

METHODS AND MOTIVATIONS: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF
THE NATIVE AMERICAN BY EURO-AMERICANS

by

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ABSTRACT

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The Native American image is often used in the United States today in such areas as film, marketing, art and literature. This use can be seen as a result of a Euro-American history of claiming ownership to a person, and the subsequent appropriation of a symbolic image or person, which then becomes iconographic in its representation of an American spirit. The problem rest in the continued use of a symbolic Native American. The history of this creation is so much entrenched in Euro-American history and has been a part of the Euro-American identity for so long that many Euro-Americans refuse to give up this icon or their

ownership of it, because by doing so they feel perhaps, as if they are giving up part of themselves. The collective ownership of the Native American icon, and the perception of a vanishing race, combined with a long history of use and misuse helps to reinforce the icon's continued use.

Dedicated to my
Father who always
believed in me

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CHAPTER ONE

The Native American image is often used in the United States today in such areas as film, marketing, art and literature. This use can be seen as a result of a Euro-American history of claiming ownership to a person, and the subsequent appropriation of a symbolic image or person, which then becomes iconographic in its representation of an American spirit. The problem rests in the continued use of a symbolic Native American icon. The history of this creation is so much entrenched in Euro-American history and has been a part of the Euro-American identity for so long that many Euro-Americans refuse to give up this icon or their ownership of it, because by doing so they feel perhaps, as if they are giving up part of themselves. Whereas the iconic Native American is still being used, images of other symbolic minority groups such as Step-n-fetch-it. Little Black Sambo, and the Frito Bandito have been largely dropped from use in the public arena. The collective ownership of the Native American icon, and the perception of a vanishing race, combined with a long history of use and misuse helps to reinforce the icon's continued use.

The acquisition of the Native American image by Euro- Americans' is only one of the many ways in which Native Americans are and have been mistreated. By having knowledge about how this one particular form of mistreatment came to be, then perhaps through this new knowledge and insight, the reader may gain an understanding of why the image was used in history, and why it continues to be used as an icon in the United States. It is hoped that the reader will benefit

from this research in that they will become more aware of not only society's perceptions of the Native American image, but also of their own perceptions and ideology associated with that image.

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the psychological reasons for the adoption and the persistence of the iconography of the Native American, followed by a discussion of early Euro-American perceptions of the Native American that strengthen that iconography. This will be followed by a description of the acquisition of the Native American image by Euro-Americans through social institutions and through masquerading as Indian. Also discussed will be the use of the icon by artists and the perpetuation of the icon such art allowed, followed by a discussion of the icon on display. This chapter will conclude with a discussion on the icon as a marketing tool.

The Psychology

Non-native people, more specifically Euro-Americans in the United States, have been adopting the identity of Native Americans before the United States had even been formed. Deloria (1998) calls this adoption of identity as the act of “playing Indian.” The actual acquisition of costume and language started long before the well-known and historical Boston Tea Party. “Playing Indian” was a part of American history, even when the Native American people were forbidden by law to take on certain roles, speak their native languages or practice their belief systems, Euro-Americans also have acquired the visual image of the Native American through advertising and artistic expression.

The adoption of an identity Indian can be viewed, in part, as a rejection of a European identity and the acclimation of an American one. D.H. Lawrence linked the 20th century American feeling of incompleteness to an aboriginal spirit of place, stating “There has been all the time in the White American soul, a dual feeling about the Indian... the desire to extirpate [him] and the contradictory desire to glorify him” (cited in Deloria, 1998, p. 4). For decades America has struggled with the question of extermination or inclusion of the Native American. Perhaps even today, there is a small part of the Euro-American soul which as suggested by Lawrence is incomplete, that still has no aboriginal place, and that in attempting to find that place, America distorts its own image of the Native American.

The Native American, perceived as being born out of this newly discovered wilderness, represented not only a model of survival, but was also viewed as having a life free from social and religious constraints. Within this perspective, Rousseau surmised that the Puritans were able to create their own type of enlightenment. This enlightenment was one of self-criticism, in that one tried to maintain the Puritanical life style, despite the attractiveness of the wilderness. The freedom the new wilderness represented was combined with the conquest of the savages who needed their souls to be saved. It is my intent to show that the Native American was a vehicle, which allowed the unconscious Euro-American mind to give form to their desires. The Native American was the means by which the Euro-American could reject the impulses of their

unconscious mind. If one takes into account Jacobs (1992) interpretation of Freud the rejecting of the Native American and the freedom he/she represented by the Puritans and other colonists were actually acts of sublimating their desires.

Jacobs (1992) discussed Freud's sublimation as feeling restrained in relation to an original object. Thus, psychological energy is redirected toward a different object and a different aim. Looking then at the early Euro-American, the original object of repressed desires could be seen as the Euro-Americans' feelings of humility and helplessness in a new and unknown land. The psychological energy would then derive from the love or the hate, the "dual feeling about the Indian" (Deloria, 1998, p. 3), the feelings of helplessness manifesting itself. The different object Freud spoke of could be viewed as that of the Native American who was the bearer of the Euro-Americans' self doubt. The different aim was then to reflect love by acquisition of Native American traits, or to reflect hate by extermination of the Native American people.

The Attractiveness of the Native American

From the moment Columbus set foot on North America, the indigenous inhabitants have spoken "for the spirit of the continent" (Deloria, 1998, p. 3). In seeking this spirit, I would suggest that Puritans saw the Native American as representing the freedom they unconsciously yearned for. Early British colonists adopted Indian manners and techniques partly out of necessity, but also because "the Native People provided models of a proud, free, fiercely independent

lifestyle that was appropriated by their nemeses...” (MacDonald, MacDonald, & Sheridan, 2000, p. 1) However even the appropriation of Indian techniques such as planting indigenous crops, or hunting in the forests could be viewed as meeting those wishful impulses of the unconscious mind. That unconsciously the adoption of Indian culture was not out of survival, but rather the unconscious proclamation of a desire to be more like the Native American. In itself, the concept of wilderness may have been a new challenge to the early settlers. The realization of survival was also very humbling to the Puritan, and one could also look at the wilderness as an exotic and awe-inspiring challenge whose social freedoms had a having your cake and eating it too attitude. This attitude was connected to the American identity by D.H. Lawrence and is often synonymous with American culture today, an attitude which may have been viewed as over indulgent by the Puritan and was a sentiment they fought to repress.

Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national self. “Coded as freedom, however, wild Indians proved equally attractive, setting up a “have-the-cake-and-eat-it-too” dialectic of simultaneous desire and repulsion. (Deloria, 1998, p. 3).

The Indian Captive

The desire and repulsion felt toward the Native American was made evident to the Puritans by the refusal of some Indian captives to return to civilization. D.H. Lawrence wrote that

There must be something in their (the Indians) social bond singularity captivating, and far superior to anything boasted among us: for thousands of Europeans are Indians, and we have no examples of even one of those aborigines having from choice become Europeans. (Lawrence, 1962, p. 65).

Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur also pondered this strange phenomenon, claiming, "it is easier to turn a white man into Indian than Indian into white men" (cited in Lawrence, 1962, p. 49). Crèvecoeur wrote letters to France, which contained a description of his time in America, and they became quite popular. Crèvecoeur's writings, as interpreted by D.H. Lawrence, perhaps described what many Americans felt or imagined of the Native American.

The Indians, the noble child of Nature. Crèvecoeur's inner self-made world he wanted of course to know the dark savage way of life within the unlimited sensual impulse, he wanted to know as the Indians and savages know, darkly, and in terms of otherness. (Lawrence, 1962, p. 63).

Those captives who did not return, may have been considered by Freud, as examples of the irrational and frightening behavior one succumbs to when their unconscious impulses are met. The unreturned captive had entered an uncivilized world. If you then take into consideration Freud's thoughts that civilization "has required the suppression of instinctual needs" (cited in Jacobs, 1992, p. 60), then the unreturned captive had become part of the uncivilized, unsuppressed, and an uninhabited world of the Native American.

Lincoln (1913) discussed that while many captives refused to leave their captivity, others returned and with them came their graphic and tragic accounts of their perils. The written accounts tell of captivity amongst a savage and cruel society, of inhumane treatment by a godless people who maimed, tortured and killed for recreation. Early written accounts show that American settlers were in constant fear of the Native American. Mary Rowlandson wrote of her 1675 captivity,

Oh the roaring and singing and dancing and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell...All of them stript naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very heads right out. (Cited in Lincoln, 1913, p. 121).

Despite this and many other accounts describing a “living hell,” the Native American still had its attractiveness to the Euro-American. In Mary Rowlandson’s account of her captivity, she wrote that she found strength in God. The Native American as an “anti-God” figure may have been part of what was attractive to the Euro-American about the Indian. The Native American offered to the Puritan soul and mind a challenge to fight the wickedness and attractiveness found in the world. The refusal to remain among the uninhabited, and return to civilization perhaps was symbolic of the ability to remain repressed, that unacceptable, wishful impulse’s Freud would discuss. In closing her diary of her

captivity, which was entitled *Narrative of the captivity and restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, she wrote,

Affliction I wanted, and affliction I had full measure (I thought) pressed and running over: yet I see, when God calls a Person to any thing, and through never to many difficulties yet he is fully able to carry then through and make them see and say they have been gainers thereby. (cited in Lincoln, 1913, p. 167)

Here you see an example of the Native American as an affliction offered by God, an affliction that, when met and conquered, the bearer of the affliction is better for it. The captive has won the battle against the wicked yearnings of the unconscious.

There is something attractive about a person (the Native American), an object (the wilderness), or an idea (the bloody savage) that challenges one's faith and puts a person to the test. People have a need or a desire to be validated, either by themselves or by others, and the attractiveness of the Native American was that they allowed the Early American settlers to validate themselves as deserving of God's favor by one's success in being able to reject that which was found to be attractive. "The Indians were a close and living symbol of anti-Christian license and devility" (MacDonald, MacDonald, & Sheridan, 2000, p. 4). Cotton Mather referred to the Indian often in his sermons as what was forbidden and as a "spetiall instrument sent of God to punish errant souls in the eternal struggle between good and evil" (cited in Bordewich, 1996, p. 35).

The Nobel Savage

In reading MacDonald, MacDonald, and Sheridan (2000), as well as Brodewich (1996), one can surmise that during Puritan times, the Indian was a counter-figure to God and the temptation to live such a life was undeniable. Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, offered a different view than that of Cotton Mather. In 1636, Roger Williams wrote, "Boast not proud English of the birth and blood. Thy brother the Indian is by both as good. Of one blood, God made him and thee and all, as wise, as fair, as strong as personal" (cited in Bordewich, 1996, p. 37). John Locke implored that the Indian was good because he was not burdened with society. Two different points of view, the Indian as the devil or as would begin to grow. Such a contradiction can be quite a challenge. When something is a challenge, people often have a need to know more, for the more they know, the less the challenge. The idea that the Native American could also be good, allowed for those repressed thoughts to become actualized. This need to know, the attractiveness and the freedom of the Native American, was to become part of the American subconscious and the need to have it all, of wanting both civilization and order. The freedom the Native American represented was to become a crucial part of the American identity, manifesting itself into an icon.

In contrast to Roger Williams's wise and fair Indian, General Sheridan's invective "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" first remarked in 1868 is reminiscent to what D. H. Lawrence called "the dual feeling about the Indian"

(cited in Deloria, 1998, p. 4). This invective is also reflective of the ideology that questioned if the Indian was to be seen as one's brother or Cotton Mather's devil incarnate. This love-hate relationship exists in some minds even today. Looking at Freud, one could hypothesize that the repressed feeling of love was expressed by the actions of hate.

In trying to create themselves, the American people searched for an identity they could call their own. John Locke claimed "the invented Indian was made to serve the arbitrary notion that man had been born noble and good and had been corrupted only by monarchy and the constraints of sophisticated European society" (cited in Bordewich, 1996, p. 34). The attractiveness of the Native American, their prowess as a hunter, the freedom their life was perceived to have contained, began to outweigh the savageness, as American entered the 1700's and a Revolutionary War was in the future. Playing Indian would give material form to the ideology. The ideology of a search for an un-British all-American identity, and what was more un-British than the Native American, what person has greater freedom than the Native American? "Playing Indian" can be seen as contradiction; the Euro-American actor is representing both the American self and at the same time the American other. The contradiction of "playing of Indian" was that it represented both active and repressed thoughts, of what one loved and at the same time what one hated.

As America grew, as time moved forward the suppressed desires of the Euro-American mind, of having for themselves civilization, freedoms, and being

uninhibited would change its expression from Puritan denial, to the acquisition of those miss perceived characteristics, through the “playing of Indian”. A visual icon would then become representative of the Euro-American’s repressed thoughts and desires.

The Untamed, Uncivilized Indian Other

The colonists saw the Native American as someone outside of the accepted reality. The Native American was something other than oneself, representative of what one should be denied and also representative of what one desired. The image of the Indian in early Euro-American minds was created out of misconceptions, misinterpretations and through the distorted views on how to perceive the Indians.

MacDonald, Macdonald, and Sheridan (2000) discussed the topic of misconceptions and cultural differences. Misconceptions such as the Native American being rude and uncivilized came out of the simple fact that these two peoples, the European and the Native American, came from two different cultures. “The simple inability of many settlers to accommodate to a different set of rules for polite behavior certainly created a good part of the image of the hostile Indian with bad intentions” (MacDonald, MacDonald, & Sheridan, 2000, p. 3).

Europeans’ misinterpreted Native American actions. MacDonald, MacDonald, and Sheridan (2000) suggest that even the simple action of not knocking on the door before entering a home was over magnified into a threat

and an invasion of comfort and safety. The stereotype of the bloodthirsty savage can also be linked to the cultural differences of responsibility. European society believed in individual responsibilities for one's actions. If a person committed a crime, that person was the one at fault. However, in many of the Native American colonial communities tribal cultures believed in a collective responsibility. Therefore, if a member of another tribe, such as the white tribe, murdered or committed a crime against a Native American, then the punishment for the crime could be placed on any member of the tribe at fault. This ideology was not the gang mentality of you hurt one of mine I hurt one of yours. Individualistic revenge was not a cultural standard. What Euro-Americans saw as savage revenge were actions of group benefit and survival and not personal satisfaction.

The Reverend William Bartramb, who accompanied Henry Rowe Schoolcraft on his exploration of the upper Mississippi, wrote in his diary of 1832, "Selfishness is a prominent characteristic of the squaw... squaws are horribly filthy in their persons as well as sluttish in their habit" (cited in Mason, 1958, p. 319) In Bartramb's account, you see his view of an unclean Indian, a view shared by other Euro-Americans where often the word filthy and savage went hand-in-hand. The rather simple cultural difference of food was also a cultural proponent that widened the gap between white and Native American and helped to strengthen the white's misconception of the Indian being less than. The Pilgrims, I was told by my elementary school teachers were thankful for the corn

on that first Thanksgiving day, but what I was not informed was that despite the usefulness of Native American culinary habits, many other habits were considered unacceptable. Reverend Batweb wrote about his disgust of the Native American cooking habits and how a female Native American licked the lid of the stew pot. Batweb went on to write. “ There I saw more of the habits of Indian neatness. To see them eat is enough to disgust forever even a hungry man” (cited in Mason, 1958, p. 321). Mary Rowlandson’s account described her food to be vile and her amazement of how God enabled the Native American to eat all sorts of manner of foods.

Euro-Americans also misconceived the Native American as a heathen and unchristian. This religious difference may have been the worst misconception. “ The visual and mental stereotypes of Native American as uncivilized, godless savages provided the rationalization for their slaughter and destruction” (Desjarlait, 1993, p. 3). Mary Rowlandson herself used the words “a lively resemblance of hell” (cited in Lincoln, 1913, p. 121) in her account of her captivity. Almost 75 years later Benjamin Franklin would write in his autobiography, a description of Native Americans which is strikingly similar to Mary Rowlandson’s.

Their dark-colored bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with fire brands, accompanied by their horrid yellings formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined. (Franklin, 1941, p. 192).

Franklin's description demonstrated the continuation of the ideology of the Native American as a savage and as a challenge to Christianity.

To the Puritans, the Indians were as Cotton Mather implied a counter-figure to God. Not only did the perception of the heathen provide reason for the destruction of the Indian, but also provided for the justification for the spiritual salvation of the Indian. Missionaries had a people to save, but in the process of this salvation, they changed a culture and helped to perpetuate the idea that the culture the Indians lived was one to be discarded for the more favorable white culture. The "dual feeling" towards the Indian which Deloria (1998) wrote can be made evident in part by Freud's feelings towards religion. Freud wrote that every religion 'is a religion of love for all those whom it embraces: while cruelty and intolerance towards those who do not belong to it are natural to every religion' (cited in Jacobs 1992, p. 60-61). Missionaries embraced those Native Americans who "converted" to Christianity, the act of conversion helping to create a more civilized man.

The simple cultural difference of dress was another strong trait that help to create the icon. In short, the Native Americans dressed differently than the white Pilgrims and colonist. Due to the environment and materials available, the indigenous peoples of American at times wore less then their white counterparts. For the Puritan's whose restrained lifestyle had little room for sexual license, the uncovered body of the Native American was scandalous. Freud stated that the cost of civilization is "inhibition of sexuality and aggression " (cited in Jacobs,

1992, p. 60) The Bible itself states “Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they realized they were naked; so they sewed fig leaves together and made coverings for themselves.” (Genesis 3:7) The Native American could have been viewed as either a creature of God whose eyes have not been open, or a living reminder of original sin. If one takes into consideration Freud’s statement, the Native American was uncivilized because they had not yet paid the price of acquiring civilization that the Puritans had. The price the Puritans paid was constrained sexuality and aggression.

“Playing Indian” as a Social Phenomenon

What is believed by Deloria (1998), to be the first recorded event of “playing Indian” in New England occurred in 1734, only 59 years after Mary Rowlandson’s graphic accounts of captivity. A group of colonists dressed as Indians forced themselves into a meeting of the Governor and British soldiers to protest the new British Mast Tree Law. The disguised colonist left the British soldiers beaten, and escaping to their canoes. In 1768 the *Boston Evening Post* described in an editorial twenty to thirty men disguised as Indians rioting over a land dispute. What is the most well known and written about episode of “playing Indian” occurred on December 16, 1773, and is known as The Boston Tea Party. “In the national iconography, the Tea Party is a catalytic moment, the first drumbeat in the long cadence of rebellion through which Americans have redefined themselves as something other than British colonists.” (Deloria, 1998, p. 2).

The “something other” referred Deloria,(1998) often was the Native American. In donning Mohawk dress, the Patriots “if they did not care so much about actual disguise, they care immensely about the idea of the disguise and its powerful imputation of Indian identity” (Deloria, 1998, p. 6). “The colonist appropriation of the Indian figure to confront British authority signified both their acceptance of their emerging American identity and their denial of the British heritage” (MacDonald, MacDonald, & Sheridan, 2000, p. 10). The denial as John Locke put it as the “constraints of European society” (Bordewich, 1996, p. 34) and the acceptance of the freedoms the American society contained. The Boston Tea Party was not the moment American identity was formed; it was, in a sense, a meeting of numerous ideas, needs, and perceptions which would continue to be formed and re-formed: Ideas not only about what an American was and is, but also, ideas and misperceptions of what a Native American was. D.H. Lawrence said, “You can’t change your nature and mode of consciousness like changing your shoes...Years go by and centuries must elapse before you have finished...It’s a long and half secret process (cited in Deloria, 1998, p. 9).

Playing Indian as Political Protest

“Playing Indian,” according to Deloria (1998) allowed misrule to occur. It allowed misrule to be performed in a way in which the Euro-American actors did not need to take full ownership or responsibility for their actions, for they were in part assuming a role. Deloria (1998) also suggests that the idea or use of misrule stems from the old world traditions of tar and feathering in the Northern

colonies, and from bacchanalian parties in the middle colonies. "Playing Indian" as a political endeavor allowed the Patriots to take the old world traditions one step farther and use them for personal and political gain. Traditions of carnival and misrule, combined with the appropriated Indian, created an American platform for political protest. "Whether aimed at British officers or colonial landlords, misrule traditions often performed in Indian dress remained a vital mode of American political protest for more than a century" (Deloria, 1998, p. 13).

This taking on of the image of the Native American allowed political protestors and rioters to have a unified identify, even though their reasons and motivations may have been different. The reasons the participants were rioting may have been different, but the goal was essentially the same, and dressing as Indian not only created a unified force, but a force that brought about images of the savage to be feared as well as the freedom from social constraints the Native American enjoyed and the Euro-American longed for.

