was perceived in its entirety, the prints had a kind of visual code which could be deciphered by added text or the use of word puns and visual similarities between objects and people. In this manner they had much in common with the more traditional allegorical imagery that had been used in certain official capacities.

Various categories of individuals, symbols or character types were summoned from existing iconographic tradition in order to construct the roughly-conceived political or satiric statement. However, quick execution and minimal expense meant that the images resulting from engraved work were greatly simplified, even schematized, and divested of any extraneous detail. Constant repetition and the re-use of identifying features helped to create stereotypes whose purposes were

to exhibit the qualities which had become synonymous with the character in question. The political and satiric representation of character type thus worked to develop an original characterization into a caricature or iconic cliché.

Massive print runs and pirated editions speak of the ubiquity of any one figure or subject which was represented in political prints. An extremely popular work such as The Repeal, Or, the Funeral of Miss Americ- Stamp (BMC 4140) published on March 18, 1766, sold 2,000 copies in four days and stimulated the production of four pirated editions, two of which (published on the day after Wilson had sold his first 2,000) amounted to a total of 16,000 prints.² As McClung-Fleming has stated, "Between 1774 and 1783, nearly one hundred and forty print shops and print publishers are known to have handled these "impolitical" prints."³ Such widespread distribution of visual imagery meant that its iconography and stark symbolic configurations would become the visual currency of most of the public, either through purchase or by seeing engravings displayed in print sellers' windows.⁴

Within this body of work the Native American first appears as an inhabitant of those prints produced in response to political developments in America between the years 1760 and 1783. At least thirty-five different prints of this kind have survived and testify in their diversity of publisher and engraver to the relative frequency of this type of imagery.⁵ It is important to note that this class of material represents, by its very nature, an exemplification of the tendencies towards characterization that surround the depiction of the Native American in other genres of this period. The close visual connection between the satirical representation of an "Indian" and his appearance in other popular forms of expression which tended to typify

the Native American is apparent on examination of decorative and fanciful items designed for personal consumption. The image of a Native American contained in an item of tableware (Plate 71) or as part of the design of a tobacco label (Plate 72) cannot aspire to the same kind of tone as it might in instances of high art such as painting and sculpture. Ubiquity itself is an indication of how the context for representation was as important as the subject itself. That is to say, the frequency of representation in the "lower" more popular forms is indicative of the Indian figure somehow 'belonging' to this decorative environment.

To find the Native American represented in the design of such items as a ship's figurehead (Plate 73) or as a support figure in the arrangement of a coat-of-arms such as that of the Company of Distillers (Plate 74) is to perceive that his personage is merely a token not of ethnographic content but of exotic or economic qualities. Similarly, commemorative coins and trading tokens sometimes contained an image of an "Indian", witnessed in the examples of a coin minted for the Distillers in about 1770 (Plate 75) that depicts an Indian in a feather skirt with a feather "crown" on his head, and in the trading token used by an Exeter merchant in the seventeenth century.(Plate 76) The Native American figure as "Indian" appeared in the context of home furnishings such as objects of porcelain (Plate 77), wall-paper designs (Plate 69) and printed fabrics (Plates 78 and 79), as well as more costly materials such as bronze or silver (Plate 80). In a wider sense the image of an Indian could be said to be quite common, as it had been depicted in such diverse and popular folk genres as the common inn sign and the more personal "stay Busk" love token, as well as other articles of treen.⁶ As one can see, the most usual place where a

contemporary viewer might encounter the image of an Indian was in these more familiar and popular contexts. [See Appendix I]

With this common fluency surrounding the depiction of Native American in mind, we can now return to satirical prints to examine how they became a forum for the expression of a popular notion of the Native American. Due to the flexible nature of the medium itself, any one figure who was represented in political prints would be subject to their particular loyalties, their indiscriminating elucidation of derogatory imagery and their overall satirical emphasis. In the case of certain contemporary public figures, their adoption as the subject-matter of political prints amounted to a characterization of their features which was only as effective insofar as the public was aware of the actual physical appearance of each personage or his significance within the political arena. Nevertheless, in making caricatures of public figures print artists were starting from an existing entity and the success or failure of their personification could theoretically be judged by reference to the real subject. The case is somewhat different for those other figures, such as the Native American, who were employed in prints during the war periods. Live examples of such figures were not readily available to the majority of the public to view and compare with their graphic alter-egos.⁷ As such, the Native American figures who appeared in prints of this era constitute a major visual construct for anyone who wished to conjure an image of the Indian from his or her common experience. In fact, it could be argued that the power of the print to develop stock types ensured that these graphic personifications would dominate popular perceptions of the Native American. The first appearance of a figure of America in political prints of the last half of the eighteenth-century begins with those whose subject was the Stamp

Act (1765) and its consequences. It seems that a common issue at stake in both the colonies' resentment of the Act and the popular feeling in England was that both groups tended to oppose the new arbitrary governmental measures. America's cause, as it were, became aligned with the fight for liberty and personal freedom that was of more international proportions. Liberty's cause was taken up by many individuals during this period but the political prints published during the upheavals did not always support the aims of the colonies. The figure of America entered the political arena in her most traditional guise as the feather-garmented Indian princess of allegory in prints of the 1760s. She was most often provided with darkened skin, a feather bonnet or crown and a draped skirt of animal skins or cloth in order to define her person. This is certainly in keeping with the essentially symbolical nature of political satire in the earlier period where the figures in the prints were not usually personalised.⁸ Even when certain ministers are referred to or overtly characterized in the print's design, the figure or figures representing America retain the features of the allegory rather than attempting to offer a new image of the colonists themselves. Generalized to a great extent and exhibiting the traditional attributes, the allegorical figure, "America", which had been up till now mostly a static device in terms of representation, becomes activated in the context of the political print. In contrast to its usual passive allegorical function as a referent to great Empires, America, the personage, is now allowed an active role and thus becomes potentially subversive.

In a print of 1765, known as The Great Financier (BMC 4128), (Plate 81) the figure symbolizing America appears kneeling with one arm raised in protest and a yoke used in the slave trade placed around her neck

which is labelled "taxation without representation." This work illustrates how the use of textual remarks and captions were employed in order to spell out the graphic message and thus give the print the feel of a political pamphlet.⁹ Also provided in this print for the benefit of the literate is a verse of several lines that helps explain America's and England's predicament. The verse pertaining to America reads

"America groans and petitions in vain,
Her Grief is his Toy and her Loss is his Gain;
For ways and means curious his Brain he ne'er racks,
He stops all her wealth and then lays on his Tax ..."

The figure of America is pleading with the ministers who seem to be deciding her fate with a large set of scales that are set at an extreme imbalance. America's facial features are undefined here and quickly drawn. Obviously, this was not important to the meaning of the work. Her figure has been employed here basically to locate the piece in an American context.

In terms of the allegory of America, her darkened skin tone and feather crown do follow the objective of the original design which was to provide a figure or representative from the part of the known world making up the Americas. She therefore had to exhibit some features of Native American ethnic content for she was conceived as being uniquely different from Europeans. On the other hand, America's ethnicity is not the primary motive force behind her delineation in this print. It has been merely carried through from earlier conceptualizations in the satirist's employment of traditional imagery. Hence, allegorical figures such as these cannot truly be discussed in terms similar to those used when discussing the decorative use of such figures. What has occurred in the case of the political print is that the allegorical figure has been taken from its decorative aspect and allowed to become a

representative of governments and nations. This is completely different to the allegorical context described previously in Chapter Two, for it seeks to position the symbolic personage of America within a real, political event.

Historical connotations were certainly present within the older designs, such as the allegory of the Four Continents, where the appearance of order and the structure through which mankind could view its development were provided. However, the difference between a mystical analysis of Man's development in a traditional allegory of the continents and one that sought to represent various interest groups or individuals organized into a large political entity is crucial. In the traditional allegory, America is delineated in ways similar to those of the other continental figures and she, like the others, is given distinct attributes which define her person. She is just one element in a four-part arrangement that geographically defines the universe and is in that sense a figure of equal status to the others in the system. Without her, the balanced structure, both harmonious and symmetrical, has no meaning. In contrast, the meaning of allegory changes when the figure of America enters a political realm. In the first place, she is not provided with the same amount of detail as are the other characters in the action. Mostly appearing as an indeterminate shadowy type, she is only given the minimum of detail to give referents for the character she is portraying. Secondly, the basic symbolic content of the figure has changed from the cosmologically to the economically significant. She is no longer the sovereign of an entire continent (in spite of her 'crown' of feathers) but has become the figurehead for a massive economic force.

In The Great Financier the figure of America exemplifies many of these points. She is not provided with the same kind of attributes as

are some of the other figures. Likewise, she is not an individual personality but a highly symbolic factor within the work itself. (A minimum of detail is provided in her darkened skin, dark hair and feather crown; and the fact that she is semi-nude immediately sets her apart from the other figures.) Britannia, by contrast, is provided with more detail insofar as there are several members of her constituency standing before her who illustrate her interests. Such a work as this testifies to the general self-interest of most of the political cartoons of this period, in that what lies at the base of their messages is a facetious attitude critical of governmental policy or the monarchy and obviously not an exploration into the contemporary problems of Native Americans. Yet at the heart of this self-interest there was also a vague awareness of the issues raised by the use of a Native American to stand for the idea of America. That is, in making allusions to the original inhabitants of the continent, the political satirists were taking advantage of the established symbolic connection between America and the Native Americans and also of the fact that they had some real claims to having their case heard back in England.

The changes of allegory's meaning within the genre of the political print meant that the figure of America would become exploited graphically for purposes outside her original representation as a spirit of the continent. Her actual purpose within the prints such as The Great Financier is to call to mind the more elaborate decorative depictions of the continent that had displayed America in her finery and surrounded her with items of wealth and fecundity. America in this particular print kneels next to large parcels of material wealth that are given monetary value by the label, "dollars", and are grasped in her right hand. Wealth of a majestic kind was present in versions of the

Four Continents such as that of the frescoes in the Residenz at Wurzburg designed and completed by the Italian artist, Giambattista Tiepolo in 1753. (Plate 82) However, when the graphic artist wished to make a similar point about America's wealth, the bounty has been realized and reduced to hard cash.

A further exploitation of America's features within political prints is the alignment of her ethnic features with the political message. Namely, it was America's Native American (and feminine) aspects which were open to manipulation such that a sympathetic, pathetic or innocent figure could be shown arrested and deprived by the taxation laws. In its allusion to the practice of slavery, the yoke placed around the neck of America locates her ethnicity within a wider area of restrictions. She is bound economically but the use of a slave's yoke to indicate this is surely derived from general knowledge of the treatment of subject races. In this sense, America's situation becomes over-dramatized as her plea for freedom of commerce is conflated with a graphic representation of a slave's plea for personal freedom. This type of figure would not be the only instance of the way in which an image of the Ethnic Princess might be contrived to effect political aims, but it was one with an important subtext to the general issues of the threat to liberty advanced by the taxation laws.

In a further example of the satirical reaction to the Stamp Act, America, again given the features of an Indian Princess, holds centre stage in a drama being enacted for the viewer. The Deplorable State of America or SC- H Government(BMC 4119)(Plate 83) of January 2, 1765 shows seven central characters arranged about the tree of Liberty acting a scene that comments on the passage of the Stamp Act but in fact alludes to controversies that will concern the entire generation.

Wisdom and Liberty both appear in this print as allegorical personages whose statements are shown emanating from their mouths and which further emphasize the message of desperation. Liberty is drawn in a reclining position and concedes that "It is all over with me." America holds the central position in the composition and her outstretched arms link the group of "good" characters, Liberty and Reason, with those of questionable goodness, the unwise King and Britannia, on the right. America is a young Indian maiden with a feather head-dress and long, flowing black hair. Her important role in this piece leads one to suspect that more is at issue here than the Stamp Act alone. Britannia, as a harassed-looking older woman, is seated next to Mercury, a figure signifying Commerce, who is shown fleeing the scene in haste. The older figure of Britannia hands America the "Pandora's Box" of the Stamp Act while America pleads with Reason, "Secure Me, O Goddess, by thy Wisdom for I abhor it as Death." Wisdom's reply is to "Take it not."

Thus, America has literally become a desperate prisoner. Arranged according to an established artistic convention, 'The Choice of Hercules', in this configuration the figure of America is surrounded by symbols of authority and must try to make up her mind as to which way to turn.¹⁰ Unlike all the other figures, America's ethnic feature of darkened skin seems to blaze from the centre like a flame. Again, her features of femininity and ethnicity both work to proper effect in eliciting thoughts of her as a helpless character.

As the central character in this print and important to its action, the American figure's association with the American Indian and the perceived lifestyle of the Indians as free and independent agents would not have gone unnoticed by its viewers.¹¹ This artist has understood how the impact of a work could be enhanced by the use of

visual stereotypes and a satirical subtext that strengthens its vital message. America is cleverly devised in that she is an object of sympathy, surrounded and defenseless. Her Native American attributes only enhance this feeling.¹² An activation of the allegorical figure has taken place in this work for her position has been dramatized. This Native American figure no longer reacts to the Stamp Act alone but to a general restriction of freedom, a situation abhorrent to her perceived nature. The meta-language of satire does not leave the allegorical figures as pure representations of their qualities (i.e. fixed symbols) but gives them the power to react to their situation, to disrupt the apparent symbolism of the message and to cause a re-evaluation of the situation by the viewer. From the example of The Deplorable State of America, one concludes that use of an allegorical figure of America was often the starting point from which various topical viewpoints could be developed. Hence, its use was not an end in itself as it had been in the decorative context; the attributes of "America", too, seem only the pretext for further development of the characteristics of the figure to suit political ends.¹³ At the core of each work was the political message which determined the construction of the figure of America and would be the determining factor in later prints dealing with the hostilities on the American continent.

Evidence for a wide distribution of The Deplorable State of America is not available; however, further political prints of the Stamp Act era testify to its impact on later graphic representation of the Native American/Indian figure. A print entitled Goody Bull or the Second Part of the Repeal (BMC 4142), published on March 12, 1766, (Plate 84) includes a figure of America who is adorned with similar accoutrement to the figure of America in The Deplorable State. In both prints she is

clothed in a short skirt decorated with diagonal cross-hatching lines that is tied about her waist and is attached to a strap that crosses over each shoulder in the shape of the letter 'V'. Goody Bull was, in fact, a response to works whose purpose was to disparage ministerial action during the Stamp Act era. In the print, "Goody Bull" (Britain) and America are reconciled through the abrupt machinations of William Pitt. One feels, though, that this commentator was aware of further troubles ahead as he facetiously includes a full verse at the bottom of the plate stating that America feels haughty and triumphant:

"No thanks to you Mother;
the Daughter replied;
But Thanks to my Friend here,
I've humbled your Pride,
Then pray leave of this Nonsense,
'tis all a meer Farce,
As I've carried my point,
You may now kiss my ----."

There is an attitude of mocking resentment present in this work that is not entirely sympathetic to the aims of the colonies. Its message seems to be the re-establishment of credibility in the current administration who brought about the Repeal in 1766. The illustration above the verse in Goody Bull shows a reversal of the normal arrangement in Stamp Act cartoons for America stands alone, released from bondage, and Britain is shown on her knees having fallen. Here, America is no longer the suppliant younger "daughter" whose unfortunate circumstances are to be pitied but becomes a "hussy" and a "whore".¹⁴ In the later prints after Repeal, the 'correct' positions of Britain and America are reversed by the drastic change in events and this distorts or "turns the World upside down."¹⁵ The dialogue which is now set up between the messages in the two prints, The Deplorable State and Goody Bull forces the reader to compare and contrast the situation before and after the Repeal.

America's role within the controversy changes within the context of the prints as her figure shifts from one of sympathy to one of complicity.

Another print that relates to the Repeal and which includes the same American Indian figure with the distinctive belt and skirt attached, is The Ballance, or the American's Triumphant (BMC 4143)(March to July ? 1766).(Plate 85) In this print the American figure is shown by a tree of Liberty similar to the one depicted in the influential print of 1765-6, The Deplorable State, except that the tree is now healthy and flourishing. America is shown back in communication with Commerce and Wisdom and they all face each other with America at the centre.

These two prints with figures of America based on the examples in The Deplorable State, share several common elements. First, the sentiment expressed in Goody Bull and in The Ballance is much the same for both are not entirely supportive of the state of things after the Repeal. America plays a large part in establishing the tenor of these works for it is her role that has made the crucial change. She is no longer described as an unfortunate dependent but is now seen in more mature terms, able to hurt those who once controlled her interests. Her real value is always posed in economic terms where loaded ships and parcels on the shore equate Repeal with financial gain. In addition to the economic argument, both prints have appropriated the figure of America from the earlier print but placed her in different relationships to the other figures. Thus they have redefined her role. In spite of this interest in the earlier model, each of the later prints is neither as clearly or elegantly delineated. They are cruder renditions of the original personage who obviously carried dramatic appeal.

Throughout the era of the Stamp Act the overall trend in the

depiction of the figure of America was to portray her as the Native American Princess of the traditional allegory. Each of the figures discussed so far has been an America with definite ethnic qualities, the most important being her darkened skin tone and dark hair. This tradition allows the perception of the Continent in terms of an Other, in so far as the highly symbolic language of allegory admits the perception of differing cultures. But admission of the existence of a group of people who inhabit such lands and who are separate from oneself was not a comfortable awareness for those who sought the Native American's dispossession. As the century continued, the figure of America underwent a gradual metamorphosis which began to deny the realization of her original ethnicity, and the "Ethnic Princess" figure became disused, ignored and replaced by new symbols for the continent.¹⁶ This can only be seen as part of a gradual disintegration of the traditional 'Indian' figure of allegory as the century progresses. At even earlier dates than the Stamp Act it can be demonstrated that other prototypes for an American figure were developing. (Plate 86) Elizabeth McClung Fleming has shown that a classically-attired figure came to assume the role of the symbol of America and that this figure, derived from the Ethnic Princess, was a blend of older elements taken from the attributes of the feather-garmented America mixed together with the new taste for classical statuary. The Revolutionary period was a critical time for the representation of the figure of America. Afterwards, many elements of this figure were discarded, such as the darkened skin and feathered accoutrement, in favour of new enthusiasms for the figure of Liberty, the establishment of new codes of governmental practice and the taste for the antique, all of which were brought to bear on the representation of America. Equally, a

gradual change took place in the arena of political satire where America, the personage, assumed a variety of roles inspired by human relationships. The age-old conflicts between parents and their offspring were adopted to explain and comment on the state of things during and after the wars.¹⁷ America's ethnic features that were still retained were advantageously used to great effect in order to show the appropriate visage of an angry young rebel or unsophisticated child. Both of these roles could be filled by a Native American in that written descriptions of their cultures were often composed in just those terms.¹⁸

Two prints published during the hostilities, Bunker's Hill, or the Blessed Effects of Family Quarrels (BMC 5289) (Plate 87) of 1775 and The Parricide (BMC 5334) (Plate 88) of 1776 show the situation in the American colonies as a physical feud between two females. Both these examples elucidate the transitional stage of the allegorical figure of America as she gradually lost her ethnicized qualities for those of a more classical orientation, the draped robes of a greek goddess. Similarly, her feather headdress degenerates into the non-specific exotic accent of ostrich feathers.

In Bunker's Hill, America holds a hatchet in her raised hand and has a knife poised to strike in her other. The figure is still given darkened skin and arm bands but her feather head-dress has shrunk in size and assumed the proportions of a tiara. More importantly, the skirt which had been previously described with reference to Native American practices is now definitely a draped robe or toga. There are even what appear to be Roman sandals on her feet. The Parricide shows, in addition to these changes, an America with no skin colouring; and hence, provides a figure more in keeping with the appearance of the

white colonial rebels. The feather plumes she wears in this print seem not to be based on eagle feathers or other American birds but are transformed into ostrich plumes. Little is actually left of the original Native American-based figure at this stage.

Similarly, two figures occur in a print of 1770, The Lord Mayor of London, William Beckford (BMC 4398) (Plate 89) whose purposes are to illustrate ideas concerning the cause of America and Liberty. The Native American personage appears here as just one element in a general constellation of symbols comprising the meaning of America. This generalized Native personage is shown behind the more prominent figure of the goddess of Liberty (with her cap and pole); the Indian is given only a modicum of detail to define who she is (dark skin and a feather headdress) and she is wearing classically draped fabric around her waist. Even more highly classicized is the figure of America which appears in the print of 1778 by Jean-Charles Le Vasseur, after Antoine Borel.¹⁹ (Plate 90) In this work America has lost all deep skin tone and is physically articulated according to classical models. She is shown kneeling at the foot of a statue commemorating the "Victory" of Liberty over Tyranny and again is only one element in the larger theme whose political message concerns all Americans. It is evident that any interest in ethnic issues associated with America has been replaced by the more universal drives towards individual freedom and personal rights which European powers located on American soil.

As the separation of the Indian figure from the allegory of America took place, it is important to note that the Native American personage did not altogether disappear from graphic satirical representations.²⁰ A different figure, often male, gained currency, especially during the hostilities of the Revolutionary war, who did not pertain strictly to

the traditional symbolic function of the allegory. For convenience, I will call this personage the "generic Indian brave" and its genesis is probably linked with certain Indian groups who visited England during the eighteenth-century. Their inclusion within graphic satire is initiated in a satiric print by Hogarth called The Times (1762), which includes a reference to a visiting group of Cherokee Indians in 1762. In the print a naked Indian male is shown on a pub sign above the notice "Alive from America". (Plate 91) The fact that Native American males played a substantial role in the hostilities as auxiliaries was also influential in the derivation of this figure.²¹ With regard to the subject of political satire, an interest in a figure of this sort began to appear in the graphic works of the 1760's (Plate 92) and did not attain its full scope until after the outbreak of fighting in 1775.

As early as 1766, an Indian male in a skirt made of skins or pelts and wearing a single feather on his head appears in a satire that seems to prefigure the later representations. The print, entitled The State of The Nation An: Dom: 1765 etc., (Plate 93)(BMC 4130) portrays several ministers and the figure of Britannia alongside a Native American figure who altogether appear to be acting out a scene from a play as if on stage. This is a curious Indian figure for he does not exhibit the traditional features such as the skirt made of feathers and the fancy feather crown. His facial features are drawn in a more detailed manner as if this artist had a specific individual in mind.²² The flatness and largeness of his nose as opposed to the more grecian profile of the figure of Britannia, next to him, suggest that the author of this plate had wanted to portray a person of unique ethnic origin in his version of America. His "Eastern Woodland" attributes would have had particular significance for English viewers.

In another print of the Revolutionary period, the Indian Brave appears in a much more traditional sense with a feather skirt and crown; however, his facial features have been changed and transfigured to form the grim visage of a grotesque or devil. In The Parlmt Dissolved, or The Devil turn'd Fortune Teller of 1774, (BMC 5238) (Plate 94) a figure representing America is shown following the commands of Satan by overturning a miniature model of parliament such that all the ministers fall to their destruction. This America may be based on earlier illustrations of Mexican Indians such as those in the work of the de Bry family publications made during the late sixteenth-century but still influential at this date. (Plate 20) The symbolic connection between Native Americans and the darker forces had been made as early as the mid sixteenth century in a painting by an anonymous Portuguese artist who gave the Devil a feather crown and feather head-dress. (Plate 95), and the "diabolic" nature of the Indian was to feature again in scenes of captivity, scalping and torture.

Albeit that the Native American in The Parlmt Dissolved is presented within the confines of satire and thus is not meant to appear realistic, his facial features are drawn as distinctly grotesque with glaring eyes, exaggerated lips and flared nostrils, displayed rather advantageously in the context of evil doings. The paucity of information regarding the actual appearance of Native Americans is irrelevant here, for the Indian has been transposed in this work into a bringer of chaos and therefore needs no specific attributes beyond his "Indianness". His figure is highly derogatory for it implies that the link between Indian and Anarchy is self-evident. In the overall thrust of the piece the Indian's features are exploited by the demands of the political slogan. Loosening of the tradition of allegory has allowed the graphic artist

room for his own interpretation of the figure of America such that he could combine the older elements with those not usually associated with allegory. It is significant that this figure is a male. Other derogatory uses of the Native American allegorical figure can be cited such as the indication of problems of alcohol addiction which appears in satire as a whiskey bottle held in the hand of a native figure. (Plate 96)

The practice of cannibalism is used to ridiculous effect in a print of 1780, The Allies - Par Nobile Fratrum! (BMC 5631) (Plate 97) where three Indian braves are depicted on the left hand side of a scene set in a barren but vaguely tropical landscape, perhaps a desert island. Such a setting seems bizarre but it may be that the artist was drawing on the old tradition that associated America with the tropical areas near the equator. In time and with more experience of the northern part of the continent through colonial ventures, America had also been associated with vast deserts, prairies and uninhabited landscapes and these too are signaled in the barren nature of the terrain. The ambiguity of this vision sets the scene in a no-man's land of fantasy where such things as the eating of human flesh take on the aura of the comical. There are limbs of infants and children strewn about the picture and one of the Indian figures is shown chewing on a large bone. The other two Native American figures are seen draining the blood from a corpse in order to consume it, as is suggested by the other figures partaking in the feast. A line of text provided in the top right hand corner of the print refers to a real incident in the Revolutionary period known as the "Wyoming Valley Massacre" where Native American persons were believed to have taken part in the destruction of a community of settlers. The massacre was propagandized back in England as one of the more brutal aspects of

the conflict, while the Valley itself was eulogized by Isaac Weld in his Travels ... of 1795, 1796 and 1797.²³ Weld extolled the valley's idyllic situation and surroundings and thus made it a symbol of untouched innocence that had existed pristinely before the interruption of outside hostilities.

By placing his scene in the context of the Wyoming Valley and its legendary peaceful atmosphere, the artist has devised a biting denunciation of wartime devastation and unwanted European intervention. Characteristically, the Native American figures are employed here to effect political ends and are dramatized to the extent that their cruel practices are depicted in a startlingly graphic manner. The ethnic content of the Indians, who appear with dark skin, short skirts and feather accoutrement is comically conceived in that it is part of a message which in itself has a cynical and ludicrous edge. The Indian figures subvert their traditional role insofar as the goods they offer are human remains rather than trading commodities, and both their poses and their appearance borrow traditional usage in order to bring this point home. To this end the missionary activity represented at centre and at right merely strengthens a message already delivered at the left of the composition - the complicity in atrocity of white culture.

The move towards depicting more destructive Native American types continues in later works. One example is Shelb--ns Sacrifice of 1783 (BMC 6171) (Plate 98) where Indian figures are shown chasing the now independent Loyalists with tomahawks and hatchets. In this work both an Indian with a feather head-dress and the Indian brave appear. The figure with the feather "war bonnet" might be thought of as traditional in the allegorical sense but is here an active figure shown participating in the scene in the same way as the Indian brave. The allegory of America

depiction of the figure of America was to portray her as the Native American Princess of the traditional allegory. Each of the figures discussed so far has been an America with definite ethnic qualities, the most important being her darkened skin tone and dark hair. This tradition allows the perception of the Continent in terms of an Other, in so far as the highly symbolic language of allegory admits the perception of differing cultures. But admission of the existence of a group of people who inhabit such lands and who are separate from oneself was not a comfortable awareness for those who sought the Native American's dispossession. As the century continued, the figure of America underwent a gradual metamorphosis which began to deny the realization of her original ethnicity, and the "Ethnic Princess" figure became disused, ignored and replaced by new symbols for the continent.¹⁶ This can only be seen as part of a gradual disintegration of the traditional 'Indian' figure of allegory as the century progresses. At even earlier dates than the Stamp Act it can be demonstrated that other prototypes for an American figure were developing. (Plate 86) Elizabeth McClung Fleming has shown that a classically-attired figure came to assume the role of the symbol of America and that this figure, derived from the Ethnic Princess, was a blend of older elements taken from the attributes of the feather-garmented America mixed together with the new taste for classical statuary. The Revolutionary period was a critical time for the representation of the figure of America. Afterwards, many elements of this figure were discarded, such as the darkened skin and feathered accoutrement, in favour of new enthusiasms for the figure of Liberty, the establishment of new codes of governmental practice and the taste for the antique, all of which were brought to bear on the representation of America. Equally, a

is no longer an innocuous symbol but, as used here, becomes a real participant known to commit acts of atrocity during wartime.

The examples of political prints discussed in this chapter have revealed the transformation of the Indian figure from allegorical symbol of a continent to racial stereotype. Between these two positions the Indian figure had been politicized by his appearing in the context of a plea for liberty and freedom. We have also seen how other prototypes for the figure of America assumed the role the Indian had always played and thus divested the Native American of his/her usual means of symbolic representation. Later, during the War periods, the Indian figure was again adopted to portray the Native American involvement in wartime horrors; a device which had both detrimental effects on the perception of real Native American people and which alluded to the ancient iconography of the differing races of man whose lifestyles had always been characterized as uncouth and savage.²⁴ This helped to reaffirm older fears concerning race differences and to classify the Indian in European terms. In the final analysis the Native American figure became cast as a type whose qualities were well known by the late eighteenth-century and could therefore be used artificially in the construction of a visual pun and humourous satire on the current events in America. As the century closed, the Native American was placed in more and more ludicrous positions and roles as the development of satire reached a zenith, seen in the work of Gillray and others.(Plate 99)

Cartoon figures are essentially an invention of the nineteenth-century but one can see their roots in the kinds of caricature that was employed throughout this earlier period. An interest in caricature in the Italian sense had spread to England as early as the eighteenth-century.²⁵ Experimental interest in physiognomy and facial types had

its genesis during this time, with Hogarth the most well-known proponent of such characterization. By mid-century when George Stevens' Celebrated Lecture on Heads(1766) was published, illustrating examples of various heads of different characters, an American Indian could be considered a well enough known type to take its place alongside other "typical" features in Stevens' account.

By the nineteenth-century these methods of investigation were translated into scientific theories whose intent was to map the varieties of human types and to draw conclusions concerning their origins and cultural abilities from their racial make-up. (See Chapter 9 for a fuller discussion). For the caricaturist the task had altered too, for the "standard" Indian had now stabilized to the point where few alterations would occur to its configuration until the advent of Plains Indian iconography later in the century. (This latter is, of course, the image of the Indian that most whites have today). As a result it was now possible to caricature or over-load the Native American type to extremes of grotesqueness, for his essential features were secure and could now bear the weight without risk of loss of identity. This identity, it should be stressed, is a racial identity and has nothing to do with emblematic representation of a continent or even a nation any longer.

In an unfinished drawing by Thomas Rowlandson (Plate 100) the depiction of a forest scene, slightly described, includes two groups of figures whose attributes of feather headgear and other adornment point to their portrayal as American Indians. The group on the left are dragging what seems to be a victim to the vestiges of a fire or possibly a spit for roasting. The message is unclear, for the group on the right is a family with mother, father and two infants sitting together in a cluster in the foreground. These groups could be studies for a larger

piece or are perhaps work done in connection with the illustration of a text.²⁶ (In Chapter 5 I have suggested that this text is Smollett's Humphrey Clinker) One can see that the artist has been influenced by the political use of a generic Indian brave, for this figure in Rowlandson's work displays the same physical dimensions, that is, he is muscular and has a vicious expression on his face. Rowlandson would have been aware of the political use of Native American figures but was careful to give his Indians a less than serious tone. One must remember that this work was unfinished and therefore cannot be taken as full evidence of the artist's attitude to this kind of subject-matter. What one can say, however, is that Rowlandson apparently found no scope for his figures and therefore abandoned the project.

By the time of Washington Irving's A History of New York published in 1839 under the pseudonym, Diedrich Knickerbocker, the visage and figure of the Native American could be depicted in satirical graphic modes as a character in his own right. In the frontispiece to the edition published in London,²⁷ Cruikshank has depicted a subject that relates to Irving's narrative, itself a form of satire meant to parody the very popular histories of the colonies that were being published at the same time. The artist shows the Dutch traders offering a trading agreement concerning exchange of pelts for hard cash (and/or other items).(Plate 101) Within the illustration, the scales are being weighted against the Indian people's interest by one of the Dutchmen who places his foot on one of the pans and holds it down. He is a massive figure of wide girth and hence makes the pun more obvious as this is a "Dutch Weight". The two Indian trappers gaze in astonishment at the sheer audacity of such a person whose broad form contrasts sharply with their lithe and muscular legs and arms; the Indians thus seem to

comprise the antithesis of the merchant in their stoic acceptance of such trickery. Their placement on the far right hand side of the composition also alludes to the division in status between the Dutch and the Indians in that they are seated and the merchant stands towering above them. A peaceful feeling is achieved by this arrangement in that the Indians are left powerless, their dreaded tomahawks (usually brandished, in other graphic satires) placed on the ground by their feet. In consequence, the Indians seem stripped of their potential to do violence in this print.

The image corresponds to a scene in Act One of Robert Rogers' Ponteach: Or the Savages of America, A Tragedy, published in London in 1765. The innocent Murphey learns from M'Dole the secrets of trading with the Indians:

"He, like an honest Man, bought all by weight,
And made the ign'rant Savages believe
That his Right Foot exactly weighed a Pound.
By this for many years he bought their Furs,
And died in Quiet like an honest Dealer."²⁸

But Cruikshank's depiction of such chicanery is devoid of moral outrage or even disquiet. His Indians are the comic butts of an essentially farcical situation. An interest is shown in the careful delineation of the Indians' features, on the other hand, which indicates a further development in the satirical or comic representation of Native American peoples. Definite references to items of tribal origin are discernible on both figures whose darkened skin, anklets, bracelets and other body ornamentation illustrate figures of vague Eastern Woodlands association. Cruikshank has chosen to provide noticeable features of a certain tribal affiliation that show he was aware of the relationships the Iroquois (specifically Mohawk) tribes had with the colonial interests in New York. The nearest figure to the viewer wears his hair according to

the by now caricatured fashion with a shaved scalp and a single strand of hair left on the crown of his head. This kind of figure would be recognizable to viewers in this period who had been presented with actual Native American visitors to Europe and their depictions as provided by prints and portraiture. Thus, the image of an Iroquois leader in distinctive accoutrement became the visual identikit for any Native American figure thought to have inhabited the north eastern United States at this time.

That Cruikshank should choose to employ a characterized Iroquois figure in his work is explained in part by this visual dimension, for his satire would have to contain recognizable features. He would have been aware of the precedents to his work and would have been at pains to make a visual reference to them in order to create the punishing and sarcastic tone essential to his subject. These figures are clearly cartoon-like for they act in an exaggerated manner; their eyes literally bulging from their sockets and their forms drawn in a soft, rounded style. All the figures here are shortened or miniaturized in that method of illustrative drawing which was coming into its own by mid-century. On the continent, Gustave Doré would employ a similar Woodlands figure for his cartoon of 1848 entitled Voici! Hosannah! Les Osanores! (Plate 102) Here the features of the Indian are even more stylized as the Indian brave's eyes seem to glare with unblinking control. The exaggerated stance and sharp actions of the limbs in this figure in Doré's print give evidence of the now truly comic role the Native American could play in graphic works. A tradition of representation that had begun with emblematic allegory had descended by the mid-nineteenth century into the bathetic caricature of cruelty and buffoonery which Doré employed.

Notes -

1. Some of the political prints appeared in the form of a rebus and therefore exhibited most clearly this relationship of image to a narrative or text in need of deciphering. M. Dorothy George, English Political Caricature to 1792: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda, Oxford, 1959, p.8.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. Elizabeth McClung-Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765 - 1783," Winterthur, Portfolio II, 1965, p.66.
4. The shop windows were a place where items could be displayed without charging the usual entrance fee. Inside, "the usual price was 6d. for plain and 1s. for coloured prints," from F.D. Klingender, (ed.), Hogarth and English Caricature, first pub. 1944, reprinted London, 1945, 1946, p. iii.
5. Peter D.G. Thomas, The American Revolution. The English Satirical Print 1600 - 1832, Cambridge, 1986. I have followed Thomas in citing the British Museum catalogue number for each of the prints discussed in this chapter that are also listed in the catalogue, hereafter referred to as BMC.
6. Secondary sources pertaining to decorative items include R.J. Charleston (ed.), World Ceramics - An Illustrated History, (New York, 1968), p. 253 where there is a discussion of Plymouth porcelain; "Les Incas" by Dufour and Leroy (1826) is illustrated in Charles C. Oman and Jean Hamilton, Wallpapers - A History and Illustrated Catalogue of the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1982, p. 213; "Apotheosis of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington" (c. 1785) is shown in Florence M. Montgomery, Printed Textiles - English and American Cottons and Linens, 1700-1850, London, 1970, p. 280; Heraldic Arms are in Geoffrey Briggs, ed. and compiled by, Civic and Corporate Heraldry, London, 1971, p. 145; Medals are discussed and illustrated in Christopher Eimer, British Commemorative Medals, London, 1987, p. 100; Trading tokens are listed in R. H. Thompson, the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (31) Norweb collection, Tokens of the British Isles, 1575 - 1750 (Part I - Bedfordshire to Devon), London, 1984, see Plate XXVIII, no. 663.
7. While certain Native American groups came to England during the eighteenth-century, relatively few members of the public would have seen them. These visitors tended to remain mostly among the colonial interest groups who had sponsored their trips. In addition there were some cases where certain Native American groups were "exhibited" as can be shown in the published advertisements of the time. Carolyn T. Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493 - 1938, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1943.
8. Elizabeth McClung-Fleming, op. cit. and the same author's article "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess," Winterthur, Portfolio III, 1967, pp. 37-66.
9. Herbert M. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics, Oxford, 1974, pp. 260-1.
10. Conventionally, the central figure of Hercules must make a choice

between a life of virtue or a life of vice as represented by the figures of goddesses of their respective worlds. The appropriateness of this subject for serious history painting is discussed in Lord Shaftesbury, Treatise VII, Characteristicks, III, London, 1714.

11. In the section of William Smith's Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians (Philadelphia, 1765) which was composed by Thomas Hutchins it states that "the love of liberty is innate in the savage; and seems the ruling passion in the state of nature." As quoted in Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600 - 1860; Middletown, 1973, p. 233.

12. One puzzling aspect of America's adornment at this time seen in many of the political prints is the criss-cross pattern placed on the skirt tied about the figure of America. This pattern (a plaid?) may be a contemporary allusion to the "Scotch" government of George III who it was felt had been too easily influenced by Scottish ministers like Lord Bute. In the language of the political satirists, America has come under Scottish control. See M. Dorothy George, op. cit., pp. 123-5.

13. E. McClung-Fleming, "The American Image..," op. cit., p. 71.

14. For a discussion of the mother-daughter analogy to America's and Britain's relationship as shown in the political prints see ibid., p. 74.

15. For a discussion of this theme in the context of the Revolutionary War in America see Robert Lawson-Peebles, Landscape and Written Expression in Revolutionary America, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 29-31.

16. E. McClung-Fleming, "From Indian Princess...", op. cit., pp. 37-66.

17. Ibid., pp. 38-9.

18. For example, the speech of Native Americans is often portrayed as simple, unadorned and child-like, either due to their lack of understanding the English language or to the idea that their culture was itself simple, pure and primitive. See various extracts of contemporary accounts of Native American culture in Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., The Indian and the White Man, New York, 1964; also W.P. Cumming, et. al., The Exploration of North America, 1630-1776, London, 1974.

19. For a discussion of this print in relation to sympathetic feeling in France see Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land: European Images of America for the Discoveries to the Present Time, New York, 1976, pp. 146-7.

