INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or “target” for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is “Missing Page(s)”. If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in “sectioning” the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.
Mammell, Peter Herbert
IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN REFLECTED IN PRINTS 1830-1900

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (INTERTHUR PROGRAM), M.A., 1974
PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark √.

1. Glossy photographs √
2. Colored illustrations
3. Photographs with dark background √
4. Illustrations are poor copy
5. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page
6. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages throughout
7. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine
8. Computer printout pages with indistinct print
9. Page(s) lacking when material received, and not available from school or author
10. Page(s) seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows
11. Poor carbon copy
12. Not original copy, several pages with blurred type
13. Appendix pages are poor copy
14. Original copy with light type
15. Curling and wrinkled pages
16. Other
IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
REFLECTED IN PRINTS
1830-1860

BY

Peter Herbert Hammell

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

June, 1979
IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
REFLECTED IN PRINTS
1830-1860

BY
Peter Herbert Hammell

Approved: Scott T. Swank, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: Stephanie E. Wolf, Ph.D.
Chairman of the Department of Early American Culture

Approved: Gerard J. Mangone, Ph.D.
University Coordinator of Graduate Studies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
The subject of Indian-White relations has received extensive attention in recent historical writing. One primary concern has been the negotiation and the enforcement of treaties between the United States and American Indian groups. Among those scholars who have explored this aspect of the subject are Wilcomb E. Washburn, Paul Francis Prucha, Reginald Horseman, Bernard W. Sheehan, Herman J. Viola, and Vine Deloria, Jr.¹

The exploration of the treaty process indicates that a transition occurred during the early nineteenth century in regard to the United States Government's attitude toward that instrument. When the United States was militarily weak and many American Indian nations were strong, this tool was important in the maintenance of peace. Once the balance of military strength reversed, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the treaty process became a pseudolegalistic tool which the United States skillfully manipulated to drive the American Indian from his land and to destroy his cultural stability.
American Indian-White relations have also been examined in terms of their role in the development of the United States into a major world power, as in the work of Richard Slotkin where he describes the American Indian in American literature as both a symbol and a victim of the new nation. Ellwood Parry discusses the visual imagery of the Indian in similar terms. As the United States steadily expanded its territorial limits westward, the American Indian was caught up in the development of the nation. The development of virgin lands, of expanding American democratic government, and of a systematic native removal policy intermingled during the first half-century of nation building. The character of the nation during this period has been analyzed by Michael Rogin.²

Studies have been made of Andrew Jackson's role as the nation's strongest leader during this period and his direct influence on Indian removal. Michael Rogin, Ronald N. Satz and James C. Curtis have analyzed the impact of Jackson on the course of American policy toward Indians. Scholars have also approached this period philosophically from the perspective of the American Indian whose universe was reordered in a period of a few decades. These works sympathetic to the American Indian viewpoints are frequently dismissed as being marred by emotionalism. However, well documented and respectable studies have begun to place the Native American experiences in context. The cool logic of Vine Deloria, Jr. and Kirke Kickingbird reveal the previously subconscious bias of Whites in regard to the study of American Indian-White relations.³
Clearly the oldest and most widely subscribed approach to the subject is that of romantic sensationalism. Since the sixteenth century, travel accounts, captivity narratives, and other printed sources have emphasized the barbarity of American Indian cultures, including practices of torture, martial exploits and pagan ceremonies. Roy Harvey Peace and Richard Slotkin have explored the origins and evolutions of this aspect of Indian-White relations. In one form or another the romantic sensationalism of the early period has continued until the present. Few attempts have been made in this type of narrative to adhere to even rudimentary authenticity in terms of material culture, customs and morality.

Various sources have been utilized for the examination of these aspects of Indian-White relations. Actual reports of White contacts with American Indians have been utilized, frequently with no attempt to interpret the relationship between the writer's views and experiences and the ethnographic record as determined by other sources. The ethnographic records, compiled by means of material culture research, archaeological work and written accounts, has been extensively utilized. Treaties and other surviving legal documents have been used.

One medium which may be utilized in the examination of this subject is the print. The period during which the basis for modern United States-Indian relations was formulated, 1830-1860, was a period during which the print enjoyed immense popularity as an informative medium. Pioneers in the examination of American Indians
through paintings and prints include John C. Ewers, Bradford F. Swan, Herman J. Viola, Ellwood Parry, and Peter C. Marzio. The American Indian as a symbol of the American nation and the manifestations of this symbol in popular culture are analyzed by E. McClung Fleming and by Rayna Diane Green.

Prints are utilized as the primary source material for this study because they reflect the integration of visual impressions and mental constructs pertaining to the American Indian which influenced public policy makers within the United States Government more than the media of paintings, sculpture or popular literature. The artists who created these prints were not the best artists of the day. Their artistic skills were less developed than those of the best academic painters of the period. Their limited skills encouraged them to reply on the conventions of their art form or academic image of their subject, as much as on the subject itself, in the creation of graphics. In academic art, as in literature, the formal precepts of composition, grammar, and syntax influence the artist. The formal precepts can skew the description of the subject matter, directing it toward the pre-determined emphasis of the culture reflected in the artist's language.

