

1994

A measure of progress : native Americans in paintings and sculptures in the United States galleries of the Fine Arts Palace at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition

Marilyn Fogel
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Fogel, Marilyn, "A measure of progress : native Americans in paintings and sculptures in the United States galleries of the Fine Arts Palace at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition" (1994). *Master's Theses*. 908.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.6hmc-d7p3>

https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/908

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

**A MEASURE OF PROGRESS
NATIVE AMERICANS IN PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES
IN THE UNITED STATES GALLERIES OF THE FINE ARTS PALACE
AT THE 1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION**

**A Thesis
Presented to the Department of Art History
San Jose State University**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**

**by
Marilyn Fogel
December 1994**

UMI Number: 1361166

Copyright 1994 by
Fogel, Marilyn
All rights reserved.

UMI Microform Edition 1361166
Copyright 1995, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1994

Marilyn Fogel

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

William M. Gaugler
Dr. William M. Gaugler

Marilyn Wyman
Dr. Marilyn Wyman

Patricia Sanders
Dr. Patricia Sanders

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

M. Lou Sewardowski

ABSTRACT

A MEASURE OF PROGRESS NATIVE AMERICANS IN PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES IN THE UNITED STATES GALLERIES OF THE FINE ARTS PALACE AT THE 1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

by Marilyn Fogel

This paper considers paintings and sculptures with Native American themes in the United States galleries of the art building at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition with regard to late nineteenth-century attitudes toward progress and places them in the context of displays of other exhibits at the fair. The works of art are analyzed with respect to the taming of the American frontier, theories of human evolution, and government policies pertaining to the conversion of American Indians into United States citizens.

Native Americans were portrayed as dispossessed victims of expansionism, personifications of an Arcadian wilderness uncorrupted by industrialization and urbanism, and antipodes of European Americans. The selective imagery did not represent American Indians as they were and promulgated stereotypes which were corroborated by scientific studies presented in the Ethnography Department and elsewhere on the fairgrounds. The paintings and sculptures contributed to the fallacious image of American Indians as immutable primitives that persists to this day.

CONTENTS

Paintings and Sculptures with Native American Themes Exhibited in the United States Galleries of the Fine Arts Palace at the World's Columbian Exposition	vi
List of Plates	ix
Introduction	x
Chapter One <i>"an exhibition of the . . . progress of civilization in the New World"</i>	1
Chapter Two <i>"the tragic Indian story"</i>	9
Chapter Three <i>an "innocent primitive existence"</i>	36
Chapter Four <i>"the aboriginal way of life"</i>	54
Chapter Five <i>"invisible fences"</i>	71
Plates	75
Bibliography	93

PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES WITH NATIVE AMERICAN THEMES
EXHIBITED IN THE UNITED STATES GALLERIES OF THE FINE ARTS
PALACE AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

Works are listed alphabetically by artist. If they are known by a second title, it is included in brackets. All paintings are oil on canvas. The present location of works is given, when known. Dimensions are in inches, with height preceding width for paintings and, for sculpture, height and width preceding depth.

Paintings

George de Forest Brush (1855-1941)

The Head Dress [The Shield Maker], 1890
10 7/8 x 16 1/8 Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

The Indian and the Lily, 1887
21 1/4 x 19 7/8 Collection of Pierre Bergé, Paris, France

The Sculptor and the King, 1888
20 x 36 Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon

Edwin Willard Deming (1860-1942)

A Mourning Brave, circa 1892
39 1/2 x 30 1/2 National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

Edward Moran (1829-1901)

*The First Ship Entering New York Harbor [Henrik Hudson Entering New
York Harbor, September 11, 1609]*, 1892
35 1/2 x 52 1/2 Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

De Cost Smith (1864-1939)

Driven Back [War Party], 1892
26 x 46 Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama

Sioux Lovers, circa 1887
72 x 48 Private Collection

Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910)

The Old Hunting Grounds, [The Old Hunting Ground], 1864
36 x 27 Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem,
North Carolina

The Plains [Crossing the Ford, Platte River, Colorado], 1868-70
40 1/4 x 69 1/8 Century Association, New York

Sculptures

Paul Wayland Bartlett (1865-1925)

The Ghost Dance (study of the nude), 1889

plaster, unlocated (bronze cast *circa* 1889, 67 1/8 x 38 1/4 x 60

National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.)

Gutzon Borglum (John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum) (1867-1941)

Indian Scouts [Tribal Sentinels], 1891

bronze, 13 1/2 x 17 1/2 x 11 3/4 Forest Lawn Memorial Park Museum,
Glendale, California

Henry Kirke Bush-Brown (1857-1935)

The Buffalo Hunt, *circa* 1893

plaster, unlocated

Cyrus Edwin Dallin (1861-1944)

The Signal of Peace, 1890

bronze, life-size, Lincoln Park, Chicago

William Preston Powers (1843-1931)

The Closing Era, cast 1893

bronze, over life-size, east lawn, Colorado State Capitol, Denver

Carl Rohl-Smith (1848-1900)

Mato Wanartaka (Kicking Bear), Chief of the Sioux, n.d.

plaster bust, unlocated

Douglas Tilden (1860-1935)

Indian Bear Hunt, 1892

bronze, over life-size, California School for the Deaf, Fremont, California

William Green Turner (1833-1917)

The Herald of Peace, *circa* 1876

bronze, unlocated

Olin Levi Warner (1844-1896)

Medallion of Joseph, Chief of the Nez Percé Indians, 1889

bronze, 17 5/8 diameter, National Museum of American Art, Washington,
D.C.

Bronze Medallions of Columbia River Indians, 1891

National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

Ya-tin-ee-ah-witz (Poor Crane), Chief of the Cayuses 11 diameter

Seltice, Chief of the Coeur d'Alenes [Seltice, Chief of the Cœur d'Alênes] 7 5/8 diameter

N-che-askire, Chief of the Coeur d'Alenes [N-che-askwe, Chief of the Cœur d'Alênes], 7 3/8 diameter

"Lot," Chief of the Spokanes 8 1/4 diameter

*Sabina--Kash-Kash's Daughter--A Cayuse, age fourteen
5 7/8 diameter*

Young Chief, Cayuse Indian 7 1/2 diameter

*Moses Sulk-tash-Kosha (The Half Sun), Chief of the Okinokans
8 1/2 diameter*

LIST OF PLATES

1	Penobscot tepees, Indian Village, World's Columbian Exposition, photograph by C.D. Arnold, 1893, Chicago Historical Society	75
2	Edward Moran, <i>The First Ship Entering New York Harbor</i> , oil on canvas, 1892	76
3	Cyrus E. Dallin, <i>Signal of Peace</i> , bronze, 1890	77
4	Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, <i>The Buffalo Hunt</i> , plaster, circa 1893	78
5	Preston Powers, <i>The Closing Era</i> , bronze, 1893	79
6	Olin Levi Warner, <i>Medallion of Joseph, Chief of the Nez Percé Indians</i> , bronze, 1889	80
7	Olin Levi Warner, <i>Bronze Medallions of Columbia River Indians</i> , 1891	81
8	Worthington Whittredge, <i>The Old Hunting Grounds</i> , oil on canvas, 1864	82
9	Worthington Whittredge, <i>The Plains</i> , oil on canvas, 1868-70	83
10	George de Forest Brush, <i>The Sculptor and the King</i> , oil on canvas, 1888	84
11	George de Forest Brush, <i>The Head Dress</i> , oil on canvas, 1890	85
12	George de Forest Brush, <i>The Indian and the Lily</i> , oil on canvas, 1887	86
13	Douglas Tilden, <i>Indian Bear Hunt</i> , bronze, 1892	87
14	De Cost Smith, <i>Sioux Lovers</i> , oil on canvas, circa 1887	88
15	De Cost Smith, <i>Driven Back</i> , oil on canvas, 1892	89
16	Edwin W. Deming, <i>A Mourning Brave</i> , oil on canvas, circa 1892	90
17	Paul W. Bartlett, <i>The Ghost Dance</i> , bronze, 1889	91
18	Gutzon Borglum, <i>Indian Scouts</i> , bronze, 1891	92

INTRODUCTION

Paintings and sculptures with Native American¹ themes in the United States galleries of the Fine Arts Palace at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition are indices of late nineteenth-century attitudes about the nation's progress and of the marginal status of the country's autochthonous peoples. The works of art were informed by prevailing popular views toward frontier development, human evolution, nativism, and the conversion of Native Americans into United States citizens. The painters Edward Moran and Worthington Whittredge and the sculptors Cyrus Edwin Dallin, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, Preston Powers, and Olin Levi Warner portrayed American Indians as victims of progress, personifications of the wilderness tamed by homesteading, commerce, and industry. They represented their subjects as doomed tribes people, even though statistical data indicated that American Indian extinction was a myth. Douglas Tilden, George de Forest Brush, and, again, Worthington Whittredge, disregarding plains wars and impoverished reservations, represented Native Americans as inhabitants of a New World Eden, who symbolized nostalgia for the pre-industrialized existence lost to a progressively urbanized society. Edwin Willard Deming, De Cost Smith, Paul Wayland Bartlett, and Gutzon Borglum approached their works with ethnographic verisimilitude, which emphasized the disparities between Native Americans and European Americans.

In the art at the Chicago fair American Indians served as metaphors of the by-gone era when the United States was a frontier nation and were primarily represented as primitives arrested in an early stage of human evolution. This stereotyped image was substantiated by scientific displays of

American Indians at venues throughout the White City, as the fairgrounds were called,² and by performances at the Midway Plaisance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. These paintings and sculptures, therefore, must be analyzed in context with the other exhibitions of American Indians at the World's Columbian Exposition.

Among the 1,184 sculptures and oil paintings installed in the United States galleries of the fine arts building, nineteen works--ten sculptures and nine paintings--had American Indian themes.³ Sixteen are extant and one, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt*, is known through photographs and references in newspapers and books from the fair. Two sculptures are unlocated.⁴ The seventeen known works, by twelve artists, treat their common Native American theme with diversity. Edward Moran's seascape is a history painting. Worthington Whittredge's two canvases are landscapes, one Eastern, one Western. George de Forest Brush, Edwin Deming, and De Cost Smith painted genre scenes. Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, Preston Powers, Cyrus Dallin, and Douglas Tilden produced monumental sculptures of man and beast intended for installation in public outdoor spaces. Gutzon Borglum and Paul Bartlett sculpted realistic pieces in small scale. Olin Levi Warner modeled eight naturalistic portrait medallions in low relief, which are counted, as they were at the fair, as two works, a single medallion of Chief Joseph and a set of seven portraits of Columbian River Indians.

The discussion of these paintings and sculptures is organized in five chapters. The first of these establishes the overall context in which the works of art were viewed by visitors to the Chicago fair, where American Indians were exhibited as objects of late nineteenth-century anthropological research, evolutionary theory, and entertainment. The seventeen paintings and sculptures are

discussed topically in Chapters Two through Four. Chapter Two examines representations of vanishing Native Americans as metaphors of the American frontier subdued with the expansion of the nation westward. Chapter Three addresses images of American Indians as personifications of an Arcadian wilderness uncorrupted by the vices of an industrialized society. Chapter Four concerns artists' appropriation of ethnographic details to impart a semblance of historical accuracy to the paintings and sculptures. The final section summarizes the selective representation and the consequent stereotyped imagery of American Indians perpetuated by the 1893 world's fair.

Notes to Introduction

¹ The terms Native American and American Indian inappropriately homogenize numerous and diverse nations. In this paper they are used, as is the appellation European American, to distinguish ancestral place of origin.

² The fairgrounds were called the White City after the monochromatic Beaux Arts facades framing the Court of Honor. The epithet was also valid with respect to the racial purity maintained within the central fairgrounds, since exhibitions and amusements with people of color were concentrated in the Midway Plaisance, separated from the White City.

³ Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 194, identified 1,184 oil paintings and sculptures in the United States galleries. Elizabeth Broun counted 174 sculptures. Elizabeth Broun, *American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1976 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982), 55. The nineteen works with Native American subjects comprised only 1.6 percent of the total 1,184 oils and sculptures. The ten sculptures represented less than six percent of the total 174, and the nine paintings represented less than one percent of the total 1,010. There were also works in other media by United States artists, as well as pieces in a retrospective exhibit of American art and an exhibition of masterpieces from private collections in the United States.

⁴ Photographs or engravings showing William G. Turner's *The Herald of Peace*, circa 1876, and Carl Rohl-Smith's portrait bust *Mato Wanartaka (Kicking Bear)*, *Chief of the Sioux* have not been located, and therefore, these works are excluded from the discussion in this paper. Elizabeth Broun identified the American Indian subject of Turner's sculpture, and Rohl-Smith's piece is identifiable by the title listed in the 1893 exhibition catalogue. Broun, 59; Brandon Brame Fortune and Michelle Mead, "Catalogue of American Paintings and Sculptures Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition," in Carr et al., 379, 375.

CHAPTER ONE

"an exhibition of the . . . progress of civilization in the New World"

The works of art with American Indian subject matter at the 1893 Chicago fair were influenced by prevailing public attitudes toward progress, human evolution, and the salvability of Native Americans as United States citizens. The works of art must be considered with regard to the other exhibits of American Indians at the exposition, which dealt with these same issues.

The World's Columbian Exposition was a six-month celebration of progress in the United States during the four centuries following Columbus' first transatlantic voyage. The Act of Congress sanctioning the exposition, signed by President Benjamin Harrison, stated, "It is fit and appropriate that the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America be commemorated by an exhibition of the resources of the United States of America, the development, and of the progress of civilization in the New World."¹ Progress was demonstrated at the fair by contrasting the present with the past. Native Americans, as inhabitants of the New World at the time of Columbus' arrival, personified the past and served as the touchstone against which the accomplishments of European American culture were measured.

At venues throughout the fairgrounds, exhibitions of American Indians and their artifacts supported the theme of progress.² In his 1893 account of the fair Benjamin Truman observed, "All around are the evidences of the latest steps taken in the world's advancement, while inside the [anthropology] building are the objects that show how the rude forefathers of a thousand tribes delved, dug, and builded."³ American Indians were represented by canoes, the

United States by commercial vessels of the White Star Steamship Company and a working model of the warship *Illinois*. In the National Museum installation in the Government Building, glass cases displayed life-size mannequins of a Sioux mother and her children on horseback pulling a travois while just across the lagoon passengers rode the electric Intramural Railway. An Iroquois bark lodge, a Crow hide tepee, and a Navajo sod-covered log hut in the Indian Village stood within walking distance of the iron-framed Palaces of Manufactures, Electricity, Machinery, and Mines.

Native Americans were prohibited from mounting their own exhibitions at the fair, even after a group appealed to the directors of the exposition for permission to do so. The petitioners wished to acknowledge their own accomplishments, as indicated by their letter:

We, American citizens of Indian blood, most earnestly and respectfully petition you to grant us through the forthcoming World's Fair and anniversary of the discovery of America, some recognition as a race; some acknowledgement that we are still a part, however inferior, of America and the Great American Republic. . . . With a Native American, or Indian exhibit in the hands of capable men of our own blood. . . , [we] will show. . . that our own advancement has been much greater than is supposed.⁴

Their request was denied and American Indians at the exposition were presented not as they were, but as metaphors of the past, not as they identified themselves, but as European Americans defined them.

The display of Native Americans as primitives was influenced by late nineteenth-century theories of human evolution. It was believed that human development was a continuum and that the scientific study of American Indians would lead to a better understanding of the advance of European American culture. The American ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan maintained that to

study American Indians was to research one's own distant ancestors.⁵ Morgan defined cultural development as a progression through three sequential stages--savagery, barbarism and civilization.⁶ He hypothesized that kinship relations developed from consanguinity and polygamy to monogamy, with certifiable paternity and inheritance of property. The social order proceeded from a tribal organization to a political system that protected property.⁷ Under this paradigm Native Americans were in the savage and barbaric phases of development, while European Americans were at the zenith of the evolutionary process.⁸

In the late 1880s the United States Congress enacted legislation intended to accelerate the evolutionary development of Native Americans. The 1887 Dawes Act granted ownership of tracts of reservation land to individual American Indians. Those receiving allotments became United States citizens. The severalty act was designed to expedite the transition from barbarism to civilization by abolishing tribal kinship in favor of a social system based on ownership, inheritance, and gainful development of property. Various government agencies and Christian missionary groups supported the bill. Representative Richard Frost stated in a House debate that property ownership "is a responsibility. . . which the history of civilization teaches to be absolutely necessary to the constitution of civilization and to the elevation of the human race."⁹ In his 1892 report as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan endorsed the granting of land and citizenship as a means of abolishing tribalism and releasing Native Americans from their status as government wards.¹⁰ A statement by the Indian Rights Association, an evangelical organization, summarized the sentiment of advocates of the policy, "The Indian

as a savage member of a tribal organization cannot survive, ought not to survive, the aggressions of civilization, but his individual redemption from heathenism and ignorance, his transformation from a savage nomad to that of an industrious American citizen, is abundantly possible."¹¹

At the World's Columbian Exposition the federal government and the organizers of the fair aimed to present Native Americans as salvable candidates for citizenship. At the invitation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, groups of American Indian children from missionary boarding schools came to the government-sponsored Indian School on a rotating basis for two-week stays, giving daily musical performances and demonstrations of their proficiency in academic subjects and the manual arts.¹² A guidebook informed visitors that they could see students in the process of becoming civilized and "contrast, side by side, the red man as a savage wrapped in a blanket, and his child in the dress of civilization."¹³ The imperative to instruct Native American children coincided with the conviction that social habits were inherited. Behaviors of reformed American Indian children would be passed on biologically to their offspring and the mental capacity of future American Indians would be enhanced by teaching the present generation, thereby accelerating the evolutionary process. Proponents of telesis, who acknowledged the role of environment as well as that of heredity in social evolution, also advocated for education.¹⁴

The Board of Fair Managers, committed to presenting Native Americans as capable of becoming civilized, excluded from the exposition grounds Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders, with its inappropriate staging of fearsome American Indian attacks on pioneers and the

United States cavalry.¹⁵ Cody, undeterred, established his amusement show just outside one of the main entrances to the exposition, with seating for audiences of eighteen thousand.¹⁶ The show earned profits of nearly one million dollars and influenced millions of visitors' attitudes toward American Indians.¹⁷

The following chapters will discuss the paintings and sculptures with Native American subject matter with regard to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and exhibits of American Indians at the fair, and will examine how the visual arts were influenced by and contributed to turn-of-the-century ethnocentrism and nativism.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ The Act of Congress was signed on 25 April 1890. *The Artistic Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Monarch Book, 1892), 212.

² Native Americans were represented in ethnological displays in the Government, Anthropology, and Women's Buildings, as living exhibits in the Indian Village and the government's Indian School for children, as entertainers at the Midway Plaisance, as statues along the Great Basin, and in paintings and sculptures in the Fine Arts Palace. There was also a display of American Indian nets at the Fisheries Building and a replica of cliff dwellings from Battle Rock, Colorado.

³ Benjamin Cummings Truman, *History of the World's Fair; Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Chicago: E.C. Morse, 1893), 262.

⁴ Neil Harris et al., *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993), 160 n. 29. Emma C. Sickles, Chair of the unrealized Indian Congress at the fair, protested the exclusionary policy toward Native Americans. She accused the exposition organizers of including only American Indian savages and government wards. Had the Five Civilized Tribes been permitted to demonstrate their self-sufficiency, she alleged, they would have discredited the corporate interests that were attempting to acquire their lands by portraying them as incapable of self-determination. "Miss Sickles Makes Charges: Tells Why There Are No Civilized Indians at the Fair," *New York Times*, 8 October 1893, 19.

⁵ Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization*, ed. Leslie A. White (1877; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964), 23.

⁶ Morgan, 11.

⁷ Morgan, 421-26. See also Part 3, "Growth of the Idea of Family," 325-429, and Part 4, "Growth of the Idea of Property," 445-68.

⁸ American Indians were considered to be gatherers and hunters with bows and arrows, characteristics of L.H. Morgan's savage phase. Some engaged in pottery making, the domestication of animals, and the cultivation of grain, which, in Morgan's paradigm, originated in the early barbarian stage. Native Americans belonged to tribal units, and many practiced polygamy, customs associated with the savage and barbaric phases. Morgan, 16, 17, 21-22, 425-26, 451, 454.

⁹ Richard Frost, House Debate on Indian Appropriation Bill, 20 January 1881, in *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 3rd sess., 1881, 11, pt. 1: 499.

¹⁰ "[C]itizenship accompanied by allotment of lands, necessarily looks toward the entire destruction of the tribal relation." T[homas] J. Morgan, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 27 August 1892, in Wilcomb E. Washburn, comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, 1973), 1:575-76.

¹¹ *Report of the Indian Rights Association*, 1884, 5, in Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Policy in the United States: Historical Essays* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 235-36.