20. In a print of 1765, The State of the Nation (BMC 4130), and in The Deplorable State (1766), there are details on the Indian figures' costumes which give an indication of Native American practices. For instance, particularly in the former print, the Native American's skirt seems made up of skins or pelts. To some degree the same is true of the figure in The Deplorable State.

21. Jack M. Sosin, "The Use of Indians in the War of the American Revolution: A Re-Assessment of Responsibility," first pub. 1965, abridged version in Roger Nichols and George R. Adams, eds., The American Indian: Past and Present, Waltham and Toronto, 1971, pp. 96-110.

22. The Indian figure's head and face may be a portrait or likeness of a contemporary political figure or, more likely, could be derived from painted portraits of actual visiting Native American men, such as the Cherokee delegation of 1762. Foreman, op. cit., pp. 65-81.

23. See the discussion of actual events in the Wyoming Valley in 1778 and the spread of stories of atrocity in Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, first pub. 1969, New York, 1972, pp. 137-9.

24. E. Dudley and M.E. Novak, eds., The Wild Man Within: An Image in

Western Thought for the Renaissance to Romanticism, Pittsburgh, 1972.

25. Atherton, op. cit.

26. See entry for Rowlandson in Hans Hammelmann, Book Illustrators in Eighteenth-century England, (edited by T.S.R. Boase), New Haven and London, 1975, p.66. The artist illustrated an edition of Smollett's Novels in 1791.

27. Diedrich Knickerbocker [Washington Irving], A History of New York From the Beginning of the World to the end of the Dutch Dynasty, new ed., London, 1839, pp. 63-4.

28. See an extract from Robert Roger's play Ponteach: Or the Savages of America; A Tragedy, London, 1765 as quoted in Wilbur R. Jacobs, Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier, Norman, 1985, pp. 38-9.

Chapter Five - From Cannassatego to Outalissi: The Indian in
Imaginative Literature

Although the character of an 'American Indian' appeared in the novel during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with little regularity, some examples can be explored along with their concomitant illustrations to serve as indicators of the general tendency to present the Native American in characteristic ways. So too, illustrations made in conjunction with the poetry of this period can be discussed and analysed in terms of their contribution to the development of a visual and literary stereotype of the Native American figure.

Despite the irregular appearance of the Native American in prose fiction of this period, it is important to note that the use made by writers of this figure was more inventive and embraced more aspects of Native American culture than similar representations on the stage. The early study of this subject by Bissell mentions or fully discusses at least sixteen different instances of the treatment of Native American themes and/or characters in the English novel during the eighteenth-century alone.¹ I have chosen only a small number of these examples for discussion as there were only a few cases where illustration forms a major element in the production of the book. However, even in this limited context, with different artists working on different editions of the same text, the various interpretations of any given illustration grow into such an extensive body of material that any hope of a complete survey is precluded. With this in mind, the examples chosen will demonstrate in a precise manner the kinds of visual distinctions which were generally made by artists at this time and the artistic methods they employed in developing an illustration of a character in the text.

A novel of the mid-1750's which was illustrated later in the century was Dr. John Shebbeare's Lydia, or Filial Piety (1755). It was

republished in 1786 in The Novelist's Magazine Vol. XXI with three plates by the prolific illustrator, Richard Corbould. Of these illustrations, one in particular pertains to the Indian character, Cannassatego, his love-mate Yarico, and their relationship to their woodland home. (Plate 103) The plot of Lydia involves several changes of location and a visit to Europe by the Indian figure, Cannassatego, much in the manner of the earlier satirical treatments involving the visits of Native Americans to London.² The description of the opening chapter of the novel is worth noting:

"Strange folks in strange lands. Patriotism, heroism, dying, loving, sentiment and generosity, all amongst Indians in America."³

This novel seems to have been unique in that so much emphasis and time is given over to actual descriptions and the character development of the Native American figures. It draws on several traditions in the literary and fictional representations of American Indian figures for, as mentioned above, it uses the same application of the moral dialectic advanced in the satirical essays and tracts; and it retains the idea of an ideal female equivalent to the Native man in the Yarico/Imoinda/Cora character. Also it makes use of certain historicisms in its setting of the story amongst the "Great League" of the Five Nations of Iroquois of which Cannassatego is an important member. This causes readers to place an historical expectation on the fiction itself as the Five Nations entered English literature in the chronicles of Cadwallader Colden in his book The History of the Five Nations (published 1727 and 1747). Similarly, there is mention of a real 'Canassateego' in Colden's account who delivered an oration to a gathered assembly in 1742.⁴

However, Lydia's connection with older types of literary creations stops here in that the character of Cannassatego is no longer subsidiary

to the European characters, his "speech" is given a context apart from oratory and he is allowed to develop his own personal narrative within the body of the work. His story is as follows:

"Cannassatego has heard accounts of former times, before the invaders reached their shores, and now determines to free his nation from the servitude they endure. He sees his people yielding to the vices of the despised European. 'He beheld the Indian Chiefs wrapt in European manufactures, as men bearing the badge of slavery. He detested the day which brought them that intoxicating fluid which had enervated their former strength and ancient valour.' He has heard of the virtues of the English across the water, and thinks he has perhaps thus far seen only their banished criminals. He has therefore learned the language of the English, in order to go to England, and lay before the great King the wrongs endured by his people."⁵

An important factor in Cannassatego's character is that he has learned to speak English, much like "Ulamar" in John Dennis' play Liberty Asserted (1704). This trait qualifies his person to the extent that he will now be intelligible to the rest of the European characters. It is this Europeanization of his character which presents him in a more favourable light to the readers of this text as it also makes him a character with whom one can sympathize. In other words, it has made possible the association of one's own perceptions with those of the main male character. Historically, too, there had been several Native American men acting as representatives of certain tribal factions who had come to Europe, had spoken through interpreters or had spoken in English and had created a sensation in social circles which spread to the popular imagination.⁶

The association of one's own beliefs with those of the central character, Cannassatego is carried through into the illustration of the book as it appeared in the edition of 1786. In Corbould's plate entitled "Lydia" (Plate 103), the artist has depicted the reunion of Cannassatego with his beloved Yarico (and their faithful dog) amongst

tall pine trees and a high mountain range in the background. Cannassatego has returned to his tribe and way of life in America in an absolute rejection of the lifestyle he encountered in England. This single illustration acts as a leitmotif for the novel in that Cannassatego and his way of life remain unchanged from the beginning of the novel to the end. Hence, it underlines the conclusion that the proper order of things, the most natural solution to the story, is one of man surrounded by the most simple pleasures, his wife, his dog and the uncultivated scenery of the woodland environment.

In choosing such a theme for illustration Corbould has capitalized on the novel's strong sense of the pre-eminence of the Indian figures throughout the story. He has also chosen to describe them in a more sentimental manner, at the height of emotional sensation on Cannassatego's return. Satirized encounters of Cannassatego with English customs and vices, such as the meeting with Lady Overstay, which have a comical tone did not merit this emphasis. Thus, in figurative terms alone, the seriousness of Cannassatego's contact with and rejection of English ways remains untarnished by hilarity or satire. It is a strong visual statement within the text that the Indian characters are depicted in harmony with their environment, as comfortable in their "rude" shelter of pine trees as would be the ladies of European society in their salons and drawing rooms.

The reader's identification with the plight of Cannassatego and Yarico is brought about in another way by the Indians' appearances. The precise delineation of the figures of Cannassatego and Yarico are of interest because their clothing and manner of dress show little evidence of actual reports or known likenesses of Native Americans executed before this period. It is not surprising at a date as early as 1755,

when the novel was first written, that familiarity with native adornment was minimal and insubstantial and that this unfamiliarity would be apparent in the literature. However, by 1786, the features and appearance of certain visiting personages to the courts of Europe would have been available to artists through the graphic media, which had capitalised on the popular interest in the Mohawk and Cherokee Indian.⁷ In spite of the existence of a current popular notion of what constituted a real Native American, illustrators such as Corbould seemed unsure of the construction of their figures. It is ironic and unfortunate for the figure of Cannassatego, that in devising the personage of the Indian Corbould has had to rely on references to classical antique tradition; for European culture was the very thing from which Cannassatego was trying to escape. The result of the use of antique terminology in the form of classical robes, Roman Imperial-looking garments and a Grecian-shaped helmet on the figure of Cannassatego, has been to translate the uncertainty of Native American adornment into a visually recognisable script. The relative simplicity of Native American dress as garnered from travel accounts,⁸ and thus available for use in depiction, has been transposed in Corbould's work into terms with which he was more familiar. That is, he translated "simplicity of dress" as something spare a l'Antique and thus connected the accounts of Native American adornment with his own European heritage in a form of chronological primitivism. In this way, the figures of Yarico and Cannassatego become quasi-ancestors to those who would be viewing the image and reading the text.

The illustration of Lydia was just one instance where novels detailing American scenes and their Native American inhabitants, were embellished with plates.⁹ The character of the Indian reached a measure

of popularity during the latter part of the century to judge from the number of titles which refer to certain tribes or from the number of Indian characters described in the sub-plots of certain novels, plays, operas, and poetry. Examples of the kinds of titles one might mention include an opera, The Cherokee by James Cobb (1795); two plays, The Basket-Maker and Catawba Travellers seen at Sadlers Wells (1797) and a play, The Indians by Dr. Richardson (1790).¹⁰ It became a fashionable device for novels set in America (or those in which some action took place there) to invariably include at least one character meant to be of tribal descent. Often this was done merely to add appropriate local colour to the scene.

For instance, in the work entitled Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea (1760 - 5) by Charles Johnstone, the far-flung travels of a Guinea coin are the excuse needed to bring in a discussion about the contact between white traders or Indian agents and their proteges, the Native Americans. In fact, an historical bent is given to this work in its undisguised allusion to an actual colonial administrator, Sir William Johnson (1715-1774). Johnson was superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Colonies from 1756 to 1774 and had attracted censure from many quarters due to his generosity towards and intimate relationships with the Iroquois and other Northern tribes. He had taken a Mohawk Indian woman as his common-law wife and, in turn, his opinions and advice carried weight among the Iroquois nations. In Chrysal where the light hearted tone sets the general mood, it is hard to view what the Indian agent (Johnson) says with anything more than slight amusement. Although the description of the Indian character is quite positive,

"They are our fellow creatures; and in general above our level, in the virtues which give real pre-eminence, however despicably we speak of, and injuriously we treat them;" ¹¹

it is coloured by the fact that Johnson has taken on the attributes of someone who has spent too much time in America with the Indians and is therefore an uncertain witness. He is bound to have a favourable opinion of those with whom he consorts and thus is no longer a true representative of the European civilization. Instead his characterization crosses the border into satire as he has supposedly debauched himself and others.

Smollett takes this tendency towards farce to an extreme when in his Humphrey Clinker (1771) he has the eccentric Captain Lismahago give his tale of captivity and torture by the Indians of North America to a group of relatives and admirers. In this picaresque novel the subject of the Native Americans' wartime practices is but a minor point within the entire work; however, the novel's construction aptly dissolves the notion of any verisimilitude within the traveller's tale. In it the horrors of captivity are given too much emphasis and described in harrowing detail as if the narrator could not possibly have witnessed such scenes himself. It is a parody of the captivity accounts, if one reads closely, and thus seeks to remind the reader that he or she is doubly removed from the actual scene under contemplation. We are listening to a survivor tell his gruesome tale to a roomful of drawing-room devotees; not looking on the scene as it might have actually taken place. It is important to note that even at such an early date as Humphrey Clinker there was some recognition that the tales of captivity were bordering on fiction and were therefore susceptible to improper interpretation if one took them at face value. Rowlandson's drawing of a male Indian brave disposing of his captive is perhaps meant to

illustrate Smollett's text. (Plate 100) In this unfinished drawing, a male semi-nude figure, wearing a topknot with feathers attached is shown dragging a victim along the ground. A slightly facetious note is sounded by the inclusion of a family group who appear to be awaiting their victuals.

In the nineteenth-century novels a change occurs in the characterization of the Native American which influences the ways in which Native American characters are illustrated and in the subject-matter chosen for illustration. Popular American novels such as James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans (1822-4) were published in Europe and thus were influential in determining European attitudes to the Native American. The powerful and dangerous kind of Indian figure found in this novel was taken up by certain illustrators who often chose to depict the cruel denouement of the character of Cora Munro as part of their treatment of the novel's themes. The sacrificial quality of her death links in some way to the earlier South American-inspired dramas where sacrifice was more overtly accepted as a part of Mexican or Peruvian culture.¹² Here ritual barbarity is more subtly presented and exists as a sort of sub-text to the overall action of the novel. Graphic illustrators were not the only artists to take up such themes. In fact, a scene of the dramatic death of a young white woman at the hands of Native American males had entered history painting before The Last of the Mohicans was written. John Vanderlyn's The Death of Jane MacCrea (1804)(Plate 104) was based on a sensationalized real-life event that had occurred during the Revolutionary Wars. Jane MacCrea and her family were part of a loyalist camp whose outpost was destroyed by rebel scouts in 1776.¹³ As Indian peoples were said to have taken part in this raid and as Jane perished at the hands of her 'escorts', this

became translated in Vanderlyn's picture into the cruel entrapment of the lone woman by two strong male figures. The picture was well received, as it drew on growing remorse for the cruelties perpetrated by both sides during the conflicts in the War of Independence.

The illustrators of Fenimore Cooper may or may not have been aware of Vanderlyn's picture before their work was executed but it seems more than just a coincidence that "surprisingly similar version(s) of the murder scene"¹⁴ appear in a variety of artists' work after the date of the painting. In the 1828 Paris edition of James Fenimore Cooper's Oeuvres Completes, Alfred Johannot, created a title-page vignette that shows the figure of Cora on bended knee about to receive the fatal blow from the hand of Magua who is standing above her and carries an oversized dagger. A small Indian figure in the background approaching the scene is the figure of Uncas who has arrived too late to save her. (Plate 105) The scene of the death of Cora seems to have been treated sporadically by other artists who chose to illustrate this work.¹⁵

In like manner, the capture of the sisters was illustrated frequently as it was part of the eventual demise of some of the main characters. Tony Johannot, Alfred's brother, created a plate which depicts this scene with dramatic intensity.(Plate 106) The Mohawk character, Magua, is shown in detail here (his face was obscured in the previously discussed vignette) and his visage is truly demonic. He seems to tower above both the female figures as he grasps the arm of Cora intending to drag her away from the sister who has fainted. Both illustrations by the Johannot brothers are expertly conceived for the struggle between the innocent forces of the women who are always shown in long flowing, white gowns is contrasted starkly with the nude, muscular, dark strength of the Indian male. The figures in the action,

be it the capture or death of Cora, are linked visually by the dagger or thrusting arm given to the Indian figure. This creates a dramatic tension within the works of illustration which is not only titillating but of interest in terms of compositional dynamics.

Another graphic production of this period speaks of the ubiquity of certain horrifying themes in graphic representations of the Native American figure during this period. A plate included in the 1807 edition of Joel Barlow's Columbiad is a reworked version of the Vanderlyn painting discussed above. The artist who created this illustration, Robert Smirke, was English although this publication appeared in Philadelphia. In this plate, entitled The Murder of Lucinda (Plate 107), two Indian males are shown standing above a kneeling figure of an English woman who wears a long white dress.¹⁶ It is a direct reference to Jane MacCrea's murder and in a larger sense alludes to the atrocities carried out during Revolutionary wartime. It is part of the poet's creation of a "vision" of Columbus who sees the coming strife which will take place in America as a result of his discoveries.

In a poem which was inspired by Barlow's Columbiad, Samuel Rogers takes up the theme of Columbus's voyages and aggrandizes the themes of discovery and conquest, making them appear almost Homeric. His Voyage of Columbus (1812) was eventually illustrated by J.M.W. Turner for the edition of Rogers' Works which was published in 1834.¹⁷ (Plate 108) (Thomas Stothard had created small vignettes and tail-pieces for an edition of 1827 which were also included in the 1834 volume.¹⁸) Turner chose to illustrate that part of the poem which makes allusion to the coming struggles: Columbus's vision of the Conquest of America. In this illustration only a tenuous identification of the figure of a Native American warrior can be discerned in the cloud-strewn skies above the

tiny ship that carries Columbus and his crew. In effect, the "spirit" in the heavens can be read as the Native American resistance to Conquest, symbolic of their presence as first inhabitants of the American continent, but not as a graphic depiction of the Native American visage. One of Stothard's vignettes depicts the figure of Cora, an Indian maiden described in the poem. (Plate 109) She is shown in a lively pose wearing long, flowing drapery belted at the waist. Her features do not appear particularly Native American and it is assumed that the artist was hoping here to portray the essence of her character as given in the poem.¹⁹ Her classical garments and Europeanized features are of interest, though, as they betray the artist's sympathies with the classical antique traditions. It seems that the quality of the epic style in poetry has given the artist cause to assume a sort of classicism in his own work.

Cora is a character in the literature about the Native American with quite an extensive history. To be succinct, one could merely add that the popularity of the Cora theme in most of the South American-inspired plays, novels and poetry which dealt with the Spanish conquest of Native American lands in both Mexico and Peru extended from the eighteenth century fascination with these themes and was largely a result of Marmontel's Les Incas first published in 1771.²⁰ In Marmontel's work, Cora, a virgin, is enamoured of a Spanish officer, Alonzo. Their love affair was doomed from the beginning as the cultural groups from which each of the lovers had come were seen as irreconcilable. Having the attraction of a Peruvian Romeo and Juliet, this story was adapted for the theatre in Kotzebue's Die Sonnenjungfrau (1788) and in an English version by R.B. Sheridan called Pizarro (1799). (See Chapter 3).

The Cora and Alonzo love story was also treated frequently in the

medium of poetry where verse could give free reign to romantic descriptions of the beauty of the heroine, her many charms, the landscape and the simplicity of its inhabitants, etc. Helen Maria Williams' Peru (1784) was illustrated in a delicately worked stipple engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi (after a drawing by Henry Ramberg) dated 1789.²¹ (Plate 110) From Canto 6, this scene, entitled "The Death of Cora", reveals the heroine near Rolla's cave just as he has returned, bringing back the infant which she bore to Alonzo. Slumped in a swoon, Cora's emotions are heightened by the dramatic scenery and ragged cliffside near the Cave which surrounds her. The courageous look which she gives Rolla also adds to the intensity of the moment and gives the work an aura of the heroic.

Predictably, the costumes of Cora and Rolla are highly stylized and are essentially based on classical precedents. While Cora's costume in this plate has some ornamentation that approximates, in generalized terms, Native American beadwork (seen in the tassellated neckline and bodice of her dress), Rolla's clothes are entirely an invention. His tight-fitting helmet with long feathers attached and the brocaded trousers he wears are more in keeping with the idea of a sixteenth-century conquistador than a Native American warrior. In fact, the supposed Native American dress in this plate is a blend of elements which have more connection with the theatrical presentation of these themes than any real Native American method of adornment.²² The heroism of their actions has required that the artist present the figures in classical terminology; both have high foreheads and long grecian noses in keeping with images of antique sculpture. Anatomically, Rolla looks Michelangelesque with large calves and huge limbs somewhat in the manner of the circle of artists centred around Fuseli at this time.²³

Again it seems that the artists who illustrated works of poetry in the epic style were influenced by that style and thus chose to depict their subjects in a manner which heroized them and aligned them with classical prototypes. One could easily read the "death of Cora" as a vaguely exotic equivalent of such classical themes as Niobe and her daughters or the Laocoon group where the subject-matter included the deaths of parents or their offspring in a dramatic way.

The appeal of Cora's story lies not only in the intense sentimentalism of her fate but also in the great changes and upheavals of her traditional culture that she was instrumental in bringing about.²⁴ It is evident in the poetry and prose under discussion that the grandness of its themes, ie. great voyages of discovery and epic battles of conquest have become linked in some ways with the older theatrical productions of the Restoration period, such as Dryden's Indian Emperor (1665) or Dryden and Howard's The Indian Queen (1664). Heroic themes developed in poetry, like drama, tended to concern themselves with characters and plots that were considered significant to Europeans and, even where the subject matter was new, relied on formal devices and characterisation that stemmed from the European literary tradition. Equally, the writers of these American-inspired productions were frequently seeking to locate their subject within a wider sphere of significance; either by stressing the "eternally valid" truths of human character and human action irrespective of the particular mise-en-scene or by using the American subject matter to comment obliquely on recent European developments. While viewing a stage play or reading a poem the audience was not only asked to enjoy the exotic detail and distant location of events, they were also expected and required to relate the work to more familiar experience.²⁵ That is, elements of upheaval and

change such as the Incas' defeat by Pizarro could be understood as another instance of the fall of Empire or regarded as thinly disguised allusions to the changes brought about by the Revolutions in France and America during the late eighteenth-century. In the case of the Columbus themes, the discoveries of the Americas were seen as the initiators of an historical process which led to eventual destruction of vast Empires (Incan and Aztec). It was from this process, then thought to be evolutionary in form, that the interest in Columbus's voyages stemmed. Like the earlier Peruvian dramas, the ideas of change through revolution touched audiences who felt their own lives being directed by certain unseen, inexplicable and overwhelming historical forces. The Native American figure in this instance becomes less and less an important factor in the overall picture; for, if a process which sees the destruction of his ways is also shown to be inevitable, historical, etc., then it is easier to dismiss his claims to be seen and adequately understood. Denying his existence in another manner, the illustrations to these themes of conquest did very little to promote the idea of the Indian's distinctive ethnic qualities. Instead, much of what was achieved by the graphic representation of this character was simply the heroizing of his features and the classicizing of his dress. While this may have helped link the American peoples to the Course of Empire theme, it inevitably fostered a false identification of American history with European history, whose familiar pattern was imposed on a quite different reality.

The denial of the Native American as an individual to be recognized and represented occurred on a more intimate personal scale with the theme of Indian figures who were the last of their kind. The popularity of this topic was a result of the attention that cultures

long disappeared in Mexico and Peru had received. Poetry, in the forms of Indian songs, chants and dirges appeared with some frequency throughout the last half of the eighteenth-century and into the nineteenth. In fact, one aspect in particular received attention to a great extent in poetry and this was the subject of the "dying" Indian.²⁶ Sometimes expressed as the "death song" of an American Indian or as the dying Indian's plea to his captors, or tormentors, this subject revealed a wider interest in Native American religious practices as they related to a sense of "primitive" ritual and how the dying and infirm were treated in a Native American society. All of these aspects appealed to the European notions of sensibility and stoicism under duress. Europeans would have viewed such practices as simple, original and rigorous and therefore closer to the methods used by their own ancient forefathers.

It should be kept in mind that similar themes concerning the Native American attitudes to death and dying not only entered poetry but also appeared on the stage, in the novel, in painting and in various tracts in the travel literature genre. One could say that it was an area of interest that exceeded the boundaries of mere ethnographic or historical relevance, the methods and type of medium in which it was elucidated or the American Indian figure in and of himself. It was a theme that touched on the notion of filial commitment and loyalty to one's home and fatherland which was so important in an age of great change. In pictorial terms the illustration of the forsaken Indian figure entered genre painting as early as 1784-5 in Joseph Wright of Derby's The Indian Widow. (Plate 167) The artist probably based the subject of his picture on an account in the travel literature which had discussed the woman's devotion to her spouse,²⁷ but his treatment is once again classicizing as one can see from the pose of the figure, which is based on neo-

classical ideals of the weeping or mourning figure found in monumental sculpture.²⁸ (Plate 111) Of more interest in this chapter on the illustration of fictional texts are the related graphic works which extended from or were a part of the general artistic interest in qualities such as filial devotion and/or stoic restraint in the face of misery and death. Witness such works as the Dalziel brothers illustration to William Lisle Bowles' The Home of the Old Indian (1857) (Plate 112) which shows the innocent children of an Indian "warrior" playing peacefully in a wooded grove.²⁹ The image of a child or the attributes attached to childhood were just one more aspect of the tendencies towards primitivism during the last half of the eighteenth-century and well into the Romantic period.

Likewise, the interest in Native American methods of burial and mourning was stimulated by a Romantic concern with the idea of a natural religion and related in a larger way to the question of the Native American's religion or belief in an afterlife. Again, notions of how Native Americans treated the ill, the dying and deceased and the aged had been a part of many of the travel accounts. For instance, in Jonathan Carver's Travels the author tells of the practice in some tribes of the Northeast and Great Lakes areas of placing the dead on a bier or raised platform:

"I observed that she went almost every evening to the foot of the tree, on a branch of which the bodies of her husband and child were laid..."³⁰

A few years later Wordsworth wrote a short poem concerning the treatment by the "Northern" Indian tribes of those who were infirm and could not keep up with the tribes' wanderings. Called The Complaint of A Forsaken Indian Woman (1798), the idea and subject-matter was culled from Samuel

Hearne's account of his travels, Journey From Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean published in 1795,³¹ and acknowledged by the poet in a short footnote. In this poem the dying figure seems to experience the heavens as a great force but does not directly address God:

"In sleep I heard the northern gleams;
The stars, they were among my dreams;
In rustling conflict through the skies,
I heard, I saw the flashes drive...."³²

Wordsworth, taking from the Hearne text the description of the "crackling" of the Northern lights, has embellished the scientific aspect of the phenomenon and made it into a treatise about Nature's divine forces. To some extent this notion was expressed previously in poetry by Alexander Pope in his Essay on Man written 1730 - 32:

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul proud Science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk, or milky way;
Yet simple Nature to his hope has giv'n,
Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n;"³³

Both of these poets have made an association between a Native American belief system and the idea of nature worship which is gauged in terms of European notions and sensibilities and not according to a true understanding of Native American mythology.

A small watercolour drawing by Thomas Stothard is likely to be an illustration of these lines quoted from Pope's Essay on Man. Delicately drawn and of a size in keeping with book illustration, the drawing was reproduced as an engraving by James Parker in 1797. Thus, Stothard would have conceived of this work sometime in the 1790's at a time when Indian subjects of this type were reaching a height of popularity.³⁴ (Plate 113) In the drawing, the figure of a male Indian, perhaps a brave, is shown reclining, his head and neck are being supported from behind by

the figure of Hope who extends her arm to point to the distant setting sun and drifting clouds. Stothard's figure of the male warrior is mostly unclothed with a small blanket draped across his legs. Underneath one arm, sits his small dog and to his left are the implements he must have taken into battle, his tomahawk and lance. Of interest though is the detailed presentation of his person. His scalp appears to be bare except for a single top-knot of hair, his shoulders have markings or tatooes and he wears a strap across his chest and a knife case around his neck. The knife case and strap are a close approximation of the style seen on the Townshend Monument figures (1761) but also shown in Carver's Travels (1775) in the plate entitled "Man and Woman of the Ottigaumies", and in a plate illustrating Bankes' New System of Geography (1787).(Plates 130,132 and 139) It seems likely that Stothard may have borrowed these costume details from either source to add ethnographic detail and interest to his work. However, in doing so, he has carried on the same representational pattern of the earlier artists and so maintained a specific iconography within a generalised context. This reverses the normal procedure of arbitrary combination of discrete details to signify "Indian" and gives at least a semblance of authenticity to his figure.

Another poem entailing themes of the passing of a tribe or last Indian which received great attention after its publication in 1809 was Thomas Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming. There are two separate editions of Campbell's Works in existence for which engravings were created and both of these include depictions of the American Indian character, Outalissi, from Gertrude of Wyoming. In the edition of 1822, two steel-engraved plates were designed by the artist, Richard Westall. Both scenes relate to important meetings between the major characters in

the poem. The first plate (and title page) depicts the introduction of Henry Waldegrave and Outalissi to his protector Albert and Albert's daughter, Gertrude. (Plate 114) Henry has been orphaned in a recent battle on the frontier, and the Indian Chief who found him in a tree has brought the boy into the care of settlers of European descent, the closest "relations" to the boy in the area. In the second plate, the scene depicted occurs later in Albert's and Gertrude's lives, after the children have grown into adulthood. Outalissi returns to the now reunited family to warn them of a coming raid and while doing so is recognised by the whites as the Indian who had brought Henry to safety all those years ago. (Plate 115) This second scene is portrayed in a distinctive manner in that the characters appear against a long flat expanse of wall in a frieze-like composition. The area around the figures is simplified, stripped of detail, and the chair on which the figure of Outalissi sits is described more like a throne that has been carved out of a single block of stone rather than the more contemporary pieces of furniture that appear in the title-page. In fact, Outalissi's draped garments in this second plate give him the appearance of a Roman senator rather than that of an aged chieftain of the "Oneyda" tribe.

The qualification of the American Indian figure is perhaps nowhere so profound as in this small plate and it occurs for a variety of reasons. First of all, this scene is itself part of the general theme which permeates the poem and has to do with the devotion of children to their parents or protectors; as a result Outalissi is almost co-opted into white frontier society as a benevolent guardian of the family. Westall's non-specific treatment of the figure helps blur the distinguishing ethnic traits that *might* make this co-option problematic. Secondly, Outalissi's facial expression in Westall's interpretation of

the text represents an intensity of feeling which is not betrayed by the exterior features of the face. Stoicism like this had been identified as a classical virtue and championed by neo-classical theorists as an essential quality in noble behaviour and the greatest art. Westall's image seems to owe allegiance to Grand Style history painting in its declamatory gestures, frieze-like composition and simplicity of presentation. Indeed, the contrast between the style of the frontispiece and this second plate signifies the difference between sentimental genre and history painting proper. Westall's decision to depict his characters in a style which approximates the serious tone of history painting (giving his work a certain gravitas in consequence) might seem inappropriate for Campbell's poem, but the actions of the figures in this case have more profound meaning as they are caught up in events which have historical significance.

Campbell sought to give a historical context to his poem and based it on an incident that had occurred in the American Revolutionary War, a battle in 1778 known as the "Wyoming Valley incident", (sometimes "massacre"). The literary treatment of an event that has already been sensationalized creates even more resonance within its readers, for while the characters speak in stylized poetic tones, their actions are carved in history and therefore regarded as unchangeable facts. Indeed, in the preface to this edition of Campbell's poems, the author includes a brief explanation of the events present in Gertrude, stating in its 'advertisement' that "the Scenery and Incidents of the following Poem are connected with ... the desolation of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, which took place in 1778, by an incursion of Indians."³⁵ and goes on to state that the area of Wyoming was "one of the happiest spots of human existence" and that in "an evil hour, the junction of European with

Indian arms converted this terrestrial paradise into a frightful waste."³⁶ The account of this incident, it is stated, was taken from Isaac Weld's Travels in the Interior Parts of America (1796).

It seems as though the incident has been stretched beyond its mere factual proportions in this case;³⁷ the author perhaps seizing on the tragedy and embellishing the events in order to create the epic proportions necessary for his poetical treatment of the subject. In a way, the aggrandizement of the theme of Gertrude has affected its illustrator, for Westall submits the second scene to the rigours of neo-classical treatment and therefore makes an artistic comment on the 'historicity' of the subject. By subjecting his material to a style which can only be thought of in serious terms, he has made a drama out of an incident which might have occurred regularly on the frontier during this period.

The implications of this procedure for the figure of Outalissi are complicated. In this work he has now become almost entirely subsumed within a Europeanized vision, for he appears in the illustrations in an antique Roman robe or chiton rather than as a Native American with distinctive tribal adornment. He therefore is no longer viewed as a complete and separate entity from the other characters. As reinforcement, this illustration refers to events occurring later in the poem where Outalissi has become a person without a home or family. His past had been completely cut away from him by historic events.

"All perish'd ! - I alone am left on earth!
To whom no relative nor blood remains,
No! - not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!"³⁸

Mimicking the speech of Chief Logan that had been popularized by Thomas Jefferson,³⁹ the effect of this poem's storyline is to allow the character of Outalissi to become synthesized into an ancient healer of

wrongs, a long lost parent of the boy, Henry, and a friend to the European settlers whom he warns of the impending disaster. Any connection which he might once have had with the "curs'd" Mohawks about to descend on the Wyoming Valley has been ameliorated by the regeneration of his character into an antique forefather to the helpless white settlers.⁴⁰

It is unlikely that the artist, Richard Westall, ever had a chance to observe actual Native Americans nor did he ever travel to the Americas where he might have seen Indians living on their own land. It is fair, then, to conclude that the creation of his figure of Outalissi comes almost entirely from his imagination. Campbell, too, would have found it difficult to observe actual Native American peoples unless they came to England; however, as he gives frequent documentation of the facts of his poem perhaps he hoped to make amends for this lack of visual experience by attesting to his knowledge of the literature of travel.⁴¹ In fact, the name 'Outalissi' may have some basis in the real-life personage of Outacite, who visited England in 1762 and whose image proliferated via the graphic medium in a number of portrait prints and engravings.⁴² (Plate 116) In any case, the source for the delineation of Outalissi in the illustrations made immediately after the publication of Gertrude remains elusive.

An interesting embellishment of the Gertrude theme occurs earlier, however, when the subject is taken up by the artists of the Sketching Society in 1810, a year after the poem's publication.⁴³ Each artist, while following a specific part of the text and being given some notion of how the scene should be worked up (thus giving the drawings several points in common), has also brought to it his own methods of working, stylistic idiosyncrasies and interests in landscape

depiction.⁴⁴ This is a case where imaginative art has chosen to involve itself with a theme that will also be treated by more popular art forms such as engraving. Gertrude of Wyoming is significant for the Sketching Society not because of its tragic episodes but because of the descriptions of the Wyoming landscape which set the stage for the enactment of its general themes. One must keep in mind that the original name for the Sketching Society was the more specific "Society for the Study of Epic and Pastoral Design". Hence, its choice of subjects and its entire rationale resides in attitudes to landscape depiction which were only then finding recent elucidation in various treatises of the period, such as Turner's Liber Studiorum (1807 onwards).

Four watercolour studies from the meeting in 1810 are in existence and all of these depict a similar scene within the story. (Plates 117, 118, 119 and 120) The studies by Henry P. Bone, Alfred Chalon, Francis Stevens, and Cornelius Varley relate to the episode in Gertrude where the orphan, Henry Waldegrave, is brought to the house of Albert by the Indian figure, Outalissi. What seems clear from each artist's version of this key episode is that the placement of the figures adopts a similar configuration within the scene, with the Indian and the boy standing in a group away from the girl and her father. Also, each study shows the Indian man physically linked to the boy in the placing of his hand upon the boy's head. These elements are directly derived from the text and reveal the descriptive specificity of Campbell's verse. It is in those descriptive areas less firmly focused that we find the artists' imaginative interpretation of the text; and here, where specific detail about Outalissi might have helped, Campbell is reticent. The four responses to this problem are revealing. In spite of a certain

consistency in the overall composition of these works, we can see that each artist has created his own Indian figure. As one proceeds from sketch to sketch one is aware that each painter sought to create his own vision of the Wyoming landscape. What has occurred in the case of the Sketching Society is that the ethnographic content of the figure of Outalissi has become subsumed within a European landscape tradition; a tradition which cannot allow the Indian to be seen as an inhabitant of an environment that is completely alien to the European observers. In this instance the placement of the Indian man within a Europeanized vision of landscape causes an uneasy confusion in the elucidation of his character. This confusion is emphasized by the appearance of classicized individuals in long robes (in the case of Varley's drawing) and what look like the pillars of a temple.(Plate 117) In Chalon's sketch the father and his daughter have taken on the look of Southern Colonial plantation owners with broadleaf palms in the forest background. Quotations from the poem might substantiate this visual confusion, in that references are made in the text to "savannahs", colourful birds and their plumage; while at the same time mention is made of a more pastoral vision of "shepherd swains", "sunny mountains" and "running brook(s)."⁴⁵ (Plate 118)

The part of the poem to which the watercolour drawings make particular reference is Part I - cantos XIII and XIV:

"And summer was the tide, and sweet the hour
When sire and daughter, saw with fleet descent,
An Indian from his bark approach their bower,
Of buskin'd limb, and swarthy lineament;
The red wild feathers of his brow were blent,
And bracelets bound the arm that helped to light
A boy, who seem'd, as he beside him went
Of Christian vesture, and complexion bright,
Led by his dusky guide, like morning brought by night."

The positions of the figures are explained in the next stanza.

"When, leaning on his forest-bow unstrung,
Th' Oneyda warrior to the planter said,
And laid his hand upon the stripling's head,..."⁴⁶

A literal interpretation of the scene recounted above has been given by each of the artists but the background detail and the figures themselves are all highly personalized in each of the drawings. Varley's figure of Outalissi (Plate 117) is of particular interest in this case as he actually shows the Indian wearing a decorated buckskin skirt and moccasins rather than feathered adornment.⁴⁷ The work of Chalon and Bone on the other hand emphasize this latter aspect as both of their Indian figures appear in feather skirts. (Plates 118, 119) (Stevens' work has emphasized the setting of the story and his figures are shown from a distant vantage point; hence, they are more generalized.) (Plate 120) Perhaps Chalon and Bone were thinking of a similar model or source for their Indian for Outalissi appears muscularly developed and has been given very heroic proportions. Superficially, the clothing of the two figures by Chalon and Bone seems to be derived from a drawing of a very early date made of imaginary Mexican Indians taking part in a triumphal procession in honour of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I. (1512-16) (Plate 33) It seems unlikely that such artists would have cause to draw from such an obscure source as this picture attributed to Altdorfer (or other artists working in the sixteenth century.) (Plate 121) What is more probable is that imagery taken from the descriptions in the poem, was embellished in the minds of the landscape artist and conflated with the older but now revived theatrical interest in the Peruvian dramas such as Sheridan's Pizarro. This has resulted in the appearance of the Oneyda, Outalissi, as an Aztec or Incan prince. The survival of the themes of heroic stature have lived on in the

delineation of American Indian figures who have nothing whatever to do with South American Indian culture.

Later illustrations of Gertrude of Wyoming, such as the work by William Harvey in the 1840 edition of Campbell's Poems, show a more detailed interest in the figure of Outalissi as an Oneyda (i.e., part of the Six Nations of the Iroquois.) He appears in Harvey's wood-engravings (Plates 122 and 123) as a tall, darkened, muscular figure who is not entirely out of proportion to the others, unlike his disproportionate stature in the Sketching Society watercolours. His attributes are a plucked scalp with feathers attached to his forelock, a short skirt draped from his waist, an earring in his right ear and a cape made of skins and tied and draped across one shoulder. On his feet are moccasins and leggings adorn his calves. Here he is no longer depicted with any reference made to the tribes of the South American continent for the artist has shown some knowledge of the manner in which North Eastern tribes of American had been occasionally depicted. Obviously, by this date the attribution of tribal association had gained in importance as a more "scientifically accurate" approach to the Native American was developing. Some artists, evidently, attempted to locate the Indian figure more appropriately than had their predecessors.

Harvey's work, to some extent, makes the same choice of episode for illustration as Westall, Varley, Chalon and the others. He does, in fact, include the same incidents as the earlier artists, but his treatment is not as startling in its effect for it is not the only scene which receives treatment. By this date the methods of graphic illustration had gone through several developments which made it possible and affordable to devise a number of illustrations for any given work. It thus gave artists more room to expand on any given

character and it was not necessary to crystallize the action within a single plate or drawing.⁴⁸

One scene in particular which had been treated by Westall in a highly neo-classical arrangement, gets treated by Harvey in a manner which has completely altered its effect and captures an entirely different mood. It is the episode where the Indian, Outalissi, has returned to warn Gertrude and her family of impending danger. Harvey has shown the family startled from the evening's rest around the fire by the expiring figure of Outalissi who falls to the floor at their feet. (Plate 122) The pose and distribution of this figure is not Harvey's invention. He has borrowed his figure of the wounded Outalissi from that of a dead Indian in a history picture by James Barry, The Death of General Wolfe (Plate 124) painted in 1775-6. Barry's picture would have been available to Harvey via intermediate engravings or he may have viewed the painting himself as it was located in England at this time. Harvey has created a different mood in his work from that of Westall by the extreme positioning of his Indian Figure who can no longer be labelled as stoical. It is the "fainting, loving and dying" aspect of the earlier sentimentalized novels based on the American Indian culture which seems to be at work in these illustrations. The morbid aspect of the poem is also portrayed more boldly in Harvey's work as he depicts both the dying embrace of the lovers, Gertrude and Henry, and the weeping figure of Henry over the grave of his lost Gertrude. (Plates 125 and 126) By the time these works were executed, romantic concerns had influenced the artist's decision as to which scenes were suitable for illustration. Harvey has now chosen to depict the more highly-charged, emotional scenes and not to focus upon the reticent nature of Outalissi's character.