Vernacular art and verbal communication, including advertising, popular symbols, stories, jokes, ballads and songs, can take the observer even farther from reality than academic expression. The created fantasy reflects not current reality, but past reality or
The popular medium of the print, therefore, permits examination of the mental constructs or images of the American Indian as they existed in the consciousness of the greatest part of the American public. The prints provide a commentary on both the academic order of elite culture and the perceived fantasy of popular culture.

The primary concern of this study is with images of North American Indians and their effect on United States Indian policy and the popular conception of the Indian in the era 1830-1860. However, because of the large number of prints of Indians produced in Europe, both before and after 1830, prints made in America and Europe are used interchangeably. These appear primarily in printed books. European prints appearing in books found as wide a market in America as did those appearing in American publications.

The period between 1830 and 1860 is also significant in the history of Indian-White relations. First, it was during this period that American Indian policy evolved from a relationship of military equilibrium or inferiority on the part of the United States to one of clear military superiority. Second, the greatest number of United States-Indian treaties were negotiated and more Indian lands were transferred to the administration of the United States than in any other comparable period in the course of American history. Third, between 1830 and 1860 there was much activity in the area of Indian education and civilization. Fourth, the administrative machinery for
Indian Affairs was established with the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Fifth, in this period the policy was established of removing Indians from the lands east of the Mississippi River to which their titles had been extinguished to newly acquired lands west of the Mississippi River. Sixth, the period witnessed an intensification of Indian-White hostilities.

Prints are used as a source for examining the image of the American Indian created during this period. As is the case with other historical documents, prints offer only a certain amount of information, beyond which observations become meaningless. Prints are used as historical documents, just as photographs have been used with increasing frequency in recent years. Special care was taken to account for the specific problems encountered in using this medium as the basic resource for the study. United States Congressional documents and written records were used to monitor the legal, legislative, and popular image of the Indian during the period. Both the prints and the documents permit a detailed accounting of specific issues concerning the United States Government during this period.6

The author owes much to the people who assisted in making this project a reality. James Curtis and Scott Swank were instrumental in fostering the project in its early stages. James Curtis stimulated the idea of applying the methods of analyzing historical photographs to prints of the early nineteenth century. Scott Swank kindly served as the primary advisor to the project. The idea of using prints as
historical documents combined with a deep interest in American Indian culture was developed through association with Charles Holzinger. The author is indebted to Charles Holzinger for sharing his understanding and enthusiasm for the American Indian.

E. McSherry Fowble graciously shared her familiarity with print sources and technology with the author. She made numerous helpful recommendations in the course of the project which helped to guide it along a fruitful course. The author is especially appreciative of her aid in advising on points of print technology.

Chris Edmundson, Bea Taylor and Neville Thompson were all more than understanding during the months which were spent by the author in the Rare Book Room of the Winterthur Museum. They cheerfully transported numerous massive volumes containing Indian prints from the stacks to the reading room and back again.

Stephanie Wolf read the final draft of the thesis and made numerous helpful comments. Her comments on style were most welcome.

The author is extremely grateful to June Sprigg, Priscilla Brewer and John Ott of Hancock Shaker Village for their patience and encouragement while the thesis was being written. The environment created by the Village and the people involved with it permitted the project to progress as quickly as it did under somewhat adverse circumstances and a very short time limitation.

The author is also appreciative of the rapid and careful job
of typing done by Jane Mellinger and Nancy Hawgood. To them, as well as to all of the other people involved in the project, go abundant thanks.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE.</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS.</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of the Prints of the American Indian and of the United States</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-White Relations Before 1830</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking at Prints as Historical/Cultural Documents</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Thematic Types of Prints Published in the Period 1830-1860</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-White Relations as seen through Congressional Documents 1830-1860</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the Image of the American Indian in Prints of the 1830 to</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 Period.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter One</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

SUMMARY OF THE PRINTS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND OF UNITED STATES INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS BEFORE 1830.

During the period from 1778, when the first Indian treaty was written between the United States and the Delaware Indians, and the outbreak of the War of 1812, the United States Government had three basic goals in the execution of Indian policy. The first was the preservation of peace. Many American Indian groups were able to muster significant military force. They tended to support the British cause because of the knowledge that the American desired their lands. During the American Revolution it was important that the Indians either remain neutral or aid in the cause of the Patriots. After the Revolution it was equally important to maintain peace. The new nation did not have the military strength to counter the effects of any major Indian campaign.¹

The second goal of American Indian policy was the creation and maintenance of a system of Indian trading houses. Beginning in 1795 the United States Government began to establish trading centers to promote trade of Indian goods, furs especially, for manufactured articles. The purpose of the trading system was twofold. By supplying the Indians with trade goods to which they had become accustomed during the colonial period the United States was discouraging the
Indians from trading with foreign nations such as France and Great Britain who still maintained active trading systems. By keeping the Indians away from foreign trade and foreign influence it was hoped that the Indians would remain friendly to the United States and not become involved in any foreign intrigues. Only secondarily was the trading system intended to supply the needs of the Indians for their general welfare.  