¹² Students gave concerts for orchestra, chorus, and organ, and solo performances for coronet and violin. They demonstrated millinery, dress-making, knitting, lace making, typing, shoemaking, saddlery, broom making, gardening, and other skills. Exercises in penmanship, arithmetic, composition, and grammar were displayed in portfolios about the room. Mary McHenry Cox, "A Trip to the World's Fair and a Chippewa Indian Reservation," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 8 August 1893, 1, 2; "Work of Indian Children," *New York Times*, 12 November, 1893, 18.

¹³ *A Week at the Fair* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1893), 111.

¹⁴ Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Darwin in America: The Intellectual Response, 1865-1912* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1976), 10, 106; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968), 242. Frank Baker, in an 1890 address to the Association for the Advancement of Science, stated, "By the action of a law as yet imperfectly understood, the adaptations of each individual are transmitted to its offspring." Frank Baker, "The Ascent of Man," *American Anthropologist* 3 (1890): 298, quoted in Stocking, 243.

¹⁵ George Brown Goode, "First Draft of a System of Classification for the World's Columbian Exposition," *Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, 1875-1916*, Box 37, Record Unit 70, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C., in L.G. Moses, "Indians at the Midway: Wild West Shows and the Indian Bureau at World's Fairs," *South Dakota History* 21 (Fall 1991): 210. The show included staged attacks on settlers' homes, wagon trains, and a mail coach, and a re-enactment of "Custer's Last Charge." Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (New York: Century, 1893), 152-53; Moses, 207, 223.

¹⁶ *A Week at the Fair*, 246.

¹⁷ Moses, 218. The revue was so lucrative in Chicago that managers of succeeding fairs granted concessions to various wild west shows and actually sponsored them at the 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis, in effect, endorsing for commercial gain the presentation of American Indians as stereotyped savages with bows and arrows, feathers and paint. Moses, 246.

CHAPTER TWO

"the tragic Indian story"

The doomed American Indian is the most frequently recurring motif in the paintings and sculptures under consideration. Six of the artists--Edward Moran, Cyrus Dallin, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, Preston Powers, Olin Levi Warner, and Worthington Whittredge--addressed the issue of extinction in works they submitted to the fair. This imagery was the product of the nineteenth-century popular opinion that the demise of Native Americans was an inevitable consequence of progress. Major General O.O. Howard, reflecting on his years of service in the Indian territories, summarized this attitude: "The general purpose of our people. . . has been all along. . . to conquer. . . [American Indians] in battle, drive them out, or exterminate them, in order that savagery might give place to civilization."¹

A prevalent conviction held that the displacement of American Indians was part of the divine plan to bring Christian civilization to the new Promised Land. This belief in manifest destiny informed Emmanuel Leutze's canvas for the United States Capitol. In its border, American Indians, literally marginal, are pushed aside by the scroll inscribed with the line from Bishop George Berkeley's poem "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way," which gives the painting its title. Among the figures in the peripheral medallions are Moses, who led the Hebrews to the chosen land, and the Three Magi, who followed the star westward to the Holy Land.² The advancement into the frontier at the expense of the Native American population is also illustrated in Albert Bierstadt's *Oregon Trail*, 1869 (Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown,

Ohio), with the conestoga wagons rolling past tepees and skulls of dead animals, and in John Gast's icon of expansionism, *American Progress*, 1872 (Library of Congress, Washington), where the trains, steamships, and telegraph poles push aside the American Indians and prairie fauna.

By the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, researchers had begun to recognize the extinction of American Indians as a myth. In the 1870s Selden N. Clark, an employee of the Bureau of Education, had analyzed nineteenth-century statistics of the Native American population and concluded that the data were unreliable indicators of the Indian nations' survival. He noted that births outnumbered deaths and was convinced that the American Indian was not vanishing.³ Garrick Mallery, an ethnologist with the United States Geological Survey, incorporated Clark's research in presentations to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Philosophical Society of Washington, maintaining that the statistical errors had been accepted in support of the false premise that extinction was the fate of an inferior race incapable of co-existing with civilization.⁴ Nevertheless, the popular perception of Native Americans as a homogenous, vanishing people persisted well into the twentieth century.

Unlike Clark and Mallery, Frederick Ward Putnam, Director of the Department of Ethnology at the fair, subscribed to the myth of the disappearing American Indians. He regarded them as nearly extinct specimens from the past and insisted that their installation in villages adjacent to the Anthropology Building was essential to the proof of European Americans' progress (plate 1). He asserted:

We must never lose sight of the fact that this Exposition is a Columbian Exposition; that its very existence is due to the fact that

the voyage of Columbus four hundred years ago led to the discovery of America by our race, its subsequent peopling by Europeans and the consequent development of great nations on the continent. . . .

[The] different types of people who were here when Columbus [arrived], have about vanished into history, and now is the last opportunity for the world to see them. . . . The great object lesson then will not be completed without their being present. Without them, the Exposition will have no base.⁵

The statement exemplifies the pervasive ethnocentric beliefs in the inevitable demise of the indigenous population and the immutability of the autochthonous cultures.

On the opposite side of the fairgrounds from the Indian Village, in the Fine Arts Palace, a small number of paintings and sculptures corroborated the myth of the doomed American Indian. Edward Moran's *The First Ship* and Cyrus Dallin's *Signal of Peace* portrayed the imminent demise as a consequence of the arrival of Europeans. The fate of the indigenous peoples was equated with the decimation of the bison in Henry Kirke Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt* and Preston Powers' *The Closing Era*. Olin Levi Warner's portrait reliefs documented American Indians before their impending disappearance, and Worthington Whittredge's *The Old Hunting Grounds* romanticized their passing.

In Edward Moran's *The First Ship Entering New York Harbor*, Henry Hudson's sailing vessel, the *Half Moon*, is a metaphor for progress, bringing a superior civilization to the indigenous peoples (plate 2). Iconographically, the ship of progress had affinity with Frederick Macmonnies' monumental fountain in the White City Court of Honor, which took the form of the barge of civilization carrying to the New World a victorious Columbia, guided by personifications of the Arts, Sciences, Industry, and Commerce.⁶ Moran contrasted the primitive

witness in the bow and arrow stage of development with the Europeans who navigated the Atlantic Ocean.⁷

The First Ship was not only an allusion to English colonialism, but to nineteenth-century American imperialism as well. The work was one of thirteen canvases that Moran painted to commemorate milestones in the maritime history of the United States. It was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition with *The White Squadron's Farewell to Commodore John Ericsson, circa 1891* (United States Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis), from the same series.⁸ The White Squadron, a modern fleet of ironclad ships that patrolled the seas in various parts of the world, signified the era of transoceanic expansionism. Considered in context with *The White Squadron*, *The First Ship* insinuates that just as the American Indians benefited from the arrival of the Europeans in the early seventeenth century, so, too, would other native peoples benefit from the governance of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹

Like Edward Moran's *The First Ship*, Cyrus Dallin's *Signal of Peace* (plate 3) portrays the initial encounter of American Indians and Europeans, albeit after the introduction of the horse to North America by the Spanish. *Signal of Peace* was the first in a cycle of four equestrian sculptures to address the consequences of European contact for American Indians. At their first meeting, the native greets the newcomers. In *Medicine Man* (Fairmount Park, Philadelphia), created in Paris and exhibited in the 1899 Salon, the shaman warns his people of the futility of peacemaking with the United States.¹⁰ *Protest*, temporarily exhibited in colossal scale in staff at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis, registered American Indian resistance to the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, which the fair was otherwise celebrating. In the

fourth sculpture in the series, *Appeal to the Great Spirit*, 1909, situated in front of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Indian prays for the rescue of his people from extinction. The four sculptures generalized American Indians as Plains Indians, immutable and inescapably doomed.

Dallin created *Signal of Peace* in Paris for the 1890 Salon, where it won an honorable mention. The model was Philip, Son of Kicking Bear, whom Dallin sketched at the encampment of the Native Americans performing in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which had come to Paris in 1889.¹¹ The encounter with American Indians in Paris reminded the artist of his early experiences with them. He recalled, "The origin of [*Signal of Peace*] goes back to my boyhood, to a day when i witnessed a peace pow-wow between the Indian chiefs and the United States Army officers. I shall never forget those splendid-looking Indians arrayed in their gorgeous head-dress[es], riding up on their ponies to the army camp where the pow-wow was to be held."¹² In another account Dallin related that he had shared a railroad car with a delegation of American Indians traveling to Washington, D.C. as he was enroute to Boston for work and study. He observed his traveling companions at their daily bath and "was fascinated by their splendid bodies." He explained, "The human body has always been, in my eyes, one of the most beautiful things in creation. From seeing those clean, beautiful Indian bodies grew the determination to tell the tragic Indian story in clay and bronze."¹³

These anecdotes added interest and a semblance of authenticity to the many speeches about American Indians that Dallin delivered to clubs and civic organizations, while they simultaneously perpetuated stereotypes of American Indians as semi-nude noble savages on horseback in feathers and beads.¹⁴

The facts, however, define a reality different from the myths. Dallin's model, Son of Kicking Bear, came from a family more suitably associated with the sculpture *Protest* than with *Signal of Peace*. Kicking Bear, the father, was a celebrated warrior who fought the United States army in 1876 at Rosebud, Little Big Horn and Slim Buttes. He was active in promulgating the messianic Ghost Dance among the Sioux. The dance was illegal at the time, and Kicking Bear was arrested. He avoided imprisonment by agreeing to perform for Bill Cody in his Wild West Show's European tour, where American Indians' resistance to the acquisition of their homelands was trivialized for entertainment.¹⁵

The American Indians Dallin met on the train in 1880 were bound for Washington to solidify amicable relations with the federal government. While Native American emissaries traveled to the Capital to negotiate their tribal rights, the government identified delegates as peaceful or hostile and resolved to subdue dissenters.¹⁶ The Board of Indian Commissioners disclosed that inviting the Indian representatives to the Capital was "one of the most effective peace measures which the government has ever adopted" because the visits permanently convinced the Native Americans of their "inferiority to whites in knowledge and power."¹⁷

For all his observation and personal acquaintance with American Indians, Dallin defined them as primitives arrested in the past. Judge Lambert Tree, who purchased Dallin's *Signal of Peace* for the city of Chicago, promulgated the myth of the vanishing American Indian in his speech at the 1894 dedication ceremony for the sculpture:

The time is not distant when our descendants will only know through the chisel and brush of the artist these simple, untutored children of nature who were, little more than a century ago, the sole human occupants and proprietors of the vast northwestern empire. . . . [I]t is

evident there is no future for them, except as they may exist as a memory in the sculptor's bronze or stone and the painter's canvas.¹⁸

Simon Pogakon, Chief of the Potawatami, proffered a different perspective in an article written a few years later. At the time of contact, he said, "We were kind and confiding; standing before [the white man] like a block of marble to be shaped into noble manhood. Instead of this, we were oftener hacked to pieces and destroyed."¹⁹

Those responsible for the demise of the American Indians commemorated their memory with public outdoor sculpture in a deception of the type that Forrest Robinson calls "bad faith." This is a rationalization of iniquities that society tolerates to preserve its equanimity.²⁰ The usurpation of native homelands and the removal of nations to reservations were justifiable under the false defense that American Indians were, in Judge Tree's phrase, "untutored children" requiring paternalistic intervention.²¹

The theme of Dallin's *Signal of Peace* influenced other representations of dispossessed American Indians. The sculptor James Earle Fraser admired *Signal of Peace* at the World's Columbian Exposition and a year later modeled his renowned equestrian sculpture *The End of the Trail*.²² Fraser enlarged the work to more than twice life-size for exhibition at the 1915 Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, where it became an icon of the myth of the doomed American Indian.²³ Edward Curtis sustained the image with *The Vanishing Race*, circa 1900, his photograph of Navajo equestrians, by which he intended to represent the Indians "passing into the darkness of an unknown future."²⁴

Like the mounted warrior in works by Dallin, Fraser, and Curtis, the American Indian bison hunter in Henry Kirke Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt*

was a metaphor for the disappearing native peoples (plate 4). Visitors at the Chicago fair would have viewed *The Buffalo Hunt* as an evocation of the by-gone era when bison and Plains Indians had inhabited the prairie not far from the White City. Bush-Brown's realistic sculpture compared with the eyewitness account of the chase recorded by George Grinnell in his 1892 article "The Last of the Buffalo":

The naked Indians cling to their naked horses as if the two were parts of one incomparable animal, and swing and yield to every motion of their steeds with the grace of perfect horsemanship. The ponies, as quick and skilful as the men, race up beside the fattest of the herd, swing off to avoid the charge of a maddened cow, and returning, dart close to the victim, whirling hith and yon, like swallows on the wing.²⁵

By 1890, however, there were but a few hundred bison in the United States that had escaped slaughter, compared to tens, if not hundreds, of millions at the time of contact with Europeans.²⁶ The surviving bison lived primarily in Yellowstone Park and on private ranches, as American Indians lived on confined reservations.²⁷ Native Americans and bison epitomized the American frontier, wild and free, while concomitantly they were antitypes of civilization, the bison ravaging farmlands and American Indians eschewing private ownership of property. Subjugated American Indians and bison were analogies of the wilderness tamed.²⁸

In addition to exemplifying the wild frontier, *The Buffalo Hunt* corroborated late nineteenth-century theories of human development. The bow and arrow, with which the sculpted hunter was armed, were attributes of savagery that characterized L.H. Morgan's earliest stage of evolution.²⁹ The sculpture would have confirmed what fairgoers had learned from John Clark Ridpath's *History of the United States*, an elementary school textbook which

taught, "Indians belong to the Bow-and-Arrow family of men. To the Red man the chase was everything. Without the chase he languished and died."³⁰ Furthermore, the nomadic pursuit of the buffalo was savage, in contrast to the civilized raising of cattle. This notion persisted into the twentieth century, as evidenced by the title *Meat for Wild Men* given to Charles M. Russell's small bronze sculpture of a buffalo hunt from 1924 (Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth).

Bush-Brown executed a small-scale model for *The Buffalo Hunt* in 1889 while in Paris, and enlarged it in plaster to colossal size sometime after returning to the United States later that year.³¹ Like Dallin, he may have been influenced in his choice of theme by the popularity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which performed for seven months at the Paris Exposition Universelle during the year that Bush-Brown produced *The Buffalo Hunt* *maquette*. He also may have decided to represent an American Indian hunter because two artists close to him, his uncle, Henry Kirke Brown, and a family friend, John Quincy Adams Ward, had had earlier successes with this subject. Brown, Bush-Brown's uncle and teacher at the National Academy of Design, had produced and sold statues and statuettes of American Indians, including *Choosing the Arrow*, *Aborigine Hunter*, and *Indian and Panther*.³² Ward's *Indian Hunter*, which he entered in the Paris Salon of 1867, was the first sculpture by an American artist to be installed in New York's Central Park.³³

Just as *Indian Hunter* was one of Ward's most acclaimed sculptures, *The Buffalo Hunt* was among Bush-Brown's most renowned works.³⁴ Efforts were made during the artist's lifetime and after his death to secure an important public installation for the piece. In 1914 the Commission of Fine Arts,

established by the legislature in 1910, advised Congress to purchase *The Buffalo Hunt* for the District of Columbia.³⁵ Casting of the work was delayed by World War I and the Depression.³⁶ In 1935 the commission again recommended that the colossal group be purchased by the federal government and installed at the entrance to the National Zoological Park,³⁷ but, again, the piece was not executed in bronze. Had *The Buffalo Hunt* been placed at the zoo, it would have intensified the public's association of American Indians and bison as metaphors for the wilderness subdued by civilization. Like the exotic and endangered zoo animals sequestered in their cages and the bison herded onto park lands or bred on ranches, American Indians were confined to reservations and the Indian Territory. In the context of a national zoo, *The Buffalo Hunt* surely would have epitomized the triumph of expansionism rather than the tragedy of dispossession.

While *The Buffalo Hunt* was never realized as a permanent sculpture, and its present location is unknown, William Preston Powers' *The Closing Era* was installed as an outdoor public monument immediately following the World's Columbian Exposition (plate 5). The work came to the attention of the Colorado representative on the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, Mrs. E.M. Ashley. She determined that *The Closing Era* would be particularly appropriate to represent the state, as American Indians and bison had been abundant less than thirty years before, yet their populations had become so depleted that many children of Colorado had seen neither. The sculpture was to serve the pedagogical function of a lesson in Colorado history at the fair, and thereafter, in front of the state capitol building in Denver. That Powers was a local Denver artist must have disposed Mrs. Ashley in favor of the

sculpture as well.³⁸ A committee raised funds for the purchase of *The Closing Era* as a gift to the city from the women of Denver.³⁹

In *The Closing Era* the hunter foresees his own fate as he gazes on the dead bison at his feet. Powers' inspiration for the hunter was said to have been Ouray, a Ute chief who had represented his people in Washington and had ameliorated volatile relations favorably for the United States government in the 1860s and 1870s in Colorado.⁴⁰ Like the American Indian in *The Closing Era*, Ouray had anticipated his own demise:

I realize the ultimate destiny of my people. They will be extirpated by the race that overruns, occupies and holds our hunting grounds and whose numbers and force, with the government and millions behind it, will, in a few years, remove the last trace of our blood that remains. We shall fall as the leaves from the trees when the frosts of winter come and the lands which we have roamed over for countless generations will be given up to the mines and the plowshare. In the place of our humble tepees, the white man's towns and cities will appear and we shall be buried out of sight beneath the avalanche of the new civilization.⁴¹

It was this eventuality that Cyrus Dallin protested through his equestrian cycle, and Worthington Whittredge portrayed in *The Old Hunting Grounds*.

The Closing Era is not the first sculpture with the theme of the American Indian confronting his own eradication to be sited at a capitol. Thomas Crawford's *The Dying Chief Contemplating the Progress of Civilization* is located on the east pediment of the Senate wing of the United States Capitol building. The American Indian, chin in hand, is seated before an open grave. The sculptor explained, "In the statue of the Indian chief I have endeavored to concentrate all the despair and grief resulting from the conviction of the white man's triumph. . . . [The grave is] emblematic of the extinction of the Indian race."⁴² By acknowledging the injustices committed against American Indians, Crawford's work of the 1850s could have assuaged citizens' guilt over the

removal of the native population from the eastern states. Likewise, *The Closing Era* could have mitigated guilt over the defeat and displacement of American Indians in the West following the Civil War. By their association with the national and Colorado state capitols, the sculptures imply that the elimination of American Indians was the inevitable consequence of taming the frontier and bringing law and order to the continent.

At the United States Capitol, where Crawford's sculpture is located, legislators enacted the Dawes Act of 1887, granting citizenship to American Indians owning individual tracts of reservation land in severalty. If considered in terms of this bill, *The Closing Era* signifies the end of uncivilized nomadic wandering, a diet based on buffalo rather than beef, and the dominance of nature. The closing of the savage era would have been a milestone to celebrate for those advocating the acceptance of the allotment system and a new epoch of citizenship for the American Indian. For the hunter gazing down at the buffalo, the future meant displacement, or, in the words of the present-day art critic Lucy Lippard, "internal exile," the native now the "other" in his homeland.⁴³

Shortly before Powers completed *The Closing Era* to commemorate an epoch in Colorado history, Olin Levi Warner modeled eight medallions of American Indians living on reservations in the Pacific Northwest (plates 6 and 7). By his own account, Warner wanted to model the portraits before American Indians were eradicated or irrevocably assimilated. "I might be doing a great thing for Art by using the Indians before they are extinct or ruined by civilization," he mused. "The Indian life furnishes a great field, no one realizes it more than I."⁴⁴

While the Native Americans in the other sculptures and paintings at the fair were generalized, youthful braves, Warner's sitters were named individuals from specific nations--Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés; N-che-askwe and Seltice, Cœur d'Alênes; Moses Sulk-tash-Kosha, Okinokan; Ya-tin-ee-ah-witz, Young Chief, and Sabina, Cayuses; and Lot, a Spokane. They represented youth to old age, from fourteen-year-old Sabina to ninety-eight-year-old N-che-askwe.⁴⁵ Warner's friend Charles Erskine Scott Wood undoubtedly arranged for the sitters to pose for the artist, since he had known them during his years stationed with the army in the Northwest.