I have dwelt on the themes in Gertrude of Wyoming at length because it is a work which contains many of the diverse strains of interest in the character of the Native American as he appeared in fiction and which were mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. In many ways this poem seemed to capture the epic-feeling that was lacking in many of the earlier plays written concerning the Indians of North America for it had an historical basis to lend it gravity; a monumentality that had at one point only been associated with South American-inspired drama and which was presented formerly only in the theatre. The entanglement of two young lovers as innocent victims in a brutal conflict was something of a staple in epic-heroic dramas featuring American Indian cultures from the eighteenth century onwards, although the theatrical tradition, as we have seen, tended to set the action in a South American context. What Campbell achieved in his poem was the location of such heroic struggles against overwhelming forces of destruction and change in a North American forest. This was the basis for much of the plot and the action in Fenimore Cooper's novels too, which again use the Northern forest as a location for scenes of epic proportion. In their treatment of such themes as an Indian who is the "last" of his race, Campbell and Cooper alighted on a means of involving an Indian figure who was filled with emotion, was dignified and yet unthreatening, for these kind and friendly Indian figures are slowly dying out.

I would stress, in conclusion, that the graphic illustration of figures from literature such as Outalissi, Cannassatego and to some extent Cora, represent a different "text" within the body of fictional literature as a whole. They seem in most instances to work as further authorial presences in each piece, which can embellish textual quotations but very often act in direct opposition to the text itself.

In this way it seems that a "hidden agenda" has often crept into the pictorial treatment of fictional themes, as though the artist felt free to expand upon his own personal vision of the Indian as antique warrior or Roman senatorial orator despite the text's emphasis on a different narrative structure or on aspects of Native American life that could not be aligned within a classical framework. One simply cannot attribute this failure of vision to ineptitude or the mere decorative use of colourful, exotic detail. Artists had in fact many traditions in the representation of Native Americans from which to draw their figures. Often, it seems as though a particular illustration might draw on several traditions at once to describe the Indian character in question. What is certain is that artists, given a free hand, will choose those parts of a text most amenable to modes of representation with which they are already familiar. The sufferings of innocents at the hands of savages, sentiment, even landscape were all familiar and amenable themes that came easily to the hand, as it were. It is scarcely to be wondered at if artists might emphasise their own predilections rather than struggle with the difficulties involved in representing an alien culture from the meagre hints provided for them. Ultimately, illustrations that had an oblique relationship to textual descriptions and in fact worked against the author's message were precisely those works which sought an elevated style and a weighted content rather than a more workmanlike approach to the subject. This artistic reworking of a text was a palimpsest of sorts, but its heroizing attitude foreshadowed concerns that were to affect the representation of Native American figures in the coming years.

1. Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, New Haven, 1925, Chapter IV, "The Indian in Fiction", pp.78-117.
2. See, for example, Spectator No. 50, written by Swift and Addison, "The Indian Kings in London". In Angus Ross, ed., Selections from the Tatler and the Spectator of Steele and Addison, Harmondsworth, 1982, pp. 433-436.
3. John Shebbeare, Lydia: or Filial Piety, London, first published 1755, 1786 edition. See Bissell, op. cit., p.89.
4. A speaker named Canassateego appears in a passage from Cadwallader Colden's The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, London, 1747, reprinted New Amsterdam Book Company, 1902, Vol. II, pp.84-91. (Cited in Wilcomb Washburn, ed., The Indian and the White Man, Documents in American Civilization Series, New York, 1964, Document 78, pp. 329-334.) The name Yarico first appears as a literary character in the early decades of the eighteenth century and is taken from Richard Ligon's History of Barbados (1657) where the name is first recorded. Perhaps related to the fictionalisation of Ligon's Yarico is the Mohawk maiden Yariza whose letter to the "principal ladies of New York" is included in Some Account of the North American Indians ... collected by a learned and ingenious gentleman in the province of Pennsylvania, London, 1754.
5. Bissell, op. cit., p.91.
6. One such instance was the visit in 1734 of a Creek leader known as Tomochichi, who came over to England at the behest of Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia. He had an audience with the king, was painted with his delegation by Willem Verelst, and was written of in glowing terms. An ode was written to him in the Gentleman's Magazine, October, 1734, and John Cleland entitled a play Tombo-Chiqui (1758) in his honour. See Carolyn Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1492-1938, Norman, 1943, pp.56-63; Bissell, op. cit., pp.63-66.
7. For example, such influential personages as the Mohawk leader, Joseph Brant, who visited England in 1775 and 1786, had his portrait painted several times (of which two at least were engraved); a visiting delegation of Cherokees (1762) received similar treatment. For these and other visits see Foreman, op. cit., pp.65-81,93-100.
8. See R.W.Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732, first published 1934, Lincoln, 1967; W.P.Cumming et al., The Exploration of North America, 1630-1776, London, 1974.
9. Other novels including Native American subject matter that were illustrated include Charles Johnstone's Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea (1760-65), Tobias Smollett's The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (1771), and two works about Peru entitled The Peruvian Princess (c. 1780-87) and Peruvian Tales (c. 1797-9) the authors of which are not known. See Hans Hammelmann, eds. Book Illustrators in Eighteenth Century England, New Haven, 1975, pp. 27-28 in the entry devoted to Richard Corbould.
10. Bissell, op. cit., pp.142-152.
11. Charles Johnstone, Chrysal, London, 1760-65, vol.3, p.143; cited in Bissell, op. cit., p.97.
12. The depiction of sacrificial altars and the idea of human sacrifice appears as early as 1665 in Sir Robert Howard and John Dryden's The Indian Queen, which "confuses location, geography and characters" as taken from explorers' reports. Bissell, op. cit., p.122.
13. The actual event of Jane MacCrea's death soon became sensationalised in the reports that followed it and was quickly enveloped in the controversy and hysteria surrounding the use of Native American

irregulars in military actions. It often appears in travel accounts of that region, for example, the Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782, London, 1787, pp. 417-419. See also Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., "The Murder of Jane MacCrea: the tragedy of an American 'Tableau d'histoire'", Art Bulletin, 47, no.4, 1965, pp. 481-492.

14. Elwood Parry, The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art, New York, 1974, p.63.

15. Thomas Cole and other nineteenth century artists and illustrators also depicted the death of Cora as a subject. Cole's picture, The Last of the Mohicans (1827), removes the spectator to a vantage point high above the sacrificial scene of Cora begging for mercy from Tanemund, such that the figures are almost incidental to the landscape setting.

16. Lucinda's attire should be seen in the light of the legend that Jane MacCrea had been killed in her wedding dress. See Edgerton, op. cit., pp.481-482.

17. For Turner's illustrations to Rogers' Voyage of Columbus and their relationship to his other work see Sheila M. Smith, "Contemporary Politics and 'The Eternal World' in Turner's Undine and The Angel Standing in the Sun", Turner Studies, Vol. 6, no. 1, Summer 1986, pp.40-50.

18. Ibid., p.40.

19. Cora's heritage, as given in Rogers' poem, was partly Spanish and partly Indian. She therefore emerges as a hybrid, combining physical and spiritual qualities from both cultures, and thus gave artists a free hand in envisaging her.

20. For this widespread interest see Bissell, op. cit., pp.119-161.

21. J.T.Herbert Baily, Francesco Bartolozzi, Connoisseur Extra Number, London, 1907, Appendix I, p.60.

22. See Chapter Three. Allardyce Nicoll in The Garrick Stage, Theatres and Audience in the Eighteenth Century, Manchester, 1980, discusses the contents of the "old wardrobes" owned by the theatres and a "new look" to the costuming of characters which began at mid-century. Nicoll points to a new critical attitude which spectators were adopting with respect to the "accuracy" of historical and ethnographical dress, (pp. 159-173.) On the other hand, illustrations of theatre actors in the dress of certain characters was, Nicoll points out, subject to a certain amount of artistic freedom in the interpretation of that character, (pp. 145-156.)

23. See Nancy L. Pressly, The Fuseli Circle in Rome - Early Romantic Art of the 1770s, Yale Center for British Art exhibition catalogue, 1979.

24. For example, see Sheridan's Pizarro (1799) in Cecil Price, ed., The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, London, 1973.

25. Bissell, op. cit., p.156.

26. For poetry of the period that supposedly emulated Indian songs or chants see Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage - a Study in Romantic Naturalism, first published 1928, republished New York, 1961, pp. 441-497. See also Frank Edgar Farley, "The Dying Indian", Kittredge Anniversary Papers, Boston, 1913, pp. 251-260.

27. Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America, Cleveland Museum of Art exhibition catalogue, 1976, no. 184.

28. See, for example, the illustration and discussion of the "Weeping Dacia", in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique - The Lure of Classical Sculpture, New Haven and London, 1981, pp.193-194; Also, Barbara A.C. Saunders, "A European Image of the Noble Savage -

Joseph Wright's 'Indian Widow', unpublished essay, University of Leiden English Department, 1977. (My thanks to Mr. David Fraser of Derby Museum and Art Gallery for bringing this paper to my attention).

29. The Dalziel illustration is found in Rev. Robert Aris Willmott, ed., The Poets of the Nineteenth Century, Routledge and Company, London, 1857, p.95.

30. Fairchild, op. cit., p.467.

31. H.M. Margoliouth, ed., Wordsworth - Selected Poems, London and Glasgow, 1959, pp.196-198.

32. Ibid., p.197.

33. John Butt, ed., The Poems of Alexander Pope, London, 1963, p.508, lines 99-104.

34. See, for example, Thomas Gisborne, "The Dying Indian: an ode", Walks in a Forest and Other Poems, 8th edn., London, 1813, pp. 209-219; Philip Freneau, (attrib.), "The Death Song of a Cherokee Indian", J.L. Onderdonk, History of American Verse, Chicago, 1901, pp. 80 f.; Thomas Southey, Songs of the American Indians, London, 1799; Thomas Moore, Song of the Evil Spirit of the Woods (c. 1806) and Eliza Cook, Song of the Red Indian, (1830's) in The Poetical Works of Eliza Cook, London, 1870, p. 177-8.

35. The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell, London, 1840, p.132.

36. Ibid.

37. For a discussion of the complex nature of Native American involvement during the Revolutionary War, see Jack M. Sosin, "The Use of Indians in the War of the American Revolution: a Re-Assessment of Responsibility", first published in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XLVI, June 1965, no. 2, pp. 101-121; reprinted (abridged) in Roger Nichols and George R. Adams, The American Indian: Past and Present, Waltham and Toronto, 1971, pp.96-110. See also Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, New York, 1972, pp.137-139.

38. Campbell, op. cit., p.167.

39. Logan's speech was first recounted in Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, London, 1787, and is reprinted in Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., The Indian and the White Man, New York, 1964, pp. 426-428.

40. The Oneida had been part of the Five Nations of Iroquois (along with Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca) since their "historic" confederation, as perceived by white historians. During the European-backed wars of the 1770s the confederation was divided in its allegiances to the white combatants. The Seneca tended to maintain good relations with the American rebels and tried to remain neutral. To some extent this is also true of the Oneida. See Wallace, op. cit., p.136; also, Colin G. Calloway, Crown and Calumet, British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815, Norman, 1987, p.6.

41. Campbell later met Brant's son, John, when the latter visited England in 1821-22 and as a result changed Campbell's mind about Brant's involvement in the massacre. He attempted to put the matter straight in a letter to the New Monthly Magazine in 1822. See Fairchild, op. cit., p.259. For John Brant's trip to England see Foreman, op. cit., pp. 98-99. Campbell cited many sources from the literature of travel in the notes to Gertrude; this list gives some example of the extent of his reading: Ashe, Travels in America (1809), Cadwallader Colden, History of the Five Indian Nations (1727, 1747), Robert Rogers, Account of North America (1766), Clarke, Travels Among the Indians (nd.), James Adair, General Observations on the American Indians (nd.), Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to North America (1744), William Bartram, Travels through

North and South Carolina (1792), Isaac Weld, Travels in North America (1796), Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (1787). See Fairchild, op. cit., p.260.

42. For the visit of Outacity and two other Cherokees, see Foreman, op. cit., pp. 65-81. Outacity is also described by Thomas Jefferson in Lester J. Cappon, ed., The Adams-Jefferson Letters, Chapel Hill, 1959, Vol. II, pp.307-308.

43. The Sketching Society chose this subject for their meeting of December 26, 1810. My thanks to Gordon McLaughlin and Jane Vickers of the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne, for information on these drawings.

44. For information on the history and methods of the Sketching Society see Jean Hamilton, The Sketching Society, 1799-1851, Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition catalogue, London, 1971. The Laing drawings are not listed in this publication, however.

45. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 134, 146-149.

46. Ibid., pp. 138-140.

47. The buckskin shirt and leggings would have been more likely items of dress in Iroquois culture at this date, as many travel books attested.

48. See John Harthan, The History of the Illustrated Book, London, 1981.

Chapter Six - Indians in the Landscape: The Illustrated Travel Account

Many personal travel accounts that sought to describe America and its inhabitants were published from the 1750s to the first quarter of the nineteenth century¹ and a fair number of these included at least some illustrations. The popularity of these quasi-scientific accounts ensured that the illustrations they contained became important constitutive sources in the formation of visual concepts of America and its peoples. As a result, their depiction of the Native American figure is of some significance in helping to establish the iconography of the "Indian".

Accounts of travel in frontier regions and narratives of captivity in Native American settlements were frequently illustrated from 1750 to 1850. This created a body of graphic visual material and a distinct genre of imagery in which the Native American figure assumed a large part. Imagery of this type, where Native Americans (or "Indians") were shown in conjunction with a personal narrative, was a new form of expression or representation. It combined the style of the older travel accounts of the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with that of the newer amateur scientist or naturalist's view of travel.² The visual material published in conjunction with these more personal narratives of travel also relied on previously published illustrated accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, equally significantly, on more recent or even contemporary modes of representation, particularly painting. That is, the supposed personal vision of the narrator was in fact informed by already established types of imagery such as the allegorical "America", the accounts of travel illustrated by de Bry and his followers, the conversation piece, rustic genre etc. It is the aim of this chapter to discover the underlying connections which hold between established visual codes and this "new"

image which was meant to have resulted from an interest in direct reportage and observation of the Native American.

Analysis of the several areas in which the figure of an Indian appears in the graphic representation of travel and captivity (the illustrated travel account, the illustrated captivity narrative, the costume books and the broadsheet or loose print) reveals that each image can in turn be shown to invoke older established imagery in a variety of ways, usually in a covert manner, despite their being perceived as having a basis in direct observation. Thus, if the narrative implied that something essential in the Native American character was being disclosed, the illustrative strategy suggested in its turn that this something was ultimately abstract and conceptual rather than concrete and material.

Crucial to our understanding of these illustrations is the recognition that an assumption was made, at the time of their production, that a single image (or a limited number of images) was capable of illuminating the bulk of description incorporated in the text. The image represented a distillation of what often amounted to several pages of written description. And if financial concerns limited the extent of illustration, it was equally clear that certain decisions and choices had been made in devising the graphic imagery; such that in rationalizing their choices, artists, authors and publishers produced an image they believed was 'typical' of the Native American person.³

In the illustrated travel account, one can see both a dependence on the conventional language of the painter or sculptor as a means of interpreting the Indian and also the use of fragments or translations of some of the more potent elements that made up the allegorical "America". An example of the transference of the qualities of "America" is the

brutal aspect of the severed head which in the travel and captivity illustrations re-emerges as a scene of scalping and/or other humiliations. Whereas the positive qualities of the American Indian princess are more difficult to trace, they can be shown to re-emerge in the travel literature in the tendency to depict more youthful female figures and to give the female figures a more graceful appearance. We shall examine this process of transference in the examples which follow.

While allegorical content might be echoed in the content of these illustrations, it is important to observe that their very position in the text would foster their capacity for symbolic function. As well as being illustrations to a text, the plates included in the various accounts were also perceived as embellishments. Publishers' statements that a work was "ornamented with engravings" are, of course, conventional but they point nevertheless to an important aspect of the functional relationship of these illustrations to the text. The ornamental quality of the plates could be appreciated by a reader skimming the pages of text and studying the illustrations for their own sake. In a similar manner, the subjects were themselves neatly arranged on the page, often placed symmetrically in the space and simplified in visual terms. In this sense they were highly decorative for they provided a careful view of the Native American inhabitants that was both neutral and unharmed, even if the subject matter was at times connected to violent acts. When the illustrations became more decorative, such as in the titlepage or frontispiece of a text, they approached in feeling the allegorical representations of Indians and therefore managed to re-introduce into overtly non-allegorical contexts those older associations of the cosmological and mythological significance of the Indian as "America".⁴ (Plate 127)

On the other hand, when the illustrations attempted to provide specific information such as tribal affiliation or family life, the means for depicting the figure or figures often rested on other established modes of representation - the portrait group, the genre scene or the landscape with figures. Artists seemed wholly concerned with the achievement of a visually secure point of reference; which is to say that the artist/designer, unable to portray the Indian on the latter's own terms of reference, proceeded to allude to established modes of depiction that were gaining ascendancy at the time the plates were executed.

The earliest travel literature we shall examine is that which was written to describe events in the era of the military and colonial interventions of the 1750's, 1760's and 1770's. These tracts were mostly official records of journeys made to the frontier posts, usually by military personnel or traders and their retinues. In most cases they represent a journal or diary recording events with some interpretation added by the author. However, a few early and influential writings contained considerable amounts of comment and comparative analysis. One early record of the frontier interaction between tribes and the colonial administrations of Quebec and New York was Cadwallader Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America, first published in two parts (Part 1 in 1727 and Part 2 in 1747).⁵ Although no illustrations of the peoples of the Five Nations were included in the text it became an influential document in terms of its description of the Iroquois government and Iroquois style of oratory. Colden's analysis of Native American councils and treaty-making, their society and culture amounted to a comparison of their ways with that of a "primitive" past.

"As I am fond to think, that the present state of the Indian Nations exactly shows the most Ancient and Original Condition of almost every Nation, so I believe, here we may with more certainty see the Original Form of All Government,..."⁶

Colden's work was first published in New York but was theoretically available to all those English speakers interested in learning about the tribes of the Northeast bordering on New England; the same tribes who were later to act as "buffers" between the interests of New England and Canada.⁷ Northeastern Woodlands tribal groups were in a crucial position in terms of their control of the Ohio Valley and its tributaries and they sought compensation for the incursions of settlers, traders and land speculators into their territories.

It was in response to Native American hostilities and resentment following the Seven Years' War in America and the Treaty of 1763 that in 1764 an expedition, under Colonel Henry Bouquet, was sent to the western borders along the Ohio River which would eventually stop Native American resistance and the threat of an Indian confederacy led by the Ottawa leader Pontiac. This entire episode between the Indian alliance under Pontiac and the Colonial administration represented by Colonel Bouquet was immediately chronicled by the Provost of the College of Philadelphia, the Reverend William Smith. Smith's tract, An Historic Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764 under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., was issued in Philadelphia in 1765, London in 1766 and Paris in 1768-9.⁸ In the two latter editions, two engravings were included, designed by the American-born artist, Benjamin West, depicting the negotiations between Native Americans and colonial representatives to secure peace. (Plates 128 and 129)

West was the appropriate choice for this commission for a variety of

reasons, the main one being that he had long been acquainted with Rev. Smith since the days when the artist had attended the College in Philadelphia.⁹ Secondly, West would have been sympathetic to Smith's interpretation of events at Bushy Run and on the Muskingum, for they entailed the pacification of Native American forces that posed a threat to Pennsylvania's outlying settlements. Being a Pennsylvania-born artist he would be concerned that a peaceful coexistence be established between Native American groups and the settlers of his home country. Finally, as a trained artist and something of a prodigy, West's work would have contributed some prestige to the publication.

We do know that while West was the best choice for the commission, due to his experience in the colonies and consequent familiarity with nearby Native American settlements, he could not possibly have witnessed the scenes which he had been asked to draw. It must therefore be concluded that the illustrations he produced were to a great extent fabrications taken mostly from his experience as an artist, and not as a colonial settler. Despite a basis in an actual event, these illustrations mostly contained evidence of West's time in Italy, his beliefs about Native Americans in general and of the formulae worked out by artists of his generation to handle subject-matter of this kind.

Without going into detail concerning West's oeuvre and the paintings which he produced during the 1760's and 70's containing Native American subject-matter, one could say that the artist was inclined in his paintings to show Native Americans, their existence and ways of doing things in opposition to equivalent activities in European groups. Witnessed in such works as William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1771-72) and General Johnson Saving the Life of a Wounded French Officer (c.1764-68), one can find Native American figures juxtaposed

compositionally to the European figures. (Plates 153 and 154) An invisible line can be detected which bisects the plane of the canvas from top to bottom separating the two groups of figures, Indian and white, from each other thus making a visual point about the separation of cultures.

In the engraved works for Smith's Account, one finds the same kind of compositional device being employed where on the right hand side of the first plate, Illinois (Shawnee, Seneca and Delaware) leaders are shown crowded together, some gesticulating in a traditional oratorical pose and clothed in antique inspired drapery. On the other side, somewhat more stoically posed, are seated the colonial contingent, passively observing events as the officer, Colonel Bouquet, has his secretary record the encounter. These officers are given dignified uniforms to wear, contemporary with the events taking place and all seem unperturbed by the "harangue" being given by the Native American speaker. Looking closely at the costumes given the Native American figures in each of the illustrations, one finds a limited amount of clear detail with which to distinguish specific tribal groups in any of the figures. Thus, without the knowledge provided by the text that these figures were from specific Native American groups, one would be forgiven for assuming them to be representatives of a more general area that encompassed all frontier Northeastern and Great Lakes Woodland areas. West's figures share common traits with many of the representations of Native American peoples created at this time as well as those figures of West's oeuvre who appear in his history paintings; although in the latter the figures are definitely connected with Mohawk or Iroquois affiliations. It could be argued that in a published account, the medium of graphic illustration did not allow fine

distinctions to be made because of the technical limitations of the medium; however, it should be noted that this work was considered by its author to be an historic document recording events that had occurred recently within the colonial sphere and as such presented itself as accurate and factual. Its illustrations too must be viewed within this given framework of expectations.

The discussion must now turn to those accounts in the literature written from a more personal viewpoint. These travel stories or "relations" had a long history in the genre of travel literature but with a larger reading public burgeoning in the late eighteenth-century, they enjoyed something of a vogue in European social and intellectual circles. In this category, too, are the accounts of captivity which will be discussed concurrently. They constitute an important and influential branch of the personal narrative structure as they enjoyed the greatest popularity and had the most extensive impact on later iconography of the West.¹⁰

The first group of travel accounts describe wartime experiences and the movements of their narrators through different areas in America, including descriptions of Native American settlements and certain Native American individuals. The second, and chronologically later accounts, tell of experiences that happened during their authors' residences among more settled tribes or as part of observations made of tribes living next to European or white areas of occupation, often at times of relative peace between white settlers and Native Americans.

Jonathan Carver's Travels Though the Interior Parts of North America, first published in 1778, includes two plates that are of interest in this inquiry. The first, entitled "A Man and Woman of the Ottigaumies", and the second, "A Man and Woman of the Naudowessies",¹¹

(Plates 130 and 131) share a similar compositional structure and treatment of the figures and seem to be devised with the same frame of reference in mind. They are more than adequate renditions of a recognizable American-Indian type in that the figures appear darkened in hue, have been given some specific implements, (knife, bow, musket, tomahawk and baskets) and are dressed in detailed attire which denotes their foreign origins (mocassins, loose animal skins, beads and feathers). However, their placement within the composition, their stance, and the overall structure of the work point to the artist's use of established artistic conventions in order to align his rendition, however crudely, with the genre of portraiture.

The adult figures in each plate stand apart but turn to face each other slightly, with the woman in the "Ottigaumies" illustration shown in full profile. This device links the figures who make up each couple, bringing them together and establishing them as partners. One assumes they are mates without being told this specifically. While the titles of the plates denote the subject as the man and woman of each respective tribe, the true subject is the Indian family, for in both instances a child appears next to its mother and grasps the hand she extends. The Indian group in each case inhabits a landscape setting, with trees and a long vista of fields stretching behind. They are posed, however, within the picture and do not run, chase or become active as in the earlier visions of native figures found on maps. In fact, the rigid manner in which they are posed gives the picture surface a flat quality that contrasts with the background illustrations of tepees and trees which are shown in perspective. Adding to the flat quality is the rather abrupt transition from foreground to background which is not smoothly managed and appears particularly awkward in the "Ottigaumies" group. No

attribution to an artist or engraver is given for these illustrations, but their designs appear also in the plates executed by Grignion for Bankes's New System of Geography, published in 1787. (Plate 132) The original artist's images, whoever he was, owe their style and composition to current trends in portraiture, as practised by artists of the 1750s and 1760s. If one examines portrait groups by English painters executed around mid-century one can see a similarity of intent and method of execution where figures in a landscape setting are placed there in stiff and formal poses, their forms flattened with respect to the picture's surface.

Arthur Devis' Edward Rookes Leeds and family (Plate 133), finished between 1757 and 1763, is an example which shows a gentleman and his wife in poses structurally similar to the figure of the Naudowessie man and woman in the Carver illustrations. In the painting, the figure of Edward Rookes Leeds assumes an attitude of quiet formality as opposed to the more relaxed and expressive gestures of the other figures. The father surveys the scene in a strong stance, his arm resting on his hip, a cane or walking stick supporting his weight and his feet crossed as was the fashion of the time. He is separated in space from the other figures but looks in their direction and this draws attention to the seated figures whose delicately placed arms and expressive hands act as contrast to the male's more stolid appearance. The large folds in the rich fabrics which clothe the seated women give their forms a flat appearance; they seem painted over the top of a landscape rather than actually inhabiting the space. (A feature of many early conversation pieces whose landscape settings are awkwardly managed.)

The figures in Devis' portrait are shown in the grounds of their estates seated or standing near a shady tree but not at all active

within the scenery that surrounds them. Instead they are given poses which were deemed appropriate to their station in life as members of the landed gentry. Frozen in space, the figures look contrived rather than natural. In Devis' work the inclusion of the richly dressed family and the site of the mansion or seat within the picture would point to the wealth of possessions and social status of the sitters. Family portrait groups were often placed in rural settings during this period in order to demonstrate physically the extent of the family's possessions, their wealth and affluence through the ownership of vast properties and their ties with the aristocracy. They had established themselves as part of the influential sphere controlled by the ruling classes and wanted their status commemorated in the art that decorated their homes.¹²

Like the distinguished Mr. Rookes Leeds, the Indian male in Carver's Naudowessie illustration adopts a similar stance with respect to his environment. He is depicted in a pose reminiscent of the English gentleman's, with his hand placed delicately on his hip and his other arm extended in a relaxed way. Comparing the two male figures, one is struck by the fact that the engraver must have been thinking of the standard portraits of an established painter, simply replacing here the walking stick of a gentleman with the bow and arrow of an Indian, without noting the latter's distinctly different purpose. Of course the Naudowessie man is not clothed in the kind of finery that adorns the figure of Rookes Leeds but the Indian's stance and outline derive entirely from the European model. Proudly, even regally, the man of each tribe in the prints occupies an equivalent relationship of figure to landscape as that of his European counterpart in the paintings, and that relationship is one of possessor to possession.

The partner of each Indian male stands in graceful contrast to the

more formal appearance of her mate and, particularly in the Naudowessie illustration, her gesture seems to have been drawn in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the allegorical representations of America who were likened to goddesses or princesses. The arm she carefully raises to her breast and the hand, whose curving fingers softly indicate a nobility of bearing and developed manners, help to complement and offset the male's more hardened features. The woman with the raised arm closest to Rookes Leeds in the Devis portrait is the visual counterpart of the Naudowessie woman. She acts in much the same manner in terms of the compositional structure of the painting by softening the stiff pose of the male figure and harmonizing the entire piece. Her reaching pose unites the group and gives rhythm and balance to the whole.

By treating his figures in a manner similar to the painted portraits of the landed gentry, Carver's illustrator has inferred that his subjects are of similar social standing or importance. The Indian is likened to the country squire or minor aristocrat who in his ownership of lands becomes a leader of those around him.¹³ It is interesting to note that in many portraits of Indian males, the sitters are described as chieftains or "Kings".¹⁴ In the portrait of Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, King of the Maquas by John Verelst which was engraved by Jean Simon in 1710 (Plate 134), the figure is shown in a very formal pose with his arm resting on his hip and his other arm grasping the barrel end of his musket, an attitude which underlines the importance of his title. Carver's Ottigaumie male strikes a pose resembling that of the "King" in Verelst's portrait in that he too grasps the barrel of his musket in a forceful manner. Both the Indian male in Carver's illustration and the Mohawk leader in the portrait "cut...rather odd figure(s)"¹⁵ for they exhibit their Indian "markings" in spite of being

given poses normally reserved for the English squirearchy. However, the implications of such use are clear.

The depiction of American Indian figures in a style reminiscent of the portraiture of the landed gentry tends to elevate them to that same position; literally ennobling the Noble Savage. Yet it is also the case that this method obscures the differences and uniqueness of the Indian persona. This second point is where the crucial misinterpretation takes place, for in the artist's attempt to understand the customs of the Indian, he has likened them to a familiar set of coordinates, that of an established country squire. By doing so he has clouded the issues which the Native American raises merely by his being in existence; issues which centre on land ownership and land usage, agrarian versus nomadic lifestyle and so on. The tribal member's attitude to property, family and society would hardly concur with this vision of a Native American man and his family as lords of a small manor. Yet, this is what has been inherently suggested by both the Carver plates.

It is evident that the decision to illustrate Carver's Travels with these images is of some significance. Once it was considered appropriate to use already extant portrait iconography (implying that Carver's personal recollections did not require unique illustration) a false convergence was established between two cultures. The Indian figures may have gained a certain amount of stature, as Europeans would have understood it, but the dependence upon more established modes of depiction thereby rules out any attempt to initiate a new and unique response towards these peoples. In the final analysis, Carver's illustrations show very little interest in the figure of the Indian in and of himself but rather seek to align the Indian within a framework understandable to European readers. While the separate traits of each

tribe are illustrated in some detail, the overall treatment of both tribes, Naudowessie and Ottigäumie, is essentially the same. This overall attitude helps explain one final feature of the Carver illustrations, the reversal of their tribal identifications in the plates used for Bankes's Geography; the effectiveness of the Indians' alignment with European models may have caused the publishers to overlook what distinguished these peoples from one another.

Just as the illustrator of Carver's Travels had looked to portrait groups for inspiration, so too would other engravers be dependent on other established models in order to find the necessary "visually secure reference". Travels Through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters, by Thomas Anburey (first published in 1789) was published in two volumes in 1791 and included a plate entitled, "An Indian Warrior Entering his Wigwam with a Scalp." (Plate 135) The figure that comprises the subject is dressed in rather curiously draped leggings and a loin-cloth and wears his very curly hair wrapped tightly in a knot on the top of his head. The most interesting aspect of this figure however is the pose which he assumes underneath the framing branches of the pine trees. He is posed and physically articulated on the model of the very well known antique statue, the Apollo Belvedere.¹⁶ (Plate 136)

The use of this classical reference in the engraving amounts to a cliché in that many of its viewers would instantly recognize the pose. What is curious is that a refined mannerism was incongruously placed within a so-called barbarous context. Specifically, this means that the disparate elements of the scalping scene and the refined, classically articulated Indian were somehow reconciled within the minds of those looking on.¹⁷ We, as modern viewers, stop short at the extended hand that holds a scalp, but this may not have been so obviously offensive to

those readers in the eighteenth century. It is possible that a connection was discerned between the ethnic qualities of the figure and his classically nude form insofar as both could be associated within the concept of primitiveness. In other words, they were relating the Indian's crudeness (as a social being and as a taker of scalps in wartime) to Europe's own rude past in antique Greece and Rome and the many battles fought between neighbouring city-states. Be that as it may, the translation resulted in the first place from the artist's inability to conceive of nude form as anything but classically articulated. He would not necessarily have had a live model from which to draw the Indian figure and thus would have to conceive of an active and physically strong male warrior in the only terms which would approximate such a concept, that of the antique god.

The ethnographic attributes which are superimposed on to the classical framework seek to locate the figure in an American landscape. Barlow wanted his viewers to recognize the Indian as being of a certain race and climate and what is interesting to note is not so much the dark skin and curly hair he has given him, which might indicate a variety of races,¹⁸ but the tomahawk and the bloody scalplock he holds in his left and right hands, respectively; for it is these attributes which determine most powerfully the country and race of which he is a representative. This grafting-on of ethnic traits to a classical form takes the idea of the noble savage to an almost ludicrous extreme; and the production of this hybrid form bears witness to the contrived nature of the solution. Other examples may not be as blatant as Barlow's in this respect, but the mechanism of adoption is fairly similar throughout.

In some respects, this illustration has an effect akin to the

allegorical visions of America, in that the vignette scenes of brutality on the edges of the design make themselves felt as symbolic attributes of the figure of America.¹⁹ For instance, in the earlier type of allegory a severed human head was used to indicate savageness and was one element in a complex system of symbols. In Barlow's illustration we see an identically grotesque element acting within the overall scene in the same way as the severed head. It reminds the viewer that he is seeing a "savage" capable of committing horrific acts of violence. It also reminds the viewer of long held notions about the symbolic significance of the continent of America. A term to describe this occurrence might be "the cannibal-scalping transformation"; a process that helped retain the original feeling of savagery synonymous with America. In the earlier works the inclusion of a severed head at the foot of the figure of America was a standard convention. This attribute fell out of use, but was replaced by the possession of a scalplock or scalping knife, the latter an indication of potential violence or brutality. These attributes are comparable for not only do they signify a similar custom, the defacing of a human head, but they also re-establish older associations of the original allegory. Cannibalism in itself might seem a horrendous act if described in lurid detail but when denatured into a trait given to a figure, or as part of the iconography of allegory, it ceases to be as shocking to the viewer and in the end takes on a decorative aspect. Still, its persistence as part of the general American scene is testified to in the Anburey illustration where its characteristic motif has been transformed into a faceless scalp. The message is still clear, the American continent and the people who inhabit its woodlands are vicious and capable of acts of cruelty.

Linked to the graphic illustration of violent Native American subject-matter are the accounts of captivity among various Native American groups; these had been published from the beginning of the settlement period in America to the time of the conflicts at the end of the eighteenth-century and beyond. It was a quintessential American experience that created its own literary genre and cropped up as a theme in many other literary forms besides its own. During the later seventeenth hundreds these captivity narratives, which had always tended to focus on vicious atrocities committed by Indians, began to lay the blame mostly on military leaders backed by the colonial administration. In other words, those accounts of the 1750's and 60's which referred to the horrors of captivity and Native American cruelties pointed to French-Catholic perfidy or English acquiescence as the real source for such atrocity.²⁰

Jonathan Carver's narrative included the account of his captivity by the French and their Indian allies after the fall of Fort William Henry to the French in 1757.²¹ There he recorded the details of the infamous "massacre" that was allowed to take place after the taking of the Fort. The characters of the Naudowessie and Ottigaumie who illustrate Carver's text thus become linked in a way with the accounts of cruelty, for they are examples of Native Americans in general as well as being representatives of specific tribal groups. They therefore become tarred by the same brush Carver uses when describing the horrific events attributed to Indians allied to the French.

Later, as a result of anti-French feeling following the Napoleonic Wars, a narrative of captivity was published that described an incident in the era of the French and Indian Wars in America. The Affecting History of Mrs. Howe, the wife of a British Officer in America (1815)

begins on a distinctly critical note:

"During the War in America, which terminated in the conquest of Canada by the British Army, under the command of the immortal General Wolfe, the Indians, in the pay of the French, committed the most inhuman and wanton barbarities on the English settlements. They roved about in large parties in the most secret manner, and in an instant would rush into a village, and put the inhabitants to the most cruel deaths,..."²²

Along with its anti-French bias, the account also discusses Native American prenatal customs, styles of dress, and methods of waging war and of attack. Then it makes broad comparisons between the Native Americans and other foreign peoples, from Greenlanders to the Guineans, in order to establish a world-wide scope to the thesis that peoples from distant cultures practice odd or irrational methods for the continuance of their way of life.

An illustration to the text, reproduced as a frontispiece to the 1815 edition, shows the moment of capture and the separation of Mrs. Howe from her two daughters. (Plate 137) Given the titles "Sufferings of Mrs. Howe" and "Mrs. Howe and her Daughters taken Prisoners by the Savages of Canada", this plate depicts oddly costumed "savages" whose main character, holding Mrs. Howe, sports a beard and a top-knot in his hair. This figure bears some relation to the "Indian Warrior" in Anburey's Travels in that both figures are an amalgam of different cultural stereotypes. These Canadian Indians seem to have been derived to a great extent from representations of Pacific Islands peoples made during Cook's important and influential voyages around the world in the 1760's and 1770's. (Plate 157) The foliage and background scenery are also curiously devised in that a tropical-looking palm appears on the far left next to a high mountain range, while on the right a pine tree and woodlands are depicted. The illustration of this text, therefore, has

little to do with actual events for it has imaginatively clothed the "savages" in exotic garb taken from lands distant to Europe and not necessarily located anywhere near Canada. The assumptions underlying this confusion are that a native (aboriginal) inhabitant is somewhat universal in appearance: a scantily-clad, dark-skinned, male with a weapon, lance or tomahawk, dwelling in a land of lush vegetation. Interestingly, the History of Mrs. Howe never specifies which tribe or group had committed these atrocities against her. The illustration of the scene clouds this issue even further by showing Mrs. Howe in the grasp of an indistinct "savage" figure. In many ways, the result is that the image is reduced to metaphor and becomes a stylized version of rape and captivity along the lines of a trite and conventional "Rape of the Sabines". The tendency towards symbolism and disguised allegory in captivity narratives can be seen in its mirror image, so to speak, in an engraving of "America", designed by William Perring and published as part of Finden's Tableaux in 1845. (Plate 138) Here the captivity narrative has been implied in the behaviour of the two white women and the Indian maiden's enjoyment of their valuables. The male warriors and camp-fire smoke glimpsed in the background, together with the discarded tomahawk and dagger at the left, hint at what has happened and, perhaps, what is to come. Yet to call this plate "America" is to invoke a much older tradition, that of the Indian Princess as personification of the continent; and, in these terms, every other detail is subordinate to the principal figure, just as the scenes of cannibalism had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth century allegories of America.

The buckskin leggings detailed by Perring are one of the markers of ethnicity in this plate and bring us back to the question of source material for these images. The clothing and accoutrement given to the

Native American figures in the illustrated narratives is an important aspect which must be investigated further. It can almost be assumed that the engravers of these works had no access to real Native American costumes and accoutrement nor in many cases would they have had a chance to view an actual Native American personage dressed in "traditional" garb. That being the case, the question now to be asked is where could source material be found to give adequate information of correct Native American costume and accoutrement?

