

Stories in Red and Write: Indian Intellectuals and the American Imagination, 1880-1930

by

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For my father,
an intellectual and an artist:
R. Max Vigil (1938-2006)

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Introductory Chapter

Welcome! To the opening ceremonies for *Chicago Day* at the World's Columbian Exposition

On the morning of October 9, 1893, Potawatomi band political leader, Simon Pokagon rang a facsimile of the Liberty Bell to open *Chicago Day* at the World's Columbian Exposition. He had been invited by Chicago's Mayor Carter Harrison. The Mayor imagined that this ceremony could illustrate an important cultural connection between his great city of Chicago and Indian people. Yet, as Pokagon struck the bell, dressed in Potawatomi regalia, his appearance at the Fair did more than showcase a connection between the rise of a great city and a place once inhabited by Pokagon's ancestors. In fact, although *Chicago Day* may have been a highpoint for the Mayor and the residents of Chicago it was a very different sort of moment for Pokagon. His appearance at the Fair represented a critical, and urgent, opportunity.¹

As a public Indian intellectual, Pokagon aimed to engage the Fair's audiences in rethinking the very premise of the Expo, namely, that America's origins and history could be represented through impressive displays of architecture, celebrations of scientific discovery, the marketing of new food products, or through the articulation of white cultural supremacy located in ethnological displays along The Midway. For Pokagon, the issue at hand was quite different. He sought to show the irony of Indian participation in these celebrations of America when they had neither the political rights nor the economic resources needed to claim sovereignty over land and culture.

As Pokagon stood atop a stage to give his opening address, he faced dignitaries who had traveled to Chicago from all over the world. He used the moment to present remarks that ran counter to Harrison's invitation and the imagination of the Fair's planning committee. Pokagon did not celebrate the Fair or *Chicago Day*. Instead, he lamented the unfulfilled principles that lay behind democratic freedom and the historical legacy of Columbus's journey to the Americas.²

Given that Chicago had once belonged to the Potawatomi, Pokagon's speech presented concerns about American imperialism and the problem of white civilization's "tides" washing over (and displacing) indigenous peoples. His remarks sparked controversy then, as they might today. So, why was a Native American man chosen in the first place? Why select Pokagon to ring the symbol of freedom and democracy for the nation that had systematically sought to undermine his very existence and that continued to define him as outside its national promise of citizenship?

Uncovering how Pokagon's performance operated in this ceremony and within dominant narratives by and about the Fair showcases the power of his representational politics, as well as the limits and possibilities that were open to public Indian intellectuals during this period. Given that the larger aim of this dissertation is to provide a collective cultural biography of four Indian intellectuals who followed in Pokagon's footsteps, his story is helpful in illustrating the broader historical context and cultural politics that influenced the successes and failures of Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, Gertrude Bonnin, and Luther Standing Bear. Pokagon's story, like theirs, concerns self-fashioning and the struggle to define oneself for certain audiences. My interest in charting the ambivalence produced by this performance at the Fair lies in connecting him to these

other figures, as a prototype. In fact, this opening situates Pokagon in a moment of self-representation to foreshadow the how and why of performances (whether written or spoken) by other Indian intellectuals who lived in the twentieth-century.³

For many people in the audience that day in 1893, Pokagon's appearance signified the power of pacification and the closing of the frontier. How better to celebrate American progress and the triumph of modern democracy than by witnessing an indigenous figure strike the Liberty Bell to visually and aurally remind those present about the promises of freedom? White audiences could tie this spectacle to a long-gone Puritan reality, one that enabled them to bathe in a nostalgic past. Other visitors, newer immigrants to the United States, might not claim this Puritanism as their birthright but could still be convinced by the symbolic power of the bell as a metaphor for freedom. Additionally, "Indianness" more generally enabled many white viewers, from different backgrounds, to celebrate a particular narrative of American freedom, which disavowed the violence of colonialism and slavery upon which the country's history rested. Pokagon's performance tied the founding of America to the industrial site of Chicago and the encounter between Europeans and Indians, but, he did refuse to deny the consequences of Columbus' imperial quest to find and claim the Americas.⁴

Pokagon's address, within *Chicago Day* events, demonstrated the inextricable relation between the American nation and Indian people, so that white middle-class Americans could re-imagine the "Indian Problem." As they were confronted with Pokagon's rhetoric about the devastation wrought on Indian nations by the encroachment of western civilization, many listeners might be moved to see the Fair through his eyes. He surveyed the fairgrounds around him, saying: "Where the great Columbian show

buildings stretch skyward, and where this ‘Queen City of the West stand[s]’ once stood the red man’s wigwam; here met their old men, young men, and maidens; here blazed their council fires.” Speaking on this global stage, Pokagon gave a voice to the largely elided history that lay beneath the dialectical interplay between the White City and the Midway Plaisance at the Fair. Moreover, his speech highlighted the construction of this cultural space as a merger of spectacle and anthropological didacticism, in which “Columbian show buildings” erected to celebrate modern American civilization, erased the reality and importance of “the red man’s wigwam,” and by extension Potawatomi claims to the land. He may have nodded, in his opening remarks, to Chicago as the “Queen City of the West,” but Pokagon’s speech also criticized the hegemonic practices of racialization and cultural hierarchization that were built into the Fair’s displays, ready to be consumed by fairgoers.⁵

Pokagon further subverted the imperialist tenor of the *Chicago Day* ceremony, criticizing the rationale behind the Fair in a published treatise, “The Red Man’s Rebuke.” After he finished addressing the crowd, Pokagon walked the fairgrounds and sold his “Rebuke” to visitors interested in an Indian keepsake. An excerpt from this hand-crafted souvenir reads, “On behalf of my people, the American Indians, I hereby declare to you, the pale faced race that has usurped our lands and homes, that we have no spirit to celebrate with you the great Columbian Fair now being held in this Chicago city, the wonder of the world.” Despite celebratory rhetoric that situated the city as “the wonder of the world” the rest of his text made Pokagon’s distaste for the imperial logic of the Fair plain.⁶

His “Rebuke” positioned Pokagon as a representative figure for Indian people. Nowhere did The Rebuke specify his connection to the Pokagon band of Potawatomi, but instead it used the more general category of “American Indian,” and when he said, “on behalf of my people,” he meant –and was read to mean—Indian people writ large. This type of categorization enabled Pokagon to juxtapose Indianness with American whiteness. When he used the phrase “pale faced race” he hailed his white audience directly. Additionally, when he wrote, I “declare to you” he made his rebuke emphatically personal, to appeal to his audience through their shared humanity. Within this personal hailing, however, is always the voice of collectives, both Indian and white, where the usurpation of Indian lands is a real problem, given that “we” (Indian people) “have no spirit to celebrate” the Fair or the city of Chicago as any kind of “wonder of the world.” The gleaming neoclassical buildings of the White City, which were built to contrast with the evolutionary exhibits of lesser, non-white, cultures through displays on the Midway, could not enthrall Pokagon because he was having none of it.⁷

Using a typeset printing process Pokagon’s “rebuke” also gave the appearance of *both* handwork and mass-production. The object masqueraded as a tourist commodity – which it was. And yet, by typing his message onto the ephemeral outer-skin of the birch tree, Pokagon aimed also to make a material and metaphorical gesture to Indian people, “his own people.” He made this explicit, stating:

My object in publishing the “Red Man’s Rebuke” on the bark of the white birch tree is out of loyalty to my own people, and gratitude to the Great Spirit, who in His wisdom provided for our use for untold generations, this most remarkable tree with manifold bark used by us instead of paper, being of great value to us as it could not be injured in sun or water.⁸

As a sacred object to the Pokagon band of Potawatomi, the choice of birch bark and the choice of English point to the complicated strategy issues involved in locating Pokagon,

since he is representing Indian intellectualism and cultural politics. The strategy of combining cultural material meant to signify Indianness with the language that could most effectively engage a mostly white reading public was a strategy not unique to Pokagon. Many other Indian intellectuals in later years relied on similar methods to make unusual and powerfully evocative objects of material culture. The same simultaneity and contradiction can be found in Pokagon's seemingly antithetical aims of self-promotion on the one hand with rhetorical resistance to U.S. colonialism on the other. Indeed this particular object represents the meeting of Pokagon's political choices and his economic ones.

Indian intellectuals wrestled constantly with the problem of self-representation within public spectacles and international events, like a World's Fair. In Pokagon's case, his well-choreographed movements at the Fair (from ringing the bell, to making a speech, and then selling a keepsake) arose out of different institutional demands and expectations regarding his position as a Potawatomi Indian leader, a supporter of inter-racial political projects, and temperance worker. Pokagon understood that the 1893 Fair intended to celebrate and also shape modernity in America. Indeed, the Fair was not wholly about illustrating U.S. supremacy but was also about creating it. Far from being a bystander, he found ways to insert himself into this project on both a material and discursive level.

Pokagon serves as a critical precursor for the cultural and political work that I trace throughout the chapters that follow. Each focuses on a specific Indian intellectual, beginning with Charles Eastman, followed by Carlos Montezuma, then Gertrude Bonnin, and concluding with Luther Standing Bear. Because of Pokagon's literary work, his speech and presentation at the Fair, and his access to higher education and upper-class

social circles a cultural history of him forecasts the future of Indian Intellectualism in the early twentieth century period. In the section that follows I define my frame for this project as a collective cultural biography. Next, I position myself in disciplinary terms before turning to keywords that were critical to the concerns of this cohort of early Indian intellectuals. Finally, I describe my argument and methodology, and conclude with brief overviews of each chapter.⁹

Collective Cultural Biography

My interest in charting the effects of Indian cultural production on the development of United States Indian policy is to point out how this intersection contributed to the emergence of pan-tribal networks, and then these networks effects on policy. Therefore, my dissertation takes the form of a collective cultural biography to show how Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear can be identified as an important cohort for reading Indian cultural politics. Read together they give us a new picture of the circuits of Indian America, and by examining both their political and poetic work I emphasize the centrality of these voices in American cultural history.¹⁰

One way that I gather together the social and political contributions of four specific Indian intellectuals is by turning to the genre of collective cultural biography. To begin such a biography one should focus on the specificities of each individual's life. At the same time, attentive to the collective and cultural aspects finally, turn to compare and contrast the cultural practices of Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear, to knit them together when possible. All four figures engaged with a politics of performance, for example, and therefore, taken together one can see the diverse and complicated ways that this cohort of Indian intellectuals defined and understood the

limits of their political and cultural work. I use this genre to explicate the often ambiguous and complicated matrix of ideas, performances, and practices in which these particular intellectuals engaged over the course of their lives. By tracing out the circulation of their ideas, and delineating the various networks they shaped and formed, I highlight how they shared ideas, which gained currency within educational and literary institutions and had an impact on world events.

The biographical dimension of this dissertation engages with the personal contours of these figures' lives, and also comments on their political ideals as they changed over time in concert with changes in their intimate relationships and professional efforts. They can be viewed as a collective, through the networks that they harnessed to do political work. Both Eastman and Bonnin worked within a print culture that was driven by the work of publishing houses in Boston and New York as well as the circulation of national periodicals, such as *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. There were also shared educational institutions --like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School-- that influenced how each of these individuals viewed the role of Indian education in the U.S. Each of these figures was able to use education as a means of accessing American society and culture, and yet, all of them were critical of the devastating effects of forced acculturation and the erasure of cultural specificity that accompanied the education of Native children. At the same time, Indian intellectuals often drew on their education background to meet white reformers who could then support (or condemn) Native efforts towards social change. Collective cultural biography should also extend beyond these four figures to include stories by other Indian and non-Indian figures whose lives and writings followed similar trajectories and who were in dialogue with this cohort.

Indeed, this generation of Indian intellectuals signifies the high cultural edge of a moment in which Indian people were often forced to navigate their Indianness in complicated and contradictory ways. For example, as published authors, Eastman, Bonnin, and Standing Bear represent the contours of this high cultural edge in one way, whereas Montezuma's work as a prominent Chicago physician represents another. Additionally, because Standing Bear worked in the Hollywood Film industry his inclusion in this group complicates how we understand Indian intellectualism during this period in relation to American cultural formations. It is only by examining all of them together that one can see the rich dimension of each individual's choices.

Within white society, these figures used a range of strategies to mobilize Indianness both for their own advancement and on behalf of Indian country. Based on archival research and close reading, my analysis focuses on educational institutions, lecture circuits, performance venues, and the halls of Congress to explain how and why these Indian intellectuals used similar and different strategies to redefine not only American culture but also the types of roles that could be played by Indian intellectuals within that culture. My interest is in charting the networks traversed and created by this cohort, and I draw on an eclectic spread of material to go beyond the biographical details of these figures' lives in order to locate the political and cultural spaces they worked through as intellectual producers. Additionally, working within an interdisciplinary field such as Native American Studies requires the analysis of a range of primary and secondary sources, many of which are difficult to locate. Some of these materials were produced by and for Native people, and yet there were many more created by the federal government's management of Indian people. This latter archive is an especially

challenging one to sort through given that my aim is to read for the voices, responses, and ideas of Native people who resisted and also participated in this management.

In terms of the structure of this collective cultural biography, I have chosen to focus on one figure as an exemplar within each chapter to highlight a particular theme. The four main themes are: education, publishing, epistolary culture, and performance. In addition to highlighting one of these themes within a chapter all four intersect and inform each other across the chapters as well. This structure as well as use of theory and engagement with particular historiographies is based on three central research questions. The first considers: how did the first generation of urban Indian intellectuals mobilize and revise definitions of citizenship, assimilation, and modernity to fight for changes in federal policy? The second asks: how did these figures maintain ties to pan-Indian networks and craft individual Indian subjectivities that balanced concerns of the various Native publics with those of white readers? The third asks: how did the cultural productions of these Indian people, as performers and power brokers, shape and reflect American national policy?¹¹

All four chapters also engage with history and historiography. While looking to the historical contexts that gave birth to the cultural and political efforts of Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear, I consider the ways in which these events have been narrated by scholars working in American Studies and Native American Studies. This project draws on methods from these fields to put Native intellectuals at the center of American cultural and literary history.

Interdisciplinary Positioning: Native American Studies and American Studies

Like so many American Studies scholars, I begin this project with an example from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Rather than gesture towards Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" or William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's performance troupe outside the fairgrounds, I turn to Simon Pokagon, a choice that evokes my disciplinary positioning at the nexus of two fields. Turner is a familiar figure to scholars working within American Studies, and Pokagon is somewhat familiar to those working within Native American Studies. Both of these strong interdisciplinary fields underpin my approach to research and writing in this project, which is to emphasize the relation between history and literature.

Working in both of these fields, I take a topographical approach to mapping out the specific moments in each figure's life in relation to Indian and non-Indian publics. In other words, my aim is to avoid flattening out how one might view a collective history of this early group of Indian intellectuals. Therefore, I eschew the use of labels such as "assimilationist" or "accommodationist" to define these figures, and instead, I continually refer to the historically contingent strategies they used to engage in an Indianness discourse. This discourse was mutable and ever-present such that each figure grappled with it in her, or his, own way. In a similar fashion, I examine processes of racialization and gendering (whether social, political, or cultural) to point out similarities and differences concerning the rhetorical, political, and performance choices made by Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear. This approach seeks to amplify the ways in which this cohort was exceptional but not entirely unique given that Native people have always used diverse sets of ways to engage with modernity, sometimes as

individuals and often through collectives, as they encountered the people and government of the United States.¹²

Furthermore, my research contributes to a compellingly rich field of scholarship on Indian people and cultural politics of the twentieth century. Frederick Hoxie's emphasis on Native reformers during the Progressive Era in *Talking back to Civilization* (2001), and Lucy Maddox's work in *Citizen Indians* (2005) have shaped my understanding of "The Society of American Indians" and Indian intellectual development. Philip J. Deloria's work on *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2006), which examines American Indian identity and federal policy's affect on it, has influenced the way I analyze identity formation in relation to political change. More recently, Scott Lyon's work in *X-Marks* (2010), re-conceptualizes how scholars might interpret "the x-mark" on a treaty, as a symbol of Native assent to things. He goes on to clarify "things" as -- "concepts, policies, technologies, and ideas that, while not necessarily traditional in origin, can sometimes turn out all right and occasionally even be good." In this spirit, I consider the ways that specific Indian intellectuals were able to assent to things, and in particular how they resisted and appropriated dominant discourses of their time to forcibly enter the public sphere.¹³ Moreover, building on this existing body of scholarship I show new connections between these Indian intellectuals. In particular, I consider how Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear managed to share political strategies, while the texts they produced contributed to a growing awareness among Indian and non-Indian publics regarding Native American citizenship, identity, and cultural representations. Finally, by working in both Native American Studies and American

Studies I can point out the specific ways these figures enhance and change our understanding of American Indian life during this period.

Keywords

As an interdisciplinary scholar working in the Humanities and writing a cultural history of Native America there are several keywords that I use in this project. “Keywords” organize vast quantities of complex information. They do lots of conceptual, descriptive, and sometimes argumentative work. The keywords that I turn to again and again, and which I will explicate more fully below, include: citizenship, intellectual, modernity, blood, and Indianness.¹⁴

Citizenship can be defined in political and cultural terms. Since the founding of the United States it has remained a contested category: to be a citizen often reflects the existence and permanence of national boundaries that delineate who can and cannot participate in shaping the nation. This idea of access has been coded in gendered, classed, and racialized terms, given that the ability to become a citizen has also functioned as a litmus test for social fitness. For writers and activists like Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear, access to political citizenship in the U.S. was of paramount importance. As intellectuals, they were eager to participate in shaping American society. And as Indians they were equally committed to reshaping national narratives that often disavowed the roles played by Indian people in the U.S. They viewed citizenship as one way in which to gain access to revising these narratives. Their attachment to citizenship for Indian people in the U.S. also arose out of progressive reform efforts from the late nineteenth century as well as a politics of racial uplift. Indeed, pan-tribal political

organizing was made possible by the emergence of Native leaders who drew on their educational training, social status, and the appeal of their cultural work among American audiences to become ambassadors on behalf of Indian people in general. The path towards equality –visible through citizenship- was never clearly defined nor easy, and yet these individuals found ways to embrace the Victorian notion of uplift and the idea of citizenship while remaining critical of the national apparatus that had given birth to these concepts.

Certainly citizenship was neither a panacea for social conflict between Indian and white people, nor could it function as a complete solution to correct a long history of political disenfranchisement. In some ways, it runs against the grain of contemporary sovereignty discourse. Yet it remained a central concept and concern in the work of these Native intellectuals. I consider specific ways that these figures engaged with citizenship according to their views of racial uplift. For them the U.S. Constitution's parameters for defining nationhood and nationalism through the bodies of its citizens proved critical to their political reform work. I also consider how they saw themselves as citizens of both Indian country and the U.S., and how this sort of "dual citizenship" became central to the type of work they could do as public intellectuals.

The term "intellectual" brings with it tacit understandings of power, identity, and cultural capital. I use this term because in many instances this is how these figures, and their supporters, defined their roles. Additionally, many white and Indian people supported the careers of these figures, because they understood the efficacy of an intellectual speaking on behalf of a minority ethnic group. In fact, the role of an Indian intellectual became one defined as uniquely educated and cultured, and therefore better-

positioned to perform in public as a face and voice for all Indian people. Therefore, as Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear traveled between varying social and cultural spaces they found particular ways of managing white expectations regarding intellectualism and Indian people. Thus, as circumstances changed, from the 1880s to the 1930s, each of these figures mobilized the very notion of an Indian intellectual to fight for an increase in social, cultural, and political rights for Native people. As I have noted, citizenship, racial uplift, and intellectualism were central components to the representational politics articulated by these figures. In addition, another keyword that all Indian intellectuals contended with was modernity.¹⁵

I define modernity as a concept that has ideological roots (pertaining to ways of thinking and acting), and as a referent to a certain historical period marked by the rise of industrial capitalism. For the Indian intellectuals that I study, modernity became critical to how they defined themselves and how they were viewed by those around them. As Indian people they sought to recast dominant understandings of Indianness not as antithetical to, but rather, as mutually constitutive of Americanness. In other words, the modern world that Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear lived in was one in which ideas about ethnicity, race, gender, and citizenship intertwined with each other, and often reflected how modernity and the idea of the modern was experienced.¹⁶ Therefore, as federal Indian policies changed and new cultural forms were created, Indian intellectuals found openings to effectively engage in modern American society, and through that engagement they demonstrated the power of Indian people as shapers of modernity. Still, this openness neither suggested entirely new nor wholly positive

discussions regarding the roles Indian people could play in public discourse, because the fact of their Indianness as something definable through blood remained.

For all four of these figures the quest to redraw the boundaries of American citizenship and revise the history of the U.S. could not succeed without recognizing and adjusting to politics defined by blood. In material and metaphorical ways “blood” was a cultural ideology they had to confront. More specifically, they often encountered the concept of “full-blooded,” which was used to justify their status as representative Indians. Since the 1830s the discourse of blood was used, in various places and for specific purposes, to classify Indian identity in political and racial terms across the United States. After the Dawes Act of 1887 and in the decades preceding the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 a growing number of Indian intellectuals took up this discourse in order to assert that any drop of Indian blood qualified them to represent Indian America. Although an Indian “one-drop” rule functioned in this way, more often than not, what also mattered to Indian and non-Indian people alike was whether one could claim “full-blooded” status as an Indian person. These different notions of blood in relation to identity occurred simultaneously, and although contradictory their discursive power could be harnessed by many Indian people in strategic ways.

For Indian intellectuals the rhetoric of blood became part of a politics of recognition and also useful as a tactic to illustrate a key argument: the more Indians among Americans in the U.S., the better for the country as a whole, and the better for the world. Throughout the early twentieth century the vast majority of public lectures and writings by Indian intellectuals used this “full-blooded” language to argue for social and political inclusion in tandem with more cosmopolitan perspectives, which reflected the

fluidity of both culture and identity. Eastman, for instance, became a sought after public speaker, and was continually framed in terms of his elite connections and educational status (as cosmopolitan) and through the fact of his “full-blooded” identity as an Indian. Both these concepts were used by Eastman to demonstrate that he was best positioned to speak about “real” Indian issues and on behalf of *all* Indian people. The language of “blood” was also a part of a broader discourse that I refer to as Indianness.

These high profile Indian intellectuals were as concerned with their own self-fashioning as much as they were with how to represent other Indian people. Indianness was a key to this practice. All four of these intellectuals took part in public performances where, whether they wanted to or not, they were interpellated as Indians by their audiences. In these instances the urge to “play Indian” became a strategy whereby they could *represent* and also *intervene* in a discourse of Indianness. I use Indianness as a keyword to refer to a discourse which gestures to all things Indian and that permeated white cultural formations and expectations. Indeed, in order for any of these figures to have a voice in changing Indian political affairs and American cultural formations they needed to be legible as Indian people, which often meant working within a fraught Indianness discourse. Moreover, this concept traveled due to its fluidity and stability, because it was understood to be locatable in the bodies of actual Indian people and also in certain narratives about how to be Indian. Both of these understandings of Indianness grew out of and were reinforced by white cultural expectations. In the following section I refer more specifically to how my argument considers the ways these figures intervened in Indianness as a discourse when, for example, as Indian people they participated in different types of performances where they decided just how to “play Indian.”

Argument and Methodology

I have chosen to focus on these four individuals because of the complexity of their lives, and their ties to newly formed pan-Indian organizations. My larger aim is to point out the specific ways that their world was not separate from American society but in dialogue with it. In order to do this, I examine the production, circulation, and reception of political messages, literary texts, and public performances by these four main figures. I also consider how they engaged with gender, racialization, nationalism, and imperialism as social and political processes. In order to do this, my research brings together different historiographical traditions to show how cultural ideologies (“playing Indian”) and governmental policies (forced assimilation through education) are interrelated. I argue that this type of intersection is perhaps most identifiable within certain texts -- like novels, poems, plays, and films-- and material practices, such as making a living as a public lecturer, a physician, a writer, and as an actor. Within these contexts all four of these Indian intellectuals managed to continue working as activists aiming for fuller political rights.¹⁷

Although I have chosen four individuals to examine there are many other Indian activists, writers, religious leaders, and cultural performers that I might have chosen to study in this project. In many cases, these other people were part of the networks that Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear helped to establish. In fact, there were a compelling number of Native anthropologists, like Ojibwe scholar William Jones (1871-1909). Jones was an undergraduate at Harvard before he went on to study under Franz Boas as a graduate student at Columbia University, and before he was sponsored by the Chicago Field Museum to investigate the Ilongots’ cultural practices on the island

of Luzon. In fact, his trip to the Philippines took place not long after it had become a conquered territory of an expanding American empire. This anthropological mission ended abruptly when Jones was killed by some of his subjects in 1909. Charles Eastman actually mentions Jones as a contributor to modern Native thought in a chapter from: *The Indian of To-day: The Past, Present, and Future of the Red American* (1915). Another example of an equally intriguing figure who regularly corresponded with Carlos Montezuma about Native cultural politics and the role of aesthetic production by Indian people, as a means towards shaping and shifting American perceptions of Indianness, was the artist Wa-Wa-Chaw. She came in contact with many White intellectuals and leaders of the day, including Sir Oliver Lodge and Arthur Conan Doyle. Known to many as *Benita Wa Wa Calachaw Nunez* her story offers us a different route into American Indian cultural history, one that considers how passions for art and writing were used to promote equality for Indian women. Certainly there were many more people, such as: Arthur C. Parker, Ella Deloria, Henry Roe Cloud, and Sherman Coolidge –all of these figures make brief appearances in the pages that follow.

These examples represent the necessity of containing my study to four specific people. By limiting the scope of in-depth biography to four I have effectively mapped the trajectory of each person's life in a way that leads back to the same structures of power that someone like Jones or Wa-Wa-Chaw would have contended with, like the Bureau of Indian Affairs.¹⁸ Moreover, my aim in focusing on Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear as representative figures is to point out how they are distinctive, but not unique in their cultural and political work as Native people from the 1880s to the 1930s. I have contained my study to these figures in order to delve deeply

into the changing nature of their representational politics, and to highlight particular themes that crisscross and connect their life stories, with one another and the wider world of Indian country and American culture.

In each chapter, I aim to elaborate a central theme that cuts across the stories found in other chapters. My emphasis in chapter one, for example, on Charles Eastman and the theme of education aims to show not only how he relied on his association with Dartmouth to promote himself as a writer, but to become an educating force in American society. By focusing on a specific individual and foregrounding a particular theme within in each chapter, I aim to delineate different types of social and political networks that they helped to form and influence.

Epistolary culture, like education, weaves throughout each chapter, but is foregrounded in chapter two. There, I turn to Carlos Montezuma and his self-published newsletter *Wassaja*, where one can see a public forum in which letters to the editor were printed and responded to, and through this process how Montezuma functioned as a communications clearinghouse throughout Indian Country. The circulation of individual letters reprinted in a public print venue such as a newsletter recalls the intimate history between letter writing as a practice and publishing as a process that has its roots in letter writing. Each of these figures found ways to copy and reprint letters, memoranda, and galley proofs of their own writings and they did so with a purpose. Indeed their actions renewed the political purpose of epistolary cultural production as one connected to an expanding print market, which was critical during a time that witnessed an increase in English literacy among Native communities. By harnessing the power of published work

each signaled their accomplishments as individuals and could use these to argue for the incorporation of all Indian people into American society.¹⁹

Looking at Gertrude Bonnin in the third chapter, I note how Bonnin moved through cultural and social circuits related to music and writing, towards those maintained by national white women's organizations and pan-tribal reform groups. Bonnin's early career as a concert violinist and her success as published author fueled her political efforts in terms of raising her public profile as an Indian woman and also in terms of revenue. Her political activity began when she acted as the Secretary for the Society of American Indians and culminated in her work as the President of the National Council of American Indians. Through this chapter a detailed portrait of Bonnin as a writer and an activist emerges, which highlights her political positions on education, Indian identity, citizenship, military service, and land rights.

Finally, the fourth theme of performance is at the center of chapter four, which focuses on the life of Luther Standing Bear. In fact, although Standing Bear's work as an actor and his connections to the Hollywood film industry make him a particularly apt subject for the study of *Native* performance; all of these individuals grappled with the politics of performativity. By this I mean how to use speech, language and other non-verbal forms of expressive action to intervene in American culture and politics. For this cohort public appearances often required a speaker to "perform Indian," to visually and rhetorically represent oneself in terms that conjured a sort of ethnic authenticity.

The problem in this type of performative move for these figures came at particular moments. Therefore, for Eastman I consider how his use of certain forms of costuming fed into a self-perpetuating market for Indianness. Despite his education and literary

achievements, Eastman was continually asked throughout his life to “dress up” and “play” the part of Dartmouth’s famous Indian graduate. In the case of Montezuma, his engagement with performativity and an Indianness discourse ran in a different direction from that of his peers. He relied less on visual tropes (a feathered headdress for instance) and more on rhetorical twists and turns to play the part of a proper Indian citizen. For example, he drew on the faulty logic of an American democratic society that defined citizenship through the U.S. Constitution without recognizing the legitimacy of Indian people as members of the nation. His article and speech, “Life, Liberty & Citizenship,” provided multiple readings of the song “America” and was printed in *Wassaja* for Indian readers and also presented publicly to a mostly white audience in Chicago. For Bonnin the fact that her Indian blood needed to be made visible for white audiences who asked her to dress up as a lecturer was an important problem. So much so that despite her own feelings of uneasiness she conformed to these requests to see her as an Indian maiden or princess, in the hope of gaining allies in her quest for wider acceptance of Indian people as members of American society. Moreover, Bonnin remained increasingly concerned with how others might trade on this type of “Indian play.” As I argue in chapter three, she wrote regularly to her Indian friends about how best to counteract the “work” that was done by “false” Indians, like Red Fox St. James and Princess Chinquilla.

Returning then to Luther Standing Bear and performativity I show how he argued in favor of hiring “real” Indians to portray Indian people in shows and in film. Although his writings and letters show his concern about the misrepresentation of Indian people (what I refer to as an Indianness discourse), his work with the American Indian Actors Association in some ways reified this discourse because to be Indian was often defined

through guidelines set by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, policies such as allotment, and the racialized logic of blood quantum. Using these practices to define an Indian's personhood did not necessarily disentangle them from the structures of power that reproduced the very misrepresentations of Indianness that Standing Bear sought to correct.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter one, "A Global Mission: The Higher Education of Charles Eastman," highlights the educational experiences of Eastman as well as the impact of his work as a published author and international public speaker. Eastman is one of the most well-known Indian intellectuals from this period. In 1911, for example, he was invited to represent Indian People at the Universal Races Congress in London, at which W.E.B. Du Bois represented African-Americans. Around this same time, Eastman served as one of the first Presidents of The Society of American Indians. Throughout his life he remained dedicated to fighting for Indian citizenship and other political reforms, and succeeded in publishing over ten books and numerous articles. For Eastman the role to be played for an educated Indian was to teach Americans and the world about the past and the present situation of Indian people.

Carlos Montezuma was a great friend and ally of Eastman. Although these two men shared similar political commitments they did not always use the same strategies to present their ideas. Chapter two, "Progressive Reform & Epistolary Culture: The Circuits of Carlos Montezuma" analyzes Montezuma's roles as a prominent Chicago doctor and pan-tribal activist. This chapter centers on epistolary culture by looking at Montezuma's correspondence with Indian anthropologists, artists, lawyers, bureaucrats, and writers as

well as native people from across the U.S. who subscribed to his newsletter *Wassaja*. This type of focus enables me to highlight different types of networks that were created by and for Indian people. Montezuma was a polemical writer who openly attacked the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He struggled with how to undermine news reports, fictional stories, and history books that oversimplified Indian people and their history. Like other Indian intellectuals, he often found that his personal modes of expression were at odds with dominant expectations regarding Indian people. His story is one that showcases the challenges and benefits of writing a collective biography in that his public performances and written texts threatened to undermine some of the approaches taken by Eastman and Bonnin.

As Eastman found ways to publish his books and Montezuma produced his own newsletter, Gertrude Bonnin tapped into the world of publishing houses and white women's organizations to have her voice heard. Chapter three entitled, "*Red Bird: Gertrude Bonnin's Representational Politics*," shifts from the often male-dominated story of Indian political figures and cultural producers to focus on the literary, social, and political activities that characterized Bonnin's life as a high profile Indian woman. She succeeded in managing public demands to see her dressed in Sioux costume and performing musical pieces, even when these appearances revolved around expectations of Indianness that forced Bonnin to negotiate the difference between being an object and the subject of her talks. Bonnin succeeded in harnessing ethnic politics to promote her-self and to raise money and awareness on behalf of specific tribal nations to reshape cultural expectations as much as federal policy.

The fourth chapter, “Staging U.S. Indian History: Luther Standing Bear’s Networks of Performativity and Cultural Politics,” examines how Standing Bear’s life embodied some of the tensions that Indian intellectuals encountered in the 1920s and 1930s, concerning their participation in popular entertainment industries. I assess the different representational strategies of Standing Bear and to a lesser degree those of his brother Henry Standing Bear, within certain cultural and political arenas. In many ways, Standing Bear is an important interlocutor for the three other figures that I focus on because he shared similar educational and political reform experiences with them, but his career took a decidedly different turn due to his work in show business and his move to California. This chapter traces the contours of Standing Bear’s life, beginning with his education at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and his employment at the Wanamaker Department Store in Philadelphia, before moving on to his travels with “Buffalo Bill’s” troupe, and concluding with a discussion of his life as an actor in Hollywood. By emphasizing the Indian and non-Indian networks Standing Bear accessed, one can see the strikingly different routes he used to establish himself as an Indian intellectual, as he fought for the rights of other Indian performers.

Conclusion

Today, in the United States of America, debates among and between Indian nations continue to be about how to determine and define the boundaries of Indian ethnic identity and tribal citizenship. In 1893, Simon Pokagon confronted similar issues when he negotiated the white cultural expectations of the fairgoers in Chicago. This historical moment, like discussions today, turned towards questions about ethnicity and

authenticity. Although separated by time, some of these contemporary discussions also resonate with the ways that Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, Gertrude Bonnin, and Luther Standing grappled with identity politics and participated in a discourse about Indianness. In the past and present, it matters a great deal who occupies a position of power to make decisions about who is or is not an Indian, or sometimes Indian *enough*. Regardless of whether it makes sense to define citizenship through the materiality of the body or through practices of cultural affiliation, a dilemma remains which encompasses both and that is how to contextualize and explain Indian performativity. Therefore, this study of Indian intellectuals seeks nuance and ambivalence regarding identity, rather than assumes there is one essential Indian way to act or to be. Working through the themes of education, publishing, epistolary culture, and performance I point to ways in which each of these figures grappled with their own subject positions and found ways to express what it meant to be Indian. What follows is a lengthy examination of their representational politics, which demonstrates the centrality of these voices in recovering this period in American cultural history.

¹ Frederick E. Hoxie offers one of the first accounts of Pokagon's work at the Fair through the distribution of his booklet titled, "The Red Man's Rebuke" in *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (2001). Cornelia Hulst notes the importance of Pokagon's speech titled, "Red Man's Greeting" in *Indian Sketches: Père Marguette and the Last of the Pottawatomie Chiefs* (orig. 1912, reprinted in 2010). Hoxie and Hulst disagree regarding the clothing that Pokagon wore at the Fair. The former includes a photograph of Pokagon in a suit noting, "This...was taken about the time he delivered his *Red Man's Greeting* at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," whereas the latter refers to a painting captioned, "Chief Pokagon, In his tribal attire as he appeared at the World's Fair on Chicago Day." My narrative aligns with Hulst's account based on newspaper reports about *Chicago Day*.

² The relationship between Harrison and Pokagon is explicated further by C.H. Engle, the editor of Pokagon's book *Queen of the Woods* (1899), who wrote an introduction that provides a brief biography of Pokagon.

³ *Chicago Day* commemorated the anniversary of the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, and although the Fair officially opened on May 1, 1893, by President Grover Cleveland, the largest single day of attendance was on *Chicago Day* with over 700,000 visitors. For a theoretical study of performance in relation to categories of identity such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender, which also takes into account postcolonial theory and gender theory see: Jose Esteban Munoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999)

⁴ Mark Smith argues that the transcendent symbolic and aural power of bells is critical to American culture in, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (2000). In specific regards to the term Indianness, I use it to refer to a discourse that circulated throughout America and could be both oppressive towards Indian people and open to modification by them. As Scott Richard Lyons points out, “even now discourses of Indianness are generated by institutions, the state, and the market...”see page 24 from *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010)

⁵ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) explicates the roles that exhibitions were to take on as ideological displays and the specific ties to disciplinary knowledge, which buildings and designs of the fair were meant to convey with regard to ideas of evolution, ethnology, and popular amusements. Rydell focuses mainly on how whites conceived of building the fair, and their reactions upon visiting it. Regarding, “the Midway” he writes, “The Midway, the honky-tonk sector of the fair, was officially classified under the auspices of the exposition’s Department of Ethnology. Hailed as a ‘great object lesson; in anthropology by leading anthropologists, the Midway provided visitors with ethnological, scientific sanction for the American view of the nonwhite world as barbaric and childlike and gave a scientific basis to the racial blueprint for building a utopia.” (p40)

⁶ *The Red Man's Rebuke* (Chicago: Self-published, 1893, 2) For a useful comparison related to the marketing of ethnicity, I look to Nell Painter’s *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (1996) For other work on the writings of Pokagon that view the limits of his positioning see, James Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665–1965* (1998) and A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, “Simon Pokagon” in *Dictionary of Native American Literature*, edited by Andrew Wiget (1994).

⁷ Simon Pokagon, “The Red Man’s Rebuke” (Published in 1893 by C.H. Engle and Michigan Historical Society, p1) This pamphlet is sometimes confused with the address Pokagon gave at the fair, called “The Red Man’s Greeting.” In fact, these are quite different in tone and content. Cheryl Walker’s *Indian Nation, Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms* (1997) offers a recent printing of “The Red Man’s Rebuke.” My reading is based off of a facsimile of the original birch-bark pamphlet from the Bentley Historical Library’s Collection in Ann Arbor, Michigan and Walker’s reprint.

⁸ From the Author’s note to “The Red Man’s Rebuke” Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan

⁹ Modernity can be understood as a condition, rather than the designation for some particular period of time. Aspects of the modern condition may arise at any time and place, but they are most generally associated with historical trends from Cartesian philosophy, industrial capitalism, revolutionary politics, and cultural changes from the turn of the nineteenth century. Modernity as a theoretical concept has been used by many different scholars within American Studies. Cultural historians have used definitions for modernization (rather than modernity) as a historically contingent process in their work. Some key texts that help to illuminate the difference between thinking through modernity and the modern as a condition versus modernism as a marker for a specific period of modernization, and modernism versus postmodernism are, Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (1987), David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (1991), and Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1992).

¹⁰ My use of collective cultural biography is as a genre and an analytical framework to make an argument regarding a particular cohort of twentieth century Indian intellectuals. This approach is my own, however, there is an excellent book that I see as a model for a similar approach, see: John Stauffer’s, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002). Stauffer’s work deftly brings together analysis of four different individuals, two black and two white: Frederick Douglass and doctor-scholar James McCune Smith, and John Brown and philanthropist-reformer Gerrit Smith. Stauffer’s account brings these four lives together in a historical

moment because of “their vision of a sacred, sin-free, and pluralist society” and “their willingness to use violence to effect it.” In terms of another model for the genre of collective cultural biography this book takes a similar approach to what I do in this dissertation.

¹¹ I look to the works of Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *Power/Knowledge* (1980), to theorize Indian intellectuals as agents of change through the transformation of social, political, and disciplinary networks and the work of discourse.

¹² My work in Native American Studies builds on other studies of turn of the twentieth-century Native public figures by Philip J. Deloria, Hazel Hertzberg, Frederick Hoxie, Joel Pfister, and Lucy Maddox.

¹³ See Introduction, p3, from Scott Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (2010)

¹⁴ For more on the theorization of “keywords” and their historical development and usage by distinct disciplines of knowledge see, Raymond Williams. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), and for a related study of how concepts travel in interdisciplinary projects and are only meaningful for cultural analysis when they helps us to understand our object of study see, Mieke Bal and Sherry Marx-Macdonald. *Traveling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

¹⁵ In my study of representational politics of Indian intellectuals I look to Joel Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern* (2004) and Philip J. Deloria, *Indian in Unexpected Places* (2006). In regards to national narratives and citizenship and the relation between nationally defined communities versus more culturally or locally defined ones, I look to Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), and Homi Bhabha’s edited collection *Nation and Narration* (1990).

¹⁶ In regards to the mutually constitutive relationship between American and Indian identity I look to Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (1999), and to a lesser extent but also useful is Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native* (2001). For a study of late nineteenth century culture in America, and the intersecting categories of race, gender, and class with regards to identity formation I refer to *The American 1890s: A Cultural Reader* edited by Susan Harris Smith and Melanie Dawson (2000) and Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (1996)

¹⁷ When referring to westward expansion, and also race, nation and empire I draw on an extensive body of literature about U.S. colonialism and imperialism. Several studies have appeared that deal with empire in terms of both theory and praxis. Such as, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s *Empire* (2000) that took global indigenous movements seriously by characterizing them in terms of subaltern nationalism. Other political and cultural studies of U.S. empire include, Amy Kaplan’s *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (2005), Laura Wexler’s *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in the Age of U.S. Imperialism* (2000), Ann Stoler’s *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (2002), Anne McClintock’s *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), and with more transnational approaches Paul A. Kramer’s *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (2006) and Penny Von Eschen’s *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (2004), among others.

¹⁸ Charles Eastman celebrates William Jones, “a Sac and Fox quarter blood,” who “was a graduate of Hampton and of Harvard University” and completed his advanced graduate work at Columbia as “a pupil of those distinguished scientists, Dr. Putnam and Dr. Boas.” Eastman also shows how Jones had links to working with various tribes within the United States, and the influential networks of “Harvard and the Marshall Field Museum of Chicago.” Jones stands out because of his affiliation with these institutions as a social scientist and because of his research trip to the Philippine Islands, where Eastman notes “he was murdered by the natives a few years ago.” For more on William Jones and his trip to the Philippines see the biography by Henry Milner Rideout, *William Jones, Indian, cowboy, American scholar, and Anthropologist*

in the Fields (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912) and also the diary that Jones kept while he was in the Philippines along with documents related to the trial of his three Ilongot assailants, which are available in the William Jones Collection, The Chicago Field Museum Archives, Chicago, Illinois. Special thanks to Armand Esai for assisting me in my visit to see the diary of William Jones. Also, for more written by William Jones see Truman Michelson's reprint of *Ojibwa Texts Collected by William Jones: Miscellaneous Tales* (Nabu Press, 2010) For more on "Wa Wa Chaw" see Stan Steiner, *Spirit Woman: The Diaries and Paintings of Benita Wa Wa Calachaw Nunez*. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979)

¹⁹ For more on the relationship between letter writing and publishing in connection with the creation of a public sphere see, Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into Bourgeois* translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1991)

Chapter 1

A Global Mission: The Higher Education of Charles Eastman

It is the impression of many people who are not well informed on the Indian situation that book education is of little value to the race, particularly what is known as the higher education. The contrary is true. What we need is not less education, but more; more trained leaders to uphold the standards of civilization before both races. ~Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-day* (1915)¹

On December 5th, 1905, an array of literary figures, celebrities, and political elites gathered at an extravagant private party in the Red Room of “The Citadel” --also known at the time as Delmonico’s Restaurant. This family-run restaurant, originally opened in 1830, had by the turn of the twentieth century come to embody the status and achievement of haute cuisine as much as the high social status of its clientele. Located on the southern tip of Manhattan, within shouting distance of the recently built U.S. Custom House and west of Battery Park, Delmonico’s was becoming known beyond New York City for its fine fare and posh atmosphere. The spectacular party had been arranged by Colonel George Harvey, the President of Harper and Brothers Publishing Company, to celebrate Mark Twain’s Seventieth Birthday.²

Over 170 friends and fellow writers attended. These guests were treated to a forty-piece orchestra as well as fifteen speeches and formal toasts. After a brief introduction by author, editor, and critic William Dean Howells, Twain set a convivial tone for the evening by punctuating his speech with satirical aphorisms. He remarked, “I have had a great many birthdays in my time. I remember the first one very well, and I always think of it with indignation; everything was so crude, unaesthetic, primeval. Nothing like this at

all.” One can imagine that his guests responded with an abundance of laughter and applause.

One of Twain’s birthday gifts following this evening was a book of photographs, which featured guests around their tables. In one, Doctor Charles A. Eastman (Santee Sioux) sits prominently next to Alice MacDowan, James Rodgers, and Mrs. A.D. Chandler. Certainly the most ebullient at his table, Eastman is wearing an elegant tuxedo and toothy grin. The next day, Americans who did not receive invitations to the evening’s festivities could read such details in the *New York Times*. The paper’s lead story focused on the historic nature of the party, claiming that “never before in the annals of this country had such a representative gathering of literary men and women been seen under one roof.” This seemed true given that guests had come from all across the United States. Eastman, for example, was alone in representing Minnesota. But, perhaps more importantly, he was also the only Native American author in attendance. As a budding writer, he was in good company at Twain’s party, where new authors like Willa Cather and Charles W. Chesnutt were among the literary set.³

Although the *Times* reporter did not mention the presence of either Eastman or Chesnutt, despite the fact that both Native Americans and African-Americans were scarcer than women at the banquet, the survival of the photograph featuring Eastman signifies twin facets of his life: his career as an Indian intellectual, and opportunities that brought him into contact with people who could shape the literary marketplace, politics, and public opinion. Indeed, Eastman’s presence at Twain’s party is but one example of a cultural space where he could build a powerful relationship between his intellectualism -- as he understood it and as it was defined by those who read his books and saw him

speaking—and literary networks to promote his educational mission.⁴ Ultimately, Eastman aimed to teach Americans about the history of his people, the Sioux, and through this teaching to argue in favor of citizenship for Indian people in the U.S.⁵

Just six years later, Eastman attended another historic event, though it was no party. Instead, Eastman was asked to represent Native Americans as part of an international congress on race. In 1911, the *New York Tribune* reported that “all tongues, all types, and all tints” of people would gather that summer for the first “Universal Races Congress,” at the University of London. This Congress of nations was, according to one reporter, meant to be “a distinctly new and novel proposition.” The U.S., among other nations, was expanding its imperial reach beyond domestic borders into places like Guam and Puerto Rico, and thus it made sense for Americans to attend an international event that aimed to encourage interracial goodwill on a global scale. Indeed, the universal mission of such a Congress was to make “special reference to bringing about friendlier relations between Occident and Orient.” Out of the ten Americans invited to present, two delegates stand out from the event’s program, because they were there to speak on behalf of interracial relations at home. Both were public intellectuals who were well-positioned to represent their races using a global platform.⁶

One was Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the prominent African American sociologist, who read a paper entitled: “The Negro in America.” The other speaker invited to present, less known today than he was then, was the author, lecturer, and political spokesman Dr. Charles A. Eastman. He gave a paper on “The American Indian.” What brought Du Bois and Eastman, as intellectuals and members of ethnic minority groups in America to London in 1911? According to the *Tribune* one reason they may have chosen to

participate in the Congress was because they believed in its mission as one committed to the productive discussion of race by prominent sociologists and anthropologists from around the world. In fact, the Congress organizers had been supported by the political heads of the British Empire and “many members of the permanent court of arbitration of The Hague,” as well as “the council of the Interparliamentary Union” to organize this international forum to discuss race relations on a global scale.

In September of 1911, Saint Nihal Singh articulated the mission of the Congress as “Trying to Solve the World’s Problems of Race” in *The American Review of Reviews*. Singh’s article ruminates on the fact that humanity must be led by the demand “of the yellow, brown, and black races that the ‘white’ folk treat them in accordance with the Golden Rule.” This demand aligned with the work of both Du Bois and Eastman, since they saw themselves as leading figures with regard to racial politics in the U.S.

As literary scholar Brent Hayes Edwards and others have demonstrated, Du Bois’s 1911 speech echoed the rhetoric established in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Edwards has also argued that in Du Bois’s appearance, one can see the outlines of not simply a “Black Atlantic,” but also a diasporic black intellectual internationalism. Although Eastman was part of a similar, if less developed global circuit, his mission at the Congress almost certainly reflected the differential history of Indian people in relation to European colonialism. Thus, he was there to speak on behalf of American Indian people in the context of an increasingly globalized world.⁷

Each man also chose to speak for his “race,” because of deep-seated concerns regarding the future of racialized and ethnic minorities within the United States.⁸ Eastman, like Du Bois, was well-educated, highly traveled, and a skilled orator. He

understood that an international event of this type would be a great opportunity for him to present his own ideas about the current conditions faced by Native Americans. Both men spoke on the same panel at the Congress, “devoted to the question of the *modern* conscience in relation to the negro and the American Indian.”⁹ Given Eastman’s quest to educate the American public about Indian people as modern citizens of the U.S., the panel’s emphasis on “the modern conscience” resonated with his cultural politics. Still, the question provoked by such a panel did not give Eastman *carte blanche* to speak without certain reservations.

One reporter from the *Tribune* predicted that this panel would succeed in presenting ideas on race and humanity while also avoiding “all bitterness towards parties, peoples, and governments.” In the context of these concerns, Eastman and Du Bois faced a tall order. Could Eastman include a historical critique of colonialism and conquest in his remarks on the “modern conscience” in relation to the American Indian? Could Du Bois refer to the history of slavery and Jim Crow in the U.S.? As each speaker prepared his remarks, they turned not to the specifics of these histories, but instead towards the more future-oriented language that Du Bois used to characterize the color line. The panel showcased the modernist psychological language of “the veil” and “double-consciousness” for Du Bois, and the fact of “full-bloodedness” and the “Real” rather than primitive Indian for Eastman. Du Bois’s assertion seemed to be precise and accurate; the problem of the twentieth century was indeed the problem of the color line. Eastman understood this problem differently from Du Bois, however, seeing the color line primarily in terms of Indian-white relations, and his speech aimed to improve interracial harmony with specific regards to Indian people’s concerns.¹⁰

By this time, the rise of pan-Indian organizations, the decline of living conditions for Indian people in general, and widespread public criticism towards the U.S. Indian Bureau shaped what Eastman could say about the “modern conscience” in America. Eastman used the opportunity given to him by the Congress, like he used Twain’s party, to present not only on behalf of Indians in America but for himself, so he could make new contacts with influential networks of scientists, writers, and politicians.¹¹

Eastman’s speech on “The North American Indian” began with a general accounting of the geographic, linguistic, and political differences of indigenous peoples in North America prior to European contact. He faced the issue of racialization based on physical traits head on by noting that for Indian people “their colour is not ‘red’ nor ‘copper-coloured,’ but a warm brown, much darker in the south than among the inhabitants of the north.” This correction regarding the actual color of Indian skin enabled Eastman to recognize biological discourse while not dwelling on the physicality of race, as he meditated on the topic of political power inherent to different tribal nations. He tied the problem of cross-racial politics to European powers’ interest in negotiating solely with chiefs and headmen, to highlight a common misunderstanding whereby colonists ignored “the fact that the office of chief is mainly honorary and indeed nominal.” Pointing to moments of misunderstanding like this one enabled Eastman to consider what Indian people could retain in the face of colonialism. He also used the occasion to emphasize that Indian people are taught, from childhood, to esteem public service as a high honor. From here Eastman argued that this focus on public service rather than the accumulation of property, in part, explained the downfall of Native Americans, which was a necessary precondition for the rise of the United States as an international power.¹²

In the context of this international meeting, Eastman's speech defined American democracy as intimately linked to material progress. Therefore, he could criticize U.S. colonialism and imperialism by noting that evidence of American civilization necessarily depended on breeding dishonesty and greed, and "the love of possessions." Eastman showed that this desire to own property and obtain objects ran counter to "freedom" as defined by Indian people. In particular, he noted that Native men were not well-equipped to desire participation in capitalism, because historically women owned all property, and therefore, it was "considered effeminate in a warrior" to desire possessions.

Throughout this speech Eastman accounts for labor, religion, medicine, public service, gender relations, warfare, and interracial marriage to note that indigenous customs are in themselves practical and positive, and not easily changed. He tracks the ways in which Indian people, because of their distinct cultural characteristics, thrived before European colonists came and corrupted their pristine socio-economic structures. In drawing on this binary, and referring to European influence using a rhetoric of corruption and contamination, Eastman's speech conformed to certain tenets of social evolutionary theory that were prevalent at the time. For example, he notes that "it was equally inevitable that the vices of the more sophisticated race [white] should be imitated by the simpler [Indian]." This excerpt suggests two ideas. One is Eastman's understanding of why one race may dominate another, which he articulates as located in the connection between vice and sophistication. In this instance he explains that a failure of early traders and Christian missionaries to learn from indigenous peoples resulted in the transfer of European cultural values that included their vices. Underpinning Eastman's argument is a cultural logic that understood race as produced by culture, given that "the simpler" Indian

race was without vice *prior* to their contact with a different, more sophisticated (in Eastman's words), European culture. This relationship between racial identity and cultural formations was the second idea in his speech, which was central to his representational politics.¹³

Ultimately Eastman's speech argues that American civilization must correct its flaws to improve the current situation of the American Indian who lives in a "beggarly" state on Reservations that operate like prisons. Eastman asserts that in this new space the federal government of the U.S. has created a "pauperizing effect," and the graft of petty officials has led to the final eclipse of the Indian man who lives "like that of a wild animal confined in a zoological garden." Eastman offers a powerful and provocative parallel here by defining wildness in relation to the primitive and animal-like state of Indian manhood which is mutually constitutive with the construction of the Reservation. The reservation that he describes is itself a project of white Americans. Therefore, Eastman draws out the material ways that Indians have been forced to live in a state of wildness due *not* to their inherent otherness, simplicity, or primitivism but because of the limits imposed upon them by an external government intent on managing their development.¹⁴

In order to rally his audience, Eastman uses another important rhetorical strategy. By using "we" throughout his discussion of the "reservation policy" that "was a mistake," which has led to "the fruits of a radical misapprehension of the red man's native capacity" he prompts his audience to see themselves as part of the problem, and also the solution. By focusing on the irony of designing social and political structures meant to celebrate freedom that have, in fact, undermined the mobility and achievement of Indian

people Eastman urges his listeners to reconsider the history of U.S. expansion. Additionally, because his speech looks to the future he articulates new arenas that can promote the “development of the ‘new Indian’” in America. He points to two explicitly: the first is in educational policy, which he sees as a success, and the second is massive reform of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The latter entails the abolition of the reservation system and distribution of tribal funds held in trust to individuals to benefit “the manhood and full independence of the Indian citizen.” This second option aligns with the ideology promoted by the Dawes Act of 1887, which aimed to divide reservation lands into individual allotments.

“The North American Indian” speech from 1911 was one of hundreds that Eastman gave between the 1890s and the 1930s, as he traveled throughout the U.S. and the world. During this time he also wrote ten books, which circulated to a range of reading publics, many of them white and some of them Indian. He also maintained voluminous correspondence with individuals ranging from the alumni of Dartmouth College to white women’s reform organizations and other leading Indian intellectuals. All the while he saw himself as part of a larger educational mission, which put Indian identity and citizenship at its center.¹⁵

Eastman’s ability to address multiple publics, some international in their scope (such as the Congress on Race) and others with more social and literary interests (such as Twain’s party), exemplifies his success in accessing different networks to embody a public face for Indianness. This chapter traces the impact of a tuxedo-clad Eastman as he moved from the cultural space of higher education produced by Dartmouth to literary scenes like that of Delmonico’s private dining room and then on to assorted lecture

venues, some humble and others more extravagant, where he wore “full Sioux regalia” working as a professional speaker. By looking closely at his speeches, costumes, and audiences, I examine his politics of representation to highlight the interconnectedness of his education with his literary work, aspects of epistolary culture, and performance that under-girded the dynamic ways he then fashioned himself as an educator. For Eastman the theme of education plays out in terms of how his status as an educated Indian matters and also in terms of his desire to provide an education to others.¹⁶

I focus not only on Eastman, but also on the circuits he could travel as an Indian intellectual to further a political mission, which was shared by other native people and white progressives. One gains a sense of that milieu and the range of his writing and speaking career by looking at highly publicized events like Twain’s birthday party, and at epistolary culture consisting of personal notes, letters, and memoranda. Eastman’s invitation and attendance at local and national events point to the literary sphere and the realm of politics as integral to his cultural production. As a speaker for the Y.M.C.A, for example, he made contacts to assist in his political reform efforts, while giving lectures on the Chautauqua circuit enabled him to promote himself as an Indian author.

Other Indian intellectuals came to prominence through similar institutions, and their work was also shaped by their education, an ability to publish, and finely tune public performances. Locating the connections between Eastman’s life-work and that of other Indian intellectuals and their non-Indian allies hinges on considering his involvement with a literary world and a political one. Thus, Twain’s party was not the only high society affair he attended, nor was the Universal Races Congress his only opportunity to cross the Atlantic. Before and after these two events Eastman was active in

fashioning himself as an Indian intellectual, and this mean as an educated person and none who teaches and leads by example.¹⁷

This chapter delves deep into the historical moments that framed Eastman's intellectual work. Given the failures of the allotment policy for vast numbers of Indian people, and changes in Eastman's thoughts about it, I consider the moments when he promoted allotment as connected to his position on citizenship. As he makes clear in his 1911 speech at the Races Congress, Indian people must be counted as members of American modernity, and citizenship was a means towards this end. Furthermore, by considering the shifting terrain of Indian policy in relation to Eastman's cultural politics I explain the limits and possibilities he faced as an Indian intellectual leader during this period. I also consider how changes in his thinking with regards to allotment and citizenship were reflected in his work as a writer who used more than one genre, like autobiography, folklore, and polemic, to convey his ideas. Through these textual examples I show how Eastman's mission to educate Americans and the global community about Native political concerns reflected broader social and political changes in U.S. society and Indian Country. Moreover, his gift for the spoken word enabled Eastman to educate a diverse array of audiences, and he began this instructional work while a student himself at Dartmouth College.

Vox Clamantis in Deserto: He's a Dartmouth Man!

Much of Eastman's early life as an undergraduate student at Dartmouth College shaped his philosophy, and his ability to work first as a physician, and later as an author and lecturer. As much as Eastman benefited from the time he spent at Dartmouth, so too

did the College draw on its association with Eastman as means for reaffirming its founding mission. In looking to vignettes from Eastman's time as a "Dartmouth man" we can see how he looked to this school as his first platform to speak on behalf of Native people.

"The voice of one crying in the wilderness" has been the Dartmouth College motto since the school's founding in 1769. Established by Congregational minister Eleazar Wheelock (1711-1779), partly with funds raised by the Native American preacher Samson Occom (1723-1792), the College considered its initial mission to acculturate and Christianize Native Americans. Despite this founding mission, the College graduated only nineteen Native Americans during its first two hundred years.¹⁸ After an extended period of financial and political struggles, Dartmouth emerged from relative obscurity in the early twentieth century—and it did so with considerable assistance from Charles Eastman, the cultural descendant of Occom. Indeed as he shaped Dartmouth, Eastman also shaped himself.

According to *The Aegis* (Dartmouth's Yearbook, founded in 1859), the Freshman Class of 1887 was distinguished by its only Native American student: Charles Alexander Eastman. His athletic and scholarly achievements were many and his listings include Football Captain, Dartmouth Baseball Association, Dartmouth Gun Club, member of the Webster Chapter, the Phi Delta Theta Fraternity, and the Missionary Committee. Not only was Eastman the only Indian at Dartmouth at this time, but he also came to Hanover, New Hampshire from the small town of Flandreau, located in the Dakota Territory. His classmates, on the other hand, hailed mostly from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Eastman's distinguishing achievements, in other words, took

place within the context of a northern and New England social community completely foreign to him. Throughout his life Eastman nonetheless maintained an association with Dartmouth's prestigious and vast alumni network to elevate the public profile of the college as one committed to the education and incorporation of Indian people within American society.¹⁹

As a student, Eastman's life at Dartmouth seems to have revolved around athletics as much as academics. For example, at an 1883 track-meet he ran the two-mile race in 11 minutes and 56 seconds, not quite fast enough to break the College record, but an impressive showing for that day. Off the field, Eastman, like many Dartmouth men, grew acquainted with many of the people living in Hanover. In 1887, for example, he sent a letter to "Miss Clarke," a young elementary school teacher to accept her invitation to play a game of whist. Eastman seemingly found ample opportunities to have fun and play games as a distraction from the work involved in his many committee memberships, athletic contests, and school projects. These years in New Hampshire were Eastman's first entrée into elite New England society, and fed into the career he would make for himself as a public intellectual.²⁰

Throughout his undergraduate years, Indianness remained a pivotal component of how others perceived Eastman and how he in turn perceived himself. He was not just another fast runner, scholar, and whist player because he was also and inevitably an Indian. During this period, studies of race continued to shift despite the discourse's emphasis on biological definitions. A few decades earlier, in 1839, the naturalist and craniologist Samuel George Morton (1799-1851) produced *Crania Americana* to provide detailed descriptions of racial difference for American readers, helping to define the term

“scientific racism.” In many ways Morton’s work shaped how Americans thought about the connection between the idea of race and the materiality of the body. As “Dartmouth’s Indian,” Eastman could not escape the association others made between his Indianness and his body, which took shape in “blood.”²¹

Beginning in the 1880s, Eastman and others defined his position as an intellectual through the linked discourse of blood and education. As a student he was celebrated as Dartmouth’s “most picturesque figure.” Even after his death this association with Dartmouth was characterized by the “full-blooded” quality of his Indian identity. One article from Manchester’s *Union* in 1939 provides an extensive obituary titled: “Dartmouth’s Most Famous Indian Grad Dies in Detroit, Dr. Charles Eastman ’87, a Full-Blooded Sioux Known as Ohiyesa, Recognized as Most Learned Member of Race.” The headline itself positions Eastman in terms of race as a cultural *and* biological category. He is the “most learned” Indian (ever!) when his Indianness is figured through his education, reflecting cross-cultural possibilities in a way that re-emphasized his racial difference. At the same time, the headline notes he is a “Full-Blooded Sioux,” a seemingly biological statement that actually rested on cultural assumptions. Throughout his life, Eastman was forced to navigate this complex and often contradictory representation of Indianness that was at once cultural and also biological. Ultimately, he would turn to education as political lens through which to recast this shifty image.

Eastman’s later writings and lectures articulated his Indian identity as one rooted in biology and marked by his link to Dartmouth. In fact, as the college’s “most famous Indian” Eastman continually negotiated the issue of Indian dress as a representational strategy, as he chose which clothes to wear in order to confirm or refute biological

destiny and perform more culturally rooted ideas about race. One occasion at Dartmouth during Eastman's undergraduate career (1883 to 1886), illustrates how his decision to wear certain types of clothing intersected with ideas about race and racialization practices in America. In this instance, the English cultural critic Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) had been invited to give a lecture on Literature “as an antidote to materialism in a democracy” at the College. Upon his arrival, Arnold “asked to see the famous Indian student.” Arnold was then amazed when “Ohiyesa appeared in faultless evening clothes and not in war paint and tribal regalia.” Arnold's remarks and his reaction to Eastman's appearance *not* “in war paint and tribal regalia,” but instead in “faultless evening clothes” carries the weight of white expectations regarding Indianness and also the power of performance. Arnold could have been awed by Eastman in regalia, and yet it was a different awe generated by Eastman in dress clothes.

Eastman may have, at first, appeared as an object for Arnold's consumption, since he was Dartmouth's “famous Indian student.” But, on closer inspection Arnold came to understand that his preconceptions regarding Dartmouth's Indian did not align with Eastman's cultural persona. In addition, because Eastman was so amiable the two met and spoke as equals. This meeting proved a *propos* given that Arnold's lecture encouraged his audience to seek out intelligent idealism and service to reshape society.²²

Reports regarding the details of Arnold's meeting with Eastman circulated well-beyond the small New Hampshire town. Such reports focused on the encounter as an aberration on two fronts. On the one hand, Eastman is celebrated for exceeding the expectations of his famous visitor. On the other hand, Arnold is portrayed as embarrassed in his desire to see Dartmouth's Indian in Native “regalia” and his failure to imagine

Eastman in any other way. This report, and others like it, offered American readers an opportunity to play the role of Arnold at Dartmouth. They could imagine ways to locate Indians within different modes of dress and to recognize (as Arnold did with shock) the limits of their own imagination. At the same time, these reports offered American readers a chance to enjoy a laugh at the expense of an elite English intellectual.

Years later, Dartmouth continued to celebrate its most famous Indian by memorializing him in an oil painting by Julius D. Katzieff, American (1892-1957). This portrait captures *not* the “real” Eastman of Arnold’s encounter, but the imagined and properly “full-blooded” Eastman adorned “in full tribal dress.” Today it hangs in the college museum, as a gift commissioned by the Class of 1887. Even though Eastman did not honor Arnold’s expectation, he did acquiesce to his classmates’ demands to memorialize him in regalia and in oil paint. Eastman’s decision to dress one way on the occasion that he met Arnold and in different costume for this portrait demonstrates the range of strategies open to him within Dartmouth’s past and America’s future. Furthermore, Eastman’s ability to dress up as an Indian, or not, enabled him to address diverse audiences and their expectations. Drawing on such experiences at Dartmouth, Eastman learned that he could speak on behalf of Indian education and citizenship and transform cultural representations of Indianness at the same time. A change in imagination could take place not only in material terms, on the occasions when Eastman wore a tuxedo rather than a feathered headdress, but in discursive ways, at the moments in texts, news reports, and performances where Eastman’s rhetoric pushed white publics to shift their imaginative expectations about Indians to include a wider array of possibilities.²³

After graduating from Dartmouth, Eastman moved south to study medicine at Boston University. Not long after receiving his medical degree he worked as a physician in the Indian Service, first attending to Native victims of the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. He subsequently traveled to work at different reservations before finally abandoning a career in medicine for a more lucrative position in the world of publishing.

Imagining the Indian of Today

Throughout this section I look closely at one of Eastman's most overtly political books, *The Indian Today*. This text enables me to map changes in his thinking with regard to Federal Policies (like the 1887 Dawes Act), and to read his cultural politics in the context of class, race, and gender discourse. His support for allotment, for example, appears tied to white reform groups, which he saw as critical to the success of pan-tribal activism, and his ultimate goal for Indian people, which was inclusion in American society as citizens. What is more, because this text was intended to reach both Native and non-Native readers alike it emerges as one of Eastman's most overtly pedagogical pieces as a writer. In this sense it represents him as an Indian intellectual and educator. His particular interest in the problems of race leadership also comes to the fore and here one can see critical connections between Eastman and other Native intellectuals from this period. By pointing to these connections I add to a mapping process for this chapter, and those that follow, which reveals the scope and strength of pan-tribal networks that were useful in redefining Indianness as part of a broader political mission.

Eastman's *The Indian Today: The Past and Future of the First American* was first published by Doubleday in 1915. Unlike his autobiographies, *Indian Boyhood* (1902) and

From the Deep Woods to Civilization (1916), which alternate between casting Eastman as author and subject, and his spiritually focused text *The Soul of the Indian* (1911), his turn to folklore in *Red Hunters and the Animal People* (1904) and *Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales* (1909), *The Indian Today* articulates a new philosophy for Eastman's readers. He aims to teach them about the authentic history and traditions of Indian people. He also writes against the fictional worlds that celebrate Indianness rather than actual Indian achievements, fabricated by writers like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Fenimore Cooper. Indeed, *The Indian Today* engages the question of how to change attitudes in American society with regards to culture. It challenges white notions about Indian history by offering a social-scientific approach to defining the modern Indian subject, as embodied in the educated Indian who participates in industrial capitalism. Throughout this text, Eastman uses this definition as a political argument in and of itself. He also argues that readers see the necessity of full-citizenship rights for all Native Americans, which at the time (1915) was still an extremely high priority for many Indian intellectual leaders.²⁴

Eastman's narrative sought to speak to different publics in order to create a groundswell of support for citizenship within Indian communities and America. For tribally distinct Indians he aimed to teach about shared accomplishments and histories as well as an emerging Pan-Indian movement. For white Americans he spoke to the particular efforts of reformers and progressives. He aimed to encourage individuals and organizations that saw themselves as committed to Indian issues to become central in creating what would later be the Indian New Deal. Simply put, Eastman's ideas represent

his journey from being “Dartmouth’s Indian,” to a physician, then to a folklorist, and, finally, to a public educator about Indian rights.²⁵

Five central elements form the architecture of Eastman’s argument regarding Indian rights in *The Indian Today*: policy, reform efforts, education, networks of Indian intellectuals, and “the problem of race leadership.” By examining each of these elements, I trace how Eastman described and defined the parameters of Indian Policy in America. Unlike his earlier writings, which demonstrate his educational philosophy through various forms of practice, this book lays out reform ideas in conversation with preexisting networks developed by white progressives and Indian activists. At the same time, education remains central to his thinking. For example, he focuses on Indian Schools and considers the roles college educated Indians can play in the fight for citizenship. Finally, what emerges as Eastman’s greatest concern in this book is an ideology that cuts across various ethnic groups: “the problem of race leadership.”

To instruct his readers in the future of Indian policy in the U.S. Eastman first turns to the past. Beginning with colonialism and conquest and ending with incorporation, he emphasizes the changing status of Indian people within the United States. He argues that the pitfalls of the federally run Agency System under the Bureau of Indian Affairs have remained largely unchanged since colonial times. This is a problem because, as Eastman notes, when the U.S. government was first founded the right of “eminent domain” did not necessarily deny Indian people the “right of occupancy,” but instead relied on formal treaties to recognize Indian tribes as independent nations, and therefore, tribal governments became the sole source of Indian power. By 1915, the sovereignty of Tribal Nations was under threat given the Dawes Act of 1887 and the push

for universal citizenship for all Indian people in the U.S. Eastman understands these circumstances and looks to individual rights as the new source of power for Indian people.²⁶

Eastman highlights the problems inherent in U.S. Indian Policy (to Indian and non-Indian readers alike) to point out the fundamental ambivalence upon which later policies were overlaid. For example, he argues that if Indian tribes could be understood as independent nations, then the policies that encouraged practices of elimination and re-settlement would *not* be justified given their right of occupancy. However, at the time Indian people had neither been recognized as members of sovereign nations nor been given the right of occupancy. Thus, clearly and consistently, the U.S. government mismanaged the welfare of Indian people. This is the history that is critical for Eastman, because he shows how the development of the U.S., as a democratic nation, rests upon the political separation of Indian tribes and people. In this sense, Eastman's text is in close dialogue with W.E.B. Du Bois and the integrationist politics of justice espoused by African American intellectuals, rather than his own intellectual descendants who would return to the notion of collective rights. Eastman's argument centers on an American contradiction, the same dilemma that drove Du Bois: how could Indian people participate in a democracy that was itself so un-democratic with particular regards to them?²⁷

Du Bois was led by a long history of social integration matched with political powerlessness. Political integration—that is, citizenship—seemed a logical way of putting that social integration into an equitable practice. Indian history led someplace else. Rather than a long history of intimate social integration, Indian people had a history

of treaty-making and political independence. The contradiction, then, looked a bit different to Eastman than it did to Du Bois.

The Indian Today represents how Eastman grappled with the fraught history of U.S. colonialism in the context of his efforts as a reformer. He focuses on the process of dispossession and political independence while simultaneously arguing for the incorporation of Indian people as citizens. He writes, “In less than a century 370 distinct treaties were made with the various tribes, some of them merely friendship agreements, but in the main providing for the right of way and the cession of lands, as fast as such lands were demanded by the westward growth of the country and the pressure of population.” Eastman’s account of this history recognizes that the result of this process of dispossession was complicated and specific to each indigenous nation. Additionally, he notes that the wardship system that developed out of treaties, and legal decisions and the practical administrative apparatus of the government separated vast numbers of Indian people from important tracts of land. Thus, Indian lands were “set aside not only by treaty” but also “by act of Congress” and “executive order” for the settlement of white Americans. Even though much of Eastman’s rhetoric favors incorporation through citizenship he also argues that the future of Indian policy reform must take into account the specificity of this history of dispossession.