The sitters exemplified European Americans' ideal American Indian. Wood chose subjects whose bravery, honesty, diplomacy, and oratory he admired. Six of the men--Joseph, N-che-askwe, Seltice, Moses Sulk-tash-Kosha, Ya-tin-ee-ah-witz, and Lot--all tribal chiefs, had desisted from skirmishes with the United States army and capitulated to changes imposed upon them, the most profound of which was their removal to reservations. Young Chief had become a property owner under the laws of severalty, farming some acreage and leasing a portion to European American settlers.⁴⁶ He fulfilled the goals of the Dawes Act, adopting a sedentary way of life and productively using his land. Just as farming was considered a mark of civilization, so, too, was the belief in Christianity, and at least three of the men--N-che-askwe, Seltice, and Lot--had adopted this religion.⁴⁷

Sabina was the only female among Warner's Columbia River Indians and one of the few American Indian women included in art at the World's Columbian Exposition. Her portrait relief is the smallest of the medallions, an implication that her status was inferior to that of the male sitters. In the outdoor

sculpture of the White City a young Indian maiden personified America in each of Philip Martiny's group statues on the roof of the Agriculture Building. The caption under a photograph of this sculpture reproduced in a book of the fair blatantly maligned American Indian women: "The chaste figure in front stands for the American type, an Indian girl whose form is divinely fair, decidedly idealistic, but flattering to American pride, for though pretty Indian maidens are seldom or never really seen they are very common in the story books."⁴⁸ Artists who admired Native American men as counterparts to Greek gods denigrated Native American women as homely squaws. George de Forest Brush, who had lived among Native Americans, commented that a "really handsome squaw is rare."⁴⁹ Deming and Smith observed, "Many of the Crow women, especially the young ones, are decidedly pretty, but as they grow old all become fat and coarse."⁵⁰ Elizabeth Custer subscribed to this stereotype, commenting on the women she had encountered while living on the frontier with her husband General George A. Custer, "Only extreme youth and its ever attractive charms can make one forget the heavy square shape of Indian faces and their coarse features."⁵¹ These statements indicate that American Indian women suffered gender bias as well as ethnic prejudice. The disparaging regard for the coarse "squaw" may have been rooted in European Americans' rejection of American Indian women as "masculine," for they performed duties such as hauling loads and transporting goods, and as sexually amoral, for some tribes practiced polygamy.⁵² Warner's female model satisfied public expectations for a young and attractive American Indian maiden.

As a series of portraits documenting American Indians before their disappearance, Warner's medallions compare with the early nineteenth-century

collections by Charles Bird King, George Catlin, and Karl Bodmer, and the turn-of-the-century works by Elbridge Burbank.⁵³ These artists treated their paintings as ethnographic records, with much attention to the sitters' face paint, clothing, and weaponry. Warner, by contrast, did not pose his subjects with attributes and focused on the heads. Any visible clothing, such as Moses Sulk-tash-Kosha's shirt collar and Ya-tin-ee-ah-witz' jacket, evidenced the sitters' acculturation and progression from savagery to civilization.

Compositionally, the medallions are comparable to others by Warner and his contemporaries, including Paul Bartlett, who submitted *The Rev. Dr. Thomas H. Skinner* to the Chicago fair. They are also indebted to the bronze portrait reliefs of men and women in David d'Angers' Gallery of Great Men. Warner, like David d'Angers, filled the disk with the portrait bust, minimizing margins above and below the head. Following David d'Angers' example, he placed identifying inscriptions on either side of the sitters. Warner cited Ya-tin-ee-ah-witz' exploits in battle, as the French artist had listed titles of works by the German poet Zacharia Werner on his medallion. Warner portrayed contemporary American Indians in the same manner as he and other artists modeled portraits of their patrons or renowned men and women of European ancestry. He represented them as individuals, rather than as personifications of nature or the past as his colleagues did.

A quarter-century before Warner traveled west to model American Indians, Worthington Whittredge, in his painting *The Old Hunting Grounds*, remembered the eastern Native Americans already gone (plate 8). *The Old Hunting Grounds* evokes the by-gone era when the American Indian lived at one with nature in the forest interior. The deteriorating canoe in the foreground

shadows signifies the passage of time and the disappearance of the native hunter.⁵⁴ It contrasts with the European sailing vessel in Moran's *The First Ship* (plate 2), a metaphor for progress and the future.

The dying American Indian is a recurring theme in the poetry of William Cullen Bryant, which strongly influenced Whittredge, as he, himself, acknowledged.⁵⁵ In "The Indian Girl's Lament" the maiden mourns her slain lover and anticipates joining him in a bower of trees clustered beside a lake, coincidentally, the setting for *The Old Hunting Grounds*.⁵⁶ In "An Indian Story" the hunter grieving for his murdered bride symbolizes the demise of the Indian nations. The setting sun in "A Walk at Sunset" likewise is a metaphor for the passing of the American Indian, the antitype of the rising sun that signifies the dawn of European civilization in the New World in the encounter paintings discussed above. *The Old Hunting Grounds*, although set in the Catskill Mountains,⁵⁷ visually complements lines from Bryant's poem "The Prairies":

. . . The red man came--
The roaming hunter tribes, warlike and fierce,
And the mound-builders vanished from the earth.
The solitude of centuries untold
Has settled where they dwelt.

.....
Thus change the forms of being. Thus arise
Races of living things, glorious in strength,
And perish, as the quickening breath of God
Fills them, or is withdrawn. The red man, too,
Has left the blooming wilds he ranged so long,
And, nearer to the Rocky Mountains, sought
A wilder hunting-ground. . . .⁵⁸

In the painting solitude has settled on the forest abandoned by the hunter tribes. The decaying wooden canoe is a metaphor for living things once thriving and now perished. The withdrawal of the woodland hunter from the forest was less a consequence of natural evolution or God's design, as Bryant posited in the

second stanza above, and more an effect of the intrusion of European American settlements and the government's removal policy.

Growing up on a farm in Ohio, Whittredge had observed the displacement of American Indians from their hunting grounds by encroaching homesteaders, including his own family. As a child he had found buffalo skulls and elk antlers scattered on the prairie and had watched Shawnees migrating to new hunting grounds.⁵⁹ He was a witness to the vanishing frontier, which doomed Native Americans personified.

The images of dispossessed Native Americans in the art at the World's Columbian Exposition afford an overview of government policy toward the indigenous population. The pieces by Moran and Dallin tell of the coming displacement of the original Americans by the first European immigrants. Whittredge's deserted wood in the Catskill Mountains represents the era of removal from the East Coast to the Indian Territory and the frontier west of the Mississippi River. The buffalo hunts by Bush-Brown and Powers symbolize the post-Civil War decades of concentrating Plains Indians on ever-diminishing, segregated reservation lands, and Warner's medallions acknowledge Native Americans as potential United States citizens.

By 1890 the progress of the nation had reached a milestone. The report of the census for that year revealed that the wilderness, defined as territory with fewer than two inhabitants per square mile, no longer existed in the United States.⁶⁰ At the end of the same year the battle of Wounded Knee Creek symbolized the final subjugation of Native Americans. The congruence of these two events bolstered the conviction that the eradication of Native American nations was the just eventuality of civilization's conquest of the continent.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ O.O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington, 1907), 568.

² Patricia Hills, "Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion," in William H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 119.

³ Clark examined the following population estimates for Native Americans: 1820--471,036; 1825--129,366; 1829--312,930; 1853--400,796; 1860--254,300; 1875--305,068; and 1876--291,882. Selden N. Clark, *Are the Indians Dying Out? Preliminary Observations Relating to Indian Civilization and Education* (Washington, D.C., 24 November 1877), 4-11, in Bryan W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 125-26.

⁴ Mallery, who advocated assimilation and tolerance of Native American cultures, attributed the discrepancies in data to the false assumption by early settlers that the dense population along the coast and rivers extended inland as well. He also concluded that figures were inflated when Europeans unwittingly counted as multiple tribes one with several names. When some of the names were deleted, it was erroneously assumed that the group itself had disappeared. Garrick Mallery, "The Former and Present Number of Our Indians," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Twenty-sixth Meeting, held at Nashville, Tenn., August 1877* (Salem, Mass., 1878), 350-53, 365-66, in Dippie, 127-29.

⁵ Frederick Ward Putnam, draft of speech delivered to the World's Columbian Exposition Committee of Liberal Arts, Chicago, 21 September 1891. Frederick Ward Putnam Papers, Pusey Library, Harvard University, quoted in Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 347. The Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan, had envisioned the encampments of the various nations in the American Indian village arranged hierarchically from the least civilized to those most similar to European Americans. The latter would have been situated closest to the Indian School, where students demonstrated their progress in becoming assimilated. Frederick W. Putnam, Director and Curator of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and Director of the Department of Ethnology and Archaeology at the fair, organized the village geographically instead. The school, under Morgan's jurisdiction, was located nearby. L.G. Moses, "Indians on the Midway: Wild West Sows and the Indian Bureau at World's Fairs, 1893-1904," *South Dakota History* 21 (Fall 1991): 212-14, 212 n. 9.

⁶ Judy Sund, "Columbus and Columbia in Chicago, 1893: Man of Genius Meets Generic Woman," *Art Bulletin* 75 (September 1993): 451.

⁷ The image of the savage waiting to be rescued by European emissaries recalls the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, with the figure of an American Indian and the inscription, "Please come and help us." Parry compares the motto of the Massachusetts Bay Colony with the biblical passage summoning Paul to preach the gospel, "Come over to Macedonia and help us." Acts 16:9. Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art, 1590-1900* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 14, 16.

⁸ Ericsson, an engineer, designed the iron-clad battleship *Monitor*, manufactured for the Union Army during the Civil War. *The White Squadron's Farewell* documents the contemporary event of the ceremonial return of the deceased Ericsson to his native Sweden. Walter L. Dean also exhibited in Chicago a painting of the White Squadron, entitled *Peace (Represented by the White Squadron of the United States Navy at anchor in Boston harbor)*, 1893 (Architect of the Capitol, U.S. House of Representatives Collection, Washington, D.C.). Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy: An Illustrated History* (New York: American Heritage, 1977), 124, 162; Brandon Brame Fortune and Michelle Mead, "Catalogue of American Paintings and Sculptures Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition," in Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 134.

⁹ The United States annexed Hawaii in 1898 and Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines in 1898 after the Spanish American War. The Panama Canal Zone was acquired in 1903.

¹⁰ *Medicine Man* "is intended to show the wise man of the tribe warning his fellow countrymen that there can be no peace with the white man." Cyrus Dallin, "That Is Glory for Me," unidentified article, n. pag., Cyrus Edwin Dallin Papers, 1883-1970, Robbins Library, Arlington, Mass., reel 179, frame 498, in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Dallin Papers, RL).

¹¹ Dallin was quoted as saying, "In making my model of 'The Signal of Peace,' I used, to a certain extent, one of the Buffalo Bill Indians." E. Waldo Long, "Dallin, Sculptor of Indians," *The World's Work*, September 1927, 568. The sculptor's wife, Vittoria Dallin, wrote, "The fortunate circumstance which helped the young sculptor in choosing the subject for his Salon work was the fact that Buffalo Bill with his Indians were performing in Paris, where they were being received with enthusiasm. Young Dallin, therefore, obtained a permit to make some studies where the Indians were quartered." She identified the model as "Kicked Bear." Vittoria Collona Dallin, "The 'Great Spirit' and Cyrus

Dallin," unpublished biography, typescript, 15, Dallin Papers, RL, frame 317. Carl Rohl-Smith entered a plaster bust of Kicking Bear in the World's Columbian Exposition.

¹² Quoted in Long, 568. Vittoria Dallin recorded that the image of the American Indians in their blankets and eagle-feather headdresses descending and, later, ascending the mountainside inspired her husband's sculptures and became one of his "most treasured memories." V.C. Dallin, 8-9, Dallin Papers, RL, frames 402, 310, 311.

¹³ Quoted in V.C. Dallin, 10, Dallin Papers, RL, frame 498.

¹⁴ Cyrus Dallin often referred to American Indians in the many presentations he made to various organizations, including the Plymouth Women's Club, the Convention of American Federation of Arts, the Maverick Men's Club, the Sailor's Haven Woman's Aid, the Lowell Historical Society, and Clark University. Dallin Papers, RL, frames 13, 22, 517, 513, 407, 404.

¹⁵ "Kicking Bear," *Biographical Dictionary of Indians of the Americas*, 2 vols. (Newport Beach, Calif.: American Indian Publishers, 1991), 1:336; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad, 1493-1936* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), 204.

¹⁶ The Indian agent accompanying an 1888 Sioux mission to Washington, D.C. wrote the following captions on photographs of the delegates: "Spotted Eagle[.]. . . since the surrender [.]. . . has been quiet and peaceable. . . . Spotted Elk. . . came in from the hostile camp in 1876 [and] has made but little progress. . . . Swift Bird. . . has always been friendly with the whites and is classified as a progressive Indian." Quoted in Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 185.

¹⁷ *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1872), 125, quoted in Viola, 26.

¹⁸ Judge Lambert Tree, quoted in William Howe Downes, "Cyrus Dallin, Sculptor," *New England Magazine*, October 1899, n. pag., in Michelle Bogart, in *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 256.

¹⁹ Simon Pokagon, "The Future of the Red Man," *Forum*, August 1897, 705.

²⁰ Forrest G. Robinson, *In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 2, 7, 26.

²¹ The rationalization of the treatment of American Indians persisted from colonial times. Shortly after the founding of the nation, Thomas Jefferson defended the segregation and guardianship of American Indians as beneficial to their own best interests. The same defense was applied to excuse slavery in the United States. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1983), 222. Robinson, 8, 10, 12, discusses the "bad faith" justification of slavery as advantageous to the child-like victims.

²² In a letter written nearly four decades after the World's Columbian Exposition, Fraser reminded Dallin that he had much appreciated *Signal of Peace* and had repeatedly visited the work in Lincoln Park in Chicago. James Earle Fraser to Cyrus Dallin, 21 August 1936, Cyrus Edwin Dallin Papers, 1883-1970, Mrs. E.B. Dallin, reel 141, frame 670, in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

²³ The United Native Americans, an activist organization based in San Francisco, adapted the image of *End of the Trail* for their emblem, revising the composition of the despondent horse and rider into an aggressive warrior with a raised spear on a spirited horse. Reproduced in Dippie, n. pag.

²⁴ Edward S. Curtis, *Portraits from Native American Life*, introduction by A.D. Coleman and T.C. McLuhan, Suppl. to vol. 1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1972), n. pag.

²⁵ George Bird Grinnell, "The Last of the Buffalo," *Scribner's Magazine*, September 1892, 267.

²⁶ By one account, there had been between 75,000,000 and 200,000,000 bison at the time of contact, 20,000,000 on the plains at the end of the Civil War, and a few hundred by 1890. *Outdoor Life: The Story of American Hunting and Firearms*, rev. ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton, Sunrise, 1976), 95, 96, 98. A journalist for *The New York Times* reported that by 1890 fewer than three hundred of the animals had survived outside Yellowstone National Park and the buffalo ranches. *New York Times*, 13 October 1890, 4. The greatest demand for hides occurred after the Civil War. Each buffalo hunter anticipated skinning one thousand to two thousand animals between November and February, when the coats were fullest. Hunters collected approximately \$3.00 for the robe of a bison cow, \$2.50 for a bull, \$1.50 for a yearling, and \$.75 for a calf hide. J. L. Hill, *The Passing of the Indian and Buffalo* (Long Beach, Calif.: George W. Moyle, n.d.), 38, 39.

²⁷ Bison were bred with cattle to produce marketable hides. In the fall of 1890 an expedition was mounted by J. O. Robbins, Jack Hills, John Woodruff, and Frank Kelley to capture alive a half-dozen buffalo to begin a ranch in

Laramie, Wyoming. Successful bison ranches had already been established by C.J. Jones in Garden City, Kansas and H.H. Stanton at Bismarck Grove, Colorado. Quoted from the *Helena Journal*, 18 September 1890, in "The Last of the Buffaloes," *New York Times*, 27 September 1890, 8.

²⁸ The subdued bison, signifying the domesticated wilderness, appeared in souvenirs from the 1876 and 1893 anniversary celebrations of progress in the United States. America, in human form, is seated on a bison in a ceramic sculpture from the Centennial and, on a certificate from the World's Columbian Exposition, a female personification of the United States reclines against the animal. James L. Riedy, *Chicago Sculpture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 3.

²⁹ Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization*, ed. Leslie A. White (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964), 16.

³⁰ John Clark Ridpath, *History of the United States: Prepared Especially for Schools*, rev. grammar school ed. (Cincinnati: Jones Brothers, 1880), 12.

³¹ A catalogue entry states, "In 1889, while in Paris, he made the study for the *Indian Buffalo Hunt*. Though urged to remain to carry it out in colossal proportions for exhibition at the Salon, he felt impelled to return to his own country in order to make the most of his art in his native land." Unidentified single page with the typed identification, "Am. Numismatic. Soc., Cat. of international exh. 1910." Nearly the same wording appears again in what probably is another catalogue entry, source unknown. An unidentified publication also states that he produced the study while in Europe and enlarged it upon returning to the United States. Bush/Bush-Brown, Artists Files, New York Public Library, micro-fiche, B990, C2, E5, E6 (hereafter cited as Bush-Brown Files).

³² None of the sculptures is extant. Rena Neumann Coen, *The Indian as the Noble Savage in Nineteenth Century American Art*, Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1969 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1985), 141.

³³ John K. Howat, "Foreword," in Lewis I. Sharp, *John Quincy Adams Ward, Dean of American Sculpture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 11; Sharp, 45. Ward had studied with Henry Kirke Brown while Brown was working on *Indian and Panther*. In 1864 Ward traveled to the Dakota Territory, where he executed pencil and wax studies of American Indians, as Brown had done during travels to the Midwest in the 1840s. Sharp, 94 n. 107, 45. Ward actually may have suggested the theme of the bison hunt to Bush-Brown, who had already followed Ward's counsel to study in Paris and may have taken his advice once again with regard to the subject of a sculpture. The composition of Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt* is markedly similar to that of

Indian Killing a Buffalo, a pencil drawing by Ward in the collection of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York. Ward executed his sketch in approximately 1860, four years after he left Brown's atelier. Bush-Brown would have been three years old at the time but may have examined the drawing at a later date. Ward would have known of the adaptation of his study by the younger man because Ward was Chair of the Advisory Committee of Fine Arts of the City of New York for the World's Columbian Exposition and a member of the New York jury for the fair, to which Bush-Brown submitted his entry as a resident of Newburgh, New York. Henry Kirke Bush-Brown to John Quincy Adams Ward, 6 June 1886, Albany Institute of History and Art, in Sharp, 23; Sharp, 151, 17; Fortune and Mead, in Carr et al., 394, 361.

³⁴ Bancroft praised Bush-Brown's piece as one of the strongest sculptural compositions submitted to the World's Columbian Exposition by an artist from the United States. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art and Industry, as Viewed Through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Bancroft, 1893), 2:617. *The Buffalo Hunt* is cited among Bush-Brown's "prominent works" in *Art and Archaeology* (August 1921): n. pag.; as one of his "best known works" in "H.K. Bush-Brown, Sculptor, Dead," *New York Times*, 2 March 1935, 15; and as one of his "most famous works" in "Bush-Brown, Sculptor, Dies," *New York American*, 2 March 1935, n. pag., Bush-Brown Files, B990, C6, D5.

³⁵ Charles Moore, Chairman of The Commission of Fine Arts, to Kent E. Keller, Chairman, Committee on the Library, House of Representatives, 1 May 1935, Bush-Brown Files, B990, E4.

³⁶ Grosvenor Dawe, Vice-Chairman, Indian Buffalo Hunt Monument Committee, to American Art Bodies and Museums, 5 June 1935, Bush-Brown Files, B990, E2.

³⁷ Moore to Keller, Bush-Brown Files, B990, E4; Charles Moore to Alben W. Barkley, Chairman, Joint Committee on the Library, United States Senate, 1 May 1935, Bush-Brown Files, B990, E4. In February 1935 Kent E. Keller, Representative from Illinois, introduced a bill to the House of Representatives, H.R.5263, to finance the casting, purchase, and installation of the sculpture in Washington. Royal S. Copeland, Senator from New York, introduced the bill in the Senate, S.2677, in April. *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 79, pt. 3:2782, pt. 6:6347.

³⁸ Powers, who had trained in Florence, Italy, with his father, the renowned neoclassical sculptor Hiram Powers, had moved to Denver in the 1880s and by 1891 was Director of the Department of Art at the University of Denver. An obituary for Preston Powers states that, according to Ann Evans, one of his students, the artist had arrived in Colorado nearly fifty years prior to

his death in 1932. Gene Lindberg, "Preston Powers, Early-day Denver Artist, Dies in Italy," *The Denver Post*, 21 January 1932, n. pag., Preston Powers, newspaper clipping file, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library (hereafter cited as Powers File, DPL); Will C. Ferril, "Aborigine and Bison," *Rocky Mountain News (Denver)*, 18 October 1891, n. pag., Powers File, DPL; John R. Henderson, "The Indian and Buffalo Statue on the State Capitol Grounds," *Colorado Magazine*, September 1936, 184; James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen, eds., *The History of Colorado*, 3 vols. (Denver: Linderman, 1927), 3:1268.