The third goal of United States Indian policy was the peaceful acquisition of Indian lands through the negotiation of treaties. The Indian policy of this period was based on the knowledge that Indian lands were needed for expansion due to the rapidly rising population and the desire to deal fairly with the Indians on the basis of the ideals for which the Colonies had fought during the American Revolution. By the early years of the nineteenth century the Indians were beginning to realize that the Whites' never-ending demands for further land cessions would soon drive them from the face of the country.

In addition to these three goals, the new government started a policy of furthering civilization of the Indians by encouraging domestic pursuits, such as farming and stock raising. Gifts were made of tools for agriculture and domestic animals. Missionaries were encouraged to further the prospects of acculturation through instruction in religion and in education.

Unfortunately neither negotiation of treaties nor the establish-
ment of a trading system prevented active participation of the American Indian in the War of 1812. Thomas Jefferson summarized the result of the first phase of American Indian policy.

Our negotiations with the North-Western Indians have completely failed, so that war must settle our differences. We expected nothing else, and had gone into negotiations only to prove to all our citizens that peace was unattainable on terms which any one of them would admit.\(^5\)

Again after the War of 1812 the United States Government attempted to solve the "indian problem" by means of negotiation. Treaties were used to extinguish Indian titles to lands which remained and to punish Indians defeated in battle. Tribes which resided on desirable lands were removed to new lands by means of treaties.\(^6\)

The treaty was increasingly used as an instrument with which to control the Indians during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the same time commitment of the United States to honor these treaties gradually diminished.\(^7\)

Following the War of 1812, the strong threat of European intrigue against the United States was gone. The purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803 removed the threat of Spanish and French interference. The conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent in 1815 began the rapid withdrawal of Great Britain as a possible threat to internal security. At the same time the relative military strength of the Indian nations diminished rapidly after the war, as a result of the severe losses of material and human resources during the war.\(^8\)
No longer was the strict adherence to treaty terms in the best interest of the United States. Treaties made after the War of 1812 were executed with the attitude that legal requirements stemming from accepted standards of international law were not met by the mere execution of the document itself and not by the completion of its terms. As a result, treaties in large numbers were made with various Indian nations extinguishing remaining land titles and promising goods and services in return.9

Between 1816 and 1848 twelve new states were formed and the pressure for new lands for the continuing flood of settlers was incessant. The Government could no longer even begin to enforce the promises it had made to the Indians in various treaties pertaining to the guarantee of their lands. The treaties were openly violated by the settlers and the Government did nothing to discourage this. It had neither the troops to enforce the treaties nor the desire to do so.10

The rationale for government policy permitted was summarized by one settler, John Servier:

By the law of nations, it is agreed that no people shall be entitled to more land than they can cultivate. Of course no people will sit and starve for want of land to work, when a neighboring nation has much more than they can make use of.11

The Indian trading houses were abolished May 6, 1822 and the administration of Indian Affairs passed from a central office within the Department of War. Realizing the need to recentralize the ad-
administration of Indian Affairs, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun unofficially created the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the War Department on March 11, 1824. The Secretary of War was still technically responsible for all Indian Affairs, but in actuality permitted the head of the new bureau to operate on his own, using the authority of the Secretary of War.12

Formal recognition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the relegation of necessary authority was approved by Congress July 9, 1832. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was still under the Secretary of War, but now had duly authorized authority to proceed in his activities, separate from those permitted by the Secretary of War.13

The American prints of the American Indian emerge in the early nineteenth century after most Indians were successfully removed from the northeast, and while other tribes were in the process of being removed from the southeast. During the colonial and federal periods few prints were made in America because of the few skilled American engravers and the limited American market for prints. The English print and book trade supplied most American needs.14

A second reason for the limited number of prints of American Indians produced in America prior to 1830 was the different image of the Indian held by most American as opposed to that held by Europeans. In Europe, the image of the Indian was chiefly a romantic one. Europeans purchased prints of Indians to sate their curiosity and
to amuse their imaginations. Direct contact with Indians satiated Americans' curiosity and precluded romanticism. In the early years of settlement the Indian was an intense threat to White security. Even in the early nineteenth century the memories of these early encounters were strong in the minds of many Americans. Though not all contacts with Indians were violent and unpleasant, these negative images were maintained in the memory of the American public, particularly by many editions of lurid captivity narratives.\textsuperscript{15}

Bradford F. Swan has done comprehensive research on depictions of American Indians in prints and paintings of the pre-1775 period. He summarizes the American and European image of the Indian and discusses their evolution and interaction in his article, "Prints of the American Indian 1670-1775."\textsuperscript{16}

Swan, and Ellwood Parry in his book \textit{The Image of the Indian and the blackman in American Art, 1590-1900} indicate that very few depictions of the Indian were made in America before the nineteenth century. For example, only four oil portraits of American Indians are known to have been made by artists working in America before 1775.\textsuperscript{17}

The first published depictions of North American Indians appear in the European engravings of Theodore De Bry (1528-1598) and G. Vreen, made from paintings done by Jacques Le Moyne in 1584. These were published about 1590 to illustrate an account of Laudomiere's settlement in Florida. De Bry also engraved the water colors painted
by John White on his visit to Virginia during 1585 and 1587 which were used to illustrate his *Voyage to Virginia*. Both sets of engravings depict figures of neo-classical nudes, posed in stiff and unrealistic stances, dressed as exotic American natives and engaged in exotic activities. There was little attention to ethnographic authenticity. A strange combination of Indian artifacts and White figures appear which are designed to pique the curiosity of Europeans and to show them the nature of the strange beings who inhabited the New World.¹⁸

The De Bry engravings began the image of the noble savage and provide the inspiration for this image for a considerable length of time. The De Bry engravings were reproduced in the 1705 publication, *The History of the Present State of Virginia*, by Robert Beverly, and again in the second edition of 1722.