Playing Indian as Celebratory

Adopting Indian dress for political protest was not the only arena one would find the Euro-American taking on the image of the Native American. In Colonial Pennsylvania, colonists dressed as Indians for May Day celebrations, and in New Orleans during Mardi Gras celebrations, were even today the American in Indian disguise can still be found. In these circumstances the image of the Native American had gone from an image to be feared, to one in which to revel. The carnival created a temporary experience of life as something

other than it was, where boundaries were broken down and anarchy was possible. These festivals in which colonists played Indian allowed for a public display of the new American identity and a developing national one. Here politics and play overlapped. Deloria (1998) suggests that during the 17th century, the Puritans had repressed organized holidays, hoping that this would reduce misrule. There may have been somewhat of a carryover of this repression and misrule into the 18th century. Not only did the Colonists adopt the Indian image to experience the freedom associated with it, but also in that donning of a disguise, they hid their identity. Thus, in a small sense they were able to separate themselves from the reveling and misrule, and in turn feel less guilt from having partaken in it. The unconscious desires to imitate the Indian were hidden from their conscious mind by the wearing of a mask or costume. Indian disguise allowed a person to cross the boundaries of law and became the “Indianization of misrule” (Deloria, 1998, p. 25).

Tammany

Out of this notion of misrule and festival, a more organized adoption of the Indian image was created. May First, a celebration of the farmer and of spring, would also become King Tammany’s Day. May Day, I intend to show, would become the guise in which one could sublimate one’s adoration for the icon. Tamenend was a Delaware Indian chief who, in 1682, allowed William Penn access to woods and rivers in the Delaware/Pennsylvania area. In a description of the agreement with Tamenend, Voltaire said, “Both the Quaker pledge and the

reply of Tammany have never been equated for the sincerity of their promises of brotherhood and mutual understanding” (cited in Rosenstiel, 1983, p. 58).

Tamenend's popularity grew, and in 1734 members of the Schuylkill Fishing Company of New Hampshire formed a sporting club on what Deloria,(1998), Rosentsiel, (1983) and Joesphy, (1984) refer to as the land Tammenend allowed William Penn access to. Deloria (1998), writes that every May First, the people of the Schuylkill Fishing Company would have a large feast and declare the day King Tammany's Day. The Sporting Club of the Schuylkill Fishing Company caught on, and many similar clubs based on the idolatry and brotherhoods of Tammenend were formed. These American Tammany Societies began taking part in May Day celebrations in towns and villages. By 1747 the image of the Indian as a political vehicle had been adopted by sporting clubs in the middle colonies. “Kwanio che keeteru” was a popular canon which, when translated from its Delaware, meant “this is my right I will defend it” (Deloria, 1998, p. 4).

Tammany, a figure discussed by Rosenstiel (1984) and Deloria (1998) became the “tutelar saint of America” (Deloria, 1998, p. 4) in 1765, coincidentally the same year as the passage of the Stamp Act. Again the Indian is seen as a political figure. King Tammany, guardian of America represented the strength and perseverance of the American spirit. King Tammany martyred himself by refusing to leave his home even after his enemies had set fire to it. King Tammany also represented a new world that was no longer egalitarian, but a place of freedom. King Tammany was said to have been a great hunter by

members of the sporting clubs, and thus a role model. From reading Deloria's (1998) book and upon reflecting on such myths as Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest hunting could be viewed as a political move. The new world was no longer egalitarian, anyone could hunt, and since the Native Americans (King Tammany) were such excellent hunters, they were a natural example to be followed. This idea helps to explain the elevation of Tammany to sainthood by a sporting club and not by the church. Hunting could be equated with equality, and hunting could also be equated with the Native American. Here the notion of hunting (the Indian) and equality (freedom), intertwined the two concepts on equal footing in the minds of Tammany members.

In his book *Playing Indian*, Deloria (1998) chronicles and describes the transformation of Schuylkill. By 1773, the sporting clubs of Tammany had become fraternal organizations, and the Philadelphia Sons of Saint Tammany was created. May Day celebrations became more formal and elaborate, having rituals and elaborate Indian customs as part of the festivities. The dressing as Indian also became more formal as the act shifted from pure misrule and carnival to intellectual and political. Dressing as Indian was not only a visual protest, but it became an intellectual symbol. In interpreting Deloria's (1998) writing one could conclude that dressing as Indian was asserting an American identity and ideology that coincided with the freedom the image represented. The use of Indian costume helped to create a shared national identity. After all the Native

Americans were the indigenous inhabitants and no other place could lay claim to them.

Dressing as Indian did have its drawbacks. After the Revolutionary War ended and freedom from Britain had been obtained, the symbolic image of the Native American as representing freedom of “kwanio che keeteru” (Deloria, 1998, p.4) was no longer necessary as a political rebellion. “Kwanio che keeteru,” “this is my right I will defend it” is perhaps a foreshadowing of the American right to bear arms, a right given in the Constitution which even today the NRA will quote in its protests of handgun laws, The NRA proclaims its own “kwanio che keeteru.”

By the end of the revolution it was no longer needed to play the Indian as the patriot. However, as an image of protest, drawing back to those Puritanical accounts of bloody devilish savages, the Indian was still a mode of rebellion. A white man in Indian disguise was to be feared just as the real Native Americans were to be feared no matter how attractive they may be. In 1792, as part of the Whiskey Tax Revolt Deloria (1998) describes in *Playing Indian*, how twenty men dressed as Indians broke into a tax collector's house. Also after America gained its independence from Great Britain, the difficulties with the Native American population began to increase, and there was some negativeness that went with the image. Here is a contradiction, the Indian representing both the American self and the American other. The playing of Indian during the Revolutionary War could be viewed as a prelude to the real revolution against the Native American.

Now the American identity was linked with the image of the Indian, an image that was partly created out of myths and legends.

Even if the Revolutionary War had ended the need to prove un-British identity and to prove the patriot, there was still a need for the members of Tammany and other fraternal organizations to dress as Indian. The donning of Indian costume was now an ideological and intellectual method of validating oneself as an American. Perhaps the Euro-American mind still, as D.H. Lawrence philosophized, had no aboriginal place to which to secure its identity and the continuation of “playing Indian” was truly an expression of this repressed feeling. The conscious mind knew that the end of the Revolutionary War had given the American identity validity but the unconscious mind was perhaps still searching for its identity. Tammany was still going strong after the Revolution, and by 1789 the Tammany Society of New York had almost 500 members. Tammany branches could also be found in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Ohio.

These societies became more elaborate and more secretive after the Revolutionary War. Members dressed in a variety of regalia and had secret names. The society members walked in Indian file, wore Indian costumes, painted and smeared their faces, and carried bows and arrows and smoking pipes, which they passed around after the twelfth toast as a sign of friendship and peace. (Deloria, 1998, p. 46).

The Growth of Fraternal Organizations

The emphasis for fraternal organizations changed to the historic, to a nostalgic look at what was. The more the white fraternal brothers played Indian, the wider the distance between white society and the real Indian became. While still searching for the true American identity by playing Indian, these fraternal organizations became more Republican, the membership drawing from higher up the social ladder. Just as Voltaire surmised about the brotherhood of Tammany and Penn in 1682, so too does Lothrop Stoddard (1931) suggest that brotherhood was also an important part to fraternal organizations. With this Republican shift, there came an increased involvement in politics. Society members felt that they should have something to say in the government's handling of Indians. Asbury's (1928), Stoddard's (1931), and Deloria's (1998) writings all describe how Tammany members believed that they had a special kinship to the Native American and that the knowledge and familiarity they had with Native American life, no matter how misinterpreted or misconstrued, made them better equipped to make decisions and policies that pertained to the Native American. The Saint Tammany Society gradually shifted its focus toward Columbus as a secondary patron, but this move did not improve the images of savagery people associated, not only with the Native American, but also with Tammany.

With the War of 1812, the need for an American identity helped to create another fraternal organization called The Society of Redman. The Society of

Redman, Deloria (1998) describes, kept secret the Indian mysteries, and this helped them avoid anti-Indian feelings. They had secret ceremonies, coded names, and organizational hierarchies. The Society of Redman was short lived, disbanding in 1832 and reinventing itself into the Improved Order of Red Men. The Improved Order of Red Men was an organization aimed at temperance and a rededication to American history.

Another fraternal organization discussed in *Playing Indian* was called Indians of the New Confederacy and was founded by Lewis Henry Morgan in 1843. Morgan's organization was dedicated to the examination of the Native American as a real person with a valid culture and included a search for authenticity with the organization. Deloria (1998) describes The New Confederacy as partly a literary organization. Morgan's followers were not donning the image of the Native American as a reflection of self, but more as a reflection of the dignity they perceived the Native American personified. Morgan's society was one of the first to attempt an ethnographically correct display of Indianess. Morgan's organization broke apart as members of the group disagreed with Morgan's perception of the Indian as authentic rather than the ritualization of a myth people truly believed in. Indians of the New Confederacy folded because unlike, Tammany and The New Improved Order of the Redman, it did not fabricate and perpetuate the myth of an icon.

The Improved Order of the Redman felt, as did Tammany, that it was their responsibility for its members to be a voice for the Native American in

government concerns. Tammany as a political party had a large stronghold in New York, and in the spirit of misrule, "Tammany democracy had mobilized the slum gangs for ruthless political service" (Stoddard, 1931, p. 36) as a fraternal organization and a political maneuver to gain votes. Both Asbury (1928) and Stoddard (1931) write of how Tammany organized relief programs distributing food, fuel, and clothing during the harsh winter of 1837. Richard Croker, a Tammany member, would become mayor of New York and was seen as the uncrowned king of Manhattan. Tammany was no longer a fraternal organization of white men dressed in feathers and marching in May Day parades, but an organized, strong political movement which had a "hold upon the voting masses" (Asbury, 1928, p. 250).

Of politics in the narrow sense of the word Tammany has no monopoly.

Other machines have been as well built, or strictly disciplined as shrewdly aware of the tricks and dodges of "political politics." But in its profound grasp of everyday human nature Tammany stands alone: and it therefore not as a mere machine but as an essentially human institution that Tammany has no rival in the political field (Stoddard, 1931, p. 42)

The negative image associated with Native Americans began to effect the Tammany's who had to deal "with images of Indian savages and overly democratic injin rebels of the back country" (Deloria, 1998, p. 43), but at the same time the stereotypic perceptions of Native American social bonds and the hierarchy created by Tammany helped to create a political and social institution,

which Stoddard wrote in 1913, was an “essentially human institution” (Stoddard, 1931, p.42)

James Fennimore Cooper wrote of such fraternities in his 1846 book *The Redskins, Indian and Injin*, “ Here are men- palefaces in calico bags. Why do they run about and dishonor the red-man by calling themselves Injins? (Cited in Deloria, 1998, p. 18). Cooper was a romantic. Walt Whitman pointed out that he saw his fictional characters such as Pathfinder as ‘the embodiment of an America as rooted in the soil as primordial as the Germany that gave birth to Siegfried” (cited in Pearce, 1962, p. 142). In analyzing the quote from *The Redskins, Indian and Injin* one could claim that Cooper pointed not so much to the Indian behavior but to the shameful behavior of the whites. Now the image of the Indian, of “playing Indian”, was a reflection of American’s cultural change.

The Improved Order of Red Men did not keep their Indian identity a secret and in 1847 held a National Grand Council in Washington, D.C. The Improved Order of the Red Man also felt it was their responsibility, as did Tammany, for its members to be a voice for the Native American in government concerns. Now the image of the Indian became an important image of the past, and was used in the present to symbolize an ideology that would perpetuate itself and became part of Euro-American government perceptions of the Native American even today. For the time being, the image of the Indian did not need to be donned to prove an American identity. This had been achieved, or so the Revolutionists had thought, by the independence from Britain. But still the image of the Native

American continued to be connected to an American identity. In New York, in Tammany Hall, the political seat for the Tammany party, was described as “The only decorations were life sized figures of an Indian chief clutching a tomahawk, a huge American eagle and some portraits of Tammany Sachems upon the walls” (Stoddard, 1931, p. 97). All of these organizations, the patriots, the donning of Indian image, and the episodes of misrule were a part of more than 100 years of mimicking of Indianness, which continued in a search for an American identity. Tammany as a political party also took advantage of the notion of misrule, until the organization 1870 “began the systematic looting of the city treasury” (Stoddard, 1931, p. 97). Reminding one of the misrule of the Whiskey Tax revolt only this time the illustrious cake was more for individual (Tammany) enjoyment rather than misrule for America as a whole.

As white and Indian relations were falling apart and the distance between the two of them grew, Tammany and the Improved Order of the Redman may have also become more involved in politics in an effort to shine the limelight away from the icon and more towards the acts of public good. Not that either organization would have dismissed its Indian identity, but at a time when the phrase “ the only good Indian is a dead Indian” was a popular theme of Indian policy, they may have wanted to publicly downplay their true identity and actions.

Anti-Native American Sentiments

Tammany and the Improved Order of the Redman continued their loyalty to their icon during a time when General Sheridan’s invective of “the only good

Indian is a dead one” is an only an example of how the icon had become removed from the true Native American person. Sources such as Meider (1993), the Lakota Student Alliance, and, the *New York Times* all credit Theodore Roosevelt with using the invective in a 1886 speech he gave in New York. Roosevelt’s speech was given in a place that Stoddard (1931) pictured as a Tammany political stronghold. It was also at a place far away from where the icon then existed and from where the frontier mentality of manifest destiny continued to permeate the minds of the settlers. This can be seen as even more evidence of the widening gap between reality and fiction. Theodore Roosevelt was enamored with the West. Roosevelt is credited with the creation of the National Refugee system in the United States. Roosevelt may have said in 1886 that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian,” but perhaps in truth he too had become mesmerized by the icon. Mesmerized not with the person, but with the icon which was representational of the wilderness, the west, and the unbridled freedom contained in it, the same wilderness Franklin strove to preserve through the National Refugee system. Good or bad, dead or alive, brother or devil, the way in which Euro-American viewed their icon was personal and deeply felt. General Sheridan’s invective, “The only good Indian is a dead Indian” is a strong message, a hateful message. In contrast, the same year Roosevelt used this invective, Vicar Alfred Gurney wrote a poignant, somewhat trivial prose about the love side of the Native American, Euro-American relationship.

Not yet I think are white men civilized enough to handle savages successfully. For my own part I cannot believe that a people whose dark eyes are so wistful and dreamy, whose speech is so musical, and whose language so full of poetry, can be hopelessly degraded, or doomed to extinction (cited in Meider, 1993, p. 44)

The struggle to love the icon and at the same time hate the man it was created from is a strange dichotomy. Euro-Americans for the most part loved the icon; they did not love the man, nor did they perceive the man to be real. The true authentic Indian was a vanishing race. The Indian now was the icon created by the Euro-American for Euro-Americans.

Youth Movements: Woodcraft and The Boy Scouts

Youth movements offered a way in which Euro-American children could “play Indian”. Ernest Thompson Seton, Sir Baden Powell, and Dan Beard would create the elements and ideology that would be combined to form The Boy Scouts. Dan Beard founded the Son’s of Daniel Boone in 1905. This organization was formed for young men and upheld the principles of taming the wild frontier; a taming that included many battles with the Native American. Deloria (1998) suggested that Beard saw the “playing of Indian” as well as “playing the pioneer” as an important part of play for children. Sir Baden Powell lived in England and had started the Boy Scout movement as somewhat of a military organization aimed at providing boys with activities to build character and to teach outdoor skills. Seton’s organization was called the Woodcraft Indians

and established in 1901. It is from Seton's Woodcraft Indians that the Boy Scouts obtained their Native American attributes. Seton, Deloria (1998) suggests saw the industrialization of the United States as a way in which Americans were losing their individual independence and identity. People were all part of the large machine called industry. Rosenthal (1986) implied that Seton idealized the Native American who exemplified the wisdom of the woods because it was a wisdom which to Seton was one the of the highest and noblest to be pursued.

The aim of Woodcraft was to make a man", and the perfect man for Seton was the noble Shawnee Chief Tecumseh, who embodied all the virtues Seton came to associate with the outdoor ideal...Tecumseh besides being a great woodcrafter was the most Christlike character presented on the pages of American history, therefore I select the model of perfect manhood held up for guidance of young man of American (cited in Rosenthal, 1986, p. 65).

Just as Schuykill created an icon and a movement out of Chief Tamanend, Seton did the same for Chief Tecumseh. The icon had changed names, but never-the-less the icon remained the same, that of myth made out of an idealized man. Seton's image of the Native American was as the Euro-American dictated, that of the Plains Indian. Members of his group would dress in Indian costume. According to Rosenthal (1986) Seton felt that the headdress was one of the most important articles a boy could have, the headdress and the feathers in it representing achievement, or coups the boys made within the

organizations. Native American skills such as animal identification and birdcalls were thought to be very important. Seton felt he was not merely training boys how to survive in the woods, but rather a philosophy of life, just as Tammany was considered to have a “profound grasp in everyday human nature” (Stoddard, 1931, p. 42). The savage the Puritans imagined did not exist for Seton. To take on the identity of the Native American for Seton and for the young men in his Woodcraft Indians was using one’s instinct, and using nature in order to come to a full realization as a human being. Like the Schuylkill Sporting Club, who pontificated about the skill of a hunter, Seton idealized the stereotype of the Native American’s relationship to the wilderness and to the freedom that the Puritans had seen as God’s temptation. Rosenthal (1986) described the Woodcraft organization as having had a strict code of behavior for the boys of his organization. For extreme offenses such as stealing or lying the offender could be evicted from the group. Each tribe or band had their own totem and its own name such as the Sinoway Tribe of Connecticut. Seton’s Woodcraft members also camped out in tepees, learned tracking skills, and other woodcraft skills. Woodcraft skills were not, as the name would seem to imply, the craft of woodworking, but were the skills Seton saw as needed to benefit from the outdoors. The idealization of the Native American and its iconography as that of the Plains Indian is further made evident by this statement of Seton’s: “The principle things necessary to play Indian are a tribe of the right kind of boys,

woods, one or more tepees, bows, arrows, a head-dress or war bonnet for each and of course a knowledge of woodcraft” (cited in Rosenthal, 1986, p 66).

Seton’s idealization of the Native American and its application and benefit to the life of young men was very popular in the early 1900’s. He published articles in the *Ladies Home Journal*, and in *Forest and Stream*, promoting his Woodcraft Indians and encouraging people to set up their own tribes of boys. Despite the fact that Seton was an immigrant from Canada, he felt as did many of the patriots of the Revolution that the Native American was a role model for patriotism and brotherhood. For Seton patriotism meant “a hardy yet sensitive, outdoors character... The Red Man is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precept are what young America needs today above any other ethical teaching of which I have knowledge of.” (Cited in Deloria, 1998, p. 96). Just as the icon of the Indian was associated with Americans in Europe and Germany so too was the association made with a Canadian.

The icon of the Native American and the woodcraft skills associated with Chief Tecumseh and the Woodcraft Indians would reach England and Sir Baden-Powell in 1906, when Seton and Powell met. According to Rosenthal,(1986) Seton and Powell corresponded and shared ideas for nearly four years, The Boy Scouts of America were formed with Seton as cofounder, along with Baden-Powell and Daniel Beard. The Boy Scouts would adopt Seton’s teaching of such skills as tracking and identifying animals. The wampum medals of Woodcraft would be transformed into the badges the Boy Scouts use today. The use of

pack names such as Wolves and Cubs and the need to be able to mimic the sound of your pack animal are a reflection of Seton's tribal identities. The Boy Scout order of the Arrow flourished from 1920 to 1930. Both Deloria (1998) and Rosenthal (1986) suggest that Seton eventually left the Boy Scouts because he felt that the organization was becoming too militaristic, and he disagreed with Beard's push to de-emphasize the Native American.

The Camp Fire Girls

Young boys were not the only ones who were encouraged to dress up and "play Indian." Charlotte and Luther Gulick created the Camp Fire Girls in 1910. According to Deloria, (1998) the Gulicks had been involved in the Boy Scouts and created the Camp Fire Girls to mirror the importance of the Indian in the growth of a girl into a contributing member of society. The contributions the Gulicks felt that young ladies should contribute to society were domestic activities. The act of "playing Indian" was focused around the activities of the Indian women. Like the boys in Seton's Woodcraft Indians', the Camp Fire Girls chose factious Indian names and earned coups. The fact that the Camp Fire Girls promoted domesticity, and a woman's role as that of a mother and a housewife could be seen as a reaction to industrialization. In reflecting upon Rosenthal's (1986) interpretation of Seton, industrialization was seen as a loss of the frontier identity and independence that had created the country? Like the Seton's young men, it was also seen appropriate for the young women to act as Indian, for primitiveness of youth lent itself to the life style of the Native American.

The Native American woman was seen not as a savage primitive, but an example of “the primal secrets of adolescence and womanly domestic virtue” (Deloria, 1998, p. 114).