³⁹ "A Gift from Women," *Rocky Mountain News (Denver)*, 6 February 1892, 1.

⁴⁰ Ouray was born *circa* 1820 in Taos, New Mexico, and died 27 August 1880 on the Los Piños reservation in southern Colorado. He negotiated and signed treaties and agreements with the federal government on behalf of the Ute people. "Ouray," *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:504, 506. The government particularly appreciated Ouray's cooperation in persuading the Utes of the Los Piños Agency to surrender American Indians suspected of murdering government personnel. "The Massacre by the Utes," *New York Times*, 21 November 1879, 1; "Ouray's Ultimatum Accepted," *New York Times*, 23 December 1879, 2; "Fears of Another Ute Massacre," *New York Times*, 31 December 1879, 1. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt acknowledged Ouray's service in his annual report, 1 November 1879. Wilcomb E. Washburn, comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, 1973), 1:255.

⁴¹ James S. Thompson, "Buffalo and Indian," *Rocky Mountain News (Denver)*, 14 May 1893, n. pag., Powers File, DPL.

⁴² Thomas Crawford to Montgomery C. Meigs, 31 October 1853, National Archives, Washington, D.C., quoted in Robert L. Gale, *Thomas Crawford: American Sculptor* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 111. Others had written with conviction of the pending extinction of the Native American. Washington Peale wanted to photograph American Indians before they disappeared. "It has always been a regret to me," he wrote, ". . . to see the race gradually becoming extinct." Peale to Henry R. Schoolcraft, 26 April 1854, Henry R. Schoolcraft Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., reel 41, in Bryan W. Dippie, "Photographic Allegories and Indian Destiny," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, Summer 1992, 43. Three months after the massacre at the Little Big Horn, an article in a ladies' monthly magazine informed readers, "While we have multiplied and prospered, they have steadily diminished in numbers; but their savage instincts and habits have remained unchanged." "What Shall We Do With Our Indians?" *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, September 1876, n. pag., quoted in Parry, 137.

⁴³ Lucy R. Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* (New York: Pantheon, 1990), 106. Writing 143 years before Lippard, Charles Lanman recognized the American Indian as "other," as "a stranger and exile, on the very soil from which he sprang." Charles Lanman, *A Summer in the Wilderness: Embracing a Canoe Voyage Up the Mississippi and Around Lake Superior* (New York: Appleton, 1847), 15, quoted in Coen, 19.

⁴⁴ O.L. Warner to C.E.S. Wood, 16 July 1883. Charles Erskine Scott Wood Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., quoted in George Gurney, *Olin Levi Warner (1844-1896): A Catalogue Raisonné of His Sculpture and Graphic Works*, Ph. D. diss., University of Delaware, 1978, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982), 2:686.

⁴⁵ The inscription on Sabina's medallion reads "Æ [ætat] XIV," or, "at the age of fourteen." Wood identified the age of N-che-askwe in his article on the medallions. C.E.S. Wood, "Famous Indians. Portraits of Some Indian Chiefs," *Century*, July 1893, 439.

⁴⁶ Wood, 442.

⁴⁷ Wood, 440; Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 210, 351, 352, in Gurney, 2:744; Howard, 439.

⁴⁸ J.W. Buel, *The Magic City: A Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World's Fair and Its Treasures of Art, Including a Vivid Representation of the Famous Midway Plaisance*, (Saint Louis, Mo.: Historical Publishing, 1894), n. pag. The sculpture was cast in staff in multiples for the corners of the Agriculture Building in the Court of Honor. It is modeled after Carpeaux' sculpture commissioned in 1867 for the fountain of the Observatoire, near the Luxembourg gardens in Paris. Native American, African, Chinese, and European maidens, representing racial types from four continents, personified the four corners of the world. Jean Jeancolas, *Carpeaux: La Farouche voluné d'être* (Lausanne, Switzerland: Edita-Lazarus, 1987), 141-142, 145.

⁴⁹ George de Forest Brush, "An Artist among the Indians," *Century*, May 1885, 55.

⁵⁰ [Deming and Smith], "Sketching among the Crow Indians," *Outing*, May 1894, 90.

⁵¹ Elizabeth B. Custer, *Boots and Saddles," or Life in Dakota with General Custer* (1885; Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House, 1969), 62.

⁵² Refer to Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "The Absent Other: Women in the Land and Art of Mountain Men," in Jules David Prown et al., *Discovered*

Lands and Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 135-65.

⁵³ The foreground figure in King's group portrait *Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees*, 1822 (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.), and chiefs from Catlin's Indian Gallery, including Clermont and Little Wolf, wear presidential peace medals. The medallions, each with a portrait of a United States president on the obverse, were awarded to Native Americans who were cooperative and loyal to the government. Warner honored peaceful, trusty American Indians by making them the subjects, rather than the recipients, of his roundels. The imagery of the peace medals confirms that the United States government policy, from the beginning, had been to convert American Indians to farmers. The reverse of the medals of Presidents Washington, Fillmore, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, Hayes, Garfield, and Harrison depict American Indians in agrarian settings, a plow in each image. The Harrison medal, the last nineteenth-century American Indian peace medal, cast at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, juxtaposes an American Indian before a tepee and a farmer in front of a house. The word "progress" is inscribed across a plow. Warner's medallion chiefs epitomized what the peace medals sought to accomplish. His sitters had laid down their arms, abandoned their nomadic lifestyle for the reservation, and adopted Christianity. Refer to Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals in American History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971). President Bill Clinton revived the paternalistic gesture of bestowing peace medals, awarding roundels, not with his own likeness but with the profile of Thomas Jefferson, to American Indian leaders invited to the White House on 29 April 1994. Tracey A. Reeves, "President Pledges Respect, Recognition to Indians," *San Jose Mercury News*, 30 April 1994, 22A.

⁵⁴ David Miller discusses *The Old Hunting Grounds* in his essay on the iconology of disabled boats. He views the decomposing canoe as an artifact recovered by nature, its reclamation a manifestation of history as a repetitive cycle, rather than a linear progression. David C. Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth-Century American Culture," in David C. Miller, ed., *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 201. Miller inexplicably omits linking the canoe and abandoned forest with Native Americans. The boat must be considered as an American Indian canoe, its skeletal shell an analog of the disappearing native peoples.

⁵⁵ Whittredge knew Bryant well as a fellow member of the National Academy of Design and the Century Association, which he joined while Bryant was president. "Bryant's poems had always affected me deeply," he allowed. "Many of them breathed a spirit of our forests, lakes and rivers so peculiar to their primitive lonesomeness that they struck a note in my breast scarcely touched by any other of our poets." Worthington Whittredge, *Autobiography of*

Worthington Whittredge, ed. John Baur (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1942), 62, 61; Worthington Whittredge, original manuscript, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 155, quoted in Anthony F. Janson, *Worthington Whittredge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 85.

⁵⁶ "And thou, by one of those still lakes / That in a shining cluster lie, / On which the south wind scarcely breaks / The image of the sky, / A bower for thee and me hast made / Beneath the many-colored shade." "The Indian Girl's Lament," 8.1-6, William Cullen Bryant, *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant* (1903; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Roslyn, 1972), 45.

⁵⁷ Whittredge, 63. Whittredge referred to the painting as *The Old Hunting Grounds*, and the work was listed under this title in the catalogue of the 1864 exhibition of the National Academy of Design. Whittredge, 63, and Maria Naylor, comp. and ed., *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900*, 2 vols. (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973), 2:1014. Janson and Carr use the singular *The Old Hunting Ground*. Janson, 83, 85; Fortune and Mead, in Carr et al., 348.

⁵⁸ "The Prairies," 2.24-28, 3.1-7, in Bryant, 132-33.

⁵⁹ Whittredge, 7, 8.

⁶⁰ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), pt. 1, xlv, xlviii.

CHAPTER THREE

an "innocent, primitive existence"

Even as Native Americans in paintings and sculptures personified the wilderness transformed by settlement and enterprise, they concurrently symbolized nature untouched by civilization. This bifurcated imagery was a product of an ambivalent regard for the nation's progress engendered by pride in the young republic and simultaneous disillusionment that it was not a New World Eden after all. Worthington Whittredge painted *The Plains* soon after the Civil War and during years of violent discord between American Indians, frontier immigrants, and the army. George de Forest Brush produced *The Indian and the Lily*, *The Head Dress*, and *The Sculptor and the King*, and Douglas Tilden his sculpture *Indian Bear Hunt* during a period of severe economic depression in the United States. Finding no Arcadia in their own time, these artists invented one personified by Native Americans.

The very selection of Chicago as the host city for the World's Columbian Exposition was an acclamation of westward expansion. In the early nineteenth century Chicago had been the site of Fort Dearborn; by 1890 it was the second largest metropolis in the United States, with a population exceeding one million. The development of the city was indicative of national growth. Between 1870 and 1890 the urban population of the United States increased by 127 percent. In 1890 there were fifty-seven percent more cities than there had been in 1880.¹ Industrialization provided mass-produced, affordable commodities, electricity, plumbing, and efficient food distribution, facilitated by centralized packing houses and refrigerated railroad cars. Urbanization created a centralized labor

force and concomitantly engendered tenements, unemployment, and homelessness. Even as Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition, people slept in the city's empty railroad cars, outhouses, and police station corridors.² Such baneful conditions fostered disenchantment with contemporary life and nostalgia for the past.³

American Indians, portrayed as innocent savages living in harmony with nature, personified the antithesis of modern society. American artists were influenced by the European archetype of the noble savage perpetuated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other Enlightenment philosophers critical of social conditions in eighteenth-century France. Rousseau had questioned whether those suffering the consequences of industrialization would wish to return to the simple life of their early ancestors. These forebears lived in rustic huts, wore clothing sewn from skins, adorned themselves with feathers, shells, and body paint, perfected their bows and arrows and fishing canoes, and fashioned musical instruments. Rousseau allowed that his vision of nature no longer existed, probably never had existed, and probably would not exist in the future; nevertheless, artists adopted his paradigm of natural man.⁴ George de Forest Brush himself pursued this fantasy, living for a time with his wife in a tepee in New Hampshire.⁵ The primitive attributes defined by Rousseau coincide with those in images of American Indians at the Chicago fair--the tepees in Worthington Whittredge's *The Plains* and Edwin Deming's *A Mourning Brave*, the moccasins and leggings in George de Forest Brush's *The Indian and the Lily* and *The Sculptor and the King*, the feather headdress in Cyrus Dallin's *Signal of Peace*, the bows and arrows in Henry Kirke Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt* and Preston Powers' *The Closing Era*, the canoe in Worthington

Whittredge's *The Old Hunting Grounds*, and the flute in De Cost Smith's *Sioux Lovers*.

The representation of American Indians in a bucolic landscape in *The Plains* by Worthington Whittredge, finished in 1870 (plate 9), confirms that nostalgia for a pre-industrialized way of life existed well before the 1890 census revealed that the West no longer had a wilderness, and before Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed in his address, delivered in conjunction with the Chicago fair, that the end of the frontier signaled the closing of an epoch in United States history.⁶ "Nothing could be more like an Arcadian landscape than was here presented to our view," Whittredge reminisced about his first sighting of the western plains in the 1860s.⁷ Whittredge, who lived and worked in New York, was moved by the "vastness and silence and appearance everywhere of the innocent, primitive existence" on the prairie.⁸ In *The Plains* he painted the encampment on the banks of the Platte River as a tranquil, domestic idyll during a period of turbulent relations between American Indians and settlers. Whittredge began the painting with a study made in Denver less than two years after the battle of Sand Creek, in which the Third Regiment of the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry had killed 105 Cheyenne women and children and twenty-eight men.⁹ The placid genre scene of life on the prairie ignored the recent slaughter and contradicted Whittredge's recollection that he seldom saw American Indians but encountered "plenty of ghastly evidences of murders, burning of ranches, and stealing innumerable" by them.¹⁰ A contemporary painting, *View of Denver, Colorado* by William O. Bemis, circa 1865-70, chronicles a vastly different existence on the South Platte River, with cattle heading for a corral in the foreground and the frontier town in the background.¹¹

Other artists, before and after Whittredge, painted their own versions of the undeveloped wilderness. As early as 1837 Thomas Cole painted *View on the Catskill, Early Autumn* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) with no concession to the encroachment of the Catskill and Canajoharie Railroad, which had laid tracks near his property two years earlier.¹² Thomas Moran expunged the railroad from the western landscape in *Green River Cliffs, Wyoming*, 1881 (Spring Creek Art Foundations, Dedham, Massachusetts), in which Plains Indians on horseback file below the silent striated rock formations. For more than a decade Green River City had been a stop along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. Moran, himself, had arrived there by train, yet he repeatedly painted the site with no evidence of the town or the bridge documented in photographs dated about 1870.¹³ These paintings and Whittredge's *The Plains* defined imaginary American Indians inhabiting a mythical frontier. Cole, Thomas Moran, and Whittredge saw progress from the viewpoint of landscape artists and ignored it.

George de Forest Brush also painted imaginary places untouched by treaty disputes, impoverished reservations, and the railroad in his three American Indian works submitted to the fair. His idealized figures, with their healthy, athletic physiques and neoclassical proportions, exemplified the New World equivalent of ancient Greeks dwelling in Arcadia.¹⁴ Brush's treatment of the nude was informed by his academic training, first with Lemuel Everett Wilmarth at the National Academy of Design in New York and then with Jean-Léon Gérôme at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Like De Cost Smith, Edwin Deming, Cyrus Dallin, and Douglas Tilden, Brush compared American Indians to Hellenic sculpture.¹⁵ He confessed that the beardless faces of American

Indians reminded him of the art of antiquity and that their symmetrical, virtually nude bodies were "equaled . . . by the Greek."¹⁶ Native Americans had long been equated with classical statues. The eighteenth-century British novelist John Shebbeare likened his American Indian hero Canessatego to the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocoön*.¹⁷ In James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, the young Alice sees the Mohican Uncas as a Greek sculpture miraculously come to life.¹⁸ In these examples, as in Brush's paintings, Native Americans and Hellenic masterpieces were exemplars of nature idealized.

Brush viewed American Indians as exotic subjects who may have descended from Oriental ancestors.¹⁹ He portrayed them as New World counterparts to the picturesque figures in Gérôme's Orientalist paintings, traveling to Wyoming and Montana, living and sketching among the Arapaho, Shoshone, and Crow peoples, as Gérôme had pursued subjects in Spain and the Middle East.²⁰

Although Brush personally observed American Indians, he did not attempt to portray them with ethnographic exactitude. He remarked that he did not paint as a historian or antiquarian and therefore did not need to resort to historical fact to add interest to his pictures.²¹ Like Gérôme, Brush acquired artifacts which he very likely used as accoutrements in his paintings to give his genre scenes the appearance of authenticity.²² In *The Sculptor and the King* (plate 10) he assembled an eclectic amalgamation of Pueblo pot, Navajo blanket and belt, Plains moccasins and leggings, and reliefs reminiscent of the Maya.²³ The king wears the same arm band as the shield maker in *The Head Dress* (plate 11). Brush painted "Florida 1887" under his signature on *The Indian and the Lily*, which is set among water lilies and Spanish moss-draped

trees (plate 12). The hunter, however, wears beaded moccasins of the Plains Indians, which were not characteristic of the late nineteenth-century Seminole people of Florida.²⁴ They are the same moccasins worn by the chief of an indeterminate nation in *The Sculptor and the King*. Brush's meticulous rendering of accoutrements infused his paintings with a semblance of authenticity, yet he recontextualized the objects through indiscriminate use, thereby presenting a false image of "real" American Indians.²⁵

The lack of ethnographic exactitude in Brush's paintings was inconsequential to the early twentieth-century critics who praised Brush for his imaginative and poetic treatment of his American Indian paintings.²⁶ The acknowledgment of the poetic quality in Brush's work was a compliment to the artist's ability to infuse the composition with sentiment, that is, his own interpretation, which distinguished art from the mere imitation of nature.²⁷ His sympathetic images reinforced the myth of the innocent American Indian uncorrupted by civilization.

Like Brush's American Indians, Douglas Tilden's pair of frontier athletes in *Indian Bear Hunt* exemplify the noble savage (plate 13). They are reminiscent of Rousseau's hypothetical natural man, for Rousseau equated life in the forest among the bears with an innocent existence free of society's vices. He asserted that both man and beast were stronger and more courageous in the forest than they were after domestication or socialization.²⁸

The contest between a Native American and a bear was a metaphor in literature and art for the New World primitive man's or woman's existence in untamed nature. In François-René Chateaubriand's early nineteenth-century Romantic novel *The Natchez*, the main character, Chactas, lived through a bear

attack and thanked the Great Spirit for making him a savage with survival skills unknown to civilized man.²⁹ In sculpture, John Boyle's *Stone Age in America*, commissioned in 1883 for Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, the prehistoric epoch is represented by an American Indian mother defending her two children from a bear.³⁰

Traditionally, combat between man and beast symbolized the triumph of human reason over animal instinct, of good over evil, as in the slaying of the dragon by Saint George and the mythical duels between Theseus and the Minotaur, Herakles and the Nemean Lion, and Lapiths and Centaurs. In *Indian Bear Hunt* the outcome of the arm-to-arm battle is equivocal, as Tilden intended. He explained, "My Indian and bear [are]. . . both in so full a vigor that Who wins: must forever be a question in the spectator's mind."³¹ The sculpture signified the evolutionary struggle from barbarism to civilization³² and complemented exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition which presented Native Americans as salvable primitive peoples.

Indian Bear Hunt has affinity with Emmanuel Frémiet's *Bear Cub Hunter*, which Tilden saw in the Paris zoological gardens while he was working on his own version.³³ Tilden described the Frenchman's hunter as a caveman, and in the 1885 Salon, Frémiet's piece had been exhibited under the title *Bear and Man of the Stone Age (Ours et homme de l'âge de pierre)*.³⁴ In an earlier sculpture of a Stone Age man by Frémiet, the sculptor Auguste Rodin saw a primitive man, physically mature but cognitively inchoate, who reportedly influenced his own figure in *The Age of Bronze*.³⁵ Tilden's sculpture was a New World interpretation of the European primitive man. Tilden applied the French

animalier tradition to an American motif, as Brush had adopted aspects of Orientalism to his American Indian pictures.

Indian Bear Hunt perpetuated the image of the muscular, athletic American Indian personifying the wilderness found in earlier sculptures, including Augustus Saint-Gaudens' *Hiawatha*, 1872 (location unknown), John Quincy Adams Ward's *The Indian Hunter*, 1864 (Central Park, New York), Peter Stephenson's *Wounded Indian*, 1850 (private collection), and Henry Kirke Brown's *Indian and Panther*, circa 1849 (location unknown). The artist completed *Indian Bear Hunt* during a period when he was occupied with works of athletes, including *Tired Wrestler*, *Base-ball Player*, *Tired Boxer*, *Young Acrobat*, and *Football Players* and exhibited *Indian Bear Hunt* with three of these sculptures at the World's Columbian Exposition.³⁶ Tilden, like Brush, had studied in Paris and based his figures on prototypes from academic and classical sculpture.³⁷ The central figure in *Indian Bear Hunt* resembles the Trojan priest in the *Laocoön* group (Vatican Museums, Rome) in the treatment of the abdominal muscles, the bent right arm and knee, and the extended left leg.³⁸

The representation of Native Americans with the physiques of heroes from antiquity and contemporary sportsmen was compatible with the invented Arcadian wilderness but was a romantic notion at odds with nineteenth-century observations of living American Indians. Elizabeth Custer recounted in her autobiography that she seldom saw well-developed Indians while living on the frontier with her husband, General George A. Custer. She noted, "The legs and arms of Indians are most invariably thin. None of them ever do any manual labor to produce muscle, and their bones are decidedly conspicuous."³⁹ It is

likely that Native Americans she encountered were thin from lack of adequate nourishment. By Mrs. Custer's own account, Native Americans were constantly requesting food.⁴⁰ Other eyewitnesses also reported on the shortage of food and the premium of rations.⁴¹ According to the 1890 United States census, twenty-four percent of Native Americans received rations.⁴² Tilden's sculpture, like the paintings of Whittredge and Brush, projected mythical American Indians.

In the spring of 1903 President Theodore Roosevelt visited San Francisco and received an eight-inch reduction of the *Bear Hunt*, as it was entitled in miniature. The statuette was a gift from the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, the Pioneers Society, and veterans of the Mexican War.⁴³ The *Bear Hunt* souvenir was cast from gold mined in California, and was designed, produced, and presented by Californians.