As Eastman outlines the stages used to eradicate a pre-existing population in order to make room for a new one, he uses this history to argue for citizenship. What proves troubling here is that Eastman must showcase the problems inherent in the Reservation System in order to argue for its dissolution. This is an idea he argued from as early as 1911, in London at the Congress on Race. In writing *The Indian Today*, his interest lies in

converting Indian readers to the erasure of this system. He wants to encourage Indian people to embrace individual pursuits of work and property, *because* he sees these as the path towards full citizenship –and citizenship as the end goal. In other words, Eastman advocates reform not through collective action via treaties, but through individual voices and votes.²⁸

In order to strengthen his case in favor of U.S. citizenship (as opposed to tribal nationalism) Eastman points to corruption within the reservation system. He notes that although Indian businessmen “have developed traits that are absolutely opposed to the racial type,” when they work for the Indian Service, “they become time-serving, beggarly, and apathetic.” In this case, the intentions of a system may be positive but the execution falls short when American principles are hidden under the shield of a corrupt agent. Indians who try to avoid being corrupted by resisting the abuses of the government system are ironically labeled “incorrigible savages.” In these instances, Indians who are the most aligned with better American principles cannot escape being seen as “Other.” Here, Eastman highlights the failures within the system itself, and recognizes that individual Indians can help stall the growth of corruption within U.S. society. Eastman argues that, ultimately, Indian people who are corrupted by the system of the Indian Bureau are responding to harsh practices that are part and parcel of that system. Thus, he aims to convince non-natives that this bureaucracy is riddled with problems that must be solved. Since rations of “cheap blankets and shoddy clothing” contribute towards a decline in self-respect among Indians, then white Americans must seek out ways to reform U.S. policy with regards to managing Indian Affairs.

The larger problem, according to Eastman, is that capitalism and market impulses breed corruption among white men, which in turn spreads to the Indian businessmen they encounter. Furthermore, because of out-of-date farming equipment and impracticable schooling, the political economy of reservations is neither self-sustaining nor in dialogue with the market logic outside of these reservations. In many senses, Eastman asserts that reservations are prisons for Indian people, as they limit Indians ability to advance materially, socially and politically within the U.S. This meta-critique showcases his desire to have individual Indians extend their reach beyond the reservation as citizens. Although the question of how Americans and Indians can escape the trap of corruption remains, Eastman is committed to noting how Indian people can participate in the world of modern capital with the hope that they are not corrupted by it.²⁹

Although Eastman strongly favors citizenship and the elimination of the Indian Bureau (later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or BIA) as possible solutions to corruption borne from capitalism, he also advocates a new sort of policy. This shift relies on a strategic alliance between white and Native reformers to manage modern capitalist expansion, and part of this management Eastman ties to an embrace of spiritual beliefs. This ideology emerges out of the work of white progressives who were active in the Lake Mohonk Conference, which met from 1883 to 1916 to discuss Indian matters and make recommendations.³⁰ For them, reform took the shape of stopping land speculators and others on the “frontier” settlements in the U.S. from taking advantage of Indian people. These reformers sought legislation that would find a way to promote the progress of Christian settlement. Indeed, the key word here is *Christian*. Their reformist agenda was built upon Christian teachings. Eastman held both Dakota beliefs and Christian ones. As

these white reformers supported Eastman he became part of the body politic. In turn, Eastman reconciles his inclusion in the political structures of the U.S. by presenting himself as a case study to gain the support of white activists and as an example for Indian people.³¹ (See appendix I for a list of white and pan-Indian reform organizations from the 1880s to the 1930s)

In many ways, Eastman's ideas align with those espoused by "eastern sentimentalists." Since *The Indian Today* aimed to reach white Americans who might be sympathetic to the cause of the Indians in America and to show Indian people that white reform organizations were essential to the future of the Red Man, Eastman celebrates what he has learned from specific groups of "eastern sentimentalists." He argues that three groups in particular are necessary for reform; these include: The Boston Indian Citizenship Committee (est. 1879), The National Indian Association (org. 1879), and The Indian Rights Association (org. 1882).³² Eastman notes, "To all three of these bodies, as well as to the Board of the Indian Commissioners, belongs much credit for urging the reforms which triumphed, in 1887, in the 'Dawes bill,' the Emancipation Act of the Indian." As Eastman affirms the merits of these types of reform groups he also celebrates, rather than critiques, the policy of allotment. In time his ideas about the Dawes Act would shift to reflect a consensus among Indian communities regarding the disenfranchisement and poverty that followed in the wake of this policy. At this time, however, Eastman was eager to "mend fences" that separated white reformers who held political sway in Washington from a group of pan-tribal activists whose power was just emerging.³³

For Eastman, then, reform needed to occur in two directions. First, the corrupt Agent System had to be addressed. This was an American and governmental problem. Second, Indian people needed to be educated. For Eastman education meant skilled training that would enable Indians to participate in market capitalism, and Christian ideals that could help them avert corruption. His conception of education fit within certain assimilationist logics that underpinned Indian policy during this period. At the same time, Eastman did not view himself as pro-assimilation. Instead he wanted to highlight education's merits so that schools and systems of education could be overhauled to benefit Indian students.

Eastman linked education to social and political change, because he was an educated Indian who used his schooling to navigate different arenas of power that were defined by white society. Surrounded by white elites, he saw himself as *their* educator, given that he was well-positioned as an Indian to speak on behalf of Native issues. Hence, reform could happen, for Eastman, on the ground --that is in lecture halls or conference meetings that aimed to change how people thought-- and through the courts and Congress. The complexity of Eastman's reform agenda comes across when we consider he was not merely an "assimilationist," but rather saw learning as a way of changing the system that structured how and what people learned. Eastman's educational mission was defined by uplift in terms of his own social and political mobility, and given that he wanted Americans to see Indians access avenues of power that were so long denied to them. Thus, Eastman pointed to the history of educating Indians in America to show the limits of the past and the possibilities of the future for Indian people.³⁴

Eastman turned to a specific site to support his conclusions about the power of education: Dartmouth. He pointed to his alma mater and the figure of Samson Occom as a case study for “the most famous educated Indian of his day.” Occom had traveled widely to promote Dartmouth College, and to argue that “individual red men were able to assimilate the classical culture of the period, and capable, moreover, of loyalty toward the new ideals no less than the old.” Eastman celebrates Occom and the power of education through this example. In his overview of “Early Mission and Contract Schools” and the Carlisle Industrial School, Eastman again uses Indian education to argue in favor of assimilation, although he understood it as a means of accessing politics rather than as a tool of manipulation and oppression.³⁵

Despite his own feelings about inclusion, Eastman recognized that many Indians felt the debilitating effects of forced assimilation, oppressive educational institutions (like Carlisle), and paternalism based on racism that characterized the management system of the Indian service. Certainly, Eastman’s citizenship was not theirs. But because he was an interlocutor between white society and Indian country, Eastman also recognized the centrality of class in making an argument in favor of citizenship. He understood the contradictions surrounding class, race, and citizenship at the time. He notes: “Among the thinking and advanced class of Indians there is, after all, no real bitterness or pessimistic feeling. It has long been apparent to us that absolute distinctions cannot be maintained under the American flag.” With these words, Eastman asserts a belief in an elite class and in the possibility of class mobility in America.³⁶

For educated and middle-class Indians, according to Eastman, racism was not a roadblock to entering the body politic of the U.S. Therefore, he makes a critical

distinction between citizenship and cultural assimilation. The latter was understood by white and Indian progressives as a means for shaping the traditions, practices, and politics of Indian people, so that they better aligned with dominant American society. This point of view was not shared by all Indian people. Thus, part of Eastman's aim is to convince other Native leaders to see that education is a means to an end. In other words, advanced schooling could ameliorate some of the differences and prejudices that separated Indian people from White Americans because of understandings of class and race.

While Eastman argues that more education can elevate Indian people's political and cultural positions within American society, he also returns to the race question, suggesting that Indian blood holds a special quality. He establishes a tenuous link between social mobility, political access, and ethnic essentialism. In particular, he uses the figure of Theodore Roosevelt to support an idea regarding racial formations in America. According to Eastman, Roosevelt "would give anything to have a drop of Sioux or Cheyenne blood in his veins." Eastman does not uncover *why* it is that Roosevelt would "give anything" to have Indian blood. Instead, he positions Roosevelt within a narrative that argues it is the Indian who is the first and real American. In this case, Roosevelt's belief in an Indian one-drop rule enables white people to still be white without having to contend with racism, even while becoming Indian enough to *feel* their primitivist desires converted into authentic selfhood. Ultimately, Eastman uses Roosevelt to illustrate that "the intelligent and educated Indian has no social prejudice to contend with," since "His color is not counted against him." This is an important point to make regarding Indian blood as a celebration of authentic Americanness, as the rightful

property of Indian people, and as distinct from the one-drop rule that worked to disenfranchise African-Americans during this period. According to Eastman, one drop of Indian blood does not *taint* one's character as would one drop of African-American blood.

Eastman goes a step further by positioning himself against Booker T. Washington, who, Eastman notes, has been "in the habit of saying jocosely that the negro blood is the strongest in the world, for one drop of it makes a 'nigger' of a white man." Eastman misreads the irony of Washington's statement to argue that "Indian blood is even stronger, for a half-blood negro and Indian may pass for an Indian, and so be admitted to first-class hotels and even to high society."³⁷ Not only is one drop of Indian blood different than that of "a half-blood negro" but it is in fact *stronger* with regards to passing for white. In this case Eastman's argument revisits culture and social relations. His comparison rests upon a fluid and fragile link between primitivist affection, Indian education, and class mobility. Such a link informed the cultural logic that underpinned Eastman's career as a writer and lecturer, and therefore, in this moment he also makes an argument about himself. This example does not reflect Indian reality given that many Indian people experienced racism. Ultimately, this anecdote expresses aspiration rather than realism, but it does showcase the different ways Native intellectuals could navigate a world where ideas about Indianness could be fluid even when they appeared fixed.

Considering these two examples of Eastman's representational politics we can see how he moves his readers to think about the "real" versus "imagined" power of blood in terms of policy, possibilities for reform, access to education, and also race leadership. He asks readers to consider whether race is a biologically rooted or a culturally constructed

category. This is a turning point in the narrative to prepare readers for what follows: a discussion of networks and the Indian intellectuals who navigate and manage them.³⁸

Eastman emphasizes how “Some Noted Indians of To-day” form a network of intellectuals who will shape pan-tribal reform. He groups each of these figures according to profession: doctors, lawyers, ministers, writers, teachers, and notable scientists, as well as artists, businessmen, and athletes. For example, Judge Hiram Chase of the Omahas and the Honorable Charles Curtis, a Senator from Kansas, are highlighted. In addition to legal professionals, he emphasizes the way Indian ministers helped individuals, tribes, and Native American society as a whole: “In the ministry we have many able and devoted men—more than in any other profession.” He singles out Reverend Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago, as a “promising young minister” and Reverend Sherman Coolidge, “a full-blood Araphahoe,” both “graduated from both Yale and Oberlin.” For Eastman, Indian ministers are the organic intellectuals in Indian Country. They are powerful figures who shape the lives of Indian people within reservation communities, demonstrating religion’s intersection with reform work.³⁹ He then turns to two more groups of Indian intellectuals as essential members of the newly forming pan-tribal political groups: anthropologists and writers. In regard to the former he refers specifically to the careers of William Jones, Arthur C. Parker and Francis La Flesche. All three are important interlocutors for Eastman because they work within social scientific disciplines that study contemporary Indian people. Parker was also a close lifelong friend of Eastman’s.⁴⁰

Looking at Parker one sees an example of a specific network of native people who joined Eastman as participants in modernity. Parker recognized that the distinctive character of various tribal nations was a challenge to any pan-Indian movement and why

such pan-Indian institutions were “largely sponsored by mixed bloods.” According to Parker, Indian leaders of mixed-heritage “...have perspective; they see over the hills; they see the reasons and the romance. Perhaps, too, they see the shadow that will soon mean the setting of the racial sun.” Eastman refers to Parker as an Indian activist who has struggled with these issues. Indeed, Parker’s mixed heritage could make him more *or* less Indian in the eyes of others. In this way Parker and Eastman shared much in common with regard to their educational missions, as each aimed to bridge not only divisions between Native and white societies but among people within Native communities.⁴¹

In terms of prominent Native writers, Eastman refers to Francis La Flesche (who worked as an ethnologist with Alice C. Fletcher) as well as Gertrude Bonnin and John Oskinson. La Flesche is a notable figure for his anthropological work and for his recollection, *The Middle Five* that presented a critique of on-reservation schooling. Gertrude Bonnin was a regular interlocutor for Eastman through her work with the Society of American Indians, and because she traveled in similar publishing and literary circles. Eastman’s mention of Bonnin is brief, despite her accomplishments as a teacher, musician, writer, and public speaker during this period. He refers to Bonnin as an example given her higher education. He writes, she “attended a Western College, where she distinguished herself in an intercollegiate oratorical contest.” Although Eastman and Bonnin were well-acquainted and they both made a good living publishing and giving public talks, he says little more about her in this book. Finally, Eastman recognizes the accomplishments of John Oskinson as similar to those of Bonnin. He notes that Oskinson was “the winner in an intercollegiate literary contest” and works “on the staff of *Collier’s Weekly*” where he is “praised for his literary work.” Eastman uses these three figures to

emphasize the importance of individual careers, but also to populate meaningful categories, and to point out the various non-Indian social networks that native intellectuals accessed to promote their careers and their politics.⁴²

In addition to doctors, lawyers, ministers, and writers, educators are the backbone of Indian civilization as Eastman sees it. Through these specific examples of other Native leaders Eastman's voice emerges not as exceptional, but rather as characteristic of a larger trend in American society. Indeed this significant number of Indian intellectuals functioned as a network for political leadership. Eastman's text makes explicit the reach and depth of these Indian networks.⁴³

After emphasizing how particular Indians have shaped American society Eastman turns his analysis to "problems of race leadership." Race, in this context, means something like "race" as we might understand it today and something like a quasi-"national" identity for Indian people. Race leadership, for Eastman, is not tribal leadership. Indeed, the two might exist in some tension. He points to the diversity and complexity of Indian peoples, their distinct cultures, and histories. Yet, despite this diversity Eastman is invested in a narrative that knits together different Indian tribes so that they may preserve their "distinct languages, habits, and traditions" while they overcome "old tribal jealousies and antagonisms" to form a newly powerful pan-tribal historical bloc.⁴⁴ Eastman suggests that the "arbitrary power" put in the hands of the "Indian Bureau" is the main problem for modern Pan-Indianist movements, rather than tribal differences. Therefore, "race leadership" depends on overcoming a history of paternalism and a failing bureaucratic system, so that the Indian "is allowed to take a hand in his own development"--a hand that is both tribal (without the interference of

corrupt government agents) and pan-Indian in that all Indians can participate in this process.⁴⁵

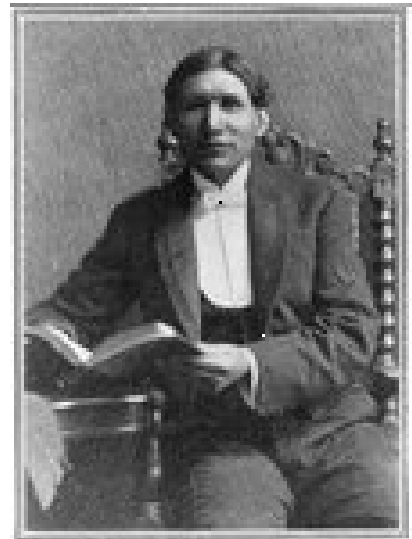
Education remains pivotal in Eastman's assessment of race leadership. He sees it as the means through which proper training will produce "leading Indians." The founders of the Society of American Indians were these "leading Indians." Thus, Eastman lists them as follows: Dr. Coolidge, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, white ally Professor F.A. McKenzie, Thomas Sloan, Charles E. Dagenett, Henry Standing Bear, and Miss Laura Cornelius. The Society of American Indians (SAI) was a progressive group formed in Columbus, Ohio in 1911 by fifty Native Americans. Most were middle-class professionals. SAI was established to find ways to improve health, education, civil rights, and local government for Indian people. SAI also produced its own journal and publicized the accomplishments of famous Native Americans, like the Olympic gold medalist Jim Thorpe.

SAI's influence dwindled after 1923, and the organization finally disbanded in the 1930s. Although the Society did not last long, it provided a forum for Indian leaders and a basis for later attempts to improve conditions for Native Americans. By 1915, Eastman had served briefly as SAI's president and succeeded in organizing new members while strengthening ties to white reform groups. Based upon the politics he asserts throughout *The Indian Today* we can see Eastman is expressing concerns within SAI regarding methods for leadership. Although Eastman's involvement in SAI decreased, as he focused on his speaking career, he continued to support their efforts. Through his success as an author and speaker Eastman increased his visibility as a public intellectual. With

this increase in visibility he could “help his race” in ways that stretched beyond the scope of his presidency for SAI.⁴⁶

How to Market an Indian Author

The most indelible marks that Eastman left as an educator about Indianness can be found in his published works. The many stories, articles, and books he wrote and published were marketed to reach young and old alike. By looking more closely at the circulation of his texts and the reception of some of his ideas within key pieces, we gain access to how Eastman made a living as a writer and perhaps more importantly what he aimed to



accomplish through writing in terms of cultural politics. Like his invitation to Twain’s birthday party, the world of books offered opportunities for Eastman to connect with publishing and reading networks, which would not have been possible through Dartmouth, medicine, or pan-tribal organizations like SAI. Indeed, some of the particularities of his career as a writer add to how one reads his spoken performances and other political projects. In this section I consider how Eastman was marketed as an Indian author, often in racialized terms, which enabled him to gain support from fellow writers and white reformers. Finally, I turn to look at a collection of book reviews to track the circulation and reception of his literary and political efforts. **(figure 1.1 Harvey 1906)**

Just a year after the photo at Twain’s party was snapped, Eastman again appeared in a tuxedo jacket. This time, Charles Harvey photographed Eastman holding a book

while seated in a high-back and ornately carved chair. Harvey's photograph appeared in the *American Monthly Illustrated Review of Reviews* in 1906. It offered readers a rare glimpse of Eastman not as the "full-blooded," authentic Sioux Indian wearing buckskin and feathers, but rather as a modern man, a reader, and a member of elite American society. This image positions Eastman as an author, more in the context of Twain's birthday party rather than through the spectacle of the lecture platform where he gave talks about "full-blooded" Indians and performed according to different expectations of Indianness. Harvey's portrait, read in the context of Eastman's lectures and the literary marketplace, signifies a certain measure of success. Eastman was an author whose work circulated to white reading publics through well-worn networks. The doors to these networks often opened to Eastman because of popular interest in Indian folktales *as told by an Indian*. As much as Eastman's books aimed to educate young readers and their parents about Sioux culture and history, he also needed to earn a living as a writer given that his medical practice was not profitable, since he could not set up an office in one location. Both these economic concerns and demands to see Eastman give talks required that he live a peripatetic life as a writer, reformer, and public speaker.⁴⁷

A large part of Eastman's educational mission was made possible through the stories and books that he wrote to reach America's youngest readers. By speaking to white children Eastman could reverse the Indian boarding school dynamic in some ways. His desire to teach children (whether white or Indian) *before* they became fully entrenched into one particular culture enabled Eastman to shape how they thought about race, class, and nation. This type of approach was in dialogue with the emergence of the scouting movement in America. During this time, Ernest Thompson Seton (1860-1946), a

noted author, wildlife artist, and founder of the Woodcraft Indians, began promoting the establishment of the Boy Scouts of America (BSA). Eastman worked with Seton who was heavily influenced by Lord Baden-Powell (the founder of Scouting in general). Eastman's stories for children, along with his first autobiography *Indian Boyhood*, represented the philosophical ideals that underpinned scouting practices, namely that moral and spiritual development could be fostered through outdoor activities such as camping and hiking. All three men embraced the belief that American Indian culture should be a central component of the BSA. This aspect of American culture implied one possible audience for Eastman's books.⁴⁸

In fact, Eastman's books were marketed across the United States to all types of audiences: boys eager to read tales of adventure similar to the more familiar pulp or dime novels, the folklorists who wanted to own a piece of Native culture, and white bohemians living in cities who sought out examples of primitivism to save them from their increasingly modernist selves. These audiences were participating in an "Indian craze" that was in full swing by this time. As Elizabeth Hutchison defines it, the "Indian craze" was a type of collecting that connected "Indian things" to arts and crafts societies, museum exhibitions, and world's fairs. Furthermore, Hutchinson sets the "Indian craze" against the backdrop of American primitivist and reformist engagement with tribal peoples and in the context of an emergent American consumer culture. Thus, a market for "Indian things" contributed to increases in Eastman's book sales. As one advertisement claimed, if you bought this book it might "bring the breath of the forest into the close-shut room," because "what better Christmas gift could there be...written...by one who was himself an Indian boy."⁴⁹

This sort of advertisement typifies a way in which Eastman and his publishers navigated racialized expectations for Indian writers, and worked to advertise his books in order to garner the widest possible readership. For example, two advertisements for *Indian Boyhood*, from McClure, Phillips and Company, emphasize the authenticity of Eastman's story and its cross-generational appeal: "Boys will delight in this book, because it tells how real Indian boys lived and played; grownups will find it interesting, because it is the only story of Indian life ever written from inside." This sort of marketing was not limited to the northeast. An ad from the *San Francisco Chronicle* notes, "In fact, it would be difficult to name a book containing so much of interest to boys as 'Indian Boyhood,'" and the *Milwaukee Sentinel* told readers that for a postpaid price of \$1.73 they could not only buy Eastman's book as "an unique contribution to literature" but they could also own it as a piece of American history. These types of ads framed Eastman's narrative as a distinctly indigenous story that was also a part of a larger American story. For many white readers *Indian Boyhood* was "the first time Indian life" could be "presented from the inside" to them. Thus, they might embrace the notion that Eastman's book was "of distinct value as a rare human document," because it was an Indian's contribution to American literature.⁵⁰

Eastman's narrative throughout *Indian Boyhood* focuses on his boyhood to argue for the successful conversion he makes from living in the wildness of Indian youth towards becoming a member of educated, modern, and white American society. On the one hand, by contextualizing his story in an "authentic" moment that appealed to primitivism Eastman was able to reach white youth interested in figuring Indians and Indianness in these terms. On the other hand Eastman's adult readers could also see him

as a doctor; in this position Eastman's authorial voice carried within it a narrative of education, modernity, and assimilation as well as the types of contributions he sought to espouse.⁵¹

Among the wide range of people who read Eastman's books were other American authors interested in writing tales that focused on Indian subjects. One of the best known, who became an ally of Eastman, was Hamlin Garland. Although it is not clear how Garland and Eastman first became acquainted, they met on a number of occasions. Both were living in Boston during the 1880s. And in 1893, for example, both attended and presented talks at the World's Columbian Exposition, in Chicago. If they did not meet in these cities it is likely that other authors, perhaps Mark Twain or Willa Cather, or publishers, perhaps McClure or someone at Harper Brothers, introduced them.⁵²

Around 1901, Garland sent a letter to Eastman about *Indian Boyhood*. Garland expressed his support and enthusiasm for it. In fact, he found it a "most delightful" book that could be longer. He wrote to Eastman, "You must have a great deal more to say." Here Garland's remarks refer more to the realm of politics than that of literary craft. Specifically, he encourages Eastman to take up the project of combating racial prejudice in his next book: "This book is, in a sense, a book for young people. I would like to see a book from you addressed to men of like minds. Men to whom race prejudice is a survival of no better pass." Garland's letter recognizes both the marketable quality of Eastman's work for young readers and the political possibilities open to Eastman to address adult audiences. This particular intellectual exchange augured the production of Eastman's second autobiography, which did have a more mature tone and would reach adult audiences in favor of supporting Indian rights.⁵³

Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* was published by Little, Brown, and Company of Boston in 1916. His publisher, Alfred McIntyre, was anxious to get the book out by that fall, and he offered Eastman "an advance of \$250.00 on account of a royalty of 12 ½ % on the first two thousand copies sold, and fifteen percent on sales thereafter." After it was published, McIntyre wrote to Eastman to celebrate the power of this new work: "We...congratulate you on a splendid piece of work, which would do much to give people a better understanding of the Indian." In addition to the support of his publishers, Eastman received a plethora of letters from friends, fellow writers, and interested readers who loved what he had written and urged him to write more.⁵⁴

On November 2, 1911, Eastman received a letter from Florence, Italy, and another in French, from Castres, France. Both letters requested copies of a different book altogether: *The Soul of the Indian*. As a narrative about Native spirituality it attracted a diverse array of responses. Theodore Stanton, the writer from France, expressed interest in the book, because it constituted a remarkable "oeuvre" unto itself. Additionally, Stanton asserted that it was unique, because it was drawn from Eastman's life experiences, and therefore, he wished to purchase additional copies due to its educational value for the public of France. Eastman must have been pleased to receive this sort of affirmation in that it confirmed his larger aim, which was to educate not just Americans but the world about Dakota spirituality in an effort to increase public support for Native issues.⁵⁵

Many of the personal letters that Eastman received celebrated his career as a writer. These materials, along with an extensive set of book reviews, are objects of epistolary culture that help one trace the circulation of his books and the impact of his

ideas. Additionally, the reviews reflect changes in his work as well as how readers responded to these changes in the context of a broader American literary tradition.

I have found approximately seventy-five book reviews of *Indian Boyhood*. The majority were printed in periodicals based in New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and many were from other urban areas like Atlanta, Chicago, and Rochester; there are a few from outposts in California and Minnesota. A smaller sampling of reviews come from smaller outlets like the *Sioux City Journal*, *St. Paul News*, *Pittsburgh Gazette*, *Kansas City Star*, and journals committed to specific subjects ranging from aesthetics to religion to politics. A few examples of these journals include *Book News*, *Art Interchange*, *Literary Digest*, *Missionary Review*, and *The Indian's Friend*.⁵⁶

Among these various reviews a consensus appears regarding the value of Eastman's first book, *Indian Boyhood*: one ought to read it not only because an actual "full-blooded Sioux Indian" wrote it, but also because it dealt with details of Indian life paralleled familiar topoi in American literature. As one reviewer from the *Boston Post*, circa 1906, notes, readers could both recognize elements in *Indian Boyhood* and find something new: "It is claimed for this book that it is 'the only record in existence of Indian life as it is seen, not from the outside, by such poetic narrators as Longfellow, Cooper and Chateaubriand, but by one whose own boyhood was passed among the scenes described.'" These reviews, like Eastman's publishers, read his work through the lens of cultural authenticity and promoted his work as the embodiment of its author, as from the "inside."⁵⁷

As critics positioned Eastman within a larger literary history they implicitly suggested Eastman might be taken seriously as an author, because he was producing work that could be canonized alongside writers like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. However, they continued to rely on (and make explicit) an authority that referred to the raced/blooded body of the author. Eastman's authority then depended on his status as an Indian (perhaps as Dartmouth's Indian), but still always as an Indian. The very avenue through which Eastman gained access to attention and, potentially, canonicity trapped him in the very expectations of Indianness that he worked his entire life to overcome. In the *Review of Reviews*, for example, Eastman and his work are described in just these terms. "Dr. Eastman, who is a full-blooded Sioux Indian...embraced our civilization. 'Indian Boyhood' stands alone in our literature as a record of much that has passed beyond the range of human experience, never to return." For both Eastman and his book the "range of human experience" is "never to return." Thus, time for native people is separated out from the imperial machinations of the British, the French, and the Spanish. Certainly Eastman knew this colonial past was long gone. Although his writings gesture to an American nostalgia for this past, his primary goal was to convince Americans to recognize the lasting relevance of Indian people, not to relegate them to the past.

Another reviewer for *Indian Boyhood*, from the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, understood Eastman's larger point, and sought to re-imagine Indian people based on Eastman's narrative.

It also appears that the Indian is not a stoic by nature, but is made stoical by his training. Nor is he ever the stoic that he appears. He has a keen sense of humor, and laughs as heartily as any one. He has affections the same as any one else, and loves his parents and his family, his pony, and his dog....In short, according to Dr. Eastman, the Sioux is a good deal of a man and a very decent member of the community after his own rights.

This example showcases the extent to which a few reviews emphasized to their readers that “Indians are human too.” Indeed, it seems that because the Indian is “not stoic by nature” but can be “made stoical” by some sort of training Eastman’s texts might be read for Indianness that is as much fluid as it is stable. Thus, Eastman’s books could be framed in terms of the Indian body and the fact of Indian heritage and also read as moving beyond this sort of racialized thinking.

Even though it was crucial to Eastman’s work to negotiate the fine line between definitions of American identity and Indian identity, many reviews still celebrated *Indian Boyhood* in explicitly racist terms. One review from the *Boston Herald* serves as a representative sample: “The book is unique, besides being full of information about the vanished civilization; but it is the author’s pride in his race that makes it worth while.” Another review in the *New York Tribune* uses even more paternalist rhetoric: “An Indian boyhood as this Indian describes it was full of action and entertainment. The little Indian studied mankind and nature as the little Caucasian studies books.”⁵⁸ Certainly these were tenuous observations at best and destructive ones at worst. The specific pathos of the Indian boy so easily collapsed into an ethnological frame and simultaneously defined as entertainment contributed to celebrating the type of Indian that Eastman sought to revise. He was all too aware of its corrosive power within American imagination, and despite his best literary efforts this sort of Indianness survived, and ironically reinforced some of the representations he aimed to destroy.⁵⁹

Readability of the text became equally significant in how many reviewers heralded Eastman’s far-reaching appeal. According to the *Detroit Free Press*, “Young and old may enjoy [*Indian Boyhood*], for it brings the traditions and superstitions, the

customs and habits of an aboriginal tribe into the cultured narrative of an eloquent writer. The bad Injun is conspicuously absent, this record deals with the best side of Indian character and temperament.” This review recognizes both the logics underlying many of the readings of *Indian Boyhood* as it sells Eastman and his book as one object. The narrative is described as “cultured” and Eastman is not a “bad Injun,” but the story is still worth reading because of its focus on aboriginal “traditions and superstitions.” Thus, efforts by Eastman, his publishers, and some reviewers to erase the image of the “bad injun” and replace it with that of the Indian as an intellectual were severely challenged.⁶⁰

A discourse of Indianness tied to intellectualism emerges further through several reviews that position Eastman in the company of other native writers. One article from *Book-Buyer*, titled “Recent Writings by American Indians,” defines notable native writers as contributing to the formation of a uniquely American literature. The critic observes, “Of Late years we shall call ourselves Americans, but, after all, are only foreigners ‘changed by the climate,’ have had opportunities to read a small amount of purely American literature in the writings of some of the educated American Indians. Three authors in particular—Dr. Eastman, Mr. LaFlesche, and the Indian girl Zitkala-Sa—have notably enriched our records of the characters and customs of their people.” In this case, Eastman, La Flesche and Zitkala Sa (Gertrude Bonnin’s pen-name) are incorporated into a new American literature where the line separating the genre of ethnography and literature is blurred. This fuzziness produces a different sort of genre that promised readers authentic tales by real Native writers. In *Before Cultures*, Brad Evans focuses his analysis on the intersection between anthropology and American literary history with examples of writers, who were interested in culture in an anthropological sense, and who

published in literary periodicals, much like Eastman did. As Evans notes, popular magazines such as *Century Illustrated Monthly* published Frank Hamilton Cushing's anthropological studies as articles alongside literary pieces by authors like Henry James.⁶¹

The *Book-Buyer* article also argues for the critical role to be played by Indian intellectuals. From a literary-historical perspective their writings push at the boundaries drawn by scholars in academia, and by white publics who cannot imagine the possibility of indigenous contributions to an American literature. These three writers' works mention the benefits of white civilization while also valuing Indian traditions. This article refers to this shared strategy, stating "It is interesting to observe that each of them has emphasized the finer aspects of the old order—which, for them, has changed forever—with a pride that cannot fail to be recognized by the casual reader, even where it is accompanied by the most courteous acknowledgement of the merits and advantages of civilization." As *Book-Buyer* notes, Indian writers worked as cultural in-betweens given that any preservation of "the old order" to retain the finer aspects, a cause for racial pride was complicated given that this order, for them, "has changed forever."

This handful of reviews of *Indian Boyhood* fairly represent the larger array of reviews for this book, and for the many other reviews that appeared between 1904 and 1916, which featured all of Eastman's work. For example, over ninety reviews were printed in 1904 about *Red Hunters and the Animal People*, over forty featuring *Old Indian Days* in 1907, and in the years that followed, twenty-seven about *Wigwam Evenings*, and nearly sixty celebrating his spiritual work in *The Soul of the Indian*, with

over forty each for: *Indian Scout Talks*, *The Indian Today*, and *Great Chieftains & Mighty Heroes*.

These reviews by no means account for the number of actual books bought and read. Yet looking to *how* reviewers categorized Eastman as an author and the content of his work in terms of genre and audience gives us a window into the world of literary reception. These reviews also point out the wide-ranging appeal and attention that Eastman's books generated within local, regional, national and international arenas. Indeed, some of his later work reached popular and influential audiences who subscribed to sources such as *The Dial*, *Vogue* and *The Nation*, as well as periodicals that highlighted Indian issues, like *The New York Times*, *The Chauttaqua*, *North American Review*, *The Red Man*, and *The Southern Workman*. The majority of reviewers position Eastman as authentic in the sense that his writing lies somewhere between the tropes of primitivism and the ideals of literary intellectualism.⁶²

Considering the ways Eastman's publishers promoted his books, the reactions he received from his friends and political supporters, along with how book reviews defined him as an author, we can see how Eastman's writing career reached diverse sets of readers. I have pointed to the ways that Eastman's work was marketed and read by young people, white writers and critics, as well as how he portrayed himself through these writings and imagined different audiences for his ideas. What emerges is a complex author's portrait, but certainly one that dovetailed with his career as a professional speaker. In the section that follows, I examine a different circuit through which Eastman produced knowledge about Indian history, culture, and politics. In particular, I note how

his efforts towards reform turned on the power of public performance and arena of the lecture platform.⁶³

Performance Politics: What's Blood got to do with it?

Eastman's career as a public speaker began as early as 1893 with a talk he gave at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and by the early twentieth century there were a wide range of newspapers and personal letters that celebrated his lectures. Many of these letters point to Normal Schools as primary venues for Eastman. By this time, Normal Schools had formed to train high school graduates to become teachers. The label "Normal School" itself stemmed from the French use of *ecole normale* in the nineteenth century. These institutions provided a model school with model classrooms in order to offer "hands on" training to their would-be teachers. Given Eastman's own experiences with higher education and his mission to educate Americans it is no surprise that he would choose to speak in front of audiences filled with future teachers.⁶⁴

In 1908, the Principal of Worcester's Normal School, Mr. E.H. Russell, celebrated the power and excitement surrounding Eastman's visit to his school. Russell's letter confirms the important role Eastman could play as an Indian intellectual by noting, "The secret of your power I cannot fathom, but I suspect it is in part that you do not give the lecture, but you are the lecture." Russell's reference to a merger between the messenger and his message reflects sentiments shared by other letter writers, friends, and newspaper reporters during this period. Although, Russell does not actually understand the "secret" of Eastman's "power," he recognizes that performance is at work when Eastman dresses up to give talks on the topic of the: "Real Indian." Russell links the

content and form of Eastman's talk plainly when he writes, "You seem for the time to be the embodiment of your race, and that in its best state."⁶⁵ Indeed, this letter raises an important question: What is the power of Eastman, if he is indeed the embodiment of his race? One answer lies in the power of his performance itself.

Russell understood that there was some power inherent in a public performance by an Indian man who presented himself as both the representative of Indian people and Indianness as a cultural category. However Russell could not fully fathom how Eastman's talks produced a dynamic interplay between cultural aesthetics and political consequences. In the context of Russell's reading of Eastman's lecture, one can imagine that the Native ceremonial dress Eastman wore was as important to gaining the attention of audiences as modulations in his voice and the positioning of his body. Perhaps dress, the cadence of one's voice, and bearing always play some role in convincing listeners to take one's speech to heart. Yet, there was more at play when a "real Indian" was giving a public talk about the future of "The Red man in America." The difference for Eastman was that he designed the content of his talks to disrupt the expectations that his white audiences had in terms of how they imagined a "Real Indian" speaker.⁶⁶

Eastman's trip to the Worcester Normal School was so successful that Russell argued more talks would be required, and that "a larger and larger hearing year by year" should take place, "until the remarkable characteristics of your race, now so little known and so generally misunderstood, shall be fairly apprehended and appreciated by ours." This proved to be true given that Eastman was able to book more speaking engagements.

Just a year later, Mr. W.A. Baldwin expressed a similar enthusiasm for Eastman's work as a public lecturer by noting: "I was strongly impressed with the thought that

[Eastman] has a message for our times. The method of presenting this message is charming and impressive.” Baldwin distinguishes between Eastman as the embodiment of his message and his skills as a public speaker in a way that Russell does not. He recommends Eastman as a lecturer “of a very high order,” because Eastman’s presentation methods are “charming and impressive,” whereas Russell sees charm in the “secret power” Eastman wields as a *real* Indian speaker. These two brief examples point to the ways in which Native intellectuals were often forced to navigate their public presentations of Indianness in complicated if not also contradictory ways during the early twentieth century, given the question of political message versus an imaginary racial essence.⁶⁷ Of the over forty-five articles that appeared throughout New England, the New York Tri-State area, and the Midwest from the early 1900s to the 1930s, which featured accounts of the lecture career of Dr. Charles Eastman, the most popular topic was his interpretation and representation of “the real Indian.”

Two studio portraits taken while Eastman was an undergraduate at Dartmouth College augured the performative nature of his speaking career, and some of the ways he would embrace and redefine Indianness. In one photo, Eastman wears a button-down shirt, tie, and suit jacket, which would be everyday attire for him throughout his life. In the other, Eastman is dressed in a Sioux costume with a feathered headdress and he holds a bow and arrows.

Which Eastman could his audiences expect to see before them when he came to give an address on the subject of “the real Indian”: the man in the suit or the man with a feathered headdress? In many cases Eastman chose to wear different sorts of buckskin shirts and pants, often with extensive fringed edges, and he would also carry a hatchet

and/or wear some sort of feathered headpiece. He chose most often to represent Indianness by adorning himself with clothing and symbols that would ring familiar to audiences. These were truly moments of performance, given that he drew on visual tropes that aligned with expectations that stemmed from western dime novels, *Wild West* shows, and later Western films. He was keenly aware of the power of performativity given the many requests that audiences made to see him appear in “real” Indian costume, rather than a tuxedo or everyday suit and tie.⁶⁸

Many accounts of Eastman’s lectures point to the intimate and powerful connection he made with audiences by blurring the line between the method and message of his talks, because he dressed up in traditional Native costume. More often than not, stories regarding Eastman’s public appearances highlight the fact that he appears in “full Sioux regalia,” even as they celebrate his *topic*, the “Real Indian,” one Americans need to know. In these instances Eastman *played Indian* for audiences in ways that enabled them to hear him. Ironically, the clothes that made him visible and audible to these audiences’ expectations of Indianness also erased the reality of his present situation. The trade-off was that Eastman could argue that Native American people were fit for citizenship and integral to the making of modern America. Thus, his physical presence as an Indian dressed in Sioux clothing authenticated a particular definition for Indian culture for white publics, and by using buckskin to signify Indianness he elided the fact that he usually wore tailored cloth-suits.⁶⁹

In fact, the powerful images of Indian people created by fiction writers and advertised in posters for “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s *Wild West* prompted intellectuals like Eastman to find a variety of ways to authenticate themselves as Indians. Eastman could

showcase his own display of Indianness, and then use that same occasion to speak against hegemonic understandings of Indian-white history that relied on and reified the tropes that made his native costume popular and spectacular. Eastman's public performances, in many ways, represent the highpoint of his career as an Indian intellectual and the coming together of his education, publishing work, and the negotiation of networks that linked Indian and white activists, intellectuals, and supporters. The question remains, though: how did specific performances and the discourses that were produced around these talks solidify a place for Eastman as an Indian intellectual in American history?⁷⁰

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, 1911 marked the moment when Eastman made his first transatlantic journey to speak on behalf of Native Americans. This trip was possible due to the connections he made through Dartmouth College, work within the Indian Service for the Office of Indian Affairs, and the publishing industry. Building on the success of this first trip and due to his successful writing career Eastman returned to Europe in the late 1920s, as part of another important speaking tour. Eastman's trip to England in 1928 was supported by the Brooks-Bright Foundation of New York, which had been established by Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten to foster good relations between English-speaking people in America and Great Britain. They funded him "for two months to speak before schools and societies." Naturally or perhaps ironically, a photograph from the *Daily Mirror* captures Eastman "in full regalia" during one of these tours. He stands next to Lord Dartmouth right before his primary speaking engagement for the Royal Colonial Institute. One of a number of colonial societies, the Institute formed in the 1860s, and headquartered in London at King Street, St. James. It aimed to "provide a meeting place for gentlemen interested in colonial and Indian affairs," (the latter referring

to the Indian subcontinent *not* to Native Americans). This elite and storied location was an ideal setting for Eastman to begin an extensive tour that enabled him to give lectures throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Certainly, Eastman's undergraduate career at Dartmouth College bolstered the interest of his hosts. Many of them maintained personal if not ideological ties to the founding mission of the college, as a place of higher learning dedicated to the education of Indian people in the Americas.⁷¹

As the tour commenced, Eastman found many willing and curious local hosts. Charles Thomas, of the Royal Colonial Institute in Bristol, for example, was "most anxious to entertain" Eastman at tea "at the Red Lodge Wigwam," before his scheduled lecture on March 9th, 1928. For this tea, appropriate "dress" was requested. Thomas wrote explicitly about what Eastman might wear to tea. "We have been most interested to see the picture of yourself in the current issue of 'United Empire' and we do very greatly hope that you will honour us by bringing with you your ceremonial Indian dress." When Eastman arrived, he was ushered into a "wigwam" –a cultural space that was rich with American Indian (and other) curios and trophies. Eastman was, in a sense, a human trophy for the institute in Bristol as he wore his full regalia and performed Indian authenticity for Thomas and his colleagues from "The Savages Club." No doubt club members were enthralled by the presence of a former "savage" among them who played to their expectations regarding savagery. In the Wigwam, wearing "full Indian dress" and performing according to Thomas's expectation, if not outright obsession with "things Indian," Eastman took advantage of the Indian craze that had spread from the U.S. across the Atlantic to England. By this time the "craze" to witness, visit, purchase, record, and imitate Indian life, art, music, and history by white Americans had captured the attention

of commercial markets and Indian cultural producers. In this instance, we can see how Eastman's hosts and his appearance participated in this sort of marketing of ethnicity.⁷²

The market for Indian things was largely dependent upon primitivist impulses, and rapidly manifested through the marketing of Indian commodities --including actual people saying actual words, like Eastman. The marketplace for Indian objects, stories, and photographs was dependent on capitalist ideology and industry. No matter what his philosophical claims, Eastman could not avoid participating in a marketing of his own ethnicity.⁷³

As I discuss further in other chapters, Indian intellectuals like Eastman found ways to participate in the "Indian craze" that developed and proliferated between the 1890s and the 1920s. Two consequences of this craze reflected changes in both culture and policy. The first was an increase in the demand to *see* and market Indianness, which fed into the *Wild West* show business, dime novels, and films as well as the increase in sales of Indian curios and the popularity of Indian music (most of the parlor music that was sold was created by white composers imagining Indianized themes). This emergent market was one that could be managed by both white and Native cultural producers. In many instances Native people used an array of strategies to participate in the marketing of Indian wares and Indian performances, whether live or onscreen. The second outgrowth of this "Indian craze" was an embrace of the ideology of primitivism in artwork, which necessitated the creation of art by Native people. By 1935, the success of native cultural producers and the widespread effect of this market culminated in a shift in federal policy with the establishment of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act. Eastman's second trip to Great Britain took place during the height of this "craze."⁷⁴

On March 15, 1928 the *Western Daily Press* out of Bristol, England reported that “The Red Indian” at the Colonial Institute, while dressed “in full native costume” gave a talk that explained “the significance of the eagle’s feathers and other parts of the dress,” as he spoke about the history of the “Red Indians” in America. Eastman used poetic phrasing to argue that Indian people had evolved to achieve a “high civilization without materialism.” While Eastman criticized capitalist impulses and the detrimental effects of materialism on young people, he also wore authentic Indian dress, ironically drawing on the very materiality of his costume to enthrall his audience and add weight to his argument and his place as a commodity.

This talk took place in the context of increasing industrialization that posed a very real threat to workers, urban social-relations among strangers, and as Eastman and others saw it, a decline in morality. Therefore, much of this speech emphasized the role of the Indian mother as central to raising young boys who must be close to nature to avoid capitalist temptations. According to Eastman, education in this context will guide young boys to learn that “possession [is] a dangerous thing.” Furthermore, Eastman argues that this is the Indian spirit, which is “having an influence in America today.” This focus of his talk aligned with how Eastman saw his role in England, which was not in “a diplomatic sense, nor in the commercial sense” but rather in a “deeper” and more “spiritual sense.” He aimed to educate the world community about an Indian solution to the problems inherent in capitalist modernity, and at the same time he was able to argue that Native people still had critical roles to play in shaping the modernizing world. This educational mission itself was made possible by a culture of capitalism that was amenable to creating a market for Indian people as public speakers.

Eastman's travels in the United States and Great Britain, from the 1890s and into the 1930s, enabled him to make public speaking central in his mission to educate others about Indian history and politics. Whether looking at Eastman's early engagement with educational institutions, his foray into becoming a published author, or the various performances where he was a "real Indian lecturer" the complicated dialectical interplay between the method and message of his work shows how strategic he was in his representational politics. Whether he was mingling with aristocrats, like Lord Dartmouth, Englishmen who "played Indian" at their Savages Clubs, or young people interested in joining the Boy Scouts, Eastman employed strategies that yielded powerful but uneven results.⁷⁵

Furthermore, as Eastman lectured throughout Great Britain and the United States, reporters narrated the events of his talks in ways that sometimes ran counter to Eastman's agenda. For example, some reports misrepresented the message of these talks when they ventriloquized Eastman. One reporter paraphrased Eastman's lecture writing that "[he] laments the popularity of Fenimore Cooper's tales as conveying a false impression of the old Indian life" and "represents the Indians as they were when their life had been corrupted. The white man had placed a bounty on scalps, and a people normally peaceful [were] reduced to savagery." In this instance, the press surrounding Eastman's lecture reflects both his ideas, and also the ways that editors and reporters interpreted these ideas. In other words, the misreading by a reporter could be intimately intertwined with Eastman's own representational strategies.

Eastman's language was not exactly the language of the reporters, but it was similar. Looking more closely at these reports, one traces a type of colonial shadow

language that echoes, mimics, and engages and is *almost* the same. Eastman's ability to openly and persuasively critique Cooper's Indian, for example, while he is dressed "in Indian costume" participates in a counter-hegemonic performance that refigures Indianness. And yet, when Eastman plays the part of a "real" Indian dressed in authentic attire he also points to particular origins for this sort of ethnic authenticity. Within this same moment, Eastman strategically captures the complicated set of representational politics he was forced to confront throughout his life as a representative of Indianness, and as a speaker on behalf of Indian people. In the final section that follows, I consider circuits that go beyond Normal Schools and international venues to consider other performance sites where Eastman mobilized *and* challenged definitions of Indianness as a public figure.⁷⁶

Building a career through other networks

Like Normal Schools, the Chautauqua circuit offered Eastman a network of white publics interested in hearing his ideas regarding assimilation, history, and federal policy pertaining to Indian people. The Chautauqua Circuit was a traveling show that attracted communities to gather for several days in a festival tent setting. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC) began in 1878 to provide those who could not afford to attend college the opportunity to acquire skills and essential knowledge of a College education. The circuit brought programs to rural Americans not only to educate, but also to inspire and entertain them. The Chautauqua experience was crucial in stimulating thought and discussion on important political, social, and cultural issues, and helped to plant them in the minds of citizens. This circuit was useful for Indian intellectuals, like

Eastman, because through it they could tap into other arenas where they could present at events: elite men's societies, women's clubs, and religious-based reform groups.⁷⁷

Given Eastman's work in the formation of the Boy Scouts and his regular association with members of the Y.M.C.A. it is not surprising that he parlayed these connections to give a talk at a highbrow affair sponsored by The Montauk Club of Brooklyn, a private social club founded in 1889. Fraternal organizations of this sort offered white men spaces to "play Indian" and the funds to invite actual Native speakers to present at their events.

The Club House was designed by New York architect Francis H. Kimball, and completed by 1891. An article in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* from 1890 highlights the architectural design of the Club and various rooms to showcase the ways members were integral to society life in Brooklyn. This report also celebrates the future contributions that could arise out of these new social spaces, "We hazard nothing in predicting that the Montauk Club will become a most influential factor in the social life of our sister city."⁷⁸

By the late-nineteenth-century other Brooklyn clubs – both men's and women's – sprang to life by the dozen: the Hamilton, the Crescent, the Union League, the Unity, the Germania, the Brooklyn, the Carlton, and many others. Indeed, Park Slope had begun to rival Brooklyn Heights as the borough's prime residential area. According to the 1890 Census, Park Slope had the highest per capita income in the country and its residents were the leaders of Brooklyn society. It was within this changing social milieu that the men of the Montauk Club invited Eastman to present on the current issues facing Native Americans in the U.S.

As *Brooklyn Life* reported, Eastman presented at: “A Memorable Sportsmen’s Evening at the Montauk Club” dressed “in full regalia of a Sioux chieftain.” He spoke “before an audience of what as a whole could be called typical up-to-date commercialized Americans,” and succeeded in keeping “them spellbound.” Indeed, the reporter speculated that members of the Club might struggle to reconcile Eastman’s address on the merits of Native spirituality with the decline of their own spirit, “whether with all our marvelous achievements we had accomplished anything worth while when, by contrast, we seemed so pitifully small in spirit and defective in physical endurance beside the primitive, untutored aborigine.” This example parallels Eastman’s talks in England in terms of the content and the lavish context that he sought to undermine through his remarks.

This was a dinner that “was up to the exceptionally high standard for...the Montauk Club,” where guests received favors, such as “cleverly modeled miniature elephants” and a menu card “in the fine Italian hand of Mr. Hamilton.” In this elite setting, Eastman’s address was met with “[a] tumult of applause.” In fact, his talk “showed that it had not failed to hit the mark,” which was an important achievement given the type of social and political connections that Eastman could make by tapping into the networks created and traveled by many of the Club’s members. It seems that both his method and his message were well received that evening.⁷⁹

Across the East River, Eastman was again the featured speaker at an equally opulent event, although his sponsors were neither male nor interested in celebrating primitivism’s ideals. He had been invited to talk about “The Nature Life of the Indian,” at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association (NIA) at the Waldorf-Astoria

Hotel. More national in scope than the private club environs in Brooklyn, this event was attended by high profile federal officials, like Francis E. Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Organized by patrons of the NIA and held at 8:30 in the evening on Friday, February 23rd, Eastman's performance addressed the concerns of the Association, by speaking in explicit terms about the need to reform Indian Policy in America.⁸⁰

The NIA had been founded by white female progressives during the 1880s to end the encroachment of white settlers on land set aside for Native Americans due to the Dawes Act of 1887. They used a petition to address the obligation of treaties between the United States and American Indian Nations. Despite many members' support for assimilation practices and the spirit behind the policy of allotment, the NIA was committed to treaties and the recognition of Native tribes as sovereign nations. They set an important legal-political and social precedent for the work of other progressive organizations. Eastman and the women involved in leading the NIA were interested in issues of sovereignty, power, and nation with regards to Indian people. Originally founded as the Women's National Indian Association (from 1879 until 1901), Eastman's participation in this meeting, offers an example of how white reform groups became political allies with leading native figures. Also, because Eastman was paid well to speak before elite gatherings he could afford to travel widely to give talks in more humble locations and at events that tended to pay less and were often sponsored by local Church groups.⁸¹

In a visit to a small-town in Pennsylvania, Eastman spoke to a diverse audience of children and adults. *The Wilkes-Barre Leader* reported that he gave "a haunting lecture" to the crowd at an event sponsored by the local division of the Y.M.C.A. On this

occasion, Eastman's "real Indian" speech denounced the reservation system and condemned treatment suffered by Indian people at the hands of early American traders and settlers. This audience was, in most respects, more typical of the career Eastman made for himself from 1910 onwards, and representative of the cultural spaces made popular by groups like The Chautauqua Society.⁸² In fact, the vast majority of Eastman's lectures from the 1910s into the 1930s centered on the "real Indian," as a topic. Like his experiences abroad, Eastman used his definition of the "real" Indian to denounce caricatures created in Western films and to question his audiences' familiar understandings of Indian people based on fiction. In one lecture he noted that the "real" aspects of being an Indian are separate from the "happy hunting grounds" that have been invented by a white man's imagination. Still, despite Eastman's attempts to revise dominant understandings of Indian peoples' lives as part and parcel of nature and divorced from the contemporary moment's technologies, ideas, and practices, many news reports continued to emphasize that his talks were about "Folk Lore of the Indians," made even more appealing because he would be dressed "in Native Costume."⁸³

One report in particular is representative of the kind of press that sought to define the limits and possibilities for Eastman as a Native speaker. According to Oregon's *Portland Argus* the widespread appeal of the "Real Indian, Dr. Charles A. Eastman, A Full Blooded Sioux" who "Talks to the Woman's Club" rested in Eastman's attire for the evening. He had been invited to address the Literature Department of the Woman's Literary Union in Portland. And, despite his career as an author, the report defines Eastman's expertise through a description of his clothing:

Dr. Eastman was dressed in the full war costume of the real Indian, his head dress being a genuine war bonnet, and his costume decorated with

the wonderful bead work which characterizes the best of these Indian costumes. It was not the costume of the Indian Reservation or the Indians of the frontier who commercialize their folk lore and their costumes, but it was an exact copy of the real North American Indian's costume.

Although this report focuses on Eastman's appearance, it also recognizes what is a "costume" and what is *not*. Eastman is figured as an authentic Indian even when his "real" Indian dress is a "copy" rather than the original "war costume." Despite the ways that this report locates Eastman in terms of ethnic authenticity, the recognition of costuming demonstrates a nuanced understanding of Indian performance. This may have grown out of the development of cultural spaces in the U.S. that featured Indian people as performers. By 1910, a large number of Indian people were working in show business and performing according to certain racialized scripts, often reenacting the violence of the Western frontier. The vast majority of these actors had not actually experienced this sort of violence first-hand. They knew this, and in many cases so did their audiences; just as the *Argus* reporter knew that Dr. Eastman chose to wear "the full war costume of the real Indian" to re-enact a historical imagining of Indianness rather than to present himself in contemporary dress.⁸⁴

In fact, the *Argus* reporter's reference to the reservation and the frontier locates contemporary Indian people within two distinctly different spaces. The first—the reservation—was a place in which government subsidies and surveillance sought to regulate bodies, land, and practices of Indian people. And the other—the frontier—reflected an imagined and romanticized performance space, in which Indian actors managed the expectations of their white audiences and the shows' organizers with commercialized "folk lore" stories. In this cultural space, actors wore copies of war regalia, like Eastman, to draw on popular narratives for the purpose of entertainment.

Unlike Eastman, they were not lecturing to a crowd interested in learning more about the “real Indian,” but rather, they were performing part of an imaginary “Wild West” that dramatized events from the past.

In addition, this reporter’s decision to discuss three different representations of Indians “in costume” and then to position Eastman outside of these forums does important cultural work. On the one hand, Eastman’s exterior positioning confirms a certain form of authentically Indian perspective, one where his word is gospel by virtue of the fact that he is the real thing. Additionally, the references to other types of performances where Indian people, culture, and their history were reworked to function as entertainment suggests that Eastman’s educational lectures may have operated as moments of strategic performance. The question nonetheless remains: to what extent did Eastman’s performances succeed in blurring the line between fact and fiction, so that his readers and the women who attended his talk might discern the rationale behind his decision to play Indian for them?⁸⁵

Like Eastman, other Native American people were capable of transforming colonial concepts like authenticity through strategic performances of dress-up. The political ramifications of ideas about “real Indians” during the period when Eastman lived, wrote, and lectured often constructed Indianness based on a set of binaries: Indian/White, traditional/modern, and uncivilized/civilized. Those Indians who did not conform to these definitions for authentic Indianness, based on the interplay of these binaries, were often restricted by and challenged to think about how to “play Indian.” Eastman’s speeches invoked full-bloodedness to play Indian as a lecturer. But Eastman used these forums to educate the American public. A centerpiece of his intellectual work

relied on challenging Indianness as it had been articulated by writers like James Fenimore Cooper and spectacular *Wild West* shows, but also by more dramatic staging produced by Indian Operas, and those captured on film. Eastman took up this American cultural history of representing Indians to argue for the incorporation of Indian people as modern American citizens, and to show the ambiguities surrounding these sorts of performances. Therefore, his lecture performances and writings encapsulated the strategic and accidental elements that shaped a larger educational mission. Because he lectured with an awareness of the narrative imaginaries that defined Indianness many representations of Eastman as a performer reflect strategic choices that worked as advertisements for his work, leaving a lasting impression of his success as an Indian intellectual.⁸⁶

Many reports also assessed Eastman's performance through a discourse of the body. The *Pasadena Star*, for example, highlighted an event where Eastman did *not* dress up to align with certain expectations of Indianness. This report describes Eastman as speaking "with the unemotional nature of the Indian, clothed in the garb of the society paleface" who "kept his audience spellbound with the simple directness of his story." Still, Eastman in "the garb of the society paleface" is figured as an Indian who is racially distinct from his audience, because of the "unemotional" affect of his countenance. The *Los Angeles Times* also describes him in bodily terms noting that his "coal-black hair, his high cheek bones" and "his copper color, his majestic carriage" define him as a "thoroughbred Indian." These two examples help demonstrate how Eastman did not always wear a costume, and yet on these occasions he remains racialized as other, as the proper embodiment of Indianness. Both the *Star's* reference to "the unemotional nature of the Indian" and the *Times'* emphasis on his facial features, carriage, and skin-tone

elide the political effect of Eastman's clothes for these talks. His facial expression (or imagined lack of expressiveness) substitutes for native costuming in these reports, and does its own symbolic work.⁸⁷

Through these different speaking engagements the very otherness of being an Indian in American society enabled Eastman to address a diverse array of audiences, and to perform both the role of the Indian Philosopher and that of the ruggedly masculine warrior. Eastman's athleticism and Indianness were often linked together to fit into American manhood that was characterized by an expression of strength in the physicality of the body. His ability to embody the best of white and Indian manhood certainly made Eastman an appealing speaker for white women's organizations, and for white fraternal groups who aimed to celebrate manliness through shows of strength that were inspired by Indian manhood. Both types of audiences were interested in Indian policy. The men's groups, however, were more interested in *playing Indian* through primitivist display than in lobbying for political change.

Throughout Eastman's life he drew on his early association with Dartmouth, and there were many advantages to maintaining this relationship. To conclude my analysis of the development of Eastman's cultural politics, and in particular, the ways he fashioned himself as an educator on Indianness I consider two events that called on Eastman to reprise his role as Dartmouth's famous Indian graduate.

Still Dartmouth's Indian

In late September of 1904, Eastman received a letter asking if he would be "the guest of the College on occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of Dartmouth Hall."

Not an unusual request for a distinguished alumnus. However, this invitation asked Eastman to participate in a double-performance. His presence was requested to recognize him as the most distinguished member of the class of 1887, and to re-enact a scene from Dartmouth's founding moment. Thus, Eastman was asked to *play* Dartmouth's original Indian, Samson Occom. Dartmouth's President, W.J. Tucker. (1839-1939) wrote to Eastman in reference to "a series of historical representations" that would take place to bring out "a good many dramatic points in the early history of the college." Tucker's request for Eastman to play Occom "especially in his audience with George the Third, or in Whitfield's church" was an unusual way to celebrate the achievements of Eastman's own life.

By 1904, Eastman had already worked as a doctor, traveled widely with the Indian Service, and was beginning his career as an author and public speaker. In many ways, he was also beginning to assert his educational mission: to teach the world about the real history of Native people in the U.S. Thus, returning to Dartmouth to portray Occom would have been strange not only because one Indian should not necessarily stand in for another, but also because Eastman clearly saw himself as apart from Occom's time and place. He was a modern exemplar of Dartmouth's continuing mission, which for Eastman rested not in civilizing indigenous peoples through the process of education, but rather in educating Americans about Indian civilization. Despite the oddness of Tucker's request, Eastman nonetheless acquiesced and continued his long and fruitful association with his alma mater. Indeed it was not the last time Eastman would return to Dartmouth as a representative of Indianness. But, at least next time, he would be asked to play himself.⁸⁸

Thirteen years later, Eastman returned to Hanover, New Hampshire to attend his fortieth college reunion. Throughout the reunion, several photographs of Eastman were taken. In all of them he is dressed in Buckskin with a feathered headdress, and in one he appears seated atop a horse in a parking lot surrounded by a set of black automobiles. Taken in the context of Dartmouth's College buildings these portraits celebrate Eastman as "Dartmouth's Indian" from 1887.

Another more provocative image was taken with him posing next to his classmate, Stanley F. Johnson. This sepia print from 1927 includes some telling details on the back. It reads: "Eastman right, Stanley F. Johnson left, dressed in attire worn by his father on his honeymoon in 1847 (I kid you not!)." This comment about costuming and the past offers two critical elements to consider when examining the photograph more closely and most importantly in thinking about Eastman as a public face for Indianness in 1927.⁸⁹ (figure 1.2 Dartmouth Reunion 1927)

Eastman stands twisting slightly to the side as he looks off to the left, and is



nearly out of the frame on the far right side. The focal point between the two men is occupied by foliage. Johnson lifts a cigar to his mouth with a fuzzy left hand and grips a cane with his right.

Both men are dressed "in costume," but the note on back refers only to Johnson and not

to Eastman. Eastman wears moccasins, a long feathered headdress, lots of fringed buckskin clothing, brightly decorated with different colors and shapes. A hatchet rests in the crook of his left arm.

Both men appear “dressed up,” and yet onlookers may have interpreted a top-hat quite differently than that of a feathered headdress. Indeed, we can read the foliage framing Eastman as a means for positioning him within the realm of nature, and Johnson’s cane as a connection to modernity, to pavement, and possibly to capitalist wealth that accompanies modernization. But are these two men meant to be read in opposition to each other? Perhaps yes and perhaps no. What is clear is that by 1927 Eastman knew how to navigate the arenas of performance that were open to him in several ways. Indeed, he had learned that his work as an educator might mean certain costuming choices and not others. It is likely that for this reunion photograph, he chose to adorn himself with clothes familiar to the audiences of his public talks, but also to his friends and other alumni equally familiar with his success as a public intellectual. This image offers one glimpse into this choice, and no doubt there were others.

By 1930, the man who had once been “the hero of the Boston society girls” and who had “talked with Emerson, Longfellow, Francis Parkman, and many other men of note” left most of his public life behind him. Eastman retreated to a cabin along the northern shore of Lake Huron. Once there, he started writing a novel about the Ottawa Chief Pontiac based on a 1763 conspiracy and war against white colonial forces. Unfortunately this novel never came to fruition. At the same time Eastman occasionally practiced medicine and delivered lectures. During the winter he would move south to the

Detroit area to live with his son, Ohiyesa. On January 8, 1939, at the age of 80, Eastman died in a Detroit Hospital.

As Eastman wrote in *The Indian Today* on the topic of Indian identity, the Native American man was a profound subject to study as “a man, a philosopher” and “a noble type both physically and spiritually.” With these words, Eastman described himself as much as how to best define Indian manhood. After his passing people cherished what they had learned from him as they sent scores of letters to his former wife, Elaine Goodale Eastman. Throughout these letters, like the many reporters and audience members who saw Eastman talk or who read his books, there is the sense that he was understood as the physical and intellectual embodiment of a modern Indian citizen. He was “symmetrical and finely poised in body” and without “the garb of deception and pretence[sic].” Indeed he was, in his own words, a “true child of nature” in the best possible sense. Yet, despite these powerful examples of Eastman’s educational mission many aspects of his intellectual life have not found their way into the story of early twentieth century America and its making: a story he is now a part of through his work as an author, a doctor, and as a political spokesperson for other Indian people and himself.⁹⁰

¹ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 938.

² By 1890, the Delmonico Family Restaurant business included four restaurants; the “Citadel” at 56 Beaver Street was the longest running, beginning in 1837. Today, this site is one block from the National Museum of the American Indian. Eastman entered a building that was eight stories tall and featured, for the first time, electric lights. The entrance was framed by Pompeii pillars and cornice. In this upscale setting he met and mingled with a crowd of writers, editors, and celebrities. For more on the restaurant see: Joe O’Connell, “History of Delmonico’s Restaurant and business operations in New York,” at: <http://www.steakperfection.com/delmonico/History.html>

³ The *New York Times*, the *New York Herald* and *New York World* reported on the event, in: Charles Alexander Eastman Papers, 1891-1983, MS 829, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. This archive will be abbreviated as: CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection. A special supplement to *Harper’s Weekly* (23 December 1905) published its speeches. Other notable figures: William Dean Howells, John Kendrick Bangs, Kate Douglas Riggs, Brander Matthews, Richard Watson Gilder, Andrew Carnegie, George Washington Cable, Hamilton W. Mabie, Agnes Repplier, Irving Bacheller, Rex

E. Beach, and Hopkinson Smith. For more on Mark Twain's birthday party see the PBS website: http://www.pbs.org/marktwain/learnmore/writings_seventieth.html

⁴ The first biographical treatment of Eastman appeared in 1983. See: Raymond Wilson, *Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois, 1983) Wilson outlines the life of Charles Eastman in the context of his time. This dissertation builds on the biographical inquiries begun by Wilson. I also draw on literary historical and literary critical approaches to Eastman as a native intellectual, and those that focus on his relationship with his wife, Elaine Goodale Eastman who worked as his editor. Many focus on discourses of gender and race within Eastman's texts, especially manhood in *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*. There are several article-length studies of his work as a writer, many of which focus on his first two autobiographical texts, *Indian Boyhood* (1902) and *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (1916). Less attention has been paid to Eastman's other books, like *The Indian Today: The Past and Future of the Red American* (1915), which I give substantial attention to in this chapter. Much of my discussion of the development of Eastman's cultural politics draws on scholarship that focuses on his rhetoric as a form of resistance. I go a step further by considering his broader educational mission as integral to his written and spoken strategies for resisting, and at times constituting, certain limits for Indianness. As a discourse, Indianness framed how Eastman could be viewed and also how he could present himself as a public face for Indian people; in this sense I draw together historical approaches to studying Eastman's life and writings with those that have tended to focus on rhetoric, and add a discussion of the performative dimensions of Eastman's educational mission. The following sources shaped my reading of Eastman's written work. See: David. H. Brumble, *American Indian Autobiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Peter L. Bayers, "Charles Alexander Eastman's "From the Deep Woods to Civilization" and the Shaping of Native Manhood" in *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, Vol. 20 No. 3 (Fall 2008), 52-73; Theodore D. Sargent, *The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); *The Essential Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa)* edited by Michael Oren Fitzgerald, Foreword by Raymond Wilson, Introduction by Janine Pease (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, Inc., 2007); Bernd Peyer, "*The thinking Indian*": *Native American writers, 1850s-1920s* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007) and Bernd Peyer, ed. *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2007); David J. Carlson, *Sovereign Selves: American Indian Autobiography and the Law* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Harvey Markowitz, and Carole A. Barret, *American Indian Biographies* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 2005); LaVonne Brown Ruoff, "Eastman's Maternal Ancestry: Letter from Charles Alexander Eastman to H. M. Hitchcock, September 8, 1927" in *Studies in American Indian Literatures* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2005), 10-17; William R. Handley and Nathaniel Lewis. eds. *True West: Authenticity and the American West*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Malea Powell, "Rhetorics of Survivance: how American Indians use writing." *College Composition and Communication* 53.3(February) 2002. 396-434; Malea Powell, "Imagining a New Indian: listening to the rhetoric of survivance in Charles Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*." *Paradoxa* (August) 2001. (Special Issue on Native American Literatures, guest ed. Kate Shanley) 211-226.; Erik Peterson, "'An Indian...An American': Ethnicity, assimilation, and balance in Charles Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*" in *Early Native American Writing, New Critical Essays* edited by Helen Jaskoski (Cambridge, U.K.: University of Cambridge Press, 1996); Carol Lea Clark, "Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa) and Elaine Goodale Eastman: A Cross-Cultural Collaboration" in *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* (University of Tulsa) Vol. 13, No. 2 (Autumn, 1994)

⁵ Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race & Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), points to how the 1880s representations of Indians can be traced back to the earlier years of the nineteenth century in terms of showing us the roots of Indian-white cultural interaction between the performer and audience type. Also see: Rosemarie K. Bank *Theatre Culture in America, 1825-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁶ Out of fifty-four presenters at the First Universal Races Congress ten men were from the U.S. Five of these were photographed in this order: W.E.B. Du Bois, Prof. Earl Finch (Wilberforce University), Dr. Franz Boas (Columbia University), Dr. Paul S. Reinsch (University of Wisconsin), and Charles Eastman. See, *New York Tribune* (1911), CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁷ See: Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008) which argues native perspectives are critical to our understanding of transatlantic relations in this period and the development of transnational modernity. Also see a forthcoming article by Jace Weaver in the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* on "The Red Atlantic" where Weaver defines the Red

Atlantic as the movement of western hemisphere indigenes and indigenous wealth, ideas, and technology around the Atlantic basin from 1000 C.E. to 1800.

⁸ See: Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Random House, 1978). Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans & Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 51

⁹ Emphasis mine

¹⁰ "Racial Problems" in *Irving Church* (1913) was an article that announced that panelists' papers would be published by the World Peace Foundation. CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

¹¹ See: Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise, The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001) and *Talking Back to Civilization, Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (Boston, New York: Bedford/St. Martin, 2001). For Progressivism see: Richard Hofstadter *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf Publishing, 1955). And, the work of: Norman Pollack, C. Vann Woodward, and Lawrence Goodwyn. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966)

¹² Charles Eastman, "The North American Indian" in *Universal Races Congress* edited by Gustav Spiller, (London: P.S. King and Son; Boston, MA: The World's Peace Foundation, 1911) , pp1-2. World Peace Foundation was founded by Edwin Ginn of the Boston publishing house: Ginn & Company (1868). Like Eastman, Ginn was situated at the nexus of two types of networks that enabled Indian intellectuals to circulate their ideas to influential white publics. See: World Peace Foundation, records, 1899-1993, Digital Collections and Archives, Tufts University. Peter Filene, "The World Peace Foundation and Progressivism: 1910-1918," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 1963), pp478-50

¹³ Charles Eastman, "The North American Indian" in *Universal Races Congress* edited by Gustav Spiller, (London: P.S. King and Son; Boston, MA: The World's Peace Foundation, 1911) , pp2 and 5

¹⁴ Charles Eastman, "The North American Indian" in *Universal Races Congress* edited by Gustav Spiller, (London: P.S. King and Son; Boston, MA: The World's Peace Foundation, 1911) , p6

¹⁵ Charles Eastman, "The North American Indian" in *Universal Races Congress* edited by Gustav Spiller, (London: P.S. King and Son; Boston, MA: The World's Peace Foundation, 1911) , pp7 and 9

¹⁶ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 33, 10.

¹⁷ The Royal Commonwealth Society formed in June of 1868, and was named the Royal Colonial Institute in 1870. See: Reese, Trevor R., *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society 1868 – 1968*, (Oxford University Press, 1968) and Craggs, R. "Situating the imperial archive: The Royal Empire Society Library 1868-1945" *Journal of Historical Geography* 34,1 (2008), 48-67. A series of letters exchanged from the Autumn of 1927 into the Spring of 1928 between Eastman and members of the Royal Colonial Institute of London showcase these lectures as a highpoint in his career, while newspaper outlets from London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Wales outline his trip itinerary. See, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

¹⁸ For more on the history of educating Native American students at Dartmouth see: "About the Native American Program" from Dartmouth College's website: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~nap/about/>

¹⁹ "The Aegis" (1885), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Phi Delta Theta was founded in 1884.

²⁰ To Miss Clarke from Charles Eastman, April 13, 1887, Letter, Charles Eastman Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Donated by Katherine B. Evertitt, niece of Miss Freelove A. Clarke, who: "in 1887, was a young Teacher in the Hanover graded schools." February 2, 1964 (Winchester, NH)

²¹ As Ann Fabian, and others have noted, early nineteenth century American inquiries into race and racial characteristics often relied on collecting and dissecting the bodies of Native Americans. See: Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010)

²² Matthew Arnold has been described as "the most delightful of companions" by G.W. E. Russell in *Portraits of the Seventies*. T.H. Warren described him as "a voice poking fun in the wilderness." It was Arnold's introduction of a methodology of literary criticism that brought him attention. Arnold shifted from literary criticism to a more general critique of his age in *Culture and Anarchy* (written between 1867 and 1869) where he popularized the term "philistine" to describe the English middle class during the Victorian era. A common ground may have existed for Arnold and Eastman since both had to contend with misrepresentations of themselves as well as a shared interest in literature. See: Lionel Trilling, *Matthew*

Arnold (New York: Norton, 1939), Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold, a life* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1981) p399, and Ian Hamilton, *A Gift Imprisoned: A Poetic Life of Matthew Arnold* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998)

²³ President W.J. Tucker to Charles A. Eastman, September 1904, Letters, CAE Papers, Dartmouth College

²⁴ *Indian Boyhood* (1902; McClure Philips & Co.) *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (1916; Brown, Little & Co.), *The Soul of the Indian* (1911; Houghton Mifflin Co.), *Red Hunters and the Animal People* (1904; Harper & Brothers) *Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales* (1909; Little, Brown & Co.)