An important element to the Camp Fire Girls was the creation of an Indian costume by its members. In Deloria’s (1998) description of early Camp Fire Girl organization the young girls would learn to bead and sew, as well as partake in water sports and other crafts. Camp Fire girls were not allowed to wear feathers in their headbands for that was a symbol reserved for the iconic figure of the male warrior, the fire logo for the Camp Fire Girls itself, is a reflection of the importance the organization placed on the domestic. Gulick pointed out that the logo was that of a domestic fire, not a wild fire. The “Indian Maiden” in the eyes of the Gulicks, Seton, and many other Euro-Americans was that of a woman who displayed the natural division of work outside and inside of the home. The Indian woman was an example of constant service, and appreciation for art and the outdoors. The Camp Fire Girls had created a stereotype of the perfect domestic, happy to stay in her home, happy to serve her husband, to bear children, and be rewarded not by money, but by her accomplishments, her coups. It is highly unlikely that the Gulicks took into consideration Reverend Batweb’s view of Native American domesticity when they created their icon of the Indian Maiden. In 1961, the Camp Fire Girls became the Camp Fire Girls and Boys allowing boys to join the organization. In 2002 the Camp Fire Boys and Girls underwent a “rebranding of its organization” (telephone conversation, E. Larsons, April 23rd

2003) and is now called Campfire U.S.A. In keeping with its Native American roots, you will find from viewing the organizations website that the organization still uses a fire as it's logo and holds as one of its core values respecting and celebrating nature, perhaps a leftover from the idealized notion of the icon's wilderness skills.

The Y-Indian Guide

The Native American continued to be seen as an icon in which children could learn. The YMCA began the Y-Indian Guide program in 1926. In the early 1920's, Harold Ketlner overheard an Ojibwe by the name of Joe Friday say:

The Indian father raises his son. He teaches his son to hunt, to track, to fish, to walk softly, to know the meaning and purpose of life and all that he must know, while the white man allows the mother to raise his child.

(www.midlandymca.org/princess.htm)

This, according to the Y-Indian guide website inspired Ketlner to create the Y-Indian Guide, which would later branch out into the Y-Indian Princess, Y-Indian Maidens, and the Y-Indian Braves. Each group was aimed at fostering a positive relationship between child and parent through the acquisition of Indian identity. All of the Y-Indian programs promoted the adoption of Indian names for its members and even furnished a website which gives a list of names to choose from. Names such as Blazing Crocodile and Little Fawn are among the listed on the organizations website.

The Y-Indian programs are still in operation as of the writing of this paper. A visit to the program's website included event lists which included such activities as primitive camping to be held by the Trail Blazers Tribal program in April 2003, or Popsicle stick tepees by the Midland program. A component of the Y-Indian program is the costume. The organization's website informs one of how the Y-Indian princess' and maidens' wear headbands decorated with the central design of the eye of the Great Spirit. The Y-Guide website offers medallions, (coup?) which are advertised as "A part of your costume now...A cherished memory when your child grows up" (www.y-indianguides.com/index.html), reminiscent of the romance and nostalgia one has when looking at the past, whether the past be a childhood memory of the past or the romance created around the icon.

The Y-Indian program website also offers medallions. One medallion was engraved with the likeness of the icon, a Native American in Plains Indian headdress. On the back of the medallion is the image of a boy in Indian clothing dancing, an image Spindell (2000) claims as being seen as a very popular subject among artists in their portrayal of the Native American. Also included on this web page is the cartoon image of a blond haired, light skinned boy dressed as an Indian, in a dance pose, the image flashing as he plays his drum. The iconography of the Native American is still pervasive in U.S. culture as the act of "playing Indian" is still encouraged.

Not only does the Y-Indian program imitate the Native American by dressing the role, but also structures themselves by tribes and their leaders are

called chiefs. In a time of political correctness, the Y-Indian programs seem somewhat out-of-date, a tired method of Euro-Americans searching for an identity through something other. Of the photographs of children on the program's web sites, none appeared to be Native American, though this does not mean they are not. The website and the organization itself is a sad example of how the collective ownership of an icon has become almost trivial.

Y-Indian Princess is action oriented. Members develop their own tribal programs, elect their own officers, take turns hosting tribal meetings, and conduct the business of the tribe. Tribes get together for campouts and family outings: visit historical sites and fire stations; take hikes to parks, zoos, and farms: and plan family picnics. Participants learn about American Indian people - their culture, their customs, crafts and games, and seek to bring new understanding and appreciation of the Indians' heritage and contributions to our nation. Craft projects include construction of tribal property such as drums, headbands, and vest. Tribes may also have campfires and hold induction ceremonies that emphasize the importance of the father/daughter relationship. (www.midlandymca.org/princess.htm).

Is the underlying message here that the American Indian identity is one a person can take on by the creation of a few crafts and the wearing of a vest? The references of the contributions to our nation reflect a nostalgic reminiscence of the past. Just as Seton had published books for his Woodcraft Indians to

follow, the Y-Indian Guide programs also have guidebooks advising and informing the “tribal chiefs.” Betty Brasch (1999) discussed a 1970 task force that was created to help the Y -Indian programs gain a better understanding of Indian people. In reviewing the Y-Guidebook, the task force found numerous errors and misconceptions in the book. Errors such as suggesting children create totems for their tribes as the Plains Indian had done, when in fact the Plains Indian did not create totem poles. Another error was the inclusion the song “Ten Little Indians.” The book also places too much emphasis on the importance of corn. The findings of the 1970 task force describe the Y-Guide programs as having created a fictitious Indian icon out of an amalgamation of many different tribes and people. In calling the fictitious person a Plains Indian, the Y-Guide program perpetuates the iconic myth by teaching it to children. As Betty Brasch wrote, “There are many sacrilegious and offensive things in the Y-Indian Princess manual” (Brasch, 1999, p 217).

As of February 2003 the Y-Indian programs still existed; however in a February 14th 2002 website article described as an urgent message, Great Lakes Region Chief Craig Johnson writes of “the most recent (bad) news” “ That the Indian theme and any and all references to Native Americans are banished. The change is scheduled to take place in 2003”

(www.indianguides.com/GreatLakesRegionGreeting.htm).

Evidently the banishing has not taken place as of the time this research was written for the Midland Y-Guide had the Popsicle tepees scheduled for January

2003 and the longhouse luncheon for April 24th 2003. Parents and children are still able to don the dress and attributes of their icon, a twentieth first century rendition of a sixteenth century search for identity and place.

As a substitute for conquering the frontier and a romanticization of the perceived authentic past, Spindell (2002), Deloria (1998), and Rosenthal (1986) suggest that upper class eastern families in the early and mid nineteenth hundreds, would send their children to summer camps for character building through contact with the wilderness. This was a reaction to Seton's ideology that the outdoor life, a life the Native American was familiar with and was what young American need.

The creation of these organizations in which the "playing of Indian," the idealization of the icon within the realm of children could be seen as the equating of the Native American as primitive and childlike. Allowing these children to play the primitive man was perceived as appropriate and enabled children to experience their true identities and desires in an environment safely created by a Euro-American, perhaps even reflecting the desires of the adults who could live the experience vicariously through their children.

Hobbyists and Popular Culture

Some of the prodigies of Seton, Baden-Powell, Beard, and the Gullicks would retain their interest and desire to play Indian as they grew into adulthood and become white hobbyists. Perhaps it was because the Wild West show no longer traveled the country that by the 1950's a pow-wow circuit was established.

This pow-wow circuit was created for the Euro-American. Dressed in full regalia these white hobbyists, would dance side by side with real Native Americans who were brought in from area reservations. These pow-wows put on for the benefit of the Euro-American audience were not part of the intertribal pow-wow circuit that was also traveling the country. The white hobbyists who felt they truly identified with their icon could also be found at intertribal'. The donning of Native American dress and dancing as Indian by the "white hobbyist" would be seen, like the members of Tammany and The Improved Order of the Redman as authentic. So "authentic" did some of the white hobbyist become, that from 1921 to 1991, according to Deloria (1989), the Chamber of Commerce of Prescott, Arizona allowed the Hopi Snake Dance to be performed annually by Euro-Americans dressed as Indians'.

Playing cowboys and Indians was an activity many Euro-American children took part in during the 1950' and 60's. This image permeated the Euro-American household through such television shows as *The Lone Ranger*, *Gunsmoke*, and *Have Gun Will Travel*. Even the more recent *Northern Exposure*, contained some of Euro-American misconceptions the show's innocent, simpleton Ed, who portrayed a Native Alaskan, and who was mirrored by Shelly, the stereotypic dumb-blond.

Television allows for what Tan, Fujoka and Lucht (1997) call "observational learning", where a uniformed viewer generalizes what they see. This can create stereotypes, especially for young children and for people who

have no contact, no knowledge to counteract the generalizations. Colorful Native American costumes of the Plains Indian variety could be purchased for children to follow in the footsteps of their revolutionary ancestors. Bluecomcomics.com, a website devoted to educating and informing people about harmful stereotypes, calls this playing of Cowboys and Indians as the Tonto Syndrome. Where in most cases the cowboys won. These children were not playing Indian as a form of misrule, but as a way of living the unobtainable freedom and savageness in which the Native American image was thought to portray. In a Fourth of July home movie taken in Forest Lake, Minnesota in 1963 a group of Euro-American girls, members of the Sweet Sioux of North Saint Paul, dressed in fringes and feathers marched as majorettes, swirling their batons as they proceeded down the street. (Loe, 1963) These young girls "playing Indian" (figures 1,2 and 3) reflecting the popularity of the icon brought to the children by television and organizations.

In a casual conversation with a friend of mine, Nancy Sellards, (January 7th, 2003), she comments on the fact that her husband, Jesse, was disappointed that as a child "he never got to be the Indian, he always had to be the cowboy, his foster sister always got to be the Indian" Jesse's foster sister and uncle are Native Americans, in this case a Euro-American boy had the opportunity to play with an Indian, but not "play Indian". The icon, still seen as something other than what was actually real.

The 1960's and a New Political Movement

Just as the colonists were searching for an American identity that was separate from the British so too, were the Americans of the mid twentieth century searching for their individual identity. For much of the 1940's, the Euro-American identity was focused on the wars fought and a relationship to Europe. By the late 1950's and to the late 1960's there was no war to unify a country, no westward expansionism, and the industrial revolution was over. The absence of a national unifying force would eventually develop into Cold War paranoia.

White hobbyists may have been dancing at pow-wows in an attempt to find oneself in a true American icon. Another slightly younger group of individuals would look at the Native American as Deloria (1998) suggest as a counterpoint to what was wrong with society. To the hippies, the Native American image represented freedom, brotherly love, spirituality, and communing with nature. The fraternal organizations of the past, and even the Boy Scouts believed in the strength of brotherhood the icon embodied. Hippies may not have dressed in full Indian dress, they did in mimic of the icon wear headbands, love beads, moccasins, and men grew their hair long. This adoption of Indian dress could be seen, as was misrule, as a visual protest against the culture the hippie wanted to be separated from, just as the colonist's donned Indian dress to separate themselves from Britain. The actions of the hippie-new age movement used some Native American customs, the image of the Indian, and communes to counteract their parents' consumerism and individualism. The

hippie looked to the Native American for an imagined social harmony, and a sense of group ritual. The communes themselves Deloria (1998) writes were a misconception, Native Americans Deloria (1998) points out may have, in the past, lived in a tribal setting, but they were not communal setting. Some hippie communes lived in tepees, not wigwams long houses or pueblos,, another indication of the strengths of the Plains Indian icon.

During the Vietnam era, the adoption of the Indian as a form of misrule grew. The icon of the Native American was viewed as a symbol of a people abused by the government and also a war the counterculture was protesting.

The wearing of the symbols of the Indian, the long hair so visible in the poster image of Geronimo and maybe a bandana headband to go with it - signified that one's sympathies lay with both the past and present targets of American foreign policies.(Deloria, 1998, p. 161).

What gave strength to the ideology of the icon as an abused person was the Civil Rights movement. The Civil Rights movement made the Euro-American aware not only of the injustice the Jim Crow laws had done towards the African American population but to other minorities as well. The power of the icon for the counterculture did not lay solely in its image as a person abused by the government, but more importantly in that the icon represented, as it did in 1765, a representation of freedom, of an unobtainable lifestyle and of misrule.

Iron Eyes Cody

In 1971, the icon appeared to millions of people on their television screens. The man so many Euro-Americans would see in “ his feathered headdress, dark complexion and braided wig the embodiment of the noble savage” (Aleiss, 1999, p. 30)., was not the authentic Native American many people believed him to be. Oscar DeCorti, A.K.A. Iron Eyes Cody was the teary eyed Native American viewing a thrash strewn country that was aired as a public service announcement. Oscar Decorti had claimed to be of Cree and Cherokee descent, when in truth he was born to Italian immigrants in Louisiana, who as a kid “always wanted to be an Indian” (Aleiss, 1999, p. 30). DeCorti chose to play the Plains Indian icon, not the Native tribe that would have been indigenous to his place of birth. He also chose the name, Cody, perhaps he had admired the famous Cody of the wild west shows. Oscar DeCorti played the Indian so well that it was not until 1996 that his “act” was discovered. Many people, the press included, refused to acknowledge the truth that their icon was not real. “ In 1983 Fred Poppe placed Cody’s image first in his book titled *The 100 greatest corporate and industrial adds*. Poppe wrote, “the grabber here of course is that wonderful photograph of this very authentic American Indian” (Poppe, 1983, p.3). According to media images a Native Americans rode horses, wore headdresses and stood on hilltops” (Fujioka, Lucht, & Tan, 1997, p. 267), which is very much the image the public saw of Iron Eyes Cody. An image even more ingrained in one’s memory by the tear that ran down his face. Whether or not he was in front

of the camera, Iron Eyes Cody rarely got out of character and would always be seen wearing his buckskin and braids. When he died on January 1st 1999, the Associated Press described Cody as “one of the best know Native American actors” (Aleiss, 1999, p. 30). The fact that Iron Eyes Cody was truly Oscar DeCorti and was not a real Indian did not diminish his capacity to represent the icon.

Iron Eyes Cody was an example of how during a time when self-help books flooded the market, and America was still searching for an identity, and a connection to the Indian. A somewhat sympathetic interpretation of the iconic Iron Eyes Cody occurred, in an image of the spirituality, of an environmentalist who honored and protected “Mother Earth”. Rousseau may have described Iron Eyes Cody as a symbol of nature’s child. In the New Age time of the 1980’s, people began looking to the icon as an image that represented a connection with a higher power. Anthony Layng (2000) wrote, “even conventional Christians have concluded that Indian religious beliefs could well serve as a role model for the rest of the world.” (Layng, 2000, p. 3). Like the hippies of the 60’s, they saw the Indian as symbolic of the utopia the Euro-American longed for. Once again, the image represented an unobtainable life style, just as it did for the Puritans and the hobbyists. Whenever Euro-Americans came to a point in their history when they were becoming lost, they would turn to their icon as a focal point of regaining and re-identifying. “As many native people have observed to be American is to be unfinished” (Deloria, 1998, p. 191).

Mascots

Today the Native American mascot may be one of the last strongholds for the Euro-American to become the icon through the donning of Indian dress.

Unlike the Boston Tea Party, this act of “playing Indian” is not a political protest, but politically incorrect. The Native American mascot issue is one that is large enough to be a research topic in itself, but in this case the focus will be on the ideology behind the act of “playing Indian.”

Helmberger (1999) and Spindell (2002) admit that feelings toward the mascot issue are strong on both sides of the controversy, of whether or not Native American mascots should be allowed to continue. The fact that they still exist today is an example of the pervasiveness the icon has in American culture and the sense of collective ownership many Euro-Americans feel toward their icon. For the most part, Native American mascots are used by non-native schools, the part played by Euro-Americans who dance at half time. This Euro-American parading around as a lucky charm in center court for an audience of fans in 2003 is one icon performing instead of the dozens that same audience could have seen in a 1900 wild west show.

The feeling could be the same, from the safety of their seats, the fans can witness a bit of shared history. The fans often dress themselves as Indians in a strange amalgamation of team adoration, idealizing the mascot and taking on a new identity. Walking through a homecoming tent at a college game one can imagine after reading Carol Spindel’s (2002) book *Dancing at halftime* that one

would find doctors, judges, and CEO's dressed in war paint and feathers, playing Indian in the guise of school spirit. The question is then, are the fans, who paint their face and wear a neon colored feather in one's hair, do so out of loyalty and brotherhood to the team, or to the icon and what they believe the mascot stands for? The members of Tammany mimicked their mascot; their "playing Indian" also represented loyalty and brotherhood. Spindell (2002) connects a relationship of Boy Scouting to this type of "playing Indian" in her book by inferring the question how many of the fans in the seats were Boy Scouts or Y- Indian Princess', who were instilled with the belief their admiration for "playing Indian" is being respectful? Mascots, according to Roberto Rodriguez, are "cultural genocide, the intentional destruction of a peoples culture" (Rodriguez, 1998, n.p.). If Rodriguez (1998) is correct, then mascots are intentionally destroying the icon, and in turn the Euro-Americans are in part destroying themselves.

Spindell (2002), King and Springwood (2001) write that proponents of the mascots say that he/she represents school spirit and that the mascot is an honor. This representation, this "playing of Indian" goes far beyond school spirit. Hundreds of years of acquiring the iconic image through dress and the feeling of collective ownership and self-identity embodied in the image has given the Euro-American college student and sports fan a motivation to dress, as an Indian and dance at halftime on a basketball court or football field. These iconic mascots combine three of the most pervasive misconceptions Euro-Americans have about their beloved icon. First there is dance. It is often more of a gymnastic exhibition

than authentic. Secondly there is song, not only the much stereotyped drum beats, (often heard accompanied by the tomahawk chop) and even those yells once thought to be “sounds of hell” can be heard at a sporting event. Lastly there is the misconception of dress.

Colleges and universities who have Native American mascots often claim authenticity. Some have made an effort to appear more sympathetic to the people their mascot imitates by attempting to create a more authentic costume. However, most Native American mascot costumes are incorrect. Some schools Spindell (2002) writes such as Dartmouth and Stanford have eliminated their Native American mascots. Helmlinger's (1999) book tells of how the Minnesota Board of Education has recommended all schools in the state do the same. Other schools such as the University of North Dakota and the University of Illinois refuse to retire their mascots. The strength and convictions of those people who believe in their mascot are so strongly held despite the criticism launched by such groups as Peacemakers' and the National Coalition of Racism in Sports, shows how of reverence to an image can become so much a part of self that to part with it is unimaginable.

Taking on the image of the icon through the act of “playing Indian” has been a part of Euro-American history for hundreds of years. From the image of the savage, an icon grew through the adoption of it's character. The ability of the Euro-American to dress up as Indian, to imitate them, would help to strengthen the icon's perseverance in other mediums as well. During the turn of the

twentieth century, Wild West shows and world's fairs helped to satisfy the Euro-American need to revere its icon. The need to dress as Indian was not as strong as the country went through industrialization. It is not as if "playing Indian" ceased to exist it. It was no longer equated with misrule but rather with a frontier toughness that was slipping away as industry grew. Perhaps with industrialization, Euro America saw its aboriginal place slipping away.

The Visual Image

The artists perception and the creation of a visual icon

The image of the Indian that had been created through the colonist's misconceptions would become the groundwork for the perpetuation of the Native American iconographic image today. Some of these misconceptions Patrick Desjarlait (1993) proposes grew out of ignorance and exaggeration. One such exaggeration was that of cannibalism. A 1505 woodcut from Germany titled *The People and Islands Which Have Been Discovered* portrays cannibalism as a daily activity and is based on the writings of Amerigo Vespucci. Though cannibalism did exist among some indigenous peoples of the Americas, it was not a habitual cultural trait and was most often confined to the consumption of captives as symbolic taking of ones power. "From 1490 to the 1720's European artists were seemingly fixated on depicting Native Americans as untamed, classical Adam and Eves who continuously engaged in war, fornication, idolatry and cannibalism" (Desjarlait, 1993, p. 5).

These Puritan and Colonial misconceptions of the Native American would carry over into a visual representation. One of the very first depictions of a Native American by a European artist according to Patrick Desjarlait (1993) was the woodcut; *The Landing of Christopher Columbus*, by Givilano Dati in 1493. The Native Americans shown in Dati's woodcut are naked and have long hair. This image was based on Columbus's letter of his discovery and despite the fact that he states that these Native Americans had no facial hair, Dati created bearded Native Americans. "This first stereotype is a passive, subliminal type of image that conveys misinformation - however minimal." (Desjarlait, 1993, p. 3). Woodcuts and movable type allowed the misconceptions and misinformation about Native American people to spread throughout Europe, and the image of the Indian became to be associated with America itself.

The Native American as a counter-figure to God also played a role in art. The strength and the convictions to bring a Christian God to the Native American was immortalized in a 15th century painting of Pocahontas' conversion. The "idealized version of her baptism at Jamestown hangs in the U.S. Capitol in Washington DC " (Joesphy, 1994, p. 203). This image of Pocahontas is also reminiscent of the Indian Princess image, the Native American woman as a gentle and willing person.