The iconography of the sculpture changed with miniaturization. Tilden's primitive man came to be associated with Roosevelt, the bear slayer, and with California pioneers who conquered the wilderness.⁴⁴ In his presentation speech to the President, James D. Phelan, former Mayor of San Francisco, lauded the *bear* as one of the earliest California settlers, a brave freedom-fighter equivalent to the California resistance fighters in the war with Mexico.⁴⁵ Neither Phelan in his address nor Roosevelt in his acceptance speech acknowledged the presence of the two American Indians in the sculpture. Likewise, a newspaper article announcing the gift a month before the President's visit and the report following the event made no mention of the Native American theme of the piece.⁴⁶ The expunction of the Native Americans from Douglas Tilden's sculpture is analogous to their displacement from their homelands. Their effacement from the sculpture occurred in the context of an

official presidential visit and suggests government sanction of American Indians made invisible.

Tilden, Brush, and Whittredge presented Native Americans as they imagined them to have been prior to contact with Europeans. In their uncorrupted state American Indians symbolized the untamed wilderness, the antithesis of the base metropolis and western town. Whittredge created his bucolic setting by effacing all evidence of development and warfare along the Platte River. Brush and Tilden produced muscular athletes far removed from actual American Indians living on rations on reservations as wards of the government. These romantic, innocent "savages" embodied the national dream of Americans thriving in freedom on the open land.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ An urban area was defined by the United States Census as having at least eight thousand residents. The urban population in 1870 was 8,071,875 and reached 18,284,285 in 1890. There were 286 cities in 1880 and 448 in 1890. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), pt. 1: lxxi, lxxv.

² William T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago* (1894; reprint, with an introduction by Harvey Wish, New York: Living Books, Clarion, 1964), 20, 23, 31. Homelessness was also a problem at the time of the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. People slept near the train station across from the main building of that fair, in stationary railroad cars, in outhouses, and fields. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 34.

³ Nostalgia was also manifest in the strong interest in colonial revivalism that flourished at the time of the Centennial and continued through the end of the century. Twenty-one of the thirty-nine state buildings at the World's Columbian Exposition were modeled after eighteenth-century architecture. Inside were displays of colonial furnishings and objects which had belonged to the Founding Fathers, such as a chair once owned by Thomas Jefferson, a clock that had belonged to Benjamin Franklin, and an Adams family cradle. A.B. Farquhar, ed., *Catalogue of Exhibits of the State of Pennsylvania and of Pennsylvanians at the World's Columbian Exposition* (n.p.: Clarence M. Busch, 1893), 15-26, and Rossiter Johnson, *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 4 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1897), 2:460-63, in Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "Curious Relics and Quaint Scenes: The Colonial Revival at Chicago's Great Fair," in Alan Axelrod, ed., *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 185, 195, 196.

⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, in *Œuvres Complètes de J.J. Rousseau*, ed. Pierre René Auguis, 27 vols. (Paris: Dalibon, 1825), 1:222, 349, 286, 209.

⁵ Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed. and ampl., *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, 2 vols. (London: Andrew Melrose, 1913), 1:317-18, 321.

⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 12-38. For a discussion and summary of revisionist research on Turner's essay, refer to Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 135-43.

⁷ Worthington Whittredge, *Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge*, ed. J. Baur (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1942), 46.

⁸ Whittredge, 46.

⁹ With discoveries of gold in Colorado in 1858 and 1859, tens of thousands of speculators migrated into the territory, mining the mountains and rivers and building roads, towns, and fences across Native American lands. After Arapahoes and Cheyennes initiated retaliatory raids on stage coaches, supply wagons, and ranches, Governor John Evans, with federal approval, summoned the Third Regiment of the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington, to subdue the perpetrators. The virulent attack at Sand Creek ensued. Carl Abbott, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1976), 78; Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder: Pruett, 1977), 42.

¹⁰ Whittredge, 46.

¹¹ *View of Denver, Colorado* (unlocated) is reproduced in William H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 125 fig. 105.

¹² Oswaldo Rodriguez Roque, "The Exaltation of American Landscape Painting," in *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1987), 40.

¹³ In Andrew Joseph Russell's photograph *Temporary and Permanent Bridges and Citadel Rock, Green River, 1868* (Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven), the majestic Citadel Rock in the background is juxtaposed with trestles and tracks and a locomotive approaching a water tank in the foreground. William H. Jackson's photograph *Green River Butte, circa 1870* (Colorado Historical Society, Denver), pictures a bridge and smokestack, with Citadel Rock reflected in the water below. Goetzmann and Goetzmann compared Russell's *Castle Rock, Green River Valley, 1867-68*, and Moran's representations of the same site. Russell photographed the scene from the west to include the railroad; Moran chose a view from the south and excluded evidence of it. William H. Goetzmann and William N. Goetzmann, *The West of the Imagination* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986), 194-95.

¹⁴ For the visual artist Native American themes presented an opportunity to portray the human body with little offense to a society uncomfortable with nudity. Painters and sculptors conventionally represented American Indians unclothed or in animal pelts to signify their savagery and their consonance with

nature. Moreover, nudity was permissible for exotic subjects, particularly those with darkly pigmented skin, as in the full-length nude *Study of an Egyptian Girl* by John Singer Sargeant, 1891 (The Art Institute of Chicago), exhibited in Chicago in 1893.

¹⁵ Smith observed, "As a rule the primitive Indians lacked the heavy pectoral and deltoid muscles of the classical Greek statues, which undoubtedly were idealized to a certain extent, but there was about the best of them a lithe symmetry and beauty of form, unsurpassed, I believe, by any race living or dead." De Cost Smith, *Indian Experiences* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1943), 24. Deming allowed, "We have in the Indians an unequaled substitute for the Greeks. We have their interesting myths, the poetry that lies in elementary things, man's relation to nature, and above all the nude, the beauty of form." "Artist's Tribute to Indian Model," *New York Herald*, 28 April 1907, n. pag., Edwin W. Deming, Artists File, New York Public Library, microfiche D227, B3.

¹⁶ George de Forest Brush, "An Artist among the Indians," *Century*, May 1885, 55.

¹⁷ "The air, attitude and expression of the beauteous statue of Apollo, which adorns the Belvedere palace at Rome, were seen animated in this American the instant he had discharged his deadly shaft. . . . [T]he perfection of his form and expression of his visage were such that the Grecian sculptors of the famed statue of Laocoon, or the fighting gladiator, might have studied him with instruction and delight." John Shebbeare, *Lydia; or Filial Piety* (London, 1775), n. pag., quoted in Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 21, in Rena Neumann Coen, *The Indian as the Noble Savage in Nineteenth Century American Art*, Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1969 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1985), 11.

¹⁸ "Alice gazed at his free air and proud carriage, as she would have looked upon some precious relic of the Grecian chisel, to which life had been imparted, by the intervention of a miracle." James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826; reprint, with an introduction by Richard Slotkin, New York: Penguin, 1986), 53.

¹⁹ "I believe that . . . [American Indians] are possibly a branch of some Oriental people with many fine ideas and customs, cut off from the old world to which they were possibly once united." George de Forest Brush, *Carnegie Institute Notes about Artists*, quoted in Nancy Douglas Bowditch, *George de Forest Brush: Recollections of a Joyous Painter* (Peterborough, N.H.: Noone House, William L. Bauhan, 1970), 23.

²⁰ Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art, 1590-1900* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 146-47; Homer Saint-

Gaudens, "George de Forest Brush," *The Critic*, August 1905, 135; Saint-Gaudens, *Reminiscences*, 1:317; Joan B. Morgan, "The Indian Paintings of George de Forest Brush," *American Art Journal* 15 (Spring 1983): 61. Native American heathens were equivalent to Islamic infidels of North Africa and the Middle East in their lack of faith in Christianity. Orientals and some North American tribes were considered immoral in their acceptance of polygamy. American Indians' blankets and buffalo robes compared to Orientals' caftans in their dissimilarity to Europeans' close-fitting trousers, shirts, and jackets. Visitors to the Columbian Exposition could make their own associations between Native Americans and peoples from Algeria, Egypt, and Dahomey on the Midway Plaisance, where the groups lived and performed. Above all, Native Americans, like peoples from the Middle East and North Africa, provided artists with novel subject matter. Refer to Patricia Sanders, *Impressions of the Near East: Orientalist Art of the 19th Century* (Stockton, Calif.: The Haggin Museum, 1988), and to Edward Said's 1978 critical study of Orientalism. Said's analysis of the hierarchic superiority of the Western observer over the observed Oriental, the colonizer over the colonized, and the civilized Christian over "the other" aptly applies to relations between European Americans and Native Americans. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 168-69, 3, 7, 40, 117, 120, 160.

²¹ Brush, 57. Brush was no more meticulous about factual accuracy than Gérôme. In the latter's *Unfolding the Holy Flag*, also known as *The Standard Bearer*, the figure wears authentic attire, but the costume is incomplete, lacking the appropriate trousers and sandals. Refer to Patricia B. Sanders, *The Haggin Collection* (Stockton, Calif.: Haggin Museum, 1991), 84, 86.

²² Brush's collection included an eagle feather headdress, beaded moccasins and jackets, pants, bows, pots, bowls, and baskets. Joan B. Morgan, "George de Forest Brush," *George de Forest Brush 1855-1941: Master of the American Renaissance* (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1985), 18; Morgan, "Indian Paintings," 64.

²³ Brush may have seen folio reproductions of reliefs from the Mayan temple at Palenque and may have had some familiarity with Pre-Columbian reliefs through his friend Joseph Lindon Smith, who worked in Central America. Kathleen Payne, in *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 216; Morgan, *Brush*, 22.

²⁴ Charles Cory, Curator of the Department of Ornithology of the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, spent time with the Seminoles over a ten-year period. He reported in the 1890s that ornamented moccasins were rare among them and that he and his informants knew of only two examples, which were sewn with rows of beads, as distinguished from the sunburst design of those in Brush's paintings. Nearly half of the American Indian population wore citizens' attire by 1890 and Seminole men typically wore cotton shirts and women, cotton

dresses. Charles B. Cory, *Hunting and Fishing in Florida, Including a Key to the Water Birds Known to Occur in the State*, 2nd ed. (1896; reprint, n.p.: Arno Press, 1970), 14, 16; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890*, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), pt. 2: 93.

²⁵ Refer to the contemporary art historian Aldona Jonaitis' discussion of recontextualized museum objects which mislead viewers to believing that the artifacts accurately represent an ethnic group. Aldona Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture," in Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 26-27.

²⁶ Hartmann esteemed Brush's American Indian paintings as the best figurative and narrative works of American art. Caffin praised the artist for recreating the silence and mystery of the primitive world through "picture-poems" equivalent to Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*. Merrick remarked that Brush had captured the psychology, the hopes and fears of his subjects with realism balanced by poetry. Ely also found a combination of truth and poetry. Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Tudor, 1934), 1:261-62; Charles H. Caffin, *American Masters of Painting: Being Appreciations of Some American Painters* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1918), 135; Lulu Merrick, "Brush's Indian Pictures," *International Studio*, December 1922, 187; Catherine Beach Ely, "George de Forest Brush," *Art in America*, June 1923, 205.

²⁷ Refer to Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin: Architecture, Sculpture, et Peinture* (1867; new ed., Paris: Henri Laurens, 1903), 9-10.

²⁸ Rousseau, 1:348-49, note to 237, 231-32, 287.

²⁹ François-René de Chateaubriand, *The Natchez, An Indian Tale*, 3 vols. (1827; New York: Howard Fertig, 1978), 1: 228-30.

³⁰ The Fairmount Park Art Association contracted Boyle to create an American Indian mother protecting her two children from the attack of an eagle. When the committee saw a photograph of the *maquette* that Boyle sent from Paris, they insisted that the eagle be replaced by another animal, as it would have been unacceptable for an American Indian to be portrayed strangling the national bird. Boyle acquiesced, substituting a bear cub, killed by the mother with a stone tomahawk. Like Tilden's *Indian Bear Hunt*, *Stone Age in America* was modeled and cast in Paris. Minute Book of the Fairmount Park Art Association, 1:247, in Fairmount Park Art Association, *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker Publishing, 1974), 114, 112; Fairmount Park Association, *32nd Annual Report of the Board of Trustees*, 1907, Cyrus Edwin Dallin Papers, 1883-1970, Robbins Library, reel

179, frame 341, in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

³¹ Douglas Tilden, in communication to the Board of Directors, California School for the Deaf, 11 January 1915, carbon copy of typescript, quoted in Mildred Albronda, *Douglas Tilden: Portrait of a Deaf Sculptor* (Silver Spring, Md.: T.J. Publishers, 1980), 22.

³² The ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan held that humankind progressed to civilization from barbarism with the gradual accumulation of knowledge gained through struggles and exertions. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization*, ed. Leslie A. White (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964), 11, 563.

³³ Tilden recounted that it was after he had completed the initial sketch of *Indian Bear Hunt* that a friend told him about Frémiet's sculpture in the zoological gardens in Paris. Tilden communication to the Board of Directors, California School for the Deaf, 11 January 1915, in Albronda, 22. Frémiet's sculpture was exhibited at the Salon of 1885 as *Bear and Man of the Stone Age* (*Ours et homme de l'âge de pierre*), however, the shorter title *Denicheur d'oursons* is inscribed on the base. Horst W. Janson, "Emmanuel Frémiet," in Peter Fusco and H.W. Janson, *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), 276.

³⁴ Janson, in Fusco and Janson, 276.

³⁵ "[Rodin's] idea was to represent one of the first inhabitants of our world, physically perfect, but in the infancy of comprehension, and beginning to awake to the world's meaning." Frederick Lawton, *The Life and Work of Auguste Rodin* (London, 1906), quoted in Frederick V. Grunfeld, *Rodin, A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt, 1987), 98-99.

³⁶ Tilden submitted *Base-ball Player*, *Tired Boxer*, and *Young Acrobat* to the Chicago fair. Brandon Brame Fortune and Michelle Mead, "Catalogue of American Paintings and Sculptures Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition," in Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 377.

³⁷ *Indian Bear Hunt* was cast in Paris, where Tilden had studied early in the 1890s with Paul François Choppin, a Salon gold medalist. Tilden, who had lost his hearing at age five as a consequence of having had scarlet fever, likely chose to study under Choppin because he, too, was hearing impaired. Tilden trained with Choppin for five months. William Armes, "California Artists III.

Douglas Tilden, Sculptor," *Overland Monthly*, February 1898, 144, 146; Henry Meade Bland, "Douglas Tilden," *Overland Monthly*, November 1906, 331.

³⁸ Bland noted the similarity between *Indian Bear Hunt* and the *Laocoön*. Henry Meade Bland, "A Speaker in Stone," *Sunset*, June 1913, 818.

³⁹ Elizabeth B. Custer, "*Boots and Saddles, or Life in Dakota with General Custer* (1885; reprint, Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House, 1969), 134.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Custer wrote, "[Two Bears] ended [the meeting], as they all do, with a request for food. . . . We watched them at a distance kill and divide the beef. It surprised us to see how they dispatched it, and that hardly a vestige of it was left." Elsewhere, she commented that the Native Americans on the reservations "had hunted off most of the game; an occasional jack-rabbit, the plover, and a few wild ducks were all that were left." Custer, 63-64, 59.

⁴¹ Mary Cox, who stayed at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota in the summer of 1893, reported, "There is no employment of any kind for men or women, or for boys and girls," and that residents "have no capital to work on, and so cannot live off their lands." Mary McHenry Cox, "A Trip to the World's Fair and a Chippewa Reservation," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 8 August 1893, 4, 5. Kellar informed readers that Native Americans traveled a great distance to receive their government rations at the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota. "There was to be a beef allotment by the agent, and the braves had assembled from hundreds of miles to share in the distribution of their staple food." H. Kellar, "Magic Among the Red Man," *The North American Review*, 1893, 591. Deming and Smith encountered Yanktonais and Unepapas moving their entire households to and from distribution points for fortnightly beef issues. [Edwin Deming and De Cost Smith], "Sketching among the Sioux," *Outing*, October 1893, 6, 12, 13.

⁴² *Eleventh Census*, pt. 2: 69.

⁴³ Tilden's piece was selected because he had worked for the Native Sons of the Golden West six years earlier on a monument commemorating the admission of California to statehood, and because he and the bear represented the state. Tilden was a native Californian and the first artist from the state to receive international recognition. The bear appeared on the state flag and official seal.

⁴⁴ Contemporary newspaper accounts associated Theodore Roosevelt with the bear, for the President had hunted grizzlies and had published a book recounting his adventures as an outdoorsman. "The bear will represent California and the Native Sons, and the forest giant's fierce attack upon the strenuous hunter will probably be particularly suggestive to the President, as he is very fond of bear hunting," read one article. Another stated, "Once more

Roosevelt, the hunter has come in contact with a bear." "California's Youth Will Greet the President," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 April 1903, 14; "State Builders Greet President," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 May, 1903, 4.

⁴⁵ "State Builders Greet President," 7.

⁴⁶ "California's Youth Greet President," 14; "State Builders Greet President," 4, 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

"the aboriginal way of life"

Interest in anthropology flourished at the end of the nineteenth century and an entire building was allocated to this science at the World's Columbian Exposition.¹ Anthropological inquiry focused attention on the differences between American Indians and European Americans and exacerbated the marginal status of the autochthonous peoples. One exhibit in the Ethnography Department of the fair presented data based on body measurements collected from approximately 17,000 American Indian men, women, and children which "proved" that the physical characteristics of "half-breeds" were more closely related to those of the European American parent than to those of the Native American parent.² Other displays elucidated how American Indians had advanced from the pre-contact epoch to the 1890s with the intervention of government and missionary agencies. The exhibitions were carefully orchestrated to portray Native Americans as capable of becoming civilized.³

American Indian artifacts on display, some acquired by ethnographers conducting field work and others lent by private collectors, were primarily traditional rather than contemporary works.⁴ Genuine native arts were regarded as immutable, arrested in the past like the cultures which produced them. Philanthropists and government officials who advocated the assimilation of Native Americans did not acknowledge objects with European American influences as authentic. Such works did not conform to stereotypic conceptions of "Indian."⁵ As the present-day scholar James Clifford noted, marginal cultures are perceived as resisting or yielding to change but not producing it.⁶ The anthropology exhibits helped to strengthen the stereotype of the primitive American Indian through the

selective presentation of their cultures.

While anthropologists studied American Indians in the field, artists sought "authentic" American Indians to sketch and paint. De Cost Smith, Edwin Deming, Paul Bartlett, and Gutzon Borglum submitted to the World's Columbian Exposition genre pieces in which their interpretations of costume, habitat, physiognomy, and ritual bestowed on their works the appearance of ethnographic realism.

Like contemporary ethnographers, De Cost Smith took an interest in American Indian folklore. While Franz Boas and other scientists studied legends to understand the migration and integration of tribes,⁷ Smith recorded American Indian myths in his notebooks and based his painting *Sioux Lovers* (plate 14) on one of these, the tale of the courting flute. He noted in his journal that the Sioux believed that the music was magical and had "a mysterious power to draw the woman to the player."⁸ According to legend, the hunter who carved the first courting flute leaned against a tree, playing a tune he composed for the maiden he wanted to marry. She heard the love song and followed the melody from her family tepee to the side of the musician, whom she consented to wed.⁹ *Sioux Lovers* illustrates the narrative, with the young woman making her way from the tepee on the hill toward the flutist, who rests against a tree trunk in the foreground.

Alongside the musician in *Sioux Lovers* Smith painted a robe decorated with pictographs of men and horses. It gives a sense of authenticity to the genre scene and may have been based on a buffalo robe in the collection of the National Museum that had been owned at one time by George Catlin. In his notebook Smith sketched the painted pictographs from the Catlin robe, copied excerpts about it from the 1885 annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and compared it to one in Bern, Switzerland. He transcribed sections from a

journal article about the robe in the Swiss collection.¹⁰ That the publication was dated 1908, twenty years after he painted *Sioux Lovers*, suggests a long-term fascination with the painted hide and with American Indian ethnography in general.

In addition to the peaceful genre scene of *Sioux Lovers*, Smith also exhibited the painting *Driven Back* at the World's Columbian Exposition (plate 15).¹¹ Accounts of eyewitness clashes between Native Americans and the United States military and reports by army generals and the Secretary of War influenced Smith in his painting of *Driven Back* just as myths and data on costume and customs had impressed him in producing *Sioux Lovers*.¹² Smith was evidently affected by the first-hand summary of an attack by Cheyennes published in the 18 October 1890 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, which he kept among his papers.¹³ The author, S.C. Robertson, First Lieutenant of the First Cavalry, recalled that two American Indians were "dressed in their best" and one wore a long feather bonnet. They fought near a stream, where one remained mounted and the horse of the second was killed. In *Driven Back* the American Indians are clothed in leather shirts and leggings and two wear long feather headdresses as described by Lieutenant Robertson. One rider pulls a horseless warrior from the river. Another rescues the lifeless body of a comrade, laid supine across the horse. The immediacy of the action is emphasized by the sheets of water dripping from the horses and men as they emerge from the river.