The source for the Indian's very idiosyncratic accoutrement in Carver, Anburey and at least two other illustrations not yet mentioned, may lie in a famous work of monumental sculpture by a designer contemporary to their engravers, working in the late 18th century. The Indian figures on the Townshend Monument designed by Robert Adam and erected in Westminster Abbey in 1761 have native accoutrement styled exactly like that of the figure by Barlow in Anburey's Travels. (Plate 139) The arm bands, gorget, pouches, scalping knife and the leggings with moccasins of Barlow's "Indian Warrior" bear strong resemblance to those in the Townshend group. The monument was much acclaimed in its day and was one of several erected in the Abbey to commemorate the loss of military leaders during the wars with the French over the possession of territory in North America.²³

Drawings made for Adam's standing figures show similar accoutrement to those in the monument but the Indians have been slightly altered when translated into stone.²⁴ The features of the boy in the drawings have become stylized to a great extent and his leggings no longer appear as skins, as they did in the study for the support figures (Plate 140), but function in the sculpture as drapery. This seems to have influenced Barlow who must have borrowed the accoutrement from the monument, in

that his figure's leggings and breechcloth are draped and pinned at the crotch and have the feel of fabric rather than the "skins of bulls" which the text describes.

Further examples show the extent of influence which the Townshend Indian figures had on later engraved work. The illustration from Carver's Travels discussed earlier, a "Man and Woman of the Ottigaumies", reveals a similar style of accoutrement to those of the Indians on the Townshend Monument. The man of the "Ottigaumies" from Carver's book is given a breechcloth, leggings, gorget, a strap across the chest with a scalping knife attached and a musket; all of which appear on the Townshend figures. Even later, the Townshend figures' influence shows up in a Dutch book entitled De Mensch (1818), whose plates include one of a group of "Noord-Indianen" lifted from Carver's illustration of the "Ottigaumies". (Plate 141) Jonathan Carver's account, therefore, while not above suspicion itself, has proved to be an important source of material for a number of "spurious" illustrations in travel accounts; Thomas Anburey's Travels being just one case.²⁵ Perhaps the most striking fact about the kinds of mistranslations and direct borrowings that have been detailed in the above discussion is that the specific tribal decoration of one group has been used to clothe a variety of different tribes. From an original real character, the captured Native American boy who posed for Robert Adam²⁶, identical features have been used to describe an Indian of the Great Lakes area in Carver, an Indian of more Eastern tribal extraction in the Iroquois warrior shown in Anburey, as well as a more vague "Northern Indian" in the Dutch book, De Mensch.

In their reliance on previously established and highly regarded fine art forms, the engravers of the illustrated works discussed above reveal

a parasitic attachment to modes of depiction removed from the sphere of illustration. As a result, their interpretations of the Native American are always qualified, if not undermined, by this relationship to quite separate strategies of representation. We may, of course, be dealing here with nothing more than artistic ineptitude or poverty of the creative imagination, but these very failings are tokens of the difficulties faced by artists in attempting to realise an unfamiliar subject. It is as though the subject of the Native American was too elusive and enigmatic to be realised without recourse to well-known, tried and tested formulae for representation. Moreover it is evident that the chosen sources used by engravers change over time and follow the changes in taste for new forms of expression within the genre of painting. Such is the case with the illustrated accounts published after the turn of the century. In the 1810's and 1820's, the popular genre painting and the growing landscape tradition in Britain would come to influence the subject-matter, composition and style of many engraved works.

This process of bringing the Indian out of the context of portraiture and into a new one of landscape depiction was a microcosm for the larger events pertaining to the status of the American peoples in society as a whole. As the Indian figure begins to be fixed by different representational co-ordinates, it seems to reflect his changed status in the political and social spheres; for the Native American's political status was changing from a self-possessed state to a marginal one. In other words, as the Indian moved from being portrayed in terms of grand-style portraiture to being simply a figure in a landscape, he also moved from a position of inhabiting his own land to a more marginal and untraditional relationship to it. This change in representational

identity can be seen as a later manifestation of that earlier change, noted in Chapter Two, when the maps of America were emptied of their inhabitants, to position them as decorative attendants in the margins. At first sight one might think that the nineteenth century interest in showing the Indian in a landscape had released him from a decorative role and re-instated him as a significant constituent of America; but attractive as this conclusion seems, with the Indians leaving their artistic reservations to recolonise the land, it cannot be sustained. For the Indian who inhabits the nineteenth century landscape does not dominate it, is not the most important or only worthwhile feature in it, as had often been the case with the Indians on sixteenth century maps. On the contrary, the Indian in these later landscapes is there as a genius loci, as part of the flora and fauna, as a geographical marker, in short as one incidental sign among many. This visual diminution reflects a waning interest in the Indian figure in general; what curiosity and admiration had been felt for him in pre-revolutionary times had become tinged with fear and guilt as British colonial certainties became American national certainties, and these last did not allow for a recognition of any of the Indian's rights.

Thus the developments to be recorded in the remainder of this chapter should be seen as harbingers for the state of utter contempt or ignorance of the Native American reached by the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Indian in practically all representational genres had been reduced to a set type. By this date, his position in the larger physical/political spheres was extremely marginalized as he was disenfranchised, dislocated and treated as a being that needed taming.²⁷ At the start of the nineteenth-century, though, these issues were shrouded in terms of the picturesque.

George Heriot's Travels Through the Canadas(1807) and Nathaniel Willis' Canadian Scenery (1842) are pertinent to this discussion. The subject of both texts and their illustrations centres around the ostensibly rural scenes of Native American domestic life observed by these authors during their travels and residence in British North America.²⁸ While the outward appearance of these works has its basis in direct observation, an underlying theme exists in these illustrations which can be traced via style and compositional structure to established European traditions.

In Heriot's book, the first plate in question is given the title "Encampment of Domiciliated Indians" (Plate 142) and, as inferred by the caption, it is a scene of quiet rural bliss. Dotted about the scene are several large wigwams placed near a riverside with many groups of figures shown standing or sitting near the entrances to their habitations. The figures are arranged scenically, though, and the massive boulder-like protuberances at the right hand side of the plate that dwarf the figure groups function as classical repoussoirs. In the background, a thick forest is lovingly detailed and the bushy undergrowth crowds in around the tepees to frame them in leafy verdure. Tiny background details such as distant houses and fishing boats are shown in a long prospect receding to a distant shore. All these pictorial factors help to establish this work essentially as a landscape, presented to the spectator as an interlocking composition of related elements, rather than the separation of figures from background seen in the illustrations to Carver and Anburey.²⁹ W.H. Bartlett's plates for Willis' Canadian Scenery show a similar attention to natural forms and vegetation, with the figures occupying little space within the overall scene. (Plate 143) Thus while each domestic scene may include

many Indian figures, these figures are not described in any great detail. Their garb, the kinds of hats, cloaks, dresses, tunics and trousers with which they are adorned point to an indiscriminate use of genre-like methods within a landscape setting. Precise delineation of the Native American's features is not at issue in these graphic works whose figures are seen more as staffage, natural inhabitants of the 'rural' setting into which they have been placed. They are not really viewed as members of a specific tribe, nor could the casual observer glean much information about their way of life.

If one examines the types of paintings gaining popularity in England from the late 1790's to the beginning of the nineteenth century, one sees figures treated similarly and acting within a landscape setting in precisely the same manner as Heriot's and Bartlett's Indians. Figures in rustic genre painting as well as the incidental figures in landscapes of this period were unlikely to be given more than generalized features and were not usually described in detail. Instead they were viewed as actors, or staffage, placed in the scene to instruct, to amuse or to provide illustration for larger moral themes.³⁰ Those features which did command specific attention, personal traits such as dress and habit, were delineated in order to classify them but not to define them as individuals, as in portraiture. In essence it was not necessary for the figures to provide any other information than that they were of common or humble origin for the picture to have achieved its purpose.

One such theme which interested painters was the woodland genre scene involving those figures who were believed to inhabit the more marginal areas of the landscape, the forests and rocky highlands. Gypsies, vagabonds and migrant labourers all fell within this category; groups whose lifestyle set them outside the bounds of a growing urban

society. Certainly, these figures had their genesis in an older landscape tradition where colourful banditti and other similar characters were depicted inhabiting the rocky and wild landscape settings evident in the work of Salvator Rosa and his followers. In the hands of English painters the theme developed to include the rural poor and labourers who became stock figures with which to people a picturesque scene.³¹ In fact, collections of rural types (or catalogues) also became necessary sources of the picturesque, designed to help painters in their choices of the appropriate figures for their landscapes.

Returning to the illustrations of the Canadian woodland scenery by Heriot many similarities can be detected between them and certain paintings by artists such as George Morland who specialized in rural genre painting. The second plate by Heriot (Plate 144) is entitled "Costume of Domiciliated Indians of North America" and shows five figures, some seated and the others standing, in a rural setting all taking a rest underneath the shady branches of a large tree. One of the figures, a female, is shown stirring a large pot over an open fire probably preparing the group's supper. The other woman in the scene is carrying an infant in a cradle-board on her back. Near to the figure resting at the base of the tree is a small dog, who serves as the family's pet. In comparison with works by English painters, these Indians exhibit attributes common to the rural poor. In George Morland's Gipsy Encampment of 1791, (Plate 145) the scene is set in a similarly wooded grove densely packed with foliage that seems to engulf the figures and provides an intimate atmosphere for the group. The mother on the left is cradling her tiny infant with another of her children placed at her side. They all appear perfectly at peace with their

humble surroundings. A figure is lying beneath a shady tree, just behind the mother and her children, and a donkey is shown tied to this same tree. At the right, other figures, some older than those discussed above, who presumably make up the extended family or clan are assembled in similar attitudes of repose, seated and refreshing themselves with food and drinks from their packs. They are dressed in simple attire that looks out of fashion for this date and somewhat shabby as if worn many years past its usefulness. A cloak of palpable poverty surrounds the figures. In both of Heriot's pictures roughly clad figures are shown at rest (from a long day's travelling perhaps?) seated around fires in small groups. In the "Encampment" plate, some are shown standing with their arms crossed as if to indicate to the viewer the chilly atmosphere of the Canadian climate. Their clothes, loosely wrapped or gathered at the waist, are not shown in detail in this scene but are described more closely in the second plate. Like Morland's gypsies, these "costumes" seem out of date and are conglomerations of what look like cast-off European-made fabrics and traditional adornment; a style which may have been the case in reality.³²

However detailed the Indians' costume may be in the Heriot illustrations, his presentation of them in the pictorial language of rustic genre inevitably informs the viewer's (if not the artist's) perception. A language used for marginal groups like gypsies is likely to translate "domiciliated" Indians into the wrong idiom. Phrases such as "vagabond lifestyle", "poor", "slovenly appearance", etc. could be applied to both groups. Contemporary written accounts of the "Indians" of America also tended to rely on this metaphor for Native American life and reveal how it influenced perceptions. Dr. Edward Walsh, for example, wrote that "In Canada, many stragglng parties are occasionally

employed ... others, of the Messuagues [sic] and Mukmaks [sic], wander about exactly like our gypsies...picking up a precarious existence."³³ The generalized figures in Heriot's presentation, stripped of obvious tribal adornments, such as feathers, beads and mocassins, make it difficult for the viewer to perceive them as anything but a group of rural poor; itinerant workers or clansmen who travel from place to place and have no 'honest' employment. This is much more the case with the "Encampment of Indians" where not much detail has been given to the figures and the clothes they wear are shown as almost generic. Their hats are wide brimmed, of European design and carry large plumes. They could easily be mistaken for a band of travelling minstrels or actors were it not for the caption underneath to locate them in Canada. The female figure on the right with the idiosyncratic headgear seems to be pulling up her stocking in a suggestive manner. One feels she may be a prostitute or woman of easy virtue who has been corrupted by the introduction of western ways.

The other source from which Heriot or Bartlett may have drawn inspiration is the popular publication by W. H. Pyne entitled "Microcosm" or a Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agricultures, Manufactures, Etc. of Great Britain, in a Series of Above 600 Groups of Small Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape...., which was published between 1802 and 1807.³⁴ In their groupings and in the delineation of the figures, the illustrations by Heriot have much in common with those in the set of aquatints cataloging rural types devised by Pyne.

Although essentially a work of entirely different subject-matter, Pyne's treatment of the figure groups and his references to the picturesque in landscape depiction mark his work as an important source

of material for any landscape artist working at the time. In Pyne's publication the figures are provided as a catalogue of rustic types, illustrative figures with which to people a given landscape. (Plate 146) The text printed with the figures and the elucidation of the latter suggest "that Pyne's attitude toward his subject matter were not completely unclouded and that he maintained a curious mixture of admiration and condescension for the English yeomanry with which he peopled his landscapes."³⁵ These are exactly the kinds of feelings which Heriot may have held toward the Indian peoples who lived in close proximity to the European settlements of which he was a member. His word, "Domiciliated", to describe the Indians suggests that he too felt a mixture of sympathy and superiority to the native population under his jurisdiction.

The groupings of the figures within Heriot's landscape scenes also have an affinity with those in Pyne's work. Pyne's figures are grouped picturesquely and are described as such. However, when similar groups appear in the plates by Heriot, they are meant to describe things as actually seen by the author. They are not offered as picturesque compositions, yet their presentation is saturated with that aesthetic. The addition of small pets and figures of children to the scene further establishes the genre-like feel of Heriot's work. Especially in the Indian "Encampment", where the small child who reaches for the adult's arm in the centre of the plate, could just as well be one of the children in Pyne's illustration of "Gypsies" (Plate 147) who look playful but rather unkempt, their clothes loose and torn. Heriot's visual clues as to the status of his subjects press towards one conclusion. One is asked to view them necessarily as marginal figures who may inhabit a scene in picturesque terms but are not to be taken too

seriously. Certain generalized aspects have been allowed to define these characters; their humble dress, their strong notions of the tribe or clan, their rather loose or cavalier customs, and their highly simplified lifestyle. It would seem that marginalized peoples could all be subsumed under the same generic type and were therefore to some extent interchangeable, as all had come to be thought of in similar condescending terminology. Once the Indian people as a race had been contextualised within the growing sense of a class-stratified system they could no longer be thought of in any other terms but as unfortunates or degenerates for whom one had lost all hope.

In further illustrations of the same date these conclusions are more openly stated. Both Robert Sutcliff's Travels in Some Parts of North America in the Years, 1804, 1805 & 1806 (York, 1811) and John Lambert's Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808 (London, 1810) contain illustrations which show Indian family groups in rural landscape settings. In the sole plate depicting Indians in the Sutcliff volume, (Plate 148) the itinerant aspect of the Indians' existence is elucidated, as the family is depicted in the process of moving house, their backs loaded with bundles and their empty shelter left uninhabited in the background. Lambert's work is more openly derogatory. The title of his Indian plate is simply "An Indian and his Squaw" where the two figures are depicted side by side and cast dark shadows on the shore behind them. (Plate 149) The male figure wears only a threadbare shirt of European make that has either stains or holes in it and a peaked hat on his head. The woman is entirely covered in a thick blanket and, in a strange juxtaposition of details, wears a crucifix at her throat. In contrast, the male's only possessions are his open bottle of spirits and a grotesque cow's skull

in his right hand. Lambert makes the case evident in his description of the "domesticated Indians". Of the men, "Their external appearance is extremely forbidding, and often disgusting; a dark swarthy countenance, with high cheekbones, prominent nose and chins and long black, coarse hair, hanging in disorder over their face..."³⁶; descriptions which might have been used to define an itinerant worker or a gypsy. Elsewhere he describes the men as "half-civilized, half-savage."³⁷ The attributes of the whisky bottle and the dirty cow's skull are included to provide the viewer with pictures of those things which the text describes as being "favourites" of the Indians and used in great quantities.

The idea of type comes to mind when viewing illustrations such as Lambert's "Indian and his Squaw" where the attributes given the figure determine his character and the class to which he belongs. Here a single figure (or representative of the given type from each sex) displays those qualities of dress and habit which mark him as a marginalized figure, a feature reinforced by the absence of tribal identity. Such a taxonomic approach was evident in embryo in Pyne's Microcosm and can be seen further developed in George Walker's Costumes of Yorkshire of 1814 where a whole series of manual types appears in catalogue form. Walker's book is concerned with the delineation of those figures who might appear in an industrial environment and, unlike Pyne, Walker's costumed workers have not been shrouded in picturesque terms. Nevertheless, the attributes of the figures that are given in his text sound monotonously familiar. "The majority (of workers) are idle and dissolute, owing partly to the laborious nature of their occupation, which too often induces habits of drunkenness," and this gives them "unsteady conduct".³⁸ Looking at the aquatint illustrations to Walker's

book, the viewer is given an idea of what each manual type looks like and in most cases a single figure is placed flatly against an appropriate landscape background and given the briefest of attributes to describe his dress and habits. In the illustration of a "collier", (Plate 150), a rumple hat, loosely fitted suit, small pipe, walking stick and lunch basket are all the evidence provided for envisioning the meagre existence that the figure might lead. Walker's figures have a scientific clarity where only the simplest of details are provided. The viewer is asked to step back and review the worker in terms of genus and type, an attitude which is unemotional and hardly like the one that might be adopted when viewing the "picturesque" rural poor in a landscape painting. One simply sees the collier as one might see a species of animal; his few attributes delineated precisely, his habitat shown crudely in the background (a coal yard in this case) and his method of subsistence (and type of mate, perhaps?) included to give a rough account of what his life might be about.

Like Walker's collier, the Indian in Lambert's work is placed flatly against the distant background landscape as if it was thought unnecessary to let him enter the far away scene. He is provided with very few detailed attributes except for those which establish his position on the scale of marginal types. Generalized to the extent that his attributes could be those of any of the 'lower' classes, the Indian's ethnicity is almost forgotten. In the minds of those looking on, they are no longer "Indians" of a different race but a type of marginalized people akin to those featured in studies such as Pyne's or Walker's. Again the viewer is asked to step back and look at the figures face on. The very clinical nature of these illustrations reveals their inherent bias. In an attempt to adopt a scientific

attitude to the subject of the American Indians, Lambert has reduced his figures to the category of a natural history illustration where one feels no sympathy toward the figures, for they are literally just specimens.

It is a sad testament to the power of these devices that even in an earlier work such as Anburey's "Indian Warrior" the same sorts of rationalizations were being disclosed. Anburey's figure is shown face on to the viewer and is placed in his natural 'habitat' like some exotic discovery. He exhibits certain attributes which define his racial identity, such as the tomahawk he holds and the scalp he has just taken from a victim. While such presentation falls short of treating the Indian as though he were just one more animal species, to be collected and illustrated in an Audubon-type catalogue, its iconic simplicity testifies to the survival of that tendency seen in allegorical depictions to "sum up" the Native American with reference to a few stock devices. In addition, however, the stark regimentality of both the Lambert and Anburey illustrations reveals their affinity with the growing scientific and taxonomic approach towards the Native American during the nineteenth century³⁹ which will be discussed more fully in a subsequent chapter.

In the end we see that the artist-engraver was unable to quantify his Indian subject in anything other than those terms already established by artistic practice and acceptable to the taste of those who purchased the popular accounts. Engravers were dependent upon a recognized canon of artistic value where in some cases they reverted to the use of a classical reference or in others simply approximated a popular style. The result was that the Indian became subsumed within a framework wholly alien to his existence. Finally, the figure of some

American Indians became part of a larger catalogue of generic types that sought to encompass all the lower classes in an overall pattern of condescension and stratification. It is a moot point whether the illustrations discussed in this chapter merely reflected a genuine change in status of the Native American or actually helped to alter the perceptions that might bring this about.

Notes -

1. Certain accounts captured readers' imaginations and enjoyed some measure of popularity. These were largely the texts drawn on by writers of poetry and fiction and were also used as evidence in certain "scientific" works on race. Early accounts of influence include Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America (1698), Lom d'Arce de Lahontan, New voyages to North-America (1703), Pierre de Charlevoix, Histoire et description de la Nouvelle France (1744) John Bartram, Observations on the Inhabitants...from Pensilvania to...Canada (1751), Jonathan Carver, Travels through the interior parts of North America (1778), John Long, Voyages (1791), Gilbert Imlay, Topographic Description of the Western Territory of North America (1792), Isaac Weld, Travels through the States of North America (1807). Nineteenth century travellers published in greater numbers, included illustrations more frequently and tended to visit specific sites on an itinerary that took them to "important" scenic and historic locations. As examples, see George Heriot, Travels through the Canadas (1807), Francis Hall, Travels in Canada and the United States (1818), Francois-Rene de Chateaubriand, Travels in America (1828), Nathaniel P. Willis, American Scenery (1840) and Canadian Scenery (1842). An interesting discussion of the travel genre as a whole is contained in Percy G. Adams, Travellers and Travel Liars, Berkeley, 1962.
2. See R.W. Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, Lincoln, 1967, and Barbara Maria Stafford, Voyage into Substance: Art, Science and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840, Cambridge, 1984. The latter work chiefly discusses illustrations made of various natural phenomena during exploratory travels of the period and affords only limited discussion of encounters with native peoples.
3. Developments in reproductive methods, such as steel engraving and lithography, allowed longer print runs and so helped to create the possibility of mass-produced images for a popular market. See Richard T. Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain, Oxford, 1978; Michael Twyman, Lithography 1800-50, London, 1970, Felix Brunner, A Handbook of Graphic Reproduction Processes, 1962.
4. G.N.G. Clarke, "Taking Possession: the cartouche as cultural text in eighteenth-century American maps", Word and Image, Vol.4, no. 2, April-

June 1988, pp.455-474. Although Clarke's analysis refers to cartouches on maps, it can be profitably extended to ornamental title-pages in books.

5. Colden had access to colonial records held by the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the British Colonies, based in New York. See Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations, Part I, originally published 1727, reprinted 1866, Ithaca, New York, 1958, p.ix.

6. Ibid., p.xxi.

7. Colin G. Calloway, Crown and Calumet, British Indian Relations 1783-1815, Norman, 1987, pp.16-17.

8. Colonel Henry Bouquet was sent to the Illinois country with a military force to quell the growing Native American solidarity under the charismatic Ottawa leader, Pontiac. Pontiac's Rebellion, as it came to be known, began as a wave of Native American dissatisfaction with the process of handing over French forts and trading posts to the English at the end of the American phase of the Seven Years' War. After Bouquet routed Pontiac's forces at the battle of Bushy Run (1764) tribal representatives sued for peace and were forced to negotiate land rights and the release of war captives. The negotiations took place on the Muskingum River in present day Ohio, where Bouquet camped to hear the grievances of the Western Indians.

9. Ann Uhry Abrams, "Benjamin West's Documentation of Colonial History: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians", Art Bulletin, Vol.47, no.4, 1982, pp.62-64.

10. See bibliographical note at the end of James Levernier and Hennig Cohen (eds.) The Indians and their Captives, Westport, Conn., 1977, pp.275-278. For an example of later captivity-type imagery, created for the Dime Novel in the late nineteenth century, see illustration, Ibid., p.190.

11. The name "Naudowessie" has an interesting derivation. "Many Dakota people avoid the term "Sioux" derived from the French spelling for an Ojibwa word meaning "little snake" or enemy, "nadowasieux". See Helen Hornbeck Tanner (ed.) Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, Norman and London, 1987, p.4. "Ottigaumies" used as a name for a group of Native American peoples appears in a vocabulary of words and proper names published in Colden's History, where he gives the names used by the French together with their English equivalents. "Outagamies" he tells us, is a French term for both the "Renards" and the "Terre Rouge" peoples, known as "Quaksies" and "Scunksiks" respectively in English. See Colden, op. cit., p.xv.

12. See Ellen G. D'Oench, The Conversation Piece: Arthur Devis and His Contemporaries, exhibition catalogue, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 1980, particularly pp. 21-22.

13. These images seem to contradict the usual discussions of Native American land use and the idea of ownership. In the travel literature it was often stated that no one man could "own" a bit of land. See, for example, the extract from the Rev. John Heckewelder, Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Philadelphia, 1819, quoted as Document 20, "The Grass Which grows Out of Earth Is Common to All", in Wilcomb Washburn, The Indian and the White Man, New York, 1964, pp.63-66.

14. John Verelst's portrait of the Creek leader Tomochichi and his nephew, Tooanahowi (1734), known from engravings, refers to Tomochichi as "miko". As this term had no precise English equivalent it came to be understood as "king". The same mistranslation is evident in an earlier visit of four Mohawk leaders in 1710. In the engraving after Verelst

(c. 1710-11) one of these figures is titled "The King of the Maquas". Verelst's use of an elevated portrait style befitting the rank of these leaders is patently obvious. In general, these mistranslations enabled the British colonial administrators to organise Native American culture into a system whose "coherence" matched European expectations of culture.

15. Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land, New York, 1975, p.125.

16. Other examples of the use of the Apollo Belvedere pose can be found in costume book illustrations of this period. W.G. Hausleutner's Gallerie der Nationen (1793) includes a section on the Americas in which two images particularly borrow the pose: a Cherokee Chief and an "Ottowa" Indian (Plates VII and IX). Hausleutner probably derived his figures from Thomas Jefferys' A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations both Ancient and Modern, Vol. IV, (1772) which contains similarly posed figures (Plates CXCVII, CCV-CCVIII).

17. It has been suggested that a contemporary interpretation of the Apollo Belvedere as a hunter gained prominence in the second half of the eighteenth century, facilitating his identification with primitive hunters in real life. Benjamin West is reported to have remarked, on seeing the statue for the first time, "My God!...how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior." See John Galt, The Life, Studies & Works of Benjamin West, Esq., London and Edinburgh, 1820, pp. 103-6, 115; (as cited in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900, New Haven and London, 1981, p.150.) Evidence exists in contemporary fiction to show that West's comparison was not unique. In John Shebbeare's Lydia (1755) the narrator watches Cannassatego shoot an arrow, after which the American is animated by "the air, attitude; and expression; of the beauteous statue of Apollo, which adorns the Belvidera (sic) Palace at Rome." London, 1786 edition, p.6.

18. There could be a confusion here between imagery associated with peoples of the West Indian colonies and those living in British North America. The figure is given a dark skin colour in the engraving (by the use of cross-hatching) and this is unusual with respect to most images of Native American peoples at this time. The curly hair is also unexpected for an Eastern Woodlands tribe. Some conflation of imagery culled from a variety of sources is most likely responsible for this figure.

19. A reference to the taking of scalps occurs in the background of the picture, where a similarly-attired Indian is shown kneeling over a victim. In fact, the whole image seems to encompass a chronology with the inclusion of tiny Indian figures on the right firing at European soldiers who point to the scalping vignette. The sequence culminates in and explains the dominant central figure, displaying his prize. The result is a brutality that is evident yet minimised, with incidental figures committing the atrocity while its result is shown in a highly refined pose.

20. Richard van der Beets, The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1984, pp.13-21.

21. Ibid., p.18.

22. The Affecting History of Mrs. Howe, London, 1815, reprinted Garland, New York, 1977, p.3.

23. John Fleming, "Robert Adam, Luc-Francois Breton and the Townshend Monument in Westminster Abbey", Connoisseur, Vol. 150, no. 605, July 1962, pp.164-5.

24. Fleming states that "the drawings for these figures are rather more

convincingly Choctaw than the marbles." The attribution of a Choctaw origin for these figures is not, however, completely substantiated by the evidence given in the drawings. It seems likely that Adam clothed his figures in an amalgam of various ethnographic material taken from George Townshend's collection of items which he acquired while in America. See Fleming, op. cit., p.170; Honour, op. cit., pp.128-9.

25. Percy G. Adams, op. cit., p.128. See also Whetfield J. Bell Jr., "Thomas Anburey's Travels Through America: A Note on Eighteenth Century Plagiarism", The Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America, XXXVII, First Quarter, 1943, pp.23-37.

26. Honour, op. cit., p.128.

27. See Wilbur R. Jacobs, Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier, Norman, 1985; Brian W. Dippie, The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy, Middletown, 1982; Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind, Baltimore, 1953, revised edition 1965.

28. George Heriot, resident in Canada from 1797 to 1816, became deputy Postmaster General of British North America in 1800. Trained as a military draughtsman under Paul Sandby at the Woolwich Academy, his interest in strictly Native American subject-matter is somewhat unique. J. Russell Harper, "British Army Topographers in Eastern Canada", in Painting in Canada: a History, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1966, pp.44-46.

29. Heriot was interested in figure groups as can be seen by the watercolour drawings he made of Indians dancing. According to Honour these drawings of Indian subjects may have been intended for publication. It is interesting to note that Heriot (or his publishers) only saw scope for the depiction of Native American peoples within a picturesque genre adapted for the travel account. See Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America, catalogue to the exhibition at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1975, catalogue numbers 287 and 288.

30. Michael Rosenthal, Constable: The Painter and His Landscape, London, 1983. John Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape, Cambridge, 1980.

31. Eighteenth century artistic theory held that Rosa's banditti and the landscape they inhabited were bound up in the idea of a sublime nature, its awesome and terrific forces untamed. In terms of landscape depiction Rosa offered the reverse side of nature's beauty to that seen in the works of Claude or Poussin where pastoral or classical landscapes had found expression, respectively. The English landscape tradition accepted these categories wholeheartedly and sought to align various English rural subject-matter along the broad lines of the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime. See Michael Kitson, Salvator Rosa, exhibition catalogue, Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery, London, 17 October - 23 December, 1973, pp.7-16. See also "English Opinion of Claude and Rosa" (chapter two) in Elizabeth Manwaring, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England, New York, 1925.

32. It seems from the several portraits taken of visiting Creek, Cherokee and Mohawk people to Europe between 1730 and 1820 that Eastern Woodlands tribal dress consisted of some European manufactured items such as cloth shirts combined with Native American ornamentation. One must be careful here in assuming that all tribal groups adopted this pattern. What is more likely is that tribal groups who had established trading relations and general contact with colonial interests in North America were also those more willing to travel to Europe on diplomatic missions. These people might also have been encouraged to dress in a

more European-like manner in order to gain a better reception from the European powers guiding colonial affairs.

33. The quotation by Walsh is taken from his "Notices of the North American Indians" (first pub. 1829) found in S.C. Hall, ed. The Amulet - A Christian and Literary Remembrancer, London, 1833. I am indebted to Dr. Michael Pidgley for bringing this book to my attention.

34. The popularity of costume books which helped artists to people their landscapes is evidenced in the work of William Alexander and J.A. Atkinson. The latter published his Picturesque Representations of the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Russians in 1812. W.H. Pyne also made contributions to the 1804 publication of Costume of Great Britain. See Richard T. Godfrey, op. cit., p. 79.

35. Picturesque Views of Rural Occupations from Ackermann's Edition of the "Microcosm" by W.H. Pyne, New York, 1977, (in Publisher's Note).

36. John Lambert, Travels Through Lower Canada and the United States Of North America, 2 vols., London, 1810, pp. 367-8.

37. Ibid.

38. Quoted in Francis D. Klingender, Art and The Industrial Revolution, first published 1947, London, 1972, p.97.

39. Robert E. Bieder, Science Encounters The Indian, 1820 - 1880, The Early Years of American Ethnology, Norman and London, 1986.

Chapter Seven - High Art and the American Indian

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the popular representations of Native Americans are those works accomplished in the higher, more prestigious genres of artistic practice such as portrait and history painting. Portrait painting had been, and would remain, an area which contained several examples of Native American sitters and will be treated separately in Chapter Eight. The other major painting genre, therefore, where one might hope to find Native American imagery is that of history. But, given the high status of history painting, the difficulty in securing patronage and the heavy involvement with academic theory, it is perhaps to be expected that little work in this genre features or even portrays Native American figures. Their only legitimate place in such painting was as part of a depiction of events concerning the discovery and colonisation of America, and few of these episodes acquired the attraction for painters of the more familiar classical subjects or incidents from European history. Nevertheless, it is precisely because history painting can be seen as the dominant visual genre in this period, that it is of interest to review how the Native American figure was accommodated within established modes of taste and patronage. In so doing we shall also be examining the relationship between highly regarded imagery and the more popular forms of representation discussed elsewhere in this thesis. This chapter, then, will discuss representative examples of history painting (including subject painting closer to pure genre) in a roughly chronological pattern from 1750 to 1850 and aims to reveal some of the characteristic

strategies of representation found therein. While a complete survey, even in this restricted field, is impractical, it should be possible to adduce enough material for general conclusions to be derived.

As is well known, the second half of the eighteenth century saw a marked revival in English history painting stemming largely from attempts to foster a national school of painting, symbolised by the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1768. At the centre of this new interest in history painting was the American-born artist and future President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West.¹ West's ambitious modern history painting, The Death of General Wolfe (1770) (Plate 151) caused something of a sensation and, as Reynolds predicted, would "occasion [a] revolution in the art". West's inclusion of a Native American figure in this picture is widely considered to be one of its most striking features, and the function of his Iroquois brave has been the subject of much analysis.² Most commentators concur in seeing the Iroquois in a semiotic light, acting as a sign for the use of native troops and for the region of the conflict, as well as bringing to mind the idea of witness to death seen in paintings of the Crucifixion. However, the analysis of this figure has not been taken further into an examination of West's habitual portrayal of Native Americans. It is my thesis that the Iroquois brave in The Death of General Wolfe is the most blatant example of a tendency that informs all of West's Indian paintings, notwithstanding their ethnographic accuracy.

West's portrayal of Native American peoples was at least a decade old in 1770 and had resulted in his development of a generic Indian brave. In 1760, while he was in Italy, West was commissioned by John Murray, the British Resident in Venice, to provide another artist with appropriate, ethnographically accurate figures for a design representing

the four parts of the globe. (Murray's anonymous artist was unable to complete the commission "for want of knowing the particular dress of our Indians to distinguish America".³) West's painting for Murray, The Savage Warrior Taking Leave of His Family, (Plate 152) features a male warrior who may be seen as the template for West's "generic Indian". A plucked scalp and topknot decorated with feathers, a beaded pouch, a blanket or animal skin, and body paint or tattooing appear here for the first time as the markers of the figure's identity and will reappear, in other guises, in later paintings. West must have been familiar with costume details from experience and may have used actual items on a lay figure to simulate the correct appearance. Bodily alterations, on the other hand, must have been supplied from memory. One distinctive example of this is the lacerated earlobe from which decorations might hang. This feature reappears in a portrait of 1767, possibly of Sir William Johnson, in the background figure, long believed to represent the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant.⁴ Such earlobes are also visible in West's General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer from the Tomahawk of a North American Indian (c.1764-68) (Plate 153) and William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1771). (Plate 154)

West's repetition of ethnographic detail can be seen as part of a more general tendency to represent Native American peoples in the light of a consistent ethos. In this respect General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer is significant for its clear statement of West's habitual depiction of Native American peoples. General Johnson protects the French commander, Baron Ludwig August von Dieskau, from the Mohawk seeking to revenge French depredations of his people. Painted some years after the incident at Lake George (1755)⁵, West's picture emphasises Johnson's current position, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the

Northern Colonies of America, by showing his resolve and civilising influence when faced with barbarity. The Mohawk, in contrast, can only be seen as in need of such tutelage and his presence in the picture is to help point up its moral and humane message. We can observe, therefore, progress from a self-explanatory depiction of Native Americans in 1760 to a functional or attendant position in the pictures of 1767 and 1768. This is not to deny the complexity of that function, but we should observe that West's reasons for including Indian figures in his work is not straightforward reportage. Furthermore, once the functional nature of West's Indians has been noted it becomes easier to understand why his depiction of them relies upon one particular formulation first painted in 1760. In a functional context precise specification of character, tribal affiliation or rank would be unnecessary.

This tendency is taken to its extreme point in The Death of General Wolfe of 1770. The Iroquois warrior in that picture is closely allied to the Mohawk in General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer, even down to the ethnographically dubious bared feet;⁶ but his presence here is more functional still, being all too obviously supernumerary in this white passion play. Given this meditative role, West's detailed depiction of the Iroquois' accoutrements takes on the quality of a detached still-life element providing a secondary subject and enlivening the foreground. We should note, too, that as well as de-activating his warrior figure in this way, West has come close to revivifying allegory.⁷ The active and engaged Mohawk of General Johnson is a participant, a real individual capable of tangible deeds; his Iroquois counterpart in The Death of General Wolfe (and it is significant that West sees all members of the Six Nations as interchangeable) is a

passive and iconic type.

West's tendency toward allegory in his Indian pictures is nowhere better exemplified than in his William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1771-72).⁸ In a letter of 1805 West talks of how he intended the picture to be understood.

The great object I had in forming that composition was to express savages brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolence, by not withholding from them what was their right, and giving to them what they were in want of, as well as a wish to give by that art a conquest made over native people without sword or dagger.⁹

Although the painting had been commissioned by a Quaker relative of William Penn, there is no reason to suggest that West privately dissented from the sentiments expressed in his picture, namely, the beneficial influence of the Quaker faith as a means of civilising "savages".

We can see immediately that West composed the picture to contrast the Quakers and their way of life with that of the Lenni Lenape. The light flooding in from the left bathes the Quakers, their cleared land, and their settlement, only to fade out in the thick forest beyond. This movement from light to darkness is echoed in the relative stages of completion in the background buildings (ending in the "crude" shelters of the Lenni Lenape). We may note, too, tokens of trade (ships, goods) and industry (portering, building) on the Quaker side of the picture and their opposites (weapons, passivity) with the Lenni Lenape. In many ways the picture can be seen as a synopsis of Quaker justification for the settlement of Pennsylvania, almost literally lightening the darkness of unredeemed savages through peace, justice and industry. Thus, despite West's exactitude in detailing the Lenni Lenape (borrowing Delaware accoutrement from Thomas Clarkson)¹⁰, their presence within the picture

is primarily as components within a context determined by Quaker interests.¹¹

There is perhaps a larger issue here. West's construction of a generic Indian type might be seen as his response to the dictates of academic theory, with its stress on generalised and idealised form as opposed to the depiction of minute particulars. The Death of General Wolfe, however, was significant precisely for its attention to particulars of uniform and locale. But, if we look closely at all these pictures, it is evident that West's detail is ordered hierarchically and only seeks the depiction of individuals in a few cases. Elsewhere, detail is used to enrich the essentially generic types it clothes, be they infantrymen, labourers or Indians.¹² West's Indians, therefore, occupy the same functional relation to the main action as any undifferentiated staffage figure. But, placed in this secondary relationship, West's Indians are enacting a role which was not actually established. Unlike their European staffage equivalents, most Native Americans at this period had not been assimilated and did not have a clearly discerned place in the order of things. Their role in the formation of colonies in America was, in fact, highly problematic and it was stressed by various writers of the period that Native American peoples were and would remain resistant to change and unresponsive to attempts at Christianisation.¹³ General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer, The Death of General Wolfe and William Penn's Treaty with the Indians describe acts of negotiation and compromise with, and even sympathetic relations between Native American groups and Europeans, but they also reinforced a belief that the Indian had to be controlled, subdued or palliated by kindness if he was to be incorporated into a European system of values. In all three paintings the Indian figure is

positioned by West in a relationship to whites that contains his presence. His violence is restrained by General Johnson, his existence improved by William Penn and in The Death of General Wolfe, he becomes more of a cipher than an independent agent. The self-sufficiency of the Native American is replaced in these paintings by a position dependent on white culture.