²⁵ In the preface to *The Indian Today* a biography of Eastman lists his educational path: two years at Beloit, then Knox College, IL, then Kimball Union Academy, NH, and Dartmouth College (1887) and a MD from Boston University in 1890. See: Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915)

²⁶ "Eminent domain," also called "condemnation," is the legal process by which a public body (and certain private bodies, such as utility companies, railroads, and some others) are given legal power to acquire private property for a use that has been declared to be public by constitution, statute or ordinance. Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 298.

²⁷ For more on an African-American intellectual tradition see, Edward J. Blum and Jason R. Young, *The Souls of W.E.B. Du Bois: New Essays and Reflections* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2009); W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. [1903]. Reprint (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2009); Hazel V. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); James West Davidson, *They Say: Ida B. Wells and the Reconstruction of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Kevin Kelly Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996; Alice Gambrell, *Women Intellectuals, Modernism, and Difference: Transatlantic Culture, 1919 - 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1984); Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); Zora Neale Hurston, *Mules and Men*. [1935] Reprint (New York: Perennial Library, 1990); Manning Marable and Vanessa Jones, *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Color Line* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Tricia Rose, Kennell A. Jackson, and Harry Justin Elam, *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery, An autobiography* [1901] Reprint (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963); Deborah G. White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); E. Frances White, *Dark Continent of Our Bodies: Black Feminism and the Politics of Respectability* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)

²⁸ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 304, 317. Eastman and other reformers were influenced by Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). Her book used evidence of government policies and acts of war between the U.S. military and Indian nations. For Native American history see: Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: the Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indians' Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (Boston: Penguin, 2002); James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis & Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Tiya Miles, *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005)

²⁹ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 373 and 379. See: Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Frederick

Hoxie, *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), and Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007)

³⁰ White leaders and reformers who allied with Eastman in working towards a policy of inclusion were: General Grant, Bishops Whipple and Hare, William Welsh and his nephew Herbert Welsh (of Philadelphia), Commissioner of Indian Affairs Smith, General Armstrong, General Pratt, and many who created Chautauqua societies and Women's organizations, as well as Albert K. Smiley, the founder of the Mohonk Conference. See, *The Indian To-Day* (1915) pp435-449.

³¹ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 435 and 449. Eastman credits "the influence of the missionaries and their converts" for "the practical education of the Indian children." p467. Smiley was also a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

³² The Boston Citizenship Committee was an association for the protection of the rights of Indians; organized in 1879 because of the forcible removal of the Ponca. Chief Standing Bear, released on a Writ of habeas corpus, went to Boston and to note that signatures in favor of removal were fraudulent and to enlist the sympathy of Hon. John D. Long, then governor of Massachusetts. The committee then attempted to secure citizenship for Indians on the basis of the payment of taxes, a principle that was finally denied by the United States Supreme Court. When the Dawes bill granting land in severalty and citizenship was enacted, the committee devoted its attention to securing honest allotment. See, Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Government Print Office, 1906). The National Indian Association began as the Women's National Indian Association for more on this organization see note no. 80 The Indian Rights Association was a humanitarian group dedicated to federal U.S. Indian policy and protecting Indians of the U.S. The first meeting of the Association was held on December 15, 1882 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the home of Herbert Welsh, who served as its Executive Secretary. Later, Welsh along with Matthew Sniffen and Lawrence Lindley directed the group's efforts from 1882 to 1904, mostly out of Philadelphia. These figures were regular correspondents with Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, and Gertrude Bonnin. For more on the papers related to this organization's activities see, *Manuscript 061, The Indian Rights Association pamphlets, Years: 1884-1985; bulk 1884-1934*, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, CO.

³³ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 486-490. The National Indian Association slogan: "Education; Land in Severalty; Citizenship!"

³⁴ See: page 163, Documents of United States Indian Policy, Francis Paul Prucha, ed. (1975)

³⁵ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), pp 543, 585, 591 and 944 for ref. to Carlisle. Also, see Elaine Goodale, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935) For more on Carlisle and other Indian schools see: Robert Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Tsianina K. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

³⁶ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 861; Eastman blames the news media for errors related to Indian education, "Whenever an Indian indulges in any notorious behavior, he is widely heralded as a "Carlisle graduate," although as a matter of fact he may never have attended that famous school, or have been there for a short time only."--"Obviously the statement is intended to discredit the educated Indian." p939

³⁷ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 970-972, 975.

³⁸ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 970-972, 975.

³⁹ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 982-988 and 994. Dr. Susan La Flesche Picotte (Omaha Tribe) is a sister of Bright Eyes (Susette La Flesche of Washington D.C.)

⁴⁰ Arthur C. Parker to Elaine Goodale Eastman, Letter, July 13, 1945, EGE Papers, Smith Collection. Like Whitecloud, Bonnin, Deloria, and Eastman, Parker was himself of "mixed" descent. His family had both

Seneca and Scots-English roots. He had professional success as the director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences from 1924 to 1945, and was made an honorary trustee of the New York State Historical Association. In 1935, he was elected first president of the Society of American Archaeology.

⁴¹ Alice C. Fletcher (1838-1923) worked for Frederick Ward Putnam and trained as an ethnologist under Franz Boas. She was the leader of: "Friends of the Indians," and with WNIA introduced a system of making small loans to Indians, so they could buy land and houses. She published *Indian Education and Civilization* (1888), was a member of the Archaeological Institute of America (1879), and worked with the Omahas through the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. See: Joan Mark, "Fletcher, Alice Cunningham" in *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). See: The Papers of Alice Cunningham Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

⁴² Indian business leaders: General Pleasant Porter (President of a railroad line in Oklahoma, Mr. Hill, of Texas), Howard Gansworth (graduate of Carlisle and Princeton) Indian athletes: Longboat, Sockalexis, Bemus Pierce, Frank Hudson, Tewanima, Metoxen, Myers, Bender, and Jim Thorpe. See: Charles Eastman, *The Indian Today*

⁴³ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915). Eastman uses his brother John Eastman (minister) as an example of a less-formally educated yet still influential Indian intellectual leader.

⁴⁴ Although Eastman was no student of Antonio Gramsci they did live during the same time period. It seems possible that some of Gramsci's thinking regarding the attainment of power through cultural hegemony may have reached Eastman's intellectual circles. In regards to Eastman's thinking in *The Indian Today* we can see that his views align with Gramsci's view that any class that wishes to dominate in modern society must move beyond its own narrow economic and corporate interests, to exert intellectual and moral leadership, and to make alliances and compromises with a variety of social forces. This union, Gramsci defines as a 'historic bloc', taking a term from Georges Sorel. Eastman was certainly invested in finding a way to assert power for Indian people within the pre-existing social order, rather than through violent revolution. His ideas would in some ways re-produce the hegemony of the dominant class that had so long subordinated him and other Indian people.

⁴⁵ Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915). See: "In Search of Progressivism" (1982) by Daniel Rodgers. He argues that the pluralistic and political scientists' readings of Progressives moved the historiographical debate past the 'essence' of Progressive politics to focus on the context of the historical moment. In this reading, standardization and professionalization are the tools in which this rising middle class are able to grapple with social and economic dislocations of an increasingly industrialized, urbanized, and mechanized world.

⁴⁶ In *The Indian Today* Eastman announces the fifth meeting for SAI, gives a brief history of the organization, and recognizes the contribution of Arthur C. Parker as the secretary and treasurer. Members of SAI were committed to reforming not only policies, but also perceptions of Indianness in America. For example, some lobbied against the use of derogatory terms such as "buck" and "squaw." Reaching consensus proved difficult for SAI and may have contributed towards its decline. Carlos Montezuma urged SAI to openly criticize the Office of Indian Affairs for the mismanagement of reservations and called for the termination of the BIA. As a result, he faced push-back from the majority of Society members, and he turned his back on their efforts.

⁴⁷ Image: Charles Alexander Eastman, 1858, three-quarters length, seated. Halftone reproduction of a photo originally featured in "The Indian of to-day and to-morrow" taken by Charles M. Harvey, from *The American Monthly Illustrated Review of Reviews*, June 1906, p. 700, digital ID <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a42000/> in the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

⁴⁸ See: Brian Morris, *Ernest Thompson Seton, Founder of the Woodcraft Movement 1860-1946: apostle of Indian wisdom and pioneer ecologist* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), David Witt, *Ernest Thompson Seton, The Life and Legacy of an Artist and Conservationist*. (Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2010), and Jay Mechling, *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁴⁹ See: Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). Also, archival source: Newspaper clippings, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁵⁰ Newspaper clippings, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁵¹ McIntyre to Charles Eastman regarding *Indian Boyhood*, Sept 28, 1900, in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection Publisher: “The rest of this is still in Mr. Phillips’s hands who is so much interested in what he has read that he wishes to read every line of it. I think I could not send you a more favorable report.”

⁵² See: Donald Pizer, *Hamlin Garland’s Early Work and Career* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960) and Keith Newlin, *Hamlin Garland, A Life* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008)

⁵³ Hamlin Garland to Charles Eastman, Nov. 14th circa 1901-2, in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection Hamlin Garland, “The Captain of the Gray Horse Troop,” (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1901); 2nd printing by Curtis Publishing Company in 1902. These two publication dates give us a sense of when this letter was sent.

⁵⁴ Alfred R. McIntyre to Dr. Charles Eastman, May 9, 1916, in Charles Alexander Eastman Papers, 1891-1983, MS 829, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

⁵⁵ P. Roemarre to Charles Eastman, November 2, 1911, in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection Theodore Stanton to Charles Eastman, October 2, 1913, in Charles Alexander Eastman Papers, 1891-1983, MS 829, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

⁵⁶ See CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection Most of the book reviews that I found are titled “Indian Boyhood” or “Book Review” or in some cases “A Sioux Indian’s Autobiography” or Tales of Indian Boyhood spent in a Sioux Tepee” (Brooklyn Eagle)

⁵⁷ For a different account of the politics of authenticity with regards to race, gender, and authorship see: Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996)

⁵⁸ Charles Alexander Eastman Papers, 1891-1983, MS 829, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

⁵⁹ CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ See: Brad Evans, *Before Cultures: The Ethnographic Imagination in American Literature, 1865-1920* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005) and Michael Elliott, *The Culture Concept: Writing and Difference in the Age of Realism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2002). Both inform how I contextualize the ways that readers and reviewers sought to position the writings by Charles Eastman. Evans notes how the term “culture” did not enter the American lexicon in an anthropological sense until after 1910—more than a century after Herder began to use it in Germany and another thirty years after E. B. Tylor and Franz Boas made it the object of anthropological attention. Michael Elliott also traces the use of the term culture. In particular, Elliott focuses on writings: folktales, dialect literature, local color sketches, and ethnographies to show the intellectual underpinnings of turn of the twentieth century thinking around culture and group-based difference. Indeed, he brings together American literary realism with scientific ethnography to recover a lost connection between these two fields of inquiry, and to point out the depth and reach of the culture concept as a critical tool.

⁶² Charles A. Eastman as author for: *Red Hunters and Animal People* (Harper and Brothers, 1904), *Old Indian Days* (1907, McClure Co.), *Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales Retold* (co-authored with Elaine Goodale Eastman) (Little, Brown, 1909,); *The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation* (Houghton, 1911); *Indian Scout Talks* (Boston: Brown, Little & Company, 1914); *The Indian Today* (Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. New York, originally priced in 1915 at 60 cents net.) Book Reviews from: CAE Papers, 1891-1983, MS 829, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

⁶³ Elaine Goodale Eastman to Mr. Rugg, April 19, 1939 in Elaine Goodale Eastman Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. For an excellent account of the Eastman marriage, with an emphasis on Elaine’s perspective based on her letters see: Theodore D. Sargent, *Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005)

⁶⁴ For more on the first Normal Schools in the U.S. see: Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education: the story of the state teachers colleges as they evolved from normal schools* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1970) and Allen Ornstein & Daniel Levine, *Foundations of Education*, 9th Edition (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1993)

⁶⁵ E.H. Russell to Charles Eastman, 1908, Letter, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁶⁶ For my reference to the “Red Man in America” speeches that Eastman gave see, Newspaper clippings, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁶⁷ Letters sent to Eastman regarding lectures: E.H. Russell 1908; Mr. W.A. Baldwin March 26, 1909; Frank Fuller Murdock Feb. 8, 1909; Charles E. Bloch March 2, 1910, The Free Synagogue, NY April 10, 1919, from: CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁶⁸ CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁶⁹ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) and more recently in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006). Eastman's lecture career began as early as 1895 See: "Indian Spoke" in *Boston Journal* Oct. 28, 1895 in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁷⁰ See: Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009) For Eastman the craze for "Indian things" and "things Indian" offered him an opportunity to harness the intimate relationship between art and politics, and make representation and subjectivity central to his speaking performances. Elin Diamond (ed.), *Performance and Cultural Politics*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); E. Patrick Johnson, *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the Politics of Authenticity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) examines how blackness as an identity category is not always self-constituting, but like performance, "often defies categorization." Jose Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge Press, 1990), and *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁷¹ "Clipping" in *Westminster Gazette*, March 15, 1928, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection. Also see: Contract between "Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten and Charles Alexander Eastman," January, 1928, "Mensel Papers," CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁷² "Engemard" (difficult to read) to Eastman, March 9, 1928, Letter, CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁷³ For more on the history of representation and expectation in regards to Indian figures see: Philip J. Deloria. *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 11. Deloria describes expectation as, "a shorthand for dense economies of meaning, representation, and act that have inflected both American culture writ large and individuals, both Indian and non-Indian...in terms of the colonial and imperial relations of power and domination existing between Indian people and the United States."

⁷⁴ On performativity see: Jose Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queer of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) and Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999) Important to note is that the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 made it a criminal offense "to sell a product as Indian" if it was not produced by someone other than an enrolled member of a federally or state recognized tribe, or as an artisan certified by such a tribe.

⁷⁵ A photograph of Eastman in Indian regalia surrounded by men in "the wigwam" of the "Bristol Savages" caption reads: Frank Stonelake, C. E. Kelsey, A.C. Fare (President), Alderman J. Fuller Eberle, T. Kingston, E.H. Ehlers, H. E. Roslyn, R.H. Pezzack, and Stuart Thomas, in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁷⁶ Eastman was also described by: the *Springfield Union*: "Indian Lectures in Northampton. Dr. Charles Eastman of Amherst Speaks Under Auspices of red Men. Is In Indian Costume. Portrays "The Real Indian" in Glowing Terms and Scores His Enemies," in CAE Papers, Dartmouth College. See: James Graves, "Charles Eastman" in *Bostonia* (Alumni Magazine, Spring 1993 Issue), 54

⁷⁷ Charles Eastman, "The Real Indian," the Stanley L. Krebs Lectures, Chautauqua Assembly, Connecticut Valley; Charles Eastman, "First Full Day of Work. Address by Dr. C.A. Eastman" *Republican* (no date); Charles Eastman, "Talks of the Real Indian" *Concord Monitor* (NH) Walker free lectures. See: CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁷⁸ "The Montauk Club Brooklyn" in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1890. Founded in 1889 by prominent Brooklyn residents, like Charles Pratt, Richard Schermerhorn, and Edwin C. Litchfield The Club hosted political figures and former U.S. presidents: Grover Cleveland, Herbert Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Senator Robert Kennedy. Named for the indigenous peoples of Long Island, NY, the Montauketts, The Club had a representative of the Montauketts, Chief Robert Pharaoh, as a guest at the 115th Anniversary Celebration in May 2004. See: <http://montaukclub.com/>

⁷⁹ For another example of an all-male audience see: *Republican* "Indian Lecture Well Attended," CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁸⁰ For more on WNIA see: Papers of the Women's National Indian Association #9237, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. According to their records this convention could

have been held as part of their annual meeting and thus Eastman's talk would have been in: 1911, 1914, or 1926. The connection between women activists and Indian issues had been widely established since the antebellum period when women and clergy worked together to send petitions to the U.S. government in order to protest the forced removal of the Cherokee from Georgia to Oklahoma and continued well into the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century given the proliferation of all-female reform groups. Eastman's marriage to a white woman and his ability to charm his audiences no doubt would have made him a popular speaker among these types of organizations.

⁸¹ Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race & Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 82. According to Maddox the NIA "early on" had chosen to direct "its energies toward missions and leave the political reforms to male-dominated organizations such as the Indian Rights Association." She argues that leaders of the Society of American Indians needed financial and political support from outside of their own ranks.

⁸² See: CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁸³ 25 were presented to all-female groups, whereas 5 to 10 seemed aimed at youth groups and 10 to wholly religious organizations. CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection.

⁸⁴ *Portland Argus* report in CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection

⁸⁵ For more on Wild West performance see: Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000)

⁸⁶ Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians, Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 12. See: Walter Benjamin. "A Short History of Photography" (1936) in Alan Trachtenberg (ed) *Classic Essays on Photography*, 199-219.

⁸⁷ See: *Los Angeles Times* "'Ohiyesa' In Swallowtail. Courtly Sioux Tells Story of His People," and *Pasadena Star* "The Eastman Lecture Big Success. Tells of His People, the Warlike Sioux. Story of the Little Big Horn and Death of Custer." CAE Papers, Dartmouth Collection. (dates unknown)

⁸⁸ President W.J. Tucker to Charles A. Eastman, September 1904, Letters, CAE Papers, Dartmouth College

⁸⁹ Unknown photographer, "Stanley F. Johnson and Charles Alexander Eastman," 1927, Charles Eastman Papers, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

⁹⁰ For more on Eastman's role in Boston society see: James Graves, biographical essay "Ohiyesa" in *Bostonia* (alumni magazine, spring 1993). Eastman's obituary, *Bostonia*, v. 12 no. 5 Feb 1939 Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915), 30.

Chapter 2

Progressive Reform and Epistolary Culture: The Circuits of Carlos Montezuma, 1865-1923

Introduction

Rifling through files, folders, and boxes in the Wisconsin Historical society reveals an impressive set of epistolary culture pertaining to the life of Carlos Montezuma. Among this pile of letters, memoranda, and subscriber lists for Montezuma's self-published newsletter *Wassaja*, is one note, revealing in two important ways. Montezuma's scrawled message, "spurious citizenship" on a small rectangle of faded green paper, names an issue that was central to debates among Indian intellectuals and of the utmost concern to him. Although Montezuma was an Indian intellectual who achieved entrée into middle-class society in Chicago due to his work as a physician he never gave up fighting for more recognition and inclusion for Indian people. In fact, the issue of American citizenship underpinned his work as a progressive reformer and advocate for other Indian people. Additionally, the flipside of this scrap of paper reveals a second, and equally important, message concerning his work as an Indian intellectual; a nearly illegible purple stamp has left two more words: *Indian Journal*. These reflect Montezuma's aim to present and circulate his ideas to an extensive audience of Indian people. Taken together, the handwritten note and the stamped image evoke a critical aspect of Montezuma's representational politics, which was his ability to raise the level of public discourse concerning the future of Indian people in the United States

working through personal correspondence and periodicals, like the *Indian Journal* (the leading publication for the Society of American Indians). Through this reform group, which Montezuma helped found, and through his contacts with prominent white Chicagoans and his journal *Wassaja*, Montezuma spoke out on a range of topics including the dismantling of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, higher education for Indian people, changes in Indian cultural practices, and fictional narratives that misrepresented Indianness. I see this piece of archival evidence as a metaphor for the centrality of epistolary culture in Montezuma's intellectual work and a struggle to achieve citizenship.¹

Montezuma's personal papers contain artifacts that link him to circuits of the past that were integral to his life as a Chicago doctor and also as a political activist who worked within pan-tribal and white progressive reform groups. Scholars of Indian and American history can look to these materials to ask new questions. Why is it that a Native public intellectual like Montezuma remains on the margins of the historical record? How might recovering this lost history point us to the literary, cultural, and political circuits he was a part of? What does an analysis of these circuits say about the methods Native people used to argue in favor of citizenship in the United States and how do these arguments reflect their concerns regarding assimilation policies and practices?²

This chapter digs deep into archival evidence to consider the rhetorical impact of the notations, letters, and published writings that Montezuma produced over the course of his lifetime—including little pieces of ephemera with cryptic scribbles about “spurious citizenship.” These materials lend context to Montezuma's multi-faceted career as a physician, writer, and public speaker. Moreover, his personal papers reveal his thinking

and his strategies in making alliances with a diverse network of politicians, business leaders, taste makers, white reformers, and fellow Indians who shared his desire for fuller political rights.³

As a practicing doctor who enjoyed some of the comforts of middle class life, and who had in many ways already attained the status promised by citizenship, Montezuma utilized print culture to present himself as an exemplar for Indianness. He relied on the politics of racial uplift to argue in favor of inclusion, which meant incorporating Indian people into American society not only as citizens but also as capitalists. As much as Montezuma may have wondered, for whom does “genuine” citizenship receive its meaning, his life and work in Chicago was distinct from the experience of most Indian people during the early twentieth century. Like Eastman, his citizenship was not theirs, and yet his writings raise an important question: As an Indian living in America, in which contexts could one be viewed as more of a citizen—or less of one? The majority of his written and spoken texts engaged with this question to critically analyze the structures and people that had the power to decide who was or was not a citizen, and ultimately, he remained committed to the idea that Indian people ought to have a voice in this decision.

Throughout his lifetime, Montezuma remained actively connected to a number of Indian performers, activists, and political leaders through the realm of correspondence. He exchanged letters with the archaeologist, historian, and folklorist Arthur C. Parker, the Cherokee writer John Oskison, the visual artist Wa Wa Chaw, and pan-Indian organization activists like Gertrude Bonnin and Charles Eastman, as well as nationally recognizable and politically influential Indian leaders like Plenty Coups. In addition, correspondence connected Montezuma to white progressives who were sympathetic to

Indian causes, journalists like Helen Grey, who investigated the Bureau of Indian Affairs and land deals, and bureaucratic leaders and educational reformers like Richard H. Pratt. Correspondence, and to a lesser extent publishing, function in this chapter as material goods, as intellectual theses and a means to explore Montezuma's ideas regarding citizenship and to trace the outlines of his network of intersecting, interconnected people.

Also imbedded within epistolary culture are ephemeral items that reveal the subtlety of Montezuma's self-perception and his changing views on contentious topics, such as Indian identity and cultural authenticity: countless notices from the Society of American Indians; leaflets from organizations like the Indian Fellowship League; circulars from the Order of Red Men; and more. Due to the diversity of this material, my analysis focuses on visible discursive formations to showcase Montezuma's representational politics, his literary production, and his ability to intersect with a plurality of white and pan-tribal publics.⁴

In addition, these materials point us to a number of arenas where Indian intellectuals, like Montezuma, navigated their own politics of representation to shape the cultural and political development of the United States from the 1880s to the 1930s. I engage Michael Warner's theorization of the poetic character of public discourse to situate my reading of Montezuma's writings and those of other Indian intellectuals during this time period. In these instances, publics and counterpublics emerge through the production of discourses that both affirm and contradict themselves. With this in mind, Montezuma's representational politics must be viewed as historically contingent and his writing as a contribution to print culture that emerged from white Americans' imaginings of Indian people and their history, and for the readers and writers in Indian Country.

Indeed Montezuma's written and spoken texts became central to how Native publics and counterpublics were established. More specifically, his personal letters and his public newsletter, *Wassaja*, hailed an expanding network of Native people within a modern system. Certainly his letters did different work from that of his more formal newsletter I look at both, however, as representative texts for intellectual circuits that connected diverse sets of Indian peoples with white Americans. When letters become pamphlets that become newsletters that become journals and magazines Montezuma's ideas (and those of other Indian writers) travel along an important continuum. For instance, the letters sent by Indian people to Montezuma (as the editor of *Wassaja*) produced an important form of internal and national dialogue across Indian Country. Furthermore, I argue that many of his letters and *Wassaja* itself show us specific instances in which the emergence of a pan-Indian public sphere was able to diverge from an American democratic system, even as individuals like Montezuma aimed to incorporate themselves into that system.⁵

Montezuma's life and writings were also intimately connected to his educational experiences and the ways Indian education, in general, was about training Native people to become proper citizens of the United States. In this instance, education was also performance-based. By considering his life in relation to education one can see how his career as a physician afforded him a space to work as an activist and a writer. Thus, this chapter begins by examining the roles played by Native men and women who became known as "educated Indians." In particular, I consider how this framing of Indian intellectuals was productive within white America, and as crucial for Montezuma's success as it was for Eastman, Bonnin, and Standing Bear. The second section turns to print culture and Montezuma's self-published newsletter *Wassaja*. Here, I consider how

he used this venue (among others) to present his views, and how the circulation of this periodical reflected debates across Indian Country. With this in mind I analyze subscriber lists to draw out different networks through which Montezuma, other Indians, and his friends and white allies, created and participated in a shared discourse concerning Indian citizenship. The third section examines epistolary culture networks in much the same way that Chapter three connects Gertrude Bonnin to other Indian leaders and white allies. However, because Montezuma worked primarily as a physician and not an author, correspondence functions differently for him, as a political organizing tool. I argue that letter writing functions as a bridge between the publishing forum of *Wassaja* and the different discursive formations of Montezuma's speeches and printed texts. Therefore, the fourth section of this chapter turns on close readings of these texts to show how language was performative for Montezuma, as he engaged with both Americanization and Indianization discourses. By ending with a discussion of how performativity operated for Montezuma as a form of resistance and criticism one can see that his views departed from and aligned with Eastman, Bonnin, and Standing Bear regarding strategies for representing Indian identity.

Education: "The public knows very little of the Indian people in the right way."⁶

Montezuma was born in the Arizona Territory in 1865 to Yavapai parents who named him "Wassaja." At a young age he was captured by the Pima who in turn sold him to Carlo Gentile (an Italian photographer). According to Montezuma's own recollections, he was sold to Gentile for thirty silver dollars. It was a common practice to sell captured women and children as slaves, to other tribes, to Mexicans, and also to white settlers in

Arizona Territory during this period. The two of them traveled around the U.S. and finally relocated to Urbana, Illinois. Once there, George W. Ingalls (the Director of the Indian Department) personally selected a placement for the now eleven year old Montezuma in the household of Reverend William H. Stedman, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Urbana. According to one of his biographers, Montezuma maintained a positive relationship with the Stedman family throughout his life, with Reverend Stedman presiding at his marriage in 1913.⁷

Montezuma's private education was supported by Stedman's hiring of a tutor to assist Montezuma in passing the entrance exam for the Preparatory School of the University of Illinois, which he attended for one year. In 1880, at the age of 14, Montezuma entered the University. He graduated four years later. While enrolled in the College of Natural Science in the pharmaceutical program of the School of Chemistry Montezuma was sponsored by the University Y.M.C.A. In his second year, because his grades were good enough the University waived all fees. Montezuma was also elected president of the class of 1884 and secretary, as well as the president of the Adelpic Debate Society. His performance in this society provided Montezuma with early training in public speaking. In fact, his success as an Indian debater was reported by *The Illini* on May 5, 1883, which noted he gave "one of the rare treats of the evening on 'Indian's Bravery...'" We can see how throughout his educational work Montezuma found useful financial and personal allies and was able to distinguish himself among his classmates.⁸

On June 21, 1884 Montezuma entered the Chicago Medical College. He graduated in 1889. He was the first Indian student to attend this school, and worked throughout his time there as a pharmacist. Like almost all Indian intellectuals, he

presented many lectures on “the Indian” to a variety of audiences ranging from ladies’ clubs to church organizations. There was a tremendous circuit and proliferation of women’s and church clubs for these figures to talk to, and Montezuma began earning extra money through these speaking engagements even as he went to school to become a doctor. In 1888, for example, he gave a speech titled, “The Indian of Tomorrow” in front of the National Women’s Christian Temperance Union in Chicago. It was one of many.⁹

After graduation, and before he became well-known as a critic of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Montezuma worked to establish his career as a doctor. Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889 to 1893 (also a Baptist minister and professional educator) saw Montezuma, the Indian Doctor, as a model of achievement. He wrote to offer Montezuma a position as a physician in the Indian Service. “My friend, Captain Pratt, tells me that you have finished your medical studies, and have entered upon the practice of your profession....I have recently appointed Miss La Flesche, who graduated from the medical school in Philadelphia, and subsequently had some hospital training, as physician among her own people, the Omahas.” Montezuma promptly accepted Morgan’s offer. Noting that, “For my part, I am willing to do anything which will reform them and also to do all I can to set them a good example...I remain yours for justice in the Indian Affairs.”

On September 20, 1889 he began work at Fort Stevenson, close to the banks of the Missouri River in North Dakota, at the salary of 1,000 dollars per annum.¹⁰ By this time the “Fort” was no longer operating as a military facility, but rather as the Fort Berthold Indian Agency. After practicing in North Dakota for a few years, Montezuma moved to Carlisle, Pennsylvania where he worked as the Carlisle Indian Industrial

School's physician. This post was only temporary, as Montezuma longed to return to Illinois and set up his own practice. In December 1895 he moved again to return to Chicago. He established a private practice there in two locations and continued working in the city until 1922.¹¹

Drawing on his own educational experiences and upbringing within the Stedman family, Montezuma viewed education as a progressive tool for Indian people and white America. As he notes in a letter from 1921, "A great work must be done to educate the public that an Indian is the same as they are," because as Montezuma saw it the vast majority of non-Indian people in the U.S. knew very little "of the Indian people in the right way." His desire was two-fold when it came to education. He wanted to retool the system of reservation and boarding schools that were being used to educate native people in order to increase the numbers of those who could attend college. He also, like Eastman, wanted these individuals to become like him, and to serve as representatives for their race to help educate the rest of America. This vision aligned with Charles Eastman's educational mission in many respects. Indeed the two men had similar experiences when it came to attending college and then medical school. However, Montezuma was better positioned than Eastman to highlight himself as a "success," because he was able to earn a steady income as a doctor, whereas Eastman struggled for years to set up a practice and eventually gave up the idea that his main source of income would come from being a physician. Additionally, a great deal of Montezuma's concerns about the future of education for Native people grew out of experiences concerning the business community of Chicago. Like other progressives, Montezuma took an approach to Indian educational reform by being in dialogue with reform organizations, which aimed to find political and

practical solutions to the “Indian Problem.” Many of these groups had formed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.¹²

In 1909 the National Indian Association celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. Founded and run by white women, the NIA represented a significant strand of thought and activity, which characterized national reform efforts aimed towards Indian Affairs.¹³ Critical to the work of these women was the circulation of their monthly magazine, “The Indian’s Friend.” Montezuma, like other Indian intellectual leaders at the time, was a regular subscriber to the journal. In August of that year it is likely he read reports regarding the performance of *Hiawatha* that NIA noted “was presented by forty-five of the Indian students of the Haskell Institute at Lawrence” as a play for the National Educational Association’s meeting. For the majority of Americans, plays based on Indian stories, events, and histories provided easy access to learning about Indian people. In fact, this type of educational entertainment, along with other performances that replayed historical events involving Indians, had been popular in various parts of the United States since the early nineteenth century.¹⁴

The education of Indian people *and* the education of the American public about Indians were central concerns of reformers, like the NIA.¹⁵ Montezuma saw himself as an educator by publicly scolding performances that he thought separated Indian people from modern society by locking them into an imagined past. Shows like those promoted by “Buffalo Bill’s” *Wild West*, for example, were according to Montezuma’s views, dangerous arenas in which Native actors could not only be taken advantage of but might end up taking part in the misrepresentation of Indian history. Even more difficult for Montezuma to protest were events like Haskell’s staging of *Hiawatha* sponsored by the

NIA. For Montezuma, the low level Indianized performances promoted by progressive groups to aid the cause of citizenship were powerful tools for imagining but also undermining Indianness. The cultural expectations that accompanied these spectacles had to be expanded.

The stakes for Montezuma were high, because he was determined to make Indian citizenship a reality, and he did not think this could happen as long as white America imagined Indian people in primitive and anachronistic ways. At the same time, Montezuma needed to be legible as a citizen who was an American and an Indian. Thus, his “cause in favor of citizenship” was political, but had to grapple with cultural and social representations of Indianness. As a doctor in an urban space, Montezuma was well positioned to argue for the inclusion of Indian people into the body politic of the United States. He could lead by example. For instance, his membership in local Chicago business organizations run by white middle-class Americans gave him social status and a sort of de-facto citizenship. Yet, he needed to speak and write against a plethora of misrepresentations in popular performances and novels that continued to marginalize native people by limiting how others could imagine them.¹⁶

Other Indian intellectuals joined Montezuma to emphasize the role of education in a public fight for recognition of Indian people as modern citizens of the United States, rather than icons of America’s lost past or *Wild West*. On September 6th, 1918 Gertrude Bonnin (then Secretary for the Society of American Indians) sent a letter to the “Honorable F.P. Keppel,” the Third Assistant Secretary of War. Bonnin’s letter, perhaps inadvertently, recaptured earlier moments in American history when the military functioned as a critical site of engagement for Indian policy. In reality, the War

Department had ceased to be the main avenue through which Indian Affairs were managed after the establishment of the Department of the Interior on March 3, 1849.¹⁷

Her letter begins straightforwardly enough. “I have the honor, in behalf of a small body of Americans, the Red Americans, to beg your forbearance in this request for a reconsideration of the non-continuance of the Carlisle Indian School. It is understood that the law of 1882 provides for the reversion of this property for military purposes.” Bonnin introduces her self and her allies vis-à-vis the careful use of a comma. Her pause is an important one, as it punctuates two key tenets of SAI ideology, as well as their particular interest in asking for a reconsideration of the matter involving the Carlisle School. SAI’s commitment to full-citizenship rights for *all* Indian people comes across in Bonnin’s rhetorical decision to define them as composed of “Americans, the Red Americans”; a description that was meant to signal to Keppel that this particular organization conceived of itself as *both* American and Indian. These modes of articulation were politically and culturally salient for Bonnin given that, by 1918, vast numbers of Indian people had been encouraged if not forced to *become* American through the erasure of language, traditions, and cultural practices that would mark them as Indians. Ironically, this process was most often carried out in the classrooms of places like Carlisle, against which she had written. But in this letter, Bonnin speaks on behalf of the SAI. For SAI members, like Montezuma, to be “Americans” and also “Red” provided them with a complex and distinctive status, and an opportunity to claim political citizenship (which many did not legally have) while simultaneously retaining their Indianness. Therefore, they did not want nor need to advocate for full cultural assimilation into white American society, but they could claim Carlisle as their own.¹⁸

Institutionally, Carlisle was at once, as Bonnin's letter notes, "the Red Man's University" and also an old "barracks," which the military had used during the Civil War. She makes plain that "this fact today bears directly upon Indian education and civilization to which our Government pledged itself in good faith." Her letter ends by arguing that education is at the heart of this matter for Indian people, because to close Carlisle "for military purposes" would result in the transfer of Indian students to "inferior schools," and more importantly "not make up to the race the loss of educational opportunities only Carlisle can give." In this sentence, "Carlisle" represents not only a specific educational vision, but also the United States government's role as a patron of Indian education and granter of political power through this education. Bonnin, like Montezuma and other Indian intellectuals of this period, believed that social uplift and education went hand in hand. She asserts this belief and also calls attention to the fact that despite schools like Carlisle, and the efforts of educated Indians like herself, "the sad fact" was that "approximately 20,000 Indian children eligible for school are still without schools in our America." Her use of "our" here claims a space of belonging within America, and therefore, a voice with which to change it. The work of NIA and SAI, as well as individual writers like Bonnin, exemplify the centrality of Indian education as a component of race and nation making, which were twin facets of Montezuma's activist work. Like Eastman, Bonnin, and Luther Standing Bear, Montezuma found an ally in Richard Pratt (1840-1924), the white progressive.

The Letter writing relationship between Richard Pratt & Carlos Montezuma

Pratt was the founder and chief administrator of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. He was well-known among other white reformers, for being vocal on behalf of educated Indians seeking citizenship. Elaine Goodale Eastman's biography of him, *Pratt, The Red Man's Moses* (1935), offers a rich portrait of his life including his military service during the Civil War and his work at Carlisle, as well as his alliances with other "Friends of the Indian." In her account, as well as those reporting on the state of Indian Education in America, Pratt became famous for his slogan regarding education as assimilation that promised Americans Carlisle could: "Kill the Indian and save the man!"¹⁹ In the context of his time Pratt's words appeared sympathetic towards Indian people, yet underpinned by a racist logic. In reality, he was friends with many of his Indian students who attended his school and who went on to become teachers, as well as doctors, lawyers, missionaries, and actors. Their achievements highlighted, for Pratt, the fact that he never gave up the fight to solve America's "Indian Problem." Montezuma and Pratt corresponded frequently and over the course of their letters they often agree about the best tools for the advancement of Indian people.²⁰

On December 21, 1908, Montezuma received a letter from Pratt about the future of educated Indians and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Pratt's letter suggests how to "press upon Mr. Taft our ideas as to what should be done for the Indians." Integral to their plan was the development and strengthening of a network of Indian intellectuals who could work in local and regional contexts towards changing national policy. One Indian leader both Pratt and Montezuma knew well was Reverend Sherman Coolidge (Arapaho, 1863-1932). Pratt described him as "level headed." Like other Indian religious leaders, such as

Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago, c.1884-1950) and Reverend Philip B. Gordon (Ojibwe and Catholic Priest, 1887-1948), Coolidge had advanced professionally within the ministry and showed how Indian clergy could be central to progressive reform within contemporary Indian affairs.²¹

Pratt's letter authenticates the power of Coolidge's position in terms of his education and Indianness when he writes to Montezuma, "being like yourself, a full blooded Indian, highly educated, his views are entitled to the most serious consideration." Pratt's sentiment links discourses of the body and the mind by reconciling Indian blood with education. He also participates in a discussion of assimilation, which he believed necessary for Native people to incorporate themselves into American culture and society using their education. In this letter, one can see how citizenship is defined through a careful combination, rather than a synthesis, of an "authentic" Indian subjectivity tied to blood quantum, with a right to speak based on one's educational background. So assimilation broadly conceived could cut two ways. First, educated Indians could draw on the intersection of Indian subjectivity as defined by blood *and* education to assert a particular space for themselves as political activists. Second, someone like Montezuma could use this position to assert his unique representative status to speak on behalf of Indianness writ large. In other words, like Eastman, Roe Cloud, and Gordon, the best Indian leaders could be counted on due to their status as educated and also full-blooded Indians.²²

On May 22, 1909 Pratt wrote again to Montezuma regarding the future of Indian people in America and drew upon similar themes regarding the power of educated Indians to change policy. "I suggested to [Mr. Owen] that a petition to Congress coming

from educated Indians would be a splendid thing to help him out and he agreed and suggested that I write it.” Here Pratt conveys a world of possibility for Indian intellectuals, but he also notes the roles played by white activists who were necessary to write the petition. Still, he presses Montezuma to become personally involved in an effort to reform the Bureau of Indian Affairs and notes that, “if you or some other intelligent Indian or Indians would take it up you would make a tremendous case. I don’t believe the country would agree to let the Bureau go but the move could be made to compel the Indian bureau to come to time and perform its duty.” In this message Pratt gives up some of his white authority by urging Montezuma “or some other intelligent Indian” to take up the petition.

In August of that same year, Pratt wrote to Dr. Carl E. Grammer, a Professor at the Virginia Theological Seminary, concerning Indian education, and sent a copy of his letter to Montezuma. It was common practice among these activists to send each other copies of letters to compel action based off letters as supplemental evidence. This particular letter shows the divide between efforts of white reformers like Grammer (then President of the Indian Rights Association) and Pratt about all-Indian educational institutions, like Carlisle. Pratt writes, “You say ‘it has seemed to me that eventually the need for such schools as Carlisle must cease, but I do not understand the Indian Rights Association to favor any immediate steps in that direction.’” Here Pratt questions the efficacy of Grammer’s organization as an advocate for fuller citizenship for Indian people. Unlike Pratt, Montezuma believed that places like Carlisle needed to be abolished, so that Indian students could attend the same schools as white students. In this sense, Montezuma would have agreed with Grammer’s assertion that “schools as Carlisle

must cease.” However, Montezuma would also have agreed with Pratt’s view that the IRA was an organization that failed to achieve this goal, because Indian schools rather than integrated schools remained the norm and seemed beyond the reach of IRA’s efforts.²³

The history of educating Indians in America that pre-dated the context for this exchange of letters tied education to a process of Christianization. Certainly not all reformers believed in this aspect of Indian education, but Montezuma, who had found support for his own schooling from the Young Men’s Christian Association, believed that cooperation between Christian-based reform organizations and educational institutions could lead to the success of Indian students. In fact, Montezuma received (from Pratt) copies of two letters that point out the early history of this cooperation. One letter from July 5th, 1895 was sent by C.K. Ober, a white Chicagoan, (then the secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.) and the other from June 28th of that same year was sent by Charles Eastman.²⁴

Eastman’s letter demonstrates how Indian intellectuals worked together with white missionaries and teachers. Additionally, Ober’s letter suggests how Eastman represents the possibilities of Indian education. Ober recommends that Dr. Eastman, due to his “experience in college athletics, and his medical training” is “admirably fit” as both a subject “for the study of this problem” regarding the direction of Indian education, and as a fellow reformer “for the direction of this new effort.” In this example, educated Indians (like Eastman and Montezuma) bore a heavy burden, as public figures who must demonstrate intellectual development, athletic accomplishment, and moral character. Ober’s letter makes explicit that “healthful athletic sports” work “in place of the

demoralizing heathen practices of the Indians,” and therefore, that an individual like Eastman is “fit” for “the study of this problem, and for the direction of this new effort” because of his intellectual and physical strength. This view was in keeping with a muscular manhood discourse during this period that sought to define proper American manliness through the body as much as the mind.²⁵

Eastman’s letter does not shrug off the role he must play. Instead it draws together the work of missionaries and Christian teachers by defining them as “deeply in sympathy with our work.” Written from the standpoint of an Indian Service employee and Indian intellectual Eastman sees “our” here both in terms of the network he and Montezuma were building as Native intellectuals and in the context of cooperation between Indian groups and white leaders. Taken together, these letters brought Montezuma into the fold of a relationship that was forming between these groups, in the context of pan-Indian political reform. Montezuma was a Christian Indian, who had been raised by a Baptist family in Illinois, and this experience of Christianization and education did not necessarily have deleterious effects on his Indianness. For Montezuma being a Christian functioned in much the same way as being a doctor, it afforded him entrée into middle class white society, and from this class position he could do and say more for Native people.²⁶

As a Chicago physician Montezuma lived a comfortable life in which he maintained Masonic activities, belonged to the Press Club of Chicago, and subscribed to several medical journals, operating successful medical practice for at least fifteen years. By 1914, however, many of his patients fell on hard times and could not keep up with their payments, and things took a turn for the worse. By 1916 Montezuma had to close

his downtown office. Then in 1920 he closed his suburban office due to a continued lack of business. During the last two years of his life he only saw patients in his home, which made both fiscal and personal sense. For many years, Montezuma had supplemented his practice with income generated from public lectures. These lectures were pedagogical in nature and similar to the talks he had given as a medical student. In fact, one speech, “The Indian Problem from an Indian’s Standpoint,” was so well received (by the Fortnightly Club on Feb 10, 1898) that it was printed as a pamphlet and distributed to interested Chicagoans. A similar version of this text was later published in *Current Literature* in April 1898, and re-titled: “An Indian’s View of the Indian Question.” This example points to Montezuma’s need to make extra money and his ability to balance medicine with the demands of publishing as an Indian intellectual.²⁷

Wassaja’s World in Print

Along with printed lectures and other short pieces, much of Montezuma’s published material appeared in his own newsletter: *Wassaja*. Not every issue of Montezuma’s monthly, *Wassaja: Freedom’s Signal for the Indians*, featured U.S. citizenship as a subject for editorial comment. But most did. In March of 1918, Montezuma wrote: “[T]he country must first make him a free man, and then give him his citizenship. But to give him citizenship with conditions attached to it is not citizenship that is enjoyed by true American citizens. That is false freedom!” Like “spurious citizenship,” Montezuma’s “false freedom” rhetoric participated in questioning the federal government’s definition of citizenship. Indeed, the changing and uncertain nature of the relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes complicated the

issue of citizenship for Indians living in America during the early decades of the twentieth century and *Wassaja* was an important outlet where Montezuma and other Indians voiced their discontent.²⁸

During the colonial period, France, Spain, and Great Britain had distinctive ways of dealing with Indian tribes, but despite their differences they established a pattern of treaty making that provided the basis for dealing with these tribes as independent nations. The United States continued the treaty-making tradition until the landmark Supreme Court case, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), where Chief Justice John Marshall redefined tribes as having the fraught status of “domestic dependent nations.” This ruling became fundamental for establishing a process by which Indians would have to work through Congress in order to change the nature of their relationship to the federal government. In other words, the Cherokee Cases of the early nineteenth century inaugurated a new era of diminished sovereignty for Indian nations. Moreover, American Indians were not regarded as political citizens of the U.S., so they could only achieve citizenship by changing the U.S. political system. In 1871, treaty making between tribal nations and the federal government was banned by an Act of Congress, which further weakened the inherent sovereignty of tribes as independent and foreign nations. During this period individual Indians were defined as citizens through their relationship to their tribe. Therefore, an Indian was a citizen of a tribal nation first, so in order to become a citizen of the U.S. they would have to give up the rights of citizenship established by their tribe.²⁹

For those who voluntarily disassociated from their tribal nation citizenship remained legally ambiguous until 1884, when John Elk (living in Omaha, Nebraska) tried

to vote and was refused (see *John Elk v. Charles Wilkins*). The U.S. Supreme Court upheld this decision and established that an Indian could not become a citizen of the U.S. by abandoning tribal allegiance without the consent and cooperation of the U.S. Government. Therefore, it would take an act of Congress to give Indians the rights of citizenship. Many pro-assimilation activists, both white and Indian, who worked through Indian reform organizations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, believed that citizenship would grant legal protection that was essential to becoming part of American civilization. Despite the fact that the Dawes Act (1887) granted citizenship to Indians who separated themselves from their tribes and began living on their own private property, most Indians involved in the allotment process were not eligible for citizenship *until* they received titles to their lands after a twenty-five year trust period.³⁰

Another way to look at the issue of Indians as potential citizens of the U.S. is to consider how they were framed as extra-constitutional from the moment the United States Constitution was written. Article One, Section Two states how representatives and taxes shall be apportioned among the States. Through these issues of representation and taxation the citizenry of the U.S. was constituted by “adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.” Here we can see how two groups were excluded from taxation, both enslaved Africans (defined through “all other Persons”) and Indians (as those “not taxed”). These peoples were restricted from becoming citizens based on class and race, as much as women were by their gender. During Montezuma’s life, this fact remained a central concern of Native people who sought ways to become American citizens, and was part of the debates they waged on the pages of *Wassaja*.³¹

The impetus behind *Wassaja* was to remind Indians and Americans of the history of abuse perpetrated against Indian people by the U.S. government. The word itself means “signaling” or “beckoning” and embodied Montezuma’s desire to create a national newspaper of Indian America to “signal” towards a guaranteed citizenship for Indians in America. He used this paper to address both Indian Country and readers in the rest of the U.S. In fact, *Wassaja* became a critical platform for Montezuma to express his views on Indian Affairs. Furthermore, since he had been named “Wassaja” at birth by his Yavapai parents and was later re-named “Carlos Montezuma” by his white adoptive parent, Carlo Gentile, the act of naming the paper after his Yavapai birth-name sought to reclaim this part of his past. Like Bonnin and Eastman, this double name claim was important to one’s own subjectivity and to the politics of self representation. Perhaps readers came to recognize him as both the Indian Doctor named “Montezuma” from Chicago and as the writer “Wassaja” who was an Indian advocate and political critic.³²

Wassaja was first published in April of 1916 and remained in print until November of 1922. In fact, the last issue appeared only two months before Montezuma died. Readers paid five cents per copy, or fifty cents for a year’s subscription. Montezuma also encouraged local distribution by providing one-hundred copies of an issue for only two dollars. Many subscribers listed show that *Wassaja* circulated throughout different rural reservation communities in the southwest, Great Lakes area, and Plains States. In 1920, however, Montezuma was forced to double his subscription rates due to an increase in printing costs.³³

Today, the Native American Journalists’ Association provides the “Wassaja Award” to individuals who make extraordinary contributions to Indian journalism. In

these ways Montezuma's legacy continues. In 2000, the New York University Department of Journalism nominated *Wassaja* for consideration as one of the top one-hundred works of journalism in the United States during the twentieth century. Even though this newsletter did not make the final list the nomination shows the extent to which he left a print history.³⁴

Following in the footsteps of Reverend Philip Gordon, who had started his own newsletter, *The War Whoop*, Montezuma entered the newsletter business with a discourse that critiqued and defined Indianness in America. It is likely that he used *Wassaja* in much the same way that Bonnin would use copies of letters (SAI memoranda for example) for mass distribution of critical ideas and platforms. With a mailing list that at times numbered 1,000 from across the United States, *Wassaja* reached an incredibly diverse public. Together the circulation of Montezuma's newsletter and the copied letters Bonnin sent out as the Secretary of SAI reflect the connection these activists made between the political power of epistolary work and the territory that magazines and journals occupied in the context of an expanding print culture market. Both these Indian intellectuals sent materials out to Indian people and white progressives. Both believed these audiences were eager to stay informed about efforts to reshape U.S. federal policy with regards to Indian Affairs.

In addition, since many issues of *Wassaja* showcased letters from readers, the paper itself became a critical site for public discussions by Indian people regarding national issues, such as policy and education, as well as more localized concerns, such as land rights and reservation management. In a typical issue, Montezuma might publish three to four letters from readers as well as his responses to previous letters. As an arena

for exchange *Wassaja* enabled Montezuma to strategically represent himself as an Indian intellectual with a desire to be seen as an Indian leader and facilitator, and a citizen. At the same time it honored different representations of Indianness by including a range of Indian voices. Within this forum one can see how Montezuma's project combined different ideas of Indianness with a shared goal of citizenship. He did this not to impose an essential Indian subjectivity, but rather to open the idea up for discussion in order to fight for citizenship, which he believed would allow for individual choices of how to be an Indian in America.

In addition to including articles by other Indian intellectuals and letters to the editor from across Indian Country, Montezuma used an array of genres and literary styles throughout the pages of *Wassaja*. By including prose and poetry as well as liturgy and parody, *Wassaja* spoke to the tastes of a broad range of readers and invited them to discuss *all* things Indian in whichever mode struck their fancy. Montezuma used political cartoons and allegories, parody and sarcasm as tools to make his criticism both clear and light-hearted so that his readers might better discern fact from fiction, and real Indians from the popular misrepresentations of them that figured so prominently in other public arenas.

One article, "Life, Liberty & Citizenship," offered a sentimental digest of the song "America," which served as a de facto national anthem for the United States before the adoption of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Montezuma's text invokes the opening lines of "My Country 'Tis of thee" to point out how "Let freedom ring" rings differently for the colonized subject. Indeed for him an analysis of this song produces a cultural space in which to chart the racialization of Indian people as different from white citizens. In fact,

when Montezuma and other Indians listens to this song it cannot be heard without sadness coming to mind. He writes, “It is sad and it often makes tears come to my eyes, because the song carries me to my people, to the wigwam, to the reservation, and I see my race enslaved by those who sing this song of liberty.” Here he criticizes those who sing this song of nationalism for embracing what can only be understood as spurious liberty for the Indian in America. For Montezuma the moment of listening becomes marked by apprehension because, “When I hear this song it makes my heart grow and I wonder if it is true.” Such wondering does not lead to wonderment but rather to the harsh reality that the song’s title cannot recognize how “‘My country-’ it was once.”³⁵

Montezuma’s article continues working through other stanzas in “America” to expand on how it is that this song brings him back to “the wigwam” and the space of the reservation to question the concept of liberty. He uses call and response to incite the reader to listen to the song, and to hear it as he does. “‘Land where my fathers died-’ that is true, but does ‘Freedom ring from every mountain side?’ – where are you and where am I as children of the real Americans?” In this passage, Montezuma points out the flaw in this song’s aim to define America as unified by the principles of liberty, despite a history of conquest where he notes “*my fathers died.*” He flips the genealogical logic of the founding moment of America created by white society by claiming Indian fathers as foundational figures rather than the “fathers” of Washington, Jefferson, and the like. The fathers of his relatives then become the “real Americans” who are missing from the song’s narrative about American freedom. Montezuma’s inversion supports his next claim, that this “Sweet land of liberty” is one in which Indian people “are not free; liberty

is not ours to enjoy.” Analyses and claims like this one appeared throughout other issues of *Wassaja*.³⁶

The denouement to “Life, Liberty & Citizenship” evokes the concept of liberty framed through the prism of Montezuma’s life as a young boy in Arizona. He engages his Indian readers more explicitly by shifting from first person singular “*I* remember the days when *I* was with my people in Arizona,” (emphasis mine) to first person plural:

We lived out in the open air on mother earth. We drank the water from the spring, we lived on nature’s provisions and killed game for meat. No one owned anything. There was no law. To us there was no such thing as time; we went where we pleased. No one disputed our claim. We all lived as one. That is liberty.

This moment enables Montezuma to recall the past in idyllic terms, especially given that U.S. “citizenship” would not have been an issue to confront given that “there was no law.” In this framing *real* liberty is neither produced out of American civilization (and we might surmise documents which authenticate that civilization, like the U.S. Constitution), nor celebrated by a national anthem. Instead, liberty is identified with a people and a place apart from the U.S., and one not yet claimed by the hegemonic practices of colonialism. Still, this conception of liberty is locked in the past. Montezuma, as a Christian, then calls out to God for help to re-establish the missing link between liberty and citizenship for Indian people. His call indicts the U.S. as a Christian nation, by noting that Native people are caught in the grasp of American nationalism, but ironically, not entitled to any of its benefits. He writes, “God help us to redeem our people by being free, by gaining our liberty and by being citizens.”³⁷ This call for redemption fits in with Christian teachings, and is not just symbolic, but also points to more material circumstances. Indeed, the act of redeeming can be one in which an individual (or a

group) seeks recovery of something that has been pawned or mortgaged. It can also refer to the payment of an obligation. In this latter case Montezuma implies that it is not *really* God so much as the U.S. government that must redeem Indian people, and by extension redeem the nation itself. His version aims to become the real National Anthem.

Other articles with themes and rhetoric that were similar to that of “Life, Liberty, and Citizenship” appeared in each issue of *Wassaja*. Despite the popularity of the newsletter and the power of its rhetoric, it was a costly enterprise for Montezuma to keep up. Each month he spent at least twenty dollars of his 200 dollar income to keep the newsletter in print. In 1922, he wrote to Richard Pratt complaining of the financial strain that *Wassaja* had taken on in his life. “I have to forego many things in order to get out the *Wassaja*. I want to take a rest in Arizona a month, but now I can see no way to do it. If I were wealthy I do not think I would think very much about my people, but being poor, my heart yearns for them.” So despite his status as a Chicago doctor and his penchant for wearing tuxedos for public talks, Montezuma did not consider him-self to be a wealthy man. At the same time, he chose to put out his newsletter and as a consequence he cut back on other material desires. Like Bonnin, he put much of his individual income towards activist work on behalf of *all* Indian people.³⁸

Looking more closely at Montezuma’s financial records for *Wassaja*, one finds both a collection of subscriber slips and sixteen pages of a mailing list. Although these records are not a complete accounting of Montezuma’s readership, the range of his newsletter’s circulation provides a window into the types of readers who paid for annual subscriptions, suggesting the range of publics *Wassaja* reached. For example, within these records Mr. William Bergen of Martin, South Dakota is listed as the earliest

subscriber from June 1916, and He Dog of the Rosebud Agency (also located in South Dakota) is listed as a subscriber for December of 1920, which was near the end of the newsletter's run. Within these four years, Montezuma's *Wassaja* fought a discursive battle against the Indian Bureau, called for widespread reform with regards to Indian citizenship, and celebrated the feats of Native American soldiers who fought in World War I.³⁹

With a subscription list at hand, it is well worth considering specific individual subscribers in order to assess *Wassaja's* influence and different circuits through which Montezuma was able to address a range of publics. These figures are not meant to be representative of entire groups or movements, but nevertheless, their race, geography, class, and gender differences suggest sites of possibility where Montezuma's ideas may have gained currency. Given the perspectives that different readers use to read, knowing a bit more about who subscribed to *Wassaja* implies particular ways in which Montezuma's ideas were understood. Looking at these readers one sees the ways in which literacy contributed to establishing and maintaining different types of regional and national Native communities.⁴⁰

Like Gertrude Bonnin, who commented that she “[w]as glad to refresh myself in reading the Wasaja,[sic]”⁴¹ Indian activists and intellectual leaders Henry Roe Cloud, Henry Standing Bear, and Charles Eastman (all founding members of SAI) subscribed to *Wassaja*. However, the vast majority of Indian people who subscribed were not necessarily personally familiar with Montezuma, nor is there much evidence to suggest they were active in national politics with regard to Indian issues. Yet, these are people who may have engaged in a discourse of pan-Indian activism through their reading of

Wassaja. Harvey Ashue, a member of the Yakima Indian Nation, who lived in Wapato, Washington (a town founded, in 1885, by Indian Postmaster Alexander McCredy), Moses Archambeau from Greenwood, South Dakota, and De Forest Antelope (of Watonga, Oklahoma) who was “a fine example of the educated, industrious and successful Indians” and a graduate of the Haskell Institute (1895), were all *Wassaja* subscribers from 1918 to 1919.⁴²

In addition to lesser known Indian men and women, there were also subscribers who stand apart from the figures already mentioned because of their unique circumstances. Two men in particular wielded different sorts of power within Indian Country and American history. The first is Jackson Barnett, a Creek from Henrietta, Oklahoma. He became known as the “Richest Indian” and an American folk figure due to the discovery of oil on his allotment in 1912. In 1920, Barnett married a white woman, and by 1923 he left Oklahoma to live in a mansion in Los Angeles, California. The second figure is Chief Plenty Coups (1848-1932), a Crow. Montezuma’s mailing list locates him in Pryor, Montana, which later, in 1996, became defined as a National Historical Landmark where visitors could see the Chief’s log house. Not far from “the Homestead of Chief Plenty Coups, one of the last and most celebrated traditional chiefs of the Crow Indians” is the Chief Plenty Coups Museum. More a political and cultural leader than a man of material wealth like Barnett, Plenty Coups was highly visible in American society. He became well-known for allying the Crow with whites out West against their traditional enemies, the Sioux and Cheyenne (who opposed white settlement of the area).⁴³

Plenty Coups came to the attention of other Indian people and the wider American public when he was eulogized, by Honorable Scott Leavitt of Montana, in the House of Representatives on Saturday, March 5 in 1932. Leavitt framed his remarks by noting it was “not customary” to announce the passing of a private citizen to the Congress “unless he has achieved distinction of the first order.” Leavitt spoke about his personal relationship with Plenty Coups and on “his history,” as written by Frank B. Linderman “a Montana author.” Leavitt celebrated and flattened the life of Plenty Coups in his eulogy by defining him as a product of Americanization, noting how he was “in truth a symbol of the absorption of the American Indian into the citizenship of the United States.” Both Montezuma and Plenty Coups were known for their ability to lead Indian communities and productively engage with white audiences, so clearly each of these men shaped a discourse of Indian citizenship.⁴⁴

Despite a large number of Native readers, non-Indian readers constitute the largest number of subscribers to *Wassaja*. From enthusiasts who collected “Indian things” to Indian agents working for the U.S. government, to vaudeville performers, business magnates, and Indian activists, a wide a range of white readers were interested in what Montezuma had to say about Indian Affairs. For example, a fellow-Chicagoan, Edward E. Ayer, the uncle of Elbridge Ayer Burbank who painted and sketched more than 1,200 Native Americans from 125 tribes, was a successful business magnate, museum benefactor and an avid antiquarian collector of books, original manuscripts and materials relating to the history and ethnology of Native American peoples. E.E. Ayer’s collection, one of the founding donations to the Newberry Library in Chicago, contains a number of

his nephew Elbridge's works, including the most complete collection of issues from *Wassaja*. Both Ayer and Burbank were enthusiastic collectors of Indian artifacts.

Another subscriber was John R. Brennan, who became affiliated with the Oglala Sioux Indian Reservation. Brennan came to the Black Hills in 1876, helped found Rapid City, South Dakota, and later was appointed Agent at Pine Ridge on November 1, 1900. He served in this post until July 1, 1917. According to Montezuma's records Brennan was a subscriber in 1919, but it is likely that he could have read *Wassaja* before and after this time. One might imagine a situation where an Indian agent like Brennan ended up reading polemical articles that sought to undermine his very existence, because of their calls to eliminate the Bureau of Indian Affairs altogether. Perhaps an even more unusual subscriber was Fannie Beane, from Wagner, South Dakota. She was one of the earliest comedienne of vaudeville, beginning her performance career in 1875. She married Charles Gilday in 1883, after which they often performed together. We might speculate that Beane's interest in *Wassaja* was connected to her life in Wagner, since there were many other subscribers from this town. Additionally, she may have subscribed because her performances were likely to involve some themes and events based on Indian stories.⁴⁵

Another *Wassaja* reader who was interested in representations of Indians and their history was Joseph K. Dixon (1856-1926). Dixon photographed American Indians between 1908 and 1923, on behalf of the Wanamaker Expedition sponsored by the department store of the same name. Today the Wanamaker Collection holds over 8000 images of individuals who represented over 150 tribes. Dixon was in charge of the "Educational Bureau" for his employer and sponsor, Rodman Wanamaker (the son and

partner of John Wanamaker who founded both the Philadelphia and New York stores). Dixon's interest in Montezuma's newsletter was partially motivated by a desire to market Indianness. In fact, Dixon worked with the Wanamaker store to sell "goods" (images, artifacts, recorded sounds) that "explorers" brought back from Indian country; such goods were part of elaborate displays and theatrical productions staged in both the Philadelphia and New York department stores, which capitalized on the myth of the Vanishing Indian. One such production narrated "A Romance of the Vanishing Race." In 1914, four years before he subscribed to *Wassaja*, Dixon succeeded in publishing a book (with illustrations by R. Wanamaker) titled: *The Vanishing Race*, published in New York by Double Day & Company.⁴⁶

One can imagine that Dixon read *Wassaja* with mixed feelings. On the one hand he may have liked the idea that this particular Indian intellectual sought to incorporate Indians into America as proper (capitalist) citizens, and on the other he may have worried about a loss of authenticity whereby the "Indianness" of Indians disappeared under the cloak of American citizenship. In actuality, Dixon and Montezuma were at odds in their goals: the former needed the large government apparatus of the Reservation System to better navigate among Indian people in search of *real* Indian things to sell, and the latter was committed to abolishing the Indian Bureau because he saw its mismanagement and mistreatment of Indian people as a perpetual problem. Citizenship and capitalism remained central issues in the newsletter, and were useful sites for engagements for a white businessman like Dixon, who aimed to market Indian things and to learn how to market *to* Indian people.

Another entrepreneur who read *Wassaja* was William Bishop, from Port Townsend in Northwest Washington. He was a logger and a capitalist who helped create the Northwest Federation of American Indians with his son Tom. The NFAI was organized in 1913 by landless tribes in Puget Sound to resolve their status as tribes and to assert their treaty rights. Thomas G. Bishop (d. 1923) of the Snohomish tribe was their first leader. After the Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855, tribes such as the Duwamish, Samish, Snoqualmie, and Snohomish did not remove to the assigned reservations but instead continued to live along the shore, lakes, and rivers in this area. They preserved their tribal identities despite the fact that the U. S. government declined to recognize them. Thus, we can see that Bishop was a *Wassaja* reader who was concerned by changes in policy affecting tribal nations in the Northwest, and who would have used the paper to promote the work of the NFAI in 1919.⁴⁷

Not an Indian, nor a performer, but certainly an entrepreneur, industrialist, and perhaps the most infamous of subscribers, was Henry Ford (1863-1947). He may have celebrated the self-publishing work of Montezuma because of his own recent venture in publishing *The Dearborn Independent*, which he had acquired in 1918. Ford also may have met Montezuma, who made frequent trips as lecturer to towns in Michigan that were near Ford's hometown of Dearborn. Without more to go on it is difficult to know for sure why Ford, or any other readers for that matter, subscribed to this paper and to know what they took away from it. Certainly the articles printed in *Wassaja* produced a marked increase in demand for Montezuma as a lecturer and writer in other arenas. Plus, the popularity and circulation of this newsletter expanded his already large volume of correspondence. In one letter Montezuma sent to Richard Pratt, he mentions that he has a

hundred letters before him and he intends to answer every one. This generated an epistolary culture that sat beside and in relation to Montezuma's newsletter. For example, by 1920, Montezuma received letters on a daily basis from Indian people located across the country. They were his readers. And he, as "Wassaja" (the editor) took on a sort of "Dear Abby" role within Indian Country using his newsletter. Within this forum Montezuma could listen to and address what his readers asserted in their letters. Many of them insisted on better living conditions, more educational and work opportunities, as well as a voice in how to shape the future of the Indian Bureau. As a cultural space where a diverse array of Native voices could be heard, *Wassaja* remained central to the work of Native reformers during Montezuma's lifetime.⁴⁸

Epistolary Production in relation to Print Culture

On average Montezuma received letters daily from reform groups like the Society of American Indians (SAI). Overall most of the letters he received were at least a page long, and it seems that he kept up with the onslaught by writing back within a day or two, which could mean that he received and sent upwards of 50 or more letters a year to each person who wrote to him. There are many letters of interest within Montezuma's personal archive. I have selected three Indian cultural producers with whom he corresponded, because they represent distinctive voices, geographical areas, and political positions. These examples showcase the significance of correspondence in shaping Montezuma's political work as well as that of other Indian intellectuals. Like Montezuma, Arthur C. Parker (Seneca, 1881-1955), John M. Oskison (1874-1947), and the artist Wa Wa Chaw (1883-1966) all succeeded in having their work published during the early decades of the

twentieth century. They also wrote letters regularly to Montezuma and were avid readers of *Wassaja*.

Parker was one of Montezuma's primary correspondents. In 1916, Parker published "The Civilizing Power of Language" in the *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*. This essay reflects many of the topics and concerns that Parker and Montezuma articulated throughout their extensive correspondence. Parker's text is a meditation on the role that language plays in culture and civilization. In particular, he argues that with the adoption of English as an inter-tribal language Indian people can adopt "a new mental vision and new grasp of the world." Parker's argument is a provocative one. In one sense he is writing against a scientific discourse that suggested Indians had not yet evolved the skills to properly speak English, while he revises this notion to suggest that Indian intellectuals who can navigate English have gained the skills necessary to be the best leaders. His article lists contemporaries (like Coolidge and Eastman) and individuals from earlier eras (like John Ross and Alexander Posey) as Indians who have bridged the gap between savagery and civilization.⁴⁹

According to Parker, language is the pre-eminent tool of culture and power. He writes, "The American Indian mind 'borrowing' an alien tongue uses it with all the power that civilization has given it. That [the] tongue of a 'civilized' people compels a thought expression and weave consistent with civilized ideals." By learning to speak and write in English, Indians can harness the power of American civilization, which is to be more civilized and more American. Parker emphasizes how learning enables language acquisition to function as the site where history, tradition, and culture can be accessed: "Used to its fullest extent it brings the native mind a hold on the literature, rhetoric,

history and science of the race that evolved the language.” At the same time, Parker remains carefully ambivalent about the hegemonic power of language and does not discount the possibility that an Indian’s prior knowledge may inflect the ways s/he learns English. “*But* woven in the understanding and in the thought fabric of the Indian is a thread and often *warp* all his own, lending an embellishment that is distinctive” (emphasis mine). Relying on the metaphor of sewing, Parker is able to refashion the trope of the warp. In many ways this article reflects the common ground that Parker and Montezuma shared with regards to how to work as Indian intellectuals within Indian Country and the U.S.⁵⁰

For example, when Parker implies that the ways Indian people think is distinctive (warped, but in a good way), and thus cannot be lost or overcome by the process of learning English he articulates a position that Montezuma’s *Wassaja* also presented. Parker marks learning itself as a fluid and mutable process, and therefore, it becomes possible that an Indian using English may add a “warp all his own” and may improve the language (and larger culture) by doing so. In many ways this was the primary goal of Montezuma’s correspondence. He used letters to comment on current events, and lead by example. When Parker suggests that “language is the outward expression of the thought life of a culture” and he pulls words from that language like “savagery,” “brutality,” “barbarism,” “civilization,” “education,” and “reason” to say these are “but ways of thinking,” his logic balances two important notions. One is that language (as a tool of culture) can be used to educate and uplift an individual, and the other is that the best representatives of “the Red race” will become “active forces in civilization” through the eloquence and logic of their English. I point out Parker’s argument, and the way he

makes it, because this point of view was often represented by Montezuma in his letters (and speeches) to other Indian intellectuals. He truly believed that they needed to be bold, eloquent, and logical in their use of English to make arguments about their place in the world.

Additionally, the “hidden transcript” in Parker’s message suggests that English can represent the dominant culture and practices of oppression, and yet can still be adopted and actualized to the benefit of those who seek to disrupt, overcome, or resist that dominant culture. In fact, he argues that a special position of power may be occupied by the Indian speaker of English when he writes, “No Roman orator ever spoke with such vigor, no senator of our Congress ever clothed his speech with greater beauty than the orators and writers of the Red race who spoke or wrote in English.” The direct comparison to the Roman orator and the U.S. Senator enables Parker to position the power of “orators and writers of the Red race” in the context of American culture as well as above it. Montezuma agreed with this sentiment and to some extent so would John Oskison.⁵¹

Oskison was a Cherokee and political ally and fellow writer. Born near Tahlequah (part of the Cherokee Nation West) as the son of John Oskison, an English immigrant, and Rachel Connor Crittenden, a part-Cherokee, he went to Willie Halsell College along with his friend Will Rogers. Oskison graduated in 1894, and then went to Stanford University, where he received a B.A. in 1898. A year later, while he pursued graduate work in English at Harvard, Oskison won a writing contest sponsored by *Century Magazine*, which marked the beginning of his career as a professional writer. Between 1897 and 1925 he published at least twenty stories, many of which circulated in popular

American magazines, such as *Frank Leslie's Monthly*, *McClure's* and *Collier's*. Oskison frequently wrote about contemporary Indian affairs. Between 1906 and 1912, he worked as an editor for the *Ossining* (New York), *The Citizen*, the *New York Evening Post*, and as an associate editor for *Collier's Weekly*. He also joined the Temporary Executive Committee of the American Indian Association in 1911, and later played an active role in the SAI. Montezuma received several letters from Oskison while he worked for *Collier's*. The tone of these letters is friendly and familiar, and the content is often political. Before Oskison turned to writing novels he published an essay that reflected the ideals he and Montezuma shared on the topic of race leadership.

Oskison's "The New Indian Leadership," in 1917, focused on language and the rise of Indian leaders. Unlike Parker, Oskison's text finds the utterance of English to be "halting" when "you realize that you are listening to an alien whose tongue fumbles the language." He also dramatizes the problem of Indian leadership during this period, an issue that consistently occupied the pages of *Wassaja* and many of Montezuma's letters. In one passage Oskison reflects on the interplay between different generations of Indian people as centered around the use of different languages, at an Indian meeting where "the old Indians [were] giving up their ceremonial pipes and their right to speak the first word, and the younger people, equipped with the white man's language and instructed in his ways, [were] reaching forward timidly and awkwardly for the leadership." For Oskison, the young people "equipped" with English use it for utilitarian purposes, rather than for uplift as suggested by Parker and Montezuma. Oskison describes an "unsmiling interpreter" as a young graduate of Carlisle who, "with arms straight down at his sides," has a face that is "mask-like" when he speaks. The role of the interpreter suggests that a

loss of understanding separates these two generations. A young man cannot understand the old Chief without a translator, and the older generation cannot understand the desire of these young people to speak English. Despite this distance, Oskison imbues the scene of translation with emotional power, “Even through the colorless rendering of the young interpreter, the old man’s words get you by the throat, and you wonder at a power of self-control which permits of quiet talk of the day when he shall have ‘passed over the border,’ leaving a great weight of trouble for his people behind.” We cannot know exactly what is left behind when one generation dies and another takes over, but the ambiguity that Oskison implies is critical to the meeting’s location on a reservation and the need for an interpreter to help connect the older and younger generations. Given that *Wassaja* was printed in English, and that Montezuma only wrote letters in English, it seems likely that he saw himself as part of this new generation of Indian leaders and they were his intended audience.