Driven Back is the antipode to Whittredge's *The Plains*, painted more than two decades earlier. Both pictures are set on the banks of a river. Each was painted following a pernicious confrontation between the United States army and American Indian villagers. Whittredge finished *The Plains* after the Cheyenne loss at Sand Creek. Smith completed *Driven Back* a year or so after the Lakota defeat

at Wounded Knee Creek. Whittredge, a landscape painter, presented the prairie as a romantic pastoral, while Smith, a genre painter, portrayed it as a battleground for a realistic skirmish.

Smith shared an interest in Native American ethnography with Edwin Deming. The two artists traveled together to photograph and sketch Sioux and Crow peoples in the Northwest and collaborated on writing and illustrating articles published in *Outing* magazine in 1893 and 1894. By their own account, they sought "a sympathetic and understanding insight" into "the aboriginal way of life" and lived among the Indians, "drawing the domestic scenes that went on daily beneath [their] eyes."¹⁴ The less assimilated the tribe, the more eagerly the artists said they pursued their studies.¹⁵

Deming illustrated the tepee in his painting *A Mourning Brave* (plate 16) just as he had described it in the autobiographical essay "Sketching among the Crows":

The finer Crow lodges are really luxurious. Some of them are twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter and very high in proportion. With an inner lining of some bright figured cloth, good bedding, rugs and, sometimes carpeted almost to the firehole with a profusion of fine woven bags from the Flat-heads, elkskin furs and utensils richly ornamented, these lodges are comfortable in the extreme and are usually kept very clean.¹⁶

Deming delineated a spacious tepee lined with furs and furnished with household objects. Under the shaft of sunlight entering from the firehole the deceased wife reclines on a bear skin.

The motif of the grieving American Indian in Deming's *A Mourning Brave* recurred in nineteenth-century visual and literary arts. George de Forest Brush approached the theme with an ethnographic interest, illustrating the Plains Indian practice of elevating the prepared corpse on a wooden framework in

Mourning Her Brave, 1883, not exhibited at the Chicago fair. Eanger Irving Couse, in his composition *Mourning Her Brave*, exhibited at the 1893 Salon, painted with deliberate attention the accoutrements of the deceased and his widow--the calumet, feather bonnet, claw necklace, beaded moccasins, metalwork arm bands, and belt. Readers of nineteenth-century literature sympathized with Chactas grieving for his beloved in Chateaubriand's novel *Atala*, Hiawatha lamenting the death of Minnehaha in the poem by Longfellow, and American Indians mourning in Bryant's "Indian Girl's Lament," "An Indian Story," and "An Indian at the Burial Place of His Fathers." In these works, as in Deming's *A Mourning Brave*, the death of an individual American Indian was a metaphor for the demise of the Indian nations.

Like Smith and Deming, Paul Bartlett chose a theme with an ethnographic bent. His sculpture *The Ghost Dance* was an interpretation of Native American religious practices (plate 17). It began as the representation of a generic ceremonial dance and later became identified with a specific ritual. Bartlett created *The Ghost Dance* in 1889 in Paris and exhibited it in the Salon that year as *Indien dansant*. For the World's Columbian Exposition he changed the title to associate his piece with events that had recently been newsworthy in the United States.¹⁷ The Ghost Dance was a messianic religious movement which originated as a means of coping with oppression and loss of the social equilibrium. Followers prayed for the resurrection of ancestors, the return of the bison, and the peaceful removal of European Americans from American Indian homelands.¹⁸ Homesteaders' fears of an uprising initiated by several hundred to more than one thousand native dancers in self-induced trances contributed to the series of events that began with the murder of Sitting Bull, a leader in the

Ghost Dance movement, continued with the deployment of the Seventh Cavalry to the Pine Ridge Reservation, and culminated in the massacre at Wounded Knee Creek on 29 December 1890. By 1892 the Ghost Dance, as well as the sun dance, war dance, and other ceremonial practices, had been declared illegal by the United States government because citizens feared that the frenzied performances would incite American Indians to wage war.¹⁹ Visitors at the World's Columbian Exposition could witness performances of normally proscribed savage dances at the Indian Village and Midway Plaisance, see Ghost Dance shirts in the ethnography exhibit, and judge the ethnographic authenticity of Bartlett's *The Ghost Dance*.

Bartlett's foremost concern in his sculpture was the realistic modeling of the male figure. He exhibited the work in Chicago in plaster subtitled *study of the nude*. Unlike Dallin, Tilden, Deming, and Brush, he did not portray his American Indian subject as an idealized Greek athlete. The dancer, posed on the ball of the left foot, arms suspended forward, and mouth agape, departs from the classical paradigm of the nude, which emphasized beauty, minimized individualized accidents of nature, and eschewed violent movement.²⁰ Contemporary critics and art historians praised the sculptor for his naturalistic modeling but found little merit in the unconventional posture he chose for his subject. Bancroft commented that the treatment of the muscles was perfect but that the pose must have been tortuous for the model.²¹ Lorado Taft questioned why the artist had produced a work where the concern was more ethnologic than artistic. He commended Bartlett for his unsurpassed modeling of *The Ghost Dance* but faulted the piece for its lack of "inspiration or reason."²² Inspiration, or interpretation, distinguished art from the mere imitation of the

model. Bartlett's sculpture was too literal a representation of nature and too deficient in beauty to meet the standards of his time.²³ Several factors very likely influenced his choice of subject and use of verism.

Bartlett had won an honorable mention at the 1887 Salon with his over life-size plaster *Bohemian and Bears*, which he also showed at the World's Columbian Exposition. The bear cub tamer is a primitive man with the loin cloth, long hair, and head band associated with American Indians. Bartlett's success with the theme may have motivated him to pursue an unequivocal American Indian motif for the Salon two years later when he submitted *The Ghost Dance* in plaster under the title *Indien dansant*.²⁴ Furthermore, Bartlett had studied with Emmanuel Frémiet at the Jardin des Plantes and may have been influenced by his sculptures of primitive man, as Douglas Tilden certainly was in the 1890s.²⁵

In choosing his theme Bartlett may have considered the popularity of American Indian imagery in France. He may have been familiar with the lithography images of American Indians printed by Pellerin et Compagnie in Epinal in central France. In one sheet, the figure labeled "Danse des Esprits" balances on the ball of one foot, his arms extended forward with hands suspended from limp wrists, similar to the subject of Bartlett's *The Ghost Dance*.²⁶ In addition, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was enthusiastically received during its 1889 tour in Paris and may have impressed Bartlett, as it had his colleague Cyrus Dallin.

Bartlett undoubtedly was most influenced in his departure from classical ideals of beauty and demeanor by the contemporary works of Auguste Rodin. Paul Bartlett and his father, Truman Bartlett, a sculptor

and critic, met Rodin in Paris in 1887. Like Rodin's *The Age of Bronze*, which the Bartletts would have seen in the Luxembourg Gardens where it had been installed in 1884, *The Ghost Dance* portrayed a primitive man in a nontraditional stance. When the Bartletts met Rodin, the French sculptor was finishing the plasters of *The Burghers of Calais* and enlarging individual figures from *The Gates of Hell*. The expressionism of *The Ghost Dance* has affinity with that of *The Burghers of Calais*, especially with the *Head of Pierre de Wissant*, and with *The Prodigal Son* and head of Paolo from *The Gates of Hell*. The pinwheel-like posture and vulnerability of Bartlett's figure bear resemblance to *The Martyr*, a female nude from *The Gates of Hell* which Bartlett would have seen as an enlarged plaster relief positioned vertically in Rodin's studio.²⁷ Following Rodin's example, Bartlett modeled *The Ghost Dance* from spontaneous human movements rather than from classical poses that professional models had been trained to assume.²⁸

Bartlett's *The Ghost Dance* was unlike any other sculpture in the galleries, where it was in company with traditional monuments to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and William Shakespeare, and neoclassical sculptures of Sophocles, *The Scaper*, and *Diana*. *The Ghost Dance* was compelling for its skillful modeling, repelling in its exceptional realism, and titillating in its exposé of the exotic and forbidden.

Like Bartlett's dancer, Gutzon Borglum's pair of sentinels in the bronze *Indian Scouts* are recognizably primitive men (plate 18).²⁹ The broad cheek bones, hooked nose, and prognathism distinguish the physiognomy from the European and American ideal of a narrower face, straight nose, and less

protuberant chin. Phimister Proctor's Sioux equestrian situated near the lagoon and statues of Native Americans modeled in staff for the peristyle of the Court of Honor at the World's Columbian Exposition likewise were identifiable by their high foreheads and wide cheek bones. These facial features were among those codified in the studies prepared for the anthropology exhibit at the fair. American Indian faces were a centimeter wider, on average, than faces of people of Western European ancestry. Statistical analysis determined that "half-breeds," that is, offspring of one American Indian and one European American parent, had narrower faces, on the average, than "full-bloods."³⁰ The narrower head was believed to be an indicator of higher intelligence.³¹ Borglum's *Indian Scouts* gave visual form to the scientific data presented at the exposition and reinforced the belief in a racial hierarchy, in which American Indians were inferior to European Americans.

Borglum executed *Indian Scouts* in 1891 while studying in Paris. It is unknown if the artist employed American Indian models in Paris, as Dallin had done, or if he based his realistic work on sketches and studies he had brought with him from the American West. Borglum entered his sculpture in the Salon in 1892. Artists from the United States submitting works with Native American themes had had success with Salon juries. Douglas Tilden's *Indian Bear Hunt* was also accepted for the 1892 Salon. In 1891 Borglum had entered *Dying Chief* and was subsequently invited to join the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.³² Paul Bartlett's *Bohemian Bear Tamer* had won an Honorable Mention in 1887. Bartlett submitted *The Ghost Dance* in 1889, the year Albert Bierstadt exhibited *Last of the Buffalo*. John Boyle had received an Honorable Mention for his plaster *Stone Age in America* in 1886.³³ American Indian themes had

been popular in France in the novels of Chateaubriand, the translations of James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking series, George Catlin's Indian Gallery, and the wild west shows of the 1880s and 1890s.

Borglum modeled *Indian Scouts* with painstaking attention to details. The hair on both men is chin-length at the sides and long down the back. The moccasins, identifiable as northern Cheyenne, are ankle-high and notched twice to make a tongue in the front. The kneeling figure holds a knife in his left hand and its sheath in his right. Borglum was also fastidious about details with *Dying Chief* (Forest Lawn Museum, Glendale, California). These two works and other small bronzes from his early period, such as *Return of the Boer*, *Apaches Pursued*, and *The Mares of Diamedes*, do not foretell that Borglum would become a sculptor of colossal monuments--the Stone Mountain memorial to the Confederacy near Atlanta, Georgia, the gargantuan *Head of Lincoln* in Washington, and the four presidential portraits on Mount Rushmore.

Borglum demonstrated an equivocal regard for Native Americans throughout his life. His childhood memory of them was terrifying. He associated the Sioux Indian he saw at the window of his home with the marauding Vikings in the tales shared by his Danish grandmother.³⁴ He neutralized the fearsomeness with the first Native American he sculpted. In *Dying Chief* the warrior, having fallen to the ground below his horse, is an analog of the doomed Indian. While working in the Black Hills on the Mount Rushmore project, Borglum sent food and blankets to starving Sioux families, yet referred to his philanthropy as "a new toy," part of a scheme to reorganize the recipients' lives to ensure their happiness.³⁵ He communicated his outrage that the Oglala Sioux at the Pine Ridge Agency were underfed. "Though [*sic*]

knowing Indians, modeling, sketching, painting them," he wrote, "I was *shocked, ashamed, embarrassed* as an American, to see and realize. . . that we had shown so little sense, so little humanity, so little common justice as to allow the, not long ago, owners of all this territory to be *robbed, bullied and starved* as we have *robbed, bullied and starved* these human beings."³⁶ Borglum composed the indignant letter during the period when he was desecrating the sacred mountains of the Sioux with jack hammers and dynamite to carve the portraits of United States presidents in the Black Hills. *Tribal Sentinels* appears to have been modeled with more ethnographic objectivity than subjective indignation at the American Indian condition.

The attention to ethnographic authenticity demonstrated by Deming, Smith, Bartlett, and Borglum did not guarantee the artists' accurate portrayal of American Indians. These artists, like their colleagues, selectively represented Native Americans. Deming and Smith traveled west in search of unassimilated tribes. The reports of their field studies took the form of adventure stories, which they published in *Outing*, a magazine devoted to sports and the outdoor life. Bartlett's sculpture of an aboriginal dancer and Borglum's scouting party represented American Indians as counterimages to American citizens. The trance-like posture and particularized, exaggerated facial features emphasized the distinctions between European Americans and American Indians. Images in the Fine Arts Palace corroborated the messages of the displays in the Anthropology Building that the original Americans were marginal peoples.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹ Associations dedicated to scholarship in anthropology, including the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the anthropology division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, were founded between 1879 and 1882. The International Congress of Anthropology and the Congress of Evolution convened at the World's Columbian Exposition. Anthropology was validated as an academic discipline in the United States in 1892, when Clark University awarded the first doctorate in anthropology in this country to Alexander Chamberlain. Joan Mark, *Four Anthropologists: An American Science in Its Early Years* (New York: Science History, 1980), 8-9; Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 10; David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington: University Press of Kansas, 1976), 262; Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood, 1990), 3.

² Researchers, led by the anthropologist Franz Boas, analyzed data from thousands of measurements in thirty different categories. The studies indicated that the offspring of one American Indian and one European American parent inherited characteristics of the European American parent, such as narrower face, greater height, and increased fertility. Boas concluded, "The difference in favor of the half-breed is so striking that no doubt can be entertained as to its actual existence." Boas founded the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. He and his students, through their studies of physical anthropology and cultural diffusion, repudiated racialism and theories of the evolutionary progression of a single American Indian culture and recognized the cultural pluralism of Native Americans. Frederick Starr, "Anthropology at the World's Fair," *Popular Science Monthly*, September 1893, 613-14; Franz Boas, *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* (Chicago: Schulte, 1894), 37-49, in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1833-1911: A Franz Boas Reader* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 192-94; Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 62-64.

³ The displays began with "Models of Prehistoric Architectural Monuments and Habitation," included ones described as "Progress of Indian civilization through efforts of the Government, missionaries, or by his own efforts and choice" and "The Indian as an American citizen," and concluded with "The hope of the Indian." *The Artistic Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Monarch, 1892), 419-21.

⁴ Fifty-five field workers collected artifacts in North, Central, and South America. Private collectors included D.B. Dyer, who loaned his collection "rich in cradles or papoose-boards and in implements for gambling" from the Plains Indians. Edward E. Ayer loaned Pueblo pottery, Northwest Coast carvings, and clothing from California Indians. Franz Boas sent "dancing paraphernalia,

masks, [and] bark necklets." Starr, 610, 615-16; Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 348; Warren K. Moorhead, "Notes and Comments: A New Science at the Fair," *North American Review* 157 (1893): 508-09.

⁵ See Aldona Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture," in Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 47-48.

⁶ James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'," in Hal Foster, ed., *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, Dia Art Foundation, 1987), 122.

⁷ Boas published his research in "Dissemination of Tales among the Natives of North America," *Journal of American Folklore* 4 (1891), and "The Growth of Indian Mythologies," *Journal of American Folklore* 9 (1896). Stocking, 208, 346 n. 32.

⁸ De Cost Smith, diary entry, Onandaga, 10 March 1889, in Leather Notebook, Magazines and Notebooks, box 23B, box 2, De Cost Smith Papers, Huntington Library, The Bronx, New York (hereafter cited as Smith Papers).

⁹ Recounted by Henry Crow Dog, New York City, 1967, and recorded by Richard Erdoes, in Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 275-78.

¹⁰ Customs, Costumes, box 23A, box 1, Smith Papers. Refer to David I. Bushnell, Jr., "Ethnographical Material from North America in Swiss Collections," *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 10 (January-March 1908): 1-4.

¹¹ Smith seems to have selected his paintings for major exhibitions with his viewers in mind. His entry in the 1889 world's fair in Paris, *Conflicting Faiths* (unlocated), illustrated eighteenth-century French Jesuit missionaries proselytizing among the Canadian Iroquois. Annette Blaugrund, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989), 291. At the Chicago exposition *Driven Back* was an anomaly. It was the only work with a Native American theme that referred to hostilities between American Indians and the United States army. Even the staged confrontations in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show had been excluded from the fair. The painting was a topical piece that would have been viewed in the context of recent wars between Plains Indians and the cavalry, especially the December 1890 battle of Wounded Knee Creek, in which the army had killed Lakota men,

women, and children.

¹² Refer to Fort Buford Notes, box 23B, box 1, Smith Papers.

¹³ Customs, Costumes, box 23A, box 1, Smith Papers.

¹⁴ [Edwin Deming and De Cost Smith], "Sketching among the Sioux," *Outing*, October 1893, 8, 12.

¹⁵ [Edwin Deming and De Cost Smith], "Sketching among the Crow Indians," *Outing*, May 1894, 91.

¹⁶ [Deming and Smith], "Sketching among the Crow Indians," 90.

¹⁷ Newspaper accounts alternately assured readers of the peacefulness of the rituals and exacerbated their apprehension with reports of troop deployments to reservations where the Ghost Dance was performed. In mid-November 1890 the *New York Times* ran a column entitled "Fears of Indian Troubles," *New York Times*, 15 November 1890, 2. The next day, the same publication stated that there was "little probability of an outbreak" occurring. "The New Indian Messiah," *New York Times*, 16 November 1890, 11. Three days later, an article stated that Acting Indian Commissioner Belt had no information that warranted alarm regarding an American Indian uprising, that there was "no substantial foundation for the wild rumors of an Indian uprising at Standing Rock" and that the Indians were living peacefully on the reservation. It went on to report, however, that troops were being sent from Fort Niobrara to the Rosebud Agency and from Fort Robinson, Fort Omaha, and Fort Russell to the Pine Ridge Agency. "The Sioux Outbreak," *New York Times*, 19 November 1890, 2. A column published the following day was headed, "Troops Moving Forward: The Restless Indians Will be Surrounded To-day," *New York Times*, 20 November 1890, 1. An editorial printed the same day informed that the messiah was somewhere in the Nevada mountains "preparing to bury all the white race under the earth and leave the red race on top." "The Indian Messiah Delusion," *New York Times*, 20 November 1890, 4.

¹⁸ O.O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington, 1907), 472; "Their Last Ghost Dance," *New York Times*, 18 April 1890, 1; "The New Indian Messiah," 11; "The Indian Messiah Delusion," 4; "The Ghost Dance," *New York Times*, 22 November 1890, 2; "More Ghost Dancing," *New York Times*, 31 December 1891, 5. In 1889 Wovoka, a Piute from the Walker River Reservation in Nevada, received instructions through a vision to revive the Ghost Dance, which had originated in 1869. Tribal representatives visited the prophet and disseminated the cult throughout the West. The religion combined American Indian traditions of the round dance, mourning rites, and fertility ceremonies with the Christian

precepts of resurrection and messianism. Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Ghost Dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance," *Handbook of Native American Indians*, 15 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 11:660-62; Arlene B. Hirschfelder and Paulette Molin, "Ghost Dance of 1870," "Ghost Dance of 1890," "Wovoka," *The Encyclopedia of Native American Religions* (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 98, 99, 331; Howard, 467-68.

¹⁹ Followers were penalized for performing the Ghost Dance with ten to thirty days' imprisonment or the denial of food rations for a period up to ten days. Report of the Indian Commissioner T.J. Morgan, in Wilcomb E. Washburn, comp., *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York: Random House, 1973), 1:598.

²⁰ Refer to Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin: Architecture, Sculpture, Peinture* (Paris: Laurens, 1903), 9, 65-66, 491.

²¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art and Industry, as Viewed Through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Bancroft, 1893), 2: 675.

²² Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture* (New York: Macmillan, 1903), 374. In 1869 critics had debated the artistic merits of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux' sculpture *La Danse* on the facade of the opera building in Paris. Eugène Vermersch championed the work for its detachment from antiquity. Eugène Vermersch, "Le Groupe de M. Carpeaux," *Le Figaro*, 12 August 1869, in Anne Middleton Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 240, and Chapter 6, "Art and Propriety."

²³ Refer to Blanc, 10, 65.

²⁴ Lois Marie Fink and Joshua C. Taylor, *Academy: The Academic Traditions in American Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975), 146.

²⁵ Taft, 374, compared Bartlett's ethnological focus in *The Ghost Dance* to that of Frémiet.

²⁶ Refer to Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1976), 336 fig. 305.

²⁷ *The Martyr* was documented in a gelatin silver print by an anonymous photographer, Musée Rodin catalogue number 1385, reproduced in Albert E. Elsen, *In Rodin's Studio* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Phaidon, 1980), fig.

40.