West's treatment of Indians was, nevertheless, singular in its ethnographic observation and in its attempt to achieve an appropriate visualisation for Native Americans that went further than depicting them as hostile, bloodthirsty threats to European settlement. On the whole the majority of history subjects taken from colonial experience as subjects for painting and engraving do not exhibit the same sophisticated understanding of the Indian figure that West displays. As examples we shall look briefly at the illustrated histories of the period, especially Hume and Smollett's and Robertson's. These engraved histories should be viewed as equivalent to history paintings, or at least historic genre, in their selection and treatment of incidents. They constituted for their readership practically the sole examples of images of the "real" Native American as a participant in historic events, and, as such, function analogously to history paintings proper. It is evident, however, that the majority of the engravings used in these volumes rely on a more clichéd presentation of Indian-white relations than West provided.

A plate entitled "General Burgoyne and the Indians in 1777" was included in the 1804 edition of Smollett and Hume's History of England. In it the General, placed on horseback and accompanied by some of his officers, is shown extending his right arm in a gesture which must be termed friendly, if not conciliatory. The group of Indians, some seated

and others standing carrying large spears, are attired in rather fancifully described feather skirts with the main Indian figure, perhaps the leader of the group, wearing a draped cloth, toga-like, around his waist instead of a feather skirt. (Plate 155) In broad terms these Native American figures are clothed according to the traditional allegory of the "Four Continents" as described in Chapter Two. They must be seen, therefore, as antiquated and formulaic depictions in light of the ethnographic interest shown at that time in Native American costume such as can be found in Benjamin West's paintings. The illustrator of the History of England has relied on a well-worn and cliched type of Indian in order to populate his "history" subject. One intriguing aspect of this plate is the manner in which the subject is composed with the General and his men occupying one side of the plate and the Indian figures grouped such that they exactly take up the other half. An invisible line seems to exist separating the two groups and only a hoof of the General's horse is allowed visual contact with the Native Americans. Compositionally, this seems to repeat a pattern which West employed in his picture of Penn's Treaty With the Indians and thus represents a visual reminder of an ideology which saw Indian culture as something primitive and un-European. In order to underscore the point, the general appears raised up on his steed, aloof and condescending like the conqueror of a subject people, all the while extending his hand in friendship.

William Robertson's The History of America (1777), published in a new edition of 1817, includes illustrations which pertain to the history of the colonization and settlement of the Americas. It thus fills a historical gap by representing subjects not treated in painting. In the plate The English Pursuing Their Victory and Hunting the Indians

from Their Places of Retreat (Plate 156), the foreground is taken up by a personal battle between an Englishman in armour and an "Indian". The uncharacteristic costumes on the main Indian figure and on an expired Indian seen in the right foreground are more in keeping with published illustrations made in connection with the Voyages to the South Seas by Cook and others. (Plate 157) This reveals the illustrator's indiscriminate use of graphic material related to any or all foreign peoples. The specificity of this event, probably to do with the Pequot Wars, is not acknowledged as such and the noncommittal title of the plate helps further its ambiguity.

A final group of engravings illustrates how the published histories tended to repeat the subjects to be given elucidation and thus were part of the construction of a historiography about the founding of the United States which emphasized certain moments or events above others in the formulation of myths about America's historical past. This set of prints is most certainly associated with a history of America of the type written by Smollett and Hume or Robertson. As they are a loose set of prints it was virtually impossible to discover the text to which they were originally attached. However, some general stylistic traits in the engravings give an indication as to when they were produced.

The subject of the Pequot War is again represented but this time the viewpoint is taken from the English side as they rush towards the distant group of Indians filling up the shadowy background. Several elements of Native American adornment (a bear-claw necklace and coxcomb-like headdresses) point to this engraver's awareness of the imagery produced by George Catlin in his travels of the 1830's when he ascended the Missouri and encountered various Plains cultures. (Plates 158 and 159) Compared to its attention to seventeenth-century English

military costume, the plate's description of Pequot costume as a Plains-type of dress only adds further to the misrepresentation of the actual event.

This set also includes an illustration of "General Burgoyne and the Indians" (Plate 160) but here the General and his entourage are minimized, shown in mid-ground, and placed on equal footing with the rest of the figures. Catlin's influence is even more strongly present here in the style of ornamentation: the wolf's head blanket draped across a figure in the left foreground, the large feather bonnet shown on another figure and the decoration on the underside of skin shown on a man in the far left foreground.(Plate 160) This makes the dating of these plates easier in that they must be after the publication of Catlin's Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customsof North American Indians (London, 1841). Catlin's book was originally illustrated with lithographs after his line drawings and this would have meant that some of the details in the forms of the costumes would be lost. The influence of the line drawings is revealed in the lack of attention to minute detail in the costume of Burgoyne's Indians. Not entirely unwittingly, this illustrator has relied on the new visual cliches of the 1840's and 50's in his use of Catlin's imagery, whose work will itself be discussed in Chapter Nine.

Despite the proliferation of possible subjects in the engraved histories just discussed, the depiction of the Native American figure in history painting of this period is not widespread. The most likely reason for this paucity of examples lies in painters' perceptions of market interest. Engravings of incidents from colonial history had their place in an appropriate book, where one might reasonably expect the reader to be already interested in the subject, but paintings of the

same subjects would not necessarily have been understood by the public at large. West himself was conscious of this problem, as Joseph Farington records.

West told us a story of the death of Colonel Sir Peter Hacket who, with one of his sons, was killed in America by the Indians, when General Braddock fell. Another son of the Colonel's was wounded but recovered. The bodies of the slain were left unburied.- Four or Five years after Fort Pitt as it is now called was taken by the English.- It was only a few miles from the field of battle where the bones of the slain still lay. Those of the Colonel were found being known by a remarkable tooth, His Son, who had been wounded, was present at the discovery.- The Scene was interesting and had it been generally known West said He would have painted it.¹⁴

Indeed, if we look at West's images of Indians it is evident that their production was occasioned by specific circumstances. Two were engravings for an historical account, The Savage Warrior and William Penn were commissions, and The Death of Wolfe was chiefly concerned with a British national hero in a particularly well remembered campaign. General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer, on the other hand, was never exhibited and remained in West's possession until his death.¹⁵ This last painting seems to represent West's misjudgment of public interest in American subjects; his failure to sell it supports his decision not to paint the episode discussed with Farington.

It would be misleading, however, to suggest that history painting containing American Indian figures ended with West. Although never a popular category, such imagery was produced by a number of artists from the 1770s onwards.

One such artist was James Barry. Barry received a commission in 1772 to paint The Death of General Wolfe from a friend of the General, the Duke of Richmond.¹⁶ In Barry's inclusion of an expired Indian brave

in the left foreground edge of the picture (Plate 124), one sees the articulation of a form devised from classical models. Unlike West's 'Mohawk', the only discernible features of this Indian are his top-knot of hair, the tomahawk placed in his limp fingers and his distinctive skin colouring. Barry only offers these vague elements, besides the partial nudity of the Indian, as tokens to determine the ethnicity of this figure. They are small traits compared to the large mass of his form but are deemed to be sufficient indicators of this figure's "Americanness". It seems that while Barry attempted to follow West's lead in the inclusion of a Native American figure, he was not able or did not desire to show body decoration or facial features of the figure as West had done.

Barry's knowledge of certain tribal practices such as tattooing and other skin decorating could not have been as broad as West's nor could he have obtained as easily the necessary tribal dress to costume his models. Equally, however, as an adherent of academic theory and its elevation of the general above the particular, Barry would have wished to avoid an over-detailed presentation of ethnographic or other particular traits. Maximum impact would be achieved by concentration on the essential elements in the story, not adventitious detail.¹⁷ Therefore, in the same way as he chose to pare down the central group of figures to a more historically accurate one, with few attendants near Wolfe, so he also chose to generalize the Native American figure, creating a less distinct and obtrusive presence. Without fully specifying which Native American tribes had been active in the conflict in America, he reminds the viewer of the location of this battle. Barry's use of the Indian as a sign for location is evidently similar to West's, but it seems that the process has been taken further. Whereas

the Indian was merely detached from the central scene in the painting by West, he now appears completely in opposition to that group, a vanquished foe, "trophy-like", and equivalent to the expired French soldier across whose dead form he has been placed.

In his later work, Barry continued to include brief references to Native American subjects in his compositions. They are, in a sense, pictorial reminders of an interest that the artist retained throughout his career. If the artist referred to tribes taking part in the battles in Canada by using the image of an expired Indian as a framing device in his The Death of General Wolfe, he also alluded to a distinct Native American culture in the background of another work, Commerce, or The Triumph of the Thames (Plate 162) painted for the Society of Arts. In this work, which the artist revised in 1801, he "used the stepped pyramids of Babylon and Mexico to 'improve' the classical columns, when adding a naval pillar to the design...."¹⁸ His concern for accuracy is apparent in the two studies he made after Mexican temples, one copied from the Abbe D. Francisco Javier Clavijero's The History of Mexico, (translated from the Italian by Charles Cullen in 1787).¹⁹ The Native American appears again when the tiny background visage of the Peruvian figure, Manco Capac, was included in one of Barry's designs for the rooms at the Society of Arts. This wall painting, entitled Elysium and the Tartars or the State of Final Retribution includes the Native American figure as part of a group of "legislators and founders of politics whose information was inadequate to the purity of their intentions." This group includes "Brahma, Confucius and the Peruvian crowned with a feathered headdress."²⁰ Also included in the scene is the Dominican friar, Las Casas, who gives instruction to a reclining Indian figure. It seems, from the evidence of this incidental usage of

the Native American figure within Barry's oeuvre, that he was not entirely comfortable with the portrayal of Native Americans, although he obviously felt that they had a role to play in historical subject pictures. His Death of General Wolfe and subsequent work show an interest in Native American subject-matter which was always contained within a wider context such that the Native American presence is diminished and marginalised in the interests of wider concerns.

West's picture of General Wolfe's death continued to influence artists of subsequent generations as the Revolutionary Wars had brought fresh instances of heroism and tragedy to the attention of the public. A similar battle picture, produced several years later than Barry's, goes much farther than hinting at a Native American presence in the North American conflicts. Another American-born artist, John Trumbull, chose to include an American Indian figure in a picture painted on a visit to England in the 1780's. The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec (Plate 163) of 1786 referred to an event which had occurred during the Revolutionary Wars in Canada. Trumbull was under the tutelage of West when this picture was conceived and it would have been almost ungrateful if the younger man had not made some reference to West's great picture of sixteen years before.²¹

However, whatever general debt he may have owed to West's Death of Wolfe, Trumbull gave his painting much more movement and verve. With the unfurling flags and exaggerated postures of the participants, The Death of General Montgomery creates the feeling of the thick of battle, which is indeed the moment when the General was killed. In this way the Native American figure, identified in a key to the engraving after the painting as Colonel "Joseph Lewis", has a crucial role to play compositionally as his raised arm links the movement of the group of

rangers on the left with the central group of figures, the dying General and his attendants, in the middle of the picture.²² In two sketches for the painting there is evidence that, originally, the artist had not planned for a figure at that point in the composition. (Plate 164) As the resulting picture reveals, Trumbull changed his mind as the painting came to fruition and decided that a linking figure was necessary to bring the two separated main groupings into a cohesive whole. We know from contemporary accounts of the General's death that the figure of the Oneida chief was not among those present at the scene of death and neither was he identified by the picture's key as one of the portraits the artist had purposefully included in his work.²³ It would seem, therefore, that the motive for the inclusion of the Indian figure came from concerns outside those of historical accuracy. Both West and Barry had been aware that only a few figures were present at the scene of death each had chosen to depict and that an Indian figure was not among these individuals. Yet they too had resorted to making visual reference to Native American participation in the events of the wars through their use of a single Indian Brave. Perhaps Trumbull also hoped to give recognition to the often important role played by Native American auxiliaries in the outcome of military campaigns. The individuation of this figure with the name of Colonel Joseph Lewis is explained by Trumbull's statement that he had taken the liberty of giving "to several of the Figures, the Names of those who were killed or wounded;- that this be regarded as a justifiable though imperfect tribute to their Memory."²⁴ To Trumbull's credit, the Native American figure is much more an integral part of the scene in this picture than the similar characters are in Barry's or West's battle pictures, even if Trumbull's Indian has less surface detail than West's Iroquois brave. The pose of

the Oneida "officer" as he runs into the mass of waving banners from a darkened background accelerates the force of the entire picture and his crucial placement turns the image into an exciting tour-de-force.

Trumbull may have seen Native American irregular troops during the Revolutionary War, when he was one of Washington's aides-de-camp, and this first-hand experience gave him, as it had West, the confidence to tackle the central presentation of an Indian figure; whereas Barry, one feels, even discounting his adherence to academic theory, was impeded by lack of direct experience to make more of his figure than he did. Nevertheless, it is worth re-iterating that, whatever distinctions of accuracy can be drawn between the three painters, all of them use their Indian figures for the same function. The Native Americans who appear in these paintings by West, Barry and Trumbull are in a wider sense merely tokens of a political and military alliance. It was well-established that the help of local tribespeople might give the edge to a field commander and the support of various groups was actively pursued by European combatants in America.²⁵ This recognition resulted in a great deal of time and effort being spent in creating pacts, giving gifts in the form of guns and ammunition, and in awarding peace medals when concord was achieved.²⁶ (Plate 165) West, Barry and Trumbull draw attention to this general feature of the various North American campaigns by including Indian figures in their paintings.

A footnote to the battle pictures of the late eighteenth-century is provided by a history painting conceived in the first years of the nineteenth century by another American artist working abroad, John Vanderlyn. Vanderlyn was commissioned by the poet, Joel Barlow, to illustrate his epic poem concerning the founding of America, The Columbiad (1804).²⁷ During the execution of this task, Vanderlyn chose

to concentrate on one passage in particular which described the death of a young maiden, Lucinda, at the hands of American Indians who were also her captors. (Plate 104) Barlow had included this episode in his narrative as a direct reference to an actual event that occurred during the Revolutionary Wars; hence, it was a poetic interpretation of an historical event that provided the 'text' for Vanderlyn's picture rather than a scene taken directly from contemporary participants or from historical record. The fictional Lucinda owes her origin to Miss Jane McCrea, a Tory sympathizer, reported to have been killed by Native Americans as she crossed behind enemy lines in 1777. The incident was immediately sensationalized by certain writers and details surrounding her capture and death were quickly embroidered into the stuff of legend.²⁸ Vanderlyn may have been aware of the connotations of the scene in terms of its extremely violent and repugnant content, but it is more likely that the subject appealed to him because of the widely held belief that Native American involvement was one of the 'disasters' of the War.²⁹ Indian groups were more often blamed for raids on peaceful settlements and for over-aggressive treatment of enemy forces than praised for their heroism.

Vanderlyn became so obsessed with this picture while at work on it in Paris that he was unable to complete any of the other subjects for the commission. In the end, only this work was finished and it was exhibited at the Salon in 1804. Significantly, however, its title was not The Death of Lucinda (as Barlow might have expected) but The Death of Jane MacCrea. In this picture the American Indian figures have a more dominant role to play as they grasp the frightened victim and expose her bare forehead to the blades of their tomahawks. As protagonists in the drama they now dominate the composition visually, on equal pictorial

terms with the European; but we should note that this equivalence is achieved only by stressing the power and ferocity of the Indians, a strategy reminiscent of West's General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer. It has been suggested by some scholars that the figure group in Vanderlyn's picture was based on the similarly posed figures in David's The Sabine Women of 1799.³⁰(Plate 166) As Vanderlyn was in Paris at the time he painted his picture, it seems likely that he would have looked to the most public expositor of French neo-classicism as a guide in achieving success for his picture. But it is immediately evident that the rules of engagement in David's painting are conducted along the lines of a classical Geneva Convention; whereas the Indians in The Death of Jane MacCrea, despite their classically articulated forms and sculptural poses, present a pungent reality of violence and cruelty. With Vanderlyn's history picture another area of Native American subject-matter was opened up for artists who could dwell on so-called atrocities and titillate their audiences by the depiction of blood-curdling scenes.

This type of subject, concentrating on a minor military episode as an epitome of violence, can be seen as a less public history painting than those discussed above. The emphasis on violence in Vanderlyn's picture eclipses its factual origins in the Revolutionary Wars and brings the subject closer to the realm of genre painting. This tendency to abstract 'universal' relevance from specific incidents would eventually, in the nineteenth century, reduce most serious history painting to genre, but its origins are present in the eighteenth century.³¹ As regards the Native American, this aesthetic of "serious genre" fostered a type of subject in which he could assume a central importance denied him by the necessarily Eurocentric emphasis in

documentary history paintings.

Benjamin West's The Savage Warrior Taking Leave of His Family (discussed above) may be seen as an early example of this genre-like interpretation of the Native American. The warrior and his way of life are represented with some care and, as a result, West is able to anchor his representation circumstantially. The warrior is leaving for battle (indicated by his hunting dog being restrained) and points to the corn which will feed his family while he is away. The figures in this painting have been tentatively identified as either Iroquois, Algonquin, Ojibwa or Menominee³² (a lack of specificity that sheds an interesting light on what West considered ethnographic accuracy to be) but in one sense their race and customs are transcended by the nature of the departure. The classically-derived poses³³ and drapery of both figures, together with their restrained and dignified expressions, position them in a world of universal sentiment where Woodlands Indians share the same feelings as Ulysses and Penelope. The Indian woman, with a small infant at her breast, shows not distress but stoical calmness.

The presentation of a stoical figure in the face of profound grief was the inspiration for another "Indian" picture devised and exhibited in the late eighteenth-century. Joseph Wright's Indian Widow(1783-85) (Plate 167) is a subject picture that was first exhibited with a companion piece, The Lady in Milton's Comus, at Mr. Robin's Rooms, London in 1785.³⁴ Both images were meant to disclose the vigilance of their female subjects in the face of terrible circumstances.³⁵ It is now believed that Wright's source was a quasi-historical text, James Adair's The History of the American Indians published in London in 1775. The relevant passage reads as follows:

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company

and diversions, at the penalty of an adultress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the house under her bed. And if he is a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole, which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes."³⁶

It is this scene, with its description of the lone Indian figure facing tremendous physical and emotional hardship, that provides the most profound instance of the adoption of a Native American subject for pictorially-grand ends.

The pose of the figure is based to a large extent on the classical prototype of the Dacia or "weeping" figure.³⁷ (Plate 111) Given a contemplative attitude and painted in high relief, the Indian Widow appears as if carved in stone on a funerary monument.³⁸ In this way Wright has blended the story of his picture with its articulation for not only is she required by Native American law to stay by her husband's war gear and trophies but she has literally been cast there by the artist, an immovable icon of intense grief.

Elements which define the ethnicity of the figure are draped across the bare tree, blasted by the storm raging to the right of the figure. The widow is herself only adorned with the feathers she wears, attached to a decorated headband which stands out prominently against a blazingly lit background, and a robe or shawl draped across her waist, hips and one shoulder. It is known that Wright had difficulties knowing how to proceed on the 'dress' of his figure, and that he wrote to William Hayley explaining his problem.³⁹ One feels that his solution to the problem, a generalized and classically-formulated Native American, stemmed from the requirements of painting and the use of the academic

model rather than from any sense that he felt unequipped to paint Indian finery. In this way the figure in Wright's work has a connection with Barry's Native American figure in The Death of General Wolfe for the treatment of both figures is classicizing and generalized. Wright's image is, however, infused with the belief that a figure such as The Indian Widow is worthy of emulation. He chose to illustrate an entirely Native American subject and in this way created a striking formulation within which the Native American personage is fully articulated. Nevertheless, for all his adoption of Adair's text and his demonstration of Native American nobility of emotion, Wright has shied away from detailed, particularising representation and has presented the woman with a similar ambiguity to that found in West's Savage Warrior. That she is Native American is not in doubt, but she is also the embodiment of a courageous and affecting temperament that any feeling European would wish to claim as their inheritance. By employing a classicising pose and avoiding too many specific details of skin colour, accoutrement and behaviour, Wright's painting had a message not only for collectors of the antique but also those who found 'natural' emotion most interesting.

In Wright's painting, as in West's of the previous decade, an apotheosis was reached in the representation of the Native American which in pictorial terms was never to be outdone. As it happened, very few painters chose to concentrate on similar subject-matter after the appearance of Wright's work. Indeed, West's observation about the lack of public interest in American themes may apply to The Indian Widow; for, despite Wright's painting it as a pendant to The Lady in Milton's Comus Wedgwood only bought the latter painting and The Indian Widow itself was not sold until after Wright's death.⁴⁰

From the beginning of the nineteenth-century up until 1850, artistic interest in subject-matter relating to the Native American gradually tapered off in European centres. To some extent this can be explained by the independence of the United States and the resultant sense in Europeans that there was no necessary reason to develop an interest in matters that were no longer of any concern to them. With the Native American exhibitions and performances by George Catlin and his groups of Indians in the 1840's, an end was signalled to widespread European interest in Native American life as a problematic culture, throwing a raking light on their own way of life. Catlin's troupe, for all his missionary zeal to record, if not preserve, a way of life, could only be seen as a curiosity in countries that no longer faced the problems of cultural integration, hunger for land and tension between whites and Native Americans. However, even as the topic of Native American life ceased to hold its attraction for lovers of the extra-ordinary, several artists chose to depict certain Indian figures taken from literature as a means of realizing the epic and heroic nature of a 'dying' race of people.⁴¹

The first of these, The Burial of Atala (1808) (Plate 168) painted by Anne-Louis Girodet de Trioson, was taken from the first installment of an epic volume written by François-Rene de Chateaubriand entitled Le Génie du Christianisme published in 1802. Atala was published in 1801, previous to the rest of the work, and received enthusiastic appraisal by French audiences. It went through many editions and was often illustrated.⁴² Thus, when Girodet decided to illustrate the novel's climax in the death of its heroine, he had several precedents from which to draw inspiration. In addition, the novel itself provides adequate descriptive passages giving visualization to the scene which would have

guided the artist in his elucidation of the specific episode.⁴³ It is interesting to note that in spite of the evidence shown in preliminary sketches for the painting, which include more detail on the figure of Chactas giving him definition as a Native American (Plate 169), the final result contains little of these visual reminders. As the painting came to fruition such details as the plucked scalp or topknot, the feather headdress, and the bow and arrows were discarded to present a simplified and elegantly linear fluidity of the figures and their proportions. The placement of the central figures in a frieze-like arrangement strongly highlighted by a single light source entering through the top of the cave does not, however, produce the quiet stoicism seen in the paintings by Benjamin West and Joseph Wright discussed above. Instead, the strong light and dark contrasts in the flowing dark of Chactas' hair as it streams over the white shroud that covers the figure of Atala give this work an intensity and emotionality that were not present in the earlier figures. Girodet's interest in heightened emotion and drama is part of the same development in demonstrative action seen in Vanderlyn's Death of Jane MacCrea and marks the use of Indian figures in highly emotional contexts, again subsuming them within a category of representation developing quite independently of their place within it. The Neo-Classical Indian was about to metamorphose into the Romantic Indian. Obviously, this development is not sudden. Wright's use of storm clouds and a volcano as correlatives for emotion (their most plausible explanation) indicates the emotional basis for his work and points to the increasing interest in the depiction of emotions in the proto-Romantic period. Similarly, both Wright and Girodet's female figures exemplify the victory of duty over self-gratification, faithfully following the dictates of society rather

than their own individual needs; this ethos cannot be ascribed simply to a Neo-Classical or Romantic interest. While it might be futile to attempt to clarify the Neo-Classical and Romantic elements in Wright and Girodet's work, it is nevertheless true that if works such as these, concerning the Native American woman's chastity and loyalty, were meant to be instructive, their power was all the more increased by the heightened presentation of their subjects. The figure of Atala in the novel was likened to "alabaster" and described as "la statue de la Virginite endormie".⁴⁴ In this way, literature helped substantiate the painter's use of the statuesque properties in the figure of Atala who becomes an image of womanhood drained of colour and, therefore, ethnicity. It was stated in the novel by Chateaubriand that the young heroine was only half-Indian. She therefore shared some European lineage with the readers of the novel. As the impact of such pictures derived mostly from an identification with the protagonists, to the extent that audiences might be uplifted by these scenes of personal fortitude, it would diminish the impact if much detail in the form of Native American accoutrement was present in the scene. Hence we find that the solution for both Girodet and Wright was the inclusion of small amounts of decorative detail which do not detract from the central action of the piece. Thus, while these pictures ostensibly entail Native American subjects as their central themes, they have lost most of the ethnographic exactitude shown in the history paintings by artists such as Benjamin West. Only in the thoroughly classicized and Europeanized smoothness of form sanctioned by academic theory and classical precedent could Native American subject-matter be presented to audiences and the academic community.

One exception to this Europeanization of the Native American in

exhibited paintings is the next work to be discussed, Delacroix's Les Natchez of 1835. The artist, also working from a text written by Chateaubriand, chose to illustrate a scene in the epilogue to Atala which told of the last descendents of the tribe of Natchez Indians mourning the death of their infant.⁴⁵ (Plate 170) It is a significant painting in terms of its creation of sympathetic feeling without making reference to European Christian sentiment. Delacroix achieves this through a simplification of means which has a quite separate rationale to that spare presentation favoured in Neo-Classical theory. Instead Delacroix reaches his aim through the use of confined space linked to a breadth of handling which causes the viewer's eye to freely pass over the picture's surface as the Indian people's features blur into a unified vision of humanity. While these figures may be recognizably foreign, they are above all parents of a tiny child which they are about to lose.

Various tribal accoutrement is present in the scene in the several items placed next to the family group; a basket decorated with a repeated pattern, a small dark bowl, a hatchet or tomahawk and a war club lie strewn on the path where the parents have chosen to rest. In the background a canoe is shown pushed up on the bank. Beadwork, feathers and earrings which appear on the male figure and the necklace and bracelet on the female indicate their Native American affiliation. Both are given dark hair and skin which again is a realization of their non-European status. The artist's choice of subject, his inclusion of Native American accoutrement and his elucidation of the events are in keeping with his more general interest in foreign cultures at this time.⁴⁶

As this work was conceived as early as 1823, it may have been a

published book illustrating Native American life rather than the presence of actual Native Americans visiting France that provided the artist with valuable models for his picture. One precedent did exist for Les Natchez: a painting exhibited in 1781 entitled Canadian Indians at their Child's Grave and probably derived from a passage in Abbe Raynal's Histoire Philosophique et politique des etablissements et du commerce published in 1780. The painter, Jean Jacques Le Barbier, the elder, created the work as his debut picture for the Salon of 1781.⁴⁷ (Plate 171) The image relates how Native American parents in Canada were supposed to have reacted to the death of an infant. Fair treatment of their children had been one of the positive attributes given to Native Americans by the travel writers during this period.⁴⁸ The mother in Le Barbier's painting appears resting on her knees clutching the grave which is itself of interest in that it appears as a raised block of roughly-hewn masonry, a detail which was not supported by ethnographic evidence. While she spills her unused milk over the surface of the stone, in an act that recalls the use of female milk to provide sustenance or 'Roman charity', the father, seated on the left, appears in melancholic pose, his head downcast and resting on one hand. His seated pose and the features of his face have much in common with Delacroix's later figure of the Natchez man.

In Delacroix's picture it is the father who holds his dying baby and casts his eyes downwards as if to submit to the strength of forces he can no longer resist. The family grouping in both scenes of parental mourning is intimate and extremely tender. The parents are physically bonded in the earlier picture by the father's arm resting on the arm of the mother as she grasps the tomb of her lost child as if to will the child back to existence. In Les Natchez, the parents are closely

aligned through their poses, the inclination of their heads and by their solemn expressions. They create a physical cradle in which their tiny infant rests; the child occupies the space in the exact centre of the picture. This underlines the importance of its death in that one sees the child at the heart of its culture, a future hope that like a small flame is being rapidly extinguished.

In reviewing these pictures concerned with Indian emotion it is evident that most of the figures depicted do not exhibit on their persons much of the evidence that would associate them with their tribal groups. Rather, they are usually simply clothed in flowing garments often working more like drapery; they are all partial nudes and to that extent have been given appropriate musculature according to the dictates of the academy; and they are placed in simplified arrangements so that their symbolic and iconic resonance has not been impaired. From the outset they appear as devices for the exemplification of parental or familial devotion and loyalty to one's own race or creed. In an era of great change and turmoil such as that which occurred at the turn of the century these kinds of concerns should have appealed to a large audience.

The implication of an interest in the Native American only as an exemplar of ideal behaviour are that, firstly, the recognition of the Native American as different, distinctive or foreign is not in keeping with this 'universal' mode of presentation, and therefore the Native American's ethnic traits could never be fully realized within the pictures. Secondly, if the figure of an Indian is only worthy of emulation if he or she is weak or dying then it would be fair to say that the figure as a symbolic device was an image devoid of living content. Stated in another way, a strong and powerful perception of

Native American life embodied in the figure of a male Brave was not an image likely to produce a sympathetic response in the viewer; nor would artists of this generation choose to depict such a figure in a sympathetic light. West's Savage Warrior is very much the exception that proves the rule.

In England, two pictures exhibited within twenty years of each other exemplify this tendency to focus on Native American culture as an impotent force. The first picture, Henry Perronet Briggs' The First Conference Between the Spaniards and Peruvians was shown in 1826 at the Royal Academy. (Plate 172) It is a scene of confrontation much in the manner of the earlier history paintings where the areas containing the Native American figures were separated from those of other groups, allotting them only one side of the canvas. In this way the viewer is made to see the Native Americans in opposition to the Europeans, an alternative mode of existence represented by their semi-clothed forms and exotic finery. In this scene, which was described in the catalogue to the exhibition⁴⁹, the priest, Father Vincent Valverde holds open a book, possibly a bible, which he seems to proffer the standing male figure of the Inca leader. The Inca (or 'Ataliba') has his hands interlaced and resting on his exposed thigh. He seems to be imploring the priest not to subject his people to the demands entailed in the Christian's message. The artist may have been making an allusion to Spanish colonial policy in that a Papal order of 1512 (the Requerimiento) required all colonizers to read an extract of written text in Spanish to the native inhabitants of an area declaring that if they refused conversion the lands would be confiscated by divine sovereign right of the King.⁵⁰ As an English painter, Briggs would have been attracted to a subject that not only was part of a rival country's

past but also associated with a rival religion, Catholicism. In addition, Peruvian culture had long held a fascination for European writers and poets⁵¹ and the revival of South American-inspired plays in the first part of the nineteenth-century may have given the artist inspiration for his piece. (See Chapter Three)

In 1846 the youthful John Everett Millais exhibited Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru at the Royal Academy. (Plate 173) This painting has several elements in common with the earlier picture by Briggs, notably the leopard skin, the crouching female in the corner of the picture and the figure of Father Vincent Valverde. It has been noted that Millais went to the trouble to borrow costumes and decorative items from the Princess Theatre where Sheridan's Pizarro was currently being staged and that one of the actors in the play posed for the picture, although not in his usual role.⁵² Millais was concerned to enliven his painting with props and accurate detail, thereby achieving an approach to the subject that offered a better researched painting than that of most contemporary painters. He was helped in this by the artist, Edward Goodall, who provided some original items garnered from his voyage and experiences on an expedition to British colonies in Guiana in the 1830s.⁵³ The quotation which Millais included in the Royal Academy catalogue indicates that both he and Briggs had garnered the 'text' for their works from similar historical sources. The subject is thus described:

"Pizarro himself advanced towards the Emperor, whom he took prisoner, while his soldiers, incited by Vincent Valverde, massacred all that surrounded the Monarch-vide Luffman's Chronology."⁵⁴

Yet the overwhelming impression of Millais' painting, despite his concern for accuracy, is one of extreme staginess; the characters

deployed on his canvas strike theatrical poses, revealing in their excess of emotion how strong a debt Millais owed to grandiloquent history painting and Victorian theatrical taste.

In reviewing this selection of history paintings which included Native American figures it is evident that no sustained body of work emerged which attempted to feature their way of life or recent history. Eighteenth century artists, in particular, employed Indian figures in subsidiary roles where they came to be viewed as part of the corps of support figures to the central action. Even in paintings depicting Indians on their own, their assimilation to an heroic code or European sensibility ensured that they were effectively contextualised in such a way as to minimise the problematic impact of their otherness. Later, we can observe a lessening of interest in contemporary Native Americans and a morbid fascination for the extinction of a race or the destruction of a culture. Even here, however, the presentation is aligned with European historical co-ordinates such that in the two English works based on the Pizarro theme, a shift in focus occurred as a result of an essentially literary presentation. This use of quotation and the selection of a subject from a distant time effectively distanced the action by making it an historical exemplum, bringing the Native American leader more into line with other tragic-heroic figures of the past. Thus the Inca "Ataliba", became a Caesar-like leader ruling a vast domain, destined to fall as the progress of European civilization and the spread of Christianity spelled the end of Native American existence as he had known it. This, on a localised and more intimate scale, is the message of Atala and Les Natchez too.

In the eyes of contemporary commentators the 'inevitability' of this fate to some extent justified the taking away of all Native American

lands. Few voices, even those sympathetic to the Indians' plight, questioned the logic of this assumption. (Catlin's fatalistic acceptance of the extinction of Native American culture was the mainspring for his attempt to record it before it disappeared). European artists did not see a subject in the contemporary Indian-white struggles, which resulted in the deaths of several Native American leaders, but instead tended to use Indian subject matter for more general statements. The conclusion which must then be reached concerning the appearance of Native American figures in paintings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries is that the suitability of such figures depended in the main on their epic, heroic or tragic content rather than their historical actuality. Thus, the Indian figure who participates in European battle scenes, a real and active agent no matter how token-like his presence may be, is progressively replaced by the passive and stoically enduring Indian whose existence is usually perceived outside of a specific historical context. In these latter instances, such context as is provided is that of literature, not experience. Here, significantly, the ethnic content of the Native American figures is limited to superficial details; items such as domestic or military implements, skin tone, hair and facial ornamentation, etc. were provided by the artist to give hints of a deeper ethnic presence which could not be fully realized if the picture's general and transcendent meaning was to succeed. It was increasingly the doomed, extinct or dying races of Native America that were focussed upon, whereas the cultures still present on the American continent were ignored or presented in lesser genres. We must conclude that the Native American figure in actuality was a frontier menace too unheroic and too emotionally unaffecting to merit treatment by serious history painters.

Notes -

1. Ann Uhry Abrams, The Valiant Hero; Benjamin West and Grand-Style History Painting, Washington, D.C., 1985.
2. See Abrams, ibid., pp. 176-7. Also, Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's Death of General Wolfe and the Popular History Piece" in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 7, 1944, pp. 20-33; Edgar Wind, "Penny, West and the Death of Wolfe", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 10, 1947, pp. 159-62; Bernard Denvir, "Benjamin West and the Revolution in History Painting", Antiques, 71, April 1957, pp. 347-9.
3. Hugh Honour, "Benjamin West's 'Indian Family'", Burlington, 125, December 1983, pp. 726-33. The quote from Shippen's letter to West is found on p. 729.
4. The attribution of Guy Johnson and Joseph Brant as the figures represented here has recently been scrutinized by scholars. See Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, The Paintings of Benjamin West, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 523-4 (catalogue no. 647).
5. Ibid., pp. 210-11 (catalogue no. 92).
6. Ibid., p. 214 (catalogue no. 95).
7. See contemporary comment on The Death of General Wolfe as noted in an unpublished essay by Barbara A.C. Saunders, The European Image of the Noble Savage: Joseph Wright of Derby's 'Indian Widow', University of Leiden, English Department, 1977, p.4, note 16. Saunders gives an extract from Robert Anthony Bromley, "Chap. V., Distinction between historic and poetic painting, and the respective provinces of each," in A Philosophical and Critical History of the Fine Arts, vol. 1, (1793), p.45. Bromley says of West's Indian in The Death of General Wolfe:
"No sooner does the eye fix on the collateral circumstances, but we know that the scene of action was foreign from Britain,... and that this scene must be North America for the savage warrior shews [sic] us that the country was his. In allegory, can any thing speak more correctly than these?... And is not the savage-warrior every way as just as the crocodile on the Nile? Without him no imagination would have found it easy to acquaint us by any other symbol what was the country, at least by no symbol that could speak with so much precision, and so much in tone with the subject, as that which has been chosen."
8. The allegorical content is discussed in Ann Uhry Abrams, "Benjamin West's Documentation of Colonial History: William Penn's Treaty With the Indians," Art Bulletin, 47, 4, 1982, pp. 59-75.
9. As quoted in von Erffa and Staley, op. cit., p. 207 (catalogue no. 85).
10. Ibid.
11. See Abrams, "Benjamin West's Documentation...", op. cit., pp. 61-63,66.
12. Abrams, The Valiant Hero, op. cit., p.177.
13. For instance, see analysis of contemporary accounts in Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind, first pub. 1953, Baltimore and London, 1965, pp. 60-61.

- Also see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Protestants, Pagans, and Sequences Among the North American Indians," first pub. 1963, abridged version in Roger L. Nichols and George Adams, eds., The American Indian: Past and Present, Waltham and Toronto, 1971, pp. 120-131.
14. The Diary of Joseph Farington, entry for March 15, 1801.
 15. Von Erffa and Staley, op. cit., p. 210-11 (catalogue no. 92).
 16. William L. Pressly, The Life and Art of James Barry, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 58.
 17. It is known that Barry disapproved of West's treatment of the subject. See Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 2, October 1938, p. 127.
 18. Pressly, op. cit., Appendix I - Explanatory Notes on the Series of Paintings at the [Royal] Society, p. 288.
 19. Ibid., p. 260 (catalogue no. 100 and 101).
 20. Ibid., Appendix I, p. 295.
 21. See letter written by Trumbull telling of encouragement received from West about the picture cited in Helen A. Cooper, John Trumbull: The Hand and Spirit of a Painter, exhibition catalogue, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1982, pp. 52-53.
 22. The key to the picture was published along with the engraving sold by J.T. Clemens (March 1798). See Cooper, ibid., p. 54 (notes 9 and 10).
 23. Ibid.
 24. Ibid.
 25. Jack M. Sosin, "The Use of Indians in the War of the American Revolution: A Re-Assessment of Responsibility," first pub. 1965, abridged version in Nichols and Adams, op. cit., pp. 96-110.
 26. For information on peace medals see M.A. Jamieson, Medals Awarded to the North American Indian Chiefs, 1714 - 1922, first pub. 1936, reprinted Spink and Son, London, 1961; and B.L. Belden, Indian Peace Medals issued in the United States, first pub. 1927, 1959. For British and Native American diplomacy see Colin G. Calloway, Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783 - 1815, Norman and London, 1987, p. 41; and Wilbur R. Jacobs, Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748 - 1763, Lincoln, 1966.
 27. Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., "The Murder of Jane MacCrea: The Tragedy of an American 'Tableau d'histoire'," Art Bulletin, 47, 4, 1965, pp. 482-92.
 28. Ibid., pp. 482-3.
 29. It is known that Trumbull considered painting the subject of Jane MacCrea's death as part of his series of history subjects dealing with the American Revolution. See Edgerton, ibid., p. 483 (note 13).
 30. For instance, Mrs. Kathleen Moss Pritchard, "John Vanderlyn and the Massacre of Jane MacCrea," Art Quarterly, 12, 1949, pp. 361-65.
 31. See tables in Anthony D. Smith, "The 'historical revival' in late 18th-Century England and France," Art History, 2, 2, June 1979, pp. 156-178.
 32. Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America, exhibition catalogue, Cleveland Art Museum, Cleveland, 1975, catalogue no. 186.
 33. West's Indian warrior adopts the pose of the Apollo Belvedere. See discussion in Honour, "West's 'Indian Family'," op. cit., pp. 731-32. Also see Chapter Six of this thesis for a discussion of the use of this pose in graphic representations of the Native American.
 34. Theodore Crombie, "Wright of Derby's Indian Widow," Apollo, October 1959, p.107.
 35. Benedict Nicolson, Joseph Wright of Derby, Painter of Light, 2

- vols., London, 1968, vol. 1, p. 148.
36. The connection between Adair's text and the picture was most recently made by Hugh Honour, The European Vision, *op. cit.*, catalogue no. 184.
 37. Frances Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500 - 1800, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 193-4, fig. 100.
 38. Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time, New York, 1976, p. 135.
 39. Nicolson, *op. cit.*
 40. Crombie, *op. cit.*
 41. For a survey of the 'Dying Indian' theme in literature see Frank E. Farley, "The Dying Indian," Kittredge Anniversary Papers, Boston, 1913, pp. 251-260.
 42. David Wakefield, "Chateaubriand's Atala as a Source of Inspiration in Nineteenth-Century Art," Burlington, 70. Jan-June, 1978, pp. 13-22.
 43. Ibid., pp. 14 and 17.
 44. Ibid., p. 20.
 45. Lee Johnson was the first to identify this work by Chateaubriand as the source for the picture. Lee Johnson, The Paintings of Eugene Delacroix, A Critical Catalogue, Oxford, 1981, vol. 1, p. 79.
 46. Ibid.
 47. Honour, European Vision, *op. cit.*, catalogue no. 181.
 48. Pearce, *op. cit.*
 49. "As the Inca drew near, Father Vincent Valverde, etc." as cited in Algernon Graves, A Complete Dictionary ..of Exhibitors, 1769 - 1904, London, p. 283.
 50. See English translation of the Requerimiento in Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Indian And The White Man, New York, 1964, pp. 306-9, (Document 70).
 51. Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth-Century, New Haven, 1925; and Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism, first pub. 1928, New York, 1961.
 52. The Pre-Raphaelites, Exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1984, p. 48.
 53. As noted in W. Holman Hunt's Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, London, 1905, vol. 1, p. 58.
 54. Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 243. William Robertson's History of America, London and Edinburgh, (1777), includes a description of this incident that exactly parallels this quotation.