Oskison’s emphasis on loss in this same essay departs from the ideas of Parker and Montezuma since both promoted the path of education in English (and white politics and culture) as integral to the future of Indian people. At the same time, Oskison’s work is very much in dialogue with Montezuma’s published work, the forum he created with his newsletter *Wassaja*, and many of the ideas he expresses in his personal letters. In particular, the explicit ways that Oskison challenges the U.S. federal government and his call for new leaders among Indian people are akin to the messages that Montezuma was able to convey to many of his correspondents. He continually wrote to other Native people about the need to increase the number of “leading Indians” among them, and

noted that this must happen if they ever wanted to put an end to the abuses of the Indian Office and the Reservation system.⁵²

Like Parker and Oskison, Wa-Wa Chaw was a consistent supporter of *Wassaja* and, as an artist and activist in her own right, another important interlocutor for Montezuma. Considering the tone and length of her letters, she was also a dedicated friend. Additionally, as a fundraiser for his magazine, she planned many of Montezuma's campaigns and spoke out for the needs he represented. Born in Valley Center, California in 1883, Wa-Wa Chaw was given by her Luiseno mother to Miss Mary Duggan of New York City, who had been traveling nearby at the time of Wa-Wa's birth. Duggan returned with the young girl to New York where she raised Wa-Wa Chaw with the help of her brother, Dr. Cornelius Duggan. Wa-Wa Chaw developed artistic talents at an early age by doing medical sketches for Dr. Duggan. Later, she painted huge canvases in oil, some of which depicted subjects related to the social problems she observed. Wa-Wa Chaw became an advocate for Indian and feminist causes and was well known for her social writings as well as her art. She married Puerto Rican Manuel Carmonia-Nunez (a businessman who was also active in the Cigar Worker's Union). She died in May of 1966, at the age of 83, in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of New York City.⁵³

During the 1920s, Wa-Wa Chaw published poetry and other writings in the *Magazine of the Mission Indian Federation*, based in Riverside, California. This monthly magazine's slogan was "Loyalty and Cooperation with Our Government." The front-piece for the September 1922 issue featured a poem by Wa-Wa Chaw titled: "Haunted Brains." The message of "haunted brains" reappears in every stanza and reminds the reader that Indians, whether alive or dead, have "no rest" because they have "haunted

brains.” Wa-Wa Chaw’s haunting refers to the “mysteries of unknown plans” that may visit “during the night.” Inside the magazine, readers gained further insight into what these “unknown plans” could be by reading an article by “Grizzly Bear.” He points out that in California Indians are forced onto small reservations: “not by treaty but by simple agreement.” These tenuous agreements could certainly haunt one’s brain, among other things. Like *Wassaja*, many issues of this magazine focused on the future of Indian people (in California) regarding land and treaty rights, some featured poems by Wa-Wa Chaw. One poem, titled “Courage,” represents the federation’s aims and Wa-Wa Chaw’s politics:

Joyful through hope your motto still be
“Human Rights and Home Rule.”
What glories will Mission Indian Federa
tion unfold to you.
Be of good mind, and cheer—take courage.

Like the writings inside the magazine, Wa-Wa Chaw’s poem reminds readers that “human rights and home rule” are intimately linked. In this sense, California Indians were fighting not only for suffrage but also for sovereignty, and one might then speculate that readers of this magazine could have been *Wassaja* readers, and vice-versa. Copies of several issues among Montezuma’s personal papers suggest he was one such reader. In fact, the September 1922 issue featured an article by Carlos Montezuma about the “Evils of Indian Bureau System.” The next issue (October 1922) printed another article on “Indian Bureau Economy” where he argued that the “Indian Bureau philanthropy is an economical farce.” Montezuma’s articles in the *Magazine of the Mission Indian Federation* expressed political views that he and Wa-Wa Chaw agreed upon, which were how to preserve “human rights and home rule” for Indian people. Indeed they wrote

frequently to each other about such topics, and in many cases, the letters themselves operated as material ways to organize the cultural production of Indian intellectuals as part of a broad network of reform work.⁵⁴

Letters of Tactical Interest

On December 10th, 1916, while living in Fort Duchesne, Utah, Gertrude Bonnin wrote to Carlos Montezuma regarding their shared work as members of the Society of American Indians. “I know you are doing all in your power to help our race. It saddens me, that in our earnestness for a cause, we do not take time to study our various views and to manage some way to unite our forces. All Indians must ultimately stand in a united body, for their own protection.” In these three sentences Bonnin affirms a shared mission to continue the “earnestness” of their cause to fight for citizenship and reflects on the difficulties of pan-tribal organizing. By 1916 an increasing number of influential and highly educated Indians saw themselves as responsible for leading not only their specific Tribal Nations but *all* Indians, as one unified race.⁵⁵

Bonnin confirms the stakes of their representational politics when she writes further, “You are right about Indians standing together, for the best interests of our race. We must work this year as we have never worked before...I am glad you have your *Wassaja* for October ready. You are wise to be very cautious. Every step must be sure. Wisdom can never be too wise.” Caution and care remained critical components of the work that Montezuma, Bonnin, and other Indian intellectuals produced: articles, pamphlets, conferences, and public lectures that educated the American public about the wrongs suffered by Indians, in the past and present. At the same time, her reference to

caution and the notion that “wisdom can never be too wise” represents an awareness of the fine line separating an individual’s presentation and the tactics to use while working as an advocate for a larger pan-Indian body.⁵⁶

A critical aspect of promoting and maintaining pan-Indian organizations, like the SAI, was continuous communication among members. Using letters and circulars, individual organizers reached out to each other and new members, as well as like-minded organizations and publications. This type of circulation suggests the important link that activists made between correspondence and the fight for citizenship. Bonnin confirms this when she writes to Montezuma in October of 1918, “I am glad you wrote to assure The Tomahawk of our good will toward their interests.” Here she refers to the Tomahawk Publishing Company, which was run by the Minnesota Chippewas. From 1918 until 1926, *The Tomahawk* published articles about Indian citizenship, the administration of Indian affairs, and, in particular, writings about issues related to Chippewa natural resources.⁵⁷ It also published material related to SAI and the Tipi Order of America, plus letters, articles, and poems by Chippewa writers, like Theo. H. Beaulieu, and other Indians, such as Leta V. Smart, along with pieces by Montezuma and Bonnin.⁵⁸

Montezuma wrote regularly to white reformers who committed their time and money in support of Indian causes. A small handwritten note, perhaps a rough draft of a letter, from Montezuma is addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley at Mohonk Lake, New York. In it, Montezuma makes plain why he is unable to present at the upcoming Lake Mohonk Conference. “As one of the members of the Society of American Indians I am forced by previous arrangement to forego the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation to present...” Despite strong ties that were often established and maintained

through extensive letter-writing, we can locate throughout Montezuma's correspondence traces where he must pull back from certain networks. The "Mohonk Conference" had long been established by Smiley as a space where white, often elite, northeastern progressives could come together to share strategies of "uplift" for the less fortunate races. Since the 1880s, this Conference would often address the so-called "Indian Question." Contemporary to such a conference were other discussions, events, and conflicts that reflected how the "Negro" and "Oriental" questions were being addressed within American society. Perhaps Montezuma's choice to forego attending the conference represents a shift in strategy towards more independence from the white progressive movement.⁵⁹

In fact, in 1918, Montezuma received a letter that was emblematic of the tense relationship that had been established between Indian intellectual leaders and white progressives. Sent from Joseph K. Dixon on behalf of the "National American Indian Memorial Association," this letter called on "every Indian" to manifest "a spirit of patriotism." In it, Dixon asks Montezuma to sign "The Patriotic Sentiment of the Indian" and he defines "patriotism" in Indianized terms in the hopes of obtaining this signature.

In olden times warriors would go out and fight for their women, their children, their Tepees and their horses when attacked by the warriors of other tribes...The warrior risked his life in defending the women, the children, the home and common property of the tribe was 'patriotic', and the women who urged the warrior to fight was 'patriotic'.

Dixon links this allegorical scene to the present situation (however fraught the connection) by calling attention to national security. His letter asks if Montezuma would dare not defend the U.S. as a nation defined "along the Mexican borders, the Canadian borders, the Pacific Coast or the Atlantic Coast" or "an invasion of your tribe or your

reservation.” No doubt Montezuma would have read this letter with a great deal of skepticism. At the moment when Dixon was writing, “The land is one, and the protecting laws are for all, white people, Indians and negroes,” full citizenship was still largely unavailable to Indian people. At this time living conditions on reservations were regularly “invaded” by federal bureaucrats who seemed unable or unwilling to improve basic necessities. Where Montezuma *may* have agreed with Dixon’s letter was concerning the idea of rewarding “rights” to Indians who joined the cavalry to fight for the U.S. military. Dixon assures Montezuma that the Wanamaker expedition was sent out “carrying the flag to all the tribes” and *not* to raise money for the Wanamaker department store, but rather to bring “freedom and prosperity to the Indian.” Dixon’s claim here aims to convince Montezuma to sign in support of “The Patriotic Sentiment of the Indian,” and to convince others to sign as well.⁶⁰

Moreover, Dixon’s letter identifies Montezuma as among the leading Indians of his day, when he asks him to “call a Council of your leading men, young and old, and read this Argument to them...Ask them to consider it carefully and then ask them to sign it by pen or thumb print, securing as many names as you can.” Still, Montezuma remained skeptical of the work done by Indian enthusiasts like Dixon. He questioned the motives behind their philanthropic endeavors. Thus, when Dixon asks Montezuma to “Tell all my Indian friends very frankly that the signing of this document does not mean that they are enlisted...but that it will be an expression to the country of your feelings and...your loyalty to the Government,” we can guess that Montezuma would have raised an eyebrow in suspicion, and perhaps have written a response that asked: to which Indian *friends* do you refer Mr. Dixon?⁶¹

Like other activists, Montezuma used letters as a private forum in which to explain the motives behind the opinions he expressed in more public venues. In 1921, he wrote to Edward Janney, a fellow doctor, regarding his “Indian work.” He took this opportunity to comment on why he continued to attack the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He also drew an unusual parallel between the Freedmen’s Bureau (established in 1865 through the War Department to undertake post-Civil War relief programs and social reconstruction for freed people) and the BIA.

You ask, why I want the Indian Bureau abolished. To give the Indians their freedom and citizenship. Just for the same reason that the Freedmen Bureau was abolished. That one act was the salvation of the Negro race. There is just as much hope in the destiny of the Indians, after the abolishment of the Indian Bureau, as there was with the black people. Today the colored people challenge the world in their progress.⁶²

Despite the fact that the Freedmen Bureau was responsible for and largely successful in providing assistance to tens of thousands of former slaves and impoverished whites in the Southern States and the District of Columbia after the Civil War, Montezuma’s parallel offers an implicit critique of Reconstruction in the U.S. At the same time, he suggests that despite any failures in the system to assist African-Americans in achieving full citizenship during this period, the moment in which he lives is one where “colored people challenge the world in their progress.”

A private missive like this does important dialogic work for Montezuma, given the ideas he presented in published writings and political speeches. Although Montezuma wrote frequently in the public about his stance against the BIA, his private letters often reflect on oppression as a shared experience among people of color. Given too that a letter, unlike a newspaper article (although readers sometimes wrote reactions to the

editor), is designed with two-way communication in mind, Montezuma's exchanges give one insight into topics that he was thinking through, and which he may have considered important for inclusion *or* strategic exclusion from his public writings. Montezuma exchanged letters with fellow writers and journalists as well as other Indian activists and white allies. In these instances we can locate how Montezuma's work influenced others.

Throughout the second decade of the twentieth-century, Montezuma corresponded with the southern journalist Helen Gilkison, whose pen-name was Helen Grey (1909-1948). According to one biographer, Grey's career as a female journalist during the 1920s into the 1940s "fell outside the social norm, for women in general, but remained firmly within the expectations for a female journalist." And, Grey "wrote with a particular voice, or better, two particular voices. One was strictly informational; the second was chatty and accessible to her reader. These voices were a bridge between the reader and the political world." These two types of voices emerge within the letters that Grey sent to Montezuma about her concerns regarding Indian affairs.⁶³

Grey's many letters to Montezuma address him as both a friend and political ally. She often uses turns of phrase that she may have read in *Wassaja*. In one letter she discursively aligns herself with Montezuma by posing a rhetorical question, "Why in the world is an Indian different from any other human being?" They did share similar struggles as journalists, since both were striving to publish politically charged articles that aimed to educate and incite Americans to action. Grey concludes another letter by affirming this shared purpose, and strikes a less cautious tone than that used by Bonnin. She writes, "We have only now to keep watching and hit hard every time an opportunity offers..." Although Grey worked primarily in Louisiana, her writing exposed corruption

and injustices suffered by Indian people at the hands of the U.S. government throughout the Southwest and Northwest, and her letters to Montezuma often asked for his help in these matters.⁶⁴

One particular moment links Grey's efforts with those of the Crow and Plenty Coups. In "Congressional Hearings: Neglected Sources of Information on American Indians" Robert Staley uses the Crow as an illustrative case study. He notes that, beginning in 1908 and ending in 1920, the Crow sent several delegations to present at hearings in Washington D.C. in regard to living conditions on the Crow Reservation. "The delegations included both traditional leaders like Plenty Coups as well as representatives of a new generation of educated Crows. Allied with the delegation were the Indian Rights Association, the Washington law firm of Kappler and Merillat, and Helen Grey, a journalist who prompted a separate investigation into conditions on the Crow Reservation." A letter from 1910, sent by Richard Pratt to Montezuma, fills in the picture further by showing the extent to which Montezuma was aware of Grey's work on behalf of the Crow. Pratt writes, "Mrs. Gray's efforts have probably done more than anything else to stop a grave wrong against the Crow people."⁶⁵

Having now already glimpsed into the friendship and political alliance that Richard Pratt and Carlos Montezuma built over a twenty-five year period through a series of written exchanges, one sees the themes of these letters reflecting growing concerns regarding the future of the Carlisle school, and broader campaigns for justice. Additionally, many letters showcase Montezuma's desire to dissolve the reservation system and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Sprinkled throughout their correspondence, too, are personal missives and friendly turns of phrase. Looking more closely at some key

passages reveals the complexity of this relationship and the centrality of correspondence both in Montezuma's political career and as a tool for reconstructing the networks of possibility that Indian intellectuals navigated through their letters.⁶⁶

As early as February 7th, 1899 Pratt wrote to Montezuma about the death of their mutual friend, Chief Simon Pokagon. He also referred to *Queen of the Woods* that Pokagon had written and which was published shortly after his death. Pratt notes, "You can count on me to take a dozen copies of his book to begin with." His letter also highlights an emerging network of Indian intellectuals as critical to the success of Carlisle and the cause of Indian citizenship. The latter depended on the legibility of accomplished Indians as examples for the American public. Pratt's letter makes clear that he considered Montezuma to be one of these figures. Pratt used books, like the one by Pokagon, as one example of what an educated Indian might achieve and as a tool that could inform other Americans. This letter urged Montezuma to visit Carlisle for Commencement, and in this instance Montezuma could be used as physical proof for the school's recent graduates of just what an accomplished Indian could do for himself and for his race.⁶⁷

In September of that same year, Pratt wrote again about the topic of accomplished Indians and referred to Montezuma's emerging role as a leader. In this letter, one can see that affiliation, along with self-presentation and careful use of rhetoric, were key strategies used by Indian intellectuals as political activists and leaders. Pratt writes, "Every Indian that can separate himself from the crowd and get out among the people in any way, moves in the right direction. I am glad to know that you will stand by [Frank] and get your friends in Urbana and Champaign to do so." Frank was a young man who

Pratt sent to the University of Illinois by way of Chicago. While working in Chicago, Montezuma often assisted his fellow Indians with a place to stay or an introduction to important people and places. Pratt helped to nurture this type of networking, as he sent additional money for room, board, and transportation to Montezuma. In this letter, and many others, material concerns aligned with philosophical issues. The two would come to a head for Montezuma in different ways when it came to public presentations, and the different ways in which Indian people engaged with a politics of performativity.

In many ways, Montezuma's representational politics were further tested when he was asked to give public lectures to white groups, as a member of the Indian race. The following section asks how and in what particular circumstances might Montezuma's public performances have been similar to and divergent from those of other native performers and Indian intellectuals during the early twentieth century period? And what are some important conclusions that we might draw from these similarities and differences?⁶⁸

Act I: "To those who are familiar with his history, what a flood of memories are awakened and what thoughts attend at sight or mention of the word Indian."⁶⁹

Montezuma's comment regarding the "thoughts" that "attend at the sight or mention of the word Indian" could very well have referred to how white audiences reacted in 1883 when Sioux performers were featured in P.T. Barnum's "Ethnological Congress of Strange and Savage Tribes." These performers were not alone as representatives from dispossessed colonial frontiers. By this time people who were defined as indigenous to a place (by those not from that same place) had become a commodity, which showmen like Barnum and R.A. Cunningham (who recruited people

to participate in Barnum's displays) could appropriate and exploit for what they deemed educational or spectacular ends. When these Sioux men were joined by people from the Zulu, Nubians, and Toda, the effect compressed geographic space and historical time. As Roslyn Poignant has pointed out, as native people lost their agency indigeneity itself was made captive while late nineteenth century discourse linked the conception of a colonial frontier to metropolitan centers in Europe and North America. Native people themselves, and imaginings about nativeness, became enmeshed in systems of popular entertainment and education involving display and performance.⁷⁰

The aboriginal travelers from the North Queensland frontier who became performers for P.T. Barnum operated within discourses that were informed by both textual and pictorial representations of the indigenous as Other. How, one might ask, did Carlos Montezuma engage these discourses in his writing and speeches? And how did he manifest them in the "show-spaces" in which his texts were read and his speeches were heard?⁷¹ Native American studies scholars have taken a range of historical and theoretical approaches to such questions, which cut to the heart of the issue of self-representation in the context of the fraught and unequal relations between Indians and white Americans. Performance—a particularly powerful and vexed form of self-representation—functions as both a practice and a discursive formation. Therefore, rather than focusing on performance spectacles created by Barnum or Buffalo Bill Cody, (both of which required an "Indian play" that horrified Montezuma), we might look instead to the broader context of "Indianness" and to other kinds of texts—less showy, perhaps, but equally performative.⁷²

By the early decades of the twentieth century, Indian people had in large part been separated from Indianness in the sense that a series of powerful literary and visual representations had taken root in the minds of many Americans and materialized on the bookshelves of schoolhouses and public libraries. Many of these narratives date to the colonial period, although still more became popular during the nineteenth century. At the height of Montezuma's career as a writer and lecturer, he found himself working in the context of an "Indian Craze" that Elizabeth Hutchinson dates from 1890 to 1915.⁷³

During these years Native American baskets, blankets, and bowls could be purchased from department stores, as well as "Indian stores," dealers, and the U.S. government's Indian schools. At the same time, there was widespread enthusiasm for collecting Native American art and sponsoring exhibits that used indigenous handicrafts as models for non-Native artists interested in exploring formal abstraction and emerging notions of artistic subjectivity. Hutchinson argues that this Indian craze succeeded in influencing policymakers that art was a critical aspect of "traditional" Native culture worth preserving. The notion of traditional Indian art became intertwined with a discourse of authenticity that compressed Indian people into a particular time (the past) and space (the West). This practice paralleled how Barnum's ethnological display flattened out the complexity of indigenous experience when distinct aboriginal people were grouped together under the derogatory category of "savagery."⁷⁴

Aspects of these arts and culture activities were also performative, and this troubled Montezuma. For him the problem with both show performances and the preservation of Indian Arts and Crafts lay in the possibility that these activities would continue to trap Native people in particular times and spaces. The irony of the Indian

craze for Montezuma was that although he condemned such performances he was in fact performing all types of positions himself that drew on similar expectations for authenticity defined through Indian embodiment.

Although many Indian people themselves contributed to the Indian craze as producers and consumers of art, there were still others, like Montezuma, who felt the discourse of authenticity surrounding this moment undermined the possibility that Native people be viewed as thoroughly modern citizens of the United States. In this sense, Montezuma is a useful example of an Indian intellectual who condemned the popular entertainments that exploited Indian performers and an Indian art movement that relied on nostalgic representations of Indianness, while he promoted a political position based on the definition of Indian people as *one* race. Montezuma's views contrast with how many progressive whites and Indians supported the preservation of Indian culture. They believed such preservation could positively influence the American public and lead to widespread political reform in Indian Affairs. Montezuma thought the best way to "awaken the public" about "the real condition and workings that are debasing and not improving" life for Indians would be through lectures.⁷⁵

Act II: The Lecture Platform not the Show Indian

During his lifetime Montezuma delivered many lectures on Indian affairs, Indian history, and his own life. As we have seen he began lecturing as early as 1888 while a medical student, and he continued to book engagements (at least upwards of three times a year) until his death in 1923. Although he spoke in front of almost all Indian audiences at National meetings for the SAI and would travel out of Chicago to talk to local Church groups and women's organizations in Michigan and other Midwestern states, he was

most successful at booking local venues sponsored by Chicago businessmen and reform groups. The impact of Montezuma's oratory laid both in the moment of presentation itself and (for many cases) afterwards when he published and even reprinted his speeches.

Read in the context of a contemporary, such as Charles Eastman, Montezuma's participation in a public performance of Indianness eschewed the use of "costuming," in a way that Eastman did not. Montezuma understood that an Indian speaker's authority was linked to a particular image of the Indian body and through it the idea of ethnic authenticity, yet his response to this paradoxical connection was to wear Western clothes in the hope of distinguishing his performance from those by "show" Indians.

So for Montezuma clothing was important for his self-presentation as much as the re-circulation of his speeches as printed documents. For example, in 1915 he delivered a speech, "Let My People Go," in Lawrence, Kansas for the Society of American Indians' Conference, which was later published in *The American Indian Magazine* (Jan-Mar 1916, Vol. 4, no. 1), and then reprinted in various newspapers. This text was also read during the first session of the Sixty-Fourth Congress in 1916, and included in the Congressional Record. Later editions of *Wassaja* depict Montezuma on the front page holding up this pamphlet in one hand and pointing to the Statue of Liberty with the other. In these ways "Let My People Go" expanded past its original performance moment and came to embody the power of his representational politics. Furthermore, in this expansion one can see that although Montezuma did not rely on Indian dress as a performance tactic he did harness another aspect of performativity, which was the strategic use of rhetoric.⁷⁶

"Let My People Go" begins with a rhetorical flourish: "From time immemorial, in the beginning of man's history, there come echoes and re-echoes of pleas that are deeper

than life.” The use of “re-echoes” here is suggestive. Montezuma’s speech merged the genre of sermon with that of political treatise. “Re-echoes” represent the softer and perhaps more subtle reiteration that Montezuma sees as necessary for showing a long history of “man’s inhumanity to man.” This ethical narrative is central to how he frames the oppression of Indian people at the hands of European imperialists and American colonizers. The relation of one inhumanity to the next and conversely the relation of one claim for justice to those that have come before an original claim is made can be heard through echoes, and heard again through “re-echoes.” His aim is to connect this oppression to a larger history that transcends the time and space of the United States. This technique enables him to engage with the ethics of progressive Christian uplift and at the same time invoke a universalism defined by cultural pluralism, which had begun to challenge race and class subjectivities that many people defined by biology.

Montezuma’s message in “Let My People Go” quickly shifts from the more abstract idea of “re-echoes” to argue that the SAI must do more than present papers, hear discussions, and shake hands each year. He moves to a material claim, which is to critically engage the faults inherent in the Indian Bureau.⁷⁷ When he refers to “the bloody and gloomy days of Indian history” he uses the moment of his speech, 1915, as one of opportunity. He reminds his audience that in the past “public sentiment was against the Indians” since people believed Indians “could not be civilized,” nor could they be educated, because “they were somewhat like human beings, but not quite within the line of human rights.” In 1915 this is no longer true. Moreover, like other Christian Indian political activists of this period, Montezuma criticizes this earlier period as devoid of spiritual influence, because “the only hope was to let the bullets do the work, cover up the

bloody deeds and say no more” since “God and humanity were forgotten.” He relies on the faults of this past to distinguish himself—and his peers—as different and therefore empowered to do more for their people in the present.⁷⁸

For members of SAI, who were the first to hear his speech, this was a turning point in political activism among Indians from different tribes throughout the United States. A critical tool used by SAI members and represented in Montezuma’s speech was the privileging of “Indian” as a racial category over that of tribal difference. Montezuma shores up his use of this term by again making a reference to the past: “Patient, silent and distant the Indian race has been these many years.” By noting that “the Indian race” had been silent and distant *before* this historical moment, he can then suggest that the “Indian race” is now at an important crossroads in its development.

Montezuma’s strategic use of *Indian* as an essentialist concept aims to highlight the founding objective of SAI as a pan-tribal Indian organization. Both his titular nod to “My” people and comments throughout that make continuous reference to Indians as one “people” work to unify Indian people against the larger white “civilization” that they must fight. He urges his audience to see that “Our position as a race and our rights must not be questioned...there is only one object for this Society of Indians to work for, namely-‘Freedom for our people.’” Although this strategy elides tribal distinctions and the issue of sovereignty for tribal nations, Montezuma still aims to address the system of paternalism used by the U.S. government to deal with tribes. Within this context *Indian* can be problematic as a monolithic and a-historical term, but also useful for bringing together distinct indigenous peoples into one group in order to guarantee citizenship for *all* Native people. Additionally, with his call for freedom, this speech suggests a lateral

connection to W.E.B. Du Bois and the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In this other context the language of race, performed by black orators, is mapped onto the performance of Indian speakers, like Montezuma, for other purposes.⁷⁹

According to Montezuma, another benefit of relying on the category of Indian to define people into one racial group is “to tackle prejudice.” He suggests that this begins by playing “the same card [sic] as the other fellow.” This process begins by eliminating “Indian Everything” and the perpetuation of misrepresentations of Indianness.⁸⁰ Montezuma recognizes that in order to put an end to these misrepresentations, Indian people will still need to engage with an American society that sees them as “Indians” first and citizens second. He expresses a careful ambivalence regarding how members of SAI might strike a balance between becoming part of American society while maintaining their cultural positions as Indians when he writes, “Push forward as one of them, be congenial and be in harmony with your environments and make yourselves feel at home as one of the units in the big family of America. Make good, deliver the goods and convince the world by your character that the Indians are not as they have been misrepresented to be.” This was a fraught strategy for many Indian intellectuals who made efforts to incorporate themselves into different parts of American society. Gertrude Bonnin, for example, in many of her autobiographical writings, expresses the struggle she encountered as an Indian woman who traveled throughout elite circles of white society. Luther Standing Bear’s writings recall his first experiences with white culture, new technologies, school, and work with a mixture of excitement and fear. Indeed his individual life was necessarily performative, in that he could not escape white discourse.

He had to perform it in order to be legible, which sometimes meant wearing regalia. For Montezuma performativity was linked more to the politics of uplift and civilization. In each case, no matter how an Indian intellectual presented him or herself there was an ideology to contend with and through which to frame their lives for a white audience.⁸¹



Montezuma continued to struggle with the concept of Indian as a racial category and a discursive form in his speeches and his writings. In “What it is to be an Indian” produced around April 15th, 1921, he engages with “Indian” for rhetorical effect and as an object of analysis. Montezuma represents Indianness in the abstract and how it has changed over time. He begins by referencing a distant and shared past, akin to “Let My

People Go,” when he writes that “the earth’s surface” was a “wilderness prolific in all that marks the absence of civilization,” where “an Indian” lived in an “untutored way, lived and loved another race of beings.” Montezuma also refers to the moment when Columbus came and mistakenly named “these naked natives, Indians,” and therefore, draws on a moment that other Indian writers, like Simon Pokagon and Charles Eastman, used in their own work. This beginning enables his narrative to focus on the fraught origins of the term Indian in ways that would have been familiar to his Indian and non-Indian readers.⁸² **(figure 2.1 Montezuma Portrait circa 1915)**

This essay does more than replay the Columbus story when Montezuma inserts himself into the text by directly addressing his audience. He writes, “For example, who in this audience tonight has looked at me without having the thought ‘Indian’ in mind?” This shift compels Montezuma’s listeners to recognize the present rather than the past of Indian people. His readers can then consider how what “it [was] to be an Indian” confirmed or denied their expectations. Unlike Simon Pokagon, Charles Eastman, and Gertrude Bonnin, Montezuma did *not* dress in “Indian costume” for any of his public lectures. Instead he often wore fashionable tuxedo jackets.

This type of formal wear was another type of costume; one that in many ways embodied upper-class white mobility and Americanness. By wearing a “costume” that conformed less to expectations regarding Indianness and was more consistent with white expectations for elite style, Montezuma performed a revised articulation of Indian subjectivity. Although he wore a tuxedo, in these moments of “dress up” he separated himself from other Indian intellectuals who wore some sort of “Indian costume.” Despite his dress, Montezuma’s speech recognizes the other ways in which his audience *still* cannot see him without having “Indian in mind.” Clearly he’s performing a different narrative, with its own pitfalls and kinds of efficacy given that he is still Indian.⁸³

Montezuma follows this question about appearance and identity with an important, if ambiguous, statement regarding his self-presentation, which is akin to Du Bois’ notion of double-consciousness. “I have the appearance of the life as we have divided it for the purposes of this occasion.” The “we” in this sentence bears a heavy burden. Given that addresses like these were intended for diverse audience, the “we-ness” being invoked can refer to a shared Indian history or the “we-ness” of American society.

Or perhaps Montezuma aimed to have the “we” and “this occasion” taken together to bridge the different histories of his Indian and American audience members. The reference to “division” also lends an opaque quality to this statement given that both Indians and white Americans had (in their writings, speeches, performances, and other arenas) imagined a divide between the “untutored” Indian of the past and the “civilized” Indian of the present. For Montezuma the concept of division was embodied in the figure of the educated Indian, since he saw himself as a representative case study as one who had been “part of” an Indian community, but now lived as a member of Chicago society as a modern Indian man.⁸⁴

Montezuma’s speech continues to focus on division to explicate how Indians have been divided into two categories. He defines one as “The Columbus Indian,” who was “highly endowed, first of all with a sense of appreciation of kindness manifested toward him” and who was “without any of those highly developed vicious traits and habits which mankind acquire in civilized life as a result of the competition which naturally grows out of the close relations the individuals sustained to one another in the social state as the communities became thickly populated.” Montezuma defines the second category of Indian in terms of decline: “it is necessary to consider how little at this time he had advanced intellectually beyond that of a child.” During the post-contact period, Montezuma argues, Indians could only be understood in terms of their relation to “the civilized pale face,” and in this context to be an Indian was to be “that of a child.”⁸⁵

His text further highlights the hierarchical relation between white and Indian peoples in describing the “meeting point, between the North American Indian” and the “pale face.” He recognizes how both parties were “ignorant of the nature and character of

the other,” while he examines the short-comings of the “pale face.” Indeed, this moment in Montezuma’s speech shifts from an analysis of the term Indian to a critique of the white settler “with all of his pride of ancestry and conceit of wisdom.” Montezuma emphasizes that the characterization of Indians as savage was a project of colonialism whereby white people lacked “true knowledge of the Redman, whom he called a savage after having made him such.” Montezuma’s key phrase “having made him such” unveils the discursive work being done to define the Indian in uncivilized terms. Furthermore, by pointing out the constructed nature of the term Indian as located in the figure of “the pale face” who was “dominated by his insatiate greed and his haste to profit at the expense of the simple-minded and unsuspecting native,” Montezuma challenges his audience to sympathize with a history of mistreatment of Indian people in the U.S.

Montezuma further highlights how characterizing Indians as savage was used to justify the dispossession of their rights. He underscores this point by noting that “the selfish and unfeeling pale face pioneer” was flawed because he “neither knew nor cared” about the “virtues which are characteristic of the good man of civilization” and that were “endowed” in “this native man.” Like Montezuma’s other spoken and written texts, “What it is to be an Indian” attacks the hegemonic practices of settler colonialism by not only pointing to physical violence and material loss but by emphasizing how these were buttressed through discursive formations. His arguments as an Indian intellectual contribute to a larger war of words that other Indian writers participated in during this time.⁸⁶

Montezuma’s speech concludes with a direct assault on white supremacy. He writes, “Prior rights of occupancy, or even the right to live, are not to weigh against the

wishes of the pale face.” Thus, in 1921, he argues the Indian has a “still keener sense of how his life is shaped and checkered by the fact that he is known as an Indian. He is tainted with a name.” This return to Indian as both a name (signifying a particular referent) and a word (an abstract noun) links Indianness as a discursive formation with the materiality of the body, but in problematic terms: “The word carries with it a sort of ‘attainder of blood.’ It is full of meaning strongly impressed on the memory of those who are inclined to accept the one-sided stories which make up so much of the tales of Indian life.” Memories and the imagination are central vectors through which an Indian person may be understood as an Indian. Individual Indians must struggle against certain expectations and previous representations of Indianness (however false or flawed). At the same time, each has to contend with the corporeal and the genetic stakes of being an Indian in America.⁸⁷

For Montezuma, “Indian” can be understood as constructed and biological. As seen earlier in this chapter, through the doubleness of his names, he is Indian as Dr. Montezuma and also as “Wassaja.” By bringing these two realms of knowledge together, he works to unseat the power of each and to blur the line separating them. Importantly, his speech emphasizes the power of an Indian subject to speak back to the biological category of Indian (as measured and defined by blood quantum, which was a common practice during this period, especially in the era of eugenics), to the constructedness of the word as a container for an array of narratives and tropes, and to the inevitability of a life lived as a performance, not because one chose to perform, but because being an Indian meant you always had an audience watching you and sitting in judgment.

Montezuma argues that an Indian is limited by these frames through which Indian bodies become legible, since he “is scarcely recognized without his feathers, paint and warlike accoutrements,” visual markers that Montezuma never used to position himself. In this instance Montezuma uses recognition in a double sense.⁸⁸ On the one hand, he suggests “Indianness” is recognizable only if certain visual economies are put into play, and on the other, he argues that Indian and non-Indian people alike recognize the occasions when Indians dressed in feathers and paint are performing certain representations of Indianness that may not align with lived realities. In this sense, performance itself becomes a strategy through which Indian people can negotiate various expectations of Indianness. The ways that performing Indianness can be strategic calls into question the notion of ethnic authenticity as well. Indeed, to be an authentic Indian, for Montezuma, took discursive form when the actual bodies of Indian people served to authenticate them as representing Indianness. What remained up for discussion then was who judged and how to judge this sort of authenticity of performance.⁸⁹

Although Montezuma succeeded in constructing his own representations of Indianness and worked to shift how both Indians and non-Indians conceived of the political and social realities of Indian people in America, he also operated within a particular historical moment. In that moment, representations limited the definition of “Indian” because of the production and consumption of things Indian and Indian things. Whether they saw a film, a popular entertainment show or an opera, or purchased a song-book or a novel, Americans and Indians participated in reproducing dominant expectations regarding what it meant to be an Indian. The problem for Montezuma, and others, arose when these expectations continued to trap Indian people within particular

misrepresentations that drew on pre-existing tropes and images that denied Indian people a presence in the making of America and access to the political agency needed to revise the structures that made the reproduction of these misrepresentations possible and profitable.

Montezuma believed that the modern Indian “was willing to draw the veil between the past and present and to make the most of the opportunities that were open for the improvement to his condition,” and yet, he could not escape “the indifference of the civilized pale face.” On the level of rhetoric Montezuma’s use of “the veil” and “indifference” align with Du Bois’ notion of double-consciousness. Furthermore, the result of this indifference, Montezuma suggested, left the native “un placed among men.” To be “un-placed” figuratively invoked a history based on the dispossession of Indian land, and articulated a larger problem regarding access to social standing, cultural relevance, and political freedom. Again at the center of this problem was the issue of citizenship.⁹⁰

Conclusion

On October 5, 1912, Montezuma gave an address, titled “The Light on the Indian Situation,” at the annual conference for the Society of American Indians. In this context he referred to “Indian matters” involving military service and citizenship to urge his fellow Indian intellectuals to “awaken and express ourselves” for these causes.⁹¹ Then in 1917 he published an article in *Wassaja* in which he asked the world community to “see that all men are treated on an equal footing, equality and human rights must be upheld....Indian Bureauism is the Kaiserism of America toward the Indians. It enslaves

and dominates the Indians without giving them their rights.”⁹² These two examples, an address and the other a printed text, represent the strident tone Montezuma used throughout his work as an activist, and how determined he was to make citizenship a political reality for Indian people.

In December of 1922, after living for twenty-six years near the South Side, Carlos Montezuma left Chicago. He had witnessed the cityscape change from being dominated by horses to being filled with automobiles. He had traversed neighborhoods where he interacted with immigrants from Northern Europe, then people of Slavic and Mediterranean backgrounds before his neighborhood became a community for Black migrants from the southern states. In fact, during the last years of his life the sociopolitical atmosphere of Chicago was one of ethnic tension due to competition among these new groups. One might wonder how Montezuma experienced the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, which was a major racial conflict that began on July 27 and did not end until August 3rd. Dozens of people died and hundreds were injured during what many considered the worst of approximately twenty-five racially motivated riots that occurred during the “Red Summer of 1919” – so named due to the violence and fatalities across the nation. Perhaps Montezuma’s awareness of this violence helped to sharpen his critique of the U.S. and the connection he saw between Kaiserism and Indian Bureauism. Montezuma also lived during a time of acute change in Indian policy and political activity, and as he became a highly educated doctor and a practicing Protestant he learned to navigate the contours of multiple publics in order to address political changes. His commitment to citizenship for Indian people demonstrates that he saw himself (narrativized by Charles Eastman) as “an Indian” and also “an American.”⁹³

Today access to American citizenship remains a hotly debated topic. After reading through hundreds of Montezuma's personal letters I recognized his handwriting on a tiny slip of green paper and began to wonder why the idea of "spurious citizenship" was important enough for him to write down. At the same time, I wondered about the context in which he had stopped to write these words. Both this note and the object he wrote it on serve as reminders of the battleground where Indian intellectuals articulated their positions regarding citizenship, cultural authenticity, and representational politics. After reading more deeply into Montezuma's engagement with epistolary culture one can see how Indian writers and readers were integral to this fight, and how they worked together to change not only American policy but also society.

¹ Although little has been written about Carlos Montezuma, there are two biographies that reconstruct much of his life. See: Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982) and Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma, M.D.: A Yavapai American Hero* (Portland, OR: Arnica Publishing, 2004)

² See: "A Provenance Tale" (The Center for Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, CO) for a fuller description of what happened to Montezuma's personal papers after the death of his wife Maria Montezuma Moore in 1956.

³ The Indian Citizenship Act was signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge, on June 2, 1924, year after Montezuma died. The act was proposed by Representative Homer P. Snyder (R) of New York. Although the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees citizenship to persons born in the U.S. this does not apply to those who are "subject to the jurisdiction thereof," a clause that excluded indigenous peoples and made the "Snyder Act" necessary.

⁴ For two excellent histories that focus on the Society of American Indians and include information about white groups (like the Indian Fellowship League and the Order of Red Men) that were fraught with their own issues of identity making and representation see: Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race & Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005) and Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

⁵ Building on the theoretical work of Jurgen Habermas and Nancy Fraser, Michael Warner's *Publics and Counterpublics* (Cambridge: Zone Books, 2002) offers a way of thinking about "the public" especially in connection with modernity. Warner distinguishes between audience and public, and notes that in both cases anonymity (the sociality of strangers) is a key component for distinguishing between publics/counterpublics and groups/audiences that might be defined as "private."

⁶ Carlos Montezuma to Mr. Edward Janney, September 26, 1921, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society

⁷ Carlo Gentile was an Italian photographer (b. 1835 in Naples). For a history of captivity and exchange in the U.S. southwest see: James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002). A 1951 novel, *Savage Son*, by Oren Arnold, presents a romanticized account of Montezuma's early life, his capture by the Pima, his adoption by Carlo Gentile, and his eventual Christianization; see: Oren Arnold, *Savage Son* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951)

Also, for more on the relationship between Gentile and Montezuma see Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 27, 89.

⁸ The School of Chemistry offered the following vocational programs: pharmaceutical, chemical, agricultural, and metallurgical. Montezuma emerged as a writer during his college years. *The Illini* printed an essay he wrote on Aztec Civilization on March 4, 1881 and another on “Our Indians” on March 10, 1884. See: Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 87-127. This school newspaper was named after the indigenous peoples who originally inhabited (but were forcibly relocated out of) the state of Illinois. Since 1871, *The Daily Illini* has been a mainstay on the University of Illinois campus. Today it is one of the country’s largest student-run newspapers, and distributed free throughout Champaign-Urbana. The University also appropriated the “Illini” as a symbol and sports mascot beginning in 1926, and ending in 2007 when the fictional character named: “Chief Illiniwek” was retired. The state of Illinois is named for the Illinois River, and by French explorers after the indigenous Illiniwek people, a consortium of Algonquian tribes (also known as the Illinois Confederation consisting of 12 to 13 tribes from the Upper Mississippi area). *Illiniwek* can be translated to mean “those who speak in the ordinary way,” although it is often mistranslated as “tribe of superior men.” For more on symbols used by the state of Illinois see their website: <http://www2.illinois.gov/about/Pages/default.aspx> (accessed 6/30/2010)

⁹ The Chicago Medical College later became Northwestern University School of Medicine. Susan La Flesche Picotte (a member of the Omaha tribe) graduated from the Women’s Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia just two weeks before Montezuma. Rosa Minoka Hill was another woman physician right around the same time. For more on Montezuma’s life as a medical student and doctor see: Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 100

¹⁰ Fort Stevenson was established on June 14, 1867 by Major Joseph N.G. Whistler of the 31st U.S. Infantry with troops from Fort Berthold. It served as a supply base for Fort Totten, and to protect navigation of the Missouri River and also to help manage Indian populations. By 1889, when Montezuma arrived there it was no longer operating as a military fort. Fort Stevenson had been abandoned on July 22, 1883, but a small detachment remained until August 31st, 1883 to dismantle the fort and dispose of public property. The garrison was transferred to Fort Buford and the fort was turned over to the Fort Berthold Indian Agency on August 7, 1883. The Interior Department took possession of the fort on November 14, 1894. For more on this history see, Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, (O.K.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965)

¹¹ Montezuma was a member of the Chicago Medical Society, the Illinois State Medical Society, and the American Medical Association. His five dollar annual membership protected him from malpractice suits and blackmail. He subscribed to the *Illinois Medical Journal*. In Chicago the challenge was to attract patients in a competitive environment, and so Montezuma developed a special salve, which was a mixture of Vaseline and menthol, a preparation that later became “Vicks VapoRub.” This tincture was popular with his patients who often wrote to him requesting it. For more on his work as a physician see: Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 67, 68, 179, 184

¹² Carlos Montezuma to Mr. Edward Janney, September 26, 1921, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society

¹³ See note 81 from Chapter 1 for more on the origins of the National Indian Association, which began as the Women’s National Indian Association (WNIA).

¹⁴ Combining education and entertainment with regards to Indian history and reform was not a new phenomenon. Throughout the nineteenth century various plays narrated events that featured Indian people, sometimes as peacemakers and other times as warriors. Jill Lepore’s *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998) argues that acts of war generate acts of narration and both are joined in a common purpose: defining the geographical, political, cultural, and sometimes racial and national boundaries between peoples. She analyzes how different generations of Americans remembered King Philip’s War through popular performances of “Metamora or The Last of the Wampanoags,” in the 1830s and 1840s. These plays and later performances that featured “Hiawatha” became popular in the late nineteenth century, prefigured the genre of the Hollywood western, and existed alongside more spectacular public outdoor events that re-enacted battles between whites and Indians. For more on this history of “show Indians” and Indian shows see: Joy Kasson’s *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000), which critically examines the crosshairs of fact and fiction through the relationship between popular entertainment and American conceptions of history, nature, and national identity. Also, L.G. Moses’ *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996) demarcates a

group of Indians who identified and were identified as “show Indians” and expands the debate about the meaning of performance about and by Indians.

¹⁵ For more on specific Indian schools see the following. Robert Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (1988); Tsianina K. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (1994); Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (1998).

¹⁶ Philip J. Deloria’s *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) considers how, in the turn of the twentieth century moment, most American narratives imagined Indian people as corralled on isolated and impoverished reservations (and allotments), and therefore, Indian people had missed out on modernity. Deloria focuses on the notion of expectation to critically analyze why the unexpectedness of Indians “as sports heroes” or “in automobiles” startled a public that expected them either to disappear or to remain frozen in an earlier time. I use this term to point out how popular culture produces political and social meanings, and how expectation reflects power relations that are defined through colonial and imperial relationships between Indian people and the United States.

¹⁷ For Indian policy histories see the following. Francis Paul Prucha, *Indian Policy in the United States* (1981); Lawrence Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (1983).

¹⁸ A degree from Carlisle was equivalent in education to about two years of high school. Curricula were augmented by half of each day being devoted to training in carpentry, shoemaking, printing, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, farming, and other trades. By 1915 the teaching of trades was limited to blacksmith, carpenter, mason, painter, and farmer. One of the more useful sites for uncovering how Indian students responded to their education at Carlisle are the weekly school newspapers; these polemical texts spread the message of Carlisle and confirmed its success. Copies of these papers were sent to every member of Congress, all Indian agencies and military posts, and to most American newspapers. Their distribution helped engage the American public in the issue of Indian education and encouraged Indians outside of Carlisle to track the work being done there. For more on Montezuma and Carlisle, see: Leon Speroff’s *Carlos Montezuma, M.D.: A Yavapai American Hero* (Portland, OR: Arnica Publishing, 2004), 55.

¹⁹ Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt, *The Red Man’s Moses: The Civilization of the American Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 196.

²⁰ Some scholars have characterized Montezuma as either an assimilationist or accommodationist. His views are then taken as aligned with a dominant discourse that argued for the elimination of indigenous languages and political systems, educational and spiritual teachings, as well as cultural and economic practices. For many whites and some Indians indigeneity was representative of primitivism and Indian people who refused to “civilize” were defined as inferior Americans, because they existed outside of industrial capitalism, Christian doctrine, individualism, and democratic government. I argue Montezuma cannot be framed in terms of this binary, because of the complexity of assimilation itself as a set of practices, and because of the presupposition that there is one stable American culture to assimilate into.

²¹ Henry Roe Cloud published “The Future of the Red Man in America” in *The Missionary Review of the World* (July 1924): 529-32. Roe Cloud’s goal was to create an institution that would combine regular instruction with inter-denominational Christian curriculum for Indian students. He sought to counteract the increasing loss of authority that religious bodies were experiencing during this period with regards to the field of Indian education, since the federal government began to discontinue the mission contract schools in 1897. For more on this text see: Bernd C. Peyer, *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) For more on Roe Cloud see: Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009). Rev. Philip B. Gordon started a monthly four-leaf newsletter: *The War Whoop*, but was unable to publish it because his superiors in the Catholic Church forbid him to do so.

²² Sherman Coolidge was a founding member of the Society of American Indians. He wrote an essay titled: “The Function of the Society of American Indians” originally published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 2, no.1 (January-March 1914):186-90. Reprinted, with a biography of the author, by Bernd C. Peyer, *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) The speeches of Charles Eastman and writings of Gertrude Bonnin also illustrated that educated Indians could speak as representatives for Indianness on a national scale.

²³ Richard H. Pratt to Carl E. Grammer, August 18th, 1909, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI For more on Dr. Carl E. Grammer see *Recollections of a Long life* by Joseph Packard, edited by Rev. Thomas J. Packard (Washington, D.C.: Byron S. Adams, Publisher, 1902), 323. On June 8th, 1896 the *New York Times* reported that Grammer gave the annual address before the Y.M.C.A. of Roanoke College at their Commencement. See Charles Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America* (1951). The Indian Rights Association (IRA) was founded in Philadelphia in 1882 as an American social activist group dedicated to the well being and acculturation of Native Americans. The IRA remained influential in American Indian policy through the 1930s and involved as an organization until 1994. The management of IRA fell almost entirely to: Herbert Welsh, Matthew Sniffen, Lawrence E. Lindley, Charles C. Painter, and Samuel M. Brosius, all of whom corresponded with C. Montezuma. Unitarian minister/journalist Jonathan Baxter Harrison published several books and articles regarding this reform work. See Jonathan Baxter Harrison, *The Colleges and the Indians, and the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia: The Indian Rights Association, 1888) and William Thomas Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association : the Herbert Welsh years, 1882-1904* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1985)

²⁴ Ober was a representative for the international committee for the Y.M.C.A. and a missionary leader. He published "The American Association in Foreign Lands—Their Responsibility and Opportunity—Part III" (YMCA journal, "The Watchman" (1889): 758). Jon Thares Davidann, *A world of crisis and progress: the American YMCA in Japan, 1890-1930* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998); see *Women and Gender in the American West* eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) for references to Eastman and Ober's correspondence. Also Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), and *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Margaret Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Bonnie Sue Lewis' *Creating Christian Indians: Native Clergy in the Presbyterian Church* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2003) shows how the Nez Perce and Dakota became Presbyterians, and incorporated Native culture and tradition into their new Christian identities.

²⁵ For more on turn of the twentieth century gender discourse with regards to manhood see: Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) On making manhood and the nation, from the Revolutionary War to the 1850s, see: Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998)

²⁶ Robert Berkhofer, Jr. *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Ramon Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); Clyde Holler, *Black Elk's Religion: The Sun Dance and Lakota Catholicism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995)

²⁷ As Leon Speroff notes, "he lived in a nice house and was able to provide accommodations time and time again for visitors and friends passing through Chicago. He dressed well, went to the movies, and at least on one occasion he took Jeannette Stedman, Reverend Stedman's daughter, to the opera..." *Carlos Montezuma*, 201. Carlos Montezuma, "An Indian's View of the Indian Question" in *Current Literature* (1898)

²⁸ See issue for March 1918, *Wassaja: Freedom's Signal for the Indians*, Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. For more on citizenship as an issue for Native people during the progressive period see, Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans & Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005)

²⁹ For an account of the early imperial battle for control over "Native" America see: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991). For legal history and cases effecting sovereignty see: William McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (1993); Sidney Haring, *Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* (1994); Jill Norgren, *The Cherokee Cases: Two Landmark Federal Decisions in the Fight for Sovereignty* (1996); Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (1999); Tim

Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (2002)

³⁰ Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 8; For the history of the Dawes Act see: Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate Indians, 1880-1920* (1984); Janet McDonnell, *Dispossession of the American Indians, 1883-1933* (1996). In regards to John Elk's case see: John C. Eastman, *From Feudalism to Consent: Rethinking Birthright Citizenship, Legal Memorandum No. 18* (Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C.), March 30, 2006

³¹ See, United States Constitution, "Article 1, Section 2" available online since 1995 url: www.usconstitution.net/index.html. Accessed May 27, 2011.

³² Although Montezuma's Yavapai parents named him Wassaja at birth he was re-named "Carlos Montezuma" by Carol Gentile after his "adoption" from the Pima.

³³ Subscription lists show a rise from .50 cents to 1.00 beginning in 1920, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI. For more print culture during this period see: Cathy N. Davidson, ed., *Reading in America: Literature & Social History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class At the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996); James Danky and Wayne Wiegand, eds., *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Gregory M Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008)

³⁴ Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 382

³⁵ Carlos Montezuma, "Life, Liberty & Citizenship," proof, "Drafts & Galley Proofs," Misc. Writings, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI. For more on how African-Americans have appropriated "America" see Eric J. Sundquist, *King's Dream* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). In Chapter Five "Whose Country 'Tis of Thee?" he considers both the historical context in which Samuel F. Smith adapted the melody of "God Save the Queen" to a new set of lyrics in 1831 when he composed "America" and the various interpretations, parodies, and performances that have referenced this song in relation to African-Americans fighting against slavery, and later segregation. Smith's song replaced monarchical rule to construct a new nation conceived in liberty. Sundquist notes that "unlike the vocally demanding 'Star-Spangled Banner' whose message of valor reflected Francis Scott Key's inspiration by the defense of Fort McHenry during the War of 1812, or the lush 'America the Beautiful' (1893), 'America' is a brisk, catchy tune that was soon thought of as a national hymn." Certainly we might wonder why African-Americans would sing a song that, in Sundquist's words, was "at best an ironic commentary on the nation's failure to make them full and equal citizens." At the same time we might consider how Carlos Montezuma's fight for the incorporation of Native Americans as citizens into America drew on a shared history whereby Native Americans and African-Americans appropriated the tropes of democratic freedom as they fought for citizenship and other rights. Montezuma's re-imagining of "America" may rely on previous interpretations and re-readings of this song that were designed to draw on the rhetorical power of irony.

³⁶ Carlos Montezuma, "Life, Liberty & Citizenship", proof, "Drafts & Galley Proofs," Misc. Writings, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI.

³⁷ A moment of religious self-recognition in this text appears when he writes, "I remember when I was christened. I saw the Father in his garb, the cross and candles. I did not comprehend what it meant, but after years I accepted the Son of God as my personal Savior, and the Spirit of God works within me. That is the higher freedom that enlightens our souls from God. It teaches us to be faithful to our Creator, be loyal to our country, be helpful to our neighbor and true to ourselves. That is 'Freedom, Liberty and Citizenship.'" The four main figures in this dissertation identified as Christians, however, this moment stands apart because Montezuma explicitly expresses the significance of Christian belief and practice in shaping his thinking.

³⁸ Carlos Montezuma to Richard H. Pratt, Letter, October 4, 1922, Reel 5

³⁹ Nearly 400 subscribers paid to read these types of stories and well over 50% were men, and nearly one-quarter were Indian. Although it is difficult to know for sure who may or may not have identified with a particular tribal nation, many subscribers listed addresses that place them in a city or space within Reservation boundaries in South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Montana. Individual subscribers also lived throughout the U.S. in cities like Chicago and New York to newly settled areas of Alaska and Hawaii. CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁴⁰ In addition to individual subscribers, Montezuma's records indicate that a range of news outlets and religious organizations paid for regular subscriptions. These ranged from: *The Arizona Magazine* (based in Phoenix), the *Dearborn Independent* (in Michigan) to the editors of the *Daily Press* and *Daily Enterprise* of Riverside, California and small rural papers like the "Fargo Farmer" of North Dakota, the American Christian Missionary Society (Cincinnati, Ohio), the Christian Temple (Muskogee, Oklahoma), the Baptist Indian Mission (Lodge Grass, Montana), and the Central Christian Church (San Diego, California), other subscribers include: the Commercial State Bank of Wagner, South Dakota, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the California Women's Club based in San Francisco, College Library of Hillsdale, Michigan, and the Bureau of American Ethnology. CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁴¹ Gertrude Bonnin to Carlos Montezuma, Jan 24, 1919, Letter. Also, regarding the circulation of *Wassaja* see: two letters Gertrude Bonnin to Dr. Montezuma, Aug. 26, 1918 and Mar. 12, 1919, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁴² For references to Harvey Ashue see: "Blind Tribesman Is Injured When Car Plunges Off Road Embankment" in *Ellensburg Daily* April 18, 1930, and for Moses Archambeau see: "Indian Wills, 1911-1921: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs" by Nancy Bowen and Jeff Bowen (Baltimore, Maryland: Clearfield Company, 2007), 174; and for De Forest Antelope see: *The Native American* (an illustrated Weekly) published by Phoenix Indian School, Vol. 15, 104.

⁴³ See: NPS Form 10-900, page 4, description of present and historic physical appearance: "Chief Plenty Coups Home," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service (1966). Also, Glendolin Damon Wagner and William A. Allen, *Blankets and Moccasins: Plenty Coups and His People the Crows* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1933), 276.

⁴⁴ "Eulogy of Chief Plenty Coups of the Crows: Speech of Hon. Scott Leavitt of Montana in the House of Representatives" *Congressional Record Seventy-second Congress, First Session* (Mar. 5, 1932). Also see, Frederick Hoxie, *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805-1935* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially "Part Two, Making a nation, 1890-1920," pp167-294.

⁴⁵ For John Brennan as Agent see: Richard E. Jensen, *Voices of The American West: The Settler and Soldier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005)

⁴⁶ For more Dixon and Wanamaker with regards to Indianness see: Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004), Chapter 5: "Wanamaker Indians" pp 211-277. For Dixon's work with Indians in collaboration (beginning in 1920) with the Office of Indian Affairs see: Susan Applegate Krouse, *North American Indians in the Great War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 13.

⁴⁷ For more on William Bishop and Port Townsend see: *Skagit River Journal of History & Folklore*, edited by Noel V. Bourasaw (Sedro-Woolley, Washington: 2000-present) url: <http://www.skagitriverjournal.com/> For more NFAI, see: Cesare Marino, "History of Western Washington Since 1846," *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 169-179, by David Wilma, August 08, 2000. During the 1950s, the landless tribes of the NFAI joined forces with landed tribes in the Inter-Tribal Council of Western Washington.

⁴⁸ Henry Ford bought *The Dearborn Independent* (estab. 1901) from Marcus Woodruff, and added the title *The Ford International Weekly* to its banner in 1918. It was published using a press Ford purchased and installed in a tractor plant as part of The River Rouge. They began printing in January 1919, and attracted notoriety in June due to coverage of a libel lawsuit between Henry Ford and the *Chicago Tribune*, because stories written by reporters E.G. Pipp and William J. Cameron were picked up nationally. The paper reached a circulation of 900,000 by 1925 (only the *New York Daily News* was larger), due to promotion by Ford dealers and a quota system. Additional lawsuits regarding anti-Semitic material caused Ford to shut down the paper, and the last issue was published in December 1927. For more on this history see: Richard Bak, *Henry and Edsel: The Creation of the Ford Empire* (2003); Douglas G. Brinkley, *Wheels for the World: Henry Ford, His Company, and a Century of Progress* (2003); Robert Lacey, *Ford: The Men and the Machine* (1986); Henry Ford, *My Life and Work: An Autobiography of Henry Ford* (Halcyon Classics, 2009. orig. published 1922)

⁴⁹ There were other Indian writerly correspondents during this period. I have chosen three as representative examples of their intellectual work because of their different relationships with Montezuma. There were certainly others such as, John Ross (1790-1866) a Christian Cherokee intellectual who envisioned the annexation of the Cherokee Nation as an independent state of the union, and Alexander Posey (1873-1908)

(along with Charles Gibson) a prominent and talented humorist and poet known for his “Fus Fixico Letters” published between 1902 and 1908. See: Bernd C. Peyer ed., *American Indian Nonfiction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); *The Fus Fixico Letters, Alexander Posey: A Creek Humorist in Early Oklahoma* edited by Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. and Carol A. Petty Hunter (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Jace Weaver, *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

⁵⁰ Originally published as “Editor’s Viewpoint: The Civilizing power of Language,” *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 4, no. 2 (April-June 1916):126-28. For more on Parker see: Lawrence M. Hauptman, “The Iroquois School of Art: Arthur C. Parker and the Seneca Arts Project, 1935-1941.” *New York History* 60 (July 1979): 253-312, and *The Iroquois and the New Deal*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981). Joy Porter, *To Be Indian: The Life of Iroquois-Seneca Arthur C. Parker*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

⁵¹ James Scott’s *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), defines *public transcript* as the open, public interactions between dominators and oppressed. He defines *hidden transcript* as an example of the critique of power that power holders do not see or hear. Different systems of domination, (political, economic, cultural, or religious) have aspects that are not heard that go along with their public dimensions. I argue that Parker used English, which he believed to be part of a system of domination, to communicate a critique of that domination. Writers like Parker published their writings in public papers, and presented their ideas at public events. Some scholars see “hidden transcripts” in opposition to the Gramscian notion of hegemony, as evidence that “subaltern” peoples have not consented to their own dominance. I complicate this by considering what happens when the “hidden transcript” is published and circulated among various publics, and thus, how context constitutes it; in other words, when it emerges as a practice that contests and defines the hegemonic system from which it has come.

⁵² Originally in *The American Indian Magazine* 5, no. 2 (April-June 1917): 93-100. Oskison’s views foreshadow the philosophy of the National Indian Youth Council that was founded in Gallup, New Mexico in 1961 by college-educated Indians who sought to mend the gap between the generations by establishing more connections with reservation elders. See: Bernd C. Peyer, *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007). At the same time, Montezuma’s reference to “leading Indians” echoes Eastman’s sentiments, and those of W.E.B. Du Bois who stated: “The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races.” W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Talented Tenth,” from *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative Negroes of To-day* (New York, 1903).

⁵³ Stan Steiner, *Spirit Woman: The Diaries and Paintings of Benita Wa Wa Calachaw Nunez*. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979) Wa-Wa-Chaw came in contact with many white intellectuals and leaders of the day, including Sir Oliver Lodge and Arthur Conan Doyle. She wrote for many publications until the time of her death, and sold her paintings in sidewalk shows in Greenwich Village. She was passionate about using art and writing to promote equality for Indian women.

⁵⁴ For copies of this magazine and materials related to Wa-Wa Chaw see: CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁵⁵ G. Bonnin to Montezuma, Dec. 10, 1916, Letter, Box 3, Folder 4 CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁵⁶ G. Bonnin to Montezuma, Oct 1918 letter box 4, folder 1, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI. A counter example of contemporary African-American figures who were also considering how to “use caution” and “wisdom” points to a different sort of situation in American society during this period. For example, the race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma that began on May 3, 1921 and lasted 16 hours points to the ways that “caution” meant something very different when it came to racially motivated conflicts between whites and blacks.

⁵⁷ G. Bonnin to Montezuma, Oct 22, 1918, letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI. After 1926, *The Tomahawk* continued to publish some White Earth news, but dropped its pro-Indian stance and ceased publication later that year. By 1927 this paper moved to Calloway, Minnesota and was renamed *The Calloway Tomahawk* edited by A. H. Lockwood. See: Daniel F. Littlefield Jr., and James W. Parins,

American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals, 1826-1924 Vol. 1, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984)

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that the fraternal organization called the “Tipi Order of America” (also spelled “Teepee”) was led by Red Fox St. James, a Montana Rancher who claimed Blackfoot ancestry. He was of concern to Bonnin and others who doubted his Indian status. Both Cari Carpenter (*Detecting Indianness*, 2005) and Hazel Hertzberg (*The Search for American Indian Identity*, 1971) point to Arthur C. Parker’s papers as a source for locating Red Fox as the leader of this group.

⁵⁹ My first chapter includes an extensive historiography for the Progressive Era, which also defines progressivism, and progressive reform tactics, organizations and the roles of Indians within this framework.

⁶⁰ The National American Indian Memorial was proposed in 1909 as a monument to American Indians embodied in a statue of an Indian warrior overlooking the main entrance to New York Harbor. On December 8, 1911, Congress set aside federal land for the project but did not provide for expenses. In 1913, with President William H. Taft, they broke ground; approximately 33 American Indian chiefs, including Red Hawk and Two Moons were present. Sculptor Daniel Chester French and architect Thomas Hastings came up with a general concept for the memorial, which included a 165-foot tall Indian statue on an Aztec-like pyramid base atop an Egyptian Revival complex of museums, galleries and libraries, surrounded by a stepped plaza and formal gardens with sculptures of bison and Indians on horseback. The project was never completed and there are no physical remains. See: “Ends Peace Trip to the Indians, Wanamaker Expedition Returns after Obtaining the Allegiance of All Tribes” for more about the “ground-breaking” exercises in *New York Times* (December, 1913).

⁶¹ Dixon to Montezuma, circa 1918, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁶² Montezuma to D. Edward Janney, regarding “Indian work,” Sept 26, 1921, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁶³ Angie Pitts Juban, M.A. Thesis: *Insiders: Louisiana Journalists Sallie Rhett Roman, Helen Grey Gilkison, Iris Turner Kelso*, Presented to the faculty in the Department of History at Louisiana State University, Chapter 2, “Helen Grey Gilkison: Social Insider.” *Helen Gilkison Papers, Mss. 1901, 2175*, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, La. (bulk 1925-1948) and see: Genevieve Jackson Boughner, *Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women’s Work for Newspapers and Magazines*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1926) H. Gilkison was born in Louisiana and a graduate of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

⁶⁴ Juban notes, “Helen Grey Gilkison lived and worked in a politically charged atmosphere. Huey P. Long influenced the university she attended, and she entered the journalistic world at the height of his power in the state of Louisiana.” See Juban’s Thesis, p44. Also see H. Grey to Montezuma, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁶⁵ Robert A. Staley, “Congressional hearings: Neglected sources of information on American Indians” (University of Wyoming Libraries, WY, USA) Available online 18 April 2008 in *Government Information Quarterly* 25 (2008) 520–540. Staley argues that over the past three decades, discussion of government documents on American Indians has emphasized federal agency documents and archival records, despite the fact that Congress has the ultimate authority in Indian affairs. He uses examples from early twentieth century legislative and oversight hearings to show that there is significant untapped research content on American Indians in congressional hearings. “Between 1919 and 1920 the House Committee on Indian Affairs published 25 hearings on the condition of the Indians in the Southwest and Northwest.” Richard H. Pratt to Carlos Montezuma, March 1, 1910, Letter, Ayer MMS, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁶⁶ I have located a range of letters that date from around 1890 until Pratt’s death in 1924. See: CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI, the Edward Ayer MMS and Carlos Montezuma Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago IL, and The Carlos Montezuma Papers, Center for Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, CO. Duplicates of this material and other resources related to Carlos Montezuma can be found: Carlos Montezuma Collection, 1887-1980 (bulk 1887-1922), Department of Archives & Special Collections, ASU Libraries, MS CM MSS-60; Papers of Carlos Montezuma (1866-1923), Special Collections Library, University of Arizona, A-287; Peter Iverson Collection, 1898-2002, Labriola National American Indian Data Center, ASU Libraries, MS LAB MSS-165.

⁶⁷ From R.H. Pratt to Montezuma, Letter, Ayer MMS collection, Box 3, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁶⁸ From R.H. Pratt to Montezuma, Letter, Ayer MMS collection, Box 3, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁶⁹ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” in *Montezuma Papers*, Box 9, Folder 3, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁷⁰ See Roslyn Poignant. “The Making of Professional ‘Savages’: From P.T. Barnum (1883) to the *Sunday Times* (1998) in *Photography’s Other Histories* edited by Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 56. Poignant argues the “show-space” where these people performed was defined as a cultural space that served as a zone for displacement for indigenous performers and a place of spectacle, a chronotopic space (M.M. Bakhtin, 1981), for onlookers, as iconographic elements and technological advances during this period facilitated a negative construction of “savagery.” For more on the early life and work of Barnum in his own words see: *The Life of P.T. Barnum, Written by Himself* with introduction by Terence Whalen (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000)

⁷¹ Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

⁷² For work in Native American Studies regarding white interpretations of Indian history, cultural practices, and the range of representations that have dominated the white imaginary in terms of Indian people and Indianness, as well as questions of performance, authenticity, and a history of representation see the following. Philip J. Deloria’s *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) argues that colonial patriots dressed as Indians not to disguise themselves but to symbolize rebellion and separateness from the British, and that the use of Indian dress to express a unique but nebulous American identity was not uncommon during the colonial period and remained a significant part of the American drama ever since. Also see: Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1979) and Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982).

⁷³ In many ways the “craze” for the production, consumption, and marketing of Indian things during this period built upon narratives from the 1820s and 1830s in the U.S. by James Fenimore Cooper, Lydia Maria Child, and Catharine Sedgwick, as well as, the dramas Jill Lepore studies. For more on the modernist obsession with Indianness see: Elizabeth Hutchinson. *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); *Selling the Indian: Commercializing & Appropriating American Indian Cultures*. Ed. by Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001); Alan Trachtenberg. *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

⁷⁴ For one of the earliest texts dealing with the historical and narrative use of savagery in regards to civilization see: Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953)

⁷⁵ Carlos Montezuma to Mr. Edward Janney, September 26, 1921, Letter, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society. Montezuma’s title “Let My People Go” also references the history of enslavement of African-Americans and the spiritual “Go Down Moses” which uses “Let My People Go” as a rallying cry. Initially this was an anthem for the Contrabands at Fort Monroe around 1862. The sheet music states the song is from Virginia, from around 1853, and was published as “Oh! Let My People Go: The Song of the Contrabands” arranged by Horace Waters. L.C. Lockwood. For more on this song and a history of Black music in America see: Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971) and Samuel A. Floyd Jr., *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)

⁷⁶ See: *Congressional record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 53, no. 123 (Friday, May 12, 1916) Also, see Bernd. C. Peyer, *American Indian Nonfiction* which includes a reprinted version of “Let My People Go”; See Lerner, The Papers of Carlos Montezuma, Microfilm Ed, Reel 5, The Indian Problems From An Indian’s Standpoint; Reel 5, An Indian’s View of the Indian Question; Reel 2, August 2, 1906, Reel 2, May 16, 1909, Reel 3, February 27, 1914

⁷⁷ In this speech Montezuma references white organizations, such as the Mohonk Conference, Indian Rights Association, Indian Friends, and “other similar organizations” that he believes have evaded the issue of the Indian Bureau.

⁷⁸ Carlos Montezuma, “Let My People Go” (1) in *The Papers of Carlos Montezuma*, M.D. [microform] : including the papers of Maria Keller Montezuma Moore and the papers of Joseph W. Latimer / edited by John William Lerner, Jr., Scholarly Resources, Inc. 1983 through the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (collection abbreviated as: PCM, Lerner 1983)

⁷⁹ I have read through W.E.B. Du Bois letters that have been published see, *Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois Volume 1, Selections, 1877-1934* edited by Herbert Apthekar (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973). However, I did not uncover a material connection between him and Carlos Montezuma despite the fact that Du Bois was invited to attend an SAI annual meeting. For more on the ways discourses of race may have mapped onto each other with regards to the political movements of both African-Americans and Native Americans during this period see the work of Heidi Ardizzone, in particular her paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Studies Association on October 16, 2008 “Representing Race: Activism and Public Identity in the Early Twentieth-Century” in which both Montezuma and Du Bois appear.

⁸⁰ See Carlos Montezuma “Let My People Go” where he notes, “Keep in mind that Indian Bureau, Indian Reservations, Indian Schools, Indian College, Indian Art, Indian Novels, Indian Music, Indian Shows, Indian Movies, and Indian Everything creates prejudice and do not help our race.”... “To fight is to forget ourselves as Indians in the world. To think of one-self as different from the mass is not healthy.” PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸¹ See: Simon Pokagon, “The Red Man’s Rebuke” (Published by C.H. Engle, 1893); Charles Eastman, *The Indian To-Day: The Past and Future of the First American* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1915)

⁸² Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (3) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸³ For image on page 234, see “Photograph of Carlos Montezuma” (not dated, circa 1915), *The Carlos Montezuma’s Papers* as part of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁸⁴ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (3) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸⁵ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (7) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸⁶ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (10) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸⁷ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (14 & 20) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸⁸ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (21) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁸⁹ See Shari M. Huhndorf’s *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001) Of particular interest is to me her chapter: “Imagining America: Race, Nation, and Imperialism at the Turn of the Century,” because it examines the displays of Indianness and the involvement of actual Indian people at the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago, Illinois.

⁹⁰ Carlos Montezuma, “What it is to be an Indian” (12) PCM, Lerner 1983

⁹¹ Carlos Montezuma, “The Light on the Indian Situation” an address for the Society of American Indians Conference, at Ohio State University, October 5, 1912, CMP, Wisc. State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁹² Carlos Montezuma, *Wassaja*, June 1917 (microfilm) courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

⁹³ Leon Speroff, *Carlos Montezuma*, 174. Charles A. Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Originally pub. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1916; Reprint, New York: Dover, 2003), see page 109 of Dover edition for full quotation.

Chapter 3

Red Bird: Gertrude Bonnin's Representational Politics

Introduction

“We come from mountain fastnesses, from cheerless plains, from far-off low-wooded streams, seeking the ‘White Man’s ways.’”¹

Born in 1876, Gertrude Bonnin entered the world in the same year as “The Battle of the Little Bighorn,” or as many Indian people referred to it: “The Battle of Greasy Grass.” This event was a marker of Indian triumph followed quickly by American military victories and the containment of most Sioux Indian people to reservations. The legacies of these events marked Bonnin childhood and influenced the type of short stories she wrote and the political work she did later in her life. Known as Gertrude to her family and close friends, Bonnin also gave herself a Lakota pen-name “Zitkala-Sa,” which means “Red Bird.” Although she signed some letters with this new name, for most of her life she went by her married name of Bonnin. I use the latter throughout this history of her life for consistency.