²⁸ Not long after they met, Truman Bartlett began interviewing Rodin and writing a series of articles that were published in *The American Architect and Building News* in 1889. As reported by Truman Bartlett, Rodin's method of working might have pertained just as well to the process followed by Paul Bartlett in executing *The Ghost Dance* under the influence of Rodin. Truman Bartlett observed: "The sole idea in the sculptor's mind was to make a study of the nude, a good figure, correct in design, concise in style, and firm in modelling--to make a good piece of sculpture. . . . The necessity of artistic action moves the artist into contact with nature, its recognized inspirer, and he places his model in various positions, in keeping with its character, until he finds one that is harmonious in every way. In this instance the question of subject is not included. The position, movement, attitude of the model, as found by the artist, is satisfactory to him, and he makes the statue. After it is completed it suggests various names and subjects to those who see it, though it is really nothing more nor less than a piece of sculpture. . . ." Truman H. Bartlett, "Auguste Rodin," *American Architect and Building News*, 1 June 1889, 263.

²⁹ *Indian Scouts* is owned by the museum at Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California, where Gutzon Borglum and his second wife, Mary, are interred. The concluding lines of the poem by Rupert Hughes inscribed on the memorial marker on Borglum's crypt, referring to his portraits of four presidents on the Mount Rushmore monument, read, "He made the mountain chant: / 'Remember! These giant souls set / America free and kept her free. Hold / fast your sacred heritage. Americans! / Remember! Remember!' " The epitaph, like the granite monument in South Dakota, excluded American Indians from their place. Forest Lawn received *Indian Scouts* as a gift in 1949. A second cast is owned by the Rushmore-Borglum Story, a museum dedicated to the history of Mount Rushmore. Little is known about the provenance of the two casts and the circumstances under which they were created. Margaret Burton, Director of Forest Lawn Museum, telephone conversation with author, 12 April 1994, and letter to author, 25 April 1994. Laura Pankratz, Director of the Rushmore-Borglum Story, was unable to obtain facts about *Tribal Sentinels* from Mary Ellis Borglum Vhay or Robin Borglum Carter, the daughter and granddaughter, respectively, of Gutzon Borglum. Telephone conversation with author, 10 February 1994.

³⁰ The breadth of American Indian faces was most frequently measured as 148 millimeters compared to 138 millimeters for European Americans. Franz Boas, *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* (Chicago: Schulte, 1894), 37-49, in Stocking, 194-95.

³¹ Boas adapted studies conducted on American Indians for the World's Columbian Exposition to research on Eastern and Southern European immigrants and their offspring to determine if their distinctive physical traits would dissipate among successive generations residing in the United States. He hoped to assuage concerns about Southern Europeans tainting the Anglo-Saxon gene pool. Boas summarized the concern of anthropologists when he theorized that changes in anatomical characteristics must have corresponding alterations in mental capacity. Franz Boas to Professor J.W. Jenks, Cornell University, 31 December 1909, in Stocking, 212-13.

³² Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 23.

³³ For a discussion of Native American themes in paintings and sculptures in Salon exhibitions, refer to Fink, 188-193.

³⁴ Howard Shaff and Audrey Karl Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time: The Life and Times of Gutzon Borglum, Sculptor of Mount Rushmore* (Sioux Falls, S.D.: Center for Western Studies, Augusta College, 1985), 21-22. Borglum evidently repeated this anecdote over the years, for it became the object of a newspaper cartoon. A boy and his dog run from an American Indian standing on the corner in a western town. The caption reads, "Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor, as an embryo Indian artist in the frontier country of Nebraska lived in dread and fear of many of his subjects." Unidentified cartoonist, "At the Bottom of the Ladder," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 February 1924, reproduced in Albert Boime, "Patriarchy Fixed in Stone: Gutzon Borglum's Mount Rushmore," *American Art* 5 (Winter/Spring 1991): 163.

³⁵ Gutzon Borglum, letter to Dr. J.S. Lankford, Gutzon Borglum Collection, Archives of American Art, reel 3056, in Boime, 167, n. 22.

³⁶ Gutzon Borglum, letter to Congressman Edgar Hoover, Nebraska, 12 January 1932, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., quoted in Boime, 167, n. 24.

CHAPTER FIVE

"invisible fences"

In an address delivered at the Congress of Painting and Sculpture at the World's Columbian Exposition a speaker implored American artists to adopt national themes to show the world that the United States had subjects worthy of representation in the fine arts.¹ The painters and sculptors who submitted to the fair works with Native American motifs had fulfilled this summons. Moreover, Bartlett, Dallin, Borglum, Tilden, and Whittredge had previously shown their entries at exhibitions in Paris and had proved that artists could win international recognition with uniquely American subject matter.

These works of art, which metaphorically identified American Indians with the United States, were misrepresentations of native peoples. As doomed tribes people in paintings and sculptures, Native Americans personified the wild American frontier conquered by settlement and enterprise. Although statistical evidence discredited the belief in the vanishing American Indian, the myth endured, supported by imagery in the paintings by Moran and Whittredge, and the public monuments by Dallin, Powers, and Bush-Brown. As savages living in an Arcadian wilderness, American Indians symbolized the American hero--brave, independent, and virile, uncorrupted by the sins of the modern industrialized urban society. Warner's medallions of tribal leaders were the exceptions among the works at the fair that portrayed American Indians consigned to the past. Warner traveled west to model Northwest Coast Indians before they expired, yet his subjects were survivors who had adapted to changes brought by the reservation policy, the severalty act, and Christianity.

Whittredge, Brush, and Tilden's invented sylvan frontier ignored the facts of violent confrontations between Native Americans, settlers, and the army, reservation Indians surviving on rations as government wards, and American Indians who became United States citizens under the provisions of the Dawes Act. Works which portrayed Native Americans with ethnographic verisimilitude were selective representations that perpetuated stereotypes under the guise of authenticity. The paintings and sculptures by Deming, Smith, Bartlett, and Borglum emphasized the differences between their American Indian subjects and European American viewers in physiognomy, dress, housing, courting and mourning customs, diet, and religious practices.

Exhibits at the fair corroborated the marginal status of Native Americans. Their inclusion on the Midway Plaisance with entertainers from Dahomey, Egypt, and Algeria emphasized their equivalence to Third World colonials. American Indians were contrasted to European Americans in scientific studies of their languages, fingerprints, and the dimensions of their skulls.² Case after case displayed their bows and arrows in the Ethnology Department, where visitors were advised to compare "aboriginal customs and the splendors of modern civilization."³

Students at the Indian School at the fair were also marginal Native Americans. With this important exhibit, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was able to prove, to the astonishment of the public, that American Indian students were as capable as European American children, and that social intervention could accelerate the civilization process.⁴ The paternalistic institution of the Indian boarding school was predicated on the conviction that teachers from the dominant culture could better educate Native American children than their own

parents and communities. This presumption exemplifies the salvage paradigm addressed by the present-day anthropologist Virginia Dominguez, who writes that by rescuing "others," the dominant culture implies a lack of trust that they will take action, and claims its superiority and entitlement to influence the future of those it saves.⁵ The Indian schools helped to determine the socio-economic status of their graduates by emphasizing the manual arts along with the academic curriculum. Native Americans, and other minorities, were trained for the blue-collar work force, not for business and professional careers.⁶ The historian Martin Carnoy has explained the educational tracking of Native American, African American, and immigrant students as an economic expediency, a means to satisfy the needs of industrialists dependent upon a loyal labor class.⁷ Characters in William Dean Howells' late nineteenth-century socially critical novel, *A Traveller from Altruria*, acknowledged that there were "invisible fences" that barred laborers from society, and that to be excluded was to be denied the privileges of civilization.⁸ Even as educated citizens, American Indians remained outsiders.

For the majority of fairgoers, the most memorable images of Native Americans were not the students at the Indian School, but the savages attacking the stage coaches at the Wild West Show, the families living in tepees in the villages near the Anthropology Building and on the Midway, and the hunter pursuing the bison in Bush-Brown's colossal white plaster sculpture in the Fine Arts Palace. So long as American Indians personified the nation's past, their own modernity was suppressed. The World's Columbian Exposition, through selective representation, contributed to the stereotypic image of American Indians as immutable primitives, which persists to this day.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹ "If we are to have a school that will leave its impress upon the art of the world, we must find our subjects at home. . . . What we want are American painters painting American life and character. . . who will. . . teach those fellows on the other side to respect us as a people." F. Hopkinson Smith, quoted in Lucy Monroe, "Chicago Letter," *Critic*, 12 August 1893, 115.

² Frederick Starr, "Anthropology at the World's Fair," *The Popular Science Monthly*, September 1893, 613, 615; Marietta Holley, *Samantha at the World's Fair* (New York: Funk and Wagnall's, 1893), 371.

³ John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Columbian Guide, 1893), 38.

⁴ Mary McHenry Cox, "A Trip to the World's Fair and a Chippewa Indian Reservation," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 8 August 1893, 1, 2; "Work of Indian Children," *New York Times*, 12 November 1893, 18.

⁵ Virginia Dominguez, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'," in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, No. 1, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, Dia Art Foundation, 1987), 131, 133.

⁶ Reverend P.B. Frissell, principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for Indians, recognized the need for Native Americans in the professions and requested funding to instruct Native Americans as nurses and physicians. "Civilizing the Indian: Progress Reported by His Friends at the Lake Mohonk Conference," *New York Times*, 14 October 1893, 8.

⁷ Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, 1974), 243-45, 270-73.

⁸ William Dean Howells, *The Altrurian Romances*, with introduction and notes by Clara Kirk and Rudolf Kirk, text established by Scott Bennet, edited by Edwin H. Cady, Ronald Gottesman, and David J. Nordloh (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 38-39.



Plate 1 Penobscot tepees, Indian Village, World's Columbian Exposition, photograph by C.D. Arnold, 1893. Source: Neil Harris, Wim de Wit, James Gilbert, and Robert Rydell, *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993), 160.



Plate 2 Edward Moran, *The First Ship Entering New York Harbor*, oil on canvas, 1892. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 126 plate 1.



Plate 3 Cyrus E. Dallin, *Signal of Peace*, bronze, 1890. Source: Milton W. Brown, *American Art to 1900* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 597 fig. 722.

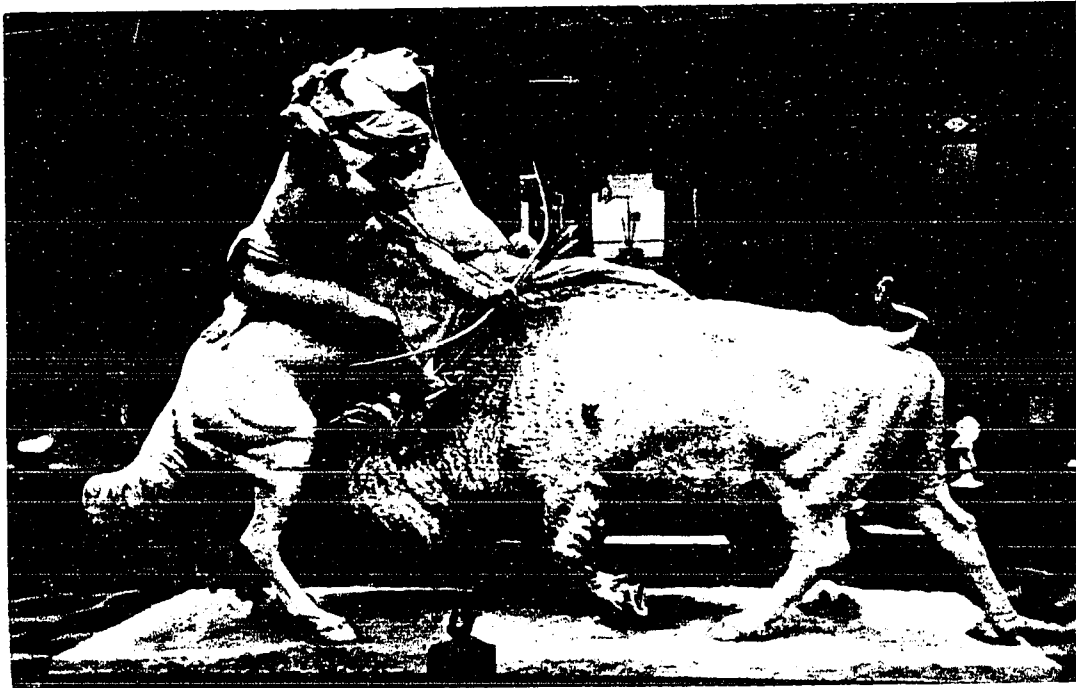


Plate 4 Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, *The Buffalo Hunt*, plaster, circa 1893.
Source: Herbert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art and Industry, as Viewed Through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Bancroft, 1893), 2:675.



Plate 5 Preston Powers, *The Closing Era*, bronze, 1893. Source: Joe O'Connell, in Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 374.

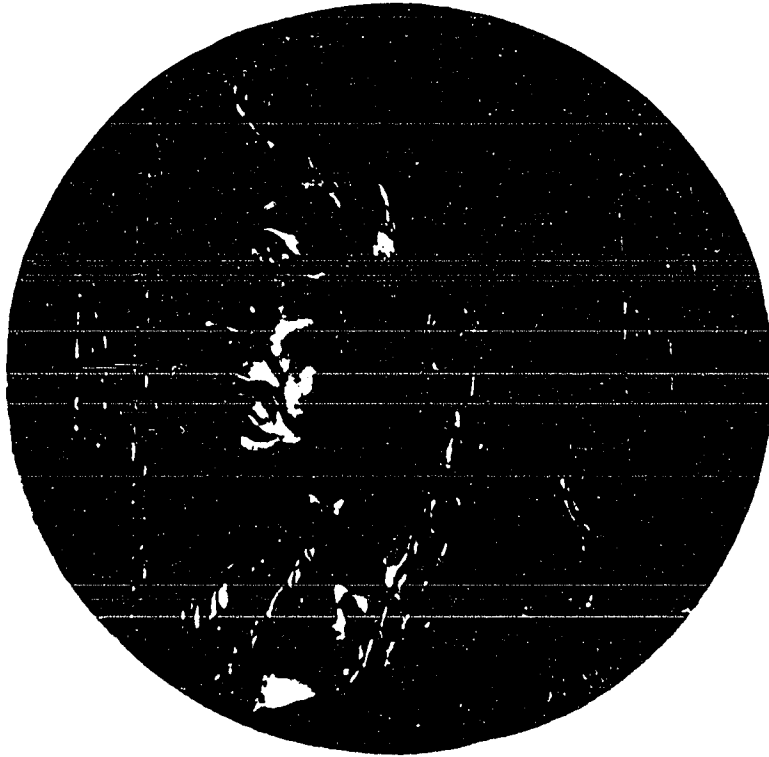


Plate 6 Olin Levi Warner, *Medallion of Joseph, Chief of the Nez Percé Indians*, bronze, 1889. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 380.



Plate 7 Olin Levi Warner, *Bronze Medallions of Columbia River Indians*, 1891. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 381.



Plate 8 Worthington Whittredge, *The Old Hunting Grounds*, oil on canvas, 1864. Source: Cheryl A. Cibulka, *Quiet Places: The American Landscapes of Worthington Whittredge* (Washington, D.C.: Adams Davidson Galleries, 1982), 44 plate 4.



Plate 9 Worthington Whittredge, *The Plains*, oil on canvas, 1868-70. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 133 plate 11.

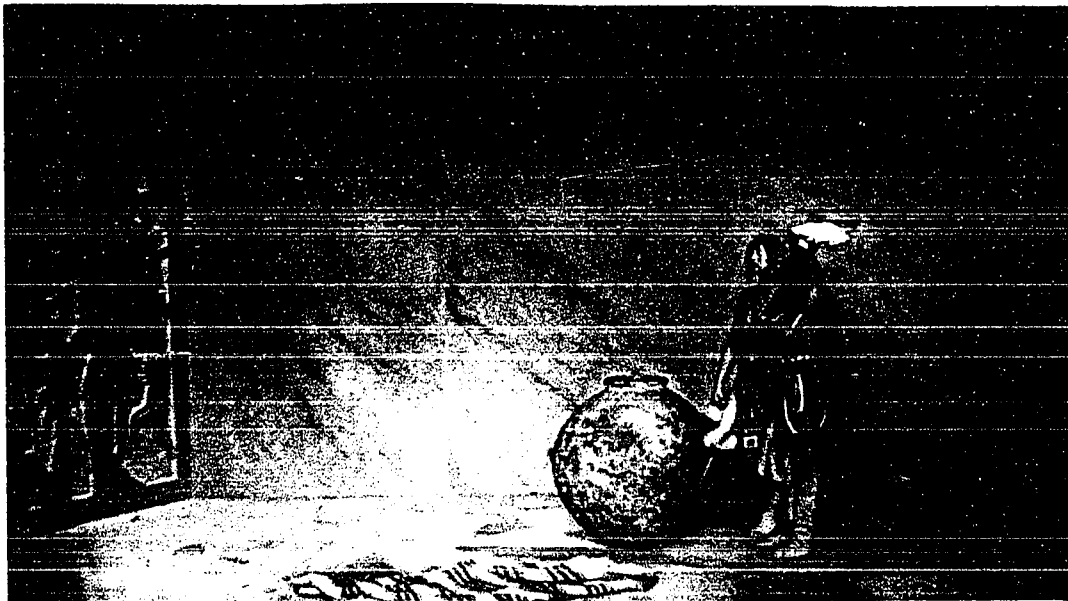


Plate 10 George de Forest Brush, *The Sculptor and the King*, oil on canvas, 1888. Source: *The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), plate 16.

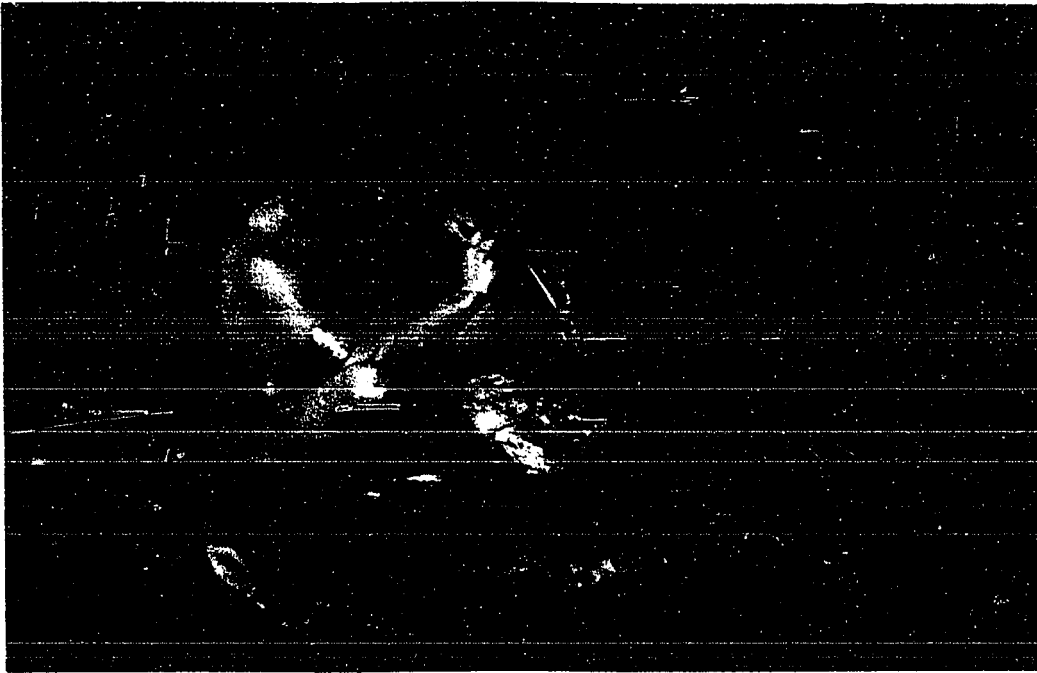


Plate 11 George de Forest Brush, *The Head Dress*, oil on canvas, 1890.
Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 162 plate 54.



Plate 12 George de Forest Brush, *The Indian and the Lily*, oil on canvas, 1887.
Source: H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 113 plate 127.



Plate 13 Douglas Tilden, *Indian Bear Hunt*, bronze, 1892. Photograph by Bruce B. Fogel.



Plate 14 De Cost Smith, *Sioux Lovers*, oil on canvas, circa 1892. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 319.



Plate 15 De Cost Smith, *Driven Back*, oil on canvas, 1892. Source: Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Ala.



Plate 16 Edwin W. Deming, *A Mourning Brave*, oil on canvas, circa 1892.
Source: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



Plate 17 Paul W. Bartlett, *The Ghost Dance*, bronze, 1889. Source: Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 146 plate XX.