The noble savage image persisted well into the eighteenth century. It appeared again in the print, "British Resentment, or the French Fairly Coopt at Louisberg", printed in London in 1755 and engraved by J. June. The figure of injured America was a continuation of the De Bry image of the noble savage.²⁰

A set of four very bizarre engravings appeared in Bernard Bossu's (1720-1792) "*Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*..." published in Amsterdam in 1777. Again the Indians were neo-classical nudes. Some sported feathers in their hair. Two of the prints showed an intermixture of the exoticism conveyed by the savages and the landscape, and the appearance of Christian symbolism.
in the form of an elaborately garbed priest and the cross.21

Not until American Indians began to visit Europe did a more realistic formulation of the Indian image occur. The first depiction of American Indians in Europe occurred during the 1710 visit of "The Four Kings of Canada" to England. John Faber (1684-1756) painted the Indians and Peter Schenck (1645-1715) engraved them after the paintings. For the first time the Indians looked like Indians, instead of Whites dressed as Indians. The engravings reflected the racial and individual physical features of the different Indians even though they were posed according to conventions of portraiture of the period.22

The few prints of American Indians that were produced by American printers during the period before 1830 tended to stress the sensational and unpleasant image of the Indian. An image emerges of the savage who could come out of the wilderness at any time to destroy a sheltered settler's home or to kill his women and children. Constant reports of Indian hostilities caused by the continuing encroachment of Whites on Indian lands helped to enforce this image.23

One etching produced during the War of 1812 depicted two Indians and two white men in military uniforms. One of the latter represented the American cause. He was depicted prostrate at the feet of an Indian who was lifting his scalp with a knife. The Indian's foot was placed firmly on the chest of the figure representing America. The second Indian was receiving a small bundle,
presumably containing some tribute or reward, from the figure representing the British cause. The print showed the cunning of the Indian in plotting with the British agent against the Americans. The Indian stood in the way of American progress and at the same time worked to destroy the young nation. The etching is attributed to William Charles, (1776-1820) printed about 1813 and is entitled, "Scene on the Frontier". ²⁴

Two wood engravings appeared in the 1812 publication, History of the Discovery of America, and of the Landing of our Forefathers at Plymouth, by Henry Trumball, printed in Norwich, Connecticut. These engravings indicated what happened to the image of the Indian when it was reduced to its most basic characteristics. Both of the prints clearly indicated Indian violence against Whites. One of them was untitled, but showed a group of White soldiers confronting a group of Indians with bows and arrows drawn. The other, entitled, "The Death of General Butler" showed an officer leaning awkwardly against a tree, presumably wounded, with his sword beside him on the ground and an Indian with a tomahawk raised and ready to finish the job. ²⁵

An effort was made to show ethnographic authenticity in a series of aquatint engravings which appeared in the 1824 publication, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the Saint Peter's River, written by William Keating (1799-1840) and published in Philadelphia. The six engravings in the volume dealing specifically with Indians showed portraits of Indians, of Indian customs such as burying the
dead on raised platforms and hunting buffalo. Some attention was
given to details of material culture, such as clothing, weapons and
habitations. The image created was instructive, and did not stress
the exotic or savage nature of the American Indian.26
CHAPTER TWO

LOOKING AT PRINTS AS HISTORICAL/CULTURAL DOCUMENTS

When looking at a print with the intent of gaining more than aesthetic pleasure, the viewer must be cognizant of numerous questions which need to be asked, the answers to which may greatly temper the true meaning of the image. First, one must realize, especially in a time when we are accustomed to realistic photography, movies and television, that the print was produced by means of a manual or chemical process. The results are to some extent predetermined by that process.

Second, the skill of the artist who actually created the image for the printing process materially affects the realism of the image. If the artist were not able to convey texture, proportion, perspective or composition the image would be at odds with the original subject. The degree to which the artist was skillful and used his skill toward capturing the subject determined the effectiveness of the print.

Third, the source of the image colored the artist’s ability for an accurate portrayal despite his best abilities and intentions. In most cases the artist was copying an already existing image such as a sketch or a painting. Sometimes the image that was being copied to create a print was itself a copy or even a copy of a copy.¹ (The

¹ Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.)
artistic skills of each artist involved in the process modified the realism of the finished product.) To further complicate the process, the artist who recorded the original image on canvas or on paper might have taken artistic liberties with his subject.