Bonnin grew up on the Yankton Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. Missionaries visited her family, convincing Gertrude’s mother, Ellen Tate Iyohinwin, to send her daughter away to school. From 1884 to 1888 she studied at White’s Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, Indiana – a school founded and run by Quakers. Then, from 1889 to 1890 she studied at the Santee Normal Training School founded by Alfred

Riggs (in 1870), by this time it had become a center of education for all Sioux. After only a few brief visits home, she went away again to study at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana from 1895-1897.² Not long after graduation, Bonnin began teaching at the Carlisle Industrial Training School in Pennsylvania, (1897-1899). However, she found herself at odds with the school's founder and headmaster, Richard Pratt, and by 1900 she relocated to Boston, where she studied violin at the New England Conservatory.³ Many of Bonnin's writings from 1900 to 1902 refer back to these educational experiences.⁴ In addition to education, her work reflects upon the historical consequences of changes in U.S. Indian Policy and the end of violent resistance efforts by Native people. In particular, she focuses on an education policy that aimed to assimilate Indian people and in the process often erased the distinctive character of students' backgrounds with regard to culture and language. At the same time, Bonnin relied on her schooling to write stories for white audiences to redefine Indian identity on her own terms. In other words, she combined literary and political work through her desire to produce counter-narratives about Indian identity and the history of settler-colonialism in the U.S.

Many of the media representations that Bonnin would write against worked to memorialize the white and Indian violence that was discernible during her childhood, but no longer a factor as she grew up. Many of these misrepresentations were quite popular, such as the genre of "dime novels" (akin to today's mass market paperbacks, so-called then because each cost between ten and fifteen cents). These affordable paperbacks were also quite readable given that they were largely directed to young adults.⁵ Bonnin's work had broad appeal because it could interest the same readers of dime novels as well as highly educated and wealthy persons who counted themselves among elite sections of

American society. While attending Earlham College, Bonnin wrote an essay in 1896 titled “Side by Side,” from which the chapter’s epigraph was taken. This essay responded to the different ways white and Indian relations had been narrated during these years. Her essay offers us a sense of just how sophisticated she could be in thinking about the big issues surrounding Indians, and the ways Indian intellectuals might engage in representational politics working through American cultural forms.

Bonnin won second place in the Indiana state oratorical contest for “Side by Side,” demonstrating her successful debut as a public speaker. In a similar fashion to Charles Eastman, she also used this moment to teach her audience about important intercultural themes. These themes illustrate Bonnin’s concern for Indian people’s power, which she viewed as continually threatened by white settlements and federal policy. At the heart of her critique of American culture were the ways in which narratives had mischaracterized Indian people in telling the story of colonization. In this way, her essay was a rhetorical response to the literary texts, newspaper accounts, and *Wild West* performances during this period that chronicled and celebrated the Indian Wars of the nineteenth century. These dominant narratives denied the harsh reality of inequality and disenfranchisement, which characterized colonial encounters between European powers and Indian nations. I argue that Bonnin understood the implicit power of narrative and this denial. She managed, throughout her life, as we can see in this early essay, to navigate a fine line that divided and also linked her criticism of American culture with her celebration of it. Indeed her understanding of education, policy, cultural formations, and the power of public performance shaped the ways she would position herself, as a Yankton Sioux woman, and as a writer, musical performer and political activist. I

consider her essay “Side by Side” as an opening example because in it Bonnin synthesizes rhetorical devices with political ideas and cultural aesthetics in a way that is characteristic of all her work.

In “Side by Side,” Bonnin relies on romantic symbols (we come from mountain fastnesses) and paternalistic tropes (seeking the white Man’s ways), and maneuvers these metaphors to connect stories about Indian origins and issues of cultural belonging to a biting critique of the “White Man’s ways.” This rhetorical strategy came to dominate her literary and political writing, and became part of a larger trend among other Indian intellectuals’ work during the turn of the twentieth century.⁶

Since Bonnin’s essay originated as a speech she uses repetition as a literary device to illustrate key points. For example, she repeats “seeking” to draw her white audience into her re-reading of American society. When Bonnin notes that “we” (in reference to Indian people) come “seeking your skill in industry and in art,” she provides a list to define both industry and art. She then places Indians in a position of supplication, a position implying social hierarchies of superiority and inferiority that would appeal to her audience.

At first her listeners may have taken pride in hearing this young Indian woman celebrate how she and other Indian people were seeking labor and knowledge as entrée into American culture and politics. A more attuned listener may have heard something else because of Bonnin’s repeated use of “seeking” throughout her speech. In fact, this repeated phrase juxtaposes two groups where the “we” of Indian people and the “your” of American society become dialectical opposites, and are also set “side by side.”

Her use of “side by side” in the essay shows how she structured it around not one, but *two* tropes. Along with “seeking,” she speaks continually of two peoples standing “side by side.” Therefore, Bonnin’s “seeking” enables her to celebrate and criticize the nation in which these groups exist side by side and where her “seeking” also takes place. In other words, her speech portrays an underlying tension in American society between social hierarchy (seeking) and social equality (side by side), which came to the fore when considering the place of Indian people within U.S. history.

The majority of white Americans in the audience may have interpreted and experienced the rhetorical effect of “seeking to” *do* this and *do* that in Bonnin’s speech as congruent with a nationalist impulse to elevate America and Americanness. At the same time, Bonnin’s speech includes turns of phrase that work to reclaim and subvert an exceptional notion of America. In fact, as much as her speech seeks the “genius of your noble institutions,” in the same breath it seeks “a new birthright to unite with yours our claim to a common country.” Thus Bonnin lauds American “genius” as a strategy to lay claim to its power as part of a shared (common) country.

As much as her speech links Indians and Americans together through the nation Bonnin also retains a necessary distance between Indian people (ours) and the rest of America (yours), which conforms to contemporary logic based on social evolutionary theory. By maintaining the use of “we” versus “you,” Bonnin sidesteps one of the deepest fears in white American society -- miscegenation. At the same time, she plays with language to bring disparate peoples together. This early speech established a rhetorical space in which Indians and white Americans could be different, separate, and yet equal with regard to their claim to “a common country.” This shared claim and the notion of

difference came to dominate Bonnin's later work, as she argued for equal protection under the law for Indian people *and* maintained the distinctiveness of her subjectivity.⁷

Bonnin's speech also positions Indian people alongside white Americans when she notes, "We may stand side by side with you in ascribing royal honor to our nation's flag." The physical proximity of white and Indian bodies standing "side by side" indexes her desire for fuller inclusion in the body politic. For her audience, it may have seemed as if the *we* and the *you* had united to form an "our" through the patriotic symbol of the flag. Yet, Bonnin uses this coming together to displace the original "yours" of a white colonized America. Furthermore, by maintaining a distance between *we* ("Indian people") and *you* ("everyone else") -- however fictional this distance was for Indian people living in urban centers and for white settlers living in towns bordering reservation fence-lines-- Bonnin capitalizes on a racial discourse of 1896, which demands this separation.⁸ At the same time she invokes "our nation's flag" to push against the limits of this discourse; a concurrent issue at the time lay in American imperial machinations in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, three places in which the rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution did not follow the flag, especially for those racialized as yellow, brown, and red. This form of rhetorical resistance operated not only in this speech, but in her published work, personal letters, and public lectures. In fact, Bonnin used a range of rhetorical and performative strategies in order to represent Indian people writ large and towards her own self-fashioning. Additionally, in this speech and these other texts, historical events and context remained paramount to how Bonnin, as a woman and Indian intellectual, used cultural practices to address audiences and express her views on Indian policy.

As cultural historian Philip Deloria and others have shown, an ideology that defined Indianness in terms of violence gave way to one that focused on pacification. The threat of possible violence became mutually constitutive of the impossibility of such violence by Indian people. By the 1890s, U.S. Indian policy became linked to the increasingly mismanaged and corrupt bureaucracy of the Reservation system, which was buttressed by an American culture that aimed to place Indians into safe spaces (reservations) while simultaneously finding new ways to displace them (forced acculturation through education). Following the General Allotment Act of 1887, for instance, federal bureaucrats sought ways to define and manage Indian people in physical space. At the same time, cultural producers focused on the closing of the western frontier as a means for romanticizing the vanishing Indian and the end of violence along the frontier. The end of the Indian Wars offered a way to redefine American empire by imagining Indian people as permanently trapped within a primitive past, and thus locked out of the benefits of modernity and any need to be a part of the U.S. nation.

This strange linkage created narratives about Americanness and Indianness that enabled figures like Bonnin, on the one hand, to claim her separateness from American society (as an inferior “seeker”), and on the other to assert her desire for an equal share of an American future where Indian people could reshape society (because they could live “side by side” with Americans). If we return then to Bonnin’s speech and Indian people as part of “our claim to a common country,” we can see how she navigates a complex set of expectations regarding Indian peoples’ roles in a modern(izing) nation; a nation that viewed them, ironically, as separate (biologically inferior) but also ripe for assimilation (physically adjacent by permission), because now pacified they could live side by side

with white settlers, many of whom were new immigrants who similarly found themselves interpellated into a system of Americanization.⁹

“Side by Side” is but one example of Bonnin’s representational politics in a written and spoken text. As in the case of this essay, it was important not only because of the arguments she made but because she presented them herself as a public speaker. This moment signifies both the complexity of Bonnin’s cultural work and her efforts at self-fashioning, as she harnessed authenticity and authorship to assert her own ethnic female literary identity, while gesturing towards broader categories (Indian and American) to speak to large groups of people. This work as a lecturer was akin to her female contemporaries, successful and courageous activists, many of whom were African-American, such as: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, whose pamphlets exposed lynching in the South, Anna Julia Cooper, a prominent author, educator, and speaker, and the suffragist Mary Church Terrell, a daughter of former slaves who was one of the first African-American women to earn a college degree, as well as, feminists from all backgrounds who participated in reform through the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, formed in Cleveland, Ohio in 1874. In the years that followed Bonnin’s 1896 speaking event, she worked frequently as a lecturer and drew on expectations of Indianness to present her unique political insights.¹⁰

In 1908, for example, Bonnin sought to re-imagine Indianness in cultural terms by working with William Hanson to produce an opera based on Native history and themes. *The Sun Dance*, as it was called, premiered in Vernal, Utah in 1913. Through opera Bonnin could combine music and performance to articulate a political vision that resisted colonialist narrative frames and celebrated Native culture, history, and identity.¹¹ Three

years later, Bonnin moved from Utah to Washington, D.C., and from harnessing the power of cultural aesthetics to working within the realm of politics. She became the Secretary for the Society of American Indians (SAI), and through this early pan-Indian organization she found many Native allies. Also while in the nation's capitol, she worked with publishers to have her earlier writings (from 1900-1902) collected and published as the book, *American Indian Stories* in 1921. Bonnin lived in the city with her husband, Raymond T. Bonnin, for the remainder of her life. While there they founded and ran the National Council of American Indians (NCAI), with her serving as the President and him as Secretary from 1926 to 1938.¹²

Chapter overview

Throughout this chapter I return to these key moments in Bonnin's life to examine changes in her representational politics. I begin by considering her educational experiences in connection with her first published writings. Next I focus on her persona as an author and also some representative examples of her literary corpus. As a writer, Bonnin came into contact with important cultural and political networks, which I point out to note the ways these influenced the type of representational work she could do and how she in turn influenced the direction and formation of these networks.

I then focus on epistolary culture within a period that saw an increasing number of "educated Indians" rise to prominence among their tribal communities and in public discourse concerning Indian rights. For Bonnin, letter-writing bridged her public writing career with her work as a pan-Indian activist. In this context, I analyze letters she wrote as the Secretary for SAI and the President of NCAI as well as other, seemingly more

ephemeral letters to reveal the complexity and power of her ideas and her strategic alliances with native and non-native people.

The final section explicitly engages the theme of performance that remained central to Bonnin's success as an author and activist. In one instance, we can see how Bonnin's work as a public speaker grew out of her turn towards dramatic representation in *The Sun Dance Opera*. I pursue how performative moments such as this one informed and shaped her self-fashioning in regard to gender and race, and based on this articulation how she became an activist who highlighted the complexities involved in representing Indianness in the context of early twentieth century expectations surrounding Indian people, modernity, nationalism, and American culture.

Overall, this chapter illustrates how higher education, fictional and polemical writing, personal correspondence, and public performance permeated Bonnin's life choices. It connects these choices to concerns shared by a larger cohort of Indian people to show how their collective story is as much about culture as it is about politics and how intertwined and contingent these categories really are. This intricate history demonstrates the ways that a larger cohort of Indian intellectuals negotiated modernity and worked to change policies that affected their lives as individuals and that concerned the future of Indian Country. Overall, Bonnin stands apart from men like Eastman and Montezuma because she sought ways to maintain the centrality of her gender and race as a voice for Native women in the context of an ever changing and expanding United States. At the same time she was also central to the cause of citizenship that these, and other, figures fought for because she was a powerful writer, speaker, feminist, and intellectual.

Education

“Among the legends the old warriors used to tell me were many stories of evil spirits. But I was taught to fear them no more than those who stalked about in material guise. I never knew there was an insolent chieftain among the bad spirits, who dared to array his forces against the Great Spirit, until I heard this white man’s legend from a paleface woman.”¹³

- *School Days* by Gertrude Bonnin (1900)

Bonnin’s education enabled her to rework dominant understandings of the limits and possibilities that were open to Indian people. As a student and later as a teacher, she worked within the classroom to educate herself and others about the positive ways schooling might work within Indian America. Her views on education appear explicitly in her essay, “An Indian Teacher among Indians.” Published in 1900 by *The Atlantic Monthly*, this piece articulated misgivings Bonnin harbored about the American educational system that aimed to “civilize” Native children using schools and teachers. In it, she emphasizes feelings of loss and confusion based upon her experiences and those of the students she taught at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Along with her essay “The School Days of an Indian Girl” Bonnin created a series of vignettes focusing on the roles of teachers and the space of the classroom in boarding schools to argue for changes in educational policy concerning Indian pupils.

For example, in “School Days,” she recalls her arrival at school with a mixture of hope and sadness. “I had arrived in the wonderful land of rosy skies, but I was not happy,” she writes, pointing to a space of possibility because it is ostensibly wonderful and rosy. At the same time, she is not happy because “My tears were left to dry themselves in streaks, because neither my aunt nor my mother was near to wipe them away.”¹⁴ Her sadness refers to the dislocation experienced by Native students who must

attend boarding schools, which Bonnin and others wrote about in emotional, physical, and cultural terms. This reference to longing for family, and by extension “home” would have appealed to readers of *The Atlantic* because of its sentimental tone. Bonnin’s narratives are often driven by the connections that she makes to sentimentality and nationalist discourse, which she then subverts by pointing to the ways that Indian children are left out of the nation even while they are supposedly being educated into it. To illustrate this complicated maneuver I look more closely at her piece, “An Indian Teacher Among Indians.”

Bonnin’s narrative in “An Indian Teacher Among Indians” is driven by a thematic tension between her views of “the East” and “the West.” These regions of the United States operate as important figurative and material vectors in this series of stories, especially when she begins by chronicling her travels in terms of a *return* to the land of “red apples.” This return functions within the post-Dawes Act reality where Bonnin must go East in order to reshape Indian country in the West. Unlike the westward movement of white settlers, Indians (like Bonnin) move eastward to reshape the possibilities that can be open to them in the West. Bonnin writes “there had been no doubt about the direction in which I wished to go to spend my energies in a work for the Indian race.” Here, Bonnin constructs “an Eastern Indian school” as a site of possibility, despite the fact that this school, and many others, undermined alternatives to Native identity formation and cultural preservation. The schoolhouse then becomes a “both/and” site, one in which Native students feel threatened while they are taught new tools, and yet many of them, like Bonnin, use these same tools to produce new cultural understandings of the future for themselves in Indian Country and the U.S.

Bonnin's story about the "land of red apples" describes this place, where she will be educated, as one of strange sights and sounds. Although the title recalls the familiar folktale about Johnny Appleseed working his way across the Midwest planting apple trees as a symbol of national unity, Bonnin relies on this familiarity to invert this narrative. Instead, for her, this is a land marked by bedlam where "my spirit tore itself in struggling for its lost freedom." In this instance Bonnin's spirit stands in for nationalist fervor, and suggests that the Indian boarding school was an ambivalent and even harmful cultural space that did not represent freedom. Indeed, the opposite was true for Bonnin and other Native children. Readers could look to this childhood story and sympathize with the challenges that Bonnin faced, and by extension those still being faced by Indian children who were forced to live according to the rules of an unfamiliar and unforgiving white society.

Since Bonnin's vignettes set up a critical tension between the East and the West, we might read these spaces not necessarily through the well-worn tropes of civilization and savagery, but rather as cultural spaces where Bonnin feels she has less or more control over her situation. In this story, the East is a space of institutional control and misunderstanding in which "paleface" women teach Indian children how to assimilate into American society. The West embodies not the free and untamed frontier imagined by white writers and readers but a real place where Bonnin might return to her family and the familiar. Simultaneously, Bonnin romanticizes the West as a real place that she cannot actually visit, except in her "happy dreams of Western rolling lands and un-lassoed freedom." Through this image the West aligns with dominant understandings of it in a white American imaginary.

Another important dimension of the contrast that Bonnin creates then between East and West in “School Days,” and which she highlights in her other writings, is what she has lost and gained by her studies in the East. In the fourth chapter of “School Days,” Bonnin describes the experience “after my first three years of school” where her return to “Western country” resulted in “four strange summers.” Bonnin explains the pain she felt as an educated Indian returning to a brother who “did not quite understand my feelings” and a mother who “had never gone inside a schoolhouse, and so she was not capable of comforting her daughter who could read and write.” This experience is important because it was not unique to Bonnin.

A large number of Indian people who attended boarding schools found it difficult to return home to their families who still lived on a reservation. Charles Eastman wrote about the struggle to define himself while visiting relatives or traveling in Indian Country as an educated Indian and a physician. Certainly, there was a growing divide between generations of Indian people due to different educational experiences as well as changes brought about by new technologies and economies. Indian cultures were as fluid and changeable as any other, and the embrace or resistance to change often resulted in diverse world-views and loaded interactions. Eastman, Bonnin, and others who attended schools far from home and those who went to college found that they did not necessarily speak the same cultural language as Indian people who did not share in these experiences.¹⁵

By 1900, when Bonnin first published in *The Atlantic*, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had increasingly intruded into the lives of Indian peoples. Communally managed reservation lands were divided up into smaller parcels of land designed to be owned by individual families. Large scale armed-resistance by Indian nations against the

encroachment of white settlers and the U.S. military was no longer possible. These concurrent factors also deepened generational divides among many Indian people. As land ownership became less tribally rooted, Indian leaders, who traveled between rural and urban and Indian and non-Indian spaces, were forced to imagine new possibilities for how Indian people could engage in the making of Indian Country in America.¹⁶

In one sense, Bonnin as autobiographer and narrator embodies this position of a traveler by taking on the role of trickster within her narrative. She describes her struggle to redefine Indian agency and sovereignty in “School Days” by invoking the familiar image of the wild Indian. Her use of such rhetoric, as interpreted by Indian readers, appears to work within a trickster mode, one that acknowledges how amenable to change she must be as an Indian woman traveling between different cultural spaces. She writes, “I was neither a wee girl nor a tall one; neither a wild Indian nor a tame one. This deplorable situation was the effect of my brief course in the East, and the unsatisfactory ‘teenth’ in a girl’s years.” Here, Bonnin’s trickster operates on two levels. Her recognition of the implicit power of colonial oppression lies beneath the surface of the notion that Indians could only exist within an either/or binary, which cast one as either wild or tame. The fact that she is “neither” and also “both” allows Bonnin to draw out positive and negative associations with her “brief course in the East” to create a new cultural space of inbetweenness. Hers is not a class gender trickster identity (like a warrior woman), but instead one that identifies with her family, her home, *and* the new places she encounters while remaining critical of the short-comings of all three. Indeed her trickster is not an either/or position, but a both/and one that enables Bonnin’s text to convey the fluidity, mutability, and contingency of subjectivity for her self.

This fluidity is productive because it allows Bonnin to critique the “deplorable situation” that might force an Indian person to feel pulled between two extremes: one of wildness and the other of tameness, and by extension one defined by the reservation and the other by the city. At the same time, because she *can* articulate an unfixed position read through lenses of biology and culture Bonnin’s use of ambiguity connects schooling with coming of age in some productive ways. In other words, at this moment in her essay, as in her other stories, Bonnin makes repeated references to the particular pitfalls that befell her because she was an Indian and because she was an educated young woman.¹⁷

For Bonnin, the school operates as an important site to represent other arenas in which one can express and critique gender and colonialism. Using an encounter between herself as a teacher and the school’s headmaster, “the imposing figure of a stately gray-haired man” (who we can surmise represented Richard H. Pratt from Carlisle) the new teacher is framed in gendered terms. Indeed it is the headmaster who introduces her to the reader by his exclamation to her “you must be the little Indian girl who created the excitement among the college orators!” This statement at once celebrates Bonnin as an orator and forces her into the diminutive role of a student as “the little Indian girl.” Further confirming the difference in their roles with regards to power, the headmaster orders Bonnin back West “to gather Indian pupils for the school.” In this instance, the male headmaster acts as the father figure of the school and the embodiment of a paternalist logic that underpins a long history of colonization that was put into practice through missionaries who went West, as Bonnin is instructed to do in order to gather more pupils for schooling. Bonnin’s depiction of these events enables her to use his character to link the Indian education system directly to a larger project of colonialism. In

this instance, the Indian Teacher is a figure through which Bonnin can showcase the complicated, even paradoxical, roles played by educated Indians within the changing cultural landscape of American society and Indian country.

As an Indian Teacher who makes return trips to visit her family, Bonnin's narrative showcases the gulf of misunderstanding that was created between her and her family, because of practices like forced education and allotment. As she recalls a visit home and her mother's caution to "beware of the paleface" because this is the source of death "of your sister and your uncle" we gain more insights into the costs of assimilation policies and practices. At the same time, Bonnin seems unsure about how to interpret her mother's concerns. In one moment she describes how her mother's "outstretched fingers" pointed towards "the settler's lodge, as if an invisible power passed from them to the evil at which she aimed." Here, Bonnin casts her mother in the role of the superstitious old woman. However, following this depiction Bonnin herself comes to terms with the possibility that "the large army of white teachers in Indian schools" might not be as benevolent as she once thought. The settler's lodge and the school become linked as cultural and physical ties to westward expansion in the U.S. Moreover, they stand in for the intimacies of colonial contact and cultural interaction, not unlike the marriages between white men and Indian women and the indoctrination of Indian children by Christian missionaries.

Bonnin's mother, and the generation of Indian people that she represents, oppose the eastern world of "white teachers" in both a literal and figurative sense. Whereas Bonnin is a member of the next generation of Indian people, she sees how these teachers "had a larger missionary creed than I had suspected" and how her position as a teacher is

a contradictory and unstable one. She articulates a subjectivity that has been shaped by teaching and yet does not perceive herself as having taken on the aspects of a white system that her mother finds so threatening. Her story augurs a future full of dislocation (because she cannot remain with her people) and possibility, especially given the new political and cultural places that she will travel as an Indian activist.¹⁸

Moreover, throughout these stories, Bonnin moves between physical and metaphorical spaces. Ultimately, she leaves her white readers with a feeling of uneasiness regarding the future of boarding schools and the history of education where white teachers and school-masters have instructed Indian teachers and children. Bonnin is able to use the site of the schoolhouse to bring into relief the power of misunderstanding when Christian “palefaces” observe her classroom. She writes, these people were “astounded at seeing the children of savage warriors so docile and industrious.” Her depiction of these visitors mocks their progressivist logic, a key theme that underpinned many of her writings, and gave her reason to question the motives of white allies.

Given that a large portion of her white readers may have seen themselves as reformers “cut from the same cloth” as the visitors in the classroom scene, we might speculate how they understood fictional descriptions like this one.¹⁹

Examining the neatly figured pages, and gazing upon the Indian girls and boys bending over their books, the white visitors walked out of the schoolhouse well satisfied: they were educating the children of the red man! They were paying a liberal fee to the government employees in whose able hands lay the small forest of Indian timber.²⁰

Lest Bonnin leave her readers with any question about her motives in making these comments, she expands the picture to illuminate flaws in the larger system of Indian education: “In this fashion many have passed idly through the Indian schools during the

last decade, afterward to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization.” Bonnin’s assertion that “few...have paused to question” what will happen to Indian children who are educated in this fashion leaves open the possibility of both death and life.²¹ In this moment she hints at her own troubled subjectivity, as a tenuous juncture because she is an educated Indian woman who understands the progressive vision regarding education and one who worries about how effective it can be for *all* Indian people. On another level, these statements reflect the intermittent friction that occurred between Bonnin and Pratt --one of the leading figures in Indian education and founder of the Carlisle School.²²

Pratt responded to “School Days of an Indian Girl” and “An Indian Teacher Among Indians” by writing a review that he had published anonymously (although Bonnin would have known that these came from him) in one of Carlisle’s newspapers, *The Red Man*. These “anonymous” reviews suggest that Bonnin’s work provided a misleading portrayal of Indian schools. Despite the disagreement between these two figures, their relationship continued. Not long after Bonnin worked as a teacher at Carlisle (from 1897 to 1899), Pratt asked her to play with the school’s band. According to one scholar, Pratt’s rationale behind Bonnin’s participation was to capture her and keep her “on our side” –which we may surmise was the pro-assimilation, allotment, and progressive white reformer’s agenda. This reading shows the extent to which Bonnin’s performance as “Zitkala-Sa” with the Carlisle Indian School Band kept her close enough to Carlisle that it appeared she could be captured and contained.²³

It is equally likely that Bonnin had strategic reasons for traveling with the Band. Her choice to maintain a connection with Pratt enabled her in the short term to perform for large audiences, which further promoted her music career. In the long term Bonnin's political work benefited from contact with Pratt given his influence on federal policy and his personal contacts. Clearly the experience with the Carlisle Band was not wholly bad for Bonnin in that she continued to study music and pursue performance as an avenue for self-promotion and for stating political concerns.

Bonnin's musical career began in 1899, after she left her teaching post at the Carlisle School. Before she left, Bonnin had met the Ho-Chunk artist Angel de Cora while the two of them worked at the school. The two would meet again when Bonnin moved to Boston, Massachusetts. By 1899, De Cora had already established an art studio for herself at 62 Rutland Square, which was conveniently located within a mile of her art school and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. For De Cora the decision to live there at the turn of the century "meant she wanted to paint to the pulse of her generation."²⁴

For Bonnin the decision to study music at the New England Conservatory demonstrated a similar desire to explore new places and make new contacts. Additionally, as a writer, her decision to live in one of the publishing centers of the U.S. was no doubt a strategic move as well, as she sought ways to further her writing career. By 1901 De Cora and Bonnin had partnered together to publish a book, with Bonnin writing the text and De Cora creating the illustrations to accompany it. Both women were nurtured by Bostonian Joseph Edgar Chamberlain and his wife. Chamberlain was a columnist for the *Boston Evening Transcript* and editor of the *Youth's Companion*. He was widely recognized in Boston as a leading journalist. In fact, Bonnin did much of her

early writing in the summer of 1899 at Chamberlin's summer home in Wrentham, Massachusetts. Chamberlin even wrote to the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly*, encouraging them to publish Bonnin's writings. These formative years in Boston fostered a personal friendship between the two women that also yielded professional results due to their ties to important networks in the city. For Bonnin, who had left teaching to try her hand at music and writing with the hopes of circulating her work through a more national profile available through the *Atlantic* magazine, there could be no better city.

Sioux Indian Woman: Author and Lecturer²⁵

The first Boston-based publishing house to promote Bonnin as a writer was Ginn and Company. They published her first book *Old Indian Legends* in 1901. A year later, the *Atlantic Monthly* published her essay "Why I Am a Pagan." These were followed by pieces that circulated in national periodicals like *Harper's* and *Everybody's Magazine* as well as journals distributed in various Indian communities across the U.S., such as the Society of American Indians' *American Indian Magazine*. The stories that were serialized by the *Atlantic* were later collected and printed in a book in 1921 by Hayworth Publishing House of Washington, D.C. all told Bonnin produced an impressive array of literary and political texts beginning in 1901 up until her death in 1938.²⁶

Given the content of her autobiographical writings, Sioux folktales, and her later political writings, it is a challenge to position Bonnin's work with regards to genre. She was a writer with a well-cultivated literary talent. She was also a political activist who sought and maintained connections to powerful networks. Her literary art became necessarily entangled with a desire to protest elements in American society that continued

to oppress Native peoples. Many of Bonnin's writings suggest that the fight for Indian political rights should be linked to the preservation of distinctive cultural identities. Her upbringing, as we have seen, contributed to producing an individual with a mix of beliefs that although internally consistent could appear contradictory in the present. She favored some aspects of incorporation like citizenship for example, but was also committed to promoting Native sovereignty over artistic and musical traditions.²⁷

Read as social reform, Bonnin's work addressed themes from her own life that she saw as applicable to other Indian people, including the tension between indigenous spirituality and Christian theology, and the management of inter-generational and inter-tribal differences that were produced by varied educational and social experiences. Bonnin's literary craft also borrowed romantic language and tropes from sentimentality that were recognizable to many readers of American literature.²⁸ In addition, she created characters based on first-hand experience. These figures often function as representatives of white and Indian worldviews. As a folktale writer, Bonnin celebrated certain aspects of Sioux culture. Although she openly criticized the work of Christian missionaries in her writing, she was well-versed in a number of faiths. For example, she read *The Book of Mormon*, and *Science and Health* by Mary Baker Eddy, and no doubt other religious texts. Yet, she remained overtly critical of Christian conversion as a means of assimilating Native people into American society—even as she fought *against* the right of Native people to use Peyote for religious purposes. I point out the different genres that Bonnin used and certain contradictions that she articulated in her writing because many scholars have defined her as a “transitional writer,” because her work deals with conflicts between literature and politics as well as tradition and assimilation.²⁹

The label of “transitional” for Bonnin eschews the possibility for fluidity within her work. Categories of identity –race, class, gender, religion- intersect to mutually shape one another.³⁰ In this case, ambiguity and ambivalence in Bonnin’s work are productive in that she allows for categories like literature, politics, assimilation, and tradition to be unfixed. For her and other Indian intellectuals the idea of “tradition” itself was up for debate during the turn of the twentieth century. One might be tempted to locate her in a liminal space, trapped somewhere between aesthetic creation and political commitment or between the supposedly separate worlds of Christianity and Native American religion. But it makes more sense to consider her literary writings as always contingent and in dialogue with her political projects. For many Indian readers, Bonnin’s ability to express confusion about how to find a cultural home while she was fighting for political freedom seemed familiar and reflected shared concerns. Indeed, this sort of apparent confusion could exist alongside a story asserting that her worldview was entirely coherent and at least *internally* consistent enough for her.³¹

Bonnin had enough professional and personal space to define both political goals and her own subjectivity because of the support of friends, colleagues, and her husband Raymond T. Bonnin. They met in 1902, when Gertrude worked as a teacher at the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota. They were married that same year, and then moved to the Uintah and Ouray reservation in Utah. They lived there until 1916, after which they relocated to Washington, D.C. From 1916 until her death in 1938 the Bonnins lived in the Capitol where they were well-positioned to direct their energies towards Indian reform. One of Bonnin’s greatest achievements as an activist with SAI was editing the organization’s journal. Beginning in the fall of 1918, she edited four issues of “The

American Indian Magazine: A Journal of Race Progress,” published by SAI members.³² Meanwhile, Raymond went to work as a law clerk while Gertrude acted as a lobbyist in support of Indian citizenship. By 1926 she had made political contacts and reshaped Indian policy in order to found her own political organization: the National Council of American Indians (NCAI). Writing and speaking proved integral to this type of political work. Raymond nurtured his wife’s efforts when he became the Secretary for NCAI in support of her Presidency.³³

In addition to her marriage, Gertrude found encouragement for her efforts from various all-female reform groups. On March 8, 1920 Bonnin received a receipt from the League of American Pen Women for her yearly dues. Her association with this type of organization makes sense since Marian Longfellow O’Donoghue (who had ties to both Boston and Washington, D.C.) had established the League in 1897 as a “progressive press union” for female writers. Other white journalists, like Margaret Sullivan Burke and Anna Sanborn Hamilton, were involved in promoting the organization to recruit not only members of the press but artists and composers as well.

By September of 1898, the League boasted over fifty members from Maine to Texas and New York to California. By 1921, the association had officially become The National League of American Pen Women with thirty-five local branches across a number of states. Their membership increased during the 1920s and 1930s. No doubt Bonnin was compelled by the activist origins of the association, since its first members believed women writers should always be compensated for their work.³⁴

In addition to her publishers and her family, Bonnin’s work found support from the professional connections she made as a member of not only the League of American

Pen Women, but a myriad of other all-female organizations. Through her correspondence with women involved in these sorts of groups and other Native writers, artists, and activists Bonnin worked to promote both her political ideals and sales of her books. Writing from New York City in April of 1922, fellow author Princess Blue Feather inquired about how she might obtain a copy of Bonnin's *American Indian Stories*. Blue Feather also wrote about her own work, which consisted of "many poems of our race, but as yet [I] have not had them published." This statement was not wholly true given that Blue Feather had several pieces appear in Dr. Montezuma's newsletter, *Wassaja*, which was "a great compliment" since his paper "is such a vitally important medium to reach those who are ignorant of the conditions regarding our race."³⁵

Bonnin's reply to Blue Feather on May 2, 1922, offers us a glimpse into how candid she was when writing to other Indian women about how to defend the good name of "our people." Indeed these types of exchanges were as important to the creation and maintenance of Indian political reform networks as much as Indian publications. Bonnin's postscript refers to a newspaper clipping that Blue Feather had enclosed with her letter, which is revealing in a new way. She writes, "The clipping only shows how ignorant many White Americans are about the real Indian people of our country. They have much to learn!" This remark demonstrates Bonnin's openness to a new friend and her strategic inversion of the "real Indian" discourse that permeated news reports during this period, especially as we have seen previously with regard to Eastman's work as a public speaker. In many cases, these reports supported an ethnic authenticity of discourse that was built upon White expectations for Indianness. Bonnin's use of "real Indian" here

refers instead to a shared understanding that she and Blue Feather had regarding who they were versus how others might see them.³⁶

Apart from Blue Feather, there were several long-time white supporters of Bonnin's publishing career. Principal among them was Marianna Burgess. Bonnin and Burgess regularly exchanged letters throughout the early decades of the new century. On May 6, 1922, Burgess wrote to Bonnin from Los Angeles regarding the California State Federation of Women's clubs (CSFW). This group had also supported John Collier's work with the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), another reform organization that emerged out of the southwest during this period. According to Burgess, the CSFW was important and useful because they were trying "to keep the Indian to the front." In particular, one of the ways the CSFW aimed to educate the public about Indian reform was through dramatic performance. However fraught this forum could be, Burgess writes about it as a strategy in her letter to Bonnin.³⁷

Virginia Calhoun tried so loyally to present in out-door drama an archaic story of the true character of the primitive Indian. She is a playwright of considerable prominence. There were actual trees set out for a forest background. The scheme was grand. The whole Indian program shows your work in Salt Lake. But dear oh me, how ignorant the educated are!

The way in which Burgess reconstructs the performance space as the arena in which to highlight "the true character of the primitive Indian" fits well within the realm of dominant expectations regarding spectacular displays of Indianness. In fact, these performances reproduced "reality" so that audiences might crave the spectacle again and again rather than learn more about the rights and situations of actual Indian people.³⁸

Additionally, in Burgess's letter is a remark about Bonnin's own foray into dramatic performance through her "work in Salt Lake." This refers to a 1913

performance of *The Sun Dance*, an Opera based on Indian history and themes, which Bonnin helped produce. Yet the aim of Burgess' letter is to promote the sale of Bonnin's books more than Indian performances. Burgess notes, there is "a fine display of your books in one of the best book-stores in town" it seems possible that "this display" will result in "good sales." The success of Bonnin's books certainly had something to do with white desires to see Indianized performances. In this context, Bonnin found ways to navigate cultural expectations, so that she could sell more books and arrange speaking engagements to address white audiences; all the while Bonnin recognized that she could work within these expectations in order to ultimately change them.

Bonnin and Burgess's partnership to promote and sell a native author's books was not unusual at this time. In a similar fashion, white writers who supported Indian policy reforms paired up with Native authors to promote their careers. As I show in Chapter Four (which focuses on Luther Standing Bear and his alliance with white editors), individuals like Lucullus McWhorter, who worked closely with Christine Quintasket to produce and market *Cogewea: the Half-Blood* (1927), and Earl Alonzo Brininstool, who helped to edit *My People the Sioux* (1928) by Standing Bear, were eager to support Indian people beyond the realm of culture by becoming members in political reform groups, such as the National League for Justice to American Indians. Similarly Charles Eastman traveled widely during this period to give public lectures about Indian history and politics, *and* to promote himself as an author; his success hinged on an ability to tap into white cultural networks.

As writers, one thing Eastman and Bonnin had in common was their connection to the Boston publishing world. Eastman, for example, found support from Little, Brown

and Company. This company was clearly interested in promoting the work of *Indian* writers, given that it had begun publishing legal documents related to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of these documents concerned treaties, court cases, and conflicts between Indian people and the U.S. By 1925 the company agreed to publish all *Atlantic Monthly* books, and with this agreement came an opportunity to publish work written by as opposed to about Indian people. In this instance one can see Eastman and Bonnin traveling along similar if not also overlapping writing circuits. As we know, Bonnin's book about *Old Indian Legends* (1901), with illustrations by Ho-Chunk artist Angel De Cora, was also produced by a Boston based publisher, Ginn and Company.³⁹

This publishing house was established by Edwin Ginn, a graduate of Tufts University, who was interested in educational textbooks. Although Ginn had begun the company with textbooks in mind, because he saw an opening with the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Education his vision to educate the American people expanded beyond the realm of school books. Still, it was in this context that the company sought work by Native authors, like Bonnin. Her autobiographical essays and folktales fit neatly into Ginn's ideology of education. Ginn "saw millions of children trooping to elementary schools throughout the land and the tens of thousands of earnest students who would be enrolled in the high schools and in state and private colleges" with books provided by his company, and moreover, he sought to include Indian authors in this vision. Ginn's beliefs grew out of a common discourse during the nineteenth century that tied literacy and literature to the project of building the nation. His choice to include Native authors in such a project helped to promote their histories, ideas, and stylistic choices as integral to

the U.S. rather than locating them solely in the past or in the imaginaries produced by white authors. Ginn was also a supporter of the International Congress on Race and through this meeting Ginn's interest in Native American issues represents an important link between Eastman and Bonnin.⁴⁰

When Ginn and Company published *Old Indian Legends* in 1901, it represented the ideals of a publishing house interested in "building up the list of elementary, high-school, college, and technical books." It also became part of the company's legacy for promoting English language texts as part of a uniquely American literary history as they turned towards publishing modern language books. This move was important for Ginn and for Bonnin in that the company moved to marketing books outside of the United States. It was probably no surprise to Bonnin then when she received a letter on June 8, 1926 from Ginn that stated, "A German lady desires to translate *Old Indian Legends* into German. Are you willing that she should do so?" Bonnin responded promptly by June 11th to note that she had "no objections whatever to the translation" because indeed such a request "indicates the growing interest in the American Indian generally and in a measure encourages me to write other *Indian Legends* of which I have sometime ago written you."⁴¹ The educational and political reach of *Old Indian Legends* was celebrated by Bonnin and her publishing house. For example, in 1930, she wrote to the company again to inquire about a *School Reader*, which had been produced to include her stories. In this instance, Bonnin's remarks showcase that it was not only white progressives and adults who were interested in reading her work, but children as well. She writes, "It has been my pleasure to be told by children here in Washington, and others in Virginia that one of my stories is in the *School reader* they are using today."⁴²

Bonnin's books were not only marketed to schools and libraries, but to wider reading publics since her publisher advertised her texts in national periodicals. At the same time, Bonnin also remained committed to circulating her work among an Indian reading community that crisscrossed tribal boundaries and America's political geography. For instance, in 1919, while working as the general editor for the SAI journal, *American Indian Magazine*, Bonnin published a short, but timely and provocative article titled, "America, Home of the Red Man." In this particular piece, home has many meanings for Indian people, and Bonnin plays with the association between home and nation to make a larger claim regarding citizenship. As an example, she speaks to Native soldiers who had fought in the First World War and for whom "home" resonated on a number of levels. Bonnin's article uses allegories to enliven and inspire fellow Indians to reconsider what home means to them as Native people living in the U.S.

Her essay deftly shifts between narration using third and first person narration, as she describes a chance encounter with another traveler. Bonnin, as a character (and as we know also as a narrator) is "en route West" to assist with the Society of American Indians annual conference in Pierre, South Dakota. While traveling she meets a white stranger who looks at the service pin that Bonnin wears and asks, "You have a relative in the war?" This question and Bonnin's response in the story is personal and direct, but underlying the exchange is the issue of patriotism and the tension between Native veterans who have fought a war on behalf of a nation that still does not define them as full citizens. Bonnin's response is as follows, "the star is for my husband, a member of the great Sioux Nation, who is a volunteer in Uncle Sam's Army." By framing her husband's citizenship through the Sioux Nation and gesturing to his service to the U.S.

(Uncle Sam), Bonnin raises a specter that haunted Indian Country during this period: how to reconcile military service with continued practices of oppression by the federal government towards Native people.

Bonnin's response also strategically positions the Sioux Nation on equal footing with the United States by referring to the army in familial and familiar terms rather than purely nationalist ones. Yet the moment seems uncanny because the traveler is struck by Bonnin's assertion. She describes him thus: "A light spread over the countenance of the pale-faced stranger. 'Oh! Yes! You are an Indian! Well, I knew when I first saw you that you must be a foreigner.'" With these strange words, spoken thoughtlessly, this man disappears. He vanishes rather than staying to debate with her, "dropped like a sudden curtain behind which the speaker faded instantly from my vision." The disappearance of the stranger and his remarks regarding her foreignness perpetuate the feeling of the uncanny in this moment. Bonnin uses this to abruptly transition to the actual foreign places of the First World War's battlefields.

Suddenly the narrative shifts and the reader is in the battlefields of Europe where, "ten thousand Indian soldiers are swaying to and fro... [so] that democracy might live." Here Bonnin uses the war in Europe and the fact of Native service to urge Indian readers to consider a different battlefield. Indeed the image of Indian soldiers "swaying to and fro" in defense of democracy enables Bonnin to move from Europe to the home-front in the U.S., and the war over citizenship she wishes to fight. Bonnin highlights the sacrifices made by Indian soldiers on behalf of a nation where many Indian people are recognized as foreigners to debate the terms of their military service.⁴³

Her article then pointedly argues that “The Red Man of America loves democracy and hates mutilated treaties.” By drawing on the sentimental and making overtly political comments, following her encounter with a curious stranger and an almost dream-like scene of European battlefields, Bonnin sets the stage for criticizing U.S. democracy, upon which these moments turn. She writes,

Time and distance were eliminated by the fast succession of pictures crowding before me. The dome of our nation’s Capital appeared. A great senator of Indian blood introduced upon the floor of the United States Senate a resolution that all Indian funds in the United States Treasury be available to our government, if need be, for the prosecution of the war. From coast to coast throughout our broad land not a single voice of the Red Man was raised to protest against it.⁴⁴

Not every reader would have had access to the same education, nor would he or she have the same cultural or political commitments to Indian rights as Bonnin defines them. However, her rhetoric unifies Indian people under the banner of “America” as a shared “Home.” She makes this connection explicit by defining America as the Home of the Red Man and the Home of Democracy. Additionally, in this context Bonnin urges her Indian readers to raise their voices in protest. She calls for a response to the injustice of using Indian funds to prosecute a war in Europe by asking an important question: “When shall the Red Man be deemed worthy of full citizenship if not now?” This question, of course, is doubly ironic when reading World War I as an imperialist endeavor rather than a democratic one.

Moreover, in the context of a world war that had affected many people in Indian country, Bonnin’s strategy is to push for former soldiers and their supporters to fight for “home” within the political arena of the U.S. Her text mobilizes loaded feelings of patriotism to ask for a renewed commitment towards citizenship. This story illustrates

Native peoples' beliefs in and support of America, but also how they must fight for their rights within and against it. In this case, Bonnin's call for citizenship aims to be heard throughout Indian Country and the United States.⁴⁵

Bonnin's narrative ends with a return to the pale-face stranger. In what seems like a fantastic encounter she highlights the quotidian and American aspects of their exchange, using the frame of the book market. "From the questions with which I plied him, he probably guessed I was a traveling book agent...Slowly shaking his head, the stranger withdrew cautiously, lest he be snared into subscribing for one or all of these publications." This framing is significant given Bonnin's identity as an author, and by extension her status as an educated Indian who knew this market all too well, even if she did not sell books herself. Furthermore, keeping this denouement in mind, one can imagine that Indian readers followed the unusual workings of this story to its' logical conclusion: that America was indeed theirs for the taking, but the question still remained, as to how the Indian could engage the paleface in this project? For Bonnin, answers to this question often lay scattered across her desk.⁴⁶

Epistolary Culture Networks

Interspersed throughout memoranda, letters, and writings are ideas that reflect Bonnin's intimate relationship with the inner-workings of the Office of Indian Affairs (which later became known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs or BIA), white progressives, and other Indian intellectuals. Her success as a writer and public speaker, for example, did not go unnoticed by members of the Department of the Interior.

In September of 1922, Chief Clerk, C.F. Hauke, sent Bonnin a letter regarding a new edition of *Indian Legends*, which he wanted to include in the Office Library. According to Hauke, “This library is maintained, with the exception of the purchase of a few law books, by contributions of various authors and publishers, and it has been thought that you may desire to have a copy of your publication upon the Library shelves.” How would Bonnin have reacted to the Clerk’s letter? At first she may have been surprised and even laughed to express mixed feelings of frustration and bemusement. Certainly, there were a number of reasons the Indian Office might write to her. This particular letter acknowledges Bonnin’s work and expertise while it maintains a careful distance, one that suggests politics and culture should not be connected.

Interestingly, Hauke’s letter explains that the library may serve political and public interest regarding Indian affairs when he writes,

In connection with the library work a miscellaneous correspondence desk is maintained, where numerous inquiries relative to Indian customs, history, legends, etc., are answered, and it is often advisable to refer the correspondent to various publications on the subjects concerning which inquiry is made, quoting, where available, price and publisher.

Hauke’s request points to Bonnin’s cultural work as a useful reference tool. It also suggests she might be able to sell a few books through her association with their library. Furthermore, Hauke’s letter connects us to one of the networks that Bonnin succeeded in navigating, which was the Office of Indian Affairs. Policy reform work that she did while balancing her commitments to Indian intellectual and cultural production.⁴⁷

Six years later, on September 24, 1928, Bonnin sent a six-page letter to Miss Vera Connolly of New York about the “present Indian movement.” Bonnin wrote, “My whole life has been devoted to the Indian cause, but more ostensibly my relationship with

the...movement,” began in 1921 when “at my plea” Indian welfare was taken up by the General Federation of Women’s Clubs (GFWC). Indeed the work with the GFWC indexed in this letter enabled Bonnin to give a series of public talks to women’s clubs across the U.S. for several years. However, Bonnin’s ability to participate in these public lectures decreased as she gave more “attention to legislation of Congress on Indian affairs.” By this time in her life, Bonnin was married with one son, and had already published sets of short stories and non-fiction pieces. All the while she continued to build personal and professional relationships that were bolstered by letter writing. In this particular letter, Bonnin includes a biographical sketch of her life and a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws for the NCAI. She notes that “Our letterhead symbolizes the reunion of the tribes pitching their lodges in the circular camp ground.” This excerpt embodies the centrality of correspondence in creating and strengthening pan-tribal networks throughout this decade and demonstrates the leading role Bonnin played in creating and maintaining these connections.⁴⁸

Throughout this section I examine a few representative letters from Bonnin’s extensive personal collection to showcase the types of networks she accessed to benefit her career and promote Indian activism. Following the letter from Hauke and the one Bonnin sent to Connolly, I look at an exchange with Carlos Montezuma before moving on to Bonnin’s female friends and supporters, Marianna Burgess and Stella Atwood, to point out the ways in which Women’s organizations were essential to the work that Bonnin sought to accomplish. Ultimately, she emerges as one among a cohort of Indian intellectuals, unique but not solitary in her aims, one who relied on alliances with white progressive organizations to gain widespread support for reforming Indian policy.⁴⁹

In the winter of 1915, as Gertrude and Raymond prepared to leave Utah and move to D.C., she found herself “under a big load of correspondence” that had accumulated and needed her immediate attention. Drawing a letter out of the pile, Bonnin began writing to “Monte,” a term of affection she used to refer to friend and fellow Indian reformer, Carlos Montezuma. Bonnin wrote about the development of SAI, which was nearly five years old at the time. Monte and Gertrude had been engaged several years before, and during that time they exchanged many letters that reveal both their romantic relationship and their shared interest in promoting Indian citizenship. In several letters, she teases him, using a list of attributes that he does not possess, and therefore, explaining why she is better off without him. Overall, these letters reveal a relationship based on mutual respect and understanding that survived despite a broken engagement. My interest, however, is with the specific instances in which Bonnin and Montezuma wrote about politics rather than romance. Therefore, I focus on the letters written after they broke off their engagement and had already married other people.

SAI reached the zenith of its influence in American culture as Bonnin began her tenure as Secretary. In many ways this work enabled her to act as a critical interlocutor for SAI members and as a voice for then President Charles Eastman. She also became a memorable and fashionable public face for Indian womanhood through SAI. When she wrote to Montezuma she wanted to discuss ways they could strengthen the efforts of this pan-tribal organization.

In 1915, Bonnin was reaching out to political activists in D.C. who were interested in Indian issues. She was especially focused on increasing the membership and influence of SAI. Writing to Montezuma, she calls on him to be strategic, and applauds

him saying, “I am glad you have been writing some good letters.” She writes again in 1918 about the importance of content and style for correspondence related to SAI.

Dr. Eastman, like you, is planing [sic] a letter to his friends, both Indian and White, asking them to take interest in our society and become members. Why don't you write two letters, one to Indians and one to the Whites and have these letters multigraphed; send them out by the hundreds! They will bring results.

Within Bonnin's plea for activity is strategic planning and the enthusiasm that Indian intellectuals felt with regards to using emergent technologies to reach multiple reading publics. The multigraphing process demonstrates her awareness of a useful connection between epistolary culture and newsletter production. During this same time, Montezuma was circulating *Wassaja*. It aimed to reach Indian audiences interested in political reform and to respond to a white dominated press. Montezuma could have easily put Bonnin's suggestions into immediate practice.⁵⁰

Like other members of SAI, Bonnin and Montezuma understood the power of rhetorical effect and the necessity of crafting different messages for different audiences. As writers and readers living in urban settings they had easy access to an array of periodicals, which may have served as models for ways to engage white readers. Curiously, jotted at the bottom of a typed letter is a handwritten afterthought, where Bonnin urges Monte to “Read ‘Drifting Cloud’ in November *Cosmopolitan!*”

Framed within Indian intellectual production, Bonnin's note reveals the eye of a well-trained writer and avid reader, someone who recognizes the relationship between letters and publications. In this context, it is not surprising that both she and Montezuma read magazines like *Cosmopolitan* and other nationally circulating periodicals.⁵¹ In 1918, Bonnin would have paid 2.00 dollars for a yearly subscription, if she did not happen to

stop by her local newsstand to buy one issue for 25 cents. The article, which she briefly referenced in a postscript, was actually titled: “Drifting Smoke.” It was written by Gouverneur Morris with illustrations by Lejaren A. Hiller and appeared alongside pieces by writers like Jack London. The title, “Drifting Smoke,” refers to the protagonist known as Oliver Pigeon.⁵²

It seems likely that this story appealed to Bonnin (and she would imagine it might appeal to Montezuma too) because Oliver is described as a Harvard “educated Indian” with a “very tender” heart. This image is contrasted with that of his grandfather, a man of a different generation who bore a heavy burden because he “was a connecting link between the Kansas prairies of 1900 and the Atlantic seaboard before the white men came.”⁵³ Although Oliver is the hero of this story because of his educational achievements and athletic prowess, Morris points out Oliver has one weakness, his “one hatred” for an Indian agent named Mr. Ross. Ross is cruel and corrupt, a man who has “bled the Indians under his care in every conceivable way...All the Indians knew it; but they couldn’t prove it.” Both men are ultimately undone by the corrupt behavior of this agent.⁵⁴

The climax of the story features a now “sickened” Oliver paying a nighttime visit to Ross’s daughter. He creeps into her bedroom while she is asleep, planning to scalp her. Oliver is described ambivalently, “at once of figure dreadful and ludicrous” when some “curious and wonderful thing happened.”⁵⁵ Ross’s daughter is a symbol of white womanhood because of the purity of her face, the only hint of color coming from her rosy cheeks. As Oliver gazes upon her the sweetness of her countenance and the fact of her gender and race enable her to reach for his hand. In this instance the young woman’s

hand becomes a metaphor for the outreach of civilization, salvation, and the type of reform that Bonnin may have sought and also questioned when she worked with white women's organizations. With this gesture Oliver's fate is changed. He cannot scalp the girl after having received the "gift" of her touch; and by extension, Indian people can no longer resist the encroachment of U.S. society upon them and their lands after being touched by the hand of civilization. Oliver retreats from the girl's bedroom drifting like smoke out into the night air.

The story ends with Oliver sitting in the front yard of the Ross house: "A naked Indian, his legs stretched out, sat under the tree, his back against the tremendous stem. Across his knees was a bow and quiver of arrows. Upon his head a crown of eagle-feathers. His cheeks were streaked with dead white and vermilion."⁵⁶ Oliver's war paint represents a futile attempt to reunite with his Indian culture, which he has lost by going east and attending school. Agent Ross, kept awake night after night by Oliver's distant coughs outside his home, then approaches the tree to see Oliver. Both men seem plagued by the reality of each other. Oliver's "sickness" in the story makes him mad, so that he leaves his family to live in the woods where he plots to kill Ross and his daughter; an Indian desire to destroy a white future perhaps. While Mr. Ross cannot escape the fact of Oliver's distant coughs, he is haunted by the omnipresent ghostliness of Indians and cannot sleep. Their proximity throughout the story and at the end offers an implicit critique of the uneasy relationship between Indian agents and their wards.

When at last Oliver dies from his mysterious sickness, lying beneath a tree by the Ross' house, Agent Ross approaches and he too falls ill and dies. However, the story does not end there. The final image that we're left with, and that may have captured Bonnin's

attention, is of Ross's daughter and her fiancé, Mr. Gilroy. Together they make breakfast and discuss where Mr. Ross might be. They will soon be married and become a family, a potential metonym for the U.S. nation. The fact that they are blissfully ignorant of two dead men (one white, and one Indian) whose bodies lie just beyond the home's kitchen further suggests that the nation itself is ignorant of the violence wrought by a legacy of colonialism and racial conflict, which has led to the dispossession and decline of so many Indian people.

What might Bonnin have thought about this story's fallen Indian man, who seems at first to occupy a position not unlike herself since Oliver is "one member of his race" who "might enjoy an equally glorious future" and yet, ends up as an "emaciated body"? The critique of Ross, the corrupt Indian Agent, would have appealed to Bonnin and Montezuma given their criticism of the mismanagement of reservation lands by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The sentimental depiction of Oliver as "a full-blooded Indian descended from chieftains" may also have appealed to Bonnin as an author who drew on similar imagery. It is likely she saw the tragedy of his death as a useful allegory to point out the ways in which a return to "the land and the ways of his people" was no cure for "the white man's consumption."⁵⁷ Her recommendation of this story to Montezuma demonstrates the variety of texts that Indian intellectuals read, and how they remained actively reading and thinking about the varied representations of Indianness that circulated around them through these stories. Such representations were critical to the various strategies they could and did use in regard to self fashioning multiple public personae.

Bonnin's other letters communicated more mundane business and the highs and lows of personal life. Still, many of these letters were useful as political strategizing tools. Looking within these exchanges one can see the ways Indian activists criticized and disagreed with one another. For example, on June 30, 1919 Bonnin expressed a mixture of concern and excitement in a letter she sent about federal legislation and an Indian Appropriation Bill. Central to her concern was the problem of not having enough activists to aid in the fight. "Right now, I have been too tired to relax; and suffer from sleeplessness...I hope for the day to come when we shall have more workers; when the work may be divided and not have it hung too heavily upon any one." This hope for more hands to share the burden of political reform remained central to Bonnin's life.

In fact, throughout her work as SAI secretary Bonnin promoted messages of solidarity and unity in order to lighten the load of political reform that she must have felt. At the same time, she promoted unity because of the points of disagreement and clashes of personality that occurred among Indian intellectuals who worked through SAI and other groups and who did not always agree on political tactics. Writing to Montezuma, she responds to his dismissal of the work of Indians in Washington, whom he sees as just sitting around in offices, rather than doing more overtly political work. She writes, "I am sure that you never meant to charge me with 'sitting in my office' indifferent to Congressional Acts." This retort both pushes back against Montezuma's idea of what Indian reform work can look like and also uses a friendly tone to remind him that "we're in this together" after all. His own work as a physician in Chicago brought Montezuma into contact with different sorts of personal and political issues than those Bonnin was familiar with. In this context one can see how they had to negotiate different points of

view because of their unique subject positions due to class, gender, as well as race. Indeed because Bonnin was based out of Washington, D.C. she had better access than Montezuma to certain political networks, and in this context her note aims to keep him in the fold of SAI's activities originating out of D.C., not Chicago. She makes her alliances plain to him, "Let us not blame the Society of American Indians for failure to dictate to the American Congress" because she knows they need to work together to gather more Indian and non-Indian supporters for their efforts. Indeed she emphasizes this point when she writes, "You tell me to gather up 'forces' that are not in existence unless they are spirits!" Her phrasing throughout this letter represents a pragmatic and emphatic response to political goals and how to maintain bonds between Indian activists that were crucial to creating and maintaining pan-tribal networks during this period.⁵⁸

Not only did Bonnin delicately suture together opinionated figures (like Montezuma) with other Indian activists, but she also found ways to form alliances with white female reformers.⁵⁹ One woman in particular, Marianna Burgess from Los Angeles, found the time to support Indian reform and the specific work that Bonnin could do. During the 1920s, Burgess lived and worked in a neighborhood in downtown Los Angeles, which today forms a sub-district of the community of Westlake called Pico-Union (named for the intersection of these two streets). Burgess was not necessarily well-positioned to be a patron of Indian reform, given that she worked full-time and lived "all alone." But apparently, she also did quite well for herself in the "gold selling game."⁶⁰ Somehow Burgess found the time to help Bonnin with "Indian matters." Burgess was one of a number of white female reformers who lived in southern California during the early decades of the twentieth century and became philanthropists for Indian reform issues.

Like many of these women, Burgess openly favored “the abolishment of the Bureau” of Indian Affairs.

Throughout most of 1921, while Bonnin wrote to Burgess, she lived a transient life on the road. Bonnin surveyed living conditions among Indian people across the Plains and southwest, gathering data to show Congress concrete examples of suffering and abuse that resulted from the Reservation system and the economic conditions created by the General Allotment Act of 1887. The letters Burgess and Bonnin exchanged during this period focus on the political goals Bonnin wanted to accomplish, and the inspirational role that Burgess believed Bonnin should play.

Glad you are going to find your RIGHT place. Opportunities will be plenty, and you are going to be the intellectual and spiritual Joan of Arc of your people, not in a sensational way, but a way that will TELL for their good.⁶¹

Bonnin’s “RIGHT” place according to Burgess positioned her in a critical juncture between leading Indian people and representing them to the larger world. This fact enabled Bonnin to search for steady streams of income in support of her activist work. During the time these women exchanged letters, Bonnin was constantly traveling as a lecturer to promote the “Indian cause,” maintaining her writing career, while also pursuing research to lobby for policy reform. She also sought new ways to increase sales for her books and to have her older works reprinted. Burgess understood the financial costs of activist work for someone like Bonnin, becoming one of the writer’s benefactresses.

In fact, Burgess promoted Bonnin as an “intellectual and spiritual Joan of Arc” for Indian people among white networks of power. Such networks grew out of a plethora of

local and national women's organizations, which had been created to address social ills, women's suffrage, as well as Indian rights. In letters to her Indian allies, Bonnin often expresses skepticism and resignation regarding the support of these white women's groups. Still, she understood that women of color needed to tap into a range of networks and harness various representational strategies to produce lasting political change. She relied on the financial and public support of white women's organizations to further her career as an author, Indian spokesperson, and lobbyist. For example, in November of 1921, Burgess encouraged Bonnin to make a trip to California, where she "could arrange for ten lectures at \$50.00 [each]."⁶² This amount would equal as much as \$600 dollars for Bonnin in today's context. This is but one example of the ways that alliances between Native and white women could be both politically and financially advantageous.⁶³

Relying on the strength of her relationship with Marianna Burgess, Bonnin sent a letter to Marianna's brother, Dr. C.A. Burgess, who lived in Chicago. Bonnin was set to speak at The Chicago Culture Club, Rogers Park Woman's Club, the Arche Club, and the Tenth District meeting, from January 9th through the 16th in 1921. Her letter asks if Dr. Burgess might arrange for her to speak at his "Church of Spirit Healing." She broaches the matter by referring explicitly to Marianna who "suggested that arrangements might be made for me to speak in your Church...." Bonnin's letter draws on personal connections between herself and Burgess and between a sister and brother. It also does important discursive work.

In fact, her letter to Dr. Burgess writes both within and against primitivism as an ideology defined in opposition to modernity. She casts it as both positive and negative. Bonnin does this by framing herself and her talk in racialized terms that rely on the

oppositional relation between the primitive and the modern. She writes: “I am an Indian (Sioux) and my subject is the Indian.” Bonnin is clearly self-conscious about how to represent Indianness according to white expectations. She adds this important detail concerning her appearance for the talk, “I usually speak in my native costume, unless otherwise requested.” This comment on costuming and performance worked within the discursive logic of cultural practices embodied by Indian women who were performers during the early twentieth century.

Bonnin was not alone in her ability to self-consciously represent Indian womanhood for a white audience. For example, Tsianina Redfeather (Creek/Cherokee, c.1882-1985), listed on the Creek rolls as Florence Evans, enjoyed a successful career as a professional singer and entertainer that enabled her to participate in Charles Wakefield Cadman’s opera *Shanewis*. And, “Princess Watawaso,” also known as Lucy Nicolar (Penobscot, 1882-1969) was employed by the “Redpath Chautauqua Circuit” where she performed generic “Indian” entertainments. These two women were well known to white audiences for their musical talents and their ability to embody characteristics of an imaginary Indian Princess.

Like Bonnin, they were strategic about when and how to promote themselves in relation to their talent or in relation to their Indianness. As performers on the operatic stage who *also* participated in public speaking tours, Redfeather and Watawaso had to navigate different understandings about Indian womanhood. On the one hand, they played Indian in ways that aligned with what other Indian performers were doing with nostalgia and the re-enactment of historical events that were popularized through Wild West shows. On the other hand, there were other discursive ways that Indian women

could appeal to a white audience because of the romances written during the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. They certainly had to make choices about what clothes to wear and how to embody Indian womanhood whether they were performing in a musical or giving a public lecture. These ideas were created by non-Indian actors and actresses who “played Indian” and by real Indian performers who re-enacted nostalgic historical conflicts as part of a Wild West frontier fantasy.⁶⁴

Furthermore, all three of these women relied on and to some extent were able to reshape the market for Indianness as a performance. Within this market the real and imagined came together. When Bonnin references wearing “my native costume” she suggests the performative nature of her talk and mobilizes a particular politics of representation. Regardless of the imagined Indianness upon which lecture success hinged, this was a material reality for Bonnin because she was well-paid for these performances and wanted to put her earnings towards “support of the cause.”⁶⁵

Through participating in this market, Native people became increasingly attuned to balancing cultural performance opportunities with their political reform work. For example, Ella Deloria (Yankton Sioux, 1888-1971) worked as a “national field representative” from 1919 to 1925 for the YWCA’s Indian Bureau, and several years later, in 1940 and 1941, produced a community pageant for the Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina. Like Deloria and Bonnin, Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee, 1897-1981) was highly educated (graduating from Mount Holyoke College in 1925). She also worked as a guidance and placement officer for the Bureau of Indian Affairs’ Education Division (1930), and later became active in the National Congress of American Indians, which was founded in 1944.

Deloria and Bronson were not exactly the cultural performers that Redfeather and Watawaso were, and yet we can see through these women's activities how different sorts of networks of Native women crisscrossed and informed one another. In other words, politics and performance operated at the center of what they aimed to do and what they could do. These networks of Native women were also intimately tied to white women's reform work, as we have seen with Burgess and Bonnin.⁶⁶

Indeed, as Burgess helped Bonnin make contacts in Chicago that would add to her work as a public lecturer, she also connected Bonnin to a network of women's organizations that emerged out of the West Coast. Together, Bonnin and Burgess promoted a pan-Indianist cause by selling Bonnin's books and arranging speaking engagements for her in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Pasadena, as well as Portland and Seattle.⁶⁷ The combination of writing and speaking was critical to Bonnin's success as an interlocutor between pan-Indian reform groups and those of white women. For instance, also in California, Stella Atwood worked as the state Chairman of the Division of Indian Welfare (a part of the Department of Welfare under the aegis of the California Federation of Women's Clubs) out of Riverside, and helped Bonnin pursue their shared reform goals.⁶⁸ Atwood and Bonnin were similar in that they each became known as social and political brokers for Indian people. Of course an important distinction resides in Atwood's status as a white woman.⁶⁹

The friendship and political alliance between Gertrude Bonnin and Stella Atwood was no coincidence. In fact, Atwood had worked as a "clubwoman" in California for some time, and she drew on her relationships with Indian activists to influence other women in these clubs, as well as reformers like John Collier. As Karin Huebner has

shown, alliances that formed between California Clubwomen, Collier, and the Indians of the Southwest from 1917 to 1934 were based on a mutual interest in Indian reform despite differences in gender, class, and ethnicity. Huebner also shows the extent to which California clubwomen effectively waged political campaigns aimed at supporting Indian religious freedom, protection of tribal lands, and native self-determination. As Margaret D. Jacobs has argued, important parallels existed between clubwomen's philosophy and work in Indian reform with the ideas expressed by antimodern feminists, such as Mabel Dodge Luhan. These women sought out Native cultural ideals and practices in their quest for personal redemption; in effect they celebrated Indian primitivism as defined by communalism, spiritualism, and a close relationship to the land as the antidote to the moral decay and corruption they believed necessarily accompanied modernity.⁷⁰

Clearly, many Indian people did not miss out on opportunities to form alliances with white supporters when threatened by federal legislation that sought to undermine their claims to land. In fact, letters that Bonnin and Atwood exchanged during 1921 focused on two main goals. The first was to promote the use of Bonnin's writings, especially *American Indian Stories*, in Club programs. This activity worked in tandem with their second goal, which was to gain club members in support of Indian reform efforts. On December 30, 1921, Atwood wrote to Bonnin that she was "anxious to have a fine Indian Exhibit and if this Indian Arts and Crafts Society is what it should be, it will be a great opportunity for them also" at the Biennial meeting of the California Federation of Women's Clubs in Chautauqua, New York to be held in June of 1922. The twin goals

of Bonnin and Atwood came together when club members and Indian activists united for this meeting.⁷¹

In 1922 and 1923, two pieces of legislation, the Bursum and Lenroot Bills, were put before Congress; these bills aimed to settle disputes regarding land titles and water rights between Pueblos and non-Indian claimants. In effect, the Bursum Bill would dispossess Pueblos of land without legal recourse to fight non-Indian claimants. Atwood and Collier worked together with Indian reform organizations and the Pueblo Indians to campaign against the Bursum Bill. Testimonies before the House Committee on Indian Affairs on January 15, 1923 succeeded in stopping the bill's passage. As Huebner shows, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, with Atwood as Chairwoman, was a critical force in defeating this type of legislation. In addition, Tisa Wenger notes that the organization of Indian people of the Southwest, through the Council of All of the New Mexico Pueblos, was also critical in protesting and stopping the Bursum Bill.⁷²

A year after the defeat of the Bursum Bill, John Collier formed the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA). Atwood, along with other officers and members from the California Federation of Women's Clubs, served on the executive board. This alliance was timely given that 1923 was devoted to the defeat of the Lenroot Bill, which had been actively opposed by the All Pueblo Council. Unfortunately, representatives from the New Mexico branch of the Indian Rights Association (IRA) (a white reform organization familiar to Bonnin) argued in support of the Lenroot Bill.

Early on the morning of January 3, 1924, Stella Atwood sent an urgent telegram to Gertrude Bonnin aiming to defeat the Lenroot Bill. It read: "I am sending you special delivery letter which will explain why I want you to attend a board meeting at

headquarters please plan to dress in costume and be there as much as possible I am worried as to outcome if you aren't here." The aforementioned letter, which Atwood surely must have sent in haste, urges Bonnin to visit with members of the Board because the "New Mexico group have been perniciously busy poisoning the minds of everyone possible." Although neither the telegram nor the letter make specific mention of the effort to stop the Lenroot Bill, it seems likely that Atwood enlisted Bonnin to help convince Board members to oppose this bill alongside members of AIDA and the All Pueblo Council. The "New Mexico group" that was "poisoning" peoples' minds may be a coded reference to a branch of the IRA. Atwood's letter further suggests that Bonnin could best represent Indian people at the meeting, if she would "dress up in your costume and go over to Headquarters the day before the meeting and see what you can find out."⁷³ With this request, Atwood appealed to Bonnin as a successful political organizer, a representative for Indian people in general, and specifically in her ability to perform Indianness in strategic ways.

Another letter, sent to Raymond Bonnin from Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter (President of Woman's Department Club from 1922-1924), also emphasizes Bonnin's ability to win over the hearts of club women "by her charming personality, her appealing voice and her sincere message for her people."⁷⁴ Like so many of Bonnin's letters and public performances we see a mixing of method and message in this compliment. Surely Bonnin was successful, because she was an Indian woman advocating for "her people." At the same time it was equally likely that she captivated audiences because she possessed well-honed performance skills.

Performance Opportunities: Photography, Music, and Indian Play

As we have seen with literature and politics the power of representation was a theme that permeated much of Bonnin's life as an Indian intellectual. This section considers how Bonnin engaged with performativity as an avenue through which she might not only represent herself, but also Indianness writ large. To begin I look at two photographs of Bonnin from 1898 taken by Gertrude Kasebier (1852-1934). In these portraits Bonnin appears not in the garb of an opera performer or Wild West show entertainer, but in modest dresses with her hair loosely tied at the back. In one she holds a violin, and in the other a book rests lightly in her lap. Taken during the 1890s, Kasebier aimed to create an alternative archive of images that would portray Bonnin and other Indian subjects in contemporary frames, wearing clothes and holding objects that



depicted their interests and aptitudes as opposed to the vast majority of publicity materials and photographs taken to promote the careers of Indian actors and performers.

(figure 3.1 Kasebier circa 1898)

Bonnin and Kasebier met when Bonnin was just beginning to promote herself as “Zitkala-Sa” (Indian author) and was busy traveling between Boston and New York. Let us consider this first image with the violin, which represents Bonnin's love of music and her recent course of study at the New England Conservatory. It reveals a young, yet savvy woman who is keenly aware of the power of her representation. Holding her violin with a penetrating gaze and slightly turned head Bonnin looks right into the eye of the camera.

Her straight gaze, tilted head, and slouching body convey a subtle desire to engage the viewer. As she draws us in to consider her pose, the more relaxed position of her body calls into question some of the strict conventions of portrait photography from this period.⁷⁵

In fact, portraits aimed to define their subjects according to class and gender norms. Women, regardless of race, were encouraged to represent themselves as proper citizens whose virtue was defined by acceptable forms of deportment. Bonnin flouts these notions. She also succeeds in drawing in the viewer without relying on any Indian topos. The violin and bow appear as framing devices, creating a V that is echoed in the lines of her dress and perhaps even her hair, which, because of the turn and slouch, hangs to her left side; her head then looks somewhat out of proportion to the rest of her body. Considering these aspects and the lack of smile I wonder, to what extent was she aware of or sought to control this representation of her self? Did she choose the dress, the violin, and the posture?⁷⁶

(figure 3.2 Kasebier circa 1898)

In another image Bonnin holds a book. This object seems to represent her commitment to writing and to reading. Her “western dress” allows Bonnin to embody Indian femininity, culture, and success on her own terms. These two portraits may represent Bonnin’s sense of herself as much as they reveal Kasebier’s commitment to photographing Native people *neither* in costume *nor* with surroundings that might romanticize or sentimentalize them.