Chapter Eight - Indian Celebrities: The Portrait Image of
Native Americans

If most images made of Native American peoples were conceived at a distance and produced as if looking through a filter of European expectations and conceptions, there were occasions where the images were made more directly. That is, the artist had his subject placed in front of him and would not need necessarily to devise a context in which to place the figure. The taking of a portrait likeness fits into this category and there exists a fair number of cases where Native American people visiting England had their portraits painted by established artists. Carolyn Foreman's study of Indian groups travelling abroad mentions a number of instances where Native American personalities were fêted, entertained, and as a consequence of their pre-eminence, had their portraits taken for posterity.

Throughout the eighteenth century many such visits took place, and the earliest to receive substantial notice was the visit of the four Mohawk "Kings" to the court of Queen Anne in 1710.¹ Several sets of prints were published which contained the likenesses of each of the four Indian men² and one set in particular is of significance for it was made after paintings done by a Dutch artist working in England, John Verelst. The set of mezzotints by Jean Simon, after Verelst, depict each of the Indian men standing with one hand on the hip and the other hand holding an item relating to that figure's status as a war chief or Sachem. (Plate 174) The so-called "Emperor of the Six Nations" (ie. Mohawks, Cayuga, Seneca, Onieda, Onondaga and Tuscarora) carries in his right hand a belt of wampum signifying in colonial terms the peaceful relations which were sought for by colonial leaders. The colonial

interest at this time in the Six Nations sprung mostly from a desire to gain the Iroquois' allegiance, turning them away from the French. Behind this figure is his totem animal, a wolf, which was also used as his signature on a document establishing friendly relations.³ They are dignified images in that the subjects are placed in standard portrait poses and articulated according to portrait conventions where gentlemen or the nobility had been shown standing alongside their hunting animals with the implements of their "country" pursuits evident within the portrait's iconography. (Plate 175) Significantly these Indian portraits by Verelst were made for the Queen. Markham painted the portraits of another group of visiting Native American people who in 1730 accompanied Sir Alexander Cuming to England. These seven Cherokee figures, now known in an engraving by Isaac Basire after Markham's picture (Plate 176), were given European clothes to wear which were apparently donned for the picture. When these same Native American men met King George II they were described as follows: "... The [Indian] King had a Scarlet Jacket on, but all the rest were naked, except an Apron about their Middles, and a Horse's Tail hung down behind; their Faces, Shoulders etc. were painted and spotted with red, blue, and green, etc. They had Bows in their Hands, and painted Feathers on their Heads,..."⁴ Perhaps the taking of a portrait required these sitters to present themselves differently than when they had attended an audience with the King.

Soon after this visit another delegation, this time from the Creek settlements in Georgia visited England in 1734. This group was headed by the "Miko"⁵ named Tomochichi who, with his young nephew, Tooanahowi, had his portrait painted by Willem Verelst, the brother of John mentioned above. The picture which hung in the Georgia Trustees room in

London is now known in an engraving by Faber. It was also used as the frontispiece to Samuel Urlsperger's Ausfürliche Nachricht von den Saltzburgischen Emigraten (1735).⁶ (Plate 177) Willem Verelst also painted a larger group portrait, The Common Council of Georgia receiving the Indian Chiefs (1734/5) which includes Tomochichi, his nephew and the rest of the Creek delegation. (Plate 178) In this latter painting the Indians occupy one side of the picture while the Council members and Governor Oglethorpe fill up the other side.⁷ If examples such as these attest to the importance given to Native American delegations at this time, one must also keep in mind that these same Native American "Kings" and "Princes" might be satirized in a critical essay or might even appear characterized on the stage as a player in a farce - much in the way the straight man appears in our comedy shows of today. (See Chapters Three and Five)

Later in the century other delegations of Mohawks, Cherokees and Creeks arrived in the capital on missions of diplomacy and even intrigue. However, the stimulus for the taking of their portraits was not always that of a documentary or diplomatic nature.

The diplomatic relationship with certain factions of the Cherokees was a continuing presence in American affairs throughout the eighteenth century. In 1761 a treaty had been signed with some of the Cherokee towns on the Tennessee and Tellico Rivers.⁸ In order to secure this treaty Lieutenant Henry Timberlake met certain leaders of these towns and agreed to take some men over to England to meet the colonial administration. Three of the younger "warriors" had wished to see the King, and left their home in 1762. These men are known only by the titles of the positions they held within the Cherokee tribe. The so-called chief warrior was known as Ostenaco (also Austenaco, Ustenacah,

Judd's Friend, Judge Friend, and Man Killer) or, most commonly, as Outacity (also Ottassite and Otacite). The other men carried the titles The Pouting Pigeon and The Stalking Turkey.⁹

It seems obvious that propoganda was used to heighten interest in their visit, as a report sent to London while they were en route stated that the "Indian (Outacity) was a powerful monarch capable of raising ten thousand warriors."¹⁰ Whether this was accurate or not, the fact remains that the British were interested in keeping control of the essential trading routes along the Ohio Valley rivers and their tributaries, precisely the area currently inhabited by the Cherokees. There were, therefore, very good reasons to treat the visitors with some seriousness.

The constant use of European terminology such as "monarch" or "king" to describe Outacity added to the impact made by the Cherokees. They appeared in "shirts, trousers and mantles; their faces were painted copper colour and their heads adorned with shells, feathers, and earrings."¹¹ Thus, both in terms of their apparently Europeanised dress and in terms of the regal concepts applied to them, the Cherokees presented an image of the native American that was relatively easily assimilated to a European model. It is this constructed image of a warrior king that is apparent in the several images made of them during their visit.

Francis Parsons' portrait of Cunne Shote (Plate 179), also known in a mezzotint by James MacArdell,¹² depicts one of the "Chiefs" who accompanied Outacity. Cunneshote is shown in a half-length pose, clutching his deadly knife with a forceful gesture. About his person are several items of accoutrement: a silver and a gold peace medal at his throat; strings of small black beads and a brooch (both possibly native

American in origin) around his neck; and a large plate gorget, with the initials "G.R.III", around his neck. The specifically Native American elements in the portrait are the items adorning Cunneshote's hair, principally those worn at the back of the head, his plucked scalp and the tinted hue to his skin, possibly the result of staining with natural dyes. In addition Cunneshote's left earlobe looks as though it may have been lacerated and stretched to contain items of jewellery. However, despite such clear traces of head and facial adornment and skin ornamentation, all of which call attention to Cunneshote's membership of a community outside that of Europe, there are elements within Parsons' portrait which reveal an obvious connection with European-based beliefs and modes of expression. As we noted above, the Cherokee delegation was dressed in a manner that could be assimilated to European standards. Here, the deep red cape, or coat, draped over Cunneshote's left shoulder is of European manufacture and we know that Timberlake, the Cherokees' go-between, ordered scarlet garments in the English fashion to be made for them. The white shirt trimmed with lace was also originally manufactured in Europe. Thus, even if certain elements present in this picture were unfamiliar to its viewers, there were others which would temper Cunneshote's alien appearance.

Little is known about the circumstances of this picture's production, such as the original commission or its motive. However, when Cunneshote sat for Parsons in Queen's Square, a crowd was allowed in to see the portrait, such was its novelty. Unfortunately,

"...a throng of ladies coming out of Mr. Parsons' Room from seeing the pictures of the Cherokee Chief, one of them had the misfortune to fall down the Stairs and dislocate her knee; two surgeons were sent for, and she was carried home in a Chair."¹³

Whether as a consequence of this picture's attraction, or simply as a

means of capitalizing on the sensation of the Cherokee visitors, Henry Howard wrote a short song entitled A New Humorous Song, or the Cherokee Chiefs. Inscribed to the Ladies of Great Britain. It was published as an undated broadsheet, carrying engraved full-length portraits of the three men (Plate 180), and in it Howard played upon the image presented in portraits such as Parsons'.

No more than these Chiefs, with their scalping Knives dread, Sir,
Shall strip down the skin from the Englishman's Head, Sir;
Let the case be revers'd, and the Ladies prevail, Sir;
And instead of the Head, skin the Cherokee T--l, Sir.
Ye bold Female Scalpers, courageous and hearty,
Collect all your Force for a grand Scalping party.

Howard's song cost sixpence and was therefore perhaps the most widespread image to result from the Cherokee visit of 1762.

While Cunneshote's portrait had perhaps terrified certain viewers, the image of Outacity, as portayed by Joshua Reynolds, (Plate 181) might have qualified the identification of Native Americans with violence or aggression by revealing a different, more sedate image of leadership. Reynolds shows the Warrior "Scyacust Ukah" in a more relaxed pose, the right arm in an open gesture and his hand holding what looks like a pipe-tomahawk, of the kind manufactured in Europe from the early part of the eighteenth century until the mid nineteenth century.¹⁴ Outacity wears a similar shirt as that worn by Cunneshote but in this portrait it is unbuttoned in decollete fashion, as if the sitter was caught at an informal moment, perhaps relaxing in his quarters after the day's round of diplomatic meetings and negotiations. He, too, has been given a rich-looking coat or cloak which drapes over one shoulder, and this article seems slightly more elaborately decorated with gold trim than does Cunneshote's. Again, a peace medal and a gorget are shown prominently displayed around the neck of the sitter and thus help to underline

Outacity's connection with British affairs in the colonies. In fact, both Parsons and Reynolds seem to have emphasised the effect of costuming the Cherokee figures in such a way, for the display of their "red coats" and military-style gorgets links them to contemporary portraits of military leaders. (Reynolds, of course, if not Parsons, had himself painted such portraits during the 1750s and 1760s). The depiction of the Cherokees is thus contextualised within a perception of them as commanders of irregular troops and although the viewer might see a picture of a strange and perhaps frightening foreign individual, he or she would also be aware that this same character was an ally, capable of directing his men in true military fashion.

Reynolds' portrait differs from Parsons' vision in the choice of a more informal moment and the emphasis on the peaceful, diplomatic and gentle sides to the Native American's character. The breadth of handling in the Outacity portrait, while necessarily a part of Reynolds' developing style, has in any case given to his sitter's features a softer, more approachable look and thus diminished the inherent message of violence attached to Outacity's tomahawk and to his name, Man Killer. It is fortunate that both portraits have come down to us, for what Parsons and Reynolds reveal between them are two possible interpretations of the same delegation. Parsons, perhaps through choice, perhaps through his more wooden technique, confronts the viewer with an image of power and aggression sufficiently vivid to occasion contemporary comment. Reynolds, on the other hand, opts for a more seigneurial pose, where power and rank are subtly betokened in an aloof, but steady gaze and a certain studied negligence of dress.

Several prints depicting the Cherokee chiefs were published at this time¹⁵ and one of these, a group portrait, shows Outacity brandishing

his tomahawk in one hand while holding a belt of wampum in the other. (Plate 116) Outacity's pose with the wampum belt is very reminiscent, however, of the portrait of Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row by John Verelst (Plate 174) even down to the dog at the Emperor's feet. Verelst's picture shows the Emperor of the Six Nations, an Iroquois representative, not a Cherokee, and this reveals again how graphic imagery tended to influence the production of later images in a rather indiscriminate manner.

The following decade saw the visit of another influential Native American leader, Joseph Brant. This Mohawk of the Wolf Clan, grandson to one of the "Kings" who had visited England in 1710, created perhaps the greatest impact on the English in that he became a friend to a number of English gentlemen and members of the nobility, was accepted into the Masons, and was distinguished as an officer and secretary to Sir Guy Johnson.¹⁶ Travelling to England twice, once in 1775 and again in 1786, he became a friend of Boswell who commissioned a portrait of Brant during his first visit. (The picture is now known as an illustration to the London Magazine of July 1776.) The reasons for Brant's visits in 1775 and 1786 were mostly to do with securing the promise of the restitution of Mohawk land for the members of his clan if the British were victorious. (The American victory, in fact, saw them claim rights to all land cessions after the Peace of Paris in 1783; but Brant and his group were at least allowed to settle in British Canada after the war).

Brant's personality was an appealing one. Not only could he converse in English, but he spent time translating the Gospel of St. Mark as well as the Book of Common Prayer into Mohawk. He had been converted to Christianity at an early age, being sent to Eleazar Wheelock's school (Moor's Charity School) in Lebanon, Connecticut (later to become

Dartmouth College), and thus could be regarded as educated above his peers. His ethnic traits, such as skin colour, Indian speech and mannerisms might all be disregarded as colourful or quaint idiosyncracies if one kept in mind that he was the beneficiary of a European and Christian education. The friendship of Boswell, the Earl of Moira and Lord Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland bears witness to his acceptance within white society.¹⁷

The Earl of Warwick commissioned George Romney to paint Brant's portrait during his first visit of 1775-76. (Plate 182) Brant is depicted in three-quarter length pose, wearing Native American dress which consists of a pink shirt or blouse overlaid with elements pertaining both to his membership of the Mohawk tribe and to his allegiance to George III. Like the earlier Cherokee portraits, Brant is shown wearing a combined style of dress that makes articles of European manufacture, such as the shirt and breeches, act as the backdrop to brighter and more colourful attributes, such as the feathers in his headband and the decorative chains of metal loops or studs that fall across his left shoulder. In other words, the European elements in his dress help codify and organize the image as an acceptable portrait subject over and above the question of whether or not his style of dress made viewers think of his Native American qualities.

The silver gorget with the pendant cross, which Brant wears alongside his other marks of distinction, is engraved with the Royal coat of arms and cipher and reminds the viewer that this man is a loyal and spiritually enlightened individual whose allegiance is to be condoned. Although he carries what is probably a pipe-tomahawk in his right hand, this element is entirely played down and pushed to the margins of the picture, with the blade of the tomahawk only barely

distinguishable. Brant's relaxed and informal pose is reminiscent of Reynolds' earlier treatment of the Cherokee, Outacity. Both poses help to resolve the ambiguity of the pipe-tomahawk (an item that could signify peace - the sharing of tobacco - or war - its use as a hatchet) by portraying the sitters as men of dignity and integrity, a reading that no doubt appealed to their patrons or sponsors.

Brant's visit of 1785-86 created even greater artistic interest in him and several more portraits were commissioned, including one by the Duke of Northumberland and another by the Earl of Moira. (Plate 183) Both these portraits of Joseph Brant were painted by an American artist working in London, Gilbert Stuart. However, as Fawcett-Thompson has explained, the two pictures adopt different strategies.¹⁸ The Earl of Moira's version is perhaps more dramatic in feeling as Brant is positioned against a background of billowing clouds and has an exaggerated twist in his pose, with his head looking back over his left shoulder towards the viewer. The portrait made for the Duke of Northumberland, on the other hand, is a less idealized image, with Brant looking more like the forty-four year old man he was, with heavier features and a less youthful face. Here Brant has a senatorial look, with the angle of the pose placed straight on to the viewer, as opposed to the slightly elevated pose of the Earl of Moira's portrait.

The influence of Joseph Brant was maintained in certain English circles, for both his youngest son, John Brant, and his successor as leader of the Grand River Mohawks, John Norton, came to England during the early part of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ John Norton was an adopted Mohawk, who may have been part Scottish, and his accomplishments were many.²⁰ His portrait was taken twice during his visit of 1804. The first was painted by John Williams (also known as Anthony Pasquin) and

later hung in the Royal Bath and West of England Agricultural Society's Room. Its present whereabouts are unknown. The second was painted by Thomas Phillips (Plate 184), and was commissioned by the Duke of Northumberland, the same patron who had commissioned one of Gilbert Stuart's portraits of Joseph Brant. Norton's pose is informal and, although he carries a tomahawk, its presence does not threaten the spectator and can be seen as almost ceremonial, in the same way as Reynolds and Romney had employed it. Once again, Norton seems to have been captured at a relaxed moment, with his shirt untied and open and without an overcoat to suggest formality. He wears a brigand-like bandanna around his head, rather than any feathered adornment, which absence makes this image less easily recognised as that of a Native American. Only the title of the picture, exhibited in 1816, gives the viewer the crucial information that this figure is indeed an Indian, a chieftain and an outsider to European society. Otherwise, the pose and accoutrements might easily suggest a European sitter costumed as a marauder or pirate or as an example of certain sitter's preferences to adopt Levantine or other exotic dress.

All of the portraits discussed so far originated in the presence of Native American delegations actively concerned in diplomatic, political and military negotiations. The possibility of conflict between British and American interests on the American continent had been building ever since the signing of the Paris Peace agreement in 1783. As early as 1790 a group of Creek and Cherokee men came to England precisely to take advantage of the strained relations between English interests and other European powers who still held a stake in American affairs. William Augustus Bowles and five other Native American men travelled to England in 1790 but the reception given this group was somewhat different to

that associated with the earlier visits of Cherokee and Creek leaders in the 1730's and in 1762. The Bowles' group was not received by the King and none of its members were allotted the status of "King", or "Miko" by being referred to as such.²¹ Characteristically, however, two of these men had their portraits painted by William Hodges. While these portraits have much in common with others discussed above, the reasons they were commissioned stem from quite different interests. Dr. John Hunter was a surgeon with a particular interest in comparative anatomy. It was at his instigation, with the hope of adding to his collection of pictures of differing Native American tribal individuals, that he commissioned William Hodges to paint two portraits of Cherokee Indians (Plates 185 and 186) who had journeyed to London in 1790 with Bowles. The portraits thus had some connection with the success of Cook's voyages, for Hodges had served as the official artist on the second expedition in 1772-4. Possibly Hunter reckoned that Hodges' experience in portraying foreign peoples would equip him well to work on the Cherokee portraits.

The purpose of the visit in 1790-91 by Bowles and his Creek and Cherokee companions was to gain recognition and help from the Crown in a plan to secure lands for the British and their Native American allies against the Spanish. Due to the dispute over the Northwest Territories at the time, particularly the Nootka incident,²² Bowles was allowed to bring his entourage to London. As already noted, however, they met with little success as the storm soon blew over and England settled its dispute with Spain. The Cherokees and Creeks in this partly seem to have made an impression in London and became part of the fashionable scene. Francis Bourgeois' The Inside of a Rotunda, with several portraits of Polish Noblemen and ladies, the Cherokee Chiefs and other

figures (Plate 187) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1791. The picture records two Cherokee figures walking in the Rotunda of the Bank of England,²³ possibly involved in preliminaries to the negotiations for the financial aid they required. (It seems likely that these two figures are the same Cherokees painted by Hodges.) Bourgeois' picture brings to mind the earlier painting by Willem Verelst, The Common Council of Georgia receiving the Indian Chiefs (1734/5)(Plate 178) in which James Edward Oglethorpe, first Governor of Georgia, is shown presenting a group of Creek Indians to the trustees of that state. Both the Verelst and the Bourgeois painting give some indication of the public attention paid to these delegations and at once indicate the difference between an artist's presentation of a public spectacle and the private face recorded by Hodges. But, significantly, the Verelst painting is a record of a diplomatic success which helped secure a lasting alliance between the British and one division of the Creek people; whereas Bowles did not have the overall consent of the entire Creek and Cherokee Nations that he claimed to have for his mission, and the party occasioned interest more as a "curiosity" than as a serious diplomatic initiative. Thus, one must draw the conclusion that the interest in these figures as subjects for a portrait study comes entirely from an ethnographic viewpoint. Hunter, as mentioned above, employed an artist with proper experience in the taking of likenesses directly from "exotic" nature. Hodges' portraits, as companion pieces to Hunter's existing collection, are germane to the general context of scientific investigation. In their style, execution and placement of the figures they fall in with the trend already developing from the work of Cook's artists, which was to present the subjects in a clear and uncomplicated light, free from supposed artistic license and often

showing only the head and shoulders of the subject. (See Chapter Nine)

Both Cherokee men exhibit similar details of dress such as silver looped earrings, a gorget, white European-made shirts and draped cloaks (or capes) over the left shoulder. One can easily distinguish between the two men, on the other hand, as the artist has captured details of individual physiognomy and facial expression making each figure in that way unique. Perhaps the assumption could be made that it was Hunter's influence which caused the artist to make such distinctions, as the Doctor would have been interested in characteristics of bone and facial structure. However, while little is known of Hodges' intentions in much of his work, one can assume from the type of imagery which he chose to depict during his travels that the artist was himself interested in the manners and customs of foreign peoples. For example, his lost painting Procession of a Hindoo woman to the Funeral Pile of Her Husband shows a fascination for Eastern customs that may have proved repulsive to Europeans and treats the subject with considerable sympathy.²⁴

In his Cherokee portraits, Hodges has added very little extraneous detail which would provide clues to the subjects' home life, status in the tribe, relationship to the colonial administrators, etc. They are represented in a standard bust-length portrait framework and thus, in representational terms, must be seen as the equivalents of European sitters. As a result of the portrait style, Hodges invests his subjects with dignity and importance but he only hints at a possible underlying sympathetic treatment in the direct gaze of the subject who appears without the feather in his hair. This man's unflinching look seems to be asking a question of his viewers and in this regard, at least, forces the spectator to engage with him as an individual rather than merely inspecting him. However, this individuation only goes so far. The

sitter has no name, and is painted as a representative of an anatomical type. Hodges did not exhibit his two portraits but portraits of Bowles by Samuel Drummond and Thomas Hardy were exhibited in 1792. He at least had secured the recognition he sought.

More recognition in terms of a local response to a Native American visitor was given to John Sakeouse whose portrait was painted by Alexander Nasmyth in 1817.(Plate 188) Nasmyth had spotted the young Greenlander walking in the streets of Leith in Scotland and asked if he could make a portrait of the eighteen-year-old in his studio in Edinburgh. Here, the presentation of Sakeouse in a half-length pose aligns the sitter with traditional European forms of representation. However, Sakeouse is dressed in his regional costume, perhaps as dictated by Nasmyth's interest in finding an "Eskimo" subject to meet his commission.²⁵ As early as 1769 artists had been called upon to paint the portraits of visiting "Eskimos" such as the picture by John Russell of Micoc and her son, Tootac, (1769) Aleut tribespeople brought over by Commander Palliser.²⁶ (Plate 189)

The garments seen in the portrait by Nasmyth were probably worn by tribal members as they went out fishing in Jacob Sound, where Sakeouse had lived before coming to Scotland. In order to underline this designation of the figure as Eskimo fisherman, he has been given his fishing spear to hold which is displayed prominently in the picture. The innocent viewer would be hard put to guess that Sakeouse was Christianized and probably wore European type clothes most of the time.

This small scale portrait has an intimate feeling and thereby reveals the personal relationship which developed between the painter and the boy to whom the older man eventually gave drawing and English lessons. Although painted from life, the style of the portrait with its

freely worked passages around the eyes and in the costume worn by Sakeouse lend the image a less scrutinizing appearance than those made on the voyages of the 1770's and 80's, such as Cook's or Malaspina's expeditions. (See Chapter Nine) On the other hand, the choice of subject-matter in defining Sakeouse first as an Indian and only second as an individual means that this work can be viewed in the same light as more overtly ethnographic representations. Given a few implements to locate the figure geographically, Nasmyth stuck to the standard framework of the Voyage artists by showing his subject in an uncomplicated manner. The allegorized attributes of the figure define the man as Eskimo and not as John Sakeouse, in spite of attention to particularities of physiognomy and facial structure. Similarly, another portrait of Sakeouse by Amelia Anderson, known in an engraving, points to the impact this foreign visitor had on the Scottish community. (Plate 190) He is shown again in his Native American gear and is thus of primary interest as an Eskimo man not as an individual. The interest in peoples of the northern most parts of the North American continent was a long standing one in England.

Later in the nineteenth century attention was drawn to the plight of the Seminole Indians who were being forced off their traditional lands in Florida. Calls were made for the extermination of all resisting Native American inhabitants by certain interested parties and an ensuing "Indian war" developed. Artists working at this time reveal that the problem had received international attention for the number of exhibited pictures pertaining to certain Seminole individuals rises during the 1840's.²⁷ To take just one important instance, the portrait of Nickanochee, the "Prince of Econchatti", by Frank Wilkin was exhibited in 1841 at the Royal Academy. (Plate 191) The same image was also used

as the frontispiece to a volume written by Dr. Andrew Welch, A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nickanochee, Prince of Econchatti, (London, 1841)(Plate 192) George Catlin also painted his portrait while both were in London at the same time, around the end of 1840. This young figure had obviously made an impression on Welch and his circle for the boy became Welch's adopted son.²⁸

Wilkin's portrait, discussed in some detail in an article by William Truettner, depicts its subject in a somewhat "aggressive" stance with the fist of one hand tightly clenched and the fist flexed upward. The boy's jaw seems to be locked in a determined way and the whole expression on the sitter's face could be characterised as brooding. Nickanochee's individuality is certainly in evidence in this picture but in opposition to this personal specificity the figure had been clothed in attire associated with various tribal groups unrelated to his own. According to Truettner the "amusing" appearance of this figure is entirely due to European notions about the "American savage" which caused the painter to costume the boy in attire and accoutrement that would help his picture cause a fashionable stir.²⁹ In another way the picture harks back strangely to more traditional European imagery concerning the allegory of America in that Nickanochee appears holding a bow and arrows and has several large feathers protruding from his headdress. Thus the image alludes to The Indian in the symbolic sense as well as the mythological without disrupting the idea that it is a portrait.

In reviewing this sequence of sitters it is evident that portraits of Native Americans are of a different order to the depictions of Indians previously discussed in this thesis. Attempts have been made to deal with their individuality rather than their symbolic or generic

qualities and even where the names are unknown, as with Hodges, a sense of psychology or character has been achieved. The question to be addressed, therefore, is whether these portraits can be taken as adequate representations of Native Americans. In one sense the answer seems obvious. Real individuals sat to competent artists whose ability to portray Europeans are well attested. Consequently, we should be able to infer that these pictures are an accurate record of what the artist saw. But this simple affirmation raises two further questions. What did the artist see and, having recorded it, what did his public make of it? Portraiture, it is necessary to remember, is a conventional art, relying on a set of established procedures and the taking of a likeness is an art of negotiation between the artist, the sitter and those procedures. Consciously or unconsciously, the artist must accommodate the sitter to his practice. His perception of his client will be informed by his understanding of him and his need to assimilate the sitter to his customary procedures and the special circumstances of the commission. Reynolds, for example, understood that he was painting an "Indian King"³⁰, Nasmyth an "ordinary" Eskimo and Hodges was recording his sitters for a surgeon's cabinet of comparative anatomy. We may guess that like Reynolds, the portrait painters of Native Americans needed to choose which of their customary modes of depiction was best suited to these new sitters, whose co-ordinates could not be easily mapped onto a European scale of values. In most cases the solution seems to have been a compromise, melding the dignity of aristocratic formal presentation with an informal attitude to dress, (This is not the same informality seen in portraits of the intelligentsia, more a sort of refined negligence within an aristocratic framework. It seems to participate in the same ambiguity and paradox as does the expression

"Noble Savage".) The public, in its turn, would react to these constructed images, fitting them into its understanding of portraiture and the codification of rank, status and dignity.

Consequently, while we may be in a position to say that Joseph Brant looked similar to the portrait record we have of him, in doing so we are asserting no more than a physiognomic truth. The more significant features of his portrayal have to do with the context of representation in which Brant is positioned. It involves the status of his sponsors, the celebrity of the artists they employed, and the choices the artists made when deciding how to depict him. This context produced a Joseph Brant figure whom, we may suspect, was closer to the expectations of a British audience than the unmediated figure of the Mohawk would have been. This process of assimilation results in the proliferation of ultimately false analogies between the Native American and the European, such that the fundamental "otherness" of Native American culture is held in abeyance.

This limitation of portraiture is, on reflection, inevitable. All of these Native American figures were separated from the societies that gave them a proper frame of reference and were themselves attempting to negotiate a position within British culture (both diplomatic and personal). As unique representatives of their peoples, their language (ie. speech, gesture, clothing, behaviour) was vulnerable to mistranslation, even if well intentioned. The portrait painters we have been considering could take the likenesses of their sitter but whether he would have recognized it as true is quite another matter.³¹

Notes -

1. A full discussion of the visit of the Mohawk "Kings" (not all of these men were "true" Sachems) is contained in Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings, Oxford, 1952. See also chapter 4, "Red Kings and White Queen," in Carolyn T. Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493-1938, Norman, 1943, pp. 34-43.
2. A set of mezzotints by Jean Simon after portraits by John Verelst (commissioned by Queen Anne but now lost) is perhaps the most well known of the graphic images. Another set of mezzotints by John Faber (1710) show only the head and bust of each subject. (Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.) Honour mentions a set of painted miniatures of the Four Kings by Bernard Lens (British Museum) not yet seen by this author. See Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America, exhibition catalogue, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1975, cat. no. 170.
3. An illustration of the totem animal "signatures" on an address to the colonial authorities is found in Foreman, op. cit., p. 43.
4. Ibid., p. 45-47.
5. Foreman relates that the term "miko" is analgous to that of "chief" and this was certainly how the British would have perceived the word. She adds that "Tomochichi, born about 1650, was ... miko of the Yamacraw, a refugee band of Creeks; granted permission by South Carolina to settle on the Savannah river." This implies Tomochichi did not have the consent of the entire Creek nation in his efforts at negotiation with the British. Ibid., p. 57.
6. Ibid., p.59.
7. Verelst's composition follows the proportions of the Golden Section in that an imaginary line bisecting the canvas along the line that separates the Council members from the Creek delegation exactly establishes this classical proportion, thought by eighteenth century academy training to be one of the most harmonious.
8. Foreman, op. cit., p. 65.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 67.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp. 70-71 (note 9 at bottom of page.)
13. Ibid., p. 70.
14. J.C.H. King, Smoking Pipes of the North American Indian, London, 1977, pp. 24-27.
15. Foreman mentions a "portrait group of Indian Chiefs who visited England in 1763. Engraved by McArdeall." op. cit., p. 70. Perhaps this is the engraving of the "Three Cherokee Chiefs and Their Interpreter who Was Poisoned," (1762)(British Museum, London) long thought to be after a portrait group by Reynolds. See Cumming et. al., The Exploration of North America 1630 - 1776, London, 1977. Another print (anon.) depicts the Chief Warrior, Outacity, (1762)(British Museum) and is said to be based on a portrait by Reynolds. However, this print bears little resemblance to the only existing portrait by Reynolds of this man. (Scyacust Ukah (1762) by Reynolds, Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Okla.)
16. J.R. Fawcett Thompson, "Thayendanega the Mohawk and his several portraits," Connoisseur, no. 170 (1969), pp. 49-53.
17. Ibid., p. 51.

18. Ibid.
19. Foreman, op. cit., pp. 98-99, 108-09.
20. James J. Talman and Carl F. Klinck discuss the personality of Norton and the fact that he could converse in several languages. See Talman and Klinck (eds.), The Journal of Major John Norton, (1816) Toronto, 1970, pp. xiii-li.
21. Bowles was referred often as "Commander-in-chief of the Creek Nation" but he was not one of the Native Americans in this delegation. Two of the men who accompanied Bowles were referred to as "chiefs". Their recorded names suggest titles not proper names (Unatoy, Kuohtekiske, Seponejah, Luskeniah, and Wossoe). Foreman, op. cit., p. 101-105. Anthony A. Pearson, "John Hunter and two Cherokee Indians," Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, vol. 58 (1976), pp. 374-381, reprinted London, pp. 1-11.
22. Pearson, op. cit., p. 7.
23. Identification of the interior of this building as the Rotunda of the Bank of England is made in Mieczyslaw Paszkiewicz, "Sir Peter Francis Bourgeois and his 'Rotunda with Figures'," Bulletin du Musee National de Varsovie, 13 (1972), no. 2-3, pp. 54-64.
24. Isabel Combs Stuebe, The Life and Works of William Hodges, New York, 1979, pp. 210-11, catalogue no. 209 and 210.
25. Contemporary accounts of the meeting between Sakeouse and Nasmyth mention that the painter had "some years before been engaged to execute a set of drawings of the Esquimaux costume." See Some Account of the Late John Sakeouse in Blackwood's Magazine, vol. IV, Edinburgh, 1818-19, pp. 633-638. Also, Marjorie Wilson, "Leith's Little Eskimo," The Scots Magazine, October (1982), pp. 25-30.
26. This picture is untraced but is known in a photograph furnished by the Witt Library, London. It was exhibited in 1769 at the Royal Academy. The Academy catalogue states that the figures of Micoc and her son, Tootac were Eskimos "brought over by Commander Palliser." Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts - A Complete Dictionary, Vol. VI, London, 1906, p. 390.
27. Not only Wilkin's portrait was exhibited in these early years of the 1840's. Stewart Westmacott exhibited his portrait of Tuko-See-Mathla, a Seminole Chief, in 1844 and 1846. Tuko-See-Mathla, probably a figure now known as Tukasee Imathla, also appeared in a lithograph portrait printed in Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, The Indian Tribes of North America, New York, 1837-1844.
28. William H. Truettner, "George Catlin, Frank Wilkin and the Prince of Econchatti," Apollo, no. 105 (Feb. 1977), pp. 124-26.
29. Ibid., p. 126.
30. It is probably safe to assume here that Reynolds' diary entry (June 1762) naming his sitter as the "King of the Cherokees" was written with the clear understanding of Outacity's status, at least in European terms. For diary entry see Vine Cronin and Algernon Graves, A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., vol. IV, London, p. 1533.
31. Foreman tells of the Cherokee man, Cunneshote, who was pleased with the image made of him by Francis Parsons. The Cherokee said "his friends would now have something to remember him [by] when he was gone to fight the French." op. cit., pp. 70-71.

Chapter Nine - Empirical Observation and the Limits of Representation

From all that we have examined so far in this study it is evident that the representation of the Native American, in a variety of contexts and media, was always problematic. Instead of an engagement with specific groups or individuals, the representational strategies of this period produced figures that were typical or clichéd, from their feathered adornment to their simplified and usually classicized physical appearance or attributes. A close relationship can be detected between the stylization of the Native American, especially in graphic illustration, and that which occurred in decorative contexts. (See Appendix 2). We might well expect that misunderstandings and inaccuracies in the perception of the Native American could flourish in genres where the constraints on the artist's imagination were few and the need for clear delineation of ethnic features was not as essential as the overall design of the piece. On the other hand, the characterization of the Native American in works made for more official and intellectual spheres, such as the expeditionary portrait, has not been adequately mapped in terms of its connection with imagery found in more popular forms. That is, an awareness of the manner in which all imagery participates in the formation of popular notions about the world and its peoples is necessary before one can assess the perception of such peoples. In an honest spirit of inquiry, expeditionary images have been seen occasionally as a depiction of things as they might have appeared to the naked eye. Imagery produced in such a context, where the artist was allowed to observe and study Native American features objectively and to "capture" those features on canvas has been

considered by some ethnologists and scientists of succeeding generations as keys to, or evidence of, a lived reality that has since changed. In short, painted portraits and drawings were (and sometimes are) viewed to a large degree as archaeological artifacts. Information garnered in this way does allow some partial readings of Native American life to take place. While my argument does not refute the need to study past cultures in this way, it nevertheless stresses the need not to accept these images entirely at face-value. The "painted from life" images must be seen as value-laden objects created within a specific milieu and participating in its ideological assumptions.

The danger in accepting images as records of actuality is that images of Native Americans could then be distinguished from each other on the basis of their veracity and that this veracity, in turn, could be assessed on the basis of documentary facts concerning the artist's exposure to the reality of Native American culture. Images are, on this analysis, the equivalent of ethnographic texts and from their detailed presentation of the Native American it would be possible to recover accurate factual information. Two important developments in art history and semiotic theory make this a questionable task. In the first place, work pioneered by Gombrich has emphasised the codes of recognition used by artists, in compliance with their particular audience, to structure perception, and the grave danger that awaits any proponent of the 'innocent eye' as guarantor of realism.¹ Semiotics, in attempting to map the language of forms as a system of signs comparable to spoken language, has identified the social formation of image-recognition as a complex of private and public beliefs that determine how an image functions, even what it is to be seen as.² The impact of this altered perception on the study of expeditionary visual material is profound,

for it threatens to dissolve the tidy categories separating, say, Karl Bodmer from Thomas Davies. I would argue that the entire body of European-produced "scientific" imagery has some relationship to popularly-held conceptions of the Native American and to an established stereotypic figure and that this includes those images made from direct study.

Artistic work made in connection with a scientific expedition was largely the product of new attitudes to recording information. The eighteenth century saw an expansion of knowledge about the geography and biology of the Earth and saw distant or exotic cultures come under close scrutiny by the now organized intelligentsia.³ The accurate description of newly discovered peoples, as well as plants and animals, was one aspect of the new knowledge and had, as early as the seventeenth century been part of official Royal Society policy as stated in its Transactions.

....above the ignobler Productions of the Earth, there must be a careful account given of the Inhabitants themselves, both Natives and Strangers, that have been long settled there: And in particular, their Stature, Shape, Colour, Features, Strength, Agility, Beauty (or want of it) Complexions, Hair, Dyet, Inclinations, and Customs that seem not due to Education. As to their Women (besides the other things) may be observed their Fruitfulness or Barrenness; their hard or easy Labour, &c. And both in Women and Men must be taken notice of what diseases they are subject to, and, in these whether there be any symptome, or any other Circumstance, that is unusual and remarkable.⁴

In addition, travellers were encouraged to bring back samples and other evidence of their findings in order that closer study could be made by trained scientists with proper instrumentation and methods. It was only later, in the last half of the eighteenth century, that the employment of traveller-scientists became the more widely practised

means of bringing back new information about distant lands.