Artists frequently were inspired by an event or person in their creation of an image, but included details independent of the inspiration. They made fanciful compositions, taking an element from here and there and combining them in a pleasing manner, felt to be appropriate to the subject. Artists were little concerned whether or not the elements included in the design were ethnographically correct. No where is this more evident then in the nineteenth century portraits of American Indians.

George Catlin sketched hundreds of Indians while he traveled in the American west during the 1830's. He was noted for the speed with which he could record the basic details of what he saw. From his sketches he took the elements which were used in his water color paintings. Elements were arranged according to the need for active, colorful and exciting scenes, not according to ethnographic reality. Certain figures appear in several different paintings though they all came from a common inspiration.

Karl Bodmer worked in the same manner as did Catlin. He made charcoal sketches of people, things and events and later integrated them into his water color paintings. Elements were selected according to the requirements of the composition rather than their original
appearance together. 4

Likewise Seth Eastman worked from rough sketches made on location in developing a finished scene for one of his publications. His skills as a topographer aided his ability to record quickly the important details of landscapes, objects and people. 5

Beyond the rearrangement of reality which occurred between the actual scene, the first sketch and the finished painting there was further alteration when the view was transformed into a print. If the printmaker transferred what he saw directly onto the printing surface the design would be reversed in the printing process. Therefore, to compensate, printmakers created reversed composition on the printed surface.

Frequently backgrounds appearing in paintings were removed or modified when a graphic was reworked for printing. This occurred in several of the Charles Bird King portraits in preparation for reproduction in the McKenny and Hall History of the Indian Tribes of North America. Cropping also took place in these prints as in many others. Subjects were placed in smaller backgrounds or parts of the backgrounds were removed. 6 This had to do with the difficulty in developing spatial depth since few American engravers were equal to the task.

All artists, including Catlin, Bodmer, Eastman and King, to some extent rearranged not only the scenery and figures, but also artifacts and physical features to meet their needs. Artifacts were
shifted in the composition not to reflect their use but to balance the design. Some elements were removed altogether for good composition. Natural postures or poses were altered and the positions of arms were changed to accommodate the display of additional artifacts. Clothing was superimposed and rearranged as desired. Artists consciously or unconsciously used classical postures like those which appear in European engraving of Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

All of these modifications, based on artistic and technological needs, compromised ethnographic reality. The image of the American Indian was consciously developed in relation to the extent of the modifications between reality and the finished prints.

Beyond technical concerns there is always the question of why the print was executed in the first place. In a book illustration, what were the requirements of the person having the print made? What were his preconceptions of what made an Indian?

William C. Sturtevant, Curator, Department of Anthropology, The National Museum of Natural History, has stated that

After evaluating the accuracy of the depictions we can use them as evidence on the ideas of Non-Indians about Indians. The artists and publishers were working for a market, and their products must reflect this. Where deviations from accuracy are identifiable, we may search for the reasons; incompetence or carelessness, the demands of composition and current artistic convention, or the current stereotype of the buyers are the main possibilities.
When dealing with the prints as historical documents we have a potential source for interpreting the image of the American Indian in the eyes of the American public, but at the same time we are faced with an enormously complex task of sorting out exactly what it is that the print can tell us. The degree of reality obtained in the print is always wanting for the student who wishes to gather anthropological data. Again, Mr. Sturtevant summarizes the situation.

It pleases our sense of history to have an idea of the physical appearance of individuals, but the skill of the painters (and the lesser skills of the lithographic copyists) were not sufficient to meet the standards of physical anthropology. Very often a critical examination suggests that their skills were not even sufficient to portray physical appearance suitable for historical purposes. Contemporary artists were accustomed to portraying the Caucasoid physical type, and the conventions of portraiture of the time were adjusted to this. Very rarely do we find in these portraits a suggestion of the non-Caucasoid physical features that we know, from photographs and from living people to be characteristic of North American Indians.9

The major media used in the creation of images of the American Indian during the period 1830 to 1860 were steel engraving, etching, aquatint, lithograph and chromolithography, copperplate engraving, and wood engravings. Wood cuts also appear in some numbers.

The main disadvantage of the wood cut was that it permitted the artist very little fine detail or overall control of the image. The main characteristics of the image created by woodcut are the presence of bold thick lines, little shading and a stiffness not characteristic of other print media. Shading was accomplished by
spacing a series of straight lines, parallel to one another, closer or further apart depending on the density desired. The artist was severely limited in his ability to attempt any realism.\textsuperscript{10}

Copperplate engraving was executed on a soft copperplate. This was the first medium where the artist was relatively free to utilize his best artistic abilities to present a design. Intaglio lines were cut into the copperplate with painstaking care and skill by the artist using a sharp tool called a burin. Engravers working in this medium had to be well trained. The relative softness of the copperplate permitted an engraver with skill to create regular flowing lines, careful details, and realistic images. Variations in the thickness and depth of the lines engraved permitted shading, as did a variable placement of parallel or intersecting lines.\textsuperscript{11}

The main disadvantage of copperplate engraving was that relatively few good prints which could be created from a single plate. As the copperplate was placed under pressure for printing the surface of the plate was compressed causing the depth of the incised line to become shallow and lose its definition. Printed images became more and more distorted. At most only five hundred high quality prints could be created from a single copperplate engraving.\textsuperscript{12}

The wood engraving process was similar in many ways to copper engraving. Wood engraving, here, was executed on a hard end-grain wood block, usually boxwood. Fine detail was possible in wood
engraving just as in copper engraving.