Indeed the shadowing and racial ambiguity point to fluid thinking regarding womanhood while the floral prints are suggestive of more Victorian gender conventions.

For Kasebier, and also Bonnin, Indianness was fluid and not necessarily tied to the scripts of either the *Wild West* or the well-worn tropes of James Fenimore Cooper's narratives (1789-1851) and George Catlin's paintings (1796-1872). Still, the messages conveyed by Kasebier's images have been occluded by later experiences and accounts given by Bonnin and others regarding the occasions when she seemed to have no choice but to appear dressed in "full Indian regalia." These accounts suggest that she understood, in complicated ways, the how, when, and why of an audience and the possibilities she had for controlling the ways she represented herself to them.⁷⁷

With this in mind let us return to the portrait of Bonnin with the book in her lap, with her face half-hidden by shadows.⁷⁸ The darkness here partially obscures her beauty as well as her expression and produces a gap to be filled in by the imaginative eye of the viewer. There is an ease to her posture, which reminds us of the constructed nature of a photograph. She could be read as the ideal wife and homemaker ready to perform tasks that had come to be identified as intrinsically female, or as something else.⁷⁹

The handkerchief she grasps in her left hand produces associations with sentimentality that aim to position Bonnin within normative discourses based on whiteness, womanhood, and middle-class American values. The floral backdrop evokes a domestic home-scene and simultaneously alludes to the natural wilderness that exists in opposition to the space of the home. Taking the dress and the wallpaper together Bonnin is linked to white middle-class American cultural frames for defining her identity, which elide her Yankton Sioux heritage. Furthermore, reading this image within a literary realist

framework (produced by authors like Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Henry James) the photograph becomes unremarkable, just a simple portrait of the quotidian manner of middle-class womanhood.

Given that this image might be understood as a mundane representation of a domestic space or more ideologically, as a reflection of reality, the book in her lap seems an apt symbol for her intellectual work as a teacher and a writer. Together, Bonnin and Kasebier succeeded in creating an ambivalent, yet powerful image. Bonnin is presented within her historical moment as the embodiment of Indian womanhood. Still, Indianness appears cloaked considering the power of representations that were produced by popular narratives that defined Indian people in terms of a-historical settings, primitive clothing, and often culturally inappropriate objects and make-up. Such representations of “Wild West-ness” were intended to be spectacular and out of the ordinary, whereas Kasebier’s portraits were designed to be realistic, if also personal and intimate. Looking at these particular images of Bonnin we can peer into the past and see a moment of possibility regarding her self-representation. In these instances Bonnin challenges dominant narratives about Indian women.

Put another way, the time and care put into constructing and designing these images is useful for highlighting Bonnin’s recognition of the possibilities of a particular kind of representation, and how she built upon these sorts of experiences to complicate the stage performance brand of self-representation. Looking at her career, as one which required public presentations (both written and spoken) it is possible to point to several important vectors of performance. Indeed the ways Bonnin represented her Native and feminine “self” responded to white ideological expectations for Indian people, the

marketing of primitivist desire in the form of commodities and fashion, as well as civilization and gender discourses, all of which fed into the question of recognition by audiences.

For instance, in concert halls and on lecture platforms, Bonnin spoke about her ideas regarding public debates surrounding the “Indian Question.” During these talks, Bonnin often wore clothing that embodied a “primitivist” aesthetic, one embraced by cosmopolitan whites who sought ways to nostalgically avoid and culturally reform the modern world they lived in. Within these contexts, Bonnin’s long beaded dresses made of animal skin and her jeweled-necklaces made by Indian hands were deemed by most audiences as “traditional” and authentically Indian. In a quotidian sense these were not Bonnin’s typical clothes. Although Bonnin may have been read as more exotic and more Indian because of such costumed appearances, more and more Americans were able to purchase these items from local crafts dealers and through mail-order catalogs. Thus, Bonnin’s “Indian regalia” reflected not only a particular expression of Indian culture but reinforced (perhaps accidentally) a market system that was structured by the desire to see, produce, and consume the aesthetics of this culture.⁸⁰

While Bonnin’s costume reinforced white expectations regarding “traditional” Native clothing it also enabled her to become a living advertisement for the marketing of Indianness. Additionally, it ran against the grain of the representational politics she seemed to have established when working with photographers like Kasebier. In these later instances, performance itself became a meaning-laden arena. On stage Bonnin might find herself in a double-bind: trapped within certain representations of femininity and Indianness. Yet, within this predicament she found ways to participate in and also revise

discourses of American civilization. As a performer, not unlike Charles Eastman and other Indian intellectuals at the time, Bonnín developed important strategies for how to be recognizable as an *Indian* writer and activist, so that she might rewrite what it meant to be Indian in her own words.

Bonnín remarked in several personal letters that she recognized the necessity, if also the danger, of having to dress in costume to “play Indian” as I will show in her letters regarding “Princess Chinquilla” and “Red Fox St. James.” No doubt, her brief career as a violinist exposed Bonnín to the opportunities and the limits that accompanied any public Indian performance. After she trained with the Austrian violinist Eugene Gruenberg (1854-1928) at the New England Conservatory in Boston (1899-1900),⁸¹ Bonnín made memorable appearances as a soloist with the Carlisle School Band. For example, in March of 1900 she received a warm reception at Philadelphia’s Association Hall and again when the band performed at Carnegie Hall in New York City. Advertisements for this concert promised audiences a mix of high art and Indian spectacle: “Zitkala Sa, the Indian Girl Violinist from the Boston Conservatory.” This popular tour culminated with performances at the Paris Exposition. These sorts of moments showcase Bonnín’s accomplishments as much as they demonstrate how her ethnic identity became entangled with her cultural work. In the years that followed the two became mutually constitutive as she took on the name “Zitkala Sa” to promote herself as an author, and later as a political activist. Looking to another photograph from later in Bonnín’s career we can see an example of how complicated performance was for Native activists.⁸²

On March 9, 1926, members of the National Council of American Indians (NCAI) gathered together in Washington D.C. to take part in a ceremony for unveiling a statue of



Sitting Bull. The statue was made for the Wyoming Historical Society and paid for by contributions from white school children in Pennsylvania. NCAI members gathered around the statue's

sculptor, Mr. U.S. J. Dunbar with their President and NCAI founder, Gertrude Bonnin on Dunbar's left. A photographer snapped away to document all who were present to celebrate the statue, which had been made as a monument to Sitting Bull. **(figure 3.3 NCAI 1925)**

There is a double monument to Indianness present in this image. It suggests the productive potential of representations by and about Indian people, and the underlying performative nature of such representations. Sitting Bull himself is an apt symbol to embody the changing relationship between Indian people and mediated forms of representation, which centered on them in public performances. His short-lived alliance with William F. Cody as a member of "Buffalo Bill's" *Wild West* touring company enabled both men to improve their financial and political futures. The contract that Sitting Bull negotiated with Cody also demonstrates the Indian leader's awareness of the power and influences that show business and celebrity could bring to Indian participants. Unlike many Indian performers, Sitting Bull's notoriety among American audiences, the

government, and the military enabled him to simply “play himself” as a part of Cody’s enterprise. Furthermore, his involvement with Cody’s company enabled Sitting Bull to improve the material circumstances of himself and members of his tribe. This was especially crucial given that Sitting Bull was imprisoned under the supervision James McLaughlin (the agent in charge of the Standing Rock Reservation), still Sitting Bull managed to use his affiliation with Cody to make diplomatic visits to Washington, D.C. In looking more closely at the photograph meant to celebrate a statue of Sitting Bull and its evocative caption one can see a moment in which Bonnin strategically played Indian as “Zitkala Sa” to celebrate a man who had always been known by only one name.⁸³

This image’s caption lists the tribesmen of the Sioux, Assiniboine, Yakima, Miami, Kiowa, Apache, and Osage who were present at the unveiling of the statue to honor Sitting Bull.⁸⁴ A handwritten note on the image reads, “To Miss Julia A. Thomas, With Love, Zitkala Sa (Gertrude Bonnin).” The photograph and Bonnin’s signature on it followed by a parenthetical reference to herself as Gertrude Bonnin points us to her understanding of key discourses that served to authenticate Indian performances. In this case, her choice to use “Zitkala Sa” first and then Bonnin works to highlight her as an author rather than an activist. At the same time, she appears in this image dressed in Sioux costume, along with many of the other female members of NCAI. Their clothing would have appealed to white primitivist aesthetics and could generate more attention to support their work. Bonnin’s costuming and the use of Zitkala Sa represent strategic choices to be associated with her Sioux heritage. Her use of parentheses in writing to Julia Thomas demonstrates an awareness of multiple publics that could read her as either Zitkala Sa (Indian author and performer) and/or Gertrude Bonnin (political activist).

Moreover, her use of parentheses seems more strategic than ambivalent and less a matter of confusion about her identity than as a matter of recognition regarding the multiple ways that Indian intellectuals could be visible.⁸⁵

Bonnin was not alone in using parentheses in strategic ways. Charles Eastman, for example, often signed his letters as Ohiyesa and was listed by his publishers as the author Charles (Ohiyesa) Eastman. In a similar way, Carlos Montezuma produced a newsletter and editorial alter-ego using the name “Wassaja.” Renaming oneself and when and how to use certain names parallels the ways that Indian intellectuals performed public identities and wore “more” or “less” clothing associated with dominant perceptions of Indianness. For Bonnin performances could be manipulated and mobilized to play off nostalgic tropes and (anti)modernist longings for primitivism. She could then open up spaces to argue for wider recognition and representation of Indian people as cultural and political participants in shaping American society, as she reshaped it herself.⁸⁶

One arena in which Bonnin first attempted to rework how white Americans imagined Indian history, people, and culture was through her collaboration with music professor William Hanson to produce *The Sun Dance* opera. In 1912, they set to work on designing a story, sets, and costumes to produce an opera that was loosely based on the Plains Sun Dance ritual. The opera debuted on February 20, 1913, in Provo, Utah, performed mostly by undergraduates of Brigham Young University, where Hanson was employed. Bonnin wrote the libretto and also made many public costumed appearances in Utah to advertise it. Her participation in making and promoting this show was one way to advance politics, which traded heavily on the work of culture. Despite her efforts, the *Sun Dance* remained relatively obscure, although it was popular among Utah audiences.⁸⁷

One review from May 26, 1914 from the *Deseret Evening News* notes that, “the libretto is by Zikala Sa (Mrs. R. T. Bonnin) a highly educated Sioux woman, and the music is by William F. Hanson, a young man of Vernal, and instructor in the Uinta Stake Academy of that place.” This same article describes the opera, as “one of the most melodious and interesting representations of western aboriginal life ever seen on the local stage...in the Salt Lake theater.” Other reviews highlighted the collaboration between Bonnin and Hanson, while also placing Indianness itself at the center of their analysis of the opera. This same review comments on how “weird Indian melodies” are arranged by a production that features both white and Indian singers and dancers. The opera could be read on multiple levels. On the one hand, it played to audiences who expected and embraced romantic tropes and nostalgic narratives about Indian people, and who would be entertained by a love story about two young braves competing to court Winona, “a lovely Shoshone maiden.” On the other hand, the opera provided little in the way of action and instead sought to teach white audiences about the local Ute population. As one review noted, “the chief value of the tale lies in the opportunity it offers for emphasis on Indian customs and superstitions, and for the use of authentic aboriginal tunes.”

Another review framed the educational impact of the performance through the body of Bonnin herself, noting how she “in a pretty five-minute address, explained the Indian customs and legends incorporated in the opera.” Despite Bonnin’s accomplishments in writing the libretto, her musical training at the New England Conservatory, and her work as an author, she could not (and would not) escape being framed within a discourse of ethnic authenticity that defined her and Indianness as invoking a necessary realism for the opera. Hanson was framed by reporters as authentic

as well because he had visited among the Ute and studied their ceremonies and melodies. Thus, we can see how together they worked within a sphere of understanding native performance that was not wholly dissimilar from the productions of *Wild West* touring companies. The latter relied on the fact of real Indians' participation in order to authenticate the stories and rituals that were used, and likewise *The Sun Dance* opera was celebrated for being both "instructive" and "at times dramatic," because of the representations about and by the Ute people.

A publicity photo from December 21, 1914 of Hanson and Bonnin and her subsequent talks that explained the customs and legends that were incorporated into *The Sun Dance*, show the ways that Bonnin used the opera as a platform to educate white audiences about Ute life, as she also embraced certain primitivist tropes. The publicity shot features both opera producers dressed in costumes that place them into the narrative they imagined for their opera. Indeed the dress that Bonnin is wearing in the photo is quite similar to what she wears several years later, as President of NCAI as a witness to the unveiling of Sitting Bull's statue. This publicity photo and reviews following the first performances of the opera served to celebrate and authenticate it as a cultural work because of Hanson's close association with Indian people and Bonnin's identity and performance as a "full-blooded Sioux."⁸⁸

Following the modest success of *The Sun Dance* in Utah, the Bonnins relocated to Washington D.C. and Hanson set to work on other cultural productions that capitalized on the Indian representations that he and Bonnin had put into their opera. He created *The Bear Dance*, which claimed to feature "medicine songs, scalp dance songs and burial songs" from the Ute. Throughout the 1920s, newspapers reported that Hanson traveled

with Utah Indians around the state to affirm the authenticity of their performances. With the support of local Indian people and public interest in seeing these performances, Hanson formed the Hanson Wigwam Company. According to the company's promotional materials they created compositions that aimed to transport listeners, "back one hundred years" so that they might "get a picture of those original roamers of western hills and valleys, and see more than books of history ever tell." The educational impetus behind the original collaboration between Bonnin and Hanson seemed to be carried on in these later productions.

Nonetheless, Hanson did not eschew the possibility that Indian performances might best be read in terms of their ethnic authenticity. Therefore, the Company's circulars continued to advertise their enterprise using the connection to the local Utes. As one leaflet notes, "This performance is unique and original in that it presents stories and legends of the Ute Indians, interspersed with real Indian ceremonials, including dancing, singing, and performance of religious rites of the Red Man. Real Ute Indians from the Uintah Reservation comprise part of the company." This framing of the originality of this performance as necessarily tied to the realness of the performers and their status as "Real Ute Indians" aligns with similar cultural work of motion pictures during this period that featured native people as extras in films about the Wild West, and also with a trend where Native people left the reservation to seek employment opportunities in show business. Bonnin left this type of life behind, but many of her contemporaries did not. In fact, Luther Standing Bear made a living for himself through a range of show business jobs, which culminated with him working as an actor in several Hollywood Westerns.⁸⁹

Although Bonnin was no longer involved with the promotion of the *Sun Dance* after she left Utah in 1916, Hanson remained active in producing Indian themed works. Indeed he worked to revive their opera, and by 1938 after Bonnin had passed away, Hanson brought a new company to present the *Sun Dance* for its New York premiere at a Broadway theater.⁹⁰ An article in *Musical Courier* from May 15, 1938 celebrated the work as, “a new romantic American Indian opera.”⁹¹ By this time there was nothing new about the use of Indian themes in this type of stage production. Still, the article refers to these “typical themes” and their “racial flavor” as central to the opera’s appeal, and attributes them to Hanson rather than Bonnin. Despite her erasure from this review, the opera’s message, which was also hers, of “the heart throbs, the National Voice of the Indians of the mountains” could now reach a new white audience, and be celebrated as the American opera of the year.⁹²

After relocating to Washington D.C. in order to pursue political work, Bonnin left behind many of the Indianized themes that would make Hanson famous in order to present a different sort of national voice for Indian people in the U.S. As an author and activist she was constantly aware of the power of representation and how best to appeal to different sorts of audiences. Over the next two decades Bonnin was invited to give public talks on “Indian Affairs” throughout the U.S., because of her work with the Society of American Indians (as secretary) and because of the alliances that she made with white women’s organizations. As we have seen, she was able to connect to a range of different networks be they local or national, overtly political or more cultural in their focus. Again and again Bonnin was applauded for her presentation style and her appearance at these gatherings. For example, in 1927 at The Nation Dinner in New York

City, newspaper reporters commented on her “Indian dress,” which was as forceful in making an argument about the validity of Native concerns as the tone of Bonnin’s voice. Thus, one can see that although Bonnin no longer took to the musical stage as a venue to educate American audiences she did not entirely give up the use of a costume or cadence to make a point.

Bonnin became, especially as the President of the National Council of American Indians (NCAI), a representative figure of Indianness and voice for Indian affairs. NCAI was created in February of 1926 “to establish Local Lodges in Indian country for self-help and study” among Indians “to use their new citizenship” so that “the Indian may become a producer and not a consumer only” in American society.⁹³ Indeed, Bonnin’s work with NCAI (and SAI before that) gave her ample opportunities to work with other Native activists “to help out Indian people find their rightful place in American life.”⁹⁴ Throughout her work as a public face for Indian people Bonnin confronted a new sort of issue that was connected to expectations for Indian performances and performers. Indeed, she started to be on the lookout for individuals who were making public presentations, while “playing Indian” but whom she believed were not Indian at all.

As she traveled to promote NCAI, Bonnin also worried, privately in her letters, about the negative influence that imposter Indians would pose to her efforts. This worry came from her own practice—dressing up to make her Indianness visible could encourage imposters to “play” Indian using similar methods. On April 18, 1927 she wrote to fellow Indian and former SAI President, Reverend Philip Gordon about her concerns related to these “inauthentic” Indians. She writes,

During the time I served the Society of American Indians as Secretary, I had some correspondence with Dr. Montezuma about Red Fox and his

workers. Arthur Parker, previous to our activities in the SAI, had written Red Fox up quite to his utter exposure as an imposter; so I mentioned that to Dr. Montezuma; Red Fox naturally did not relish my attitude; and when later he was in Washington, D.C. for a short time, he FAILED to call at the SAI office.

With this reference Bonnin points out how pan-Indianist groups, like SAI and later NCAI could both manipulate public expectations regarding Indianness while at the same time fearing that their own legitimacy was threatened by charlatans who adopted their practice, posing as Indians. These sorts of exchanges showcase the ways that Indian intellectual leaders saw themselves uniquely positioned to not only speak on behalf of Indian people in general, but also to act (however dangerous and fraught this may be) as “culture cops” who policed the boundaries of what *proper* Indianness looked and sounded like, and what the political consequences of these deviations might mean for their activist work.⁹⁵

Bonnin writes more to Reverend Gordon with details regarding the problem of Red Fox.⁹⁶ Apparently, Red Fox had collected money from the general public “for Indian work” and then a white man named “Black Hawk” disappeared with the money. In this letter, Bonnin also mentions that concerns about Red Fox have extended among various Indian figures involved with SAI. For her, a concern arose regarding “Princess Chinquilla” whom Bonnin met in New York City. After which she writes to Gordon, “a clipping was sent me,” and it read: “Princess Chinquilla and Dr. Skiuhushu a Blackfoot, organized the club under the auspices of the American Indian Association for the benefit of the 200 Indians living in New York.” Bonnin apparently dropped the matter after writing to Chinquilla and receiving a reply that stated the “Princess” had not started any such organization, but rather thought it was a continuation of SAI. At best, Red Fox and

Chinquilla are problematic examples of Indians “playing Indian” for Bonnin. At worst, they are con artists, scammers, and grafters who bring other Indian people down with them. In either case, all of these figures operated within influential cultural networks, which relied on white people “going native.”⁹⁷

Bonnin’s concerns regarding Indian Play seem firmly rooted in suspicions surrounding imposter Indians who aim to use Indianness for the express purpose of making money. In fact, she maintained professional relationships with white organizations, like the Indian Rights Association, despite their own practices of Indian Play. This all white and male political reform group had members that supported and celebrated fraternal clubs and childrearing organizations, like the Boy Scouts, which gave American men opportunities to “Play Indian” when they were young, so that they might be better Americans as they grew up. Bonnin’s concerns regarding the “American Indian Order, Inc.” that listed among its principal officers, “Dr. Red Fox St James” and “Skinhushu, Wampum Keeper” with Rev. Red Fox (Skinhushu) Executive Chief, etc.” was that they might succeed in tarnishing the reputation of legitimate organizations like SAI and later NCAI.

Additional correspondence with other friends, among them Charlotte Jones (a new member of NCAI), confirms that Bonnin’s suspicions were correct. Princess Chinquilla, et al, were not necessarily Indians per se and were indeed using “Indian Play” for the purpose of fame and financial gain. As Reverend Gordon’s reply to Bonnin’s original inquiry asserts, “I had occasion to meet Princess Chinquilla a while back. Somehow or other, she does not ring quite true to me and I am inclined to ‘hae ma doots’ in regard to her.” With this linguistic play Gordon *plays Irish* in the moment that he

questions the authenticity of Chinquilla's ethnicity. He goes on to argue that she is also guilty by association, "In the first place she is tied up with Red Fox St. James who, I am convinced is a fake, as are also a great many of the people he has with him."⁹⁸ Furthermore, the strength of white imaginaries that associated Indian women with images of princesses, like the one that Chinquilla was performing, remained critical to the political work that Bonnin did because she had to negotiate these troubling cultural frameworks. Bonnin managed to embody Indian femininity in different ways at different times. No doubt deciding which network to tap into influenced how Bonnin sought to represent herself and also her politics. To conclude this chapter, I consider one final example of the type of work Bonnin was able to do as a political activist based mainly out of Washington D.C., and as a Yankton woman and writer who had a keen sense of the politics of performativity.

Conclusion

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s Bonnin remained active as a writer. She wrote speeches to give through public events that were mainly organized by philanthropic groups and white reformers. In these public venues, she drew on work as a pan-tribal activist that had begun with the SAI and continued with the NCAI.⁹⁹ Like Charles Eastman and Carlos Montezuma, Bonnin allied with white reformers committed to Indian issues in order to expand the networks of influence that she saw as necessary to nourishing pan-Indian political activity. Along with Women's clubs, she maintained close ties with the founders of the Indian Rights Association (IRA), which had more fraternal origins. Not unlike Luther Standing Bear, Bonnin was able to find allies for her political

concerns in a range of places. In turning to the IRA and its leader, Matthew K. Sniffen, as well as Charles Faben (one of the heads of the American Indian Defense Association) Bonnin set to work on an important political piece.

In 1924, the three of them published *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes—Legalized Robbery*. This became an influential political treatise that led to the formation of the Meriam Commission and the appointment of IRA leaders to the top two positions in the BIA by President Herbert Hoover. For Bonnin the work represented a departure from her more literary writings and an example of how she could influence federal policy as a political activist. In that same year all Native Americans were incorporated into the United States as full citizens, while the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act became federal law and limited the annual number of immigrants who could be admitted to the country, furthering restrictions against Southern and Eastern Europeans and East Asians and Asian Indians. Ironically as the U.S. sought to stop the influx of certain types of immigrants federal law finally recognized the original inhabitants of the Americas as citizens. Furthermore, although the Indian Citizenship Act was an important turning point in Indian policy, it remained a thorny issue in relation to tribal sovereignty. For Bonnin, 1924 marked a turning point in her quest for citizenship and the culmination of her research for *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians*, and yet she was not fully satisfied with these achievements. During the remainder of her life, Bonnin remained committed to turning changes in policy into changes in material circumstances. Indeed her accomplishments, like her letters and published stories, reveal the ways that she could represent many faces of Indianness to the world and be internally consistent with regards to her politics.

From 1926 until her death in 1938 the best way for Bonnin to remain politically active was through her role as President of the NCAI. This type of commitment makes sense given that the first three decades of the twentieth century were marked by critical changes in Federal Indian policy as well as a significant increase in public interest regarding Indian arts and crafts and Indian performances. Like her contemporaries, Bonnin navigated the intersections of art and policy as an author, a performer, and an activist. Throughout this chapter, I have considered how the power of her representational politics changed when she went from being a college student to a teacher, and as she managed her public persona in a literary marketplace and performance venues that ranged from concert halls to political organizing meetings. Considering these specific areas I have found that Bonnin mobilized a range of strategies to position herself within established reform networks, as she worked to create new ones.

She succeeded in refashioning a public image that could represent Indianness in ways that were legible to white middle-class society and also on her own terms. As a writer and an advocate for Indian people she learned to speak the languages of literature, music, and policy. Based on her talents and achievements Bonnin was certainly unusual, but not alone during this historical period. There were others: Native women and men who allied themselves with Indian causes while strategically cultivating tenuous relationships with white progressives. The legacy Bonnin has left, through her fiction and her political work, creates a compelling window through which to examine the past of Indian Country and America. Furthermore, her story, told in the context of a larger cohort of Indian intellectuals, brings together the realm of politics and that of literature to recover a new understanding of early twentieth century cultural history.

¹ Gertrude Bonnin, "Side by Side" in *The Earlamite*, 2 (March 16, 1896): 178-79

² Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993)

³ "Class Card" for Gertrude E. Simmons, New England Conservatory Archives, Boston, MA

⁴ There are several sources that focus on Gertrude Bonnin. I have consulted: Betty Louise Bell, "If This Is Paganism...': Zitkala-Sa and the Devil's Language" in *Native American Religious Identity: Unforgotten Gods* edited by Jace Weaver (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), 61-68.; Dexter Fisher, "The Transformation of Tradition: A Study of Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove, Two Transitional American Indian Writers." (Diss., CUNY, 1979); Lisa Laurie, "The Life Story of Zitkala-Sa/Gertrude Simmons Bonnin: Writing and Creating a Public Image." (Diss., Arizona State U, 1996); Ruth Spack, "Revisioning American Indian Women: Zitkala-Sa's Revolutionary *American Indian Stories*" in *Legacy* 14.1 (1997):25-43, and "Zitkala-Sa, *The Song of Hiawatha*, and the Carlisle Indian School Band: A Captivity Tale" in *LEGACY* 25.2 (University of Nebraska Press, 2008): 210-224; Margaret A. Lukens, "The American Story of Zitkala-Sa" in *In Her Own Voice: Nineteenth-Century American Women Essayists* edited by Sherry Lee Linkon (New York: Garland, 1997) 141-55.

⁵ Many agree that the term originated with the first book in Beadle & Adam's *Beadle's Dime Novel* series, *Maleaska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, by Ann S. Stephens, dated June 9, 1860. This particular series ran for 321 issues, and established many of the conventions for this genre, from the lurid and outlandish storylines to melodramatic double titling, which was still used into the 1920s. Most stories were frontier tales reprinted from the vast backlog of serials in the story papers and other sources, as well as many originals. As the popularity of dime novels increased, original stories came to be the norm. The books were themselves reprinted many times, sometimes with different covers, and the stories were often further reprinted in different series, and by different publishers. For more on this print culture history see, Helen C. Nelson, "Navigating Nineteenth Century Novels: Linking Historical and Literary Perspectives to Explore the influence of Dime Novels in Nineteenth Century America" (MA Thesis, Humboldt State University, 2005).

⁶ Cari Carpenter, *Seeing Red: Anger, Sentimentality, and American Indians* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008); Dorothea M. Susag, "Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin): A Power(ful) Literary Voice" in *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 5.4 (winter 1993): 3-24.; A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff, "Early American Women Authors: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Sarah Winnemucca, S. Alice Callahan, E. Pauline Johnson, and Zitkala-Sa" in *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader* edited by Karen L. Kilcup (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998); Susan Bernardin, "The Lessons of a Sentimental Education: Zitkala-Sa's Autobiographical Narratives" in *Western American Literature* 32.3 (Nov. 1997): 212-38; Martha J. Cutter, "Zitkala-Sa's Autobiographical Writings: The Problems of a Canonical Search for Language and Identity" in *MELUS* 19.1 (Spring 1994): 31-45; P. Jane Hafen, "Zitkala-Sa: Sentimentality and Sovereignty" in *Wicazo Sa Review* 12.2 (Fall 1997): 31-42; Roseanne Hoefel, "Writings, Performance, Activism: Zitkala-Sa and Pauline Johnson" in *Native American Women in Literature and Culture* edited by Susan Castillo and Victor M. P. DaRosa (Porto, Portugal: Fernando Pessoa UP, 1997) 107-18.

⁷ My reading of "side by side" and "seeking" here draws on Jacques Derrida's theorization of difference. In particular, his usage of difference (as a neologism) to signal to the reader multiple meanings and intentions. Among these is the possibility for multiple signifiers that take into account how both difference and deferral can be at play at once. In Bonnin's speech I see a similar logic in her rhetorical choices. She uses seeking and side by side to critique the structures of power within the U.S. that delimit who is or is not a part of the nation; at the same time she strategically plays with these words within the logics of this structure to position herself as legitimately within (seeking) and distant from (side by side) the nation. For more see: Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) translated by Alan Bass.

⁸ 1896 stands out in terms of public discourse regarding race, racialization, and political rights given the "separate but equal" doctrine set forth by a ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537. This landmark United States Supreme Court decision upheld the constitutionality of state law to require racial segregation in private businesses (particularly railroads), under the doctrine of "separate but equal." This decision was handed down by a vote of 7 to 1 with the majority opinion written by Justice Henry Billings Brown and the dissent written by Justice John Marshall Harlan. "Separate but equal" remained standard doctrine in U.S. law until its repudiation in the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education*.

⁹ See: Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press Kansas, 2004); Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (2005); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate Indians, 1880-1920* (1984).

¹⁰ For more on a literary history of female ethnic identity and the connections made by women during this period with regard to authenticity and authorship see, Mary V. Dearborn's *Pocahontas's Daughters: Gender and Ethnicity in American Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1986)

¹¹ The "Sun Dance Opera" was a collaborative project between Gertrude Bonnin and William Hanson. It premiered in Vernal, Utah in 1913, and was later performed by students from Brigham Young University and local Ute performers from 1914 to 1916. By 1937 the New York Light Opera Guild selected "The Sun Dance" as "the American opera for the year," and it premiered in New York City.

¹² Although the first incarnation of NCAI disappeared after Bonnin's death the organization was revived in 1944 in response to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and Termination policies of the 1940s and 1950s. From this time onwards NCAI was known as the National Congress of American Indians. Early activists and leaders included: J.B. Milam (1884-1949), D'Arcy McNickle (1904-1977), and Vine Deloria Jr. (1933-2005), among others.

¹³ In 1900 *The Atlantic Monthly* published several essays by "Zitkala-Sa." Among them were "The School Days of an Indian Girl" and "An Indian Teacher among Indians." For more on two other Indian intellectuals who achieved public success during this period see: Linda A. Waggoner, *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) and Joel Pfitzer, *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Gertrude Bonnin, "The School Days of An Indian Girl" in *American Indian Stories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 47-80. Originally published: Washington, D.C.: Hayworth Pub. House, 1921. In this narrative Bonnin combines sentimentality and anger in ways that mirror the work of her predecessor Sarah Winnemucca (1844-1891) in *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883), and the later modernist work of *Cogewea the Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range* (1927) by Mourning Dove (Christine Quintasket) (1888-1936)

¹⁵ For more on Indian education in the U.S. see: Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (1998); Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (1994); Devon Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (1993); Robet Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (1988).

¹⁶ For more regarding the Dawes Act era see: Leonard Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming* (1981); Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (2002); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate Indians, 1880-1920* (1984)

¹⁷ Bonnin. "School Days" in *American Indian Stories*, 69

¹⁸ Bonnin. "School Days" in *American Indian Stories*, 93; 94-95

¹⁹ Bonnin. "School Days" in *American Indian Stories*, 98

²⁰ Bonnin. "School Days" in *American Indian Stories*, 98

²¹ Bonnin. "School Days" in *American Indian Stories*, 99

²² The Carlisle Indian Industrial School produced a variety of newspapers and magazines, which provided Pratt with a platform from which to publicize his experiment and perpetuate his views on education. These newspapers were popular among locals, available at the post office and by subscription throughout the country; they became a small source of income to supplement funding by the government. News of former students, often in the form of letters to "Dear Old Carlisle," made its way into these papers on a regular basis. For more see: Records of The Cumberland County Historical Society, and the Richard Henry Pratt Papers, WA MSS S-1174, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Yale University, New Haven, CT

²³ For more about Pratt and Bonnin with regards to a the notion of captivity see: Ruth Spack, "Zitkala-Sa, *The Song of Hiawatha*, and the Carlisle Indian School Band: A Captivity Tale" (*Legacy*: Vol. 25, No. 2, 2008)

²⁴ Waggoner, 91

²⁵ This section heading refers to an advertisement, most likely produced by Ginn and Company, to promote Bonnin as the author of "American Indian Stories," "Americanize the First Americans," and "Old Indian

Legends.” From: MSS 1704; Gertrude and Raymond Bonnin Collection; 20th-21st Century Western and Mormon Americana; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Which will be abbreviated as: MSS 1704, LTPSC

²⁶ Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: A History of Ginn and Company* (Boston, MA: Ginn and Company, 1938).

²⁷ Bonnin. “An Indian Teacher Among Indians” *Atlantic Monthly* (1900), Vol. 85. “Impressions of an Indian Childhood” *Atlantic Monthly* 85 (1900): 37-47. “School Days of an Indian Girl” *Atlantic Monthly* 85 (1900): 185-94. *Old Indian Legends* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1901) “Soft Hearted Sioux” *Harper’s Monthly*, New York (1901). “The Trial Path” *Harper’s Monthly*, Vol 103, October (1901). “A Warrior’s Daughter” *Everybody’s Magazine* (1902) “Why I Am a Pagan” *Atlantic Monthly* 90 (1902): 801-803. *American Indian Stories* (Washington D.C.: Hayworth Publishing House, 1921)

²⁸ By “romantic language” I refer to romanticism as it emerged and took shape in England and the United States from the 1830s to the 1860s, which was characterized by: sensibility; primitivism; love of nature; sympathetic interest in the past, especially the medieval; mysticism; individualism; in opposition to neoclassicism. The romantic period in American literature coincided/emerged out of the Jacksonian Era and the Civil War as the U.S. sought to redefine itself as a nation embroiled in debates over Indian removal and slavery. Three major literary figures exemplified this Romantic Movement: William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper. Overlapping with this sort of literary production was the emergence of the sentimental novel. This form deviated from literary genres produced by Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, and Mark Twain. Whether understood in terms of sympathetic relations or of manipulative influence, sentimentality was mobilized by several women writers for political and personal reasons. Sentimentality also became linked to the intimate details of women’s private lives. Although this form was most popular in early and mid-nineteenth century America it has been overlooked in literary histories until recently. For example today, Susan Warner’s *The Wide, Wide World* (1850), Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), and Maria Cummins’ *The Lamplighter* (1854) have been revisited. Written several decades later, but drawing on romantic aspects found in nature and primitivism as well as the power of intimate domestic relations in sentimental novels, Indian writers like Gertrude Bonnin succeeded in taking up and revising these genres of American literature. Importantly, some scholars have argued that Native women engaged with sentimentality in their work to varying degrees. Cari Carpenter has argued that while anger is a neglected element in a variety of sentimental texts, it should be recognized as a salient subject in the early literature of Native American women. See: Carpenter’s *Seeing Red: Anger, Sentimentality, and American Indians* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008)

²⁹ Esther Whitmore (?) to Zitkala Sa, June 3, 1930, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC. Whitmore notes, “I am sure you are studying Science and Health, you are gaining new and better views than ever of God...” and links another Indian figure to Christian Science -- “I have just written Tsianina. She tells me that she is earnestly studying Christian Science.” This refers to Tsianina Redfeather, the great singer, who we can see is part of Bonnin’s network of Native women artists, activists, writers, and performers. Redfeather remained a devoted Christian Scientist for her entire life. Also in a letter (July 9, 1921) sent to Bonnin by Adam Bennion, the Superintendent of the Commission of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints notes, “I am happy in the thought that you are reading the *The Book of Mormon*, and trust that you will enjoy it.” Bonnin wrote critically about the negative effects of forced Christianization upon Indian people, especially school children, and yet she distinguished between positive aspects of Christian reformers and the problems perpetuated by “so-called Christian Americans.”

³⁰ For more on the feminist sociological approach to theorizing intersectionality see, Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color” (1993)

³¹ Kristin Herzog, “Gertrude Bonnin” in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (Fifth edition) edited by Paul Lauter.

³² Arthur C. Parker was the editor of the SAI Journal from the summer of 1916 until the summer of 1918. The look and feel of the Journal changed markedly between 1916 and 1917, from matte paper to a more glossy cover that often featured a photographic portrait of a prominent Indian member. In the Spring of 1919, Vol. VII, No. 1 under Bonnin’s editorial eye, the Journal featured Angel De Cora Dietz on the cover.

³³ Bonnin was not alone in gaining support from organizations that were run by white women and in working with Native organizations. Laura Cornelius Kellogg (1880-1947) was a founding member of SAI committed to self-sustaining economic development on Native reservations. Ruth Muskrat Bronson (1897-1982) was the first Indian woman to graduate from Mount Holyoke College (MA) in 1925. Bronson

received national attention when she became the first American Indian student delegate at the World Student Christian Federation's annual conference, in 1922 in Beijing, China. A year later, she presented her views on Indian affairs to the Committee of 100 meeting in Washington, D.C. and in 1930 Bronson accepted an offer to fill the newly created position of guidance and placement officer for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Also, Charles Eastman worked with WNIA (The Women's National Indian Association, founded in 1879), which formed to fight the encroachment of white settlements onto Indian lands. Less politically oriented groups also arose out of artistic communities. Mabel Dodge Luhan, for example, moved to Taos, New Mexico (1919) to start a literary colony inspired by (and supportive of) nearby indigenous peoples' cultural traditions and practices. An outgrowth of this colony was the formation of the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), which was founded by John Collier in 1923 to fight to protect religious freedom and tribal property rights for Native Americans in the U.S. The General Federation of Women's Clubs (founded in 1868 by Jane Cunningham Croly (1829-1901) also devoted efforts to Indian issues in 1921 when the GFWC created the Indian Welfare Committee, which worked towards improving both education and health facilities on reservations, as well as preserving Native American culture. In addition, other Indian and non-Indian women activists became involved with reformist agendas by becoming active in the YWCA.

³⁴ For the receipt see, Box 2, folder 11, MSS 1704, LTPSC. For more about: The National League of American Pen Women see: <http://www.americanpenwomen.org/history/history.cfm> There is little within Bonnin's personal papers to show the concrete connections that she may have formed with other members of the League, although it is likely that members who lived in D.C. might have found occasions to meet together, at least informally.

³⁵ Princess Blue Feather to Gertrude Bonnin, April 1922, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC

³⁶ Gertrude Bonnin to Princess Blue Feather, May 2, 1922, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC.

³⁷ In the 1920s Antonio Luhan a member of the Taos Pueblo showed John Collier (1884-1968) the living conditions among American Indian communities. In response to poor conditions Collier founded the American Indian Defense Association, and for the next decade dedicated himself to Indian reform efforts. In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Collier as the new commissioner of Indian Affairs, which almost immediately led to the Indian Reorganization Act (1934). For more on the American Indian Defense Association and John Collier see, John Collier Papers (MS 146). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library; Also see, Ken R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977) and Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963).

³⁸ Marianna Burgess to Zitkala Sa, May 6, 1922, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC

³⁹ Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: A History of Ginn and Company* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1938) 10

⁴⁰ Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: A History of Ginn and Company* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1938), 150.

⁴¹ Ginn & Company to Gertrude Bonnin, June 8, 1926, Letter, and Gertrude Bonnin to Ginn and Company, June 11, 1926, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC.

⁴² Gertrude Bonnin to Ginn and Company, June 19, 1930, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC.

⁴³ Gertrude Bonnin, "America, Home of the Red Man" in *The American Indian Magazine* (Vol. VI, No. 4), 165

⁴⁴ Gertrude Bonnin, "America, Home of the Red Man" in *The American Indian Magazine* (Vol. VI, No. 4), 166

⁴⁵ Gertrude Bonnin, "America, Home of the Red Man" in *The American Indian Magazine* (Vol. VI, No. 4), 166

⁴⁶ Gertrude Bonnin, "America, Home of the Red Man" in *The American Indian Magazine* (Vol. VI, No. 4), 167

⁴⁷ C.F. Hauke to Gertrude Bonnin, September 1922, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC. As Ruth Spack has shown in "Zitkala-Sa, *The Song of Hiawatha*, and the Carlisle Indian School Band: A Captivity Tale" (*Legacy*: Vol. 25, No. 2, 2008)

⁴⁸ Gertrude Bonnin to Vera Connolly, Letter, Sept. 24, 1928, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁴⁹ Harry C. James to Gertrude Bonnin, Letter, July 6, 1921, MSS 1704, LTPSC. James writes on behalf of the National Association to Help the Indian (Headquarters: Dark Cloud Lodge, Los Angeles, CA). This inquiry relates to H.R. Bill 2432 and "this little Association of ours" that "is to form an Association of

influential people interested in helping the American Indian....to secure absolute religious liberty for the Indian, citizenship and economic independence....I would like very much to have your ideas about the Association..."

⁵⁰ Gertrude Bonnin to Carlos Montezuma, December 27, 1915, Letter; G. Bonnin to C. Montezuma, October 26, 1918, Letter, see: Carlos Montezuma Papers, Center for Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, CO. In another letter (December 6, 1918) Bonnin writes extensively about the need to use telegrams rather than letters to conduct business, "That wire to the President was simply one of many ways in which this matter must be pressed for consideration and action by the American people." For more on the confusion and tension expressed by white Americans regarding Indian people using technology see: Philip Deloria's chapter on "Technology" in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2006)

⁵¹ For more on how an author like Bonnin would have been part of wider readerly and writerly communities during the turn of the century see: Richard H. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); George Shumway, *Creating American Civilization: A Genealogy of American Literature as an Academic Discipline* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Anne E. Boyd, *Writing for Immortality: Women and the Emergence of High Literary Culture in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Susan Mizruchi, *The Rise of Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture, 1865-1915* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2008)

⁵² See *Cosmopolitan*, November 1918, Vol. LXV, No. 6 Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI

⁵³ Gouverneur Morris, "Drifting Smoke" in *Cosmopolitan* (Nov. 1918), 63

⁵⁴ Gouverneur Morris, "Drifting Smoke" in *Cosmopolitan* (Nov. 1918), 64

⁵⁵ Gouverneur Morris, "Drifting Smoke" in *Cosmopolitan* (Nov. 1918), 118

⁵⁶ Gouverneur Morris, "Drifting Smoke" in *Cosmopolitan* (Nov. 1918), 119

⁵⁷ Gouverneur Morris, "Drifting Smoke" in *Cosmopolitan* (Nov. 1918), 67

⁵⁸ "The earliest appropriations bills were written by select committees on instruction from the Committee of the Whole House, and later ones by the standing Committee on Ways and Means. As the appropriation requirements of the government became more complex, the number of separate appropriation bills prepared each year grew from one in 1789 to as many as 21 during the 1850s." (3.2) "Between 1877 and 1885 eight appropriations bills were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Committee to the committees with legislative jurisdiction. The agriculture bill, army bill, navy bill, Indian bill, District of Columbia bill, post office bill, rivers and harbors bill, and diplomatic and consular bill were given to the appropriate authorizing committees, while the Appropriations Committee retained jurisdiction of the fortification, legislative, executive and judicial, pension, sundry civil, and deficiency bills only." (3.4) "Petitions from the 1890's and into the 20th century primarily concern the education of young Indians and call for the reorganization of the Government's less-than-successful efforts to provide services to the Indian tribes...The number of petitions among the records of the committee diminishes dramatically after the late 1920's, and, for some Congresses, no petitions are present." (13.32) see: "Chapter 3. Records of the Committee on Appropriations" from *The Guide to Records of the U.S. House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789-1989* (Record Group 233).

⁵⁹ For more on the formation of race, sexuality and gender with regards to imperial practices and colonialist ideology see: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. (New York: Routledge, 1992); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Margaret Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

⁶⁰ For more on the context in which Marianna Burgess lived see, Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (Vintage, 1992); Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real and Imagined places* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996); Norman Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (New York: Verso, 1997)

⁶¹ Marianna Burgess to Gertrude Bonnin, October 20, 1921 and November 8, 1921, Letters, MSS 1704, LTPSC. Membership records from Chicago Monthly Meeting show Mariana Burgess was present. - Quaker Monthly Meeting Minutes (May 10, 1914)

⁶² Gertrude Bonnin to Marianna Burgess, December 1921, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁶³ \$200 dollars in 1921 had the same buying power as approximately \$2,400 has for 2009. \$50 in 1921 would amount to \$599 today, an impressive earning potential for Bonnin.

⁶⁴ Philip J. Deloria on “Music” in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004) points to how promotional materials for Tsianina’s performances turned on her authenticity. He writes, “Tsianina, one brochure proclaimed, was not a made-up Indian. Rather, she was “full blooded” and a Native “aristocrat” (a descendent of Tecumseh, no less).” (213) Michael V. Pisani also connects playing Indian with music and the stage in “I’m an Indian Too’: Playing Indian in Song and on Stage, 1900-1946” in *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

⁶⁵ Gertrude Bonnin to Dr. C.A. Burgess, Letter, December 30, 1921, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁶⁶ My brief references to the work of Ella Deloria and Ruth Bronson rely on David L. Moore’s excellent overview of critical archival sources. See David L. Moore, “The literature of this nation”: LaVonne Ruoff and the Redefinition of American Literary Studies” in *Studies in American Indian Literatures* Vol. 17, Iss. 2 (New York: Summer 2005) pp 63-70,113. For more on Ella Deloria in a comparative context see, Maria Eugenia Cotera, *Native Speakers: Ella Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, Jovita González, and the Poetics of Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008). For a brief biography of Ruth Muskrat Bronson see, Mount Holyoke Historical Atlas Research Project; also for more on Bronson and other Native students at Mount Holyoke see, Mount Holyoke College. Students and Alumnae Profiles and Statistics Collection, Archives and Special Collections, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, USA.

⁶⁷ M. Burgess to G. Bonnin, Letter, December 20, 1921, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁶⁸ Other committees operating under Public Welfare by this club included: Child Welfare, Public Health, and Industrial and Social Conditions.

⁶⁹ For more on the complicated history of all-female organizations’ activist work see: Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women’s Associations in American History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Ellen Carol Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women’s Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)

⁷⁰ For more on Stella Atwood and John Collier as cultural relativists who aimed to revise assimilation ideology and were critical to implementing elements of white culture that they viewed as positively shaping Indian policy see: Karin L. Huebner, “An Unexpected Alliance: Stella Atwood, the California Clubwomen, John Collier, and the Indians of the Southwest, 1917-1934” in *Pacific Historical Review* (Vol. 78, No. 3, pages 337-366, 2009)

⁷¹ For more on reform activities in California and the Indian New Deal see, Kenneth R. Philp, *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to Self-Determination, 1933-1953* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Also see Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (University of New Mexico, 1983).

⁷² Tisa Wenger, “Land, Culture, and Sovereignty in the Pueblo Dance Controversy” in *Journal of the Southwest* (Summer 2004, p381)

⁷³ Stella Atwood to Gertrude Bonnin, Letter, January 2, 1924, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁷⁴ Mrs. Felix T. McWhirter to Major R.T. Bonnin, Letter, March 6, 1924, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁷⁵ Figure I: Photograph by Gertrude Kasebier (c. 1898); “Gum-bichromate: ‘Zitkala-Sa’ holding a violin” (Kasebier Collection, Smithsonian Images, no. 2004-57782) Important to note is Laura Wexler’s work in *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) in which she reads some of Gertrude Kasebier’s photographs. Her reading implicates Kasebier, as it does other white female photographers, in reproducing a middle-class white cultural logic regarding presentation that is meant to signify America and imperialism. For Wexler, Native American subjects who sat for these photographs are part of U.S. imperialism because of efforts to assimilate and disappropriate them, regardless of their agency. My reading runs against this grain a little to suggest that Bonnin’s familiarity with Kasebier, and other white women like her, enabled Bonnin to have a hand in the types of images that were created to portray her. I also read Kasebier’s portraits of Bonnin as attempting to position Bonnin in opposition to, or as an alternative to, the type of imagery that was being created to market Indian actors who performed with shows like Buffalo Bill Cody’s *Wild West*. Also, given that Bonnin performs the role of an “Indian maiden” in a play at the Carlisle Industrial School’s commencement ceremonies in 1899, just a year after she sat for Kasebier, one can see the extent to which Bonnin uses different modes of dress to appeal to different audiences for specific occasions.

⁷⁶ For conventions regarding photographic portraits see: Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images As History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990)

⁷⁷ Joseph T. Keiley (1869-1914) also took photographic portraits of Gertrude Bonnin in 1898, which were first exhibited in Philadelphia and later became part of Alfred Stieglitz's collection (1864-1946). In July 1899 Alfred Stieglitz published five of Käsebier's photographs in *Camera Notes*, declaring her "beyond dispute, the leading artistic portrait photographer of the day." Alfred Stieglitz (July 1899) "Our Illustrations" in *Camera Notes* 3 (1): 24. Her rise to fame was noted by photographer and critic Joseph Keiley, "a year ago Käsebier's name was practically unknown in the photographic world...Today that name stands first and unrivaled..." Joseph T. Keily (January 1899) "The Philadelphia Salon: Its Origin and Influence" in *Camera Notes* 1 (3): 126. I use Kasebier's portraits given her interest in presenting Indian people as they lived versus the images created by photographers like Edward Curtis (1868-1952) who sought to memorialize Indian people by framing them within a "vanishing American" narrative. For more on the problematics of this narrative see, Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (1982).

⁷⁸ Fig. 3: "Platinotype: Sioux girl, 'Zitkala-Sa,' with book in her lap; floral wallpaper in background" by Gertrude Kasebier (c. 1898); (Kasebier Collection, Smithsonian Images, no. 2004-57783)

⁷⁹ Most middle-class American women of the late nineteenth century lived in the domestic realm caring for small children, tending to ill or aged adults, and managing the daily chores of the household. As Angel Kwolek-Folland has shown, domesticity itself became idealized such that it could be moved (via objects) from place to place vis-à-vis the materiality of the home. A desire to stabilize and standardize American social institutions played out within late Victorian home culture that was physically and spiritually designed and guided by women. See: Angel Kwolek-Folland, "The Elegant Dugout: Domesticity and moveable culture in the United States, 1870-1900" in *American Studies* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Fall 1984), 21-37.

⁸⁰ See: Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

⁸¹ Eugene Gruenberg was a graduate of the Vienna Conservatory where he was a close friend of conductor Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922). In 1878 he joined the orchestra of the Leipzig opera under Nikisch, and in 1889 followed him to Boston to play in the Boston Symphony Orchestra. After Nikisch left the BSO to return to Germany in 1895, Gruenberg became head of the violin department at the New England Conservatory of Music, where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1897, Gruenberg published *The Violinist's Manual* which was revised in 1919 under the title *Violin Teaching and Violin Studies* with a preface by Fritz Kreisler. For more on Gruenberg see: Eugene Gruenberg Papers (MS Mus 234.2). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁸² *The Sun*, March 25, 1900, (New York), Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/chroniclingamerica

⁸³ For more about the life of Sitting Bull see: Robert M. Utley, *Sitting Bull: The Life and Times of an American Patriot* (New York: Holt, 1993); Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (1931, reprinted 1989); Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2009). For more details regarding the professional relationship between Cody and Sitting Bull see, Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing, 2005). Also see, Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000) and L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, NM.: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)

⁸⁴ This photo was printed by Underwood & Underwood.

⁸⁵ It seems likely that this photograph was given as a token of friendship by Bonnin to Miss Julia Thomas.

⁸⁶ For more on costuming in Bonnin's life as well as that of her contemporaries, see: Waggoner (288) "Wearing inappropriate Indian dress came back to haunt Gertrude Simmons Bonnin later in life. When she and Pratt lobbied against peyote use (and its advocate, ethnographer James Mooney), Mooney pointed out to those attending the 1916 Senate Peyote Hearings that Bonnin "claims to be a Sioux woman...[h]er dress is a woman's dress from some Southern tribe, as shown by the long fringes. The belt is a Navajo man's belt. The fan is a peyote fan, carried only by men, usually in the peyote ceremony." For an account of Bonnin's counterattack on Mooney see: L.G. Moses, *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney* (University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 200-10

⁸⁷ There were several "Indianist" operas by white composers in the early twentieth century. Such as: Nevin, Arthur F. (1907). *Poia*, grand opera performed at Carnegie Hall; Cadman, Charles Wakefield (1912). *Daoma: Ramala (Land of Misty Water)*, written in collaboration with Francis LaFlesche, opera in

four acts performed at the Metropolitan Opera, New York; Freer, Eleanor Everest (1927). *The Chilkoot Maiden*, opera in one act performed at Skagway, Alaska; Carter, Ernest Trow (1931). *The Blonde Donna: The Fiesta at Santa Barbara*, opera comique performed at the Heckscher Theater, New York; Smith, Julia Frances (1939). *Cynthia Parker*, opera in one act performed at North Texas State University, Denton.

⁸⁸ Bonnin's engagement with strategic essentialism in this period parallels the way identity as performance has been theorized in post-colonial, queer, gender studies, and performance studies. My thinking has been informed by: Gayatri Spivak (*In Other Worlds*, 202-15; *Outside*, 3-10) and "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg's *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (1988); Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature, and Difference* (1989); Edward Said. *Culture and Imperialism* (1993); Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (1994); and Jose Esteban Munoz. *Disidentifications, Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999)

⁸⁹ For more on the creation, production, and reception of the "Sun Dance" opera see William F. Hanson, *Sun Dance Land: A Survey of Sioux, Ute, and Shoshone and Other Related Religious Cultures In Sun Dance Worship* (Salt Lake City: J. Grant Stevenson, 1967), Catherine Parsons Smith, "An operatic skeleton on the western frontier: Zitkala-Sa, William F. Hanson, and The Sun Dance Opera," in *Women & Music* (1 Jan 2001), P. Jane Hafen, "'Great Spirit Listen': The American Indian in Mormon Music" in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (1985), and Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Champaign, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

⁹⁰ New York Light Opera Guild advertisement for "The Sun Dance" featuring Erika Zaranova and Chief Yowlache [sic]. MSS 299, LTPSC Yowlachie, (or Daniel Simmons) was born in Washington in 1891 and died in 1966 in Los Angeles, CA. He was a member of the Yakima tribe in Washington. He began as an opera singer, but in the 1920s switched to film. Over the next 25 years he played roles ranging from Apache chief to comic-relief sidekick, notably in *Red River* (1948), where he traded quips with veteran scene-stealer Walter Brennan. He appeared as Geronimo in the 1950s syndicated television series *Stories of the Century* starring Jim Davis as a railroad detective.

⁹¹ L.T. "Picturesque Indian Customs Form Basis Of The Sun Dance, New American Opera" in *Musical Courier* (May 15, 1938)

⁹² The New York Light Opera guild was founded in the spring of 1931, and incorporated in the fall of the same year as a non-profit educational and cultural institution. According to their own record and under the general director and conductor John Hand, for 1931 to 1927, the aims of the Guild were: to establish an adequate season of Light Opera, in Standard English, in New York City, to become self-sustaining, to provide additional opportunities for debuts before the public and press for young American singers, to provide singers in minor roles, as well as members of the ensemble, with the advantages of lectures and systematic instruction in the school of Light Opera and the histrionics of the stage...advancement in their singing careers, and to support the American composer through the rendition of established works of new compositions. MSS 299; William F. Hanson Collection; University Archives; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Further abbreviated as: MSS 299, LTPSC. Also see, New York Light Opera Guild, Inc. to Editor, November 29, 1937, Letter, MSS 299, LTPSC, regarding "The Sun Dance" by William F. Hanson. "After careful study of many works, the Guild now sends you the enclosed article announcing the selection of "The Sun Dance," a romantic American Indian opera by William F. Hanson, an American Composer from Utah, for production."

⁹³ Gertrude Bonnin to Miss Charlotte Jones, Mar 3, 1927, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC. Also, see Gertrude Bonnin to Rev. Philip Gordon, April 13, 1927, Letter. She notes, "Last summer, Capt Bonnin and I travelled [sic] 10.600 miles by auto visiting Indian reservations. We started about 25 Local Lodges. During the Short Session of Congress, the National Council of American Indians cooperated with the Indian Defense Association. We received numerous letters commending our work." Bonnin makes reference to key differences between NCAI and SAI which "was top heavy, without any body" whereas "the National Council has its Local Lodges in the field, and these discuss and handle their own local problems,--then unite their forces in the Washington D.C. Headquarters for general, mutual aid before Congress and the Departments."

⁹⁴ Gertrude Bonnin to Miss Maud B. Morris, January 10, 1927, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC. Another letter from Bonnin to J.R.H. King, April 5, 1927, offers an expanded discussion of NCAI's formation and its progress to "help Indians very materially."

⁹⁵ Although my example is a historical one, the issue of policing identity with regards to Native Americans concerning nationalism and modernity remains a critical arena for discussion and scholarly analysis. For

more on the phenomena of culture cops as a contemporary practice see, Scott Richard Lyons recent work, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

⁹⁶ Bonnin's correspondence reflects concerns regarding "false Indian" figures who threatened to undermine her ability to "play Indian." As Cari Carpenter, Ruth Spack, Dorothea M. Susag, and P. Jane Hafen have shown, Bonnin was a figure who was able to manipulate genres and identities that were available to her. In particular, Carpenter argues "Bonnin's correspondence with Charlotte Jones gives us insight...into the ways that such prominent American Indians were producing and revising their public Indianness in the 1920s." See: "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnin's Investigation of Native American Identity" in *Wicazo Sa Review* (Spring 2005) pp139-159.

⁹⁷ Gertrude Bonnin to Rev. Philip Gordon, April 13, 1927 Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC. For more on Bonnin's investment in determining Chinquilla's real identity to "define and assert her own" see Cari Carpenter, "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnin's Investigation of Native American Identity" in *Wicazo Sa Review* (Vol. 20, No. 1, Spring 2005) 139-159

⁹⁸ Rev. Philip Gordon to Gertrude Bonnin, April 1927, Letter, MSS 1704, LTPSC

⁹⁹ Laura I. Fletcher to Gertrude Bonnin, Letter, March 13, 1921, Box 2, Folder 19, MSS 1704, LTPSC

Chapter 4

Staging U.S. Indian History: Luther Standing Bear's Networks of Performativity and Cultural Politics

Introduction

Late in May of 1931, not far from the back-lots of Hollywood's burgeoning film industry, a coterie of writers, political reformers, and Native American actors gathered at the home of Mrs. Marian Campbell. They came to Buckingham Road that evening for several reasons. Some came simply to meet and mingle with celebrities of the silver screen, like Bill Hart, who had, a couple decades before, established his career as a cowboy in silent films.¹ Others came to see the less well-known Indian actors who were present, such as Nipo Strongheart and Luther Standing Bear. Chief Standing Bear, with help from his adopted niece May Jones, had personally arranged the evening's entertainment. Given his experiences as both a performer and advocate for Indian actors, Standing Bear was well positioned to manage white expectations for Indian performances and to negotiate the interplay between cultural aesthetics and political organizing.

First, guests gathered to see some Sioux and Hopi dance performances. Next they listened to songs sung by young children, like a Chickasaw girl named Pakali. These were followed by a duet featuring two Native singers: the contralto Lou-scha-enya, and the tenor Martin Napa. Their performance was based on an excerpt from *The Seminole* --

a light opera that had been composed by their hostess, Campbell, a few years earlier. Next, guests were surprised and excited to see Yowlachie perform with his wife Whitebird. Both were becoming recognizable for the roles they played in movies and as members of Hollywood's Indian acting community.²

Although Standing Bear had designed the program centered on Indian folk songs and traditional dances, he drew on his history with *Wild West* touring companies to create a dramatic ending. He concluded by using a popular narrative trope -- the covered wagon -- that would have been familiar to fans of Western-themed movies and books. The attack on the covered wagon—and the iconography of the wagon itself— was a key scene in William “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s *Wild West*. By employing a real covered wagon that evening Standing Bear implored guests to consider both the symbolic power of these sorts of performances, and the fraught history that it aimed to represent regarding Native and white interactions.

As an old covered wagon emerged into Campbell’s garden that evening, it was driven by young white men dressed as cowboys, accompanied by Bill Hart who --after receiving robust applause from the audience-- dispensed refreshments of Indian corn soup and hard tack. When Hart began doling out soup to the audience the show became an interactive experience. Hart was simultaneously acting as a cowboy and an ambassador of the Western film, engaging guests in a shared-performance space framed by western themes.³

This moment offers a poignant example of how Standing Bear, like film directors and traveling show entrepreneurs before him, designed a spectacle that capitalized and transformed imagery from America’s *Wild West* to command the attention of his

audience, and to make an argument about politics and history. Given Standing Bear's experiences as an employee for William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's *Wild West*, his decision to use the wagon and Bill Hart demonstrates not only an awareness of Western tropes, but also of the powerful association that Americans made between their own identities as citizens and America as a nation built upon westward expansion. His choices also reflect the ways the *Wild West* had already morphed into films. Despite the problematic ways Indian people were often represented in these narratives about the *Wild West*, Standing Bear used these tropes strategically as part of a larger political mission.

After the performances and the food, Campbell and Standing Bear turned to the business of the evening. They needed to add members to their newly formed political organization: The National League for Justice to American Indians. They argued in favor of guaranteeing rights to Indians as citizens of the U.S. By invoking articles from the U.S. Constitution --namely, the first, fourth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments-- the League identified itself as part of America's democratic mission. This claim to America and Americanness resonates with Standing Bear's motives for using western motifs in the performances for their meeting, even as the organization revised and resisted the underlying logics of conquest that supported such motifs of imperialist expansion.

The "League" articulated five aims as critical to their mission. The first was to "publish a true history of the American Indian." The second was "to render assistance to the American Indians in marketing their wares." Their third aim was "to promote a study of the legal rights of American Indians as citizens," and the fourth was "to secure the admittance of Indian children to public schools throughout America." The fifth and final aim of the League was to make "known to the peoples of the world the present conditions

and needs of the various tribes and nations of American Indians, whether on reservations or elsewhere.” This fifth aim was a familiar objective for progressive reformers during this period and the last clause especially relevant to urban dwellers, like Standing Bear and Strongheart. The fact of Indian people living in cities and working as actors “marketing their wares” was an important component of the League’s goals, given that they wanted to increase *both* employment and political opportunities for Native people. At the same time, their emphasis on education and publishing a “true history” represented their desire to change how the majority of Americans imagined Indian people and Indianness as part of American culture.⁴

The President of the League was Marian Campbell. She was a white woman, but her role is not surprising since she had already begun reform work in California focused on Indian rights, in collaboration with various women’s organizations. In fact, years before she moved to L.A. from Cleveland, Campbell had set to work on her light opera based on Indian themes. As a white composer interested in Indian culture, Campbell’s music aligned with the proliferation of an Indian curio market that sold native crafts to white consumers through dealers and catalogues across the U.S. Not long after divorcing her first husband, a wealthy car manufacturer from Ohio, Campbell married Nipo Strongheart; it is likely that part of her interest in promoting Native rights was also based on their relationship. As President, Campbell often spoke on behalf of the League in public.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, a week following the first meeting of the League, Campbell stated bluntly that “we are the only Indian welfare organization seeking the abolition of our age-old Bureau of Indian Affairs and demanding that the

American Indian be recognized as an American citizen, treated as such, educated as such.” Though Campbell spoke the words, the desire for recognition and the abolition of the BIA were central to Luther Standing Bear’s political vision for Native people and underpinned his participation in the League.

As the First Vice President, Standing Bear worked as an advocate for Native people who shared these views. In addition to Campbell, other white Americans joined the League to assist in this mission. Bill Hart, for example, was named as Second Vice President. Two writers interested in western history, with a particular fondness for Native people, became members of the League’s advisory board: E.A. Brininstool and Lucullus McWhorter. Only three years earlier, Brininstool had worked with Standing Bear as an editor for the book *My People the Sioux*, which when published in 1928 featured an Introduction written by Bill Hart. Here then was a network that incorporated Indian performance, the film industry, and the literary and editorial work of Native and white activists. Like Brininstool, McWhorter’s involvement grew out of his connection to a Native author, the writer Christine Quintasket, who at the time was well-known by the pen-name “Mourning Dove.”⁵ McWhorter helped write and publish her novel, *Cogewea: The Half-Blood*, in 1927.⁶

In addition to white activists, celebrities, and writers, high profile Native figures were necessary for the League’s success. In addition to Standing Bear, Nipo Strongheart, a well-known actor and activist in his own right, was elected to serve as the Executive Secretary and Historian for the group. Strongheart used his movie career to actively recruit fellow Indian actors to become members of the League. In fact, Nipo Strongheart and Marian Campbell together with Luther Standing Bear and his adopted niece May

Jones traveled throughout California to promote the League by giving a series of public lectures during the 1930s.⁷

Twenty years later, *The Wisconsin Magazine* published an article by Nipo Strongheart that reflected upon this time in his life. In his piece entitled “History in Hollywood,” Strongheart comments on his life as a Native American performer and criticizes the role of historical research in the movie industry. In particular, he notes the various historic and ethnic misrepresentations and misinterpretations perpetuated by most Hollywood films. He also explains how he became an advisor to filmmakers in order to argue for the importance of accurate historical study and the procurement of “live material” to guarantee authenticity within a given motion picture. Indeed, what emerges in this portrait of Hollywood’s history is Strongheart’s service as a historical ethnologist and technical director for multiple productions, which included at least seven films made between 1905 and 1952.⁸

Part self-promotion and part history lesson, Strongheart’s piece also raises the specter that haunted and defined performativity for Indians in Hollywood: namely, authenticity. The desire to portray “real” Indians and in effect to have audiences experience Indianness onscreen enabled directors and producers to hire and support the careers of a large number of Indian actors. This often meant a great deal of material gain for Indian people as well as the necessity of input from Native experts. Beginning as early as 1911, a large number of Native people (many of them from reservations throughout the Great Plains and as members of the Sioux Nation) lived in southern California and worked in the film industry. At the same time, a discourse of ethnic

authenticity as a means for defining Indianness permeated the productions that involved these Indian people.⁹

Throughout this chapter I focus on authenticity (versus performance) as a discourse, in the context of *Wild West* shows and cinematic performances that tied discussions of “real” Indians to the employment of actual natives. In many instances Native actors and activists took up the mantle of being authentically Indian to claim space within cultural performance venues to assert their own points of view. Standing Bear is an apt example that helps us to trace the subtleties and complexities of these strategic performances of ethnic authenticity. His texts, whether written or spoken, at times replicated dominant understandings of Indianness, while at other times they criticized practices of domination that were carried out by white cultural producers and political reformers, and that foreclosed the possibility of Indian people to participate in shaping U.S. society.¹⁰

As a film advisor, Luther Standing Bear often spoke on behalf of Indian people to confirm the authenticity of a film’s sets, costumes, and plot. But his insights did not necessarily produce more nuanced portrayals of Indian characters on-screen, nor did his interpretation of Native history, culture, language, and behavior always contradict dominant expectations of a director’s imagination or a writer’s narrative regarding how to represent Indian people. For example, many directors found that the wearing of buckskin, feathered headdresses, and use of horses helped to signify Indianness for film viewers. The proof of this logic is found in the repeated use by moviemakers of similar clothing and behaviors, which appealed, for their familiarity, to audiences –just as the covered wagon appealed to the crowd who attended the League’s first meeting at Campbell’s

home. Indeed, the authenticity of sets, films, and other sorts of performances rested on the fact of having Native people participate (as actors or advisors). Yet the problem for them was that “authenticity” itself did not necessarily refer to a specific tribal nation’s customs and traditions (modes of dress for example), but would instead be tied to a specific individual, like Luther Standing Bear and Nipo Strongheart.

These performances reinforced a particularly nostalgic image of Indianness that reflected a generalized and often romantic vision of Plains Indians. In many cases, the actions and costumes that directors used were drawn from an older type of performance, the wide variety of *Wild West* shows that were popular throughout the 1880s and into the 1920s. Moreover, just as these older types of entertainments aimed to blur the line between history and fantasy, so too did the earliest Western films manage to create oversimplified stories about the history of interactions between white Americans and Indian people. For Standing Bear entertainment became the realm where he could perform Indianness and advocate for more control over these performances in order to shift dominant expectations regarding the portrayal of Indian people.

The issue at hand for an actor like Standing Bear, was the simplicity of filmic representations of Indianness that resulted in diminishing the complexity of historical realities, and the cultural specificity and diversity that has always existed among and between indigenous peoples. For example, “Plains Indians” became a type in movies. The result was that the cultural particularities of people like the Apache, Crow, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were lumped together into one simple category. Additionally, as viewers came to know names like Sioux and Comanche they could then forget Cherokee and Wampanoag, erasing the specificity of tribal histories and the plurality of languages,

cultures, and practices characterizing Indian Country.¹¹ Thus, the call for an increase in authenticity “onscreen” did not mean an increase in either specificity with regard to tribal histories or plurality in terms of languages, cultures, and practices that could be used to characterize the shifting terrain of Indian Country and experiences of Indian people in America since the fifteenth-century.

Nevertheless, Luther Standing Bear made an argument in favor of indigenous difference and political agency. Furthermore, he *was* able to empower Indian actors, *and* to spur the formation of reform groups, such as the National League for Justice to American Indians. Despite the persistence of discriminatory practices in Hollywood, southern California still became a place that many Native people associated with new career opportunities and better wages that would enable them to escape the paternalism and poverty that characterized most reservations in the 1920s and 30s. Indeed, the critical mass of Indian people who came to live and work in Los Angeles supported the emergence of an Indian community there. For example, in the 1920s, the Wigwam Club formed to raise money for Indians in need. By 1935, the Los Angeles Indian Center was established as the primary meeting place and welfare agency for L.A.-area Indians, and it served their needs for the next five decades. In fact, Nipo Strongheart went on to become the President of the Center during the 1950s.¹²

Standing Bear was hardly alone in his efforts to reshape American culture and policy. In fact, he was part of a cohort of Native intellectuals whom I have examined in previous chapters of this dissertation. In the section that follows, I examine the unique character of his performative career, while also placing it into the broader context of cultural politics among a significant group of pan-tribal intellectuals. While examining

performances of Indianness by figures like Standing Bear and other Native performers, I draw on Judith Butler's study of bodies as always constituted in the act of description, whereby her example of sex is itself always (to some degree) performative. For example, when Standing Bear is framed as a real Indian or a full-blooded Indian (rather than just say an Indian) or is given the title of "Chief," these speech acts are illocutionary. Therefore, the act of naming an Indian performer using "real Indian" or "full-blooded" or "chief" initiates a process by which Indianness gains symbolic power.¹³

I also consider how, in Hollywood during the 1920s and 1930s, and in *Wild West* troupes throughout the 1890s to the 1910s, Indian actors were hired to play the roles of *real* Indians and in the process were often interpellated via the fact of their full-bloodedness or Chiefness to confirm the viability of their craft. Once the necessary proof of Indianness was provided, they could be hired again and again to *play Indian* for live audiences or onscreen, and could reap the concordant financial benefits from this employment. The desire on the part of filmmakers and audiences to see "real" Indians portraying Indian characters onscreen also produced a norm whereby Indian actors were continually cited as real Indians. This chain of citationality helped to produce frames for defining Indianness that aligned with dominant narratives and popular (mis)conceptions about Indians. In these cases to label an individual as a "real Indian" was not a neutral act of description, but rather was a performative statement that interpellated the Indian as such.

This chapter is a story about performativity for Indian people, mainly told through the prism of Standing Bear's life, and it is also one about networks. One way to connect Standing Bear to other native actors and Indian intellectuals during this period is to

identify both employment and activist networks that he was able to navigate, and to point out the limits and possibilities that emerged for him through these networks.

In the following sections I take a mostly chronological approach to narrating the path of Luther Standing Bear's life, and the moments when his education, work, and activism intersected or departed from that of his younger brother, Henry Standing Bear. I begin with education away from home at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, followed by employment opportunities that were made possible by this education. Next, I consider the different ways these brothers navigated the politics of the Office of Indian Affairs that managed life and work for them and their families at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Both men left Pine Ridge just after 1901 to find work as performers; from this point on I focus mainly on the experiences of Luther Standing Bear and the various networks of performativity that he managed to navigate and create while working with *Wild West* touring companies and an emergent film industry. I spend significant time on the latter years of Standing Bear's life, from 1911 to 1936, in order to show the connection between his work as an actor and his turn towards political activism. Throughout these different sections, I point to Indian and white reform networks and Indian performances to trace the development of Standing Bear's cultural politics, and his legacy, as an author, a representative for Indian actors, and more broadly, as a political spokesperson for pan-tribal concerns pertaining to ethnic authenticity and cultural production.