The role, or iconology of the Native American in print, changed as artistic styles changed, and as non-Native perceptions changed. The style and composition of early work like that of Dati was simple. Many early American

artistic works have a crudeness to them that is due partly out of the materials available in the colonies and partly out of the lack of formal training. Many of the early white recorders of the Native American image were not trained as artists but were often people who were interested or impressed by the Native Americans' living skills such as hunting and fishing.

In the 1500's, it was not uncommon for the artwork of an American artist to be sent to Europe and to be reproduced through engraving. Engravers would often embellish and heighten the drama in an artistic work. Sometimes facial hair and clothing were added to make the image more comfortable to the European or female audience. The European engraver had no first hand knowledge of Native Americans and at times the misconceptions that grew out of the narratives of the blood thirsty savage were the fodder for the engravers' embellishments. Not having to deal with the Native American directly, the European fantasized and elaborated on the image. These embellishments and elaborations in turn only strengthened and widened the ideology of the savage.

Father Joseph Jacques Le Mayne, a French Huguenot, depicted the Native American in a Renaissance style. His paintings were often exotic, his works having an Adam and Eve-like quality to them. John White was an English colonist, who was trained as a botanist and created drawings of the Anishinnabe. Trained as a scientist, his work despite their classical style depicted a more accurate depiction of Anishinnabe clothing, hairstyle, and dwellings. White's works gave a more human dimension to the people he portrayed, despite the

rather classical style of his renderings. Like Le Mayne's Renaissance style White helped to create an idealized person who could flourish in the American imagination. By 1591, an artist and engraver, Theodore De Bry, was reinterpreting White, La Mayne's, and earlier artist's work into prints that became very popular. By the time De Bry had created these prints, many of the tribes or the life style he was depicted no longer existed. People who viewed De Bry's work would create for themselves an image of something that was no longer a reality. Working in the sixteenth century De Bry's Native Americans were not of the iconic Plains Indian, but rather of the tribes of Florida and the Carolinas. "De Bry's stereotypic imagery projected a race not quite human, a naked, soulless, godless being who daily engaged in war, fornication, idolatry and cannibalism" (Desjarlait, 1993, p. 5). This characterization of the Native American by De Bry's is evident in his etching of *The Massacre at Jamestown*, a rather horrific image of Native Americans drawn in a classical style, it included imagery of chaos and murder. The classical style used by White and De Bry's would continue throughout the 1700's.

The Visual Images as an Euro- American Identity

To Europeans, the visual image of the Native American became linked with that of the Revolutionary American.

Between 1765 and 1783 the colonies appeared as an Indian in no fewer than sixty-five political prints- almost four times as frequently as the other main symbols of America, the snake and the child. British cartoonist used

Indians to symbolize the colonies as alien and uncivilized and therefore needful of (and deserving) the rule of the empire. At an intersection between noble and savage, tawny white or colored the figure of the Indian has enormous iconographic flexibility. (Deloria, 1998, p. 28-29)

The British papers Deloria (1998) suggests may have used the image of the Native American to represent the colonist as a uncivilized person. On the other hand, the Colonial papers used the image of the Native American to represent themselves the colonist as noble and determined, representing a people who were not going to give up on their quest for freedom. Colonial papers would print images of colonists disguised as Indians as a reference to the Boston Tea Party and a reference to the misrule that allowed for protest and the playing of the American patriotic identity. A picture of an Indian on a handbill containing news of a new law, social gathering, or political unrest was announcing that the information contained was important to the American identity.

The image of the Indian princess also became a symbol for America. Prior to the Revolutionary war, the image of the Indian princess was circulated in Europe as representing America as Britain's younger sister. Often the Indian princess was pictured in the nude portraying the vulnerability, fertility, and availability of the new world. As with other images of Native American the image of the Indian princess would evolve into a lady liberty, a more European and clothed looking woman. The Indian princess was called Liberty, the Goddess of

Liberty and also called Columbia, a correlation that can be equated to Tammany's adoption of Columbus as an important figure. The transformation of the European naked Indian princess to a clothed Columbia could be seen as an indication that white American sentiments towards the Native American were changing from the image of the savage other to the image representative of oneself.

As the American sentiment towards the Native American shifted back to the savage of Puritan times and away from the symbol of misrule and political rebellion relations with Native Americans became strained and the "Indian problem worsened. Indian dance was a popular subject in the mid-1800's, Mary Rowlandson in 1675 equated Indian dancing to hell. "The subject of Indian dance became part of the iconography of the Indian when Samuel Seymour depicted the war dance" (Boehme, Feest, & Johnston, 1995, p.15). *War Dance in the Interior of a Konza Lodge* painted between 1819-1820. "Dancing is one activity that non-Indian people recognize as distinctly Indian" (Spindell, 2002, p.189), and would be a popular subject matter for many non-Indian artists, Seymour's painting reflects the Euro-American's limited knowledge of the American Indian.

In attempting to create a national identity Euro-Americans would use art as a physical manifestation of the idealized Indian other as well as an idealization of a shared history and the repressed Puritan desires. According to Susan Scheckel:

American would not achieve true independence from Britain until they had produced a national literature and art that dealt with American materials, celebrated American history, illustrated and simultaneously shaped American character thereby binding individual citizen together as a people through a shared vision of the nation and a national culture. (Scheckel, 1998, p. 8)

Art is an expressive tool, which allows one to manipulate reality and often allow the subconscious to become visible. The Native American through the art of Eastman, Catlin, Fanny and others would act as a mirror in which the Euro-American could see through the Indian a reflection of themselves, a reflection of an independent American identity. Anne Norton wrote, "The Native American at once other and like, their likeness permits contemplation and recognition, their difference, the abstraction of those ideal traits that will henceforth define the nation" (cited in Scheckel, 1998, p. 9).

Vanderlyn and Wimer: Savage Portrayals

Perhaps one of the most moving, or traumatic artistic rendering of the trait of the ruthless savage is that of John Vanderlyn's *The Death Of Jane McCrae*, painted in 1804, it is discussed in both Desjarlait's (1998), and Trenton's(1989) books and is based on the real life attack of Jane McCrae by two Wynadot Indians. This widely published painting depicts a lone woman being held by the wrist by two shirtless and muscular Native American men. Jane McCrae is having her hair pulled back while one of her attackers wields a tomahawk over

her head. Jane's face portrays desperation, and is awash in light, perhaps an artistic attempt to heighten the tension. Her attackers also bathed in light, and the threesome stand out against the darkly painted foreboding wilderness in the background. The desperation of Jane, and the strength and savageness of her attackers is made even more prominent by the inclusion of a lone soldier which, Trenton (1989) points out as being in the distance unable to save her from the enemy. The painting is romantic; it portrays not necessarily what the mind saw, but what the heart felt. *The Death of Jane McCrae* provides an example of the shift from the image of the Native American as representing patriot to that of the enemy within. References to the death of Jane McCrae can even be found in such recent American fiction as Bruce Lancaster's book, *Guns in the Forest*, published in 1952. The image of the Native American as a savage is perpetuated in this book written for young adults. Lancaster wrote "That afternoon Chipmunk, the grunting, filthy Oneida Indian who was her friend and her last link with the outside world, had told her about the horrible scalping of Jane McCrae" (Lancaster, 1952, p. 77) , "it was a dreadful shock" (Lancaster, 1952, p. 80). The power of Vanderlyn's image a hundred and forty seven years after it was painted was still being used to depict the savage and to form in the mind of an reader the stereotype of the tomahawk- wielding Indian. Were the romanticism, the freedom, and fertility of the Native lifestyle becoming more one to be feared, rather than the admirable? However, in what is feared there is often

something to be admired. The image of the Native American would continuously shift from friend to foe throughout United States history.

The romantic reflection of the Native American image continued throughout the 1800's. Works such as *The Abduction of Danil Boone's Daughters by the Indians* painted in 1853 by Charles Wimar helped to perpetuate the Native American as someone to be feared. Many artists created artworks of high drama, the characters having expressions of intense fright. Alvin Josephy wrote "the drama of colonial border warfare, inherent in seizing Indian lands, were conveyed to nineteenth century readers by books with gripping pictures" (Josephy, 1994, p. 251).

Eastman: Ethnographic Portrayals

At the same time as these savage and frightful images of Native Americans were being produced, there were also a few artists who made an attempt at a more ethnographic portrayal of the Indian. Much of these more ethnographically correct images were that of the Woodland Indians. One such artist was Seth Eastman. Seth Eastman was a military man assigned to Fort Snelling in the Minnesota Territory in 1840. Eastman's work had "descriptive detail and scientific intent," "a no nonsense approach" (Boehme, Feest, & Johnston, 1995, p. xv). Eastman created accurate portrayals of clothing, hairstyle, and housing of the people he painted. Despite Eastman's "scientific approach," (Boehme, Feest, & Johnston, 1995. p. xv), he was, like his white artistic counterparts, a romantic. Eastman was obsessed with "the romance of

the Indian he saw crumbling about him” (Boehme, Feest, & Johnston, 1995, p. 158). In his 1882 watercolor titled *Indian Courting*, his romantic nature oversteps his ethnographic correctness. McDermet said of this Eastman painting “The lone Indian in the foreground playing to the common but mistaken notion that smoking [was] a principal leisure time occupation does not conform to the high state of industry around him, but rather it merely adds a romantic touch to the painting.” (Cited in Boehme, Feest, & Johnston, 1995, p. 158). Being a military man, much of Eastman’s works were intended for the militaries study of the Native American, studies intended either to better know one’s enemy, to understand a future ally, or both. Unlike Vanderlyn, Eastman did not create the Native American as vicious. Some of his watercolors such as *Pawnees Torturing a Female Captive* have subject matter that could be considered savage, but Eastman’s style did not lend itself to a frightful romanticism. Eastman’s art was created for the government, and though they were mostly honest, there is a unrefined quality to both the subject matter and style, perhaps due in part Eastman’s lack of formal artistic training. While not entirely intentional his works were the result of the artist seeing something totally new and alien to him and his military training gave him the need for precision and detail. However, Eastman’s work also had a crudeness and rawness to them, which may have influenced the government into viewing the people within the art as the same.

The sentiments towards the Native American image and its link to the American identity grew increasing iconographic as westward expansionism

increased. The need for the image of the Native American to symbolize a separation from-Britain and an American solidarity was long past, but with the discoveries by Lewis and Clark, the Native American, and more specifically the Plains Indian, would become the symbol of an American frontier. Once again, the American concept of having ones cake and eating it too would apply to a growing country and the millions of acres of Native American land that Euro-America could obtain and process as well as the enemy they would need to conquer in order to have that illustrious cake.

The Creation of the Plains Icon

The same year in which Vanderlyn painted *The Death Of Jane McCrae*, President Jefferson welcomed the first group of Native Americans from west of the Mississippi to Washington. From this visit came the first paintings of the Plains Indians painted by Charles Balthazer Fevert de Saint-Mémin. Images President Jefferson would describe as “the finest men we have ever seen” (cited in Evers, 1999, p 12). Two years later in 1806 Charles Wilson Peale, a well know American artist, created silhouettes of a second delegation of Plains Indians. Here Peale created the image of the Native American in feathered headdress, sloping forehead and strong profile, which would perpetuate itself into Euro-American culture. Charles’s son Titian would produce in 1819 –1820, the first image of a Plains Indian teepee, an image even today sometimes falsely associated with all Native Americans. Just as the earlier images of the Native American made their way to Europe, so did the image of the Plains Indian.

Native American portraits painted by Charles Bird King could be found in Denmark and London. The image not only made its way into Europe, but into popular journalism. Just as the members of the Sporting club of the Schuylkill Fishing Company romanticized and idealized the Native Americans ability to hunt, the image of the Native American's prowess as a hunter and sportsman would also be idealized in print. In 1829, Evers writes that *The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* published a lithograph of Peter Rindisbacher's *Sioux Warrior Charging*. Not only was the image of the Native American appearing as artistic reproductions in magazines but also in at least in one case as representational. In 1839, a reproduction of the portrait of Big Elk, an Omaha chief, appeared on the cover of *Crania America*. The author of this book was anthropologist George Morton who in describing his admiration for the image said

Among the multitudes of Indian portraits which have come under my notice, I know of no one that embraces more characteristic traits than this, as seen in the retreating forehead the low brow, the dull and seemingly unobservant eye, the large aquiline nose, the high cheek bones, full mouth and thin and angular face. (Morton cited in Evers, 1999, p. 14).

Morton's use of Big Elk's portrait on the cover of his work, along with his personal convictions on the image itself, is an example of what enabled the stereotypic image of the Plains Indians to exist. Morton's personal affections and description of Big Elk remind one of present day sports logos. As Boehme, Feest

and Johnston (1995) suggest that just as Seth Eastman may have felt he was painting a dying race, Morton may also have felt he was describing the same. Partly due to westward expansionism, as well as the extermination of many Native Americans in various confrontations, the Native American were seen as a thing of the past. The Puritans had looked at their own mythic past to try to explain the Indian, now in the 1800's, Americans looked at their own history, which included the Indian, not only to explain their past, but also their future. The Indian "now appeared in a past that was wistful and commemorative rather than mystic and aged" (Deloria, 1998, p. 64).

Joshua Shaw

The Native American may have been a blissful reminder of the past but at the same time the image was a symbol of a time filled with violence. Joshua Shaw's painting titled *The First Ship* 1840-1850 (figure 4), is an example of combining the romantic past with the violent present. This painting is one of several Shaw painted which pictured the ship of Giovanni Verrazzano approaching the shores of North America. The ship is shown in the distant background, and the focal point of this work is placed in the central foreground. Here three Native American men are crouched in fear, and "savage wonder" (cited in Lentz and Huebner 1988, p. 180), one man's arm outstretched in what could be described as a futile attempt to stop the ship's course. Shaw counteracts this romantic version with a purposefully placed scalp lock. Lentz and Huebner wrote of Shaw's painting:

In the foreground to the right of the awestruck Indian is a scalp. In paintings by Shaw it was a motif that represented the popular attitude that, for the Indians scalping was a natural and lawful behavior. At the same time it sensationalizes the tales of their savage attacks.” (Lentz & Huebner, 1988, p.180)

Washed in light, this Euro-American symbol of Native American savagery sits alone on the ground a few feet from the huddled figures, a statement perhaps not only of the perceived savagery of the Indian but also of the validity of the Euro-American’s Manifest Destiny to bring order to a Godless land. Shaw had created a romantic version of the past with a slight dose of reality (perceived reality), lest the viewer forget who the Native American truly was.

George Catlin

George Catlin’s goal as a painter indicates Trueltner (1979), was to paint history, to record in his journals, sketch books and canvass’s a vanishing race. Like Schoolcraft, he would travel up the Mississippi creating images of the people he encountered. Catlin took extensive notes during his travels and his art was an ethnographic history of the peoples and cultures he encountered. Catlin did not travel to the Southwest; he traveled the rivers of what are now the Missouri, Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin. One of Catlin’s first Native American portraits was that of *Buffalo Bull Back Fat*, painted in 1832. By 1833 Catlin had created 140 paintings. Catlin’s works, though perhaps painted with a romantic heart were a true reflection of the image, some of his portraits depicted Native

Americans who did not meet the iconic image created by Charles Balthazer Fevert de Saint-Mémin. Catlin's works were not popular during his lifetime. His failed attempt at selling his portraits to the government caused him to take his art to Europe. Catlin's artistic skill was slightly less refined than his contemporaries, which may have also contributed to the lack of appeal. Truettner writes of Catlin's exhibition in 1837:

The Far West and its inhabitants, one must remember, were mostly a mystery to the people of the East in the fall of 1837...Audiences responded with a combination of surprise and disbelief, in that they could conceive the Indian only as one of two stereotypes; a noble warrior or a menacing, bloodthirsty savage. (Truettner, 1979, p. 36).

By the end of his career Catlin had created over 800 works of art, eventually the Smithsonian posthumously purchased his art. Perhaps Catlin's Indian did not become the icon because they were too real. A reviewer wrote of one of his exhibits in 1839 reflects what may be an explanation for Catlin's low marketability

not merely a minute and thorough description of a nation whose situation and history render everything that relates to it in the highest degree curious and personal to Americans, but it addresses itself to the admiration and instruction of every philosophic mind as an encyclopedia of the savage state. (McCracken, cited in Truettner, 1979, p. 39)

This statement hints at the shared history, the shared identity that the Euro-American and the Native American had in common. In this case the Euro-American of Catlin's audience repressing the denial of this shared history through the non-acceptance of his art. For Catlin westward expansionism symbolized the end of the Native American, he was unwilling to admit his icon was changing and urged the public to create a nations park which people could go and see the icon in their natural habitat. Catlin said "The further we become separated from the wilderness...the more pleasure does the mind of enlightened man feel in recurring to those scenes, when he can have them preserved for his eyes and his mind to dwell upon..." (Cited in Trueltner, 1979, p. 80). Here in Catlin's ideology you can see those Puritan longings for an unobtainable wilderness.

The Opening of the West

Westward expansionism brought about many conflicts and it was during this time that President Andrew Jackson forcibly removed the Cherokee Nation to Oklahoma. The West was new and unknown, the Native American, whether it be the image once donned to proclaim American independence, the image of an enemy, the idealized hunter, or the princess Columbia, the image was a familiar one. One can draw a certain amount of comfort out of the familiar and in a turn, the image of a man once feared and unfamiliar becomes an image that Americans can take comfort in as the familiar image of the American identity. The Native American became an attractive and comfortable common denominator.

The Gold Rush of California attracted many artists to the Southwest and during this time many artist made a name for themselves creating images of the West which the audience in the East was hungry for.

As the pace of Western travel quickened and the Calvary pushed Indians into increasingly restricted lands, the press was there to justify these actions and inform the public of the more lurid details. Particularly after 1876 and Custer's debacle at Little Bighorn, the image of unspeakable Indian savagery was firmly implanted in the American mind. (Saunders, 1988, p.20-21)

Being informed the Euro-American public wanted to know more, and the western artist could fill their appetites, their repressed desires and perpetuate the icon of the noble savage man of the plains. Most artist who worked in from the middle to the end of the nineteen century choose not to paint the savagery one would see in Vanderlyn's work but rather choose a more romantic and idealized version of the American Indian. In the beginning western art was not taken seriously by many wealthy art collectors, but the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad would open up the west to a wider and more accepting audience.

Farny, Brush, Remington and Miller; Romantic Portrayals

Two artists who contributed to the perpetuation of the icon were Henry Farny who lived from 1847 - 1916, and George DeForest Brush, 1855-1941. Farny's works reflected a "fictional view of the Indian" (Arthur, cited in Saunders,

1988, p. 92), he deliberately omitted “the obvious evidence of reservation life such as covered wagons” (Arthur, cited in Saunders 1988, p. 92) that would reflect present time, such as wagons and log homes. His paintings *Council of Chief*, 1896 (figure 5.) and *Sioux Indian*, 1898 (figure 6) are visually without time. These works present to the viewer the image of the icon as he not as he was in reality but as he existed in the Euro-American fantasies. Susan Arthur also wrote that “Farny’s romantic sensibility and his sensitivity to the Indian plight may have influenced his omissions of such details” (Arthur, 1988, p. 92) Enamored with the icon Farny usually chose to paint the Plains tribes of the North, In 1899 he created a portrait of the then deceased Sitting Bull (figure 7). This portrait is a prime example of the icon, wearing full headdress and appearing stoic and emotionless on the canvas. Such an excellent example of the icon was this work of art that the federal government purchased it in 1900 for the National Museum. Farny was a skilled artist; his canvases are somewhat soft in palate, and his lines not overly harsh.

George DeForest Brush also painted the iconic Native American. “ He painted, idealized depictions of the American Indian, images of a noble, dignified man in harmony with nature”. (Saunders, 1988, p. 22). His works created for his patrons the image of Rousseau’s child of nature. Images that reflected the repressed desires of the Euro-American to conquer the wilderness, which by this time no longer existed.

Saunders says of Farny and of fellow painter George De Forest Brush

in his own way was less concerned with the reality of Indian life in American than with portraying positive but fictionalized and idealized image. While the public wanted to believe that Indian life was still as they depicted it, this was a belief accepted out of ignorance. Reality was otherwise and images of proud, independent Indian families living unfettered on the plains that populate their painting bear little resemblance to photographs of the period, which depict Indian life as it was; organized around the reservation, dependent upon government handouts, and utterly controlled by the often ruthless federal government. (Saunders, 1988, p. 23)

Frederick Remington is perhaps the best known painter of the West in the 1800's, his works are easily identifiable by their movement both of subject matter and brush strokes. "Remington's depictions of the west moved beyond familiar romanticism to a mythical representation of the frontier struggle" (Stevens, 2001, p. 26), a struggle which often involved the Native American. Remington's works have made a large contribution to the perpetuation not only of the Native American icon but the iconography and nostalgia of the west. Remington's works were reproduced as illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*, and *The Century Magazine*, enabling the icon to have a large market. Remington's works captured:

...all the associations they [American public] had with the West: a hard life, constant struggle and a recognition of good over evil through the "four

element: (a) life and death confrontations, (b) hostile antagonist (the Indian), (c) hard driving heroes (the Calvary) and (d) the rugged independent (the cowboys). (Saunders, 1988, p. 24)

Remington's art reflected the American identity as one partially created out of the battle to control the west against the Native American and won. Mirroring the prevailing public attitude towards the Native American, Remington works though romantic did not paint a sympathetic picture of the Native American. Matthew Baigell asserted:

Remington never questioned the fight of whites to possess the land. His point of view was in total sympathy with the architects of Manifest Destiny - that somehow whites had a God-given fight to settle the trans.