Plate 18 Gutzon Borglum, *Indian Scouts*, bronze, 1891. Source: Carolyn Kinder Carr et al., *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 359.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives

- Borglum, Solon H. and Borglum Family Papers, 1965-1989. George Borglum. Reel 1054 in the Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Dallin, Cyrus Edwin Papers, 1883-1970. Mrs. E.B. Dallin. Reel 141 in the Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Dallin, Cyrus Edwin Papers, 1883-1970. Robbins Library, Arlington, Mass. Reel 179 in the Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Smith, De Cost Papers. Huntington Free Library and Reading Room. The Bronx, N.Y.
- Warner, Olin Levi Warner and Warner Family Papers, 1863-1962. Reels 3746, 3747 in the Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Books

- Abbott, Carl. *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*. Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1976.
- Ackerman, Gerald M. *The Life and Works of Jean-Léon Gérôme*. London: Sotheby, 1986.
- Albert Bierstadt: A Retrospective Exhibition*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1964.
- Albronda, Mildred. *Douglas Tilden: Portrait of a Deaf Sculptor*. Silver Spring, Md.: T.J. Publishers, 1980.
- The American Renaissance, 1876-1917*. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1976.
- Applebaum, Stanley. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: A Photographic Record*. New York: Dover, 1980.
- Art of the American West*. Birmingham, Ala.: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1983.

- The Artistic Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition.* Chicago: Monarch, 1892.
- Axelrod, Alan, ed. *The Colonial Revival in America.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1985.
- Bach, Ira J., Mary Lackritz Gray, and Mary Alice Malloy. *A Guide to Chicago's Public Sculpture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Badger, Rodney Reid. *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture.* Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.
- _____. *The World's Columbian Exposition: Patterns of Change and Control in the 1890's.* Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1975. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1985.
- Baigell, Matthew. *Albert Bierstadt.* New York: Watson-Guption, 1981.
- Ballinger, James K. *Frederic Remington.* New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1989.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art and Industry, as Viewed Through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.* 2 vols. Chicago: Bancroft, 1893.
- Barrows, John Henry, ed. *The World's Parliament of Religions.* 2 vols. Chicago: Parliament Publishing, 1893.
- Barsness, Larry. *The Bison in Art: A Graphic Chronicle of the American Bison.* N.p.: Northland Press in cooperation with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, 1977.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine, ed. *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992.
- Blanc, Charles. *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin: Architecture, Sculpture, Peinture.* Rev. ed. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1903.
- Blaugrund, Annette. *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition.* Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1989.

- Bloom, Sol. *The Autobiography of Sol Bloom*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1948.
- Bodlam, Alexander, and F.H. Trusdell, comp. *The Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition: A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expository Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894*. San Francisco: H.S. Crocker, 1894.
- Bogart, Michele H. *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Bowditch, Nancy Douglas. *George de Forest Brush: Recollections of a Joyous Painter*. Peterborough, N.H.: Noone House, William L. Bauhan, 1970.
- Broun, Elizabeth. *American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*. Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1976. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982.
- Bryant, William Cullen. *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*. 1903. Reprint with chronologies of Bryant's life and poems and bibliography of writings compiled by Henry C. Sturges, memoir by Richard Henry Stoddard. Roslyn Edition. New York: AMS Press, 1972.
- Buel, J.W. *The Magic City: A Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World's Fair and Its Treasures of Art, Including a Vivid Representation of the Famous Midway Plaisance*. Saint Louis, Mo.: Historical Publishing, 1894.
- Burg, David F. *Chicago's White City*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976.
- Butler, Ruth Mirolli. *Nineteenth Century French Sculpture: Monuments for the Middle Class*. Louisville, Ky.: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1971.
- Caffin, Charles H. *American Masters of Painting, Being Appreciations of Some American Painters*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1918.
- . *American Masters of Sculpture, Being Brief Appreciations of Some American Sculptors and Some Phases of Sculpture in America*. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1903.
- Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay, 1974.

- Carr, Carolyn Kinder, Robert W. Rydell, Brandon Brame Fortune, and Michelle Mead. *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993.
- Catlin, George. *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians: Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832-1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America*. 2 vols. 1844. Reprint. New York: Dover, 1973.
- Chateaubriand, François-René de. "Atala" and "René". Trans. Rayner Heppenstall. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- _____. *The Natchez, An Indian Tale*. 3 vols. 1827. New York: Howard Fertig, 1978.
- Cibulka, Cheryl A. *Quiet Places: The American Landscapes of Worthington Whittredge*. Washington, D.C.: Adams Davidson Galleries, 1982.
- Clifford, James. "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'." In *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 1. Ed. Hal Foster. Seattle: Bay Press, Dia Art Foundation, 1987.
- _____. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Coen, Rena Neumann. *The Indian as the Noble Savage in Nineteenth Century American Art*. Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1969. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1985.
- Cortissoz, Royal. *American Artists*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.
- Cory, Charles B. *Hunting and Fishing in Florida, Including a Key to the Water Birds Known to Occur in the State*. 2nd ed. 1896. Reprint. N.p.: Arno Press, 1970.
- Cranston, Maurice. *The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1754-1762*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Custer, Elizabeth B. *"Boots and Saddles," or Life in Dakota with General Custer*. 1885. Reprint. Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House, 1969.
- de Caso, Jacques. *David d'Angers: Sculptural Communication in the Age of Romanticism*. Trans. Dorothy Johnson and Jacques de Caso. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

- de Caso, Jacques, and Patricia B. Sanders. *Rodin's Sculpture: A Critical Study of the Spreckles Collection*. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1977.
- Dippie, Brian W. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Dominguez, Virginia. "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'." In *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 1. Ed. Hal Foster. Seattle: Bay Press, Dia Art Foundation, 1987.
- Dorsett, Lyle W. *The Queen City: A History of Denver*. Boulder: Pruett, 1977.
- The Düsseldorf Academy and the Americans*. Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1972.
- Erdoes, Richard, and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. *American Indian Myths and Legends*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Fairmount Park Art Association. *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone*. New York: Walker Publishing, 1974.
- Famous Paintings of the World: A Collection of Photographic Reproductions of Great Modern Masterpieces Including Nearly 100 Most Notable Paintings at the World's Columbian Exposition*. New York: Bryan, Taylor, 1894.
- Fink, Lois Marie. *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990.
- Fink, Lois Marie, and Joshua C. Taylor. *Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975.
- Flinn, John J. *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: Columbian Guide, 1893.
- Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. *Indians Abroad, 1493-1938*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943.
- Francis, Rell G. *Cyrus Dallin: Let Justice Be Done*. Springville, Utah: Springville Museum of Art, 1976.
- Fusco, Peter, and Horst W. Janson. *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.

- Gale, Robert L. *Thomas Crawford: American Sculptor*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.
- George de Forest Brush, 1855-1941, Master of the American Renaissance*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1985.
- Gerds, William H. *The Great American Nude: A History in Art*. New York: Praeger, 1974.
- Gilbert, James. *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopia of 1893*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Glanz, Dawn. *How the West Was Drawn: American Art and the Settling of the Frontier*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982.
- Goetzmann, William H., and William N. Goetzmann. *The West of the Imagination*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1986.
- Goode, James M. *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.: A Comprehensive Historical Guide*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974.
- Grunfeld, Frederick V. *Rodin: A Biography*. New York: Henry Holt, 1987.
- Gurney, George. *Olin Levi Warner (1844-1896): A Catalogue Raisonné of His Sculpture and Graphic Works*. Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1978. 3 vols. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982.
- Harris, Neil. *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Harris, Neil, Wim de Wit, James Gilbert, and Robert W. Rydell. *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893*. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993.
- Hartmann, Sadakichi. *A History of American Art*. 2 vols. Rev. ed. New York: Tudor Publishing, 1934.
- Hawthorne, Julian. *Humors of the Fair*. Chicago: E.A. Weeks, 1893.
- Hendricks, Gordon. *Albert Bierstadt, Painter of the American West*. New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, 1973.
- Hinsley, Curtis M., Jr. *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

- Hitchcock, Ripley, ed. *The Art of the World Illustrated in the Paintings, Statuary, and Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition*. 3 vols. New York: D. Appleton, 1894.
- Holley, Marietta. *Samantha at the World's Fair*. New York: Funk and Wagnall's, 1893.
- Honour, Hugh. *The European Vision of America*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1976.
- Horswell, Jane. *Bronze Sculpture of "Les Animaliers": Reference and Price Guide*. Woodridge, England: Antique Collectors Club, 1971.
- Howard, O.O. *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians*. Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington, 1907.
- Howells, William Dean. *The Altrurian Romances*. Introduction and notes by Clara Kirk and Rudolf Kirk, text established by Scott Bennet, edited by Edwin H. Cady, Ronald Gottesman, and David J. Nordloh. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.
- Hyatt, Marshall. *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881.
- Janson, Anthony F. *Worthington Whittredge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1824-1904*. Introduction and commentaries by Gerald M. Ackerman, essay by Richard Ettinghausen. Dayton: Dayton Art Institute, 1972.
- Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1824-1904, peinture, sculpteur et graveur: ses œuvres conservées dans les collections françaises publiques et privées*. Vesoul: City of Vesoul, 1981.
- Jenks, Tudor. *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls: Being the Adventures of Harry and Philip with Their Tutor, Mr. Douglass at the World's Columbian Exposition*. New York: Century, 1893.
- Jones, Eugene H. *Native Americans as Shown on the Stage, 1753-1916*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1988.

- Karp, Ivan, and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Kurtz, Charles M., ed. *Official Illustrations (Three Hundred and Thirty-six Engravings) from the Art Gallery of the World's Columbian Exposition*. Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1893.
- Lippard, Lucy. *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York: Pantheon, 1990.
- Lumley, Robert, ed. *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*. London: Routledge, Comedia, 1988.
- Mackay, James. *The Animaliers: A Collector's Guide to the Animal Sculptures of the 19th and 20th Centuries*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973.
- Mark, Joan. *Four Anthropologists: An American Science in Its Early Years*. New York: Science History Publications, 1980.
- Miller, David C., ed. *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Millet, Frank D., Will H. Low, J.A. Mitchell, W. Hamilton Gibson, and F. Hopkinson Smith. *Some Artists at the Fair*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.
- Miner, H. Craig. *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865-1907*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976.
- Minh-Ha, Trinh T. "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm'." In *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 1. Ed. Hal Foster. Seattle: Bay Press, Dia Art Foundation, 1987.
- Morgan, Lewis Henry. *Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization*. 1877. Ed. Leslie A. White. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964.
- Nash, Gerald. *Creating the West: Historical Impressions, 1890-1990*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.
- The National Sculpture Society Celebrates the Figure*. Ed. Jean Henry. New York: National Sculpture Society, 1987.

- Naylor, Maria, comp. and ed. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900*. 2 vols. New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973.
- Niederman, Sharon, ed. *A Quilt of Words: Women's Diaries, Letters and Original Accounts of Life in the Southwest, 1860-1960*. Boulder: Johnson, 1988.
- Outdoor Life: The Story of American Hunting and Firearms*. Rev. ed. New York: E.P. Dutton, Sunrise, 1976.
- Parry, Ellwood. *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art, 1590-1900*. New York: George Braziller, 1974.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey. *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*. 1953. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.
- Prown, Jules David, Nancy K. Anderson, William Cronon, Brian W. Dippie, Martha A. Sandweiss, Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, and Howard R. Lamar. *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father*. 2 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- _____. *Indian Peace Medals in American History*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971.
- _____. *Indian Policy in the United States: Historical Essays*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- The Quest for Unity: American Art Between World's Fairs, 1876-1893*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983.
- Ridpath, John Clark. *History of the United States: Prepared Especially for Schools*. 1876. Rev. grammar school ed. Cincinnati: Jones Brothers, 1880.
- Riedy, James L. *Chicago Sculpture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Robinson, Forrest G. *In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *Hunting the Grizzly and Other Sketches*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900.

- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discours*. Vol. 1 of *Œuvres Complètes de J.J. Rousseau*. Ed. Pierre René Auguis. Paris: Dalibon, 1825.
- Russett, Cynthia Eagle. *Darwin in America: The Intellectual Response, 1865-1912*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1976.
- Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Saint-Gaudens, Homer, ed. and ampl. *The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*. 2 vols. London: Andrew Melrose, 1913.
- Sanders, Patricia B. *The Haggin Collection*. Stockton, Calif.: Haggin Museum, 1991.
- _____. *Impressions of the Near East: Orientalist Art of the 19th Century*. Stockton, Calif.: Haggin Museum, 1988.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *The Indian Tribes of the United States: Their History, Antiquities, Customs, Religion, Arts, Language, Traditions, Oral Legends, and Myths*. Ed. Francis S. Drake. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1884.
- Shaff, Howard, and Audrey Karl Shaff. *Six Wars at a Time: The Life and Times of Gutzon Borglum, Sculptor of Mount Rushmore*. Sioux Falls, S.D.: Center for Western Studies, Augusta College, 1985.
- Shapiro, Michael Edward, Peter H. Hassrick, David McCullough, Doreen Bolger Burke, and John Seelye. *Frederic Remington : The Masterworks*. Saint Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum in association with the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyo., 1988.
- Sharp, Lewis. *John Quincy Adams Ward, Dean of American Sculpture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985.
- Shaw, Marian. *World's Fair Notes: A Woman Journalist Views Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition*. N.p.: Pogo Press, 1992.
- Slotkin, Richard. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1986.
- Smith, De Cost. *Indian Experiences*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1943.

- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Stead, William T. *If Christ Came to Chicago*. 1894. Reprint, with an introduction by Henry Wish. New York: Living Books, Clarion, 1964.
- Stocking, George W., ed. *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- _____. *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- Taft, Lorado. *The History of American Sculpture*. New York: Macmillan, 1903.
- Taylor, Joshua C. *America as Art*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976.
- Trachtenberg, Zev M. *Making Citizens: Rousseau's Political Theory of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Truettner, William H. *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.
- Truettner, William H., ed. *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Truman, Benjamin Cummings. *History of the World's Fair; Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception*. Chicago: E.C. Morse, 1893.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt, 1920.
- _____. *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Ed. Harold P. Simonson. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963.
- Viola, Herman J. *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.
- Washburn, Wilcomb E., comp. *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. 4 vols. New York: Random House, 1973.
- A Week at the Fair*. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1893.

- Weinberg, H. Barbara. *The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme*. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1984.
- _____. *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1991.
- Whittredge, Worthington. *Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge*. Ed. John Baur. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1942.
- The World's Congress of Religions: The Addresses and Papers Delivered before the Parliament and an Abstract of the Congresses*. Ed. J.W. Hanson. Chicago: W.B. Conkey, 1894.

Periodicals

- Armes, William Dallam. "California Artists III. Douglas Tilden, Sculptor." *Overland Monthly*, February 1898, 142-53.
- Boas, Franz. "Ethnology at the Fair." *Cosmopolitan*, September 1893, 607-09.
- Boime, Albert. "Patriarchy Fixed in Stone: Gutzon Borglum's Mount Rushmore." *American Art*, Winter/Spring 1991, 143-67.
- _____. "The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France." *Art Quarterly*, n.s. 1 (Autumn 1977): 1-39.
- Brush, George de Forest. "An Artist among the Indians." *Century*, May 1885, 55-57.
- Bush-Brown, Henry Kirke. "New York City Monuments." *Municipal Affairs* 3 (1899): 602-15.
- Deming, Edwin Willard, and De Cost Smith. "Sketching Among the Crow Indians." *Outing*, May 1894, 83-91.
- _____. "Sketching Among the Sioux." *Outing*, October 1893, 3-13.
- Dippie, Brian W. "Photographic Allegories and Indian Destiny." *Montana, the Magazine of Western History*, Summer 1992, 40-57.
- "Douglas Tilden." *The Silent Worker*, October 1894, 1-5.
- Eckford, Henry. "Olin Warner, Sculptor." *Century*, January 1889, 391-401.
- Ely, Catherine Beach. "George de Forest Brush." *Art in America*, June 1923, 200-07.

- Ewers, John C. "An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of North American Indians." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 33 (October 1949): 222-35.
- Grinnell, George Bird. "The Last of the Buffalo." *Scribner's Magazine*, September 1892, 267-86.
- Hale, Henry. "Hiawatha Played by Real Indians." *The Critic*, July 1905, 40-49.
- Henderson, John R. "The Indian and Buffalo Statue on the State Capitol Grounds." *Colorado Magazine*, September 1936, 183-86.
- "The Indians in American Art." *The Crayon*, January 1856, 28.
- Kellar, H. "Magic Among the Red Men." *The North American Review* 157 (1893): 591-600.
- Long, E. Waldo. "Dallin, Sculptor of Indians." *The World's Work*, September 1927, 563-68.
- Magnuson, Jon. "Selling Native American Soul." *The Christian Century*, 22 November 1989, 1084-87.
- Merrick, Lulu. "Brush's Indian Pictures." *International Studio*, December 1922, 186-192.
- Mezquida, Anna Blake. "The Door of Yesterday: An Intimate View of the Vanishing Race at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition." *Overland Monthly*, July 1915, 2-11.
- Miller, Donald L. "The White City." *American Heritage*, July/August 1993, 70-87.
- Monroe, Lucy. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 6 May 1893, 297-98.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 27 May 1893, 351.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 10 June 1893, 391-92.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 1 July 1893, 12-13.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 29 July 1893, 76.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 5 August 1893, 91-92.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 12 August 1893, 115.

- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 19 August 1893, 129-30.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 26 August 1893, 140-41.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 16 September 1893, 185-86.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 23 September 1893, 199-200.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 7 October 1893, 232-33.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 14 October 1893, 243-44.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 28 October 1893, 274-75.
- _____. "Chicago Letter." *The Critic*, 4 November 1893, 291.
- Moorhead, Warren K. "Notes and Comments: A New Science at the Fair." *The North American Review* 157 (1893): 507-09.
- Morgan, Joan B. "The Indian Paintings of George de Forest Brush." *American Art Journal* 15 (Spring 1983): 60-73.
- Moses, L.G. "Indians at the Midway: Wild West Shows and the Indian Bureau at World's Fairs, 1893-1904." *South Dakota History* 21 (Fall 1991): 205-29.
- Pokagon, Simon. "The Future of the Red Man." *Forum*, August 1897, 698-708.
- Riordin, Roger. "Tendancies in French Sculpture." *The Art Amateur*, September 1896, 65-66.
- Saint-Gaudens, Homer. "George de Forest Brush." *The Critic*, August 1905, 134-35.
- Smith, Minna C. "George de Forest Brush." *The International Studio*, April 1908, 47-55.
- Starr, Frederick. "Anthropology at the World's Fair." *The Popular Science Monthly*, September 1893, 610-21.
- Sund, Judy. "Columbus and Columbia in Chicago, 1893: Man of Genius Meets Generic Woman." *Art Bulletin* 75 (September 1993): 443-66.
- Weittenkampf, Frank. "How Indians Were Pictured in Earlier Days." *The New-York Historical Quarterly* 33 (October 1949): 212-21.

Newspapers

- Cox, Mary McHenry. "A Trip to the World's Fair and a Chippewa Reservation." *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 8 August 1893.
- "Fears of Another Ute Massacre." *New York Times*, 31 December 1879, 1.
- "Fears of Indian Troubles." *New York Times*, 15 November 1890, 2.
- "A Gift from Women." *Rocky Mountain News (Denver)*, 6 February 1892, 1.
- "The Ghost Dance." *New York Times*, 22 November 1890, 2.
- "The Ghost Dance: How the Indians Work Themselves Up to Fighting Pitch." *New York Times*, 22 November 1890, 2.
- "The Indian in Politics." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 May 1893, 6, 13.
- "The Last of the Buffaloes." *New York Times*, 27 September 1890, 8.
- "Miss Sickles Makes Charges: Tells Why There Are No Civilized Indians at the Fair." *New York Times*, 8 October 1893, 19.
- "More Ghost Dancing." *New York Times*, 31 December 1891, 5.
- "Ouray's Ultimatum Accepted." *New York Times*, 23 December 1879, 2.
- "The Massacre by the Utes." *New York Times*, 21 November 1879, 1.
- "The New Indian Messiah." *New York Times*, 16 November 1890, 11.
- "The Sioux Outbreak." *New York Times*, 19 November 1890, 2.
- "Their Last Ghost Dance." *New York Times*, 18 April 1890, 1.
- Thompson, James S. "Buffalo and Indian." *Rocky Mountain News (Denver)*, 14 May 1893.
- "Troops Moving Forward: The Restless Indians Will be Surrounded To-day." *New York Times*, 20 November 1890, 1.
- "Work of Indian Children." *New York Times*, 12 November 1893, 18.

Government Documents

Congressional Record. 46th Cong., 3rd sess., 1881. Vol. 11, pt. 1.

Congressional Record. 49th Cong., 2nd sess., 1887. Vol. 18, pt. 1.

Congressional Record. 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935. Vol. 79, pts. 2, 3, 6, 7.

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census. *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)*. Prepared by Francis A. Walker. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872.

_____. *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892.

_____. *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894.