The Road Ahead for Luther and his brother Henry Standing Bear

Luther Standing Bear's life began in the Nebraska Territory in 1864. By the time he was sixty-three, he had traveled through the U.S. and abroad to finally reside in Huntington Park, California. There, in 1928, he put pen to paper to write his first book, *My People the Sioux*, which focused on the early years of his childhood growing up in the Plains before heading off to attend the Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania from 1879 to 1885. These recollections describe his first home as a tipi and how he was named "Plenty Kill" at birth, since his parents called him Ota K'te. At school, he "was told to take a pointer and select a name for myself from the list written on the blackboard" and thus, he gave himself the name "Luther" soon after he arrived to study at Carlisle. His younger brother Henry, born around 1868, also went on to study at Carlisle from 1883 to 1891. According to school records, the older Standing Bear arrived as "Kills Plenty" and the younger as "Kills Little" before they both took new English names. This renaming policy was a common practice for the majority of Indian pupils. In this particular case, we can see that with the erasure of these brothers' Lakota names an aspect of the relational and descriptive character of their names also disappeared.¹⁴

Following their experience of renaming, Luther and Henry Standing Bear took similar journeys for awhile. For example, although Luther Standing Bear had more work experience during his time at Carlisle, both young men returned to the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota in search of work after they had graduated from Carlisle. Both sought employment through the Indian Service; Luther was a bit more successful. In the early years of the twentieth century they each found new employment opportunities that exposed them to unknown people and places, Luther traveled all the way to England

and Henry went to work in New York for a time. This employment was largely centered on performance venues and the demand by the American public to see “real” Indians.

Based on his life experiences, Luther Standing Bear came to see himself as an exemplar. According to his autobiography, from the beginning of his time at Carlisle, he was viewed by Pratt as a figure for other students to emulate. Through this his boyish willingness to live up to the standards of the school that were designed by Pratt brought him to work at the Wanamaker Department store. Once there, Standing Bear believed he was more than a mere employee, he was a representative of his family, his tribe, and the other Carlisle students. Therefore, from the beginning, he was framed as a representative of an entire “race.”

Education: Performing in School and at Wanamaker’s Department Store

On May 24, 1883, at the age of 15 and still a student at the Carlisle School, Standing Bear made his first trip to New York City. He recalled lining up with fellow classmates in City Hall Park in lower Manhattan to lead the school’s marching band across the new Brooklyn Bridge. “When the parade started I gave the signal, and we struck up and kept playing all the way across the great structure.”¹⁵ The Carlisle band had been invited to play as part of the ritual to celebrate the bridge, the great city of New York, and the U.S. nation. The desire for Indian participation in this ceremony harkened back to Simon Pokagon’s role at the opening of “Chicago Day” at the 1893 World’s Fair. Standing Bear’s memory of this day first came to the attention of a reading public in 1928.¹⁶ Indeed, the first readers of *My People the Sioux* would sense a great deal of irony surrounding this moment of celebration and musical performance. Although the band

played for largely non-Indian audiences, Standing Bear narrates their experience through a claim to Americanness and citizenship. He notes, “So the Carlisle Indian band of brass instruments was the first *real American band* to cross the Brooklyn Bridge, and I am proud to say that I was their leader.” However grand a performance it was, the students were given no break, as their trip playing around New York continued. With engagements around the city, including the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, the band moved on to play at several other large churches in Philadelphia before making their way back to Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Later in 1885 Standing Bear’s education at Carlisle drew to a close and he was offered a unique opportunity to work in one of the largest department stores in the country. At Wanamaker’s in Philadelphia, he was going to learn how to be a clerk. Richard Pratt had received word from Mr. Wanamaker to send him the very best students in his school, and he told Standing Bear,

My boy, you are going away from us to work for this school, in fact, for your whole race. Go, and do your best. The majority of white people think the Indian is a lazy good-for-nothing. They think he can neither work nor learn anything; that he is very dirty. Now you are going to prove that the red man *can* learn and work as well as the white man.

Hence, Standing Bear’s first real job was framed according to the rhetoric of racial uplift rather than wages and steady employment. In this instance Standing Bear learned from a young age that wherever he would go he was to be viewed as a representative of his race, and in this case not only the Lakota, but all Indian people in America became his concern.¹⁷

Standing Bear recalled Pratt’s instructions clearly: “I was to prove to all people that the Indians could learn and work as well as the white people; to prove that Carlisle

School was the best place for the Indian boy.” His experience at Wanamaker’s went well, although his classmate Clarence Three Stars did not find it so tolerable. He complained to Standing Bear saying, “Luther, my work is not to my liking...as I go behind the counters the clerks all call me ‘Indian,’ and I don’t like it; it makes me nervous.” Three Stars’ exposure to racial discrimination pushed him to write to Pratt and request that he be sent back to his reservation. Despite his prodding, Standing Bear was unable to convince Three Stars to stay, and with him gone he “worked all the harder” at the store.¹⁸

The Wanamaker Department Store grew in wealth and influence during the turn of the twentieth century. In 1906, Joseph Dixon was hired by founder John Wanamaker (1839-1922) to expand the Wanamaker Empire. By 1908, Dixon received the necessary financial support from Rodman Wanamaker, the son and partner of John Wanamaker, to visit among many North American Indians. This project, known as the Wanamaker Expedition, occupied Dixon’s entire work from 1908 until his death in 1926. As Alan Trachtenberg has shown, the story of these expeditions began with the store and then returned to the store when the collections of artifacts, images, and recorded sounds of Indian people were either put on display or sold through elaborately staged theatrical productions as part of “A Romance of the Vanishing Race.”¹⁹

Despite Standing Bear’s enthusiasm towards his work at Wanamaker, times grew rough once Three Stars left. One day he was called up to the first floor where a little glass house had been built. Soon he found his work would have to take place inside this glass box: “So everyday I was locked inside this little glass house, opening the trunks, taking out the jewels and putting price tags on them. How the white folks did crowd around to watch me!” He understood that these white onlookers were under the impression that “an

Indian would steal anything he could get his hands on.” In his autobiography, he highlights this negative attitude and concludes that despite being put on display, he did well for himself when he was promoted with more pay. This is an important assertion, especially in the context of autobiography as a genre. Both *My People the Sioux* (1928), where this incident is reported, and *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933) are autobiographies and complicated writing performances. They may not accurately reflect lived experiences so much as narrate key moments, which Standing Bear used to define his life and his philosophy, as he understood it as a writer in 1928 and then in 1933.²⁰ It would be several years before Standing Bear would make a shift from “being on display” at Wanamaker to “playing Indian” in the context designed by “Buffalo Bill” Cody. But, it was while working for Wanamaker that he first came into contact with Cody’s *Wild West* and the great Lakota leader Sitting Bull (1831-1890). Their encounter was a strange one. First, Standing Bear had to pay fifty cents for a ticket to see “many Indian trappings” to enter a Philadelphia Theater. Inside he saw a stage before him where four Indian men, one of whom was Sitting Bull, sat. Part of the strangeness of the encounter lay in its context. The other was an issue of mistranslation.

Standing Bear was in Philadelphia because he was employed by Wanamaker, and Sitting Bull was in town because of his employer, William Cody. Like Joseph K. Dixon, Cody aimed to build his career on the promise of market capitalism and the commercialization of Indianness. Both men understood that this relationship was integral to the foundational narrative of American culture. They needed to hire Native people, like Sitting Bull who was famous for his leadership and fighting skills, and Standing Bear, who was of interest because of his youth and his adaptability to white cultural practices.²¹

What mattered to Standing Bear was less the marketing ploys of either Cody or the Wanamaker franchise, than the way in which his experience seeing Sitting Bull at the Theater could be interpreted by a non-Indian eye-witness. Standing Bear's autobiography focuses on the translators for Sitting Bull and the ways they misrepresented his speech. As Sitting Bull talked about peace and education his interpreters wrongly told the crowd that he was describing the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Standing Bear's autobiography frames the event and his memory of it with a keen sense of the representational politics at stake. I define "representational politics" here as a set of historically contingent actions involving the creation and distribution of culture and political views. When Standing Bear tells the story of mistranslation, he maps his representational politics onto Indian identity, as something imbricate, fluid, and perpetually changing – both in relation to an individual's sense of self, and how he or she interprets the expectations of the social context through which they move. What is more, Standing Bear's text considers the importance of this encounter as a pedagogical opportunity to show the next generation of Indian leaders what it means for him to see Sitting Bull at the time, since the latter was working for Cody. Standing Bear, as author, enjoys the benefit of hindsight, and thus he can point to this moment as one where Sitting Bull is working to support his tribe and to escape the surveillance of the Indian agency system on his reservation.²²

Standing Bear especially remembers how the translator "told so many lies that I had to smile." The gesture of the smile works as referent to memory and the power relations of the moment itself. He writes further about how his smile is received by some of the white audience members: "One of the women on the stage observed me and said

something to the other woman, then both of them kept looking at me.” They knew that he knew, and thus created the possibility for a shared Indian critical consciousness. This was a critical inversion of the power relations arranged on the stage. Standing Bear makes his understanding of the *real* message that Sitting Bull is sending visible through the women in the crowd who bear witness to his smile. And thus, just as Sitting Bull’s narrative is overwritten by a mistranslation, Standing Bear pushes back against this act with the subtlety of a smile. Indeed, his recognition of mistranslation by smiling is also an example of non-violent resistance. His smile acknowledges the hegemonic practices of white paternalism and colonization that occur through acts of mistranslation. His smile also figures possibility for subverting these practices by drawing attention to the fact of mistranslation. Standing Bear’s smile places him with all Indian people, symbolically standing on stage with Sitting Bull, even as he sits with the audience. This moment prefigures a later moment within Standing Bear’s text, and indeed important experiences that he had while working *himself* as a translator on behalf of other Indian people, both for William Cody’s troupe, and later for Thomas Ince’s film company.²³

Standing Bear’s account also depicts how the two white onlookers shift their gaze from one Indian to another. His recollection of this moment then encourages readers of *My People the Sioux* to pause and consider the deleterious effects of mistranslation, on people, cultures, and history itself.²⁴ This moment is further highlighted by the fact that another Indian, who understands and speaks Lakota, *must* be present to witness and re-translate this history. Standing Bear’s presence, as an Indian neither on display nor on the stage, but among the audience, offers us a subtle revision of U.S. settler colonialism that suggested Indian people must either assimilate or die. His text represents a middle

ground, where he connects himself in historical terms to Sitting Bull, and can then jump off from this history to suggest that American history is itself incomplete without accounting for the varied experiences of Indian people.²⁵

Not long after he left Wanamaker, on July 6th, 1885, Luther Standing Bear was formally discharged from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. After graduation, he made his way back to South Dakota and the Pine Ridge reservation in search of a job. By 1891, Standing Bear was in a bit of a predicament. The good news was he was offered a position as a teacher. The bad news was that it would be at Rosebud rather than the Pine Ridge Agency, where his father and the rest of his family lived. Given the extreme poverty that many Indian people were facing, Standing Bear could not refuse the position of assistant teacher at the Agency school at Rosebud. Still, longing for Pine Ridge aside, Standing Bear distinguished himself as an excellent teacher. Ms. Wright, the head teacher of the school noted that he was “diligent and faithful, persevering and trustworthy” and you could “depend upon his word.”²⁶

Despite sending many inquiries into the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Standing Bear was unable to receive official support to move back to Pine Ridge. This did not stop him. He moved there anyway, and began building a home. Although the upper level administrators of the Indian Service, many of whom lived in Washington, D.C. and far from South Dakota, did not grant permission for a transfer to Pine Ridge, Standing Bear found local support from the acting agent, Charles G. Penny. He viewed Standing Bear favorably because of the young man’s connection to the Carlisle School. By November of 1891, Penny sent his third letter to the OIA to argue in favor of Standing Bear’s relocation to Pine Ridge. Penny noted that,

He is a young man who has been educated in the East, and it is becoming that great consideration should be shown him...To force him back to Rosebud Agency, against his will, will tend to dishearten him and to make him discontented. His desire to reside here with his father, brothers and sisters, is natural, laudable and will be productive of good results.

Penny's endorsement reveals the double-edged sword faced by many Native people during this period regarding alliances with white members of the Indian Service. His paternalistic tone reveals support and a politics of uplift, which defined Standing Bear's character in terms of his education in the East-- a tool of the government to reshape Indian people into "fit" citizens --and also in terms of his family, not his tribe, which might "be productive of good results."²⁷

Standing Bear challenged and reinforced the power of the Indian Office by moving back to Pine Ridge. He also found allies within the system who judged him worthy of "great consideration," as Penny did, and they also wrote in support of his request for a transfer. This phrase comes out of the many exchanges made between OIA officials. One might read it as a remark on his class position given that Standing Bear was an educated Indian and trying to make himself more American, thereby effacing his race. Such an effort, the Indian Office agents thought, should be rewarded. Luther Standing Bear's move from one reservation to another was hotly debated among administrators of the OIA. These officials' letters not only represent this debate regarding Standing Bear's request but also reveal the extent to which the U.S. bureaucracy designed to manage Indian Affairs was enmeshed in the daily lives of Indian people. As these officials maneuvered the line dividing what they thought would be best for their administration of land and people, versus what would be best for an individual, they invoked familiar, if troubling, rhetoric regarding the fitness of Indians to become part of the Indian service.²⁸

By the summer of 1892 Standing Bear was settled on Pine Ridge. During this period, many educated Indians were returning to reservations from boarding schools, like Carlisle, to live and work among their people as Standing Bear had done. In this instance, because he was viewed as a “very competent educated mixed blood” by the white officials working in the Indian Service, Standing Bear could negotiate the terms of his employment in ways other native people could not. At this time, there was a concern that education itself would not necessarily create material and cultural change among native people, and therefore, those who returned to their reservations but who did not take up farming, teaching, or owning a business of some sort, were in danger of going “back to the blanket” in the eyes of the OIA. This reference to a blanket aimed to further patronize and infantilize Native people, confirming that they were somehow doomed to perish if they did not give up their “old” (understood as primitive and anti-modern) ways in favor of those they had learned at school.²⁹

Just a year earlier in 1891, Luther’s brother, Henry Standing Bear, worked to maneuver the OIA system to *his* benefit. He was not quite as successful as his brother, and neither did he receive “great consideration” nor encouragement from local administrators at Pine Ridge.

Interlude: The Standing Bear Brothers in South Dakota and Beyond...

On September 14, 1891, Henry Standing Bear wrote to T.J. Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to request “a better education.” Having recently graduated from Carlisle, Henry was well aware of the fact that the education he had received there (which was only somewhat equivalent to high school) would neither

prepare him to lead his people nor excel in American society. Still, early in his career as an activist, he understood the connection between Congress and the Sioux nation and the possibility for Indian policy to affect his daily life. In particular, Henry wrote referring to a Treaty from March 2, 1889 that “promises us education” to make clear that he wanted “to go to some college.” Even more striking is his request for money to support his continued higher education in lieu of land. He writes, “...[I]f I can have little money out of this sum of money promised for our education to help me through some school I would be willing to give up all other promises this treaty made for I want to get the better education. I want to live among the whites and give up my reservation to enjoy the freedom they are enjoying.” The willingness to “give up my reservation” may be read as a desire to abandon Indian traditions and land, but for Henry, it was more likely a desperate attempt to procure the necessary money for a college education. Armed with this education he could return to the people of Pine Ridge and find better ways to make a living and effect political change.³⁰ Although Henry was ultimately unsuccessful in securing funds from the Office of Indian Affairs to support his higher education, he continued to seek some sort of employment. In 1892, he requested help from the Pine Ridge Agency to establish a store at Corn Creek. While finding ways to materially support himself, he also worked within the Agency System to fight against some of the loss of land and annuities that had resulted from the 1889 Indian appropriation Act. Thus, he sent a request that money rather than rations should be sent by the federal government to help the Lakota at Pine Ridge.³¹

While both brothers lived and worked at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Henry struggled against the power of the OIA and faced foreclosure. Despite such struggles,

Henry continued to fight for better treatment for himself and his fellow Lakota. From February through April of that year and well into 1894, a series of letters were exchanged between Henry and administrators in the Indian Office revolving around the issue of how best to manage the interests of the Lakota due to increases in white settlement of formerly Indian lands, and a lack of supplies and adequate access to education for Indian people.

Henry Standing Bear's plea for better treatment grew out of his own dire circumstances. He applied through the U.S. Civil Service Commission to take an exam that would permit him to work, like his brother Luther, as a teacher for a reservation day-school. He was temporarily appointed as an assistant teacher. These were years where Henry had to hustle to make a living, which was not unique among the other Lakota on Pine Ridge or Indian people living on other reservations.

By 1899, many of these Indian people organized to send a petition to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This experience no doubt proved influential to Henry Standing Bear, who later became a central figure in creating and organizing the formation of the Society of American Indians (SAI). Long before his work with SAI, along with Chief Little Wound, Chief George Fire Thunder, Phillip Wells, and Kicking Bear, Henry formed a delegation to Washington, D.C., to present their concerns to the Department of the Interior. This set Henry apart from his brother Luther, given that he returned to Pine Ridge following time spent at Carlisle, Wanamaker, and Rosebud, not to form wider alliances with other native people, to use more independent means for having his employment needs met. In this instance, Henry Standing Bear's political activities parallel those of Carlos Montezuma who relied on correspondence to connect with native and non-native activists from across the U.S. and

to lobby and petition members of the U.S. federal government. In fact, Henry later wrote to Montezuma regularly about their involvement with SAI.

As the Secretary General of the Pine Ridge Council, Henry sent letters to the federal government and enumerated the specific concerns of the Lakota. They sought a new form of annuity payment, rather than clothing, some of which was “issued to us regardless of sizes or to the sex.” The delegation also requested that “the Government pay to us the value thereof in money per capita.” In addition, one of the main avenues for income among the Lakota at Pine Ridge was to sell cattle. Unfortunately, the government had committed to buying only one quarter of what they raised and this left them open to selling their steers to outsiders “who, of course, are always ready to take advantage of us,” and so they requested that the Government increase the percentage they would buy. Finally, another issue of concern referred to the Act of 1889, which guaranteed the Lakota be paid one-half of five percent interest on their three million dollars worth of assets, which was land. They asked that the government pay this amount annually rather than occasionally giving them cows, farm implements, and other articles. These items were no substitute for actual money, given the amount of graft and the economic depression of the 1890s that had swept across America, most devastatingly affecting the West.³²

This petition is revealing in two ways. First, these demands illustrate how, in the case of Pine Ridge, the federal government continued to use paternalistic practices for how to compensate the Lakota for the land they had lost due to allotment. The nature of their paternalism here is what matters most in that they withheld financial capital and used the loose valuation of goods to create an internal market for Lakota cattle. Thus, the

reservation space was not one of opportunity but of structural paternalism where allotment offered a “progressive” move for Indian people into American society if they could successfully engage with the capitalist logic that was at work. As these policies continued to perpetuate a relationship of ward-ship between the Department of the Interior and Indian nations, Henry worked as the secretary for the delegation to critique this relationship. Through this role he became a leader among the Lakota. Whether it was because he acted as a petition-writing rabble-rouser or was arrested for illegally selling twenty pieces of lumber, the correspondence among government officials in 1899 singled Henry out among the Lakota as a “trouble maker.”

As the Headmaster and founder of the Carlisle Indian School, Richard Pratt enjoyed significant clout with government officials and white reformers when it came to matters of Indian affairs, but even more importantly, he was called on to provide testimony regarding the character of individual Indians. For example, when Henry was arrested for selling lumber issued to him as an annuity for his land he wrote to Pratt explaining the details of his case. Henry explained that times were tough, so he had to sell the lumber to make actual money to help his family, because one cannot use lumber to feed one’s children. In response, Pratt contacted the acting Indian agent at Pine Ridge to testify that Henry Standing Bear had “been fairly well educated.” Despite this assurance, the agent saw Henry as “a disturbing element” who must “cease his efforts in this direction” or “expect to be disciplined.” His “efforts” were to make the most out of a bad situation, which is that *if* the federal government was not going to uphold its end of the deal to pay native people in cash, then Henry would use whatever means necessary to procure the money himself.³³

Given the financial distress that Henry Standing Bear and others were under it is no surprise that he took the lumber that had been given him by the government and found a way to turn a profit on it. This act was in some part in step with the demands and concerns registered by the petition sent by the Lakota to the Department of the Interior because they needed a change in their relationship to the government concerning annuity payments. The tenor of Agent Clapp's letter seems to suggest that Henry, formerly a "good Indian" at Carlisle, had somehow turned "bad" while back at the reservation. This rhetoric reflected logic shared throughout the Indian Service, which was to maintain abuses of power and continue to prop up a failing system where many agents had become corrupt. On the one hand, Henry Standing Bear's leadership among the people of Pine Ridge could have prompted Clapp to frame him as a "disturbing element," while on the other hand, his brother Luther Standing Bear was a success because of his work as a teacher. As one brother became a teacher, the other used his education to subvert the system that sought to educate him in the first place. Thus, we can see two distinct classes of complaint coming from the OIA, which is that the "back to the blanket" Indians were wasting their education because "it didn't take" while figures like Henry used it to reveal how crooked things were on the reservation, to become political organizers of a sort. Thus, both brothers found productive, if different, ways to work at Pine Ridge following the schooling that each had received from Carlisle. Furthermore, as contemporaries of Indian intellectuals such as Eastman, Bonnin, and Montezuma (who were also "educated Indians") the different characterizations and paths of the Standing Bear brothers represent alternative modes for engaging with American culture and politics. Despite their work at

home, both brothers also left the reservation to find better financial opportunities, and the world of show business was the ticket.

In October of 1900, Henry Standing Bear was living in New York City when he received news that his wife, Nellie Standing Bear, had requested that the U.S. Indian Agent Charles E. McChesney transfer her and five children (Lily, Emily, Julia, Joseph, and Annie) from Pine Ridge to the Rosebud Agency. The transfer was necessary, Nellie notes, because “my husband left me and I am without any means of support.” Henry Standing Bear had indeed left Pine Ridge not only to get a new job, but also to start a new life apart from his family. Following their separation, his life took a peripatetic turn as he worked throughout the U.S. as a performer, seeking Indian allies who shared his activist leanings.³⁴

By the summer of 1903, Henry was living and working in New York City as an actor. Along with a number of other Indians, he performed in a show at Coney Island as part of the Steeplechase Amusement Park.³⁵ The opening of George C. Tilyou’s *Steeplechase Park* in 1897 marked the beginning of Coney Island’s era as “the Nation’s Playground” and was the precursor to the modern-day amusement park. It was named for Coney Island’s horseracing tradition, initiated by the Brighton Beach Racetrack in 1879, and drew in an estimated ninety thousand visitors a day during its peak years.³⁶

During the time that Henry Standing Bear was working as an Indian performer in Coney Island, his brother, Luther, was working with Cody’s *Wild West*. After this, Luther would join the Miller Brothers’ “101 Ranch” where, like his brother, he “enjoyed mixing with the swarms of visitors,” although Luther was on the West Coast at the Venice Pier, rather than at Coney Island. In addition to “playing Indian” as a movie extra and actor,

Luther Standing Bear operated an archery concession on the pier that helped supplement his wages. According to one historian, Standing Bear's capabilities with a bow and arrow were put to the test at the pier one day when several Japanese tourists challenged him to a shooting contest. During this period, traveling circuses, vaudeville acts, and "medicine shows" circulated through the U.S., offering many Native people opportunities to travel and make money.³⁷

The Kickapoo Indian Medicine Company, for example, became one of the largest and most successful medicine show operators in America from 1880 until the 1930s. They hired many Indian spokespeople and relied on themes from the *Wild West* to attract audiences and sell their products. Headquartered in New Haven, Connecticut, the Company published a variety of booklets, posters, and other forms of advertisements to promote their products independently of the medicine show.

The strangeness of the Kickapoo Company's products, which promoted the health benefits of "natural tonics" as linked to the heritage and biological strength of Indian people, lay in the fact that many of its advertisements depicted scenes of Indian warriors "saving" young white women. This re-fashioned captivity tale promised to cure the sicknesses of white society through the inherent health of Indianness. Although Indian characters were figured as saviors, they were also clothed in garments meant to signify primitiveness. Thus, Indian people were again relegated to an imagined and declining past, even when offering an "ancient wisdom" that claimed to cure modern-day maladies.³⁸

One of the variations on Cody's *Wild West* that traded on a notion of authenticity embodied in Indian actors and the popularity of traveling medicine shows, fairs, and local

amusement parks was the “101 Ranch Wild West Show.” This show was an outgrowth of the Miller Brothers’ 101 Ranch. Joe, Zack, and George L. Miller worked a 110,000-acre cattle ranch in Marland, Oklahoma before their neighbor, the performer “Pawnee Bill” (Major Gordon W. Lillie) demonstrated that the brothers could make a better living not by selling cattle, but by re-telling the conquest of the West. In 1905, the Millers began producing a local show. By 1907 they were on the road performing outside of Oklahoma at places like the Jamestown Exposition in Virginia, and Brighton Beach in New York – where they cast native actors, like Henry Standing Bear, to play Indian.³⁹

Given that the “101 ranch” show was a late-comer to the *Wild West*-themed enterprise it is not surprising that they suffered financially with the invention of motion pictures. Despite this set-back, they succeeded in profiting from the popularity of the Indian curio market.⁴⁰ They sold all kinds of Indian rugs, beaded belts, and silver jewelry manufactured in their novelty factory by Indians employed by the Miller brothers. Along with Indian-themed articles, a large assortment of souvenir leather goods such as cowboy belts, boys’ chaps and vests were all made and then sold to tourists.⁴¹

By 1911, Luther Standing Bear joined the 101 Ranch show, and he remained there until he applied to filmmaker Thomas H. Ince to move west. Ince paid for his train fare and Luther Standing Bear joined the rest of the Sioux actors’ crew in Inceville, California. Throughout this period, the more vocal Indian actors attempted to expand their influence on the films under production at Inceville. Led by Luther Standing Bear, these activists pointed out to Ince that his films would be even more authentic if he used more Indians in the major roles. Frustrated by the lack of three-dimensional characters for Indian actors, Standing Bear offered ideas for scripts and volunteered to serve as a

language coach for the other Sioux actors. Unfortunately for him, Ince declined to accept these suggestions.⁴²

Meanwhile, his brother Henry continued working at Coney Island. In 1908 he was surprised to find he was under arrest for bigamy. According to Pine Ridge agency records, Henry Standing Bear was a “much married” man, having “two families on this reservation at the present time” despite the fact that in Brooklyn he was now married to and living with Hazel Moran, a white woman. Although the case against him in New York was dismissed “for the reason that neither of his wives on the reservation would appear against him,” it remains to be seen why he decided to abandon his first wife and children. Whether or not Henry Standing Bear really intended to be married to multiple women matters less than his arrest coinciding with his application for an allotment. It seems the government’s interest in his marital status rested on whether or not there was one wife at Pine Ridge who might share in an allotment. By 1912, Henry Standing Bear gave up his performing career in New York, and returned to live in South Dakota. Between 1912 and 1913, he received his allotment for 640 acres of land, and a patent in fee for 320 acres, 240 acres of which he sold. From this time onwards, Henry aimed to make a homestead with his remaining land. Both brothers had left the reservation to work as performers, and while Luther eventually made his way to Hollywood and the world of film, Henry planted roots at home. From there he became a representative for the Lakota in national pan-tribal organizations, like the Society of American Indians (SAI).⁴³

In fact, from 1911 to 1915, Henry Standing Bear became a founding and guiding member of SAI. Writing to Carlos Montezuma while apparently crossing the reservation “on horseback,” Standing Bear used the rhetoric of warfare regarding SAI’s foundational

meeting in Ohio, in 1911. He notes, “I am going to get my people ready for the battle in the fall at Columbus.” Over the next few years, Henry Standing Bear worked on the publicity committee for SAI and organized a series of meetings among the Lakota at Pine Ridge to discuss concerns he could bring to the national organization. SAI met during these years to discuss a range of topics, like how to redefine (or even dismantle) the workings of the Indian Affairs Office, ways to improve on-reservation schools, and how Native people throughout the U.S. could benefit from the rights guaranteed by American citizenship.⁴⁴

Although Luther Standing Bear never became involved with SAI, his views regarding the Citizenship Bill of 1923, for example, resonated with the concerns that many SAI leaders held with regards to whether or not “citizenship” would actually amount to material changes in the lives of Indian people. In his second autobiography, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), he writes about this explicitly by stating, “The signing of the bill changed not in the slightest measure the condition of the Indian.” While both brothers left Pine Ridge to make their way in the world, Luther Standing Bear decided he could not return. Separated from the majority of his family, he found ways to combine performance and politics. He became an activist and speaker on behalf of native rights through networks that grew out of a spectacle promoting America’s *West*, as imagined by William Cody.⁴⁵

The *Wild West*: part and parcel of American Culture

From 1882 to 1916, “Buffalo Bill” Cody produced a series of spectacular entertainments based on America’s history of white-Indian violence. From the beginning,

it was called “The Wild West” (or Buffalo Bill’s *Wild West*). This name both eschewed the use of “show” and confirmed it was neither mere display nor entertainment, but ought to be identified with a specific time, place, and history. Notwithstanding protests by Indian activists and white progressives as well as members of the Office of Indian Affairs, much of the show’s authenticity was supported through letters from leading military officers, which were published in the Program that was handed out to audiences. Despite attending to authenticity and repeatedly advertising its realist approach, the *Wild West* as Cody designed it was history conflated with mythology.⁴⁶

Moreover, the repetition of these performances throughout the U.S. and in Europe further entrenched this blurred understanding of America’s past for many audiences. It seems likely that there were savvy white viewers and Indian people among the audience who understood that these were performances meant to celebrate America more than actually represent facts about its history. At the same time, it is less clear whether or not these same viewers were able to successfully disentangle the underlying logic of Cody’s narrative regarding the West, namely that violence and savage warfare were necessary components of American progress.

Throughout these performances Indians remained central to how Cody, as well as his white audiences, remembered, imagined, and expected Indian people to be. Much of the excitement centered on the re-enactment of colonial violence whereby white settlers found themselves (surprise!) surrounded by hostile Indian forces. This narrative of *the surround*, as Philip Deloria has theorized, became integral to American ideas regarding Indians and violence and the cultural productions that drew on these ideas.

The surround was a necessary part of American history in that it showcased colonization. For Cody, the tension between whites and Indians was also a useful allegory for American imperialism and the hero of the cowboy. Indeed American manhood itself was constructed through these dramatic performances as white men represented the promise of a new, young, and virile nation that defined itself against the primitive savagery of its Indian past. However fraught this making of modern America may have been for the Indian performers who joined Cody's traveling troupes, this type of employment still afforded many of them more material benefits than they would have had if they stayed home.⁴⁷

For Luther Standing Bear, who had spent his years after Carlisle struggling to find regular gainful employment first as a teacher and then a clerk at a dry goods store, the opportunity to travel widely and make money was hard to pass up. As he recalled, "my wife was greatly pleased when I told her the news that we were going to have the chance to go abroad." Still the journey was not entirely positive, given that prejudices both within the company and without were still a very real part of Indian experience. Many of these experiences were marked by changes in policy that came with allotment and the end of violent resistance by Indian nations towards the U.S. military.⁴⁸

With the end of military conquest and following the Dawes Act, most Americans understood that the frontier, once populated with Indians, was closing. No more would white settlers *happen* to find themselves as a minority surrounded by a majority Indian people. Instead they came to see themselves as the guardians of American land. In terms of historical re-enactments dramatized and popularized by Cody, along with the Miller Brothers' 101 ranch and others, the connection between Indianness and violence need not

disappear with the end of *the surround*. Rather, Indian violence became refigured around a new narrative that felt familiar to audiences and that was the *outbreak*. In this sense Indians were still defined as violent and locked into a struggle that doomed them to submit to the power of the white military figure, cowboy, or pioneer who in turn had to fight (sometimes even resist) the Indian outbreak.

The *outbreak* suggested that Indians had been conquered, and to some extent had been “tamed” and contained. But of course, being contained by the Office of Indian Affairs did not necessarily mean an end to resistance, as we have seen with regards to Henry Standing Bear’s efforts to work within and against the Indian Service’s rules. In fact, these narratives of Indian violence became part of the repertoire of touring companies and later, the Western genre of film. In both spaces Indians had to perform. Now defeated, they had to reenact a moment when they historically did hold the power to surround and destroy white settlers and colonists. Now safely contained, they performed the possibility that they would escape and become violent (outbreak!).

So any one performance mixed these things together: pretending to be violent and powerful with the possibility that, though no longer powerful, Indian people could still become violent. Underneath this was an ideology of pacification, which meant that there was no way that Indians would actually become violent. Thus, Indian performers were navigating this terrain of performativity marked by powerlessness in terms of changes in their own strategies of resistance and in the cultural imagination of what they could or would do. Standing Bear was learning exactly these sorts of narratives beginning with his containment in Wanamaker’s glass box to when he willfully broke out of Rosebud, and then was ironically contained again in Pine Ridge before he ultimately left.⁴⁹

Although Cody's *Wild West* offered a historical program bent on playing with racial categories that required Indian actors, like Standing Bear, many performance narratives were imbedded within a strong identification with imperialism. This was perhaps best represented through the military elements within the show. Posters advertising "Buffalo Bill" Cody and his "Rough Riders" served a double-purpose as they displayed new models of artillery that, as Richard Slotkin argues, eclipsed the more traditional Western elements associated with the cowboy. In other words, the cowboy was transformed into a soldier and the place of the *Wild West* became an even more mobile concept that could represent the frontiers beyond the physical borders of the United States into Pacific and Caribbean waters.

In 1899, before Standing Bear joined the troupe, Cody replaced "Custer's Last Fight" with the "Battle of San Juan Hill" to celebrate the heroism of Theodore Roosevelt and "The Rough Riders," as worthy of historical replay. As Slotkin argues, this type of performance glorified the imperialization of the American republic and through associations with *Wild West* imagery was also able to democratize the imperial project. Then in 1901, San Juan's backdrop was traded in for the Battle of Tientsin to re-enact the capture of that city by the Allied army that had suppressed China's Boxer Rebellion to rescue "captives" from the Peking Legation Quarter. Indian actors came in to play the role of the Boxers as the soldiers, and cowboys in the rest of the troupe stood in for white civilization. "Tientsin" remained a popular performance into 1902 before Cody's troupe reprised their roles in "San Juan Hill" from 1903 to 1904. Thus, one might wonder, did Standing Bear ever find himself playing the role of either a Boxer or a Spanish military officer? How might he have understood these roles in combination with or set against his

work as a translator and the times he “acted” the part of himself? As Cody’s enterprise took on international perspectives they also hired people from Puerto Rico as well as the Sandwich and Philippine Islands. These new hires were incorporated into performances and presented as curiosities. Not unlike the Native American performers before them they were useful as cultural brown “Others” and “as memorials of an imaginative world distant in time and space.” For Standing Bear, Cody’s enterprise represented important life lessons about business, commercialization, and performativity. In the section that follows I consider how issues of class and race intersected with the performative value of Native people who were celebrated as the main attraction for shows where they *played* Indian and at times just *played* themselves.⁵⁰

1902: London, England -- *No old pancakes for the Indians*

Luther Standing Bear’s career as a teacher at Pine Ridge was short-lived, and later overshadowed by his work as a translator and performer in William Cody’s *Wild West*. In *My People the Sioux*, Standing Bear devotes an entire chapter to details regarding his trip to England, which was the first time he worked for Cody. Unlike other Indian intellectuals from this period, Standing Bear remembers his career as a performer with a good amount of pride, and celebrates it as an accomplishment. The positive position he stakes out in his text not only reconciles his choice to work as a performer within entertainments that many Native people viewed with skepticism and concern, but dovetails with the role he played after he left Cody and moved to Hollywood. It was in the context of the film industry that Standing Bear wrote his two autobiographies and he was able to do so because of the career opportunities that were made possible by the

contacts he made through Cody and other *Wild West* entrepreneurs. Therefore, as I look closely at how he recalls these early years in his writing I have kept in mind that his celebration of Cody serves to highlight how it is that he now has the time and resources needed to write about the political and economic circumstances that led to his career in the first place.⁵¹

While working for Cody, Standing Bear defines himself as a man of good character, largely through his refusal to drink alcohol and smoke tobacco. He imagines himself not only as an interpreter of language but also as an arbitrator of morality and culture for the other Indian performers who were part of the show. He could speak for his fellow Indians as their translator, and he could keep in constant contact with Cody regarding their movements and any inappropriate activities related to alcohol and overspending of wages. Standing Bear also mediated their cultural interactions, whether in New York or London. For instance, upon arrival in Liverpool, he notes how “after the meal was over and everybody was ready to go upstairs, I sent for the head waiter. I told him that Indians did not care for a lot of mixed-up foods such as had just been served to us, but that they wanted meat—lots of it.” This example shows Standing Bear’s willingness to act on behalf of other Indian employees, and how his text recalls these moments to demonstrate the uniqueness of his position.⁵²

Standing Bear’s work in the *Wild West* actually began in the East. Before heading to London for special performances before British royal society, Standing Bear, his wife, and daughter went to New York City. Once there, they stayed in a hotel with another performer named Black Horn. After dinner their first night, there was a meeting of all the Indian performers, and a man named Rock called on Standing Bear to say a few words.

Thus, he remembered his work with the *Wild West* first as dedicated to helping “his people” and second as a way to earn money for his family. In fact, Standing Bear addresses the crowd as if they are part of an extended Indian family. He begins,

My relations, you all know that I am to take care of you while going across the big water to another country, and all the time we are to stay there. I have heard that when any one joins this show, about the first thing he thinks of is getting drunk. I understand that the regulations of the Buffalo Bill show require that no Indian shall be given any liquor. You all know that I do not drink, and I am going to keep you all from it.

With these words Standing Bear praises the intentions of Cody’s show and demonstrates his own upstanding character as a teetotaler. Both would become important for the persona he would craft in Hollywood during the late 1920s and 1930s, as an activist speaking on behalf of Native actors and Indian people in general.⁵³

Throughout Standing Bear’s recollections of England, he and his fellow performers’ experiences are framed according to class as much as race. In one instance he reflects on an interaction with a bedmakerupper in England, which was structured around appearances and how to determine an individual’s “real” status out of trappings (like clothing). This moment in and of itself is also about performances. For example, he notes how the Native actors for Cody were amazed to find “a very finely dressed man, wearing a high silk hat, Prince Albert coat, kid gloves, silk handkerchief in his pocket, and carry cane” who was later seen “making up our beds.” Their amazement stems from the fact that much of their experiences were marked by racial prejudice. Standing Bear’s text reveals both a hyper-awareness on his part with regard to clothing as a marker of status in that the “silk hat, Prince Albert coat, kid gloves” and other details from this scene *amazed* the native performers because the man wearing these clothes was in a position to serve them, rather than the other way around. The ways in which Standing Bear and his fellow

Indians are perceived operates as a theme throughout his chapter about Cody's *Wild West*. Additionally, he positions himself as "The Chief Interpreter of the Sioux Nation," who understands the complex relation between class and race as markers of power for Native performers. Since he speaks for these performers, this text also showcases his rank among them, a reflection of *status*. Standing Bear's position of power is twofold in the text. As the narrator he can remember and write about the past how he sees fit. As the "Chief Interpreter," moreover, he appears as a character within his own story and possesses a power akin to the translators he saw working with Sitting Bull, in Philadelphia several years earlier. In this role Standing Bear connects the story about the ways Indian performers misread the status of the man making up their beds with another story about the power relations within the *Wild West* circuit. This one involved, of all things, pancakes.

One morning everyone in the show was served pancakes for breakfast, with the exception of the Indian actors. Later that day they were served the cold leftovers for dinner. Standing Bear reflects on this incident by writing that he "was very angry." So much so that he "went over where Buffalo Bill and the head officials of the show were eating dinner" to let him know that serving old cold pancakes to the Indians was not right. Standing Bear's sense of his own importance comes to the fore in this story. He also uses it to showcase an opportunity for activism when he describes how Cody scolded the cook regarding such ill treatment of his Indians. Cody's remarks highlight the performative value of his Indian troupe when he says, "they are the principal feature of this show, and they are the one people I will not allow to be misused or neglected. Hereafter see to it that they get just exactly what they want at meal-time." In this moment

the Native actors appear to have more important economic status than the other members of Cody's enterprise. At the same time we cannot know for sure how far this sentiment went with regards to issues like actual pay, benefits, and the other sort of work Cody provided for Indian people.⁵⁴

The pancake story also reflects how appearances suggested that Indians were inferior, because the cook thought they would eat cold leftovers like animals. But in fact, Standing Bear's demand recognize this reality, which Cody then concurs with given that these performers are the heart of his business. In this instance, Standing Bear's narrative remembers Cody's *Wild West* as a complicated cultural space whereby Native people could be treated poorly by some while venerated by others. Therefore, here we can see how Indian performers, like Standing Bear, had to learn how to navigate a higher economic status with a lower social one.

Through his account one can see two more things: first, how he remembers his life as a *Wild West* performer; and, second, what he gleans from these experiences, which is the importance of advocating for other Indians as an activist. In some sense, then, Standing Bear is similar to Sitting Bull --who built a small network through the performative aspects of his touring life. Standing Bear is the primary builder of the next generation's network that would grow out of the *Wild West* circuit. It seems likely then that Standing Bear's early experiences at Carlisle, Wanamaker, and Pine Ridge played out in these two stories about his work with Cody's touring company. Although these stories are tinged with anxieties about class and racial politics, another anecdote brings this to the fore while also considering the nature of performance itself and the lengths to which someone like Cody used actual Native bodies to sell tickets for his shows.

According to *My People the Sioux*, the personal relationship between Cody and Standing Bear was mutually beneficial if also marked by certain racialized expectations regarding Native performativity. Despite financial gains and travel opportunities, Standing Bear recounts a specific incident that he and his wife experienced while working in England that points to the pervasiveness and intimacy of Cody's desire to market historical "re-enactments" using Indian actors. At Cody's request, Standing Bear's wife agreed to exhibit their newborn child as part of a sideshow. Standing Bear's autobiography reflects on this to acknowledge the dire financial circumstances that undergirded their decision to use the baby, but at the same time he is explicit about Cody's request that they do so. Readers from 1928 and today might ask, why would Standing Bear have consented to this type of public display? Perhaps, at first, he interpreted Cody's request as outside the bounds of proper performance given that there was neither a reference to history nor any educational merit to a sideshow. But, upon second thought, he acquiesced given the material gain. He describes the side-show as follows:

My wife sat on a raised platform, with the little one in the cradle before her. The people filed past, many of them dropping money in a box for her. Nearly every one had some sort of little gift for her also. It was a great drawing card for the show; the work was very light for my wife, and as for the baby, before she was twenty-four hours old she was making more money than my wife and I together.

His emphasis on the light workload for his wife and the earning potential of their baby suggest Standing Bear understood this performance as nothing more than a strategy of appeasement coupled with improved earning potential. And yet, despite the increased financial security that was a boon to the Standing Bear family, it came at a cost. As large crowds of Londoners made their way to see the *Wild West* they stopped to admire an

Indian mother and child on their way to the show. These glimpses of a “real” Indian baby on display helped to further a desire to see and market Indianness, and confirmed the necessity of hiring Indian people to “Play Indian” for such occasions.

This sideshow experience was not wholly dissimilar from Cody’s offer to patrons to come “back stage” after performances, so that they might meet and mingle with “real” Indians. In these instances, native actors could decide the degrees to which they were still performing according to certain racialized scripts. For Standing Bear, the sideshow offered an occasion to both “play Indian” and play *with* Indianness, in that it muddled the usually clear division between the viewed and the viewer, because it was neither clothed in the accoutrements of myth nor the spectacle of re-enactment, but rather the messy reality of poverty. At the same time, given the undertones of sideshows as cultural phenomena during this period, when a native mother and child played “themselves,” they might be viewed as exotic at best, or as an exhibit of human oddities at worst by the crowds stopping to see them on display.⁵⁵

This is but one example of how Indian people navigated the arenas of performance that were open to them. Certainly, there were other performer families like the Standing Bears, who however contested the work of “show Indians” may have been throughout this period, were able to make a decent living through these shows, and who may have even viewed their experiences in a favorable light. This perspective would have been especially true given the disenfranchisement and poverty experienced by Indian people in the aftermath of the General Allotment Act of 1887 and before the supposed “improvements” promised by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. However, before Standing Bear could parlay his career with Cody into future jobs in show business, he

was involved in a devastating train accident that ended up exposing him to different sorts of racism and corruption and the necessity for pan-tribal political reform work.

1904: “Indians Die in Wreck, Survivors Chant Death Song for Three Victims”⁵⁶



On the morning of April 7, 1904, the Omaha express stopped on the track near Melrose Park. (figure 4.1 Chicago Daily News 1904)

An increasingly dense screen of fog

covered the train tracks that morning. Stretching all the way from the banks of Lake Michigan into the west of Chicago’s city limits this fog made visibility poor for the train operators. The weather, coupled with the fact that the Omaha was running twenty minutes behind schedule, contributed to a devastating collision between the Northwestern Fast Mail train and the Omaha Express. The “Express” had traveled all the way from San Francisco and was heading east to New York City. This same train had also picked up sixty-three Sioux performers from Rushville, Nebraska for their transatlantic trip to England as part of “Buffalo Bill’s” *Wild West*. Luther Standing Bear was among the twenty-nine Indians injured during the train wreck. Three members of the troupe, Kills A

Head[sic], Philip Iron Tail, Jr., and Thomas Come Last, were crushed upon impact, and died at the scene.⁵⁷

The serious injuries suffered by Standing Bear and others took a long time to heal. Yet, it was not the physical suffering endured by the group as much as a prolonged legal battle that created a lasting memory of the incident for Standing Bear. During this time he met Carlos Montezuma, who was living in Chicago and already dedicating much of his spare time to working with and for other Native people as a public speaker. Montezuma came to the aid of the Lakota actors who aimed to sue the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company for just compensation to assist with their injuries, and account for the work they would miss. As a physician, he wrote detailed reports regarding the extent of individual injuries. Montezuma made a strong case that injured parties ought to receive from \$1,250 to \$12,000 each, depending on the extent of their suffering. In contrast, the Railroad underestimated the passengers' injuries and offered a meager monetary settlement of \$100 to \$2,500 per person. Ultimately, the Railroad Company's terms were accepted by the court.⁵⁸

At this time, railroad corporate executives had reached the pinnacle of their economic power, so perhaps it should not be surprising that, although contested, they triumphed. Ironically, the Indians' employment with Cody hindered their claim to compensation. The Railroad and the Pine Ridge agent Brennan, who supported them, defined the work of these Native performers as "un-American." The connection between the Indian actors and the world of show business framed them in terms of spectacle and excess, which the Railroad's lawyers used to argue against their desire for a higher settlement. Standing Bear and the others who sought damages were caught in a double

bind. On the one hand, their work for Cody helped to celebrate a narrative of American exceptionalism that depended on *real* Indian performers to re-enact frontier life as it was in the *Wild West*. On the other hand, because these Indians were working for Cody rather than in trades deemed more respectable (like Montezuma as a doctor) they were less “fit” for citizenship.

Their fitness for citizenship could be used to argue for or against the case that they made against the Railroad. The irony resides in the fact that these claimants were being kept out of the society that their performances aimed to celebrate. For Standing Bear and Montezuma, this was an opportunity to consider extra-judicial means through which they might challenge social expectations that limited the power and position of Indian people. Seven years later the very Indianness of Standing Bear *as* a performer proved to be integral to his success in Hollywood, and the more overtly political work he did in California during the 1930s, as the Vice President for the National League for Justice to American Indians.⁵⁹

1911-1915: “The white man’s estimate of the Indian is established; but seldom, I dare say, have the thoughts of the white man been troubled by the query of the Indian’s estimate of the European.”⁶⁰

From 1916 to 1935 Luther Standing Bear appeared in silent and sound films long before Russell Means (Oglala/Lakota and AIM activist) became well-known for playing the part of Chingachgook in *Last of the Mohicans* (1992) and voicing the narrator for Disney’s *Pocahontas* (1995). Standing Bear, like many others, was part of the first generation of Native people who played active roles in America’s film industry. In fact, Standing Bear acted alongside Fay Wray, William Cody, Tom Mix, and William S. Hart,

all of whom supported the careers of Indian actors. Additionally, Standing Bear found that he was not the only Carlisle student to find employment in film. Jim Thorpe, Isaac Johnny John or “Chief John Big Tree,” William Malcolm Hazlett, Lillian “Red Wing” St. Cyr, and Richard Davis Thunderbird all worked in film after leaving Carlisle. The following section examines the connection between performativity and cultural politics for Indian actors by looking through the prism of Standing Bear’s acting career. In this context issues regarding ethnic authenticity, historical realism, and the history of Native American representations became critical factors for shaping the ever-evolving genre of the Western, as well as the stakes Indian actors faced in creating and maintaining this genre.⁶¹

In 1921, there were an estimated 87,000 “cinematograph theaters” in the world, with 16,900 in the United States and just over 4,000 in Great Britain. It was during this same period that a number of Westerns were produced. According to the American Film Institute the Western film genre can be defined by a setting where “the American West” embodies the spirit of struggle and the decline of the frontier.⁶²

Many characteristics of Western films stemmed from popular western literature of the late nineteenth century. These pulps were first printed in the 1880s and 1890s, but continued well into the twentieth century. With the violent backdrop of World War I and the rise of mafia-related violence and the image of the gangster in American cities, a fascination with the Old West continued to flourish. Part of the appeal of the western genre was its simplicity. Westerns featured the pursuit of justice against forces of violence embodied by the savagery of Indians. “Outlaws” moved between the two extremes. Cowboys and Indians (like two armies or cops and robbers) were easily

portrayed as oppositional figures – doubles that enacted clear morality tales already familiar to audiences. Thus, another part of the appeal was that one could easily predict the winners and the losers. If the western novel gave readers a certain myth of America and its making, then the earliest Hollywood Westerns (from the 1910s to the 1930s) transplanted similar source material to make an even simpler and more unbelievable narrative of nation making.⁶³

In fact, many of these early Westerns referred back to the Turnerian “frontier thesis” and relied on stock characters such as cowboys, gunslingers, and bounty hunters, who were wanderers wearing Stetson hats, bandannas, spurs, and buckskin. These figures were largely white though there were a number of Native characters, too, as well as Mexicans. All groups took part in performing westernness, and their portrayals were marked by violence. They often used revolvers or rifles as everyday tools of survival. Their way of life was also characterized by mobility, not in a modern sense, but in terms of horses they rode across vast stretches of un-inhabited, and thus open to settlement, land. These trips between small towns and cattle ranches could be interrupted by “hostile” Indian forces, and here we can see a return to *the surround* that was articulated in early books and shows. These moments involved fighting sequences between the U.S. Cavalry and Indian warriors or a band of cowboys and a renegade tribe. Such representations did not necessarily challenge the notion of westward expansion nor the concept of “open” land as much as reify the expectation that Indian men were *always* out for blood (although it was *their* ultimate destruction that was almost always the outcome of these violent encounters).

Western films were enormously popular in the silent era, and Standing Bear's career straddled the transition from silent film to "talkies." With the advent of sound, in 1927-28, however, many of the major Hollywood studios abandoned Westerns, leaving the genre to smaller studios and producers who churned out countless low-budget features and serials into the 1930s. By the latter part of the decade, the Western film occupied a similar space to the early Western novels, since both had declined in popularity. However, the Western film was brought back to life in 1939 by the release of John Ford's *Stagecoach*, one of the biggest hits of the year, the vehicle that propelled John Wayne into a major screen star. This was the same year that Standing Bear acted in his final film, *Union Pacific*.

An important aspect of the history of representation with regards to Indianness in Westerns involved whether or not it was actual Indian actors who would be hired to portray the Indian characters on screen. Debates among film-makers and throughout Indian Country took place regarding whether or not it was possible to offer accurate portrayals of Indian life in these movies. As with *Wild West* shows, members of the Office of Indian Affairs objected to certain features in these films, and Commissioner Robert G. Valentine, (1909-1912) promised he would help reform the industry. Certainly, for a pro-assimilation figure like Valentine, the romantic frontier narrative, where Indian people were cut off from the promise of white civilization (at best) or figured prominently as violent attackers (at worst), would be detrimental regarding his aim to incorporate Native people into American society. Despite protests by Indian activists, white policymakers, and reformers, many Western filmmakers continued to seek out real Indian actors and natural locations.⁶⁴

For Standing Bear, in particular, the merger of *Wild West* show traditions (and its promise of realism) with the technological advance of film and its promise of wider distribution, became integral to the role he would play as an actor and an activist in the Western genre and wider film industry. By the end of 1911 the Bison Company had partnered with the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Real *Wild West* show in order to release elaborate historical recreations to film-going audiences. This merger was the idea of Thomas Harper Ince. Ince created a stock company employing a large number of technicians, artists and cowboys in the Santa Monica Mountains overlooking the Pacific Ocean. He signed an agreement with the federal government to secure a large group of Indians as employees. By 1913, Ince's Indian performers were earning seven to ten dollars a week, plus expenses. It is no wonder that Standing Bear found himself enticed to go to work in California, at Inceville.⁶⁵

Standing Bear made many films at Inceville between 1911 and 1915. For example, he appeared in the second film adaptation of Helen Hunt Jackson's popular 1884 novel *Ramona* in 1916, directed by Donald Crisp, at the Clune Studio located at Bronson and Melrose Avenues. In 1921, he played the role of "Long Knife" in *White Oak*, a film directed by Lambert Hillyer and starring William S. Hart. Hart's success as an actor and director of silent films in Hollywood was useful for Standing Bear in that Hart could connect his Native friend to a different circle of influence that existed among people involved in every aspect of film production. *White Oak* was a story about revenge. In it, Hart played a gambler looking for the villain (played by Alexander Gaden) who has "ravished" his sister (played by Helen Holly). The villain also goes after the gambler's sweetheart, played by Vola Vale, before moving on to the daughter of his "partner in

crime” an “Indian Chief” played by Standing Bear. Written by Hart, the film suffered from a number of artistic and aesthetic shortcomings. Some of these reflect Hart’s anachronistic view of the West (and those who populated it) while others arose because of elemental failings of the genre itself. By this time Hart’s career was in decline given that his version of gritty melodramatic and low-budget Westerns were no longer popular among audiences. Although, he released three more films that year and one more in 1921, before retiring in 1925.⁶⁶

From 1916 to 1935 Standing Bear acted in at least thirteen films. His career seemed busiest during 1935 when he appeared in four: he played “Porcupine” in *Cyclone of the Saddle*, “Chief Black Hawk” in *Fighting Pioneers*, “Sioux Chief” in *The Circle of Death*, and “Chief Last Elk” in *The Miracle Rider*. It makes sense that all this activity fueled Standing Bear’s interest in fair wages for himself and for other Indian actors, especially given that they were continually competing with non-Indians for these roles. Apart from wages, Standing Bear had to confront the degree to which he was willing to make certain representations of Indianness and to which he had some power to alter the representational politics of these films. He had to balance these goals with his own financial needs. Those were at least some of the calculations that someone in his position had to make. Likewise, in each of these films, Standing Bear had opportunities to make new connections, meet new people, and build new alliances with like-minded people to assist in political reform work outside of film sets.⁶⁷

One aim of the political efforts of individuals like Standing Bear was the establishment of better working conditions for Indian actors. Another was to work towards more accurate portrayals of Native people onscreen, especially in regard to

historical fiction. For Native people, from various tribal nations, the Indian Actors Association became a new space through which to address both of these efforts.

1936: The Indian Actors Association

It was not solely a desire for authenticity on behalf of Indian actors and improved working conditions and wages that prompted the creation of the Indian Actors Association (IAA). By the 1930s, the demography of Hollywood was changing as Syrians, Swedes, Arabs, Latinos, and Filipinos donned braided wigs and face makeup to *play* Indian for the camera. The influx of these ethnic groups along with the onset of an economic depression across the U.S. and a decline among the film-going public to watch Westerns forced many Indian people to rally together to assert their rights as actors.⁶⁸

As an affiliate of the Screen Actors Guild, members of the IAA demanded that only real Indians “play Indian” roles on screen. A leading figure in this new group was none other than Luther Standing Bear. No doubt his work as an advocate for Indian performers and his visibility as an author helped him as a leader. In addition to casting “real” Indians, the Association argued that studios ought to hire Indian people as technical experts, and they sponsored courses in Indian sign language and pictography. Of course, despite the call for authenticity, the biggest issue facing Indian actors related to their labor. Eventually the IAA was able to win equal salaries for Indian actors who had been earning half of what non-Indian extras got paid. The paradox of this “win” resides in the fact that “playing Indian” now depended on being able to authenticate oneself as such, and often the way to determine this relied on cultural authenticity and

blood quantum, which were defined by the expectations of white Americans and federal bureaucracy –the very sites of power that Standing Bear claimed to resist.⁶⁹

Much of Luther Standing Bear's success owed to the efforts of Jim Thorpe, who also worked with the IAA to advocate for his fellow Indians. With the assistance of the Department of Labor, Thorpe searched for illegal Mexican and Italian immigrants in Hollywood who posed as Indians in order to *play Indian* onscreen. Despite Thorpe's ability to prove that forty percent of extras playing Indians were in fact not actual Indians, the U.S. attorney's office argued that studio hiring practices were exempt from federal law. Thorpe had his own troupe of 250 professional Indian actors ready for hire, and so, he was disappointed (to say the least) when Cecil B. DeMille chose to hire Indians from a reservation to act in *The Plainsman* in 1936.

In fact, Thorpe was outraged. He protested when DeMille hired two non-Indians, Victor Varconi and Paul Harvey, to play Indian chiefs in his film. Given that Indian adventures and the interracial romances that were made popular in the early films were no longer of interest to moviegoers, DeMille had designed a different sort of Western adventure. His epic aimed to revive a flailing genre. By the mid-1930s big-budget "cowboy and Indian" stories of conquest, taming, and expansion became popular, and the "Western" once again needed Native people to participate, although there was far less concern about whether or not extras and even lead characters were portrayed by actual Indians. Another cost for Indian people with regards to changes in the Western genre involved representational politics.

Luther Standing Bear comments on the problem of representing Indianness in Westerns in *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), writing that the Western stories "joined in

glorifying the pioneer...in their course of conquest across the country,” and could only do so “by committing untold offenses against the aboriginal people.” Even though the blockbuster Western meant more employment opportunities for actors to play Indians onscreen, most roles were neither realistic nor helpful in curtailing myths about Native people. Both Standing Bear and Thorpe hoped things would change to reflect their realities and to represent Indian people as members of modern American society.⁷⁰

Rumor & Scandal: First his blood, then his character

Luther Standing Bear’s life in Hollywood was marked by rumor and scandal as much as acting and activism. In 1930, Bill Hart wrote to Standing Bear, as his friend and fellow actor, to express how “astounded” he was “at certain calumny directed against you. How any man, woman, or child could question your standing as an upright American of the red or white race is beyond my comprehension.”⁷¹

This rumor found its way to Washington, D.C. and the Office of Indian Affairs where Commissioner C.J. Rhodes had to take time out of his busy schedule to address it. The buzz around town was regarding the “exact degree of Indian blood of Luther Standing Bear” --a concern for an Indian acting in Westerns that could have profound consequences. In fact, it seems as if this accusation would have fizzled into minor gossip if the Commissioner had not made the mistake of sending a letter to Mrs. Jeanne Cappel (who seemed most invested in verifying the rumor’s charge), in 1932, in which he noted that Luther standing Bear of Pine Ride was “three fourths white and one fourth Indian.”⁷²

It turned out the inverse was true: according to other Federal records, Standing Bear was $\frac{3}{4}$ Indian and $\frac{1}{4}$ white. In fact, files from 1908 confirm that Standing Bear was

a *real* Indian in the eyes of the government because he was counted as a member of the Sioux tribe within the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota-- and, most importantly then, entitled to an allotment of land. The distribution of his allotment had been approved by the Secretary of the Interior on October 20, 1906. Notably it was the heavy surveillance of the U.S. government managing Indian people that appeared equally capable of affirming or denying the very Indianness of any particular individual; it carried authority that a mistake could be terminal. Furthermore, in the context of Hollywood's film industry, the idea of ethnic authenticity for Indian actors proved to be crucial to promoting and maintaining their careers. Since groups like the IAA advocated for the right of Indian actors as one *above* those of non-Indians to *play Indian* onscreen based on claims to ethnic authenticity, any question about the fullness of Standing Bear's blood and Indianness was critical to his involvement with IAA and other Indian advocacy groups at this time. Hart and other friends of Standing Bear were able to cast doubt on the rumor by mobilizing this discourse of racialized authenticity. As Hart put it, Standing Bear's birthright (his very Indianness) was clear because of his "nationality as a Sioux."⁷³

Not only his race but also his position as "Chief" was called into question, and so Standing Bear sought supporters, like E.A. Brininstool (who helped promote his books) to counteract the "propaganda going around" Los Angeles. In letters and conversations around town, white and Indian friends testified to the fullness of Standing Bear's Indian blood and his character. Standing Bear was able to draw on networks built around performativity to come to his aid in this matter. He could also turn to a different sort of network by relying on letters from the Office of Indian Affairs to confirm his Indianness.

Through these efforts the rumor was squashed. No one, however, was prepared for the scandal that would follow in its wake.⁷⁴

Early in September of 1934, Standing Bear sent a letter to John Collier who had been newly appointed as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In it he asserted his concern that many of the Indians he had met with were “undecided” as to how to view the impending Wheeler-Howard Bill that Collier proposed to resolve the economic, social, and cultural issues that had accompanied the Dawes Act of 1887. Standing Bear sought Collier’s help on a number of fronts. First, he wanted support for the practice of indigenous religions on Pine Ridge, especially given that he had witnessed Christian denominations working against the practice of the “Sun circle.” Thus, he argued that “if my people could once more worship in the natural way of their fathers they would gain their strength much faster.” Second, he wanted to resolve a personal concern that his sister, Mrs. Conroy, should have to pay taxes “as a white citizen” given that she was a “reservation Indian.” And, third, to confirm the promise made by “Mr. Collette” in California to procure money to California’s Indian population based on land claims.⁷⁵

These sentiments regarding religious freedom, individual rights, and how to manage the work of white reformers were no doubt still on Standing Bear’s mind given that he had articulated them in depth just a year earlier in his book *Land of the Spotted Eagle*. Like *My People the Sioux*, this book was made possible through the support of a white patron, Melvin R. Gilmore---the curator of ethnology at the University of Michigan and an Indian ally. Before coming to the University of Michigan, Gilmore taught biology and zoology at Cotner University (1904-1911), was a curator at the Nebraska State Historical Society (1911-1916) where he compiled information about Native American

village sites, recorded Pawnee traditions, and grew plants of Native American origin. From 1916 to 1923 Gilmore worked as the curator of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, after which he worked at the Museum of the American Indian (1923-1928). In 1929, he joined the Museum of Anthropology at Michigan and became the first Curator of Ethnology. The work of Gilmore and Standing Bear would have been known to Collier, and celebrated for their insights into Native American life and history.⁷⁶

In *Spotted Eagle* Standing Bear argues that Americans must be re-educated about Indian people, and by extension, the history of the U.S. nation, because "...the Indian of the cheap magazine and the movie still remain as the best type of the First American." This produces a false sense of history, and he suggests "the parents and the grade teachers of this land...now fulfill the duty of demanding that true histories be placed in the hands of the young." Standing Bear goes a step further to suggest that "a school of Indian thought" should be built, so that the nation might "be cognizant of itself" and through this recognition preserve its true identity.⁷⁷

Standing Bear hoped his own books would aid in this cause. In fact they were first published by the well-known and influential Boston-based firm of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. This press had, by the mid-nineteenth century, worked with an array of well-known American writers that included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, Henry James, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Henry David Thoreau. In other words, as an author Standing Bear carried an air of respectability with him when he wrote to a political leader like John Collier. How then would his readers and the audiences who appreciated his work onscreen, as well as collaborators like Gilmore and Brininstool, and a political ally like

Collier, have dealt with the news that Standing Bear was arrested for “making improper advances to a young half-breed Piute girl”?

On May 6, 1935 the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Standing Bear pled guilty to these charges. According to records from Los Angeles County, Standing Bear was convicted under Penal Code 288, for “lewd acts on a minor under 14.” There is little archival evidence available to clarify the details surrounding this case. The voice and identity of the eight-year-old girl who was Standing Bear’s accuser, for example, remains hidden within the historical record. Yet, the fact of his arrest and the ensuing activity of those who rallied to assert his innocence fill in much of the historical context surrounding these charges.⁷⁸

After pleading guilty, Standing Bear was sentenced to one year in jail “as a condition of five years’ probation by Superior Judge Desmond” for this “sexual assault” offense. The same *L.A. Times* article featured a photograph of Standing Bear with a feathered headdress and a somber expression as well as a list of his friends who begged for leniency from the court.⁷⁹

Among these friends [were] John H. McGregor, superintendent of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where Standing Bear was born: Little Badger, White Bird, Young Beaver, Kuuks Walks-Alone, Weeping Star, Mrs. Bird Jack, Dana W. Bartlett, William S. Hart, Sitting Calf, Willow Birch, Little Horse and Marian Campbell, president of the National League for Justice to American Indians.⁸⁰

This article concluded by affirming the contributions that he had made in regards to Indian political rights. “For many years Standing Bear was a leader in movements to aid American Indians of all tribes, according to letters received by the probation department.”⁸¹

According to the *Times*' and a slew of letters, Standing Bear found himself surrounded by people who were determined to help him. A network forged through the meeting of performance and political organizing included people who responded to his indictment with shock and horror, not because they believed the young Piute girl, but because they believed Standing Bear was incapable of such a charge. These repeated claims about the impossibility of his guilt were performative utterances that invoked his status as an Indian activist and older notions regarding the inherent innocence of Indians as linked to primitivism. Time and again details about his life "without tobacco and alcohol" aimed to exonerate Standing Bear because he was a "good" Indian, not one of the "bad" ones who had been corrupted by white civilization, like a child influenced by depraved behavior.⁸²

The irony of the situation was that despite a charge of misconduct against a child, Standing Bear was being interpellated into a position of innocence that was so often ascribed to children. This sort of frame was invariably linked to a discourse of racialization whereby Indian people were viewed as wards of the U.S. nation state. Rather than taking into account the complexity of Standing Bear's identity, the majority of his supporters relied on this history to argue that he not be incarcerated within Los Angeles County, but should be released into the custody of his people at Pine Ridge. The desire of his supporters to have Standing Bear in the care of "his people" separated him from their social space, and by extension, *returned* him to live under the watchful eye of the federal government and the Indian Bureau. In this instance we can see a familiar narrative emerge, which is that because Native people had been pacified, as a by-product of settler colonialism, the maintenance of a separate system to deal with Natives as wards of the

state was necessary. Thus, Standing Bear's allies thought they could use the Indian Bureau as a favorable substitute for their own penal system to deal with his misconduct.

John Collier seemed especially confused as to how to interpret the events of 1934-35 with regards to Standing Bear's case. As letters of support poured into the Office of Indian Affairs and Collier learned, as he put it, the "details of the case" —he deferred help to "Judge Parker" and "local friends of Mr. Standing Bear" as "the only ones who really can help him." Although Collier spent much time and effort to address Mrs. Cappel's accusation regarding the "quantity of Indian blood" of Luther Standing Bear, when it came to a statutory offense brought by a young girl, Collier would not be moved. He sent several copies of the same letter to individual supporters of Standing Bear redirecting them to the local authorities of California.⁸³

White residents of Los Angeles, and friends of Standing Bear, wrote to Collier in March of 1935 recommending that "in the event that Standing Bear receives sentence" and given that "his whole life has been devoted in their interests and has done for them what no other Indian has done" by recording the history of the tribe, it would be a futile "gesture to place him in prison." It seems too that despite Standing Bear's publishing career (and royalties from Houghton-Mifflin) he was in dire economic straits. This financial strain may have affected his access to legal representation and even the advice for his plea. The many testimonies about "his personal habits" as "meticulously careful and orderly; in his mental and moral habits even more so," and repeated references affirming his character based on the fact that he "never indulged in liquor or the use of tobacco in any form" were not enough to excuse Standing Bear from standing trial. When his trial day came, he pled guilty.⁸⁴

Just as Collier deferred those seeking assistance with the case against Standing Bear to local authorities, so too has this aspect of Standing Bear's personal life been deferred by many historians who have studied Standing Bear. The dearth of material available to uncover the specifics of the case, especially the identity and voice of his accuser, may be one rationale behind these omissions. Certainly it is a striking blemish on an esteemed record of service to Indian people and storied cultural production, thus complicating Standing Bear's story enough that other scholars would leave it out. But, as responsible scholars, one cannot memorialize all Indian activists like Standing Bear as pure, unimpeachably moral, and uncomplicated. As troubling as this part of his past is to uncover, Standing Bear's humanity, indeed his Indianness, goes partially unexamined without it. By failing to acknowledge the various dimensions of his life, the stakes of his life's political work remain on the margins as well. Additionally, although support for Standing Bear seems overwhelming, one letter presents a more critical view of the charges brought against him, and is worth consideration.⁸⁵

In 1935, Mrs. Laura W. Soldier, a Sioux woman, and ex-wife of Luther Standing Bear, wrote to James H. Cook in response to his inquiry regarding the matter of Standing Bear's character and the child molestation case. Soldier does not mince words in her assessment of her ex-husband. She notes, "It serves him right; he has been too selfish. I have never forgot nor forgave him, even tho' I'm trying to live a Christian life. He left one woman with 7 children, and left me when Eugene was 6 mo. old." This raises the issue of whether both Standing Bear brothers were able to make their way in the world, in part, by abandoning their familial obligations. These opening remarks also frame Laura Soldier's assertion in the letter that Standing Bear "deserves punishment" because she

always thought “he would get in bad some day; his weakness is women.” Soldier’s condemnation is a useful contrast to the feelings expressed by a plethora of Standing Bear supporters.⁸⁶

James Cook sent a copy of Soldier’s damaging letter to the editor for Standing Bear’s first book, Earl Alonzo Brininstool. He was a long time friend of Standing Bear, living in Los Angeles during the time of the trial. Brininstool was also known as a western historian and writer of “cowboy poetry.” Born in Warsaw, New York, he and his wife moved to Los Angeles in 1895, so that he could pursue a career in journalism. He became a freelance writer and mostly wrote poetry involving western themes. He contributed articles to magazines such as *Hunter-Trader*, *Sunset*, *Frontier Times*, *Outdoor Life* and *Winners of the West*. In fact, his most noted work was published well after Standing Bear passed away, but during the trial and Standing Bear’s incarceration, Brininstool lived in Hollywood and received multiple requests for help from him.⁸⁷

Despite a condemning letter from Standing Bear’s ex-wife, Brininstool continued to support his application for probation in April of 1935. And, on May 8, 1935, Brininstool received a letter from Robert J. Hamilton noting that “the Chief was granted probation this Friday morning, May 3, in Department 43 of the Superior Court of this County on condition first, that he serve a year in the County Jail, and on release therefrom[sic] return to the Indian Reservation in South Dakota, his former home, and where he has many relatives and friends.”⁸⁸ Thus, the man who had been elected to a two-year term as President of the American Indian Progressive Association, and through this position, worked to reform Indian Affairs in the government during President Herbert

Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, was also convicted of child molestation. Despite the stipulation that Standing Bear would "return to the Indian Reservation in South Dakota," he remained in Huntington Park, California, for the remainder of his life. He refused to relocate to live under the watchful eye of the Federal government and instead continued making movies up until his death.⁸⁹

It was a particularly cold and windy day in Los Angeles near the end of February when Standing Bear returned home after a long day of filming *Union Pacific*, directed by Cecil B. DeMille. His work was mostly outside that day and the stormy weather probably did not help protect him against catching a cold. As evening came he developed a severe fever. According to his nurse Donna Hite, although the elderly Chief was quite ill, his adopted niece, May Jones, insisted on moving him in the middle of the night so that he could sleep at her house. Jones had been managing Standing Bear's affairs following his



arrest in 1935. The move that night proved fatal. On Monday, February 20, 1939 Standing Bear passed away at the age of 71. **(figure 4.2 circa 1919)**

Later that same day, Indian friends in "full costume" attended a Christian funeral service followed by a Lakota service in honor of Standing Bear's life. According to eye-witness accounts, a peace pipe was placed in his hands before he was laid to rest in

Hollywood's Forever Cemetery. Perhaps he was laid to rest wearing a costume from one of the many movies that he worked on, such as the beaded breast-plate and colorful pants he wears in this image.⁹⁰

During his funeral, perhaps guests, Indian and non-Indian alike, celebrated Standing Bear's refusal to submit to romantic and anachronistic representations of Indianness. At the same time, however false these representations were, they existed within the same cultural and economic sphere that relied on the "fact" of Indian blood as a marker of one's Indian status, and therefore, one's right to play an Indian role. Standing Bear commented on the complexity of this situation in *Land of the Spotted Eagle*,

Irreparable damage has been done by white writers who discredit the Indian. Books have been written of the native American, so distorting his true nature that he scarcely resembles the real man; his faults have been magnified and his virtues minimized; his wars, and his battles, which, if successful, the white man chooses to call 'massacres,' have been told and retold, but little attention has been given to his philosophy and ideals.⁹¹

These philosophical ideas have left as indelible a mark on American culture. Early on in this text, Standing Bear notes that "The Indian was a natural conservationist. He destroyed nothing, great or small."⁹² While later he confirms that, "The Lakota was a true naturalist—a lover of Nature." These rhetorical choices reflect a desire to uplift the image of Native peoples while they tarnish that of "white America." Standing Bear continues, "The white man has come to be the symbol of extinction for all things natural to this continent." The ways in which Standing Bear's ideas influenced the social and political issues during his lifetime continue to be appreciated as concerns today.