Less time consuming to create and far more flexible in terms of line contour, but no better in terms of longevity of printing life was the etching. This medium was created by covering a copper-plate with an acid resistant ground. The artist then scratched through the ground to expose the copperplate in the areas in which the plate was to print. Because so little pressure was required to scratch through the ground, the artist was permitted great freedom in the execution of lines. The artist was permitted in the etching to break from the stiffness of gradual lines and to include details as required. The final stage was placing the plate in a mild acid bath which was resisted by the ground, but which slowly etched the image in the plate where the ground had been removed. Because the actual depth and width of the printing lines was created during the acid bath, the artist did not have as much control over these aspects of his production as did the copperplate engraver. Fine details which might have been lost in the acid bath could be added to an etching by conventional engraving if desired.

The aquatint process is best characterized as an etching technique which allows for more subtle tonal variation. The process was begun using copperplate. The printing side was covered with a very fine powdered resin. The fineness of the resin and the amount applied determined the texture of the printing surface. When the ground was satisfactory the plate was heated to make the resin stick.
Areas which were not to print, or to appear on the impression, were blocked out using an acid-resistant stopping out varnish. When this was accomplished the plate was dipped into an acid bath for a short time which etched the unprotected portions of the plate. These areas, when printed would have a light tone. Next those areas which were supposed to print a light tone were blocked out and the plate was again placed in the acid bath. All exposed areas were etched to a greater depth; the process was repeated until the darkest areas of the design had been etched. If desired, details could be added at any point in the etching method, by simply lightly scratching through the resin and the stop-out varnish. This method permitted the artist to obtain the sharp details available with the straight etching technique, as well as tonal variations.

Steel engravings were permitted by technological improvements in the printing process in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were far superior to etchings and copperplate engravings for jobs which required large numbers of fine impressions. The basic difference in the steel engraving process over the copper engraving process was in the kind of printing surface used. The main disadvantage of the softer copperplate was that it would soon lose its crispness in printing. By either coating the finished copperplate with steel, or by using a steel plate to begin with, the longevity of the plate was increased. The first steel plates were all steel with the surface softened in a carbon reduction process. After engraving
the steel plate was rehardened for printing. 15

When the artist engraved on steel the entire process took longer, but when done lasted longer. The artistic limits imposed on an artist by the steel engraving process ranged from comparatively unrestrained, as in copperplate process, to more restraint in terms of flowing lines and details because of the hardness of the working surface. 16

The major benefits of the lithographic process over other printing media include its flexibility in presenting infinite tonal variations as well as its cheapness of production. Preparation of the lithographic stone took different skill than was required for true engraving, greatly increasing the speed with which finished prints could be created. 17

In lithography the surface of limestone was used for the printing surface. The artist used either a special crayon, brushes or pens to apply a fatty substance to the surface of the stone. The image could be put on the stone with the same ease and quality that an artist would have if he were drawing upon paper. Lithography permitted the artist great latitude in the achievement of shading by means of infinite control of the value of the lines applied and the capability of combining solid tones with lines. 18

The grease applied to the surface of the stone combined with the lime in the stone to create lime soap. Lime soap is an insoluble
substance which will accept ink, but will repel water. The grease surface, when complete, was fixed in place, to keep it from spreading and becoming fuzzy in printing, by means of a solution of gum arabic and nitric acid. In this manner the clean surface of the stone became impervious to the effects of the grease. During the actual printing process the stone was wet, inked and then covered with the paper to be printed.19

Improvements occurred in lithography in the 1840's when chromolithography was introduced. In this process, which is identical to lithography, the main improvement was the use of several stones for printing one design. Each stone was used to print a different color on the print, and had to be carefully aligned with the others in the set during printing to assure accurate color registry.20

Prior to the development of chromolithography, print dealers customarily colored their products by hand after the actual printing had taken place. Frequently prints were available either colored or uncolored according to the price that the customer was willing to pay.21

The availability of prints appearing in the books of the 1830 to 1850 period either in color or uncolored is especially important in the case of images of the American Indian. The image created varies significantly between the colored and uncolored images which are otherwise identical. Some portfolios of Indian prints were available with or without color, such as Maximilian Wied-Neuwied's
Travels into The Interior of North America, and the differences become immediately apparent upon comparing two such illustrations. Coloring of costume, of scenery and of artifacts can either heighten the degree of realism achieved, if the colors are well selected, or can detract from the image if carelessly applied. In either case, the colors used normally are unrelated to the actual image seen by the original artist. In only a few cases did the artist who made the original image supervise the coloring of the final prints, as occurred in the Wied-Neuwied publication.
CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY OF THEMATIC TYPES OF PRINTS
PUBLISHED IN THE PERIOD 1830 - 1860