Mississippi lands and to mn off anyone who tried to stop them. Rather than portray the Indians majestic struggles to preserve what was rightfully theirs Remington cast in heroic mold those who usurped their lands. (cited in Stevens 2001, n.p.)

Remington's images of the icon did not as did Farny and Russell romanticize the natures child, the stoic man of the plains. Stevens, says Remington's painted the Indian savage "a mythical conception of the frontier wherein all his subjects became characters in a cosmic drama" (Stevens, 2001, n.p.) work such as *Fight for the Waterhole*, 1903 is demonstrative of an image which portrays the American battle for control in the west, a battle for a place which to practice ones identity.

The Native American male was not the only subject to be painted by nineteenth century artist. The artist Alfred Jacob Miller was commissioned by a Scottish nobleman to join him on an expedition west and record the event. One of Miller's works is a oil painting titled *The Trappers Bride*. (Figure 8). An extremely well executed painting, it depicts the trade of a Native American woman to a white trapper for trade goods. The woman dressed in white, is bathed in light as she calmly accepts the hand of the white trapper, who looks at her with an adoring gaze. This much-romanticized version makes beautiful the sale of a woman for six hundred dollars in trade goods. It perpetuates the ideology of Native American female portraying the vulnerability, fertility and availability of the new world. Miller's works reflected his appreciation of the Indian as "nature child".

Russell and Leigh: Detailed Portrayals

Less of a Romantic, Charles Russell's (1864 - 1926) works reflected an attempt to create art which Karen Bearer (1988) indicated would correctly depicted the ethnography subjects paying attention to such items as hair and dress of the particular tribe he choose to paint. Still, "Russell loved the Indian" (Bearer, 1988, p. 170). His ethnographic correctness was in comparison, more of the past rather than Eastman's present. For Russell a Native American on horseback was a image he choose to recreate in many of his artworks. Karen Bearer (1988) in writing about Russell's work suggested that due to the abundance of such images in Russell's repertoire the Indian on horseback may

have been his favorite subject to paint. In his 1916 oil painting *Medicine Man* (Figure 9) Russell portrayed a Blackfoot Medicine man on horseback, who sat tall and erect holding a spear decorated in the feathers the Euro-American had grown to expect, "his stony countenance signifying his determination to conquer his enemies or die gloriously in the attempt" (Searer, 1988, p. 170). By the time this painting was created the Blackfeet, were living on the reservations and no longer traveling the Plains. The time of conquering one's enemies on horseback was a thing of the past. In 1963 this image would be seen on the cover of *Montana* magazine continuing to perpetuate the icon for the White hobbyist, Boy Scouts and the rest of the Euro-Americans who were enamored with the past.

By the 1930's the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad were using the image of the Native American to lure people to the Southwest. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad created the Taos Society of Artists in 1915. William Leigh was commissioned by the railroad in the 1920's to the 1940's to create works of art that could be used to market their railroad and hotels. Leigh like many artists before him was enamored with the Native American and idealized them. He took pains to include in his work, detail, authenticity, and clarity. Some of his works still fell into the stereotypical depiction of the Noble Child of Nature as depicted in *Hopi Indian Runners* (1913), or the savage attacking a wagon train as seen in his painting *Westward Ho* (1942) Leigh's works are an example of how the icon was used by an artist as a symbolic attraction for marketing. His works

have a message that was more than just a romantic link of a Euro-American and Native American past and identity, but a link to an obtainable product.

With the Depression and the creation of the Works Progress Administration the art of the west became available to even more Americans as artists were forced to drop their prices and create works of public art. During this time the American public was trying to find its integrity in the American character. Many people started collecting Western art during this time, perhaps a reflection again of finding the strength of the American identity, the strength that would help to win a war in the image of the Indian

Curtis and Throssell: Photographers

Edward Sherriff Curtis, is most likely the best-known photographer of Native Americans. As Ansel Adams was to nature photography, Edward Curtis was to the image taking of nature's child Curtis began taking photographs of Native Americans in 1890. He was enamored with the Native American, viewing them as a vanishing race that must be documented before they disappeared. Curtis's photographs were an attempt to record the past and the icon, because of this, some of his photographs were posed and contained what research now shows as factious arrangements of artifacts. Perhaps Curtis was creating in his photos the Native American myth he wanted to believe in. Curtis's photos are beautiful; his expertise at photography and portraiture is unmatched. He was skilled at composition and lighting and he systematically studied more than eighty tribes in his lifetime and took 40,000 photos. His use of sepia tone, a technique not

commonly used by photographers of his time gave, his works a more “aged” quality to them. Perhaps Curtis chose sepia tone for just this effect, for it could strengthen the image’s purpose of capturing the past. Curtis also made wax recordings of Native American music and languages. Curtis’s motivation was to preserve the past and his works did do that, with each picture he included a descriptive title, sometimes a paragraph providing ethnographic information about the tribe represented. Some of his titles though, reflected Euro-American misconceptions. For example in his photo of Qûniáika -Mohave the descriptive goes as follows, “Although this pictures one of the best of his tribe, it serves well to illustrate a man of the Age of Stone” (Boesen, & Graybill, 1976, p. 122). Does the word best imply the best of his tribe or the best quality photo? Curtis’ perceptions of the Native American had been in part formed by America’s long history of love and hate with the Indian. Curtis’ perception was to love the Indian, “ the attractive savage, noble and doomed was fully developed in the European imagination long before Curtis. His achievement was to bring that image to its fullest photographic expression” (Warren, 1999, p. 362)

Curtis felt so strongly about his image of the icon that none of his photos “would admit anything which betoken civilization whether in an article of dress or landscapes or object on the ground” (Boesen & Graybill, 1976, p. 13). Curtis like Fanny choose not to depict the realities of reservation life, “he always insisted that the Indians he photographed should be dressed like Indians, and if there was a background scene it had to contain a vital part of their life or land (Bosen &

Graybill, 1976, p. 4). Civilization and assimilation were corruption to Curtis and he made a conscious choice not to photograph it. In a sense Curtis was trying to capture a culture that no longer existed, the Native American who was untouched by civilization did not exist anymore except in the mind of the artists like Edward Curtis. Like a “permanent memorial of the race” (Boesen & Graybill, 1976, p.13), Curtis’s photographs give life to the icon, even though most of his photographs were not of the stereotypic icon in full headdress. They contain the penetrating eyes, the timelessness, and the stoicism that Euro-American grew to expect as the face of an Indian. According to Louse Warren of the University of San Diego “today his images are among the most popular in the world. ... Nature’s child never having had a better publicist” (Warren, 1999, p. 362). Curtis’s images may be on quite a few coffee tables in the Euro-American home, locking in the past, the image of an American icon.

Another photographer of the American icon was Richard Throssel. Throssel was of Cree, English, and Scottish descent and was, as an adult, adopted into the Cree tribe of Montana. Throssel photographs were not of the vanishing Indian, but of the American Indian struggling to make it into the middle class. He photographed a series of images for the Indian Service. These photographs were of real life, not staged romantic creations of the past. His photos were used by the Indian Service as an educational tool, shown to Native Americans as examples of unhealthy living conditions on the reservation. In an ironic twist, of combining past with present, and of perpetuating the more

favorable iconic image, his photo "*The best Indian kitchen on the Crow Reservation*" shows a clean and sparse kitchen. The family of three is dressed in expensive traditional clothing, the women wearing a dress that is decorated with elk teeth. In this image, one could question if Throssel brought in these traditional elements because he felt that the image would be more appealing, that perhaps for a Native American audience this image of the icon was something to be strived for? Or is the message, the adoption of Euro-American ways will equal the re-adoption of Native-American ways? Throssel did produce photographs of the more classic icon for the Euro-American public but they did not achieve the notoriety that Curtis's did.

Curtis's photographs are and were much more popular with the Euro-American public than Throssel's, most likely because Curtis' images held on to the romantic past, a people uncorrupted by civilization, the unchanged icon, whereas most of Throssel's images portrayed the truth. Throssel's photos showed a people working to become part of the culture that had dismantled them. The Euro-American mind would not want to acknowledge that their icon was a myth, and that the dismantling of the culture their Puritan ancestors had once subconsciously envy had been dismantled by their own forefather's doings.

Photography may have enabled artists to capture a posed perception of reality, but artists such as Leigh, Miller, Eastman, Layng, Farny, Catlin, Russell, Remington, and Brush, despite their knowledge of the true Native American, still created the idealized and romanticized the image. By the very nature of their

medium these artists were able to recreate a reality. With a paintbrush, or pencil they could alter time, space, and perceptions. They could create an icon from their imaginations. These artists would paint or sculpt the Wild West as they perceived, or wanted, it to be, creating a mirror for the Euro-American public to see reflected towards themselves; and a true shared American identity.

The Strength of the Visual Symbol

These images these artist created would become a symbol of American history. Entire museums or entire wings are dedicated to Western art, the Smithsonian Institutes house many of it's images of Indians in the National Museum of American Art, and in the National Museum of American. More evidence of the strength of the icon, to be seen as part of the American identity, for when the United States government created the Smithsonian they did not create a National Museum of the American Indian.

The Native American on Display

The Fair

One vehicle for the perpetuation of the ionic image was that of the World Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, and the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898. At the Chicago fair, the Native Americans were part of a living exhibit, placed on display, a people frozen in time by Euro-American culture, a culture that did not want to know that the Native American of the past no longer existed, and that the people who once represented freedom were no longer free. To admit that the icon was not real, would in part be

admitting the falseness of the Euro-American identity being associated with it. The Native Americans on living display at the exposition were part of the anthropology exhibit, and demonstrated dancing, drumming, and craft demonstrations inside a campground. In truth, by 1893, most Native Americans were living on reservations, in wooden homes, and not camping out in wigwams and tepees. Just as many early Euro-Americans saw the Native American as a savage, the World Colombian Exposition did little to dispel the myth, as made evident in a guidebook offered to fair goers. Beneath the photo of two Native American women who were identified as two squaws and not by tribe, the following information was given:

Two Squaws: Any superfluity of sentiment is wasted on the Indian. He prefers scalps to taffy, and fire-water to tracts. He is monotonously hungry to kill somebody, a white man if possible, another Indian if the white man is happily absent. The Indian woman, or squaw, is a shade worse in human deviltry than the male. In the picture above mildness, docility, kindnesses, loveableness, seem impersonated. Yet the records of massacres, for centuries, show that the squaw is the apotheosis on incarnate fiendishness. These two, "Pretty Face" and Mary Hairy-Chin" may have never scalped, nor built a fire around a prisoner, or flayed an enemy alive, but that does not signify they would not do it if they had the chance. Serfs they always are: friends never: companionable in the inverse ratio of distance. They belong to no ethical societies, dress reform

clubs or art cliques: nor are sewing bees or donation parties in their categories of enjoyment. Savages, pure and cunning, they give to the Midway the shadows of characters that cannot be civilized, and the solemnity of appearances as deceptive as the veiled claws of a tiger. (Spindell, 2002, p. 51)

The Euro-American fairgoer may have found Pretty Face and Mary Hairy Chin quite intriguing within the safety of the midway. The description and the image represented something unobtainable for the white man, the freedom of the savage life. In contrast, a photo of Chief Rain-in-the-Face, a photo more in liking to the iconographic Plains Indian of De Saint Mémin, with feather and peace-pipe in hand. The caption beneath This photo points out Chief Rain-in-the Face's place as a murderer, but at the same time calls him a hero, an indication once again of the American fondness for the Plains Indian icon, and a heroic shared history.

The inclusion of Native Americans at the World Colombian Exposition combined with the fact that the living displays were created by Frederick Putnam of the Harvard's Peabody Museum, gave validity to some rather erroneous facts. According to Joy Kasson, these "ethnological exhibitions had an implied historical and political moral: the superiority of European civilization and the inevitability of its dominance" (Kasson, 2000, p. 218). "Live exhibits evoked a stereotypical and perhaps nostalgic response to the inevitable disappearance of Indian cultures and stressed their difference from the fairgoers..." (Kosmider, 2001 n.p.). A

reflection that the attitudes of Euro-Americans in the late 1800's did not differ much from those of their Puritan ancestors.

Though not directly a part of the World Colombian Exposition, members of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show did partake in the opening ceremonies and in a perfect example of fictionalizing history. Perpetuating the mythic Plains warrior, twelve Sioux men wearing Plains dress, and full feathered headdresses, took part in a skit in which they greeted Columbus as he discovered America. In reality, Columbus would have met Caribbean Natives, not Sioux, but, by 1893, the year this skit was acted out, the Plains Indian was the only Indian Euro-American public knew, or would accept as authentic.

The Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of Omaha was so impressed with Putnans' live exhibit in Chicago that they replicated it, employing up to 500 Native Americans in its display. The Omaha Exposition sought to be 'thoroughly aboriginal in every respect (Kosmider, 2001, n.p.). Kosmider implies that the live exhibits express a desire to gaze past the present into a period that envisioned Indian cultures in their "pristine state before white contact, a Rousseauian view of Indian cultures that obviously still carried force in the conceptualization of Indianness" (Kosmider, 2001, n.p.) The 1904 World's Fair included an exhibit aimed at teaching the public about human progress. More like a human zoo, the exhibit included over 2000 Intuit, African and Native American people. One section of the exhibit included a Native American schoolhouse, aimed at showing the progress the Native American would make from savage to

civilized through education. If the Native American people were on their way to being civilized, then the Euro-American public still had the right to own the image of the savage, whether that image be in print, or in flesh and blood on display. The image was the Euro-American's to be used as they wished. Such exhibits allowed the public to freeze in time their image of the Native American. It allowed them to continue to hold on to its icon, for the displays before them validated the reality of the icon's existence. It also allowed the Euro-American to freeze in time a period in which the American identity was not challenged by the industrialization of a nation.

The Wild West Show

The World's Fair may have placed the Native American on ethnographic display, but, the Wild West show not only placed them on display, but the display traveled throughout the United States, and in Europe, and displayed the mythic warrior in action. The dime novel of American literature had prepared the Euro-American public for the theatrics of the Wild West show, bringing to life the fantasizes read about in books. From the safety of their seats, spectators could watch the "representations of the rugged life of a primitive man" (Kasson, 2000, p. 55), and enable the viewers to romanticize the past. William Frederick Cody is perhaps the most well known and most prolific of the wild west shows, but up to 116 other circuits existed, led by such people as Texas Jack, Pawnee Bill, May Cody and the Knights of the Plains, Adam Forepaugh, Doc Carvers, and the Miller Brothers, and even the famous P.T. Barnum of the circus world used

buffalo hunts to perpetuate the Plains Indian image. The Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch and Wild West Show was still performing in 1949, continuing to meet the Euro-Americans need to identify with authentic Indians. Buffalo Bill, however, was the best known, and the most successful and it is his shows in particular that helped to shape the country's perception of who and what the Plains Indian were.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West ran from 1882 to 1913 and during these years he took the recreation, escapism, freedom, and masculinity that was already associated with the west and placed them all in a colorful and exciting package called Buffalo Bill's Wild West. These shows would contain such acts as stage coaches being chased by Native American, buffalo hunts by both Natives and non-Natives, imitations of Custer's last stand, and displays of horsemanship and marksmanship. Buffalo Bill's shows would begin with the playing of the national anthem, which can be viewed as a direct aim at connecting his show and the west with American patriotism and American identity. Even before the wild west show began, elaborate parades were held, as the cast and crew made their way through town. Wearing full costume, the viewing public was again reinforced with the image of the Plains Indian icon as real, and as normal, a predecessor to the baton whirling, feather wearing children marching in Forest Lake Minnesota, in 1963.

The majority of those Native Americans who were employed by Buffalo Bill were from Plains Indian tribes and attempted authenticity, but his portrayal of these people grew more inaccurate and more entertaining as time passed. Like

most showmen, he gave his audience what they wanted, and that was the wild Indian in feathers and on horseback, along with bronco riding cowboys and sharp shooting experts. The Plains Indian the actors were creating in the arena were no longer representational of the real people outside the arena. History and circumstance had changed the life of the Native American, but within the realm of the Wild West show the icon prevailed. "This wild west show reached for the power of the myth" (Kasson, 2000, p. 160) and as Carol Spindell wrote, "Buffalo Bill took American nostalgia for the frontier experience and played it for all it was worth" (Spindell, 2002, p. 110). Entrenched in Euro-America's view of the west is the icon of the Plains Indian. Buffalo Bill himself felt his shows were enriched by the inclusion of Native Americans. The men on Buffalo Bill's stage, the real Plains Indians, allowed the viewer to take possession of the behavior they saw staged before them and mimic it. In a stepped back way the audience could view the misrule their forefathers used to gain independence.

Posters and Handbills: Visual Images of the Wild West Show

Perhaps more powerful than the images enacted on stage were the images people could take home with them, real tangible images, which could be shared with others and viewed long after Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show had left for the next town. One such image is that of the *Death of Yellow Hand*. This image depicted Cody standing over the lifeless body of a Native American named Yellow Hand, who Buffalo Bill had killed in 1876 during the Battle of Little Big Horn. Cody stands over Yellow Hand's body holding high in his out stretched

arm the feathered headdress and scalp Yellow Hands scalp. Like a symbolic trophy, the headdress is easily recognizable both as that of the enemy and of a fallen hero. This image would also be reprinted under such names as *Cody's First Scalp for Custer* and a *Duel with Yellow Hand*, and would be published as full color lithographs, and show programs. As recently as 1976, Paul Neumann reenacted this symbolic image of triumph over the Native American in the film *Buffalo Bill and the Indians*, helping to prove that the power of an image lasts long after the artist and the models are gone.

The image of Cody's victory over Yellow Hand was not the only image Buffalo Bill used to perpetuate the icon of the west and the American Indian. The large colorful lithograph posters used to advertise his shows depicted the wondrous adventures one could witness if they attended one of Bill's shows. Images such as battles with Native Americans, stagecoach chases, men on horse back, and buffalo hunts, and even football on horseback (cowboys vs. Indians) were all part of the allure. "Each time the viewer encountered them, the images became more familiar and reinforced the impression that they represented an external reality" (Kasson, 2000, p. 57). Buffalo Bill employed Russian Cossacks, vaqueros', Arabian acrobats, Whirling dervishes, bronco riders, Annie Oakley, sharpshooters, and cowboys, but it was the Indian who received the most publicity for they were the main attraction. Bill could have used white actors to play the Indians but the audience wanted real Indians. On June 15th, 1899, a Boston paper gave this description of one of Buffalo Bill's

shows. “The Indians with feathers streaming in the wind created by their own mad speed, threaded the pitching, twisting mass of horsemen with unerring eye, their shrill whoops pulsating weirdly through the crowded pavilions” (Blackstone, 1996, p. 56). Here once again, as with Mary Rowlandson in 1675, Benjamin Franklin in 1753 and in 1899, the Euro-American is still captivated by the voice of the Native American.

As works of art, Buffalo Bill’s posters, just as Curtis’ photos, were wonderful examples of well-executed art. Cody’s posters printed in full color and on a large scale with bold writing were and are an impressive example of print art. However, as an example of the Plains Indian, they were not as wonderful as the techniques employed to create them. A 1903 lithograph titled *The Visit of the Majesties*, (Figure 10) shows a top hated European visiting a group of Native Americans. Of the eight Native Americans standing behind him, six are wearing full headdress and the majority of them are carrying feather poles. It would have been highly unlikely that Buffalo Bill would have employed six chiefs, for the headdress is reserved for tribal chiefs. Each Native American has the stern features made famous by the portraits of Charles Balthazer Fevert de Saint-Mémin in 1804, and the 1839 portrait of Big Elk. The image of the Native American on the poster was often that of the villain, helping again to perpetuate the stereotype of the savage. Posters for Bill’s shows were well distributed and highly visible helping to ensure a large audience. In a poster titled *Buffalo Bill to the Rescue*, which is reminiscent of Vanderlyn’s *The Death of Jane McCrae*, you

see a white woman being attacked by a Native American. Only in this rendition Bill, unlike the British soldier in Vanderlyn's painting, rescues the woman from her attackers. "The image of the virile western hero never lost its allure as a symbol of the American spirit" (Kasson, 2000, p. 266). All heroes need their enemy and for Buffalo Bill and the thousands of people, who attended his shows, they were in their minds creating a romanticized villain, one not so much to be feared, but one idealized. The vital part of the American history the crowd was viewing in the arena was an American history that they, the Euro-American audience, could claim ownership to.