But this was not the end of his story. In the years following his death, Standing Bear's nurse Donna Hite and his son George E. Standing Bear (who was living in Pawhuska, Oklahoma at the time of his father's death) fought to regain control over

Standing Bear's estate from May Jones. She had worked with Standing Bear through groups like the National League for Justice to the National Indian, and the Native American League, the Pan American Indian National Organization Council, the National American Indian League and the Association on American Indian Affairs. However, Jones was not just a political ally; she had taken control over all of the publishing royalties that he received for his books from the Houghton Mifflin Company. Hence, despite financial straits that prompted the Indian Actors Association to raise money to cover the cost of Standing Bear's funeral and burial, Jones was flush with cash because of book royalties. Following his death, she was named as the sole beneficiary in his will. This was the fact that both Hite and George Standing Bear aimed to refute.

Although the details of Standing Bear's will were challenged, there were no legal grounds to aid in this case, and Jones retained her position as beneficiary. She then continued the political and cultural work they had begun together by participating in public lecture circuits. Two decades later, on September 22, 1959, Jones donated 145 Teton Sioux artifacts and clothing items--many made or owned by Luther Standing Bear--to the San Bernadino County Museum. Included among them were the distinctive beaded ensembles and headdresses that he had worn in most of his Hollywood films. In this instance of donation we return to the question of authenticity and performance. Although these items have provenance it is uncertain how *Indian* these artifacts may be given that many were made solely for the purpose of "playing Indian" as part of the film industry. Of course, ethnographic certification of a feathered headdress, for example, does offer a different sort of authenticity, one that may not require testimony or

authentication by an Indian person, not exactly the type of authenticity that Standing Bear would have supported.⁹³

Conclusion

All four figures featured in this dissertation, along with the networks of Indian and non-Indian supporters with whom they worked, were committed to reforming U.S. Indian policy as well as reshaping attitudes in American society with regards to Indianness. They were also connected to each other through the rhetoric of uplift that they used to push against denigrating portrayals of Indian people highlighted by the popularity of cultural work, like Westerns. Luther Standing Bear's cultural politics connect to efforts made by Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, and Gertrude Bonnin given that he championed and criticized aspects of U.S. citizenship as a means through which Native people could improve their situation in America.

Citizenship as a central goal for this cohort promised political rights and opportunities to better engage with a system that had long suppressed Indian cultural freedom and continued to deny sovereignty over lands understood to be tribally owned. Standing Bear's performances and writings offer another way into this past.⁹⁴ Indeed, he stood apart from these other intellectuals, because of the different networks of performativity that he created and navigated to work towards economic and political change. His ideas about how these changes could happen are reflected in his published books, which further differentiate him from this cohort. In *My People the Sioux* (published over ten years after Eastman's last book *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*) and his other books, Standing Bear raised issues facing Native people in the context of

the 1930s, on the eve of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. In *My Indian Boyhood* (1931), *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934) his cultural politics reflect these changes in Indian policy. Based out of Los Angeles (rather than the northeast for Eastman, Chicago for Montezuma, and Washington, D.C. for Bonnin) Standing Bear's concerns often reflected cultural production and performance, which were critical to his life and those of other Native actors working in southern California during this period. In this sense, he may have celebrated the fact that May Jones felt it appropriate to donate his collection of artifacts and costumes to a locally based museum after he had died. This was one way a wider public might learn more about his career for themselves.⁹⁵

¹ William S. Hart started his acting career in his twenties. At the age of 49, he came west to Hollywood to start his movie career; he made more than 65 silent films, the last being "Tumbleweeds" in 1925. In 1921, Hart purchased a ranch house and surrounding property. He built a 22 room mansion which today houses Hart's collection of western art, Native American artifacts, and early Hollywood memorabilia. Hart lived there for almost 20 years until his death in 1946. See, The Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County and William S. Hart Museum

² Chief Yowlachie (1891-1966) was born Daniel Simmons. He acted in several films including, *Ella Cinders* (1926), *Bowery Buckaroos* (1947), *Red River* (1948), *Ma and Pa Kettle* (1949), *My Friend Irma* (1949), *Winchester '73* (1950), *Annie Get Your Gun* (1950), *The Painted Hills* (1951), *Hollywood or Bust* (1956), *The FBI Story* (1959) and he portrayed Geronimo in the television series *Stories of the Century*.

³ "Home, Club and Civic Interests of Women" *Los Angeles Times* May 31, 1931 ProQuest Historical Newspapers Los Angeles Times (1881-1987), 22.

⁴ "National League for Justice to American Indians," Pamphlet, Lucullus McWhorter Papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, WA. An intriguing comparison can be drawn by looking to the East coast, and what Alain Locke termed, in his 1925 essay, "The New Negro Movement." As a Howard University Professor of Philosophy, Locke described this movement as a transformation and departure from older models to embrace a "new psychology." Central to this notion was the mandate to "smash" all of the racial, social and psychological impediments that had long obstructed black achievement. Six years earlier black film maker Oscar Micheaux called for similar changes in his film *Within our Gates*. Micheaux represented a virtual cornucopia of "New Negro" types: from the educated and entrepreneurial "race" man and woman to the incorrigible Negro hustler, as well as others. from the liberal white philanthropist to the hard core white racist. Micheaux created a complex, melodramatic narrative around these types in order to develop a morality tale of pride, prejudice, misanthropy and progressivism. For more on this history see, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. "Harlem on our minds," *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Autumn, 1997): 1-12, and Richard J. Powell, "Re/Birth of a Nation" in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance* (The Hayward Gallery and the Institute of International Visual Arts, University of California Press, 1997): 14-34.

⁵ Lucullus McWhorter (1860-1944) grew up in the Yakima River valley of Washington and became involved in preserving the cultural heritage of the first peoples of the Columbia Plateau. As an author, amateur historian, linguist, and anthropologist, McWhorter collected stories, artifacts, drawings, maps,

photographs, and printed materials in an effort to preserve the history and culture of these indigenous peoples. He also documented Indian-government relations in Eastern Washington including individual recollections of Indian wars such as, the Nez Perce War of 1877 and the Yakima Indian War of 1855–1858. McWhorter's published works include *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* (1940), *Tragedy of the Wakh-Shum: Prelude to the Yakima Indian War, 1855–56* (1937), *Hear Me, My Chiefs! Nez Perce History and Legend* (published posthumously, 1952), and *The Crime against the Yakimas* (1913). See, Biographical description, Cage 55, Guide to the Lucullus Virgil McWhorter Papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, WA.

⁶ Her pen-name was Mourning Dove, and the novel was largely autobiographical.

⁷ Regarding the Stronghearts activist work together see, "Indian Chief will be church speaker" *Los Angeles Times* April 27, 1931 and "Indian Chief Joins League: Nipo Strongheart, Yakima Leader, Speaks at Izaak Walton Gathering; Urges Game Protection" *Los Angeles Times* October 26, 1929 both from ProQuest Historical Newspapers Los Angeles Times (1881-1987)

⁸ Nipo Strongheart's career in film began with *The White Chief* (1905) and ended with *Lone Star* (1952).

⁹ For more on the connection between "Wild West" shows, like the Miller's 101 Ranch and Thomas Ince, as well as Inceville as the home for the Bison Film Company see the Research Center at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, OK. url: <http://www.okhistory.org/research/index.html>. accessed May 5, 2011

¹⁰ Ethnic authenticity has been addressed by scholars within a range of disciplines, such as history, sociology, literature, and anthropology as well as in American studies and various critical ethnic studies fields. What follows is a brief list of some key texts and the particular ways these authors engage and theorize the term. See: Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture" in *Social Problems* Vol. 41, No. 1, Special Issue on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America (Feb., 1994), pp. 152-176 and her book, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1996). Nagel considers how identity and culture are the basic building blocks of ethnicity. In particular, she considers how ethnicity can be produced by actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and reshape their self-definition and culture, which is often then in response to ethnicity as externally constructed via social, economic, and political processes manufactured both by individuals and the nation state. Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine, "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment" in *Sociological Quarterly* Vol. 36, No. 3 535-553, June 1995) This article is helpful given that the authors focus on ethnic entrepreneurs in American society who carve out an economic niche by means of businesses and cultural events that are open to the public and showcase ethnic culture. Their attention to cross-cultural contacts and consumerism, although focused around ethnic food in four Chinese restaurants, in many ways parallels the market of Indianness that proliferated during the turn of the twentieth century in the U.S. Henry Staten, "Ethnic Authenticity, Class, and Autobiography: The Case of Hunger of Memory" in *PMLA* Vol. 113, No. 1, Special Topic: Ethnicity (Jan., 1998), pp. 103-116. Staten's article focuses on Richard Rodriguez's autobiographical work in *Hunger of Memory* (1982) to unpack the ways that Rodriguez has been criticized as a "sell-out" to white bourgeois culture for rejecting his Chicano identity. Staten notes that Rodriguez' life narrative shows that such a rejection is rooted in the class-and-race ideology of his Mexican parents and in the contradictions of Mexican history, and by looking at it more closely Staten suggests that the simple dichotomy between the proletarian mestizo/a and the bourgeois white oppressor can be unsettled and complicated. Tim Oakes, "Ethnic tourism in rural Guizhou; sense of place and the commerce of authenticity" in *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, eds. M. Picard, and R. Wood (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 35-70, offers an overview of scholarship that considers the relationship between tourism, culture, and development. He suggests that the process of commercial and cultural integration associated with tourism does not necessarily break down a place-based sense of identity, or render it "flat" and inauthentic, but rather becomes an important factor in the on-going construction of place identity. He argued then that place-based identity is built according to a broader set of political, economic, and cultural processes, rather than in relative isolation from those processes; he draws on the experience of two ethnic tourist villages in China's southwestern province of Guizhou that opened to international tourism in 1994. He argues that villagers have become accustomed to carving a space of identity within the broader political-economy in which they live, and this is a context largely defined by the Chinese state that arbitrates the dynamic relationship between tourism, development, and place identity. Sharmilla Rudrappa, "The Politics of Cultural Authenticity" in *Ethnic Routes to Becoming American: Indian immigrants and the*

Cultures of Citizenship (Rutgers University Press, 2004) is a book that considers emigrants from the Indian subcontinent who come to live in the United States. In particular, Rudrappa's chapter on the "politics of cultural authenticity" illuminates critical questions for scholars interested in the dynamic interplay of power relations when marginalized ethnic groups in the U.S. are working towards fuller protection and participation within the nation, whether as citizens or not and find that they must contend with ethnic authenticity in order to maintain spaces of belonging and to challenge the status quo. Isabel Molina Guzman, "Mediating Frida: Negotiating Discourses of Latina/o Authenticity in Global Media Representations of Ethnic Identity" in *Critical Studies in Media Communication* Vol. 23, No. 3, 2006, Pages 232 – 251. Guzman's article analyzes the discourses of Latina/o identity embedded in the movie *Frida*, the Latino news coverage about the film, and an on-line chat stream about the film. She concludes that the discourses of ethnic identity circulated through the movie, news coverage, and chat stream disrupt notions of Latina/o ethnic identity as a stable and commodifiable demographic category. More and more the trend in scholarship that focuses on ethnicity and authenticity, whether in the context of commercialization, modernization, or cultural production seems to engage with what Guzman does here, which is ultimately to show the ways in which identity is never stable even if it can be mobilized to be sold or used to articulate a particular politics.

¹¹ I'm offering these two examples not only because of the violence used against Indian people but because of the complexity of Native actions in both instances, and as two distinct examples of colonial conquest (versus say the Indian Wars of the Southwest and Great Plains that are often depicted in Western films).

¹² See, Nicolas G. Rosenthal, "Representing Indians: Native American Actors on Hollywood's Frontier" *Western Historical Quarterly* 36 (Autumn 2005): 329-352.

¹³ See, Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (NY: Routledge, 1990) and *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (NY: Routledge, 1993)

¹⁴ Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 234

¹⁵ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (1928), 171. After Standing Bear left Carlisle, Gertrude Bonnin also became deeply involved with the Carlisle School Band. In fact, from 1899 to 1900 she worked at the school teaching music and was able to perform with the band at the Paris Exposition of 1900.

¹⁶ In regards to reading and viewing publics I draw on Michael Warner's theorization of publics and counterpublics. In particular, Warner argues that Publics, by contrast, lacking any institutional being, commence with the moment of attention, must continually predicate renewed attention, and cease to exist when attention is no longer predicated."(88) Warner further writes, "Circulation also accounts for the way a public seems both internal and external to discourse, both notional and material. From the concrete experience of a world in which available forms circulate, one projects a public."(91) Warner goes on to define circulation in terms of how writing to a public helps to "make a world" in that "the object of address is brought into being partly by postulating and characterizing it." (91) For Indian performers, writers, and public intellectuals Warner's notion "world making" can occur through address is important. For example, when Henry Standing Bear chooses to address a letter to Carlos Montezuma and he responds the content of said letter acts to construct or contribute to a public, one that both Standing Bear and Montezuma occupy as letter writers. Indeed, because they communicated frequently about SAI business we can look to the circulation of their letters to each other and others involved with SAI as constituting a particular public interested in pan-Indian political organizing. See, Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics" in *Public Culture* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 2002), pp.49-90

¹⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 178. There are some similarities, at least on the surface, of a connection to Alain Locke and possibly W.E.B. Du Bois, to show "race men" at their best. Yet another way to think about Standing Bear's "self-fashioning" in this moment from his text is in regard to autobiography. Arnold Krupat has argued that "where any narration of personal history is more nearly marked by the individual's sense of himself in relation to collective social units or groups, one might speak of a synecdoche sense of self." In other words, it is possible that Standing Bear's stories about himself show a metaphorical conception of the self, which constructs his identity paradigmatically, along "the vertical axis of analogical selection." In this sense, he aligns himself with the best of his "race" as not just a man among men, but an especially able Indian man among elite Indian men. For more see, Arnold Krupat, *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 183

¹⁹ See, Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2004) pp278-310.

²⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 184. As many scholars have argued, autobiography may be a particularly modern and American genre of writing. James Olney notes the slipperiness of this genre, “But if autobiography is the least complicated of writing performances, it is also the most elusive of literary documents. One never knows where or how to take hold of autobiography: there are simply no general rules available to the critic.” Also see, John Sekora, “Is the Slave Narrative a Species of Autobiography?” in *Studies in Autobiography* edited by James Olney (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), Arnold Krupat, ed. *Native American Autobiography, An Anthology* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (New York: Garland, 1985), Robert F. Sayre, “Autobiography and the Making of America” and Louis Renza, “The Veto of the Imagination: A Theory of Autobiography” in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* edited by James Olney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), and Sidonie Smith, “Who’s Talking/Who’s Talking Back? The Subjects of Personal Narratives,” *SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18 (Winter 1993): 392-407.

²¹ For more on L. Standing Bear’s encounter with Sitting Bull see, *My People the Sioux*, 184-185

²² See, Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), in which he conceptualizes the black Atlantic not as a fixed geographic space, but as a “rhizomorphic, fractal structure...[a] transcultural, international formation” (4). Gilroy’s black Atlantic is an evolving, morphing cultural process, through which the Black diaspora, African-American and Afro-Anglo history is negotiated. For Indian intellectuals a similar dilemma was at hand as figures were striving to be both Indian and American. This striving must then be examined against a perpetually changing cultural network that was made and remade by Indian and non-Indian people alike and negotiated along with social and political concerns.

²³ Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 179

²⁴ Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 179

²⁵ Slotkin, 171. As Joy Kasson notes, “Like Luther Standing Bear finding bitter amusement in the mistranslation of Sitting Bull’s remarks during a performance in the 1880s, Indian spectators attending the Wild West could enjoy a joke when Sioux performed Omaha dances, or understand a subversive monologue when Kicking Bear recited his deeds in Lakota.” *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 212. Richard White refers to the “middle ground” in historically contingent terms in his work *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991) whereas my reference operates more in terms of figurative language.

²⁶ Luther Standing Bear to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1891, Letter, and Daniel Dorchester to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August, 3, 1891, Letter, LR, RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. abbreviated throughout as LR, RG 75, D.C.

²⁷ Charles Penny to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1891, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C. For more on the complex history of the U.S. Indian Service see: Cathleen Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

²⁸ Charles Penny to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 2, 1891, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

²⁹ “Luther Standing Bear seeks position in the school service,” July 24, 1892, “First endorsement” by Captain Brown given August 5, 1892, and Luther Standing Bear to Capt. George Brown, January 20, 1893, regarding “No. 20 Day School Corn Creek,” Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

³⁰ Henry Standing Bear to Hon. Gen. Morgan, Commissioner, Sept. 14, 1891, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

³¹ See, Letters Received Files, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³² Henry Standing Bear and Thomas Black Bear to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 9, 1899, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C. For more on the depression’s effect on the west see, Paula Petri, “Parading as Millionaires: Montana Bankers and the Panic of 1893” in *Enterprise & Society* (Vol. 10, No. 4) pp729-762

³³ Agent Clapp to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1899, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

³⁴ Nellie Standing Bear to Charles E. McChesney, October 1900, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

³⁵ Given the year that Henry Standing Bear performed at Coney Island he could have worked either as part of Pawnee Bill’s “Wild West Show and Great Far East Show” or Cummins’s “Indian Congress and Life on the Plains” that was the only wild west show sanctioned by the U.S. government. From his own letters he was working seasonally within the Steeplechase Amusement Park from 1903 to 1908. The fact that he and Luther Standing Bear both worked as actors was not unusual as several Carlisle graduates found work in shows and in film.

³⁶ George C. Tilyou (1862-1914) came from a family of Coney Island realtors and merchants. At the age of fourteen he made a profit selling salt water and sand to Midwestern tourists. In 1894 he introduced the Ferris Wheel, a steel wheel 150 feet in diameter, inspired by the original at Chicago's Columbian Exposition. By 1897, after acquiring more mechanical rides, Tilyou enclosed them and charged a fee of twenty-five cents for twenty-five attractions, which he named: "Steeplechase - The Funny Place." Popular rides at the Park included the Steeplechase Race, in which visitors raced gravity-powered wooden horses around a circular steel track, and Trip to the Moon, a simulated rocket ride. See, Parks' Historical Signs Project. This information can also be found posted within the park. See Michael Immerso, *Coney Island: The People's Playground* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002)

³⁷ Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999) p373 Wallis suggests that Luther Standing Bear won the "shooting contest" with the Japanese tourists.

³⁸ See U.S. National Library of Medicine for more on the history of the "Medicine Show" in American culture. Also see the chapter focusing on the Kickapoo Medicine Company in Stewart Holbrook, *The Golden Age of Quackery* (New York: Macmillan, 1959)

³⁹ The cast often included Bill Picket, Bessie Herberg, Bee ho Gray, Tom Mix, Jack Hoxie, Mexican Joe, Ross Hettan, and an elderly Buffalo Bill. Given that H. Standing Bear lived in New York at this time and commented about his work at Brighton Beach it is likely that they could have cast him, but impossible to know for sure. See the Cherokee Strip Museum of Perry, Oklahoma -- <http://www.cherokee-strip-museum.org/index.html> accessed May 5, 2011.

⁴⁰ Molly Lee, "Appropriating the Primitive: Turn-Of-The-Century Collection and Display of Native Alaskan Art" in *Arctic Anthropology* Vol. 28, No. 1, pp.6-15 (1991) Lee emphasizes the roles played by individuals rather than museums in her study of collecting along the Inside Passage of southeastern Alaska at the turn of the twentieth century. For more about curio markets in the southwest see, Jonathan Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico* (Santa Fe, NM: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2008); Bruce Bernstein, "The Booth Sitters of Santa Fe's Indian Market: Making and Maintaining Authenticity" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 32, No. 3 pp49-79 (2007); Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Market in the American Southwest, 1880-1980" in *History of Anthropology, Vol. 3 Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* edited by George W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). For more on the intersection of consumerism and ethnic identity construction see, Erika Bsumek, *Indian-made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1880-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

⁴¹ Wallis, *The Real Wild West* (1999).

⁴² William J. Ehrheart, "Chief Luther Standing Bear II: Activist, Author, Historian" in *Persimmon Hill* (Autumn 1997) Later on Standing Bear taught sign language at the University of California Los Angeles and at the Southwest Indian Museum.

⁴³ Chief Clerk to Mrs. Hazel Moran, November 20, 1908, Letter, Acting Commissioner to Pine Ridge Agency, November 25, 1908, Letter, LR, RG 75, D.C.

⁴⁴ Henry Standing Bear to Carlos Montezuma, May 24, 1911, Letter, The Papers of Carlos Montezuma (1882-1952), microfilm, Collection I 034, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado further abbreviated as: CMP, Fort Lewis

⁴⁵ David Eugene Wilkins, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). See Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 229

⁴⁶ Slotkin points out that the Wild West was "not only a major influence on American ideas about the frontier past at the turn of the century, it was a highly influential overseas advertisement for the United States during the period of massive European emigration." Richard Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' and the Mythologization of the American Empire" in *Cultures of United States Imperialism* edited by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 164. For a different examination of the "Wild West" with regards to violence and justice see, R. Michael Wilson, *Frontier Justice in the Wild West: Bungled, Bizarre, and Fascinating Executions* (TwoDot, 2007) Wilson highlights eighteen crimes and subsequent punishments of the most interesting, controversial, and unusual executions from an era when hangings and shootings were a legal means of capital punishment. Also see, Don Russell, *Wild West or A History of the Wild West Shows* (Forth Worth, TX: University of Texas Press, 1970) and *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979); Louis Warren, *Buffalo*

Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show (New York: Random House, 2005); Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000)

⁴⁷ See L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)

⁴⁸ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 248

⁴⁹ Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 15-51.

⁵⁰ Richard Slotkin, "Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' and the Mythologization of the American Empire," 178-79 and Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* pp253-255. Also see, Gretchen Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (New York, N.Y.: New York University Press, 2010) for a recent account of how American literature by African-, Asian-, and Native-American authors "symptomized and channeled" anxiety about the racial components of U.S. imperialism to redraw global color lines.

⁵¹ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* and Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000)

⁵² Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 251

⁵³ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 249

⁵⁴ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 261

⁵⁵ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 266. See, Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). Lyons notes, that a "discourse of Indianness" is "generated by institutions, the state, and the market,"25.

⁵⁶ *The Washington Post*, 8 April 1904, ProQuest Historical Newspapers

⁵⁷ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 April 1904; *Los Angeles Times*, 8 April 1904; *New York Times*, 8 April 1904, ProQuest Historical Newspapers

⁵⁸ According to Standing Bear his injuries consisted of: "a dislocation of both hips, left leg broken below the knee, left arm broken, two ribs broken on the left side, and a broken collar bone. Three ribs on the right side were badly sprained, my nose was broken and both eyes seriously cut, and I sustained a deep gash across the back of my head." (*My People the Sioux*, 271) Carlos Montezuma's personal papers list his original findings with regards to injuries and also his estimates for damages. See, *The Papers of Carlos Montezuma*, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, WI

⁵⁹ Train wrecks were among the greatest dangers faced by members of traveling shows around the turn of the twentieth century. For more on this incident see Cindy Fent & Raymond Wilson. "Indians Off Track: Cody's Wild West and the Melrose Park Train Wreck of 1904" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* (Vol. 18, No. 3, 1994) 235-249.

⁶⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 172

⁶¹ For more on Native people in film see Angela Aleiss, *Making the White Man's Indian: Native Americans and Hollywood Movies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), Philip J. Deloria, Chapter "Representation: Indian Wars, the Movie" in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), and *Hollywood's Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film* Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor, eds. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1999)

⁶² There is a large body of scholarship on the subject of film genre, for my study I refer to the American Film Institute's definition for the Western from 1921. See, Davidson Boughey, *The Film Industry* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & sons, 1921)

⁶³The three biggest western authors who helped define the contours of the genre were Zane Grey, Maxwell Brand, and Clarence Mulford. All seem to have drawn some inspiration from Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902) -- a love story interwoven with a fictional account of the Johnson County War and set in 1890s Wyoming. Based on their work many films adopted a similar narrative shape. Bob Herzberg, *Shooting scripts: from pulp Western to film* (McFarland, 2005) Also see, C. Courtney Joyner, *The Westerners: Interviews with actors, directors, writers and producers*, with foreword by Miles Swarthout (McFarland, 2009) Postwar western writers like Louis L'Amour harkened back to these types of works in search of stories that were about a simpler, more bucolic existence. See, Graulich, Melody Graulich and Stephen Tatum, *Reading the Virginian in the New West* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003)

⁶⁴ Angela Aleiss, *Making the White Man's Indian: Native Americans and Hollywood Movies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005),pp10-13

⁶⁵ As Philip Deloria and Andrew Smith have shown, as early as 1909 the New York Motion Picture Company recruited Indian participants James Young Deer and Princess Red Wing to work on producing westerns. The two moved to Los Angeles in November of that year to work as part of the Bison brand before being lured away to the French company Pathe Freres. And, in this new context they produced a number of films for Pathe that offered portraits of race and gender that challenged some of the typical elements of cross-race romance offered by domestic melodramas. Unfortunately for Standing Bear, he did not work with Young Deer and Red Wing but rather found his entrée into Hollywood through the usual route offered to Indian actors -- the connection between live-action "Wild West" performance and the machinations of Thomas Ince. See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004)

⁶⁶ Ronald L. Davis, *William S. Hart: Projecting the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).

⁶⁷ Luther Standing Bear's other roles included: "Saka" in *Bolshevism on Trial* (1919), "Chief Sutanek" in *The Santa Fe Trail* (1930), "White Cloud" in *The Conquering Horde* (1931), "Indian Chief" in *Texas Pioneers* (1932), "Indian" --uncredited, in *Massacre* (1934), and "Quiet Hunter" in *Laughing Boy* (1934). See, Alan Gevinson, *American Film Institute Catalog: Within our Gates: Ethnicity in American Features Films, 1911-1960* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), and "Chief Standing Bear" in the Internet Movie Database. IMDb site <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0822052/> accessed February 15, 2011.

⁶⁸ Angela Aleiss, *Making the White Man's Indian: Native Americans and Hollywood Movies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005),pp55-57

⁶⁹ According to Angela Aleiss non-Indian extras received \$11/day whereas Indian actors received only \$5.50.

⁷⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* 227

⁷¹ William S. Hart to Luther Standing Bear, August 11, 1930, Letter, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Abbreviated as: RG 75

⁷² C.S. Rhodes to Jeanne El Strange Cappel, January 5th, 1932, Letter, RG 75

⁷³ Williams S. Hart to Luther Standing Bear, August 11, 1930, Letter, RG 75

⁷⁴ Letters Received File 72636, 1908, RG 75. Luther Standing Bear to E.A. Brininstool, August 9, 1930, Letter, Earl Alonzo Brininstool Collection, 1850-1945, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin --abbreviated as E.A.B Collection

⁷⁵ Luther Standing Bear to John Collier, September 6, 1934, Letter, RG 75

⁷⁶ "Melvin R. Gilmore Papers, 1905-1938," Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI

⁷⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* 229,

⁷⁸ County of Los Angeles Probation Office records, E.A.B. Collection. For legal codes see the Superior Court of California, Los Angeles, <http://www.lasuperiorcourt.org/criminal/> accessed February 16, 2011

⁷⁹ With regards to penal code 288 "Lewd Acts with a Child" the way in which one might be prosecuted for this offense varies greatly given that a hug and kiss to a child that may not have been done in a "lewd or sexual manner" could still be prosecuted for this charge according to the law.

⁸⁰ "Chief Standing Bear Given Year Term in County Jail" *Los Angeles Times* (1923-Current File): May 6, 1935, ProQuest Historical Newspapers Los Angeles Times (1881-1987) pg A1

⁸¹ *Los Angeles Times* 6 May 1935

⁸² Many letters were sent to Collier's office in support of Standing Bear character and requesting assistance. See, Mrs. Charles E. Burbee, Mrs. HH. Burgess, Anne Ross, Chief Ralph Rojas, Nelson M. N. Wauls, Lucien Y. Maxwell, Mrs. Etta Cortas, Thelma Offet (Whiteflower) to John Collier, March 27, 1935, Letter, Olympia Houten, White Bird, Kuuks Walks Alone, Young Beaver, and Little Badger to John Collier, March 28, 1935, Letter, Mrs. May Jones to John Collier, April 5, 1935, Letter, RG 75

⁸³ See, Mrs. Charles E. Burbee, Mrs. HH. Burgess, Anne Ross, Chief Ralph Rojas, Nelson M. N. Wauls, Lucien Y. Maxwell, Mrs. Etta Cortas, Thelma Offet (Whiteflower) to John Collier, March 27, 1935, Letter, Olympia Houten, White Bird, Kuuks Walks Alone, Young Beaver, and Little Badger to John Collier, March 28, 1935, Letter, Mrs. May Jones to John Collier, April 5, 1935, Letter, RG 75

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Standing Bear had championed the rights of Indian actors to make their own way in the world and define the terms by which they worked as writers and performers. A large component of his fight aimed to replace

romantic, simplistic, and nostalgic representations of Indianness that dominated American narratives about Indian people, the west, and the history of the nation and still influenced Indian policy decisions. Instead, Standing Bear sought ways to make Indians legible as a three-dimensional people. With this fight in mind I include this court case in my narrative about Standing Bear to avoid the danger of portraying him in simplistic terms, as either wholly good or wholly bad, but rather as human.

⁸⁶ Mrs. Laura W. Soldier to James H. Cook, April 23, 1935, copy sent to E.A. Brininstool, E.A.B. Collection

⁸⁷ E.A. Brininstool developed correspondence with participants in the Battle of Little Bighorn (1876), namely Walter Camp, Fred Dustin, William J. Ghent, Charles Kuhlman, and Col Graham. He was sponsored by Gen. Edward Godfrey for companion membership in the order of Indian Wars, an organization dedicated to veterans of the frontier campaigns. Brininstool compiled stories of many survivors of the Reno command, including, Lieutenant Varnum, Sergeant O'Neill, Private Slaper, and trumpeter Martini. He also tracked down stories of so-called "survivors" from the Custer phase of the battle. Of the greater than 70 stories that he collected, none were found to have much veracity. He wrote biographies of Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, and dull Knife. See, E.A.B. Collection

⁸⁸ County of Los Angeles Probation Office records, copy, and Robert J. Hamilton to E.A. Brininstool, May 8, 1935, Letter, E. A.B. Collection

⁸⁹ I have focused on Standing Bear here more than his accuser because I was not able to obtain more material to uncover details regarding the experience, identity, and voice of this Piute girl. My hope is that drawing attention to the case's existence may open the door for more scholars to investigate the larger ramifications of this event for all parties involved.

⁹⁰ Chief Standing Bear (possibly Luther Standing Bear) full-length portrait, standing, facing slightly left, holding bow and arrows] LC-USZ62-114580 Library of Congress

⁹¹ Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* p227

⁹² Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* p165, 192, 166

⁹³ Donna Hite to Office of Indian Affairs, April 8, 1939, Letter, LR file no. 23323, and George E. Standing Bear to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 26, 1939, Letter, LR file no. 35359, both in RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. William J. Ehrheart, "Chief Luther Standing Bear II: Activist, Author, Historian" in *Persimmon Hill* (Autumn 1997). Special thanks to Diana Fields from the Donald C. & Elizabeth M. Dickinson Research Center, the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, OK

⁹⁴ For more on the shift in Luther Standing Bear's politics regarding Indian policy from *My People the Sioux* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1928) to *The Land of the Spotted Eagle* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1933) see, Ryan E. Burt, "'Sioux Yells' in the Dawes Era: Lakota 'Indian Play,' the Wild West, and the Literatures of Luther Standing Bear" in *American Quarterly* (Vol. 62, No. 3, September 2010), 617-637.

⁹⁵ Houghton Mifflin began in 1832 with William Ticknor and the Old Corner Bookstore in Boston with James Fields. In 1880 the firm became Houghton, Mifflin & Company, named after Henry Oscar Houghton (1823-1895) and George Harrison Mifflin who was co-partner in 1872. See, "Harvard College Class of 1877 Seventh Report" (Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press, 1917) and "Report of the secretary of the Class of 1865 of Harvard" (New York: P.F. McBreen, 1885) For more on the founding members of this company see http://www.hmco.com/company/about_hm/henryhoughton.html Accessed May 5, 2011.

Conclusion

Mapping Indian Representational Politics across Time and Space

During the summer of 2000 I took my first road trip to cross the United States. It began in Brooklyn, New York and ended in San Francisco, California. Like many road trips this was not just a journey through time and across space, but an opportunity to explore new and old places. It was during the second week of driving that we (Sam, Jason, and I) began to explore South Dakota. Although we were taking a strategic combination of interstates 80 and 90 for our East to West voyage, we made an important detour after we reached the city of Sioux Falls, which is where we spent the fourth of July. So on July fifth, we headed north up route 29 towards Sisseton, a small town that sits at the intersection of route 29 and state road 81.

For the first time in my life I was about to visit the Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation where my grandmother, Ethel Hemminger, had been born and where some of my more distant relatives lived. I knew little about this place, given that she and her parents had left South Dakota during the 1920s. Not long after receiving monetary compensation for their allotments from the Office of Indian Affairs they packed up most of the family and moved to southern California. There, in different parts of Los Angeles County, they spent the remainder of their lives working in show business, as part of Hollywood's burgeoning film industry and Disneyland.

As we drove towards the Bureau of Indian Affairs office at Sisseton I had no idea what to make of this unfamiliar place. I felt strangely shy about asking anyone we saw for directions or help of any kind. Yet, as I walked toward the office I felt a vigorous sense of purpose. I knew there would be some information pertaining to my family's history. I was right. After a couple of phone calls to my father, since he was the immediate heir to our family lands and therefore recognized by the BIA as the person who must receive any information, the young woman at the desk gave me a set of maps. Moving through each piece of paper in this pile of photocopies she highlighted small squares, parcels really, which were sub-sections of collectively owned lands. What did I find when I looked at these maps? That we could claim 1/54 of this piece of land over here, or 1/322 of this one over there, or perhaps a little bit more, such as 1/16 of this section way over there. It was confusing.

After looking at the various highlighted sections and talking with the office staff I learned that although we had these shares, so did other people, and I considered how they might use these claims. Not much of this land was useful for farming or much else, and the tribal government of the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation decided that a good way to administer the use of collectively owned lands was to lease it. I learned that day that the United States federal government was often (if not always) the highest bidder when it came to leases, so they were the primary lessees of my family's lands. Interesting and strange, I thought. As I stood there looking at my maps I decided it was time to go look at this land to figure out how else one might use it. After a short drive (and some helpful directions from the BIA office) we went to check out a parcel. What did I see? Lots of tall grass growing, and not much else. The government leased much of this land for

grazing, but it seems that most of it was fallow and only useful as a crossroad to transport farming equipment in northeastern South Dakota.¹

Really what I wondered at that moment, when I looked at a bunch of scrubby little trees and what seemed like miles and miles of grasses, was how all of this could happen. How could it be that my people no longer used their own land? How could it be that the economy of this particular reservation community was largely supported by two casinos and the Bureau of Indian Affairs? Additionally how could it be that after so many military and legal battles, the federal government still got to use this land however they wanted even when that meant not using it at all? I yearned to know more about the history of Indian affairs and policy, and also about the lives of the people who had once lived here and those who had left, as my grandmother had done. I wanted answers to help me figure out how I might interpret all the strange highlighted parts of this set of BIA maps. It was this experience that inspired the research for this project, and led to a different sort of journey altogether.

The archival research necessary to write this collective cultural biography led me again to travel across the United States, but in a more purposeful way. In search of answers to these questions I went to Dartmouth College for graduate school and found among the school's archives the personal papers of Charles Eastman. I did know now that Charles Eastman was, like my father and me, part of the Santee Dakota peoples. He had traveled across some of the same lands that I had just begun to know, and he had also chosen to leave them. He left in search of an education and in search of answers, because not unlike today, the Dakota people of the nineteenth century were struggling to navigate cultural, economic, and political changes in their already uneasy relationship with the U.S.

government. Eastman wanted to have a voice in these changes. And like him, Carlos Montezuma, Gertrude Bonnin, and Luther Standing Bear found ways to add their voices to discussions concerning Indian policy. They often, although not always, worked through culture to influence politics, and to shift public perceptions of Indian history and Indian people. After several trips to different archives the details of their lives and the larger frame for this cultural history finally began to emerge.

In fact, the archival journey that began with Eastman soon brought me to a variety of other places. Not quite the same road trip I took in 2000, but illuminating all the same. First, I visited the Newberry Library in Chicago, next the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, followed by the Center for Southwest Studies in Durango, Colorado. All three of these institutions held materials related to Carlos Montezuma's personal correspondence, professional files that he kept as a physician, and of course, subscription lists, and other ephemera pertaining to his newsletter *Wassaja*. As I began to piece together the details of Eastman and Montezuma's lives as public intellectuals I took another research trip to Brigham Young University, where I read through Gertrude Bonnin's personal papers. Her archive was rich and meticulously maintained, which made for a fulfilling hunt. Working in Native American Studies is hardly easy given that most of Indian people from the turn of the twentieth century have not left behind these sorts of personal papers, and if they have it is unlikely this material is now located in one place and open to public access, as happened to be the case with both Eastman and Bonnin. Therefore, I was not surprised when I had to conduct multiple searches over several months to contact a range of institutions and archivists for sources concerning Luther Standing Bear. He did not leave behind a comprehensive or cohesive set of

personal effects, so it took a lot of searching and sifting to amass enough archival material to write about him.

Following the unexpected connection between Eastman's history and that of my own family and in preparation to visit archives I asked a new set of questions in regard to Eastman and his Indian contemporaries. I knew he could not have been alone in his pursuit of education, his use of publishing to teach Americans, or his ability to perform a particular politics on local and national stages across the U.S. and in Europe. How did an individual like Eastman maintain ties to pan-tribal networks as he crafted his own Indian subjectivity? Additionally, how did he and other figures balance the concerns of Native publics with those of their white readers? Eventually, I set out to write a cultural history of the first generation of urban Indian intellectuals and their efforts to mobilize and revise concepts like citizenship, assimilation, and modernity. That was too big a task for a dissertation, but this collective biography begins to answer my questions. I found that to tell the story of these writers, performers and power brokers I needed to suture together just how their cultural work shaped and reflected their politics.

Indeed, the driving force behind telling a narrative based on Eastman, Montezuma, Bonnin, and Standing Bear was to examine them as members of a wider world of Indian people and a collective movement that could be mapped in material ways. In other words, looking at the actual times and places when these figures could have and did meet one can see the ways they moved through social, political, and cultural spaces, and how their mobility was critical to the creation of pan-Indian reform organizations and public meetings. Moreover, as powerful as they could each be in getting their ideas out to people through letters and through the publication of articles, newsletters, and books, they each

had immense influence when they took to the public stage to give a lecture and address an audience in person. Therefore, I wanted to map out their travels. I also wanted to map out abstract concepts to illustrate the ways in which meaning takes shape and changes how Indianness was produced by expectations that Native and non-Native people generated during these moments of public performance. What follows are visual representations, in fact, actual maps, of the myriad ways these particular Indian figures made their own journeys across the United States. Additionally, I have chosen a few representative moments in their lives to show where their careers as intellectuals and activists brought them and possibilities for encounter given the geographical centers that they passed through. Each location was pivotal in the lives of these individuals and the history of the U.S.

The lines on these maps denote more than a connection between mobility and urbanity, but also the privileging of certain centers of power, such as the U.S. federal government in Washington, D.C. for instance, the publishing houses of Boston and New York, and the film industry in Los Angeles. The first three maps emphasize major regions: the Midwest and Great Lakes, the Eastern Region, and the Western Seaboard. The fourth is of the continental United States. Each colored path denotes a particular individual's movement across space. I have drawn the lines and noted meeting points, but the background for these maps was made by the Department of the Interior in 2001 to locate the Department's field offices. Since these maps were originally made by the DOI the white shaded areas refer to different states and the tan shaded areas refer to reservations of federally recognized tribes. Finally, I have included textual keys to explain the significance of the letters as markers.

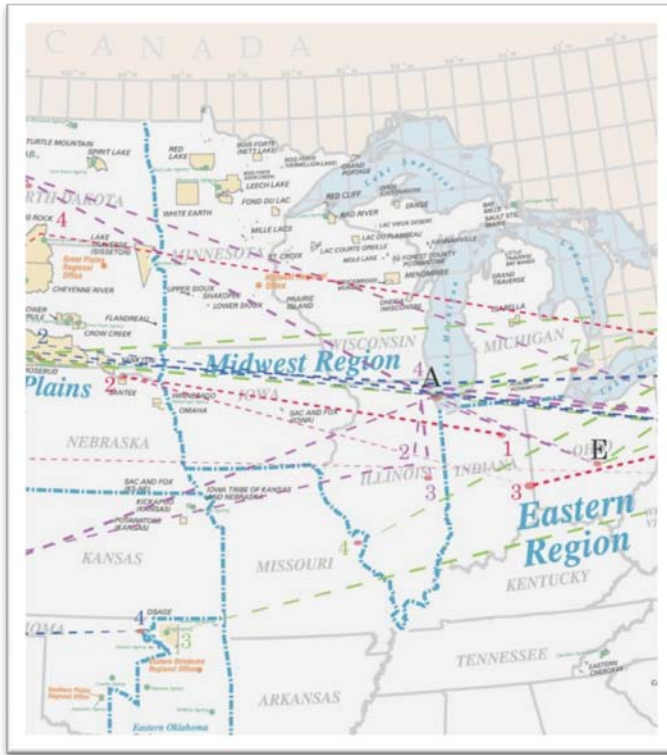


Figure 5.1 Midwest Section of U.S. Map

A. Chicago, Illinois: In 1893 Eastman attended the World’s Columbian Exposition and gave a talk on “Sioux Mythology.” Montezuma lived in Chicago from 1895 until 1922, when he retired from practicing medicine and relocated to Fort McDowell, Arizona. Standing Bear and Montezuma met here in 1904 following a train accident that involved Standing Bear and other performers who worked for William Cody. Montezuma testified on behalf of the Indian actors regarding their injuries in a trial to sue the railway. Bonnin made a trip in January of 1921 to the city to speak at: the Chicago

Culture Club, Rogers Park Woman’s Club, and the Arche Club.

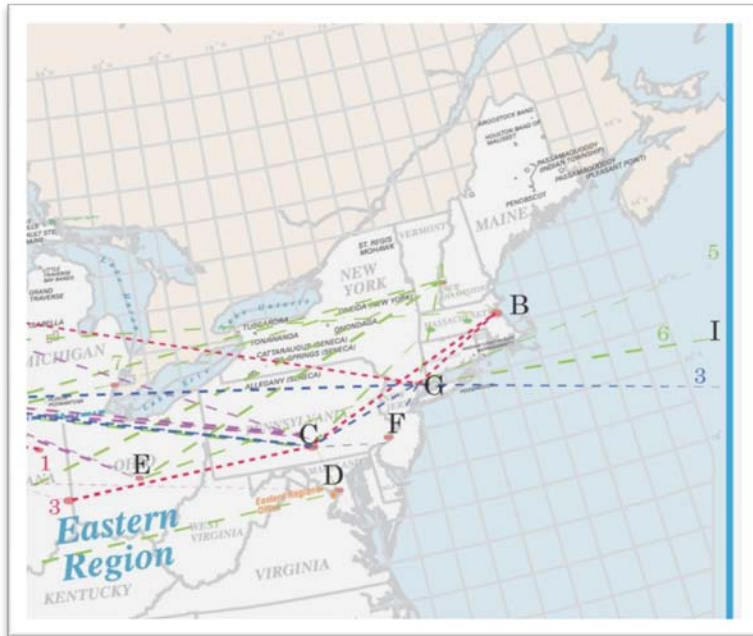
E. Columbus, Ohio: A lecture series at The Ohio State University in 1909 brought together Carlos Montezuma, Charles Eastman, and Sherman Coolidge with the social scientist Fayette Avery McKenzie. Together they laid the groundwork for the Society of American Indians. In 1912 the second annual conference for SAI was held here.

B. Boston, Massachusetts: Montezuma visited the city briefly as a young man in 1878 before returning to Illinois to enroll in public school at Urbana. Eastman moved here in 1887 to attend Boston University’s Medical School. His first book, *The Soul of an Indian* was published by Little and Brown, a company based in the city. Bonnin similarly moved to Boston for educational reasons in 1899 to study music at the New England Conservatory. Like Eastman she formed important relationships with Boston-based publishing houses, local elites, and white progressives. Many white-run reform groups formed in Boston in the 1870s that were dedicated to reforming Indian policy in the U.S.

C. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Luther Standing Bear was the first of this cohort to meet headmaster Richard Pratt when he studied at Carlisle from 1879 to 1885. From 1897 to 1899 Bonnin worked at the school, and in 1900, according to a commencement report, she recited the “Famine” scene from Longfellow’s *Hiawatha*, while dressed in the garb of a “Dakota maiden.” No doubt she interacted with both Montezuma and Eastman who attended Carlisle’s commencement ceremony in March of 1899. Montezuma had already worked as the school’s physician and traveled widely to recruit students in 1894. Eastman and his wife Elaine Goodale Eastman had a similar relationship with Pratt and the school, he helped to recruit Indian students and she wrote the first book-length biography of Pratt

titled: *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* in 1935, published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Figure 5.2 Northeast Section of U.S. Map



D. Washington, D.C.: Bonnin lived here from 1916 to 1938, and Eastman traveled here on several occasions to meet with federal government administrators as part of his work for the Indian Service. For example, in July and August of 1899 he represented educated Indians “on business” in the city, as reported by one of the Carlisle School papers, the *Indian Helper*.

F. Philadelphia, Penn.: This city was the location for one of Wanamaker’s Department stores where Luther Standing Bear worked in 1885.

Bonnin traveled with the Carlisle School band to perform at Independence Hall in 1900. This is also where the Indian Rights Association (a white reform organization) began in 1882. This group aimed to “bring about the complete civilization of the Indians and their admission to citizenship” in the U.S. Bonnin, Eastman, and Montezuma all worked with members of this group.

G. New York, New York: All four of these figures spent some time in New York City. Montezuma lived in Brooklyn when he was quite young in 1877, and returned to the city in 1887 to give his first major public lecture. Luther Standing Bear spent a few nights in a Manhattan hotel near Madison square garden in 1904 before sailing for London, England. Bonnin was photographed by Gertrude Kasebier in her studio in the city around 1898. Eastman made several trips to the city for professional and personal reasons, perhaps the most stunning of which was his appearance at Mark Twain’s seventieth birthday party in 1905.

I. London, England: Eastman first traveled to England in 1911 to present at the Universal Congress on Race. He returned to give lectures throughout Great Britain in 1928 on a tour sponsored by the Brooks-Bright Foundation. Luther Standing Bear famously performed for the King and Queen of England with William “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s *Wild West* troupe in 1902. Although Bonnin never traveled to London, she did go abroad in 1900 to perform with the Carlisle School band at the Paris Exposition.



Figure 5.3 Southwest Section of U.S. Map

H. Los Angeles, California: Luther Standing Bear lived and worked near downtown Los Angeles from 1911 until his death in 1939. Although they never lived in California, both Eastman and Bonnin traveled throughout the state to give public lectures during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Montezuma never visited Los Angeles, but did make a trip to San Francisco in 1899 while working as the physician for the Carlisle School's Football team, during a West Coast tour to play a team from the University of California at Berkeley.

On the next page is a map that shows all of their travels across the United States.

See appendix II for a chart that explains in more detail the significance of the four different colors: green, purple, red, and blue in relation to these four people.

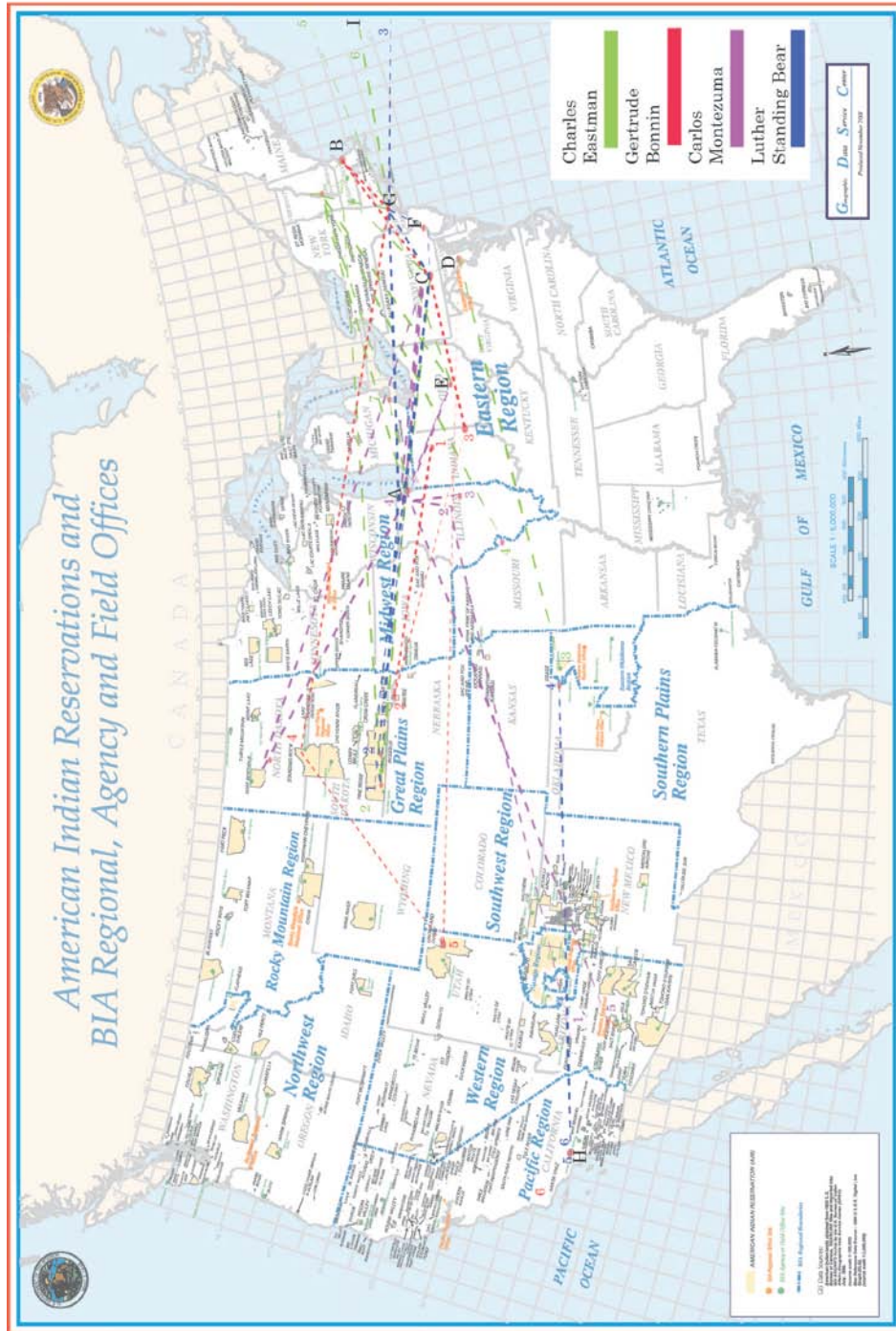


Figure 5.4 United States of America Map

These maps and key reflect specific points in the journeys of this cohort of Indian intellectuals. One of my aims in using visual tools to represent their movement through time and space is to show how these figures were not alone in their efforts. In fact, many of the networks that they accessed, some of them defined by white progressives and others created and maintained by Indian people, were located in the places marked on these maps, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. With the idea of networks in relation to Indian representational politics in mind, I conclude by returning to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, where Simon Pokagon gave his address and sold his birch bark booklets.

Coda: A Fair to Remember

For many Indian people, the 1890s was a period marred by the Massacre at Wounded Knee in South Dakota. Although described by the U.S. military as a “battle,” this was no fight, as federal troops brutally clashed with Sioux Ghost Dancers and ended up killing women and children along with male “fighters.” For Native and white people alike, the event marked the end of military intervention into Indian peoples’ lives. Despite the forced annexation of the Hawaiian Islands only three years later, this event also served as a critical turning point for U.S. citizens to secure a sense of national identity by declaring Indian people pacified. This pacification also signified the decline of domestic colonization, and suggested native people were destined for assimilation into

American society. Thus, by 1893 the domestic borders of the United States could be defined as secure in order to justify a move towards international arenas for expansion.

As the U.S. government found ways to expand its influence abroad, at home the problem of colonization remained central to the lives of Indian people. This was a problem regarding their political and cultural status, and as I have argued a problem concerning identity as shaped by a discourse of Indianness. Turning to the 1890s one can see how it was a period of change for the U.S. marked by its emergence as a global power, and therefore, a time in which emphasis on a monolithic national identity made a lot of sense. At the same time, the political, cultural, and material effects of this emphasis did not result in a consolidation of national identity, as much as a fracturing of the idea of Americanness. One place in which this fracturing gave way to the production of Indianness was through “Indian play.” By this I mean, there were white fraternal organizations, like the Boy Scouts, and popular entertainments, like *Wild West* shows where white and Native people played Indian to recall an American past in nostalgic terms. These performances bolstered American imperialism as they disavowed settler-colonialism, since they were often based on the scripts of fictional narratives rather than historical realities. One consequence of these performances was the proliferation of misrepresentations of Indianness, often through the celebration of primitivist aesthetics that were white rather than Indian in their origin. Perhaps even more troubling was the creation of cultural practices and behaviors that were then mapped onto actual Indian people, which flattened understandings of Indian identity and worked to push Indian people to the margins of modern American society.²

For Native people who found employment as performers, the concept of “playing Indian” took on a different sort of relevance as well. The stakes changed dramatically from occasions, like the Boston Tea Party, where white Americans could define themselves in opposition to Europeans by “playing Indian,” to those where Indian people were hired to do this work, as we have seen with Pokagon’s performance at the 1893 World’s Fair. In addition, the increasing number and diversity of immigrants who entered the United States participated in public discourse concerning the future of the United States in the world. As we saw in Chapter Two with Carlos Montezuma, many Indian intellectuals, like their immigrant and minority contemporaries, participated in this conversation as well. In many cases, Indian people used patriotic and nationalist rhetoric to strategically insert themselves into American society and to assert their own definitions of America and Americanness. At the same time, they found ways to place Indians and Indianness within this patriotic discourse.³

Therefore, to return to the site of Chicago and the 1893 Fair one can see how the future of America relied both on remembrances of America’s past and to some extent the role of Indian people in that past. Pokagon’s visage as he rang the Liberty Bell worked as part of a language of types that had emerged during this period regarding the role of race in American society. As Americans mourned the end of particular versions of America, certain types became increasingly mythologized in order to properly mourn this passing. For example, the cowboy and the “wild” Indian, as well as the true woman and the original Puritan were typologies that could be mobilized to assert popular conceptions of identity, often viewed through the biological lens of Darwinian Theory. These ideas took hold most visibly and spectacularly at the Fair through the Midway Plaisance. Visitors to

the Fair could take a visual accounting of different “types” of ethnicities that were presented in such a way as to suggest a progression towards Americanness, which culminated in a notion of monolithic whiteness signified by the White City at the Fair.⁴

The White City as the beacon of American progress and the Fair as a call towards cultural enrichment helped foster social and cultural hierarchies by marking distinctions around social types and cultural practices. Pokagon found ways to maneuver through this hierarchization, just as the Indian writers and readers who followed him did. For example, Charles Eastman and Gertrude Bonnin’s participation in the expanding book and periodical market enabled each to enter a national discussion about the corrosive aspects of acculturation and the language of types. Yet, this language of types created an illusion of stability for class-based and race-based hierarchies, and many Indian authors attempted to disrupt this imaginary rigidity by defining Indianness on their own terms even when faced with publishers and reviewers who aimed to define and market them as ethnic others.⁵

Of course Indian writers, like their white, immigrant, and African-American contemporaries during this period, varied in their responses to the language of “types” and debates regarding U.S. imperialism and national identity. Some of the writings I have considered invariably shored up some hegemonic cultural practices of the United States, while others attempted to challenge laws, policies, films, novels, and performances. Pokagon’s speech and the circulation of his pamphlet at the World’s Fair offers one instance of this sort of complexity; one can see how his words were not always oppositional nor were his dress and actions wholly discordant with certain expectations regarding Indianness.

Additional studies of this Fair have argued that it has become a popular chronotope of contemporary study, because it exhibits the conventional power dynamics of orientalist performance. The Midway, as I have noted, embodied an arrangement of diverse cultures that followed an evolutionary logic for displaying humanity using a scale that measured human beings according to stages from “less” to “more” civilized. Within a mile-long strip of populist display the Midway relied on discrete ethnographic exhibitions of nonwhite people performing in their “native” costumes to reiterate an evolutionary understanding of progress. This logic took advantage of imperial modes of seeing. Working within this logic, Pokagon understood that the exposition went beyond merely reflecting American culture because it intended to shape that culture through its own ideological process. Thus, the Fair represented efforts by American intellectual, political, and business leaders to achieve consensus for their vision of progress as one situated in white racial dominance and economic growth. Behind all these displays was a structured ideology intended to both appease and control the masses in order to further incorporate them into the social practices of consumer capitalism.⁶

Despite the coercive technologies involved in the Fair’s design, Pokagon’s appearance as an Indian intellectual resisted some of this racialized logic.⁷ My reading of his representational politics has illustrated the different strategies he used to respond to white culture’s demands. Although it is tempting to recall only the pageantry of Pokagon’s performance at the Fair, for him the politics underlying this moment were of the utmost importance. For instance, the officials who surrounded him on the *Chicago Day* stage were themselves clothed in the “costume of the early period” to signify their

own sense of patriotism, just as Pokagon's dress (read as Indian) was meant to re-enact the history of Chicago as a place once owned by the Potawatomi.⁸

These dueling references to costuming, with Pokagon on the one hand and the federal officials on the other, suggest another way to think about the history of the Fair. The idea of Indian attire and the costumes of white officials located *all* of them in a space of nostalgia; which is to say, they each found ways to take advantage of the pageantry, and the publicity of this particular event. Furthermore, in recalling Pokagon's performance one can see a moment of opportunity, a small window in time opening when the officials on stage and the people in the audience could recognize the very real presence of Indian people in the making of America. They could rise to accept Pokagon's claims or to turn their back on this history and Indian people.

Looking back, this Fair succeeded in including if also misrepresenting indigenous people in several important ways. First, through inaccurate ethnological displays that characterized indigeneity as linked to primitivism; second, through staged reproductions of Indian schoolhouses on the Midway that argued Indian people must Americanize or disappear, and third, through the appearance of Simon Pokagon, whose performance, at least in part, pushed back against these other forms of representation. Yet another moment from this Fair offers us a different and contradictory example, one which revises what was possible for Native people at the Fair. For Pokagon was not alone in using this cultural space to perform Indianness and to comment on American culture.⁹

It was a Wednesday, the 12th of July in 1893, around ten o'clock in the morning, when the President of the Minnesota Branch of the Chicago Folk-Lore Society gave his

address to fairgoers. It was titled, “Sioux Mythology,” and no doubt attendance was high given the topic and the “Indian craze” to see and hear authentic Indian talks. The speaker listed in the program for the International Folklore Congress that day was Dr. Charles Eastman. He was the only other Indian invited to present at the Fair. Unlike Pokagon, his address was neither marked by pageantry nor by nostalgia but rather was framed through the practical eye of scientific discourse.

Eastman began his address by invoking the rhetoric of social Darwinism. Although his key terms appeared trapped in a binary setting, civilized in opposition to savage, Eastman was able to engage his listeners with this familiar, if also problematic, frame. He went on to discuss the category of American citizen, subtlety shifting between sacred and secular registers. This shifting enabled him to suggest that in fact, the aborigines of the United States, like all human beings, possessed the same mind that was “equipped with all its faculties” making them capable “even in...[an] uncultured state” of the important “process of reasoning.” Eastman’s speech worked through citizenship and racial uplift to craft a rational argument for why Indian people ought to have the same political rights as any other American citizen.¹⁰

Eastman also explicitly announced that he would speak briefly on the mythology of the Sioux Nation. In particular, he referred to “that portion of the tribe” with which he was very familiar. Like Pokagon’s Liberty Bell address, Eastman’s participation at the Fair through the Folklore Congress afforded him a space to be strategic in his self presentation. He was a member of the Sisseton-Wahpeton tribe and he was also emerging as a well-known public intellectual, as Dartmouth’s Indian no less, and he drew on all

these aspects of his identity to educate his audience about the past and present of Indian people.

Considering that Eastman's speech aimed to present Indian people in scientific terms it is curious that he briefly touched on spiritual beliefs at the end of this talk. After he listed specific names for deities in connection to water, land, and power his talk seemed to end abruptly with a return to the idea of comparison. He re-invoked the concept of American society by discussing how the Sioux used to understand God.

These few hurriedly collected facts concerning the mythology of the Sioux Nation will tend to show that the American Indian, *before the coming of the whites*, had a great faith in his 'unknown God,' whose colossal power, physical, moral, and mental, was so impressed upon his untutored mind and made him so conscious of his own sinful life, that he felt he was not warranted to approach Him direct, but through some mediator, who will intercede for him with his Great Mystery.¹¹ (emphasis mine)

Eastman's reference to "facts" situates him and his topic within the frame of scientific discourse perhaps more than the study of folklore. When he suggests that the mythology of the Sioux Nation was quite different before "the coming of the whites," this comment deftly participates in a cultural logic that similarly underpinned Pokagon's critique of American civilization. Both speeches refer to loss. For Eastman faith is at stake and for Pokagon land. In both instances the "coming of the whites," which we might read as the arrival of Columbus to the Americas and the occasion for the Fair itself, is to blame.

The talks by Pokagon and Eastman then fit into the nostalgic frame of the Fair as one that sought to recall an America long gone but with an eye to the future, however for these Indian intellectuals the past they mourned was neither that of Frederick Jackson Turner and the closing of the frontier nor was it a Puritan New England. Additionally, their future was also not concerned with the extension of American influence abroad, but

rather focused on overcoming and overturning a history of social relations between whites and Indians that had resulted in so many losses, in people, culture, and land. Moreover, for Eastman, as we have seen, this moment at the Fair marked the beginning of his career as a public speaker, writer, and educator. In a similar fashion to Carlos Montezuma, Gertrude Bonnin, and Luther Standing Bear, he moved from the specific site of the Folklore Congress at this World's Fair to other cultural spaces to push beyond the limits of Indianness that were defined by types, such as "noble savage," "wild Indian," and "warrior." Instead, Eastman and these other Indian intellectuals found ways to represent a range of ideas about the roles Indians could play as political and cultural citizens of the U.S., and as members of Native communities. Their intellectual work did not capitulate to the ideology of the Fair, but rather, sought to remember and create an America that acknowledged the conquest of Native lands *and* the necessary presence of Indian intellectuals.

¹ Lake Traverse is located in the extreme northeastern corner of South Dakota, and in fact, some of the Reservation's land spreads into part of North Dakota as well. According to the 2000 census, 10,408 people were living in an area that covers roughly 1,449.658 square miles.

² For a more thorough historical account of this concept see, Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (1998)

³ Alan Trachtenberg's *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (2007) offers an interdisciplinary analysis of American culture in the late nineteenth-century. Hazel Hertzberg's *Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (1982) defines American Indians in terms of other American minorities. I aim, instead, to recast Indian people not within the rhetoric of minority discourse but as distinct citizens of tribal nations and as figures who wrestle with how to position themselves within the broader national context of the United States.

⁴ For an evolution of the definitions for serious literature that intensified social divisions in the U.S. see, Richard Brodhead's *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (1993). For a study of cultural change in relation to cultural hierarchy see, Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow, The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (1988). For more on how the "White City" at the 1893 Fair depicted whiteness and racial harmony through technological advancement see, Alan Trachtenberg's final chapter in *The Incorporation of America* (2007). Also, there have been several excellent studies of critical race theory and postcolonial studies that inform the work I do in this project. I refer to Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967); Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera, the New Mestiza* (1987); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: the Cultural Politics of Nation and Race* (1987), *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), and *Against Race, Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (2000); Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (1996); Barbara Christian, *Black Feminist Criticism: Perspectives on Black Women Writers* (1985); Kimberle Crenshaw,

Critical Race Theory (1995); Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking* (1989); and *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular Culture* ed. Harry Justin Elam (2005).

⁵ Gertrude Bonnin "An Indian Teacher" in *American Indian Stories* (Edited by Dexter Fisher, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985),98.

⁶ Here I reference, Carrie Tirado Bramen's chapter "East Meets West at the World's Parliament of Religions" from *Uses of Variety: Modern Americanism and the Quest for National Distinctiveness* (2001), Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Robert Christopher Reed, *All the World is Here!: The Black Presence at White City* (2000), Julie K. Brown, *Contesting Images: Photography and the World's Columbian Exposition* (1994)

⁷ In addition to Gail Bederman's excellent study of race and gender related to masculinity, for the development of Whiteness see, David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (1999), Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (1999), and George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (1998).

⁸ For more on performing Indians and William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's enterprise see, L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883- 1933* (1999) and Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (2001).

⁹ African Americans were also noticeably absent as participants in the construction of Fair exhibitions, although Frederick Douglass was there as a "representative" for Haiti and together with Ida B. Wells they circulated "The Reason Why The Colored American is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition," see Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization* (1996)

¹⁰ From the "International Folk-lore Congress Chicago, IL" *World's Columbian Exposition* (1893), later published by Charles H. Sergel Co. in Chicago, 1898. Reprinted by (series) Archives of the International Folk-lore Association ; v. 1. (inside on google books "The number of copies of this book is limited to six hundred, of which this copy is No. 146") , page 220.

¹¹ *International Folk-lore Congress* document, page 227

Appendix 1.a

In writing a collective cultural biography that brings together the work of Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, Gertrude Bonnin, and Luther Standing Bear a central point that emerged is the fact that each of them participated (sometimes as members, other times as leaders) in a number of reform organizations. Many of these groups had the same or similar sounding names, which can lead to a bit of confusion. These Indian intellectuals also sought out white progressive allies, and in these instances found support from reform groups composed predominantly of white men and women. In order to assist the reader in locating these different groups I have made the following table as a reference guide, and noted when organizations were primarily white, otherwise they were Indian.

Organization	Key Figures	Location	Period
Society for American Indians (SAI) Although primarily formed by and for Indians there were many white allies who became associate members	Founded by: Charles Eastman, Henry Standing Bear, Carlos Montezuma, Laura Cornelius, Thomas Sloan, Charles Dagenett,	First meeting: The Ohio State University Columbus, OH	1911-1923
National Council of American Indians (NCAI)	Gertrude Bonnin, President Raymond Bonnin, Secretary	Washington, D.C.	1926
National Congress of American Indians (a revival of the earlier version of NCAI)	J.B. Milam D'Arcy McNickle Vine Deloria, Jr.	Washington, D.C.	1944
Northwest Federation of American Indians (NFAI) Formed by landless tribes living in Puget Sound	William Bishop	Port Townsend, WA (western Washington)	1913
Indian Actors Association (IAA)	Jim Thorpe Luther S. Bear	Los Angeles, CA	1936

Formed as branch of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG)			
National League for Justice to American Indians (NLJAI)	Marian Campbell Luther Standing Bear William S. Hart E.A. Brininstool Lucullus McWhorter Nipo Strongheart	Los Angeles, CA	1931
Lake Mohonk Conference → Also referred to themselves as the “Friends of the Indians” (An annual meeting mostly for white progressives)	Albert K. Smiley Alice C. Fletcher (ethnologist)	Lake Mohonk, NY	1883-1916
Indian Rights Association (IRA) (A white humanitarian group dedicated to federal U.S. Indian policy)	Herbert Welsh Matthew Sniffen Lawrence Lindley Charles C. Painter Samuel M. Brosius	Philadelphia, PA	1882
Boston Citizenship Committee (BCC) (white organization)	Founded by Boston progressives interested in an association for the protection of the rights of Indians	Boston, MA	1879

Appendix 1.b

Chart for numbers that refer to events in the lives of Charles Eastman, Gertrude Bonnin, Carlos Montezuma, and Luther Standing Bear

Number	Charles Eastman – Green
1	Dartmouth College is located in Hanover, New Hampshire, which is where Eastman went to school from 1883 to 1887; he returned on several occasions, in 1904 he played Samson Occom as part of a historical performance, and in 1927 he attended his final class reunion
2	On December 29, 1890 the U.S. military massacred at least 150 Native women, men, and children near Wounded Knee Creek, as the physician at Pine Ridge Eastman tended to the survivors of the attack; later he spoke publicly about what he had witnessed
3	In April of 1900 Eastman visited the Osage Agency as part of his work for the Indian Service
4	In July of 1904 Eastman gave an address in St. Louis to a Congress of Educated Indians, which in many ways was a precursor to the work he would do as the President of SAI.
5	In 1911 Eastman traveled to London as a representative for Indians in America at the Universal Congress on Race.
6	In 1928 Eastman returned to Great Britain to give a series of lectures at “Savages” clubs and the Royal Colonial Institute on topics pertaining to Indian culture and history as he saw it.
7	Eastman spent the final years of his life living in a cabin north of Detroit. He died in a city hospital there in 1939.
Number	Gertrude Bonnin -- Red
1	1884 to 1888 she attended White’s Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, Indiana.
2	1889 to 1890 she went to the Santee Normal School in Nebraska
3	1895 to 1897 she attended Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana.
4	In 1902 she met Raymond T. Bonnin while working as a Teacher at Standing Rock.
5	From 1902 until 1916 the Bonnins worked for the Indian Service at the Uintah Ouray Ute Agency in Duchesne, Utah. In 1913 the <i>Sun Dance</i> opera she co-produced with William Hanson premiered in Vernal, Utah.
6	In 1921 she worked with the General Federation of Women’s Clubs to form an Indian Welfare Committee. Throughout the 1920s she gave public talks in different California cities (like Pasadena and San Francisco) to promote the work of this committee and her books.

Number	Carlos Montezuma – Purple
1	Born around 1867 in central Arizona, he was sold by some Pima Indians to Carlo Gentile in 1871.
2	In 1875, after several years of attending Chicago public schools and living with vaudeville performers Montezuma was placed with the Stedman family in Galesburg, Illinois.
3	1880 to 1884 he attended college at the University of Illinois in Urbana.
4	In 1885 he enrolled in the Chicago Medical College, the medical department of Northwestern University. He lived in Chicago for the majority of his life.
5	In 1901 Montezuma made his first visit to the San Carlos Agency and Iron Peak at Fort McDowell, Arizona part of his life-long effort to protect land and water rights of the Fort McDowell Yavapai Indians. After working with Joseph Latimer, the Indian Rights Association, and the American Civil Liberties Union, he helped develop text that would be used for the Indian Citizenship bill that was introduced by congressman Melville Clyde Kelly in 1922. December of that year Montezuma died at Fort McDowell, Arizona.
Number	Luther Standing Bear – Blue
1	The Pine Ridge Reservation is where he grew up, and later worked after attending the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.
2	Rosebud Reservation: where he worked from 1891 to 1892 as a teacher before he received a transfer back to Pine Ridge.
3	In 1902 Standing Bear first worked with William Cody's <i>Wild West</i> and traveled to London, England as part of the show.
4	1911: He worked as an actor in a performance troupe run by the Miller Brothers' "101 Ranch" in Oklahoma.
5	1931: The first meeting of the National League for Justice to American Indians meets in the home of Marianne Campbell in Los Angeles, California.
6	1935: The <i>Los Angeles Times</i> reports that Chief Standing Bear will stand trial for "improper advances" to a young Piute girl.

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