Four basic groups of prints of the American Indian were distinguished in the publications utilized in this study. The least illustrative of the groups was comprised of those prints which showed only caricatures of Indians. Actions, scenes and poses could be examined, but little attempt at realism was intended by the artists producing images in this group. At best all of the details had to be mentally added by the viewer. Frequently these details were added by the narrative which accompanied the prints. This was especially true of the prints appearing in George Catlin's (1796-1872) Letters and Notes.¹

A second group of prints depicted Indians which were really not Indians, but possessed Caucasoid physical features. This group represented a continuation of the noble savage concept. The group was best represented by the prints appearing in Henry Lewis' (1810-1904) Dus Illustrirte Mississippithal. The Indians appearing in this group were dressed in Indian garb, but the details of ethnographic objects were not always based on reality. The poses and demeanor of the subjects followed standard European conventions for portraiture.²

22

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
The third group contained the stereotype American Indian. The image included non-Caucasoid physical features, such as hooked noses and high cheek bones, exotic dress, face painting, skin clothing and feathers, and frequently showed the subjects engaged in savage activities, such as hunting, dancing and fighting. The variation in this image was surprisingly limited. More variation would have occurred if the artists were working with live subjects and attempting ethnographic reality. Rather, artists such as George Catlin and Seth Eastman were simply depicting the image of an Indian, not any specific Indian, even though the subject may be intended to portray someone specific.

The fourth group of prints contained images which were attempts at true ethnological realism. This group was the most useful for the anthropologist and the historian attempting to learn something of Indian culture. Thomas L. McKenny's (1785-1859) *Indian Tribes of North America* and Maximilian Alexander Philipp, prinz von Wied-Neuwied's (1782-1867) *Travels into the Interior of North America* were major publications of this type. However, as was stressed by William Sturtevant, even those prints which were created with the intent to show ethnographic reality normally fall short due to the artistic abilities, the nature of the print medium and the preconceptions of the artists involved. Despite the attempt at accuracy, facial expressions, poses and activities were frequently predetermined on the basis of already existing cultural or artistic conventions. One aspect of this fourth group of prints which did not appear in the other groups was the
emmmense variation in terms of physical features and costume. The publications in this group strove for ethnographic accuracy and acknowledged the emmmense variations among individuals and the different Indian nations. Physical features ranged from non-Caucasoid, as in the stereotype image, to very Caucasoid.5

Thomas Loraine McKenny, last Superintendent of the United States Government Indian Trade from 1816 to its close in 1822, and then the first Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1824 to 1830, was responsible for one of the major publications focusing on ethnographic realism. He had a strong interest in Native American culture. Though he too nursed some romantic imagery of the Indian he was fully cognizant of the Indian as an ethnographic subject. In his various government positions and in his private affairs he worked constantly for what he felt was the well-being of the Indian, whom he was convinced would soon disappear from the American continent because of the destructive force of White civilization.6

The earliest extensive publication of prints showing the Indian was that written by McKenny and James Hall and published between 1838 and 1844 under the title, History of the Indian Tribes of North American With Biographic Sketches of the Principle Chiefs. The portfolio contained one hundred-twenty hand colored lithographs of Indian portraits. The text contained a summary of Indian History in America as well as the biographical sketches on the Indian whose images appear. The text and prints did not carry a strong overlay of romanticism.7
From the start ethnographic authenticity was the intent of the artists and authors. The subjects show all of the variations in costume and physical features which were known to have existed among the various Indians nations during the time when the portraits were created. Details in the prints were excellent, and devotion to realism in clothing and body decoration is strong. The lithographers who executed the stones used in the printing were skilled and this permitted a high degree of accuracy to be carried over from the original paintings.

When evaluating the lithographs which appear in the McKenny and Hall publication there were a number of problems present. The most significant of these lies in the large number of stages which the images went through from the time they were originally painted in oil or in water color to the time that they were placed on the lithographic stones.\(^8\)

In comparing the four stages it became clear that there were many changes made from the beginning paintings to the finished lithographs. Not the least of the changes was the alteration of the original colors. Because the lithographs were hand colored, each individually, the color schemes had to be simplified. Some of the changes which occurred, however, were drastic: such as the substitution of green for red, or yellow for blue. In many cases the changes were not caused by technological restraints. The colors required were available. The changes were made for aesthetic reasons.\(^9\)
In addition to alteration of color, backgrounds which appeared in the original paintings were eliminated or simplified. Subtleties or atmospheric effects were removed. Subtle changes in coloring made reproduction easier, such as changing warm and soft textures into ones which were bright and hard. Figures were silhouetted.\textsuperscript{10}

The Indians in the lithographed portraits displayed a range of physical features, from Caucasoid to decidedly non-Caucasoid, just as did the real people. The costumes which the subjects wore vary also, and seem to be accurate according to evidence.

The Indians were artifically posed in an inactive state. Overall it was the image of the Indian, as a human being but as a race apart from that which controlled the continent, which was emphasized in the prints, not environment or culture.