One of Buffalo Bill's employees and poster image was Chief Iron Tail. A 1907 poster depicted him in the classic profile, wearing the symbolic headdress and keeping a stern expression. So symbolic of the American icon was Chief Iron Tail, that it was his portrait that became one of the models for the Buffalo head nickel. Along with Chief Iron Tail, chiefs Two Moons and Big Tree also poised. Kings, rulers, and presidents had been placed on the face of money. For the profile of a Native American to be placed on one in 1913, was testament to the power of the image and the importance it held for the American public. "In cities around the country people waited in long lines to get the new nickel" (Morrison, 2002, p. 29). After Buffalo Bill's Wild West ceased performing in 1913, the Miller brothers employed Chief Iron Tail. A 1913 poster for the 101 Ranch displays only one person, the full body image of Chief Iron Tail, dressed in the Plains Indian costume the Euro-American public had grown to expect on all

Native Americans. The poster proclaimed “Iron Tail, America’s Representative Indian Chief, the chief that made the nickel famous” (Figure 11) (Russell, 1970, p. 101). The Buffalo Head nickel or Indian Head nickel as it was also called was minted until the year 1938, when its twenty-five year circulation came to an end. The image of Chief Iron Tail, and many other Native Americans before and after him, was the image of the icon, an image, which reflected back to the viewer, the undying strength of an American history and an American character.

Not only did the poster help to perpetuate the image of the Native American as an icon of American culture, but also so did the programs, which accompanied the theatrics. An 1885 program included not only the much-published *Death of Yellow Hand*, but an article on Native American religion. Perhaps this was an attempt to disseminate the myth of a vanishing people or an attempt at salvage anthropology. Also found in this program is a passage written by John Nelson, a trapper and guide who was a member of Buffalo Bill’s entourage. In what is reminiscent of D.H. Lawrence and Crèvecoeur, who pondered the attraction of the Native American life, John Nelson wrote:

It is hard to realize that hundreds of our own race and blood, very often intelligent and even accomplished men, gladly exchange all the comforts of our mode of life for the privations and danger relived by the freedom and fascination of the nomads of the Plains. (Kasson, 2000, p. 177)

Buffalo Bill offered to his audience a way to take his show home with them. The programs were more like booklets relaying the stories and adventures

of Bill's life, as well as human-interest stories of his staff, including the Native Americans. The Wild West show also offered souvenir photos of the cast members, allowing the American public to take home with them their own Indian. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show helped to satisfy the Euro-American need to know, just as the Puritans and the Revolutionist before them. The members of Bill's audience needed to know more about the person, the icon, performing on the arena floor. Understanding the icon could allow the person in the audience to know who and what it meant to be an American. The icon in action representing the unrestrained freedom of the American spirit and identity.

Buffalo Bill became symbolic of the West for many Euro-Americans, so much a symbol that not only does he have a city named after him, but his own museum as well. Within this museum, according to Joy Kasson, there was on display up until 1995 the famous scalp and headdress of Yellow Hand, a symbol and trophy Bill thought so important that it perpetuated itself as an icon even after Cody's and Yellow Hand's death.

The Wild West show was not the only method of displaying the icon to the public. Timothy J. McCoy, who was the technical director for the 1922 western film, *The Covered Wagon*, in order to promote the film, took on tour the Native American cast members, placing them on display, to perpetuate for the public, an image of a way of life that no longer existed.

Travel: Medicine Shows and Tourism

Medicine shows were also a popular vehicle to display Native Americans to the Euro-American audience. Mary Calhoun, author of *Medicine show: Conning people and making them like it* wrote in her book, "The Indian - strong, pure, wise in herbs, surely the Indian knew the secrets of nature and could heal every ailment people reasoned" (Calhoun, 1976, p. 28). The image reflective of Rousseau's nature's child. Medicine shows traveled through rural America from the 1850's to 1940, and had such names as, Kickapoo Indian Medicine Company, the Oregon Indian Medicine Company, and Doc McDonald's Indian Medicine Show. The goal of these shows was to sell medicine through entertainment, and part of this entertainment was the display of the Native Americans in the show. Calhoun (1976) describes how the Checkup Indian Medicine Company included war dances and drumming, and discusses that other medicine shows had Native American cast members, who may not have acted, but were present merely to add atmosphere. The Native American would also act as the shows ballyhoo, the attention getter that would draw in the crowds. The image of the Native American helped to add to the attractiveness of the products. The familiarity with the Native American image, its strength as an icon is ubiquitous. "After the Civil War, a type of medicine show with more universal appeal both in the North and South began to develop - the Indian medicine show" (Calhoun, 1976, p. 26). As it is today, image in advertising can make or break a product. For many medicine shows, it was the image of the

Indian that was everything. Cliff Mann, the son of a comedian who traveled with his father and Doc McDonald's Indian Medicine Show wrote: "My dad was one-quarter Cherokee Indian, but my Uncle by marriage was the real Indian of the group, a Choctaw, he had coal-black hair, wore feathers for the image" (cited in Calhoun, 1976, p. 7).

Cliff Mann went on to describe Doc McDonald who "really was an Indian medicine man" (Calhoun, 1976, p. 7). "He'd come out in a white jacket, with his hair long and black, feathers on his head, a big man up there on stage-impressive... he was the man the crowd had been waiting for" (Calhoun, 1976, p. 11).

The products these medicine shows were promoting were a con, usually created out of a mixture of off-the-shelf products from a drug store, and were not Native American medicinal herbs.. Medicine show products included the blood-cleansing Checkup Indian Sagwa, Checkup Indian Oil complete with the iconic image of a headdress-wearing Indian on the bottle, and Doc McDonald's Magic Corn Salve. Medicine shows were a large source of entertainment for people in rural America. The shows not only brought promise of health and magic cures to its audience, but also displayed to them their icon. Who could resist a product created by and promoted by an icon?

The advent of American tourism, especially in the southwestern United States was another method of displaying the American icon. Tourism allowed Euro-Americans to view, visit, and experience their icon in their home

environment. Even today, vacationing and touring are recreational activities, or an escape from every day life. The advent of industrialization helped to create leisure time and part of that time was filled with touring and camping. Many Euro-Americans chose to visit the southwest. The southwest was a place the white hobbyist and any Euro-American who chose to, could meet their icon in person, and purchase from them souvenirs, trinkets, and have their photo taken with their living and breathing icon. Even D.H. Lawrence, the man who mused about the adoration of the Native American, visited the southwest and saw the icon in person. In 1924, Lawrence returned from a trip in which he had the opportunity to see the Hopi Snake Dance. He wrote this about his encounter:

And the Indian, with his long hair and bits of pottery and blankets and clumsy home-made trinkets, he's a wonderful toy to play with. More fun than keeping rabbits, and just as harmless. Wonderful, really, hopping round with a snake in his mouth. Lots of fun! Oh the wild west of lots of fun; the Land of Enchantment (cited in Jojola, 1996, p. 41).

This description of Lawrence's is not glorifying, nor reflective of the repulsion he wrote the Puritans had of the Native American. Yet the captivation of the Native American had affected Lawrence, as it did the many other Euro-Americans who toured the southwest. Just as a person could keep a rabbit, Lawrence implied that one could keep an Indian. The message was symbolic of the sense of collective ownership. The tourist not only could take home the souvenirs and photographs, but the memories also.

The Indian on display combined the many manifestations of the icon and its link to the American identity. The people in the audience could see Indians being played before them. The posters, guidebooks and medicinal labels created the visual mirror which to see oneself though another. The pre-show parades would eventually become children in feathers whirling batons in 1963 Minnesota. The music and the drama of the shows and displays would be a reminder of what Mary Rowlandson and Benjamin Franklin described as reminiscent of hell. Indians on display provided for the Euro-American everything their repressed desires and struggle with an “aboriginal place” longed for. The Indian on display could represent home.

The Indian as a Marketing Image

The image of the Native American icon as a marketing tool began with the image by Euro-Americans to market themselves in newspapers and broadsides as something other than their British counterparts. British press, as discussed earlier by Deloria (1998) would also use the image of the Native American to sell the American Revolutionists as savage and uncivilized.

As Americans grew more confident in their personal identity, the iconic image would become to be used to market products. One such product was that of tobacco. The image used not only for the rather logical link of the introduction of the plant to Europeans by Native Americans, but also for the fact that smoking was seen as a somewhat of a scandalous act, and the image of an Indian on the

box would reach to a person's repressed desires of freedom, and that smoking, like donning Indian dress could be seen as acting out these desires.

Selling Tobacco

The Native American female according to a 1992 *Feminist Studies* essay was one of the primary methods of advertising tobacco during the turn of the twentieth century. The study also discusses that Turkish, Gypsy and Asian women were also used. The image of the Native American women was used on cigar boxes, and other tobacco products. Perhaps partly because society at the time frowned upon the Euro-American women smoking and using the image of a Euro-American women would not have been marketable. The Native American women on the cigar box was often poised seductively, reminding one of the virginal American landscape ready for exploitation by the Euro-American man. Like the wilderness and frontier of America the cigar and cigarette was meant to give pleasure, to satisfy ones desires.

Because smoking seen as a social and recreational act, the tobacco companies did not use images that showed hostility between Natives and non-Natives. The images were a romanticization in line with those of Fanny and Shaw. The icon in the form of a women would, from reading *Feminists Studies*, would often be depicted like her male counterpart, riding a horse, shooting a bow and arrow or holding a tomahawk, wearing the stereotypic feather in her hair. The consumer who saw these images may have seen her as symbolic of the freedom associated both with the west and the American identity. The

seductively poised women on the cigar box was also shown offering tobacco as a gift, her skin according *Feminist Studies* was the color of tobacco. The Indian iconic princess offering to the buyer, not only herself and the tobacco, but also another vehicle in which one could strengthen their American identity through the purchase of an indigenous product. In 1904 Red Man Tobacco began use the icon to sell its product nationally, Today Redman chewing tobacco still uses the image of a male Native American, and for years Marlboro used the stereotypic foe of the Indian, the cowboy Marlboro Man, in magazines and television to sell its product.

The cigar box and label were not the only way in which the icon and tobacco would become linked Cigar Store Indians, were another method of marketing and use of the icon. Beginning in the early 1800's and lasting up into the mid 1900's statues could still be found. Most were carved in the East Coast, primarily New York, though a few were carved in Europe, the myth once again crossing the barrier of the sea. By 1860 the accepted sign for a tobacco shop was the cigar store Indian who would not only appear at the store entrance in three-dimensional form but also in newspaper print ads. So popular did these cigar store Indians become that the shops such as William Demuth and Company that created the statues had large illustrated catalogs, showrooms and held exhibits. Like the early two dimensional art that portrayed the icon, the cigar store Indian began somewhat crudely and over simplified, but just as the art of etching and painting became more refined so did the skill of the carvers. Some

early cigar store Indians were Europeanized, the artist creating a Native American image that appeared to be more like Caesar dressed in robes.

The art of the cigar store Indian became more advanced, and with its popularity the attention to detail as well as a personification of the icon evolved. The sculptures were constructed either out of wood or zinc, and would be tarred or painted. Frederick Fried's (1970) illustrations of cigar store Indians show the majority of them in the standard pose of having the right arm stretched out offering tobacco leaves while at the left would be barrel or crates of tobacco leaves. Symbolic of the what the Indian had to offer, what the white man would take, and also of the abundance of not only the product but of America itself. The statues right hand held upward was also a symbol of one having peaceful intention. This Native American carved in wood or cast in metal was a friendly Indian and not one to be feared. The figure, whether it be a man or a woman would often have a headdress created out of tobacco leaves. The statue *Goddess of Liberty*, (Figure 12) (1888-1902) from the shop of Robb Mann depicts a Columbia type figure with dark skin, draped in the American flag, a figure, which is reminiscent of the Revolution.

Many of the cigar store Indians as works of art are incredibly detailed and demonstrate the skills of premiere carvers. Charles J. Dodge (1806-1886), a carver out of New York, created a piece titled *Seated Indian*. The detail Dodge gave to this piece is incredible, from the texture to the blanket draped about the mans shoulders to the roughness of the bark on the wooden chair he sits upon

this stature is lifelike. The stoic face is classic in its portrayal of the icon, he too has the offering of tobacco in his right hand and in smoking pipe demonstrates he is not one to be feared, he is not the savage of myth, but the noble of the romantic.

Tourism also brought about the use of the Native American image as a marketing tool. The images of the Native American painted by Farny, Remington, and Russell drew people to the west. Vacationing became popular in the southwest courtesy of the railroad and its advertising. People would venture west to witness the Hopi Snake Dancers D.H. Lawrence spoke of. By the mid-twentieth century touring and camping could be seen as the Euro-Americans mode of escapism and also an attempt to experience a little bit of the wilderness and perhaps the Indianess their revolutionary forefathers experienced.

Postcards and Trading Cards

The tourism industry used postcards and prints to entice the Euro-American. One example of this is from Northern Minnesota. Northern Minnesota is the indigenous land of the Anishinabe, however from the 1920's to the mid-1950's the area promoted itself in postcards depicting Ojibwe people in feathered headdresses of the Plains icon, seating in front of tepees and wigwams, "dancers in feathered bonnets were a stereotypic bonanza" (Desjarliat, 1993, p. 11). Across the northern woods of Minnesota, totem poles and large statues of the brave with hand outstretched, similar to the cigar store Indian were being placed in front of hotels and tourist stops. These images perpetuated the myth that all Native

Americans fit into the role of the Plains Indian icon. As Patrick Desjarlait (1993) states:

For the good of northern economics, the land of the Ojibway became the land of the homogenetic "American Indian". Picture postcards were released regionally as well as nationally, complete with captions like *Real Indian Chief, Authentic Indian Princess, Brave Indian Warriors*. These same photographs were also released as framing prints and book illustrations. The picture post cards provided the impetus for the development of an invented Ojibway *present*. Seeing is believing and white people, circa 1930-55, believed what they saw - photographs of authentic Ojibway Indians in war bonnets and squaws with papooses who lived in the present. (Desjarlait, 1993, p. 11)

In Desjarlait's statement one can see a similarity to the poster of Chief Iron Tail which promoted him as Americas representative Chief, the famed prints like the programs of Buffalo Bills show allowed the Euro-American to take their Indian home with them. Like the art of the western artist, tourist advertising created an illusion that what on saw was true, the postcards romanticized the past and reflected to the viewer a shared history. Even those postcards that depicted the Ojibwe in traditional activities were, like the photographs of Catlin, an attempt to recreate the past for a public who refused to believe it has vanished.

A precursor to the postcard was the trading card. Which were usually used to promote products to the general public. Similar to baseball cards these trading

cards were collected by individuals and traded. Thousands of trading cards were produced during from 1870 - 1900, a time when government policies were aimed at Native American containment. These trading cards often used minority figures, exaggerating racial stereotypic characteristics and often posing people in demeaning positions. African American images could be found on cards for stove polish (stove black), and Chinese Americans could be seen on trading cards for laundry soap.

The image of the Native American on trading cards fell into two genres. One was more common and that was to advertise a product. Products such as perfume, corn and fertilizer would use the image of the icon. The use of the icon to advertise agricultural products could be seen as a link between the Euro-American beliefs that the Native America would become farmers. However it was the second genre of trading cards, which though produced less what was the more popular mode of depicting the icon. These were the historic trading cards, cards that depicted the Indian other, the hostile savage yet also depicted the American self, through the images of shared history and the images of ones repressed desires.

The Railroad Poster

Just as the Wild West show used the poster to advertise by the 1830's this form of marketing strengthened by tourism became popular with the railroad. The railroad offered artists free trips, and commission them to create works of the southwest. The railroad also hired artists to work within their advertising

departments to create bold colorful promotional posters. Many of these posters used the image of the Native American to lure the American public aboard the railroad that would take them to the American frontier, to the American west. The Santa Fe Railroad used the image of the icon in many of its posters. Louis Trevis an artist who worked for the Santa Fe and created many of their advertising posters said in 1921

“Commercial art in the West typifies all of the best there is in art anywhere. The West is a land of romance, local color, adventure, freedom, originality and those things that enter into real Americanism. It is far enough removed from the influence of Europe to develop a flavor all its own” (Gruber & Zega, 2002, p.47).

Trevis statement is similar to the Revolutionist who donned Indian dress to proclaim an American and an un-British identity. Another railroad artist Oscar Bryn chose to depict the Native American in many of his posters. His 1917 poster is dominated by the words Snake Dance and the image of a Hopi dancer. (Figure 13) The words Santa Fe are partially concealed by the dancers legs; In this case the image of the Indian, not the identity of the company is the selling point. This image of the dancer would have been attractive to the white hobbyist who themselves “played the dancing Indian”

Railroad posters of the 1920 - 1950's were bold, romantic and colorful, following an Art Deco style. As time went on the poster relied more on images rather than the written information that would have appeared on earlier posters.

Destination posters to such places as Yellow Stone and the Grand Canyon would combine the image of the icon with images of the landscape in a visual symbol of the open frontier. Some posters focused on the Native American themselves, offering Indian detour side trips, and trips to Hopi reservations. A 1930 magazine ad by Santa Fe artist Hernando Villa uses the words "The drums are calling you" and depicts three Hopi Native American. In this case Villa may not have used the image of the chief he would become famous for to entice people westward, but is the image of the Native Americans allowed the Euro-American mind to imagine that by answering the calling of those drums they may achieve a bit of the freedom the people in the picture possessed. Leah Dilworth remarks in her book *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, that the Santa Fe posters "and spoke to middle class desires and anxieties"

(www.ecit.emory.edu/ECIT/visculture/projects/Laura/introduction.htm)

In 1926 the creation of the Santa Fe Chief train enable the railroad to use the Plains Indian image as a focal point in its advertising campaign. C.J. Birchfield of the AT & SF Railroad named the new train, "his choice was attuned to the Indian saga characteristics of the companies advertising... The Chief's logos was "a profile of a war bonnet-clad Indian chiefs head set against the Santa Fe Cross logo on the diagonal" (Gruber & Zega, 2002, p. 76) The artist who created this logo was Hernando Villa, who like Farny and Russell was enamored with the Native American. "To Villa the chief represented an ideal Indian...(Gruber & Zega, 2002, p. 76) Like many artist of the west Villa spent time

studying his subjects Villa himself said “ spent six months with the Arapahos studying them and learning their ways.” (Cited in Gruber & Zega, 2002, p. 76).

Villa's posters often depicted the Native American male in profile with the aquiline nose and angular face that Morton so admired in 1839. The Native American of Villa's poster also wears the headdress and keeps the stoic expression on his face that the Euro-American audience had come to expect of its icon. (Figure 14) The iconic image of Villa's dominated the posters; no image of a train or any image associated with the railroad was used. The lure of the west, which one obtained by traveling by train needed only the image of the icon to meet it's intent.

“Villa treated the Native American with a respect that approached reverence and sought to dispel stereotypical attitudes that they all looked alike. He expressed hope that his images would contribute to a more enlightened outlook...You must have a feeling for the Indian to draw him he declared” (Gruber & Zega, 2002, p. 77)

Perhaps Villa like Catlin also wished to create a nations park which to keep the Indian. Despite his sentiment that all Indians did not look alike, Villa's Chief images were what the icon public wanted. His feelings of respect and reverence may have come partly out of the romanticized images he created. Railroad posters would not depict the realities of reservation life; poverty and destitution would not have made the railroad money, or have been attractive to the consumers.

By 1937 the image of the icon had changed from merely print ad for the Santa Fe to actual locomotive design.

The 1937 Super Chief, one of the most remarkable trains of all time. Its red-and-silver diesel locomotive were painted in a design that was intended to resemble an Indian Chiefs war bonnet, while its interiors replicated ancient Navajo and Hopi designs (Gruber & Zega, 2002, p. 125)

The posters created by the Santa Fe and other railroads were like Buffalo Bills posters, wonderful examples of technique, professionally executed and designed. Despite their artistic value they perpetuated the myth of the homogeneous Native American and of Manifest Destiny.

Agrilithography : Crate Labels

The tobacco and railroad industries were not the only large industries to use the Native American icon to promote its product. Beginning in the 1880's and lasting until the introduction of corrugated cardboard in 1950, produce companies such as Washington Dehydrated Food Company would use wooden crates to ship their produce across America. With the creation of a mass railroad system California oranges could be found in New York. The railroad also allowed the proper ink and papers to be shipped out west enabling litho houses to produce vivid and eye catching labels often containing the image of the icon, which would be adhered to the end of the wooden crates. These lithographic images would be used as store displays, the crates set out for the consumer to see.