It was during the eighteenth century also that vocational schools regularly began artistic training for service personnel. Certain military academies held classes in draughtsmanship and mathematics in order to produce a generation of seamen who had the capabilities to record accurate data and to make coastal plans.⁵ The necessity of these sorts of abilities was obvious for a nation with a well-established naval presence around the world.

In spite of the interest shown in getting artists trained for travel abroad, very little visual material exists from this era which was actually derived from direct study of the Native American. In the early eighteenth century, trained artists from Europe had hardly any contact with Native American peoples unless those Native American individuals had been brought to European capitals. The reasons for this lack of artistic record in spite of the strong interest in North American culture are two-fold. First, it was unlikely that European artists with training in military draughtsmanship would be required to advance into the interior to collect samples for study. Their job was linked more with topography and the accurate portrayal of coastlines. There are, however, some exceptions to this. Secondly, the vast scale of the American landscape was a challenge in itself for cartographers, explorers and travellers who would have regarded geographical surveys as more important than detailed accounts of the indigenous inhabitants, who were typically regarded as sparsely distributed and hidden in an untracked wilderness. Mostly it was the traders and missionaries who gained direct access to Native American peoples, living close to their communities, and few of these seem to have had the inclination to make artistic records; although, again, some exceptions do exist.

Perhaps what lay at the heart of this problem was the belief that the Native American was by now a known quantity for Europeans. In other words, his presence in the consciousness of Europeans was reaching a peak. His figure had become so well known that it had ceased to be necessary to critically scrutinize its uniqueness or question its deviation from European models. In an age which is sometimes thought of as both pioneering and extremely curious about the natural world, it seems puzzling that more attention was not paid to the study of people living in one of the areas of the world that was still largely an unknown quantity. What eventually took place was that the exploration of America was undertaken by scientists, artists and adventurers coming from the newly established American nation and thus positioned within a completely different outlook.

It is worth emphasising, therefore, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century there already existed a large body of recently published material from which the *intelligenstia* could draw conclusions. Given such authorities, there was little impetus to send artists and scientists to collect more evidence of the same type; American material was too familiar to require a new effort. Of these works the Jesuit publications such as the Historia Canadensis (1664) and Lafitau's Moeurs des Sauvages (1724) were highly regarded. Of course, De Bry's Historia Americae (1590-1623) had established precedents to which very little new information would be added. Champlain's Voyages (1632) were illustrated as were Lahontan's Nouvelle Voyages (1704) and all of these texts would serve as sources for later imagery by those authors and artists who could not have possibly viewed actual Native Americans.

Organized expeditions into Native American territories were a later development. These ventures often had an essentially military purpose

and were not as interested in direct observation and the taking of likenesses as would be the case after the voyages of Cook and others. Henry Bouquet's expedition to the "Western Indian" lands in 1764 was recorded and illustrated in a European edition of Smith's History but the illustrations to it were added later by the American artist, Benjamin West, who did not accompany Bouquet's forces. Jonathan Carver's Travels(1778), originated in the time he spent in America and his capture by Indians from Fort William Henry in 1757. The illustrations made for his Travels discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis were largely based on European models and established styles of depiction. Also, Carver was not trained as an artist and, therefore, would have been incapable of producing the accurate visual likenesses from which scientific hypotheses could be easily drawn.

It was not until the late 18th century, and the voyages of Captains Cook and Malaspina, that artists trained in the academic manner would be brought into contact with unfamiliar Native American groups. John Webber (1752-1798) had been chosen to accompany Cook's circumnavigation on Dr. Solander's recommendation.⁶ Webber's studies of the Nootka population and the watercolour paintings he made during the voyage represent a rare moment in the history of organized scientific expeditions, for they entail a real attempt by the organizing body to gain direct likenesses of those peoples who might be encountered. Can we then assume that Webber's pictures are for the most part free from convention and artifice?

The problem is complex and there is not sufficient space in this thesis to explore all the issues adequately. In fact the debate on representation is itself still unresolved.⁷ However, if one examines the works made on such scientific exploratory ventures as Cook's and

Malaspina's in terms of their relationship to eighteenth century notions of accuracy of delineation then, perhaps, one will be brought closer to an understanding of why these visions of Native American peoples looked the way they did.

Webber's training was grounded in the study of landscape. As a student he came under the tutelage of a painter of the picturesque, the Swiss artist, J. L. Aberli. In 1775, he came to England to receive more training at the Royal Academy Schools. As Bernard Smith has clearly pointed out, the purpose of Webber's inclusion in the team of scientists, botanists and explorers who sailed with Cook was to provide a visual supplement to the written account and his work was engraved and used as illustration in the published account of the voyage, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean(1784).⁸ While they may have had great influence on later depictions of Native Americans, the engravings as such do not concern us here. Of more interest are the watercolour drawings, such as "Women of Prince William's Sound" (Plate 193) which may serve as an example of the kind of work the artist was required to make. In this finished study the head and bust down to about the waist are shown in great detail. She is probably seated, as some curvature in the arms and waist can be detected. For her status, her role within the tribe or even her age, one must turn to the written record for these items have not been clearly indicated in the depiction. Instead, the figure is placed against a blank background, probably for convenience's sake, but also to give the work an uncomplicated feeling. In other words, Webber may have had in mind some notion of record-keeping and a regularity of depiction that influenced his choice of subject and the way in which it was presented.

The clues as to what may have influenced the artist lie in how the

entire expedition approached its goal (the recording of a subject) and the manner in which the team was brought together. Included in the group of men taken along on this voyage was a naturalist, William Anderson, and a natural history draughtsman, William Ellis. Botanical studies and the collection of different plant species was, as Smith states, one of the sustaining interests that characterized the three voyages and Webber shows this attitude himself in some of the intricate studies of plant life he made while on the voyage.⁹ The scrutiny of plant details can in some way be related to the scrutiny of human life in that both were associated with the geography in which they were located and both were seen as unlike their European counterparts. The loving attention to detail which marks Webber's drawing of the Native American woman is thus contextualised in the attention to detail paid to exotic flora and fauna by the expedition as a whole. The record of this woman's appearance includes the type of facial adornment she exhibits, her style of dress, the way she arranges her hair and her overall facial expression. The lack of other visual information suggests that she is a "typical" Nootka woman (literally standing in for her fellows) and that this is how she would appear in an everyday capacity. But, can it really be assumed that this is the case? If it were known that visitors from another culture had arrived, even if they were not the first to do so, would not the tribe or group be affected in some way and thus adopt a special attitude to those visitors? It may well be that this woman did appear in such costume at regular times in the life of the community. However the taking of her likeness freezes this behaviour and appearance for all time. Thus, in the eyes of European viewers of her image, she can only be the Prince William Sound woman that Webber records. Her iconic presentation closes down the proliferation of

meanings another context would have provided and keeps her identity as two-dimensional as her image. There are, therefore, two problems here. First, the philosophy of scientific expeditions tends to impel artists towards a taxonomic scrutiny of their subject, looking for the regular, the typical and the most informative aspect; second, the very activity involved in making such a record will inevitably distort the subject of the inquiry in ways that no outsider could have been expected to understand prior to the emergence of anthropological field work in this century. These problems will become more apparent in later discussions of other artists' work.

In addition, the style and conventions associated with graphic illustration may have influenced the manner in which Webber delineated his Native American subjects. Specifically, one must look at the general interest in foreign costume, dress and habits provided by the costume books which were published late in the century following the world voyages of the 1760's and 1770's. Smith cites Grasset de Saint Sauveur's Tableau des decouvertes du Capt. Cook et de la Perouse (1797) but there existed many such catalogues of various foreign costumes that had often included Native American subject matter.¹⁰ Like Webber's drawing, these works contained images rendered in a spare style as regards the information contained in the illustration. Jefferys' A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations (1757 and 1772) included various representations of Native American tribal groups from the "Mohawk" to the "Native of Mexico".(Plate 194) In Jefferys' work the artist is not always specified but it seems the publisher drew the material for his work from many sources, including travel accounts. However, once included in Jefferys' volumes, the arrangement of each figure is essentially the same with a single individual shown against a

bare background. In this way, a method for the illustration of foreign individuals had been laid down prior to Cook's explorations and might well have impinged on the representative strategies of Cook's artists when they chose the manner in which to record their discoveries.

Larger pieces of work that depict scenes or events, such as the view of the Village of Yuquot in Nootka Sound by Webber (Plate 195) cannot have been as readily influenced by the costume plates as were the single studies of Native American figures. These works partake of other conventions and are perhaps greater instances of how European notions of the picturesque and landscape traditions entered the work of artists travelling abroad. Here Webber provides a minimum of detail with several habitations shown in the middle ground and many figures grouped and dotted about the scene in a pleasant manner. Details of dress and mode of living are only suggested, and the overall atmospheric tone, accomplished by the laying down of washes of paint, suggests the environment while adding an almost pastoral mood to the work. In essence, it is a naturalistic rendition of what Webber might have witnessed ; but the handling of pigment here is itself a contextualising device, providing the contemporary viewer with a set of assumptions associated with similarly broadly washed landscapes in a European milieu. The "tinted manner" of early English watercolour lays down a screen or filter over the clearer perception of Native American life as seen by the explorers. Despite his observational rigour, and the call of his employers to add to the written records, Webber's attitude to landscape is grounded firmly in European notions of the ideal and the picturesque.

Artists on the 1791-92 voyage of Captain Malaspina visited similar places to that of Cook's on the west coast of America and their work

provides another case where direct observation of Native American individuals was highly valued. The voyage of Malaspina was organized in the late 1780's and set sail on 30 July, 1789.¹¹ During the initial part of the supposed circumnavigation, plans were changed and Malaspina ordered to make a perusal of the Northern latitudes along the northwest coast.¹² Here, the artists taken aboard had a chance to record Native American life and individuals as Webber had done over a decade earlier.

Some of Malaspina's artists had, like certain of Cook's artists, been trained in schools of military draughtsmanship. The man in charge of drawing aboard the Descubierta, Malaspina's ship, was a "former Professor of...Military Drawing...at Cadiz," Felipe Bauza y Canas.¹³ While his main concern was the overseeing of map and chart production, Bauza y Canas would have been an important influence on the tenor and technical practice of those other artists who were taken on board after the ship had reached the New World. One of these was the amateur, but highly talented, painter, Jose Cardero, who signed on in Peru. Tomas de Suria who was signed on in Mexico City had artistic training and was an established artist of note in the colonies. These two artists, under the tutelage of Bauza y Canas, contributed greatly to the official record of the expedition with their personal visions.

If one examines several drawings and watercolours, executed quickly at the time or worked up into finished pieces after the expedition, a recognizable similarity in presentation and composition to the imagery produced by Webber emerges. The methods of delineation and illustration of foreign individuals, the Nootka in particular, seem to have been established by those in Cook's voyages, where clarity of outline and reduction of any extraneous detail give the works an air of precision and exactitude, exhibiting a certain amount of closely observed

features.

In a drawing, attributed to Tomas de Suria, inscribed "Gefe de Nutka", the "chief" of a group of Native Americans encountered at Friendly Cove is depicted. (Plate 196) It is a portrait of the figure known as "Macuina" who was an important tribal leader. From evidence provided in existing examples of actual Nootka dress and tribal adornment, this work by de Suria might be judged a faithful rendition of the manner in which this particular individual adorned himself. (Plate 197)

However, if one looks closely at the presentation of the figure in a bust length pose, its context in terms of the other portraits and studies of individuals that were recorded, the absence of any background to the picture and its almost microscopic attention to tribal decorative details and facial characteristics, then the image can be linked to the type of work which Webber produced on the voyages of Cook to the Northwest in 1778 and 1779, and which was engraved and published in 1784.

The clear and precise presentation of the subject in de Suria's portrait may have been stimulated by other concerns as well. Most of these drawings and studies were eventually intended to be made into graphic illustration and this is all the more reason that artists might be required to make sharply outlined, precise details and to regularize patterns to some extent. The confines of the engraver's art might thus have had an impact on the way images of Native Americans were devised, although they were initially drawn directly from nature. Jose Cardero's watercolour portrait of another individual of the Nootka Sound communities, the Second Wife of Tetaku, (Plate 198) is believed to have been made in preparation for an engraving. Its high state of completion

suggests that the artist may have finished it on the return of the expedition. Again, the subject's features have been regularized and made to conform to an ideal. In this sense her individuality is not so readily discerned for she appears bust-length and contained within an oval in much the same context as other figures depicted on this voyage were painted. In fact, if one compares several of the portraits of male figures taken by Cardero, particularly those of the Chief Tetaku, (Plate 199) the Nanaimo "chief" (Plate 200) and the Native American man from the Puerto de Guemes (Plate 201), all have an identical facial expression and pose, as if the same model was used for each picture but was simply adorned with different accoutrement as the artist saw fit. What may have happened was that the artist was struck by the appearance of a particular figure and took a likeness of him. In subsequent pictures, details of dress and adornment may have caught the artist's eye instead of actual physical features. (This might well be true if the initial portrait represented his attempt to come to terms with a representative of a different race. Once that difficult task was accomplished the need to make discriminations between different individuals may have seemed less important). He would have had to rely on his field notes alone (and his memory) in order to work up these very detailed portraits into well wrought likenesses. Of greater urgency are the rapid sketches done on the spot which helped each artist to get an idea of the overall appearance of his subjects. De Suria's sketch of a "Indian of Mulgrave" has just such brevity of execution. In many ways it shows the artist's interest in the specifics of Native American life, the costume and distinctive hat and the fact that the man carries a knife (or implement).(Plate 202) The pose of this figure is, however, stylized to the extent that he is shown in a contrepuesto pose akin to

the classical ideal. This partially clothed figure, nude to all intents and purposes, was perhaps automatically associated with such a pose by the academically-minded de Suria. His musculature, too, seems regularized and somewhat developed, and though this may have been the case with certain male figures, one suspects that artistic practice in the study of classical nude forms had determined the extent of this figure's idealization. While he may have seen an actual Mulgrave inhabitant, the image de Suria recorded was laced with his own system of representation. Similarly, in a sketch by Louis Choris of "A Leather Tent of the Aleuts" (Plate 203) made while the artist was on expedition with Kotzebue in 1816-17,¹⁴ the whale bone supports of the tent lie in graceful curves around its base and enhance the picturesque feeling of the work as several children appear to be looking out the tent's opening. It is an observed scene but one that obviously reveals the artist's interest in technique and the picturesque rural tradition in European painting.

In spite of the critical attitude to the gathering of ethnographic information embodied in Cook's and Malaspina's employment of fine artists, few other expeditions would follow this pattern immediately. In fact, illustrators such as Thomas Stothard might even be expected to devise their own imagery from eye-witness accounts, even though they themselves had not taken part in the expedition. One can see in the engraving entitled "Callicum and Maquilla - Chiefs of Nootka Sound" (Plate 204) that Stothard was aware of certain items of ethnic dress worn by the inhabitants, but his plate shows the chieftans greeting each other as if shaking hands and this seems to be a misunderstanding of Captain Meares' text, from which Stothard worked.¹⁵

While the scientific expedition offered artists a chance to

illustrate Native American subject-matter, it was often the case that amateur or military academy-trained draughtsmen were advantageously stationed in colonial settings where they had the opportunity to depict the Native American peoples living nearby. These images are of great interest because it was at the artists' own instigation that Native American subject-matter entered their oeuvre and not at the behest of a higher authority. Several artists that concern us in this instance were trained in drawing at the military academy at Woolwich. Of particular interest is the artist Thomas Davies whose work comprises one of the few instances where an officer chose to regularly include Native American subject-matter in the sketches and paintings made in his spare time.¹⁶ Thomas Davies (1737-1812) served in the Royal Artillery and had attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel by 1783. While serving in British North America, he had the opportunity of making many sketches of his surroundings. The sketches he made were sometimes later worked up into finished watercolours, so that if a picture is inscribed as being "taken on the spot" at a certain date, it is more likely that this direct observation referred to a sketch and not the finished painting. Davies sent a few of his paintings of the 1770's to the Royal Academy Annual Exhibitions but, judging from their titles, none of these were likely to have contained Native American subject matter. The major body of Davies' work was unknown to the general public of the time so its influence on popular notions of the Native American can be discounted; however, as his paintings were made from direct contact with the Canadian environment and its inhabitants, the work has relevance to the present subject. One of his paintings entitled A View of Pointe-Levis Opposite Quebec (or Indian Encampment) (1788)(Plate 205) shows his interest in depicting figures as part of a general landscape scene.

While they do not necessarily dominate the scene itself, the Native American figures in Davies' Encampment certainly appear at home in the environment. Their rural lifestyle would have appealed to an artist trained in the picturesque tradition - even if this training was largely concerned with rendering coastal views and topography.

As was discussed in Chapter Six, on the graphic illustrations of travel accounts, the depiction of Native Americans in the natural landscape had depended to a great extent on the established forms of landscape art, the pastoral and picturesque traditions. Davies, too, adopts a similar style or mode of presentation which places the figures in their environment by using a set of familiar devices for the representation of rural scenes. The figures in Davies' picture are generalized not just because the artist was an amateur but due to the expectations of the picturesque. Animals, such as the dog in the far right corner, children at play, and the rural domesticity of cooking implements all contribute to signify the true content of the scene. Davies' Indians have been likened pictorially to English rural types, the poor, indigent gypsies or farm labourers seen at rest, to establish a pictorial context for their way of life.

Of particular interest is the man seen at the right hand side in conversation with a female. This male figure wears distinctive accoutrement which links him with other representations of New York and Canadian tribal groups such as the Mohawk and Seneca Indians and certain Cherokee figures.¹⁶ The white shirt decorated with arm bands, the medals worn at the neck and the distinctive headband with feathers attached and earrings or loops placed in the ears set this figure apart from those placed in the scene to his right. (What seems to be a rear view of this same Indian "brave" is shown next to this male figure on

his left). In several of Captain Davies' works this Native American figure, perhaps intended to be a Mohawk, is shown as part of the landscape scene. First in Fort La Galette of 1760 (Plate 206) and then in the Niagara Falls of 1762 (Plate 207), one notices the similarity between each of the males represented with that of the later figure in the Encampment of 1788.

It is known that Davies had a chance to view the dress of those tribal groups who lived in the vicinity of his Canadian postings. However, the artist's use of a typical "Mohawk" figure in many of his compositions leads one to assume that he was aware of certain conventions in portraiture at the time which represented male Native American leaders in just such a manner. If one compares the representations of Eastern Woodland tribal leaders shown in portraits and engraved images of this period, the 1760's to the 1790's, one finds a striking regularity in the kinds of figures shown, their dress, pose, facial and head ornamentation and overall appearance. In the portraits which resulted from the 1762 visit of a Cherokee delegation to England, a tribe with whom the English also had diplomatic relations like the Iroquois, one finds similar methods of head ornamentation, a plucked scalp and the adoption of European manufactured items such as shirts, capes, metal objects, gorgets and other paraphernalia. To take just one instance, a white cotton or silk shirt with a metal arm band placed above the elbow and a cape or blanket slung over one shoulder appears in the Reynolds portrait of Scyacust Ukah dated 1762, the painted portrait of Cunneshote by Francis Parsons of 1762 (both Cherokee figures) and in Romney's portrait of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk figure, painted in 1776. (Plates 181, 179, and 182) Davies' male Indian brave seems to be generalized and yet to partake of the influence of these more detailed

renditions of male figures. It thus seems unlikely that Davies would have directly observed such a distinguished and regally dressed individual in a scene of quiet domesticity such as he portrayed in the Indian Encampment. In fact, the placement of most of his Indian groups, whenever they are included in a landscape, is accomplished in a highly polished and formalized manner, suspiciously picturesque for something supposedly derived from direct observation.

Other artists whose work falls into the category of the amateur military draughtsman were George Heriot and Basil Hall. (As Heriot's work has been discussed in terms of illustration in Chapter Six, it will not figure here.) Basil Hall experimented with a Camera Lucida, which projected an image onto a sheet of paper on which the artist could then trace an outline. Although some drawing skill was needed to employ the Camera Lucida, it appealed to the artist and amateur draughtsman as a way of supplementing the eye and obtaining a precise reading of spatial relationships. The drawings which Hall made during his tour through the United States in 1827 and 1828 show more concern with the scientifically "correct" recording of Native American figures, insofar as he specifically used a mechanical device to aid him in the direct capturing of outline and form. The "Sketches" Hall made with the Camera Lucida while visiting the regions of Ottawa, Upstate New York and the Great Lakes, as well as areas along the Southern Mississippi, were etched and compiled in a publication called Forty Etchings made with the Camera Lucida (1829).¹⁸ One of the plates may serve as an example of the kind of figure study produced by this device. It contains three figures of Missassagua Indians whom the artist must have met while staying in Upper Canada.¹⁹ (Plate 208) To the left is a figure described as the "Chief" of the Missassaguas. His full name is not given

in the text, but he is shown wearing around his neck a peace medal, described in the text as a "King George III silver medal". Hall thus harks back to the 1762 portraits of Cherokee chieftains who had been given medals of peace by George III (Plate 165 and 179) establishing thereby a chronological bridge to the events of the eighteenth century. In the centre of this sketch is a boy "of the same tribe" and to the right, occupying the foreground, is the image of an infant "strapped up in a box" or cradleboard. All of the three studies of Missassagua Indians are drawn with the minimum amount of background detail and are not, in a sense, finished pictures. It was probably the artist's intention that the sketchy quality of each figure be retained to show how the Camera Lucida device was employed in tracing outlines.

The fact that these personages, some named in Hall's Travels(1829) and published separately, and others only given generic titles such as "boy or chief", had been depicted with a machine which aids the artist in capturing a likeness, does not automatically lead to the conclusion that each figure is true to life. Again, one must be made aware of the context in which these images were presented and how they have been grouped in the scene or plate. Plate No. XXVIII The Chiefs of the Creek Nation and Georgian Squatter (Plate 209), as the author explains, shows a group that while "different" obviously shares some common qualities. Hall states that "the man [squatter] here sketched lived, I was assured, almost entirely by hunting and shooting."²⁰ It seems as if the "Squatter" becomes an equivalent entity to the Native American inhabitants and that he takes on their role to some extent. This can be seen in the fact that he appears in the background standing between the two seated Native American figures, he holds a rifle showing resistance or a capacity for violence and he has a determined attitude in his

stance. The chiefs on the other hand are shown aged, dressed in castoff European clothes and are passively seated, almost as if their surrender to the figure of the white squatter were imminent. While these figures may have been drawn at different times in entirely different locations, the artist has decided to group them here together and thus to make an underlying statement about the state of Native American opposition to white ways and their intrusion in the 1820's.

The Camera Lucida was not the only drawing device to have been employed in the portrayal of Native American figures. Somewhat earlier than Basil Hall, a French artist working in America used the Physionotrace²¹ to work up very detailed profile portraits of a group of Plains Indians visiting the Capitol, Washington D.C., in 1804. Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin had already gained recognition at this time as a crayon portrait artist of some note. His use of a physionotrace enabled him to draw a profile (in outline) on a glass plate and, by means of a mechanical arm, to engrave this simultaneously on copper. The artist probably received the work as a commission from the Government, who wished to make a visual record of the delegates' visit, but this is not certain. Nevertheless, whatever the reasons for his use of the device, the work that resulted is unique within the body of imagery representing Native Americans.²²

Essentially the physionotrace was used to obtain an outline of the subject's features. The artist would then have to fill in the outline with proper modelling, capturing the contours and features of the visage of each person. Thus, like the Camera Lucida, it was a device that required some artistic skill to obtain adequate pictorial results. In order to engrave the portraits, each image was reduced from life-size with the aid of another device, the pantograph. Saint Memin completed

the portraits in his usual medium, crayon, and in watercolours. It is the crayon drawings with which I am mostly concerned as in several cases they are unfinished, whereas all of the watercolours are finished drawings. In particular, the portrait of a figure called "Payouska - Chef des Grands Osages" shows the head, face, neck and shoulder but with only the shading and modelling completed.(Plate 210) The facial features of Payouska are carefully delineated here with great attention being paid to describing the weight and tumescence of the flesh. As well as his distinguished appearance, the fact that Payouska was represented in profile by a well-known portrait artist gives these works an air of pre-eminence and distinction. The regularity of presentation in these profile crayon portraits and the fact that each subject does not gaze out at the viewer make these drawings hard to penetrate. In this sense, the personality of each sitter is obscured from those observing, for each appears to be gazing at a distant location almost as if they were unaware of being observed. The result is that the viewer finds it easier to gaze directly at the figure and to examine the intimate details of his facial structure and physiognomy which have been carefully provided by the artist. We, as onlookers, feel no restriction in wishing to scrutinize the sitter, man or woman, so evidently from a foreign culture; a restriction we might not have felt had the sitter been turned to face us. This "invitation to scrutinize" is caused by the objective manner in which the portraits were drawn and, in its very objectivity, can be seen as part of the burgeoning interest in the study of facial and cranial features (Phrenology) in which angles of the brow, forehead, shape of the cranium etc. were used as a means of determining a person's character. Interest of this kind may have helped instigate the production of profile portraits and certainly lent weight to their

type of subject-matter. Following the first decade of the nineteenth-century in which President Thomas Jefferson played a part in supporting research and exploratory travel, American linguistic experts and ethnologists were beginning to develop their ideas on the origin and development of Native American cultures, which broke with traditional European methodology and practice. Albert Gallatin's work on North American Indian languages outlined in The Synopsis of Indian Tribes(1836) and Samuel George Morton's study of the various skulls of deceased Native American peoples, the Crania Americana (1839), are examples of the developing trend toward comparative analyses between tribes and also of the collation of different tribal examples under one rubric.²³ As a distinctly American development in the ways in which Native American peoples were studied, written about and portrayed in art, this topic figures only peripherally in this study. However, European documentation of the North American tribes often relied upon American sources for its raw material and thus was influenced by the American methods of presentation. The eventual outcome of this "scientific" investigation into racial type and classification was the conclusion that Native American peoples were inferior to Europeans. Science would set the seal, therefore, on what could be believed about them and would make it unnecessary to collect new information concerning their way of life. They were, on this analysis, a relic of the past, no longer capable of finding a viable place in American society, and might as well be studied from their lifeless remains.

Nevertheless, observation of Native American peoples had originally been a legitimate ingredient in the scientific expeditionary activity beginning in America after 1800. The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 was the first of many United States government-sponsored drives

into the interior to collect information about distant tribes. On this trip, however, no official artists were signed on, but a decade later things had changed. Major Stephen Long headed the scientific crew on a mission to establish western forts in an expedition of 1819-20. Accompanying this force were the Philadelphian artists, Samuel Seymour and Titian Ramsey Peale. Both produced sketches and finished watercolours of scenes and people encountered along the way. The work of artists such as Seymour, Peale and, later, Seth Eastman is outside the bounds of this thesis and belongs more properly to a study of (white) American perception of the Native American. There were, however, certain American artists and European artists working in the United States whose influence or source of patronage had extended to European centres. European involvement in scientific expeditions of the 1820's and 1830's was limited to the extent that the United States government had taken on the task of mapping and surveying the newly acquired lands to the west and thus would employ American-based scientists and artists instead of looking farther afield. One exception to the rule was the trip up the Missouri River made in 1832 - 34 by a group of scientists and naturalists brought together by Prince Maximilian of Wied Neue Wied. His official artist for the expedition was Karl Bodmer, whose work offers another instance where trained artists were brought into contact with Native American peoples and were able to see Native American peoples living in their own territories.²⁴ The portraits made by Bodmer are interesting, not only in themselves, but also because the Swiss artist often visited the same areas that George Catlin had visited only a year previously.²⁵ (Catlin's ventures into the Western Territories took place between 1830 and 1836). Only in one case did the two artists depict the same individual - the head of the

Blood Indians (a tribe of Blackfeet) Bull's Back Fat or Stomick-Sosack. Karl Bodmer's watercolour of this figure shows a man wearing less of his ceremonial attire than Catlin recorded due to the fact that the work by Bodmer is slightly unfinished. (Plates 211 and 212) The tribal leader in Bodmer's work is shown wearing a peace medal around his neck. Mentioned as Jeffersonian in date, the reverse side is shown where the design of the crossed tomahawk and pipe of peace over the top of two arms shaking hands can be discerned. This design was used on the reverse side of several presidential medals throughout the period from Jefferson in the 1810's to Buchanan in the 1850's and beyond.²⁶ While Bodmer draws attention to elements in dress and facial ornamentation he also relies on the established and popular mode of showing leaders who had made peace with the American government symbolized in the medal worn at the neck.

Several of Bodmer's rapid sketches show individuals and groups in realistic and natural poses. Bodmer's art seems in this instance to transcend the more traditional and classicizing methods of presenting full figures. On the other hand, at least one of his "observed" scenes must have been a partial invention for it would have been impossible to have drawn the work from the vantage point adopted. In the engraving of Bodmer's Attack on Fort McKenzie August 28, 1833 the artist shows the thick of the battle and places the viewer in the centre of a group of Blackfeet men charging on the defenders, the Mandan, this action taking place outside the Fort. (Plate 213) (Most probably the artist viewed the scene from quite far away, behind the walls of the fort.) More than a picture of real events, this work should be considered as a constructed battle picture along the same lines as those produced by history painters such as Trumbull, West and others. (See Chapter Seven)

Nevertheless, in most of his work, Bodmer's clear delineation of form and attention to detail helped to supplement the Prince's interest in natural history and anatomical study. This interest of Maximilian's stemmed in part from his training under Blumenbach at the University of Göttingen at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Blumenbach was one of a growing number of comparative anatomists and physiologists who had studied cranial anatomy and his possessions included a collection of anthropological material containing "first hand portraits of representatives of the different human varieties."²⁷ Perhaps the Prince discussed with Bodmer the manner in which each portrait should be taken. It seems highly likely that a portrait such as that of the medicine man, Pioch-Kiain (Distant Bear) by Bodmer which shows the subject posed in profile was accomplished in that way because of the (Blackfoot) Piegan man's interesting facial structure. (Plate 214) Just as in the profile portraits by Saint Memin, the spectator is invited to adopt a disinterested attitude to the qualitative facial structure of the subject, if posed in such a way.

There are, therefore, indications within Bodmer's work of attitudes towards his subjects that share some of the pictorial strategies already discussed in this study. As we saw with portraiture, the question of a "good likeness" is highly problematic, involving as it does the expectations of artist, sitter (or sponsor) and public. The means chosen to render that likeness are as revelatory as an orator's choice of language - they establish the context of representation and hence of understanding. Bodmer's ability to record detail is not really in question (even though it cannot be empirically tested). What is significant, however, is the choice of a technique suited to natural history illustration for the depiction of human beings.²⁸ Whatever

sympathy Bodmer or Maximilian had for their subjects of study is secondary to their decision to study them in this manner. The very fixity of Bodmer's gaze, with its almost microscopic attention to wrinkles, bone structure, colour and accoutrement, itself enshrines the assumption of "their" availability for "our" European curiosity. (To underline this point, a moment's reflection shows that even realist portraiture of European sitters - by Courbet or the Pre-Raphaelites, for example - rarely approaches Bodmer's level of facial scrutiny.) The question then arises of how else could an artist attempt to make accurate records of what he saw, given that it is impossible to avoid mannerism of some sort in depictions? The cool, analytic approach, notwithstanding its attitude to the subject, is surely more objective than those already discussed in this thesis. Bodmer's value for this study is precisely that his work provokes such questions. Any hesitations about the usefulness of his record are ultimately the same hesitations felt about any hermeneutical exercise, where the limits of knowledge are exposed in acts of translation. Bodmer's limitations, if such they are, are of the same kind as an anthropologist's field notes, where detailed description presumes to be an authentic record even though its insight into the whole culture may be minimal or misleading. In the last analysis we are brought back to the fact that Bodmer painted what he saw, but that if he had known more he might have seen more too.

There were other European-sponsored ventures into the Western Territories during this era such as that of William Drummond Stewart in 1837. His artist was an American painter, Alfred Jacob Miller, who produced "over three hundred on-the-spot sketches and watercolours of trail and camp scenes, the surrounding environment, buffalo hunts and Indians, all during a short time."²⁹ His work did not entail the same

sort of portrait-making as did Catlin's and Bodmer's and seemed to have been less influenced by the need to scrutinize intently the Native Americans' physiognomy. Other concerns seem to have directed this artist in his choice of subject matter and style of presentation which place his work in a more Romantic and landscape-oriented tradition. (Plate 215)

In venturing out on his own George Catlin distinguished himself from those artists who accompanied an organized expedition. He made clear his reasons for travelling to the western Native American settlements along the upper Missouri in the important account of his travels Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians (London, 1841). In this oft-quoted extract, Catlin sees himself as a final contributor to the study of the American Indian before all their lands would be absorbed into the larger confines of the American nation and their traditional life changed forever.

"Man.... unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the beautiful model for the painter, and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of arts in the world; such, I am sure, from the models I have seen in the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the lifetime of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian."³⁰

Infused within this statement is the belief that the artist could use his pencils and paintbrush as the historian would use his pen; an idea that extends back to the period of Benjamin West in the 1770's. However, by the time Catlin began his work of capturing the form and "authentic" likeness of the Native American figure, artistic practice had altered and certain elements of naturalism and freedom of execution

were becoming the standard practice. As he states in his Letters, Catlin felt the figure of the Native American was the ideal subject for the painter and that artistic practice was finally at a stage that was somehow in keeping with the capturing of individuals in their natural environment. Catlin's two prevailing interests, art and ethnography, were thus brought together.³¹

Turning to the works themselves, one finds in their execution and style a vigorous attention to decorative detail and also accuracy of delineation at a high standard. However, it seems that most of the chosen subjects were male figures and usually figures of high rank or importance within each community at that. Catlin does not seem to have been greatly interested in anecdotal or everyday sorts of scenes, although some of his sketches and a few paintings deal with leisure, games, everyday activities and womanly pursuits. One drawing in the New York Public Library Sioux Woman Dressing Hides (Plate 216) shows a domestic scene which Catlin probably observed. The placement of the figures is compositionally rather symmetrical, however, and this balanced arrangement indicates the possibility of artistic constraints which may have affected the artist's choice. For instance, the three tepees, shown in the background form the triangular backbone structure of the composition. It seems unlikely that Catlin would have actually observed such uniformity in the placement of the tepees, their decorations, the lines of drying jerky and the symmetrically placed hide that is strung on a frame which exactly balances the left hand side of the picture. It seems likely that the artist had in mind the picturesque tradition in landscape and, in this case, made compositions capable of being translated directly into the graphic medium. This is not to assume that rapid sketches were not made on the spot or that

details from a quick study were not worked into the final pictures; but it is enough to raise questions about whether we can allow ourselves, looking at them now, to find elements in them which give us qualitative information about Native American life as it was lived.

Many of Catlin's hunting scenes and his two pendants Crow Warriors Bathing at Yellowstone and Crow Chief at his Toilet (Plates 217 and 218) follow standard European models for the composition of similar subject-matter. That is, the bathing scene should be viewed in the context of the tradition of nudes in a landscape, which began very early in the history of Western Art and had developed into something of a worn cliché by the nineteenth century. So, too, with the picture of the Crow Chief at his Toilet there were many precedents available to have influenced this sort of composition, Catlin's awareness of which is signalled perhaps in his ironic title. But the likening of the Native American and his customs to those which were familiar to Europeans does not actually help the observers to clearly perceive the Indians' practices in real terms. By likening the alien culture to a European norm a false "understanding" is generated which denies Native American otherness, or at least minimises its cultural difference, by the process of assimilation. These pictures of Native American life cannot simply be added to the other, written evidence of how the tribes in question actually lived; for all his sympathy and missionary zeal, Catlin's record is limited by the contingencies which must inevitably determine images made of a culture alien to that of the artist.

The work of Catlin was in the long run very important to the later development of pictorial representations of the Native American figure.³² He had some influence on the Canadian artist, Paul Kane, who repeated Catlin's style and method by travelling to Western Canada in

the 1840's and 1850's, painting similar Native American subject-matter. However, it was Catlin's travels in Europe and his exhibition of a collection of Indian material, paintings, paraphernalia and actual Indian personages, an Indian "Gallery", which seemed to gather together all of the strands in representation and belief about Native American cultures that had been developing up to that point. His work seemed to be the essence of what was felt and believed about Native Americans living in their traditional patterns.

As we have seen the work of amassing a collection of separate images, mostly portraits, of various Native American peoples was often accomplished by the entire spectrum of interested individuals: scientists, artists, ethnologists and government administrators. The methods of collection and style of representation had thus been set down long before the idea of creating a "gallery" of Indian types was first mooted by Catlin. It had its genesis in the manner in which material was collected during the expeditions to Native American territories and settlements. It was there that a pattern of presentation developed that regularized and standardized the image of the Native American man and woman. Catlin's Indian Gallery was an extension of this pattern, where a viewer could see the whole array of the artist's works, whose subject-matter ranged over many various tribal areas and different groups, much in the same way as he or she might have flipped through one of the costume books popular in European circles.³³ It was just one instance where vastly different tribes connected with distant areas of the continent had been brought under the same roof, to be viewed together without clear cut distinctions. As early as 1816, Thomas L. McKenney, Chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs had helped to sponsor the formation of an Indian Gallery with the help of the artist, Charles Bird

King.³⁴ By 1830 King had amassed a huge array of one hundred and thirty portraits made of Native American visitors to Washington who came to his studio. Of the total number of portraits all, except for five full-length examples painted on canvas, were three-quarter lengths painted on panels about eighteen inches high and fourteen inches wide. (Plate 219) Housed for many years in the old War Department Building, King's collection proved to be very popular with foreign visitors, as can be seen in a comment by Frances Trollope who thought the pictures to be "excellent likenesses".³⁵

Once again one finds in the style of presentation and in the composition of these works made by both Catlin and King that the figures are shown against a bare background, or sometimes a stagey wooded landscape, and that they are made to assume a standard portrait pose. This gives regularity and consistency to the painted works as a body of material in the sense that no one subject stands out particularly as an individual separate entity. They are all important Indian leaders or "Chiefs". Even if certain figures in the portraits such as Petalesharo by C.B. King became popularized by appearing on a pattern for a ceramic plate (Plate 220), the Indian Gallery was itself seen as an entire piece and visual distinctions were not drawn between one Indian figure or the next. This becomes even more clear when examining the engravings after the portraits, published by McKenney and Hall in the mid nineteenth century.³⁶

In terms of detail and accuracy of delineation, the portraits by Catlin and King are well observed. However, it would again be dangerous to conclude from that statement that each portrait was a true picture of the subject in question or his life as lived, or that one could extrapolate from the individual who appears in the painting, to the

tribal group as a whole. Many of the figures in the Indian Galleries of Catlin and King were leaders and important men in their own right and several are shown in King's work wearing the peace medals issued them by the American government. In this way a selection was made for the artist under commission, of the material available for representation, where only those subjects who had come to Washington or were held to be important men were thought suitable to have their portrait taken. Each image would emphasize those aspects of seniority or prestige inherent in the notion of a chieftain or leader and would appeal to the general interest of the public. As ever, the context of the production and reception of these paintings is all important.

It was, however, the displacement of the Native American figure from his appropriate environment which proved so detrimental to his further representation in European imagery. As the idea of a collection of items gathered together in an 'Indian Gallery' took hold of audiences in the United States and finally Europe, it became clear that people would be content to observe the Native American in an unnatural but mimetic environment. That is, in spite of Catlin's strong desire to inform and educate his public about the Native American and to show they had a legitimate culture of their own, the end result would be a misrepresentation and a mis-understanding of the culture which the artist fought hard to preserve.