Like the images created by Villa and other railroad artist the labels on the end of a fruit or vegetable crate were an prime example of the Art Deco style transformed into a advertising too. The images were colorful, well executed and as blueskysearch.com states, "appeal to the senses". (www.blueskysearch.com) Like Villa's image many of the produce labels helped to perpetuate the image of the icon. Many of the artists who created the images that graced the ends of the wooden crates were immigrants, and most labels were created anonymously. German immigrants who worked in the litho houses of California produced many of the prime examples of agrilithography blueskysearch.com writes

fruit crate labels from the early 20th century document many European artists initial impression and romantic notions of life in the United States. Perhaps their idealized portraits of glorious fruit, colorful cowboys and Indians, rosy cheeked children and wholesome pin-up-girls rejected the spirit of optimism shared by immigrant artist recently arrived in the fertile agricultural regions of California" (www.blueskysearch.com)

In reading blueskysearch.com's statement one could ask did the new immigrant artist also have the feeling that America was the land were you can have your cake and eat it to, a land of possibilities? That many of these new immigrants were searching for a new identity in a new land just as the Puritans did. Did the immigrant artist see in the Native American a truly American symbol, the type of freedom obtainable only in the United States, the dame freedom the Revolutionist fought for?

Both Big Chief Beets and Yakima Chief Apples (Figure 15) of Yakima Washington use the familiar portrait of a Native American man wearing full headdress. Just as the railroad posters often omitted the image of the train, produce labels often omitted the image of the actual product. Relying on the image of the icon, or sometimes knight and queens to attract a buyer's attention. The Consolidated Citrus Growers Ariz Glo label (figure 16), not only romanticized the icon of the past, the nature's child astride a horse, but also romanticized the West, as the horseman overlooks a dessert vista. The website for Antique Label Company offers some insight on how these labels reflected the American psyche,

beautifully designed and printed to enchant the world into sharing a bounteous bite from our fruited plain...these labels capture the images of our romantic frontier past in vivid detail... they represent the luxuriant promise of health, wealth and adventure that came out of the west.

(www.antiquelabelcompany.com)

These romantic versions of the west and of the icon were not limited to the Native American male. Like tobacco the Indian "princess" was also used to sell produce. Rialito Orange Company used a slightly Anglicized version of the Indian maiden to sell its Western Queen brand oranges, like the Yakima Chief no actual fruit product appears on the label. The W. G. Roe Company of Winter Haven Florida created a very romantic label, drawing perhaps from the tale of Minnehaha. (Figure 17) The Indian woman, clothed only in a loincloth paddles a

canoe in a Floridian landscape. Though the year in which the label was created is not known it is less likely that a European female would have appeared so scantily dressed. Like the women who appeared on the tobacco boxes this women may have brought about thoughts of the fertility not only of the grower but also of the west and the women herself. References to the Native American image can still be found today. Currently, Rucharay Chilee Apples of Santiago Chile uses the image of a Plains Indian teepee on their box, a reminder of the more dominate images of Native Americans that were used in the past.

The Twentieth Century

The use of the icon to advertise still continues to persist in America. In 1969 the American Tobacco Company Division adopted the stylized image of Chief Powhattan as it corporate logo. The Handee Manufacturing Company who first built the Indian Motorcycle (Figures 18 and 19) began using its image of the icon in 1901 and continued to do so under Dupont (Figures 20 and 21) until 1953. The Indian motorcycle reappeared in 1999 when the corporation changed ownership, today the corporate logo can be found on more then just the gas tanks of a motorcycle, but on t-shirts and leather jackets as well. The Indian Motorcycle Corporation states it is sensitive to the Native American concerns over stereotypes and claims, “ we do not have (emblems) that are caricatures of Native American people” (Egelko, 2002, p. A23). The Indian Motorcycle Corporation’s logo is not a cartoon or caricature of a Native American, it is rather it is a classic stylized depiction of a male Native American, in profile wearing the

standard headdress. reminiscent to the silhouettes created by Peale in 1806. When this logo was created did the Native American logo, and the Indian motorcycle itself represent the freedom of the open road? Also just as smoking, was seen at its introduction as an unconventional product so to conceivably was the motorcycle. Both products using the icon as a marketing tool which could be associated with proclaiming ones independent identity from the status quo, just as one proclaimed identity in donning Indian dress during the Revolutionary and Vietnam Wars.

Products, which are believed to have a historical or actual connection to Native American culture, also use the icon as a marketing image. Products, such as the Money House Blessing Sandalwood Incense, marketed by E. Davis International of Watertown New York. Central to the products packaging is the profile of the male Indian icon, beneath his image are the words Indian spirit To strengthen the message the icon also appears on the back of the package. The misuse of this image for this product is apparent not only in the use of money and the Native American together, for money was generally an unknown concept to early Native Americans. Also the use of sandalwood is derived from a tree which grows in East Indian and Malaysia not North America. Just like the early images of the icon misconceptions and romantic notions are placed upon the image to reflect what the Euro-American audience wants to see and wants to believe in. The company itself located in New York is far from the indigenous lands of the Plains icon the package represents. One could even surmise that at one time

incense was linked like smoking and the motorcycle to a counter culture proclaiming their identity.

Sometimes the use of the icon in advertising is subliminal. An April 21st 2003, Singular commercial aired on ABC showed a boy arriving home from summer camp. The point of the ad is that despite his allergies he enjoyed his time a summer camp and the boy relates to his mother of his adventure with snake. However, the ad reminiscent of Seton demonstrates the Euro-American link of summer camps and the education of youth in Native American activities. As the mother and son walk off together the mother holds in her hand a dreamcatcher, a symbol that many Euro-Americans viewers can associate with the Native American. This commercial, indirectly perpetrating the idea that summer camp is associated with Native American's and child's play.

Other forms of advertising directly connect the notion of the wilderness with the Native American. During the 1960's posters flooded the market as a marketing tool. Some of the posters were aimed at and created by the counter culture of the time used the Native American image in connection to the "nature's child" image, spiritual enlightenment and freedom the Native American represented. The image titled *Real Bread, The Stoned Union of Hippies* (artist unknown) created in 1968 uses an Native American male, in place of the image of George Washington on a dollar bill. The Native American portrait with a marijuana joint in his mouth is an example of the counter cultures stereotypic connection of Native American and cannabis use. The posters of the 1960's also

used the iconic image as nature's child, a 1967 lithograph created by Alton Kelly and Stanley Mouse for the Sierra Club's 10th Biennial Wilderness Conference depicts a sepia tone image of a Native American man on horse back. Sitting on his horse atop a stony ridge the man sits with arms outstretched and head lifted upwards. The image seemingly advertises a respect and honor of nature, which the image of the icon instills in the Euro-American audience and a trait the Sierra Club wanted to impart upon the viewers, themselves and the attendees of the conference.

A 1957 Columbia University study "showed that trademarks become part of a children's consciousness before the alphabet does" (Capitman, 1976, p. ix), if this is true then the trading cards, posters and cigar store Indians helped to perpetuate the image of the iconic Indian before a person could choose whether or not to believe them. The continued use of the icon to market product is symbolic of the American public's refusal to give up the shared history and the feeling of collective ownership over the image. It could also be said that the popularity of the icon is a sign that Euro-Americans are still searching for that indigenous place and that the iconic image of the Plains Indian represents the freedom the American identity is so entrenched in.

One needs only to go into their kitchen to witness the continued use of the Native American icon. From Calumet baking powder to Linekugel's beer the image continues to be used to promote products. Open your refrigerator and you may find the image of the Indian maiden on the cover of Land-O-Lakes butter. Or

go to the mailbox, both the May/June issue of AAA Minnesota/Iowa *Home & Away* and the spring 2003 issue of Geico *Direct* used the image of the Native American in traditional dress on their covers. I question whether these travel/auto insurance magazines are connecting travel and adventure with the image of the icon? The image that graces the cover of the AAA magazine (Figure 21) is surprising similar to Farny's Sioux Indian. According to the photographer who took the image for the AAA magazine, what magazines what is "fringes and feathers" (telephone conversation, A. Winn July 2nd 2003)

The image on the cover of AAA magazine is realistic, but not all products attempt to create the icon in a realistic manner. One example of this is produced by Colonial Patterns of Kansas City, Missouri. The image is titled "Here Come the Indians" (figure 23), and is comprised of seven different cartoon-like iron-on transfers of Native American children performing stereotypic Native American "tasks". One image for each day of the week, enabling the buyer to create their own set of dishtowels. The images created in this cartoon like manner equate the activities of Native American life (past) as child's play. Looking through the glossy coupon section of a newspaper you could find advertisements for Honey Bee a life sized porcelain doll in the image of a Native American infant girl. A Paradise Galleries advertisement that appeared in the Saint Paul Pioneer Press promoted this doll as being "crafted in the Apache tradition" as well as "crafted in the Native American tradition" (Nov. 2003)

Recently, April 29th 2003, while standing in line at the check out at a Minnesota Walmart I noticed the icon on a bag of old fashion peppered pemmican. The image of the Native American male in headdress used on a food product originally created by the icon, now created by Goodmark Foods Inc. of San Jose. Tootsie Roll Industries of Chicago Illinois use of the Native American image on its Tootsie Pops (Figure 24) is both an example of the use of the icon and of urban myth. The icon's image first appeared in the 1930's and does not appear on every Tootsie Pop wrapper. It was/is considered good luck to get a pop whose wrapper contained the Indian shooting the star (Figure 25) and finding an Indian meant a free Tootsie Pop. According to Ellen R. Gordon president of Tootsie Roll Industries, Inc. "although we have no record of ever having run a "free pop" of any other kind of promotion based on the Tootsie Pop wrapper. Still this "urban legend" has lived on for many years" (E. Gordon, personnel communication, May 15th 2003). Upon closer inspection of the Native American image it appears to be a children "playing Indian" wearing the long feathered headdress, which has become such a vital part of the icons identity. In a letter from Ellen R. Gordon she wrote " In truth, all of the images on the Tootsie Pop wrapper are of children at play, including the child dressed as a Native American. (E. Gordon, personnel communication, May 15th 2003).

Recently (May 7th 2003), I purchased a bag of Tootsie Pops, out of the 17 pops that were in the bag; three of the pops had wrappers with the Indian

shooting the star. Even with a Tootsie Pop the icon is strived for, perceived as rewarding and in truth is an obtainable myth.

Chapter three

In order for the methods and motivations of the iconography of the Native American by Euro-Americans to change, Euro-Americans will need to reexamine and reinterpret their history. The Euro-American will need to find a new method with which to proclaim the American spirit and a historical identity, which is not created through the identity of some Other. Euro-Americans will also need to become educated and aware of the misrepresentation of the Native American in media.

In re-examining history Euro-Americans will need to discover the roles they played that were distinct from that of the Native American, roles, which helped to create the country and people of the United States.. The Euro-American will need to come to the realization that to equate the Native identity and the Euro-American identity as historical similar and shared is a falsehood. Euro-American history and Native American history did occur side by side: they affected and reflected each other, yet were not a shared history. This history though simultaneous, affected each group differently.

The cultural, psychological, and spiritual difference between Native Americans and the people who colonized the United States were often so great that to suggest that the adoption of Native American traits as complementary is incorrect. This adoption was an act motivated more by actually an adoption more out of greed and self-gratification than an act of tribute. Euro-Americans did not

necessarily “play Indian” to emulate and adore a man. The underlying reason was for the Euro-American to get what they wanted. The popularity of artists like Catlin and Remington are symbolic of Euro-America’s having their cake and eating it to attitude. Some Euro-Americans want to believe that the romantic West, the wide-open spaces and the free man still exist and are still obtainable.

With the continued use of the icon in marketing, with the “playing of Indian” on the athletic field, and with the Fanny and Russell prints available at the mall frame shop, it is difficult for Euro-America to relinquish it’s icon. The Euro-American consumer may attempt to let go of the icon, refuse to buy the products that incorrectly use the icon. The Euro-American and may even have the knowledge of history of white and Native American relations, but with the icons constant presence it is difficult to ignore it’s existence. Euro-Americans will need to realize that part of the construction of the Euro-American identity was based on a group of people whom they oppressed and culturally exterminated. Would the Euro-American conscious be awoken when they realized that they as the “victor” they also earned the spoils. That by viewing the icon they will not see a symbol of their American freedom, but of a freedom taken away. Euro-Americans will no longer hold the icon up on a pedestal when they realize that the pedestal was built by viewing the icon not as he is but as what one wished him to be.

As long as the icon is representative of an American identity built upon freedom and manifest destiny it will be a powerful marketing tool. In short, the

icon sells, and until the American public comes to understand that the icon does not belong to them, it will continue to sell. Some of the companies I wrote about in this paper and requested permission to use their companies iconic image never replied, others preferred that I did not use their image. Perhaps they felt that in doing so they would be admitting the iconic status of their companies' logo. Other companies and publishers granted my request; conceivably they realize the strength and power of the icon. If the Euro-American public becomes aware of the misrepresentation and misuse of the Native American image then the icon will conceivably lose its power.

The Euro-American public will also need to let go of their guilt. The continued iconography of the image could be seen as symbolic of a Euro-American guilt over the past inhumanities done towards the Native American. Perhaps the iconography of the image is a guise for an apology, a statement of appreciation now, to make up for wrong doings of the past. Still for others the image represents the power and pride, of a people whom glory was achieved though the annihilation of a culture and the acquisitions of lands.

The United States is largely a country of immigrants, and despite the fact that much of the countries ancestors were not a part of the Boston Tea Party, Indian Policies, or Westward Expansionism the icon is still romanticized by people whose ancestors were not involved in its historical creation. The perpetuation of the myth among people unconnected with this creation also helps to demonstatre the icons strength.

Education and a re-examination history is an important key element in changing the icon. Euro-Americans will need to find out how the key to the American identity- freedom, was obtained not by the oppression of another, or the emulation of another, but by their own actions. In re-examining history Euro-Americans will also gain the education they need to become aware that their icon is a fairy tale of their own creation, reflecting not themselves or reality, but a made up, fictionalized hero of the past

FIGURES



Figure 1: Sweet Sioux, Parade participants July 4th 1963 Forest Lake Minnesota



Figure 2: Sweet Sioux participant, July 4th 1963 Forest Lake, Minnesota



Figure 3: Sweet Sioux majorette, July 4th 1963 Forest Lake, Minnesota



Figure 4. Joshua Shaw, American 1776 or 1777 - 1860. *The First Ship* ca. 1840-1850. Oil on Canvas, 25 x 36". Credit: Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin, Gift of the C. R. Smith Collection 1976. Photo: George Holmes



Figure 5: Henry Farny, American 1847-1916 *Council of Chiefs*, 1896 Gouache and watercolor 17 1/8" x 28 1/8" Credit: Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin, Gift of C.R. Smith. 1967. Photo: George Holmes

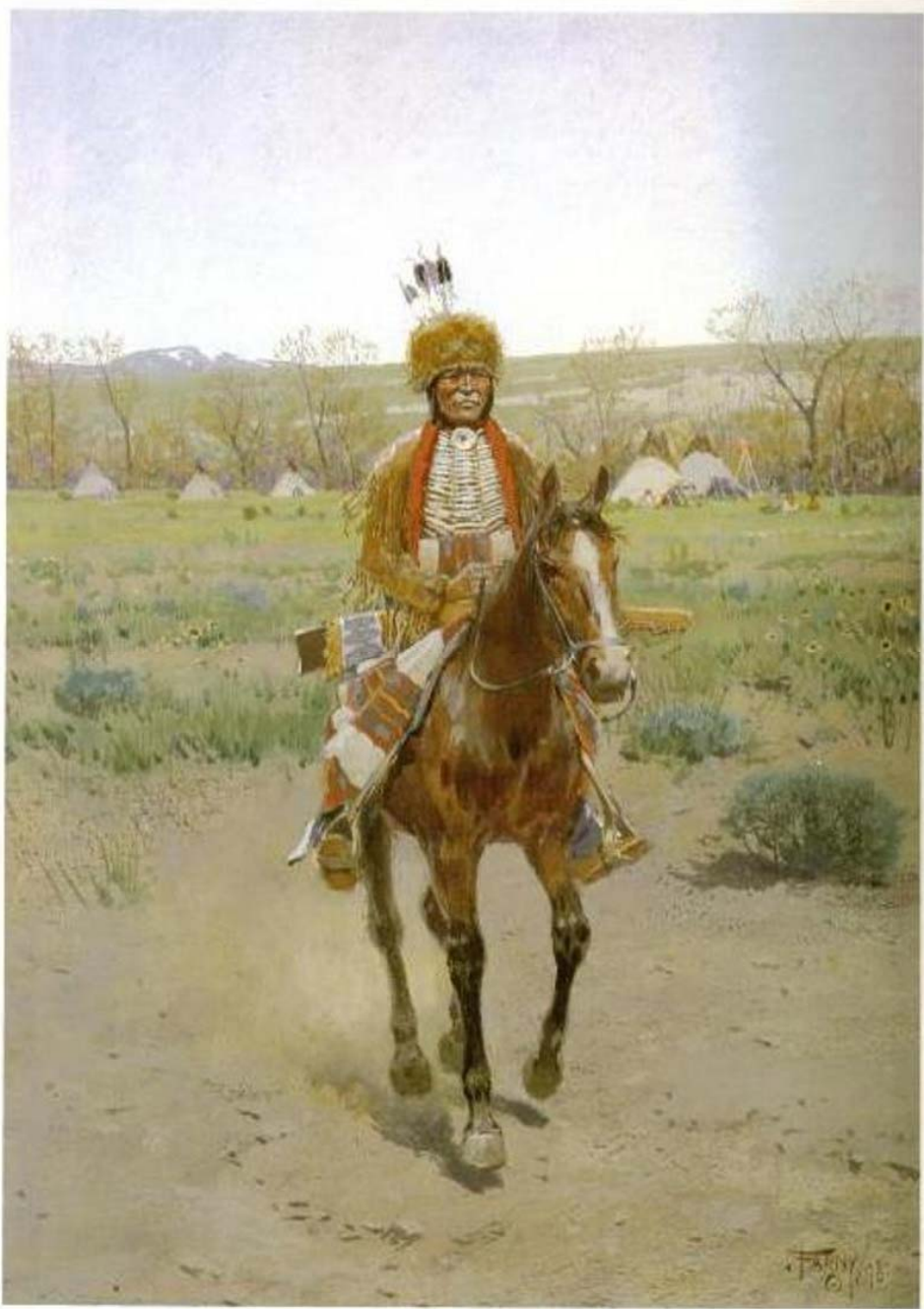


Figure 6: Henry Farny, American 1847 - 1916 *Sioux Indian* Gouache and watercolor, 10 3/16" x 7 3/16"
Credit: Jack s. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin, Gift of C.R.Smith, 1967. Photo: George Holmes

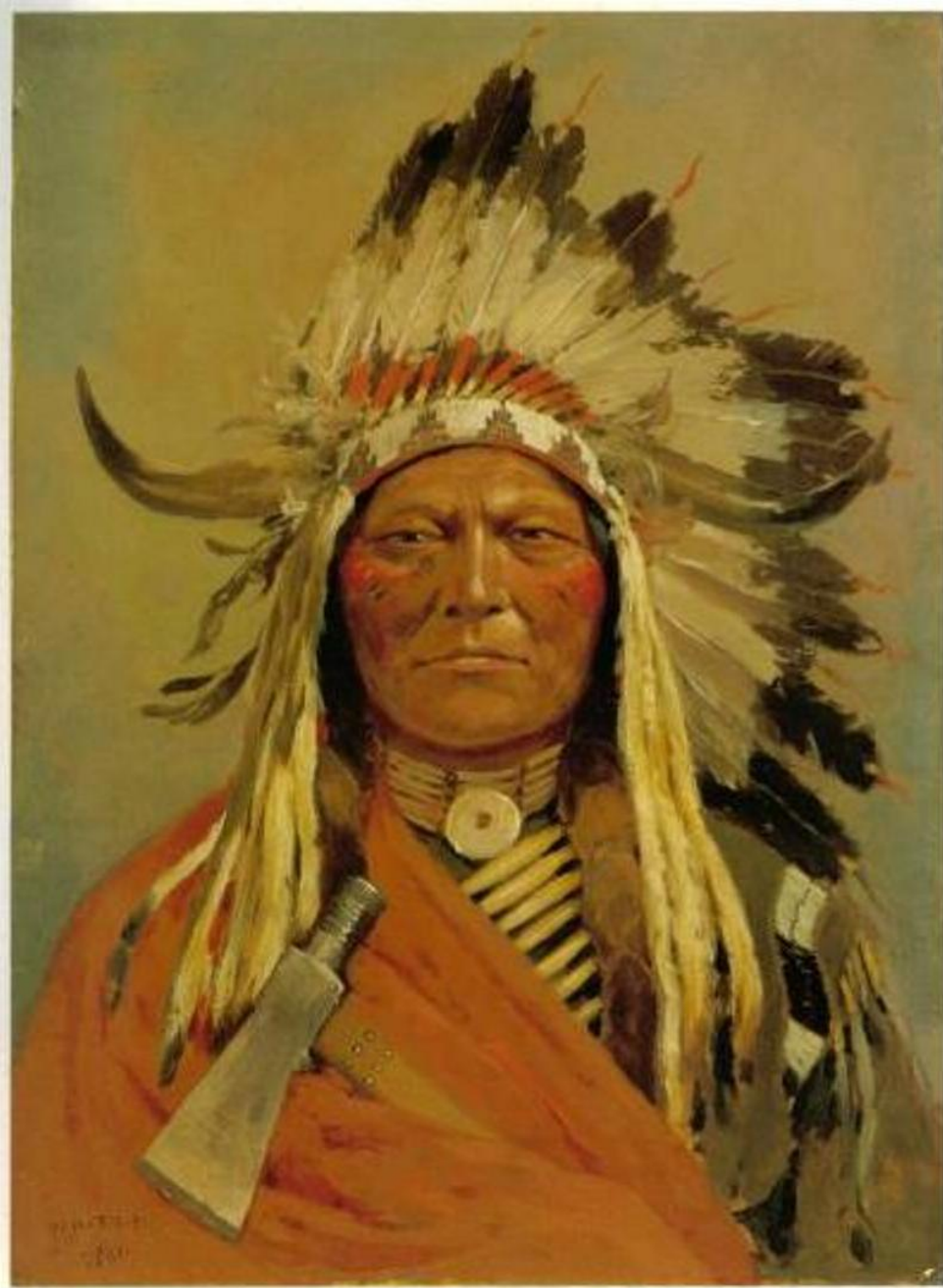


Figure 7; Henry Farny, American 1847–1916 *Sitting Bull*, 1899 Oil on canvas, 11 7/16" x 8 1/2." Credit: Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin. Gift of C.R. Smith 1971. Photo: George Holmes



Figure 8: Alfred Jacob Miller, American 1810-1874.

The Trappers Bride 1847. Oil on Canvas, 36"x28"

Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art.

Gift: Courtesy of Harrison Eiteljorg 1991 assn.1991.15.1

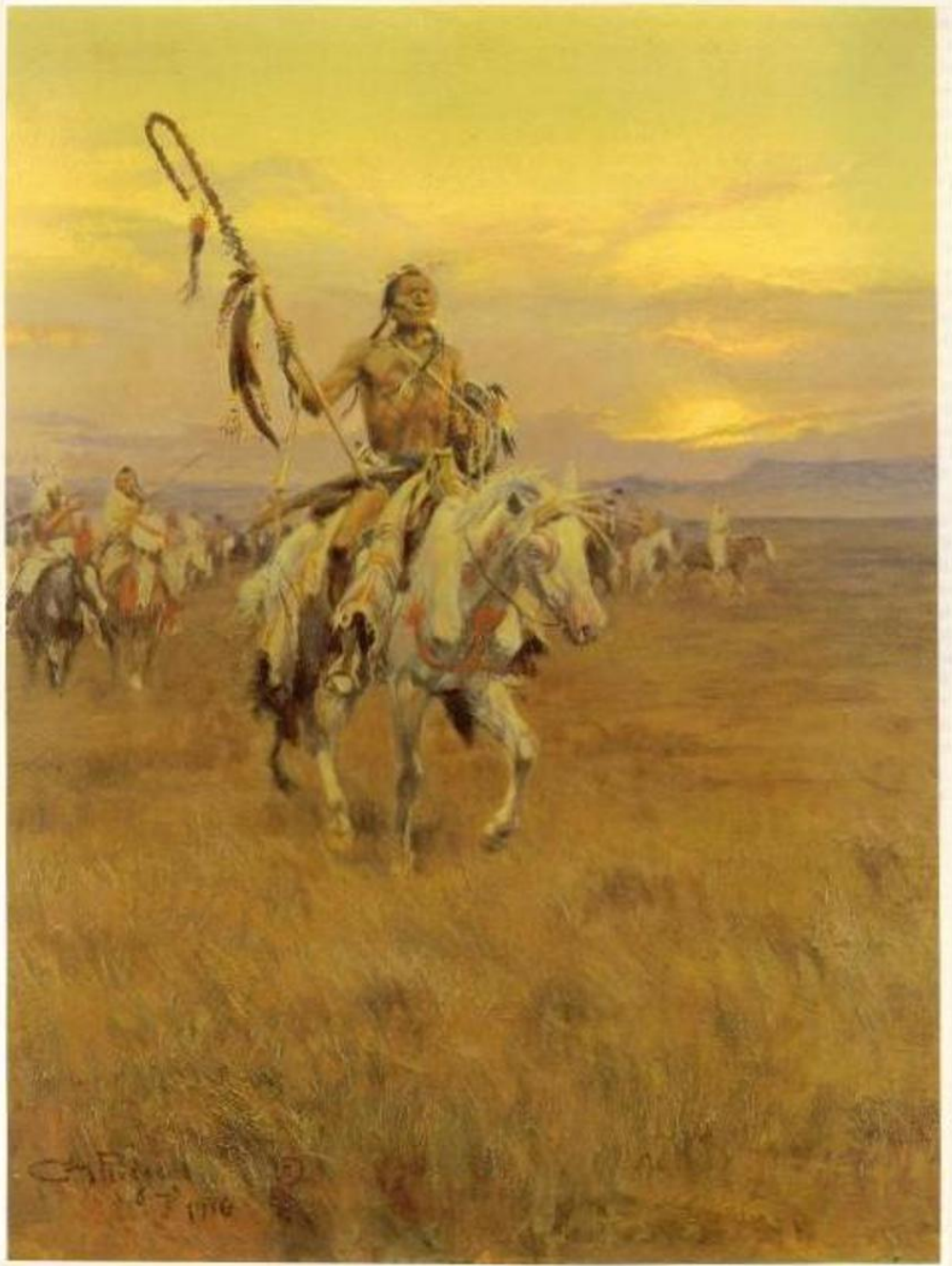


Figure 9: Charles Russell, American, 1864-1926, *Medicine Man*, Oil on canvas 22 1/8" x 17 1/8". Credit: Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin. Gift of C.R. Smith, 1976. Photo: George Holmes



Figure 10: Original painting by Arthur Jule Goodman. *Visit of the Majesties*, 1903. 40" x 29 ½ " color lithograph poster by Stafford and Company England. Poster at Buffalo Bill Wild West Museum, Cody, Wyoming Permission requested



Figure 11: *Chief Iron Tail*. Poster 1913

Circus World, Baraboo Wisconsin M101-NL450-13-4U-2



Figure 12: *Goddess of Liberty*, carved in wood and painted. Height 56 ½ " base 17 ½ ". Manufactured at 114 Centre Street, New York, 1888-1902. From the Collection Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village. Lost to fire



Figure 13: Oscar Bryn, American born 1883. Sales Agent book 1917, 8 ½ "x 11"
possible color scheme of original poster.



Figure 14: Hernando Villa, American, 1881-1952. Santa Fe Chief poster, 1931, color lithography Newman – Monroe Company of Chicago II



Figure 15: Yakima Chief Evaporated Apples,. color litho

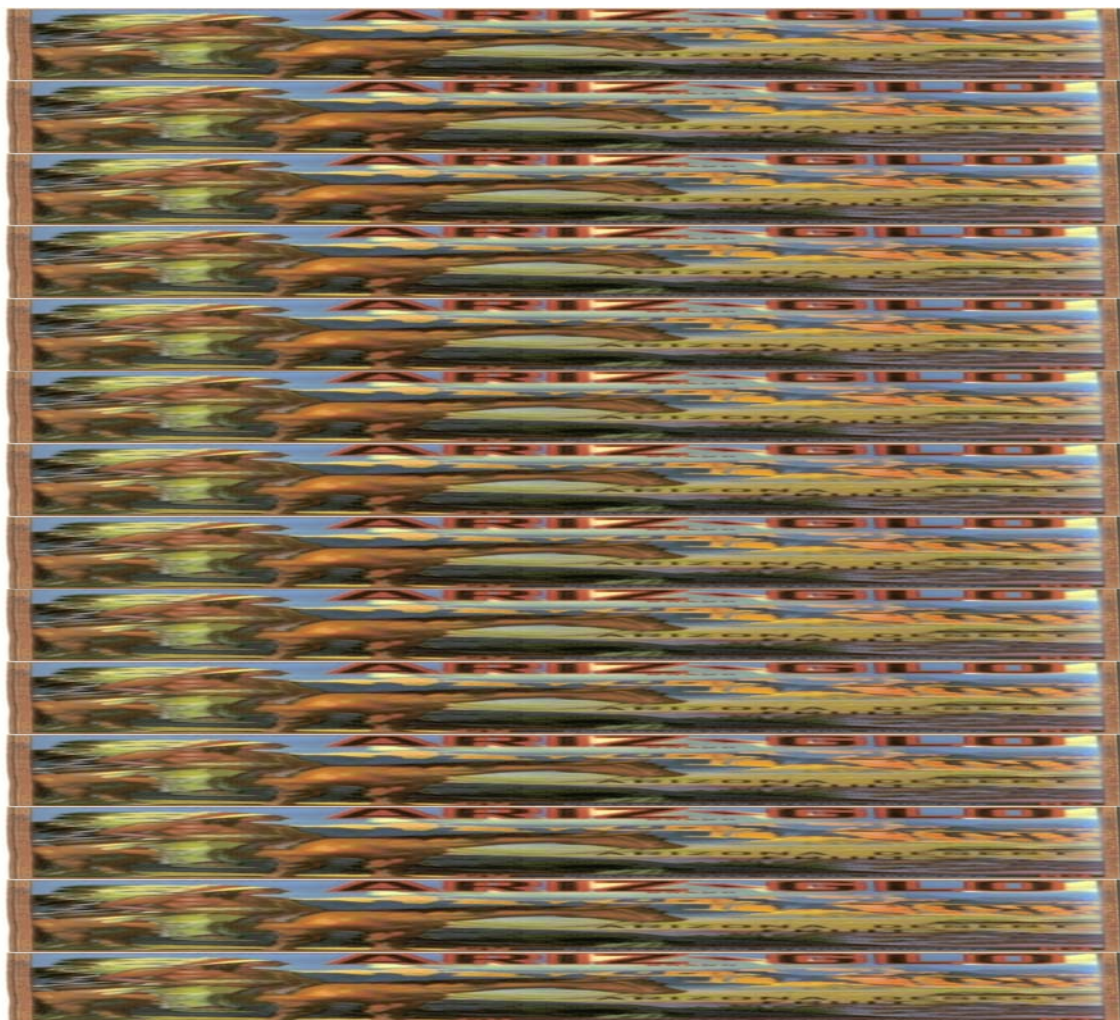


Figure 16: Consolidated Citrus Growers of Arizona, no longer in operation, University of Arizona at Yuma, Citrus Department

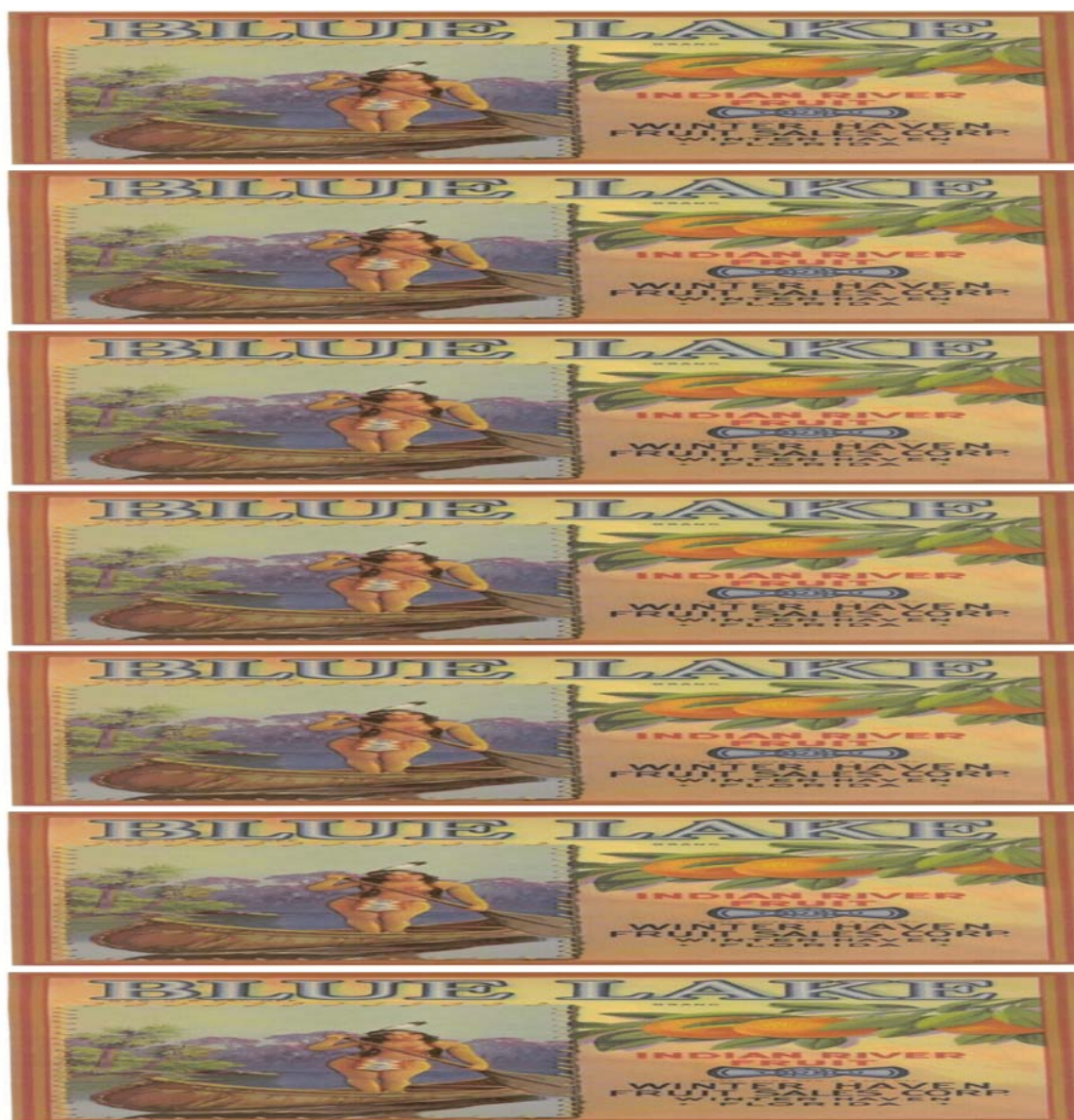


Figure 17: Blue Lake Brand, color litho. W.G. Roe Company, Winter Haven Florida



Figure 18: 1938 Indian motorcycle manufactured by Handee Corporation
J.E. Olberg collection, Indian Motorcycle Corporation, Gilroy CA.



Figure 19: 1937 Indian motorcycle manufactured by Handee Corporation,
J.E.Olberg Collection, Minnesota, Indian Motorcycle Corporation, Gilroy CA



Figure 20 1951 Indian motorcycle front fender. Manufactured by Dupont
J.E. Olberg collection, Minnesota, Indian Motorcycle Corporation, Gilroy, CA.



Figure 21: 1951 Indian motorcycle gasoline tank, manufactured by Dupont
J.E. Olberg collection, Minnesota. Indian Motorcycle Corporation, Gilroy, CA

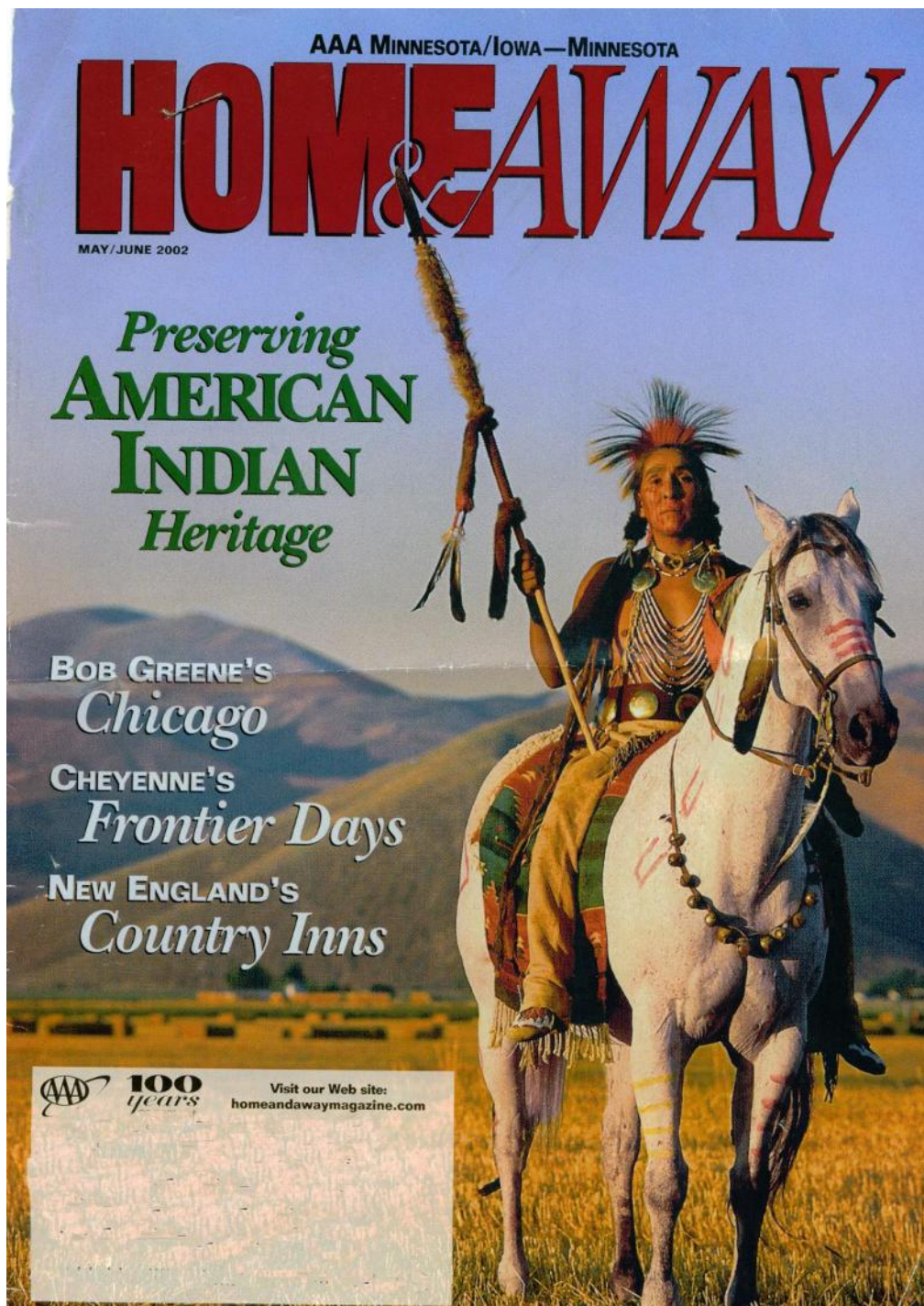



Figure 22: AAA Home & Away May/June 2002. Photo by Angel Winn. Native Stock, Bellevue Idaho

Aunt Martha's[®]

HOT IRON TRANSFERS
Each Design Good for Several Stampings

DÉCALQUES AU FER CHAUD
Chaque patron donne plusieurs estampes

TRANSFERENCIAS CON PLANCHA CALIENTE
Cada Diseño Sirve Para Varios Estampados



The illustration shows the Aunt Martha's logo, a woman in a red dress, and several hot iron transfer designs for Native American themes. The designs include: a Native American man sitting on a rug, a Native American man in a feathered headdress, a Native American woman sitting on a rug, a Native American man with a bow and arrow, a Native American man sitting on a rug, and a Native American man sitting on a rug. The designs are arranged in a circular pattern around a central design of a Native American man with a bow and arrow.

3355—Here Come The Indians

FOR EMBROIDERY, FABRIC PAINTING, WEARABLE ART, NEEDLEPOINT & OTHER CRAFTS
POUR LA BRODERIE, LA PEINTURE SUR TISSU, LA DÉCORATION DE VÊTEMENTS, LES TRAVAUX D'AIGUILLE ET AUTRES OUVRAGES D'ARTISANAT
PARA BORDADOS, PINTURA EN TELA, ARTE USABLE, BORDADO DE AGUJA & OTRAS ARTESANÍAS

Figure 23: Colonial Patterns Inc. Kansas City, Missouri. *Here Come the Indians*

Pattern #3355



Figure 24: Tootsie Pop wrapper, Tootsie Roll Industries, Chicago Illinois



Figure 25: Close up, the Indian with the shooting star, Tootsie Roll Industries Chicago, Illinois

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