During the period of Catlin's exhibiting abroad he devised original ways of displaying his collection of Indian artifacts, costumes, head ornaments, weapons, pipes, and other paraphernalia. At first he used dummies that had been merely clothed in native dress. Later he developed Tableaux Vivants where the audiences could see reenactments of scenes Catlin had viewed while on his travels. The "Warriors

Enlisting", the "Council of War", the "War Dance" and many others could hardly be more artificial when they occurred within a museum or drawing room setting and were acted out first by white actors and only later by Native American participants. These Native American peoples, the Ojibwa and Iowa groups who came to Europe in the 1840's, may have lent a similitude to the proceedings but they would have also been viewed as contained entities, unable to truly reenact their rituals and dances, such as the so-called "scalp dance". In this sense, Catlin seemed to be almost pandering to the tastes of his audiences, who expected perhaps to see the cruelty of such so-called atrocities as scalping in a denatured context, taken away from its realistic setting, the American frontier. It was a form of titillation possible only because the Native American figures were seen so far from their home.

Ironically, it is Catlin's self-financed ventures in the establishment of his 'Indian Gallery', the publication of his Letters and Notes (1841) and his travels abroad to promote the Native American's cause which have been seen as the major visual contribution to the study of Native Americans in this period. His pictures have been accepted by a great number of later historians and anthropologists as a lasting record of events on the prairies and in the western mountains before tribal confinement on reservations. In addition, they have to a large extent become rather iconic in that Catlin's pictures are now synonymous with an untouched and non-European Western America that existed prior to the settlement of the Western states. Due to his determination, talent and need to record the Native Americans as they lived, Catlin is often seen as the true historian of the Native American to this day. Yet it is a dangerous assumption to accept any work of a visual artist as witness to events as they might have happened. In every case where an

artist had been brought in contact with Native American peoples to record their appearance and way of life, the artist's own stylistic and technical interests, the concerns of the artistic community as a whole and the ethos of his social milieu were brought to bear on the work in question. It seems that only in a few instances, such as the rapid sketch or quick study, would the artist feel free to give his impression of the events or figures as seen, without the overwhelming constraints of handling, composition, style, and the system or hierarchy of academic standards. Thus, it is in the very works which do not contain a great amount of detail, the rapidly taken sketch, that one can gain any understanding of how the Native American peoples might have appeared. Wordsworth's famous "we murder to dissect"³⁷ was never more true than in this case. At the other end of the scientific microscope, subject to expeditionary investigation, analysed in words and captured in paint, the Indian is preserved in the formalin of enquiry. The Native American, on the other hand, is glimpsed in the hesitations, erasures and blots that mark the limits of representation.

Notes -

1. See Ernst Gombrich, Art and Illusion, Phaidon, London, 5th edition, 1977, especially Chapter IX, "The Analysis of Vision in Art".
2. See Norman Bryson (ed.), Calligram, Essays in New Art History from France, Cambridge University Press, 1988. Bryson's "Introduction", pp.xiii-xxix, provides a succinct review of semiotic developments in the analysis of art.
3. For the best extended discussion of these developments in relation to scientific illustration see Barbara Maria Stafford, Voyage into Substance - Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840, The MIT Press, 1984.
4. Quoted in R.W.Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732, (First published University of Nebraska Studies, Vols.

- XXXII-XXXIII, 1934), University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1967, p.23.
5. Kim Sloan, Alexander and John Robert Cozens - The Poetry of Landscape, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 21-22. Also Martin Hardie, Watercolour Painting in Britain, Vol.III - The Victorian Period, First pub. 1968, B. T. Batsford, London, Appendix I, pp. 212-218.
 6. Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, second edition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985, p.108.
 7. See Introduction for discussion of the debate on representation.
 8. Ibid., pp.108-109.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Ibid., p. 113.
 11. Thomas Vaughan, E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, Mercedes Palau de Iglesias, Voyages of Enlightenment, Malaspina on the Northwest Coast, 1791-1792, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 1977, p.3.
 12. Ibid., pp.4-5.
 13. Ibid., p.5.
 14. John Henry Frazier, Early Maritime Artists of the Pacific Northwest Coast, Seattle, 1984, p.39.
 15. A discussion of Stothard's involvement in the Meares' publication Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, (London, 1790) is contained in Frazier, op. cit., p. 93. Meares describes the event which took place at Friendly Cove and the appearance of Maquilla and Callicum: "- there were twelve of these canoes, each of which contained about eighteen men, the greater part of whom were cloathed in dresses of the most beautiful skins of the sea otter, which covered them from their mecks to their ancles [sic]. Their hair was powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces bedaubed with red and black ochre, in the form of a shark's jaw, and a kind of spiral line, which rendered the appearance extremely savage." As quoted in Frazier, Ibid.
 16. H.L. Mallalieu, The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920, Antique Collectors Club, London, 1976, p.78; R.H.Hubbard (ed.), Thomas Davies in Early Canada, Oberon Press, Canada, 1972.
 17. The typical dress of the Cherokee male is described by Henry Timberlake as a combination of European garments and tribal produced items, see a mention of this in John A. Jakle, Images of the Ohio Valley - A Historical Geography of Travel, 1740 to 1860, Oxford University Press, New York and London, 1977, p. 76.
 18. Captain Basil Hall, R.N., Forty Etchings from sketches made with the Camera Lucida in North America in 1827 and 1828, Cadell & Co., Edinburgh; Simpkin & Marshall and Moon, Boys & Graves, London, 1829.
 19. Ibid., Plate XIV.
 20. Ibid., Plate XXVIII.
 21. For a brief discussion of Chretien, the inventor of the physionotrace, and its popularity in the late eighteenth century see Jean Clay, Romanticism, Phaidon, 1981, p.19.
 22. Luke Vincent Lockwood, "The St. Memin Indian Portraits", New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. II, No. I, April 1927, pp. 3-26.
 23. In the eighteenth century Johann Caspar Lavater had written on human physiognomy and the idea that a person's features revealed their character in L'Art de Connaitre les hommes (1772) and Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beforderung der Menschenkenntniss und Menschenliebe (1775-1778). In the nineteenth century a separate area of study, Phrenology, was developed by Franz Joseph Gall in Paris; its subject being the observation of cranial features and, by inference, the brain. The American phrenologist Samuel George Morton amassed a huge collection of

"American" crania which were illustrated in his major publication, Crania Americana, (1839). For a discussion of this work and its implications see Robert Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880 - the Early Years of American Ethnology, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1986. As regards the Fine Arts, Charles Bell's Anatomy of Expression (1806) was used by artists as a source for the depiction of character and emotion. Bell believed that there was a scientific correlation between facial type and mental character. Needless to say, all such theories impinge crucially on the construction and the perception of "typical" Native American features. (See also Chapter Four)

24. See John C. Ewers et al., Views of a Vanishing Frontier, Joslyn Art Museum exhibition catalogue, Omaha Center for Western studies.

25. Ibid., p.28.

26. See J.F. Loubart, The Medalllic History of the United States of America, 1776-1876, New York, 1878, plates XXI, XXII, XXV, LIV.

27. Ewers, op. cit., p.10.

28. This observation may seem to be overstated, but it is important to remember that ethnology was included within the category of natural history until the mid nineteenth century. When the Crystal Palace was reassembled at Sydenham in 1852 the Natural History display included thirteen life-sized groupings of native peoples, with "Eskimos" shown close to polar bears and "Red Indians" alongside North American birds. See George W. Stocking Jr., Victorian Anthropology, Free Press, New York and London, 1987, p.47.

29. Emily Wasserman, "The Artist-Explorers", Art in America, July-August 1972, p.50.

30. George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, London, 1841, Vol. 1, Letter no. 1, pp. 2-3.

31. Catlin was largely a self-taught artist, but came to Philadelphia in 1823 to establish himself as a portrait painter and became a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Art. See Harold McCracken, George Catlin and the Old Frontier, New York, 1959, p. 23. The best recent study of Catlin's work is William H. Truettner, The Natural Man Observed - a study of Catlin's Indian Gallery, Washington, 1979.

32. Truettner, op. cit., discusses the impact of Catlin's travelling exhibition on European audiences and includes examples of the imagery which resulted from the extensive tours Catlin made in England and France.

33. This point may be underlined by comparing Catlin with Jefferys. The latter's Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations (1772) gives only the tribal affiliation of each Indian figure. Catlin's work seems to represent an advance on this insofar as each subject is given a name and is personified, therefore, as an individual. But when each portrait is seen in the context of the whole Gallery its personal differentiation drops away and the individual becomes instead the representative of a tribe, encapsulating the essential qualities of, say, the Blackfoot people.

34. Andrew F. Cosentino, The Paintings of Charles Bird King, 1785-1862, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1977, p.59.

35. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

36. Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, The Indian Tribes of North America, was first published between 1837 and 1844 but went through numerous editions.

37. William Wordsworth, "The Tables Turned", Lyrical Ballads, 1798. The

last two stanzas run as follows:

Sweet is the lore which nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Misshapes the beauteous forms of things
- We murder to dissect.

Enough of science and of art;
Close up those barren leaves;
Come forth, and bring with you a heart
That watches and receives.

Appendix I

Decorative and Ephemeral Instances of Native American
Subject-matter

Appendix - I

Decorative Objects and Items of Ephemera that include Native American Figures

The following is a list of decorative and ephemeral items that include in their designs the figure of an Indian. While this list is not exhaustive it is hoped that some idea can be gained from it of the various contexts and media in which an American Indian might be presented. It should also be noted that the Native American figure tended to be represented as the embodiment of the American continent in the decorative context as a whole. Therefore the image of the Indian as the allegory of America was the most constant pattern of representation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It extended its influence from the banal to the most sumptuous and exclusive of visual arrangements.

Ceramic, Glass and Silver -

1. Wall Tiles. Delft. c. 1700. Musee Royal du Cinquanteenaire, Brussels. Part of a wall decoration with tiles including a scene containing Chinese and South American elements, probably after Albert Eckhout, an artist who had made paintings of Brazilian Indians.(c.1637) The figures have been tentatively identified as based on Eckhout's paintings of the Tapuya Indians of Brazil. See Anne Berendsen, Tiles, A General History, London, 1967, p. 168. (Plate 28)
2. An Italian armorial dish. Qianlong, 30.5 cm. Sold at Sotheby's Tues. 3rd November 1987 as The Hervouet Collection (Part II): Chinese Export Porcelain. For illustration of dish see Sotheby's Catalogue of Topographical Drawings, etc., Oct./Nov. 1987, p. 53. The image on the dish includes an Indian figure with skirt and head-dress of feathers and holding a bow. A quiver of arrows is strapped across its back.
3. Teapot. German, Meissen Porcelain Factory. Porcelain, painted with enamel colours and gilt. c. 1730. Height with cover 11.3 cm. See H. Honour, The European Vision of America, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1976, catalogue no. 140. The design on this teapot is reminiscent to that shown on the wall decoration made of tiles described above. (See item no. 1) Here on the teapot the Native American figure is seated across from from the Chinese man and both are surrounded by exotic birds and plants. This vision of the "Indies" partakes of the blending of exotic elements in items of chinoiserie current during the early part of the eighteenth century. (Plate 221)
4. America, part of a set of porcelain figures of the Continents. German, Meissen Porcelain Factory. Porcelain on gilt bronze base. c. 1745.(Plate 77) See Honour, The European Vision of America, catalogue no. 142. The porcelain set of the Continents seems to be a popular subject as it appears frequently throughout the eighteenth century. See for instance the set of Four Continents illustrated in R.J. Charleston, ed., World Ceramics - An Illustrated History, London, 1968, p. 253. Another set of porcelain figures of the Continents is illustrated in

George Savage, Eighteenth Century English Porcelain, first pub. 1952, London, 1964. (Plate 222)

5. America and Europe. English, Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory. c. 1755. Marked with a red anchor. City Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham (M95'70). This group is somewhat damaged but obviously served as a model for later productions of this figure group. See Honour, European Vision of America, catalogue no. 174.

6. Dutch Delft jar with cartouche enclosing the word "Tonka"; American Indian figure on either side of the cartouche. 18th C. Saffron Walden Museum, Saffron Walden (1898.83). Information generously supplied by the Curator of Saffron Walden Museum, Leonard M. Pole.

7. Pair of Salt Cellars. Silver. c. 1760-61. Height 19.2 cm. Inscribed with the maker's mark for Francois-Thomas Germain. See Honour, European Vision of America, catalogue no. 145. The figures of putti dressed in feather skirts and head-dresses is, Honour points out, a rather frequent motif in porcelain objects as well during this period.

8. Creamware jug. English. 1790's. Transfer-printed in black on one side with a female figure carrying the American flag. Included in the design are a pair of American Indian figures dressed in loincloths and wearing feather head-dresses. One carries a tomahawk, the other a bow. The print on the other side is a sailing ship with the legend "Success to Trade". (Castle Museum, Norwich, Norfolk) My thanks to Robin Emmerson, Assistant Keeper of Art at the Norwich Castle Museum.

Wallpapers, furniture and other furnishing items -

9. Gilt settee, c. 1730. Height 41 1/2 in. The legs of the settee show an American Indian head with a feather head-dress carved on the top of each leg. This item of furniture is contained in the collection at the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool (Inv. No. LL 4511.) Other comparable examples exist, such as a table sold in 1925 from the collection of Lord Leverhulme, which have an Indian figure as a decorative motif. I am indebted to Lucy Wood, Assistant Keeper, Lady Lever Art Gallery, for the information about this settee.

10. Plate printed cotton. "William Penn's Treaty With The Indians". c. 1785. Printed in red with blue threads. This example is found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Cotton fabrics printed in this manner were often used in home furnishings. See Florence M. Montgomery, Printed Textiles, English and American Cottons and Linens, 1700 - 1850, London, 1970, pp. 280-281. (Plate 223)

11. "America". Patterns from reversible fabrics. Northern Slesvig, late eighteenth century. This pattern belongs to a set showing the four continents. See H.J. Hansen, European Folk Art, first pub. 1967, London, 1968, p. 43. (Plate 224)

12. Panel from "Les Incas". Produced by Dufour et Leroy in 1826. This example is found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The set of panels depicting scenes from the novel Les Incas by Marmontel shows the

extent to which literary depictions of the Native American were important in formulating images made by artists and designers.(Plate 69)

Other decorative and ephemeral items -

13. Carved coconut. Perhaps Spanish ? (City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery) (Inv. no. T2146) This item is decorated with 3 oval panels which are surrounded by decorative studding. Two of the panels contain figures meant to be Native Americans. The first panel shows two winged Indians with feather head-dresses, feather skirts and shoes. On the second panel two Indians in feather head-dresses are shown next to a tree with an eagle perched above it. I am indebted to Richard de Peyer, Assistant Keeper, Birmingham City Museums and Art Gallery, for his information on the carvings.

14. Busk stay. 11 1/4 x 1 1/4 in. English. Probably 17th C. The top is carved with a Native American maid, perhaps Pocahontas, but most likely a figure of the continent, America. These busk stays were used as love tokens during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Edward Pinto, Ireen, London, 1969.

15. Carver's model for ship figurehead. English. c. 1765. This model was used by the carver, William Savage of Chatham, in his design for the figurehead on the Victory, eventually the ship sailed by Lord Nelson. (Plate 73) The admiralty specification exists for this work and the the group of Four Continents is described thus: " At the back of the arch is the British lion trampling on very rich trophies of war, cut clear and open, and the arch on this side is supported by two large figures, representing Europe and America properly dressed agreeable to the countries; ..." The American figure is given a feather skirt, head-dress and feather ankle cuffs and wears a string of beads (?) around his neck. See Peter Norton, Ships' Figureheads, Newton Abbot, 1976, pp. 72-75.

Printed Ephemera -

16. Harlequinade. Children's book. Harlequin Cherokee; or the Indian Chiefs in London. Printed by Robert Sayer, London, Feb. 24, 1772. Hand-coloured engraving. (Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago) This is a turn-up book, probably one of the first kinds of moveable books made for children. Robert Sayer was the first English printer to experiment with the idea of interchangeable pictures. In this work of Sayer's, Harlequin dresses up as a Cherokee Chief and visits various places in fashionable London. One verse in the book reads thus:

"See here in pleasure ample round
The strange Americans are found
Tho' they seem odd to stare and Grin
Yet we as Wildly stare at them
It is the Custom of each Nation
Which causes all the Consternation." (Plate 227)

See Moveable Books, A History by Peter Haining, London, 1979, p. 10-12.

17. The Earth and its Inhabitants. Folding paper taped into box that holds a globe. c.18---. (British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven)

This is most likely a toy for children to learn about the various dress of other nations. In this way the work can be related to the costume books made for adults that were popular at this time. The figure of the "Iroquese" looks related to images made of Cherokee visitors to London in 1762.(Plate 228)

Appendix II

Flaxman's Simcoe Memorial: The Indian in Monumental Sculpture
of the Eighteenth Century

The South Quire Aisle in Exeter Cathedral contains a striking memorial to the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, Colonel John Graves Simcoe (1752 - 1806). Erected by subscription¹, it is a signed work by the sculptor, John Flaxman (1755 - 1826) who probably came to Exeter in 1815 to supervise its completion.² (Plate 225) The memorial consists of an area of entablature topped with an arrangement of crossed flags and the Simcoe family arms. A panel within the area of entablature includes a simply-elucidated decorative pattern of a four petalled flower repeated across its surface and intersected by diagonal lines forming a diamond-shaped lattice around each flower. The effect is that of a brocaded surface which harmonizes and complements the other elements in the sculpture. In the centre of the panel is a small portrait bust in bas-relief of Governor Simcoe. A gothic canopy with appropriate tracery surmounts the central panel and the tracery extends to the niches at the sides.

Unique and eye-catching, the design by Flaxman is distinctive in one other particular aspect. In the right hand niche stands the figure of a Native American man³ dressed in simple attire and carrying a small tomahawk in his right hand. As far as I have been able to discover, Flaxman's employment of a Native American figure in the Simcoe Memorial represents only the third instance during the period 1750 to 1815 where Native American figures were depicted in monumental sculpture in England.⁴

The relative absence of the Native American figure in this area of the fine arts points to issues of his representation in general. That

is, in spite of the crucial role played by the Native American in helping to bring about successful military campaigns, trading ventures and settlement strategies in America, his importance as a historical figure was not reflected in an area such as monumental sculpture. It is significant that in some way his person was not felt to be a suitable subject for interpretation in stone and marble in England at this time. Specifically, the proliferation of more decorative and ephemeral items which displayed his features helped to create a standard visual type symbolic of all Native Americans. This standard type, a semi-nude figure given a feather skirt and crown, would influence many forms of representation of the Native American including those of the 'higher' forms of artistic practice. To the extent that a relative absence of representation in the more serious art forms, such as painting and sculpture, and a proliferation of images in the more frivolous decorative art forms constitutes a marginalization of the Native American figure in art, it reflects to some extent the negligence of British policy-making with regard to the treatment of Native Americans and the realities of their existence. In reviewing the whole corpus of Native American imagery in this period it is evident that in the vast majority of cases Native American figures are only given expression in order to provide appropriate exotic colour or to titillate a jaded sensibility. Actual Native American people and their needs were not adequately recognized in the policies of British colonial administration and this 'marginal' status finds an apt echo in their artistic representation.

With a limited number of precedents to the work and an even greater process of marginalization of the Native American figure tending to both contain and regulate its appearance in sculpture, it is all the more

poignant that Flaxman should have chosen to give elucidation to a Native American personage in one of his sculptures. The design and execution of the Simcoe Memorial represents a break with tradition, an unwillingness to accept outmoded formulae and a total reworking of plastic relationships handed down from the antique.

Of the other two existing works made during this period, it is Robert Adam's Townshend Monument (1761) in Westminster Abbey that most concerns us here. (Plate 139) Lieutenant Roger Townshend had perished in the battle for Ticonderoga in 1759. Like General James Wolfe who was killed in the same year, Townshend exemplified the terrific loss in terms of human life that had been sustained in order to gain dominance on the North American continent. The eventual successes of various military campaigns in America came to be associated with a growing feeling of Empire in Britain as she spread her influence to many parts of the world. The Native American figures who appear in the Townshend Monument are in keeping with this feeling of influence abroad for they are posed in the attitude of classical support figures whose role it is to carry the casket of the deceased military personage. In this way, the Townshend 'Indians' are linked to the Roman practice of including figures of captives or conquered slaves in the design of sculptural edifices and monuments.⁵ Necessarily, the placement of Native American figures in a design which likens them to classical caryatids can only be detrimental to the perception of them as beings separate from a European tradition. Native Americans were not alone in being adopted for this purpose. In the late seventeenth-century, a monument erected to the memory of the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, Nicolas Cotoner, in St. John's Co-Cathedral in Malta shows the images of a Black African and Turkish slave crouching in chains under the weight of the

plinth.⁶ The iconographic significance of this arrangement would not have been lost on its viewers and this existing tradition handed down from the baroque must have been in Robert Adam's mind when designing the Townshend figures. His inclusion of the two Native American males, reminiscent of the Della Valle Satyrs⁷, would have triggered in its viewers' minds an association with the Imperial pretensions of the classical past and would have reminded onlookers that Native Americans had taken part in the wars as allies of both the British and the French. It is a less than sympathetic portrayal of Native American features, in spite of Adam's attention to ethnographic detail⁸ and aligns them with all foreign peoples who at one time or another had become subjugated under Imperial or Colonial rule.

In spite of the success and artistic influence of Adam's Townshend figures⁹, Flaxman's design for the Simcoe Memorial tapped new and previously unexplored areas of representation. Comparison of Flaxman's Simcoe Memorial with the Townshend Monument is crucial to this discussion as it is the one work Flaxman knew and admired yet chose not to follow. In Nollekens and His Times (1828), J.T. Smith quotes an anecdote that "Flaxman used to say he would give something for the possession of the name of the artist who executed the sculptural parts of this monument which he considered to be one of the finest productions of art in the Abbey."¹⁰ As the Abbey's monument had included figures symbolic of the Native American involvement in the Canadian wars, it may have been influential in Flaxman's decision to include such a figure in his own work. While it is true that the climate for critical acceptance and the societal attitudes surrounding production of the Townshend piece were not the same as those surrounding Flaxman's commission, the results of Flaxman's efforts still reveal a tremendous break with tradition. The

Canadian Indian in the Simcoe Memorial assumes a completely different role with respect to the other European figures in the composition, he is given traits that only the noblest of Europeans are allowed to bear and he speaks with clear issue of the important role played by Native Americans in the colonial affairs of that era.

In the fifty years between the Townshend commission and the work for the Simcoe Memorial, important changes had occurred in the relationship the British held with the Native American groups which would help make possible Flaxman's new interpretation. During the Revolutionary Wars, 1775 - 1783, many Eastern Woodland tribes became involved in the conflict. Some groups literally disintegrated as they were torn between joining one side or the other.¹¹ However, when the fighting stopped, Native American representatives were left out of the peace negotiations. In the Paris conference of 1783 Native claims to the lands west of the Appalachians were ignored and the "American negotiators ...asserted their sovereignty over the lands of the interior."¹² The British had made many promises to their allies during the war in order to gain their support for planned military campaigns and it was all too evident to critics of British colonial rule that the Europeans had abandoned their sworn allies. Guilt at what had taken place immediately after the cessation of the conflict caused certain members of the British colonial government to make appeals on behalf of the Indian groups by attempting to find a place for their settlement within the provinces of Canada. Simcoe was one of these colonial officials who felt the Native Americans, particularly staunch British allies such as the Mohawk, should be resettled.¹³ As late as the 1790's, General Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, delayed the transition of frontier forts from British to U.S. control and thereby helped to cushion Native

American claims. There is also evidence that the administration in England were sympathetic. The Prime Minister, Lord North, wrote, "These People are justly entitled to our Peculiar attention and it would be far from either generous or just in us, after our cession of their Territories and Hunting grounds, to forsake them."¹⁴ The sympathetic strain in the thought of the time would grow as the problems generated by contact with the Indians were less and less a truly British concern. In other words, now that the British government and the Crown no longer had complete jurisdiction over the tribes living within the boundaries of the United States, it became easier to recognize admirable qualities possessed by the Native American peoples; a recognition made more readily as part of the burgeoning cult of the Primitive that was so influential in the late eighteenth-century. In addition to this growing recognition of the virtues of the Native American way of life was the more important realization that this life was under threat of extinction. It is within this changed climate and atmosphere of acceptance that Flaxman's work and choice of subject-matter for the Simcoe commission must be viewed.

Flaxman's memorial is to a colonial administrator and military leader who entered office at a crucial point in the development of Canada's relations with the Native peoples of the Canadian border regions. Flaxman thus shows an obvious interest in depicting Native Americans as a testament to Governor Simcoe's policies. The artist had had previous experience in the depiction of foreign or "exotic" peoples before the Simcoe work, especially, his commission from the Raja Sarfogi for a full-length, lifesize portrait (1803 - 5) and in his monuments to Sir William Jones (1796) and the Reverend Christian Frederick Schwartz (1805). Irwin has pointed to the care which Flaxman took over the Jones

monument in making several life studies of Hindu men in order to achieve ethnographic authenticity. Preliminary drawings also exist for the Simcoe Memorial which indicate that the sculptor had some first-hand experience of Native American dress and ornamentation as well.¹⁵

One of the two drawings for the Simcoe Memorial is in a finished state and can serve as evidence of Flaxman's thoughts concerning the design of his piece. (Plate 226) In the drawing the artist has given the Indian figure accoutrement that would align him with many of the Eastern Woodland Indian groups. However, it seems likely that Flaxman would have hoped to approximate Iroquois dress in his work. The Indian figure's specific traits in the drawing are the ornaments worn on the head and neck, the belted tunic (or shirt and breech-cloth) worn on the body and the tomahawk in his left hand. Ornamentation about the head and face consists of a coxcomb or feather head-dress attached somewhere near the back of the head and a long piece of shell or other rigid ornament attached at the ear in an unascertainable fashion. The belt around the waist of the figure appears to be decorated with a repeated design of a geometric pattern and again this may be an approximation of a true Native American pattern. Other marks of attribution are the beaded necklace worn around the neck and the gorget attached to it.

The Native American figure in Flaxman's drawing is also in keeping with images of Eastern Woodland tribal personages who came to England previous to 1815. It seems likely that the artist would have been familiar with some of these images as there were several commissioned portraits of certain visitors and many prints taken after these. During the visit of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake and a group of Cherokee representatives in 1762 several artists made portraits of some of the individual Indian leaders and the graphic representations of these

Cherokee 'Chiefs' were extremely numerous.¹⁶ (Plates 116 and 180) In these works, there is a certain regularity of presentation where the figures appear in clothes that combine Native American and European elements. Although it may have been the case that European fabrics and made goods were appropriated via trade, it is significant for the original drawings for the Simcoe Memorial that the image of a fully clothed and distinguished Native American male was current at this time. Also, in several cases in the portraits of the Cherokees their hair has been plucked over the top of the head, ornaments have been attached to their head and ears and they wear the sign of attachment to the British cause, a metal gorget with the arms of George III.

Flaxman's initial design for the Native American figure follows this pattern in that the pose of the figure, one arm covered in a blanket or cape, is the same as that of the earlier portraits. Similarly, the artist gives his figure a combination of Native and European made clothes, he makes reference to the symbol of alliance with the British in the gorget worn at the neck, and the figure sports head and neck ornamentation in keeping with what was known of Eastern Woodland dress in this era.

On the other hand, there is the possibility that the sculptor had worked from his memory of an individual Native American leader as there is some chance he would have met a Mohawk Indian in the course of his life. As stated before, Native Americans had been frequent visitors to England during the eighteenth-century and one figure in particular created a sensation in that he was accepted into fashionable circles, joined the Freemasons and had his portrait painted by several important artists.¹⁷ Joseph Brant, or Thayendanega, was a Mohawk Indian and friend of the influential Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian

Affairs in the Northern Colonies (1756-1774). Brant supported the British during the Revolutionary Wars and had visited England twice, first in 1775-6 and again in 1786.¹⁸ In the company of Colonel Guy Johnson,¹⁹ the reception given Brant during their diplomatic mission of 1776 had practical consequences in that Mohawk support was needed for success of the British campaigns. Thus colonial leaders were eager to give this influential personage the respect and deference he was due. At the end of the Wars, Brant was allowed to settle on his own land along the Grand River in Canada, the reward given him for his services. Evidently Brant must have exuded a penetrating charm.²⁰ His portrait by the artist, George Romney, (dated 1775-6) shows the Native American man standing erect regaled in ceremonial accoutrement with feathers fashioned in his headband, a silver gorget worn about his neck and a tomahawk held at his side. Portraying with great skill Brant's intensity of expression and unswerving gaze, the portrait has the power to captivate and enchant the viewer while at the same time reminding them of the military importance of his presence. (Plate 182)

It is through Flaxman's friendship with Romney that the sculptor may have come into contact with the figure of Brant himself. According to Irwin the two artists met sometime in 1775 and thereafter remained close friends.²¹ Flaxman may have been aware of the Brant portrait on which Romney was at work at this date but as the visit of Brant was highly publicized, Flaxman would surely have been familiar with the figure of the Mohawk as an important personage, in any case.

The Indian figure in Flaxman's sketch for the Simcoe piece has some points in common with the Romney portrait of Joseph Brant. Both are wearing a draped cloth or cape over one shoulder, each assumes a dignified pose, a gorget hangs at the neck of both figures and a feather

head-dress of some kind adorns both. Furthermore, the Indian in Flaxman's drawing looks as though he is wearing a European-made shirt under his tunic and a similar shirt is worn by Brant in several of the portraits. Although the Simcoe work was done much later than the portrait by Romney (nearly forty years separates the two works), Flaxman could still have looked to the engraved portrait of Brant for accuracy of detail and for inspiration.²²

Finally, it was Governor Simcoe's relationship to the Native American groups under his jurisdiction, which included the Mohawk settlement on the Grand River in Ontario, that may have induced Flaxman to make a visual reference to the historical character of Brant. As leader of the Queen's Rangers (1777), Simcoe had probably commanded Native American auxiliaries at some time in his military career. Unfortunately, Simcoe had assumed the office of Lieutenant Governor at the very time when relations with Native Americans were at their most distant (1791). Many Indian groups had taken up the issues of land rights in the era after 1783 and this had resulted in the post-war hostilities of the 1790's. Hence Simcoe's moves to provide land for those peoples who had remained loyal to the British cause. Brant was introduced to Simcoe by the Duke of Northumberland and Simcoe would later assess the motives of the Native American leader in this way: "He considers the Indian Interests as the first Object - that as a second, tho' very inferior one, He prefers the British, in a certain degree, to the people of the U.S."²³

The sculptor may have been aware of Simcoe's relationship with Brant but in one sense the Native American presence on the North American continent had again come into public consciousness during the time the monument to Simcoe had been commissioned. The war with the United

States during 1812 had again seen the involvement of Native American groups in the fighting along the Canadian border. Some of the same groups who had supported the British in the 1770's again fought along side British troops in battles up and down the continent. Flaxman would have been aware of the role they played in campaigns in Canada and therefore would have seen their relevance for a sculptural work of this kind. However, in spite of the inclusion of the Native American's weapon, his tomahawk, and in his stern gaze and countenance, the Native American figure in Flaxman's work has a non-aggressive appearance. This comes about largely because of the context in which the figure has been elucidated.

In the iconography of tomb sculpture, the niches flanking the tomb traditionally held the images of saints or the high-ranking clergy which sanctity and religious custom had demanded. In Flaxman's monument the figures in the niches act more as witnesses to the Governor's achievements, giving testimony to his policies of appeasement and humanitarian ideals. Their calm and dignified pose is in keeping with this function and as a result, the Native American figure achieves a monumental gravitas quite different from the figures in the Townshend Monument. Indeed, the two figures on each side of the central portrait bust of Simcoe almost assume a greater importance than the Governor himself as they are much larger and nearly carved in the round.

The most notable difference in the Flaxman design after its transformation to marble is the toning down and deletion of certain ethnographic details on the Indian figure. The head and neck ornamentation has been relinquished in order to present the more smooth appearance of a bare head and shoulders. The braids which are retained at the back of the head are only noticeable when close to the memorial

and when viewed from the side. Technical concerns may have prompted the deletion of the feather head-dress but this cannot be the entire reason for elimination of detail. The artist would have had other concerns that obviated against his inclusion of detail in a quest to achieve a more profound impact by use of a clear, uncluttered line.

What has been lost in the reduction of the Native American traits and thus the 'exotic' quality of the work, has been gained in the impact of the sculpture as a whole. Flaxman's use of the intervening space between figures and the background gives harmony to the work and the Native American occupies an important role in this sense in that he balances the composition and invites comparison with his compatriot in the opposite niche. More important though, he is given an equal position within the framework of the piece and is not allowed to assume an inferior role with respect to the other figures as one of support or colourful relief. He stands alongside the other figure in companionship and mutual respect just as he had done in life when he fought beside the British in their wars of attrition.

Further elements which counteract a traditional reading of the Indian figure are the drapery given him and his facial expression. The drapery works within the piece to enhance a feeling of stability and gives the Indian figure a noble bearing. Sculptural use of drapery in the form of togas, chitons, robes or cloaks has associative qualities that connect the subject who wears them with the antique past and allies them with a tradition of representation originally thought appropriate only for nobility or high ranking officials. Flaxman's use of a draped blanket as the only adornment on his Indian figure connects his work with the antique and gives the blanket a toga-like appearance. Indeed, the connotative power which such drapery exerts over the viewer and its

influence on the sculpture as a whole almost overwhelms the other figures and elements in the design. It creates a concentration of effect within the Indian figure whose rather mature features give him a distinguished air in contrast to the more youthful appearance of the infantryman. Finally, the expression on the face of the Indian warrior further destroys any sense of harm that the tomahawk or his Indianness may incite as the face appears calm and somewhat thoughtful. Contrasted with the more sullen expressions on the faces of the Townshend figures, this portrait of a Native American is sympathetic and idealized.

The precedents to which Flaxman could look for inspiration were few. And while his experience depicting other foreign individuals was advantageous, it would not have direct relevance on this commission. He would have been aware of traditional allegorical representations of the continent of America whose image was the feather-clad exotic Indian type but these he chose to ignore. Instead he had allowed his Indian figure to present an image of seriousness and importance by combining classical precedent with some aspects of the 'otherness' of Native American culture. The image of the Native American may have existed all around him via the decorative arts in the furnishings, tableware and ornamentation in the bourgeois households of his friends and patrons; but in spite of all these indications as to the appropriate context in which an Indian might appear, Flaxman chose to elevate his figure into the sphere of the fine arts, and into an area of considerable gravity, monumental sculpture.

The Townshend Monument had harkened back to an older tradition handed down from the Baroque which allocated the role of slave and support figure to those differing races of mankind. Adam, the designer, had shown sensitivity to Native American adornment in the studies he

made from a captured Native American boy²⁴; but he still had not let the figures he employed exceed the bounds of their known role in art. Flaxman had another vision which became translated in his work on the Simcoe Memorial into a statement about the equality of Native American peoples and the need to recognize their roles in colonial affairs on the North American continent.

Notes to Appendix II -

1. Flaxman's account book, now in Columbia University Library, states that total payment for the work amounted to £950, £320 of which he received as a first payment on May 27, 1811. For the full account-book entry see John Physick, Designs for English Sculpture 1680 - 1860, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1969, p. 175.
2. Trewman's Exeter Flying Post, 29 Nov. 1815, postscript. Local papers noted the completion of the Memorial to General Simcoe and one mentioned that the work was "executed" by Flaxman thereby leading this researcher to conclude that the artist travelled to Exeter to direct the monument's completion.
3. This author has found the nomenclature commonly employed when referring to the peoples of Pre-Columbian America somewhat problematic. While the term Native American is perhaps somewhat more descriptive than the term American Indian, both elicit problems of definition and racial stereotype. The former term has been used in this thesis when a reference to the abstract notion of an 'original' inhabitant of the Americas was necessary. In the case of the latter term, the word 'Indian' has been used when contemporary accounts have done so.
4. Other than the Townshend Monument in Westminster Abbey, there exists only one other example of the sculptural use of Native American figures on monuments in England of this period; that of the monument to Cornet Geary in Great Bookham, Surrey and erected in 1776. The figures appear in relief on the base and the work is unsigned. See Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England - Surrey, first pub. 1962, revised by Bridget Cherry, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 264. See fig. 65 for an illustration of the monument.
5. Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time, New York, 1975, p. 129.
6. J. Bartolo, The Co-Cathedral of St. John, 4th ed. Malta, 1980, pp. 33-34.
7. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500 - 1900, New Haven and London, 1981, pp. 302-303. The figures of the Satyrs act as a pair and are posed with one arm raised above their heads which grasps the overhead support.
8. Honour, op. cit., p. 128-29, suggests that the artist, Robert Adam, probably based his final design on studies made of a live figure, the Native American boy brought back to England by Townshend's brother, George Townshend.
9. The influence of Adam's design on the accoutrement given other Indian figures can be seen in graphic illustrations such as those included in Jonathan Carver's Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years, 1766, 1767, and 1768, London, 1778. For other examples see Chapter Six.
10. J.T. Smith, Nollekens and His Times, Vol. II, London, 1828, p. 308.
11. Colin G. Calloway, Crown and Calumet. British - Indian Relations, 1783 - 1815, Norman and London, 1987, p. 6.
12. Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn, The History of the Indian Wars, London, 1977, p. 120.
13. John Graves Simcoe 1752 - 1806 (Guidebook to the Wolford Memorial

Chapel, Devonshire, England), Toronto, n.d., p. 5.

14. Utley and Washburn, op. cit., p. 121.

15. Two drawings, one a slight sketch, are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Prints and Drawings collection. The drawing discussed here is no. 8967A, 10 1/2" x 13 1/8", and is in pen and ink and wash. Flaxman must also have made models for the two standing figures for he exhibited figures of a "Canadian Indian" and a "British Volunteer" in the 1814 exhibition at the Royal Academy. See Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904, vol. III, London, 1905, p.

124. For the Jones commission see David Irwin, John Flaxman 1755 - 1826, London, 1979, p. 122 and 142.

16. Joshua Reynolds' diary for June 1762 records as one of his sitters "The King of the Cherokees". This must correspond with the painting by Reynolds now in the Thomas Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma of a figure titled "Scyacust Ukah". For Reynolds' diary entry see Algernon Graves and William Vine Cronin, A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., Vol. IV, London, 1899-1901, p. 1533. Another painting in the Gilcrease Museum is of "Cunne Shote" by Francis Parsons. This personage is another member of the Cherokee delegation who visited England in 1762. A mezzotint engraving was made by James MacArdell after the portrait by Parsons. Other engravings exist which purport to portray the "King" and his chiefs. See Chapter Eight.

17. J.R. Fawcett Thompson, "Thayendanega the Mohawk and his Several Portraits," Connoisseur, 170 (1969), pp. 49-53.

18. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indians Abroad, 1493 - 1938, Norman, 1943, pp. 94-96.

19. Colonel Guy Johnson was the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson and was acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1776 after the death of his uncle in 1774.

20. Fawcett Thompson, op. cit., describes at least six separate paintings made of Brant. It is also known that Francis Rigaud exhibited a portrait of Joseph Brant in the Royal Academy in 1786 but this work has not been traced.

21. Irwin, op. cit., p. 6.

22. A mezzotint by J. R. Smith after Romney's portrait of Joseph Brant was published in February, 1779.

23. Of Simcoe's introduction to Brant see Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, eds., The Journal of Major John Norton, Toronto, 1970, p. lxxxiii. Simcoe's assessment of Brant comes from Calloway, op. cit., p. 239.

24. See note 8.

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