Because of the expense of the publication, $120 for the three volumes, and its very limited number of copies, less than 2,000, relatively few of the McKenny and Hall prints were known to the general public in the first half of the nineteenth century. Most of the books went to Europe, to wealthy Americans, or to institutions. The impact on the image of the Indian in the general public, and on the officials in the United States Government responsible for the formation of Indian policy was minimal. The ethnographic interest in the Indian expressed in the portfolio was not widely shared.\textsuperscript{11}

A second monumental work on the Indian, also directed toward
ethnographic reality, was created by Maximilian Alexander Philipp, prinz von Wied-Neuwied of Prussia. Maximilian was trained in geology, zoology, botany, and was an amateur ethnologist. He was very interested in observing and recording all sorts of natural phenomena.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1832 he undertook an expedition to travel through the interior part of North America. Maximilian selected Karl Bodmer, a Swiss who had studied art, to accompany him as illustrator. Maximilian made careful notes while Bodmer accompanied them with an extensive body of drawings and water color paintings. Upon returning to Europe in the later 1830's Maximilian and Bodmer undertook to publish an account of their travels. The account was illustrated with aquatint engravings of the water colors done by Bodmer. The product of their efforts was published under the title \textit{Reise in das Innere Nord America in den Jahre, 1832 bis 1834} between 1839 and 1841 in Coblenz. In 1844 a second edition in English was published in London. The English edition was titled, \textit{Travels into the Interior of North America.}\textsuperscript{13}

Both Maximilian and Bodmer were attempting to show ethnographic reality in their work. This was clear in all stages of the project. Bodmer made sketches on location and then made the finished watercolors from them. Elements were combined as dictated by artistic needs. However, it was clear that the process of transferring the images from the water colors in many cases caused significant alterations. Details were lost or added for artistic composition. The
number of people involved in the process, twenty-three artists in making the aquatint engravings, made the compromise of reality almost inevitable.  

In addition to the ethnographic realism that McKenny attempted to convey in his *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* in terms of the Indians themselves, Maximilian and Bodmer were able to capture the environment and activities of the Indian. The subjects of the aquatint prints were seen in their natural surroundings, which were of the utmost importance to Maximilian, and engaged in such activities as dancing, hunting, traveling, and in their domestic settings. Artifacts used by the Indians were given special attention and illustrated in individual plates.

Because all of the editions of the Maximilian portfolio were published in Europe, less than four hundred in all, and because of their expense, there probably was not much of a market for it in America. Its more serious and scholarly nature did not attract the attention of the American market, especially in the light of the lack of success which McKenny's more glamorous publication met. In terms of the effect on the United States Government there is no reason to think that it was significant.

In examining two of the plates from the Maximilian publication, one from the English edition, which was hand colored, and one from the German edition, which was not colored, the importance of color becomes evident. In the colored version the whole texture and movement of the
composition was felt by the viewer; in the uncolored version this feeling was absent. In the uncolored version details were not picked out as in the colored edition and could easily be overlooked by the viewer.15

One of the major American artists who recorded the cultures of the Indians of North America was George Catlin. Most of his publications were executed in Europe, but were available in America. Likewise, the Indian gallery which he established to illustrate the culture of the Indian spent most of its time and received the most attention while it was in Europe. Catlin played on the exotic and romantic image of the Indian so popular in Europe during this time, but which was much more limited in the United States. This is an indication that even the romantic sensationalism captured by Catlin in his writings and paintings found little reception in the United States.16

George Catlin was interested in the American Indian and the culture of this strange group of people from his early childhood. A part of his strong and romantic interest in the Indian were the stories which he was told by his mother about Indians. She had been captured during the Wyoming Massacre of 1778 and spent some time with a group of Indians.17

Trained as a lawyer, Catlin was completely self-taught as an artist. His skills were sufficient to enable him to earn a living and establish a reputation as a competent miniaturist for a time.18
He was concerned, as was Thomas L. McKenny, with preserving images of the Indian whom he feared would soon disappear from the face of the land. In 1830 Catlin traveled west to begin what he felt was a life long pursuit, recording the life of the Indian. By the time of his return in 1838 he had recorded the images of 507 different Indians which appeared in 422 paintings. These were made from sketches created on location and notes pertaining to certain events which he observed. The commentary which appeared in his publications, like the illustrations, was not ethnographic data, but rather a series of antidotes concerning his journeys and the interesting people he met and the unusual objects and events he observed.19

The degree of realism and detail which appeared in the various Catlin publications varies greatly. In the earliest of his books, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indian*, printed in London in 1841, only a series of uncolored sketches appeared. Though these number well over three hundred, depicting scenery, events and individual Indians, because of their sketch form they were really nothing more than caricatures. For the ethnographer they are of no more use than the text, written in the form of letters from various places. As observed earlier, the *North American Indian Portfolio*, published in 1844 in London, contained much more detailed and somewhat more accurate illustrations in the form of hand colored lithographs. In the range of Catlin's work, then, his attention to detail varied from negligible to approximate ethnographic realism, as in the illustrations in the Maximilian and McKenny...
publications.20

One of the most detailed publications on the American Indian by Catlin was his Die Indianer Nord-Amerikas printed in Leipsic, Germany in 1848. This volume contained some of the most ethnographically correct depictions and dealt most intensely with the image of the Indian and his customs. The illustrations, like virtually all Catlin's illustrations, varied from sketchy details to concentration on the smallest detail. Overall Catlin was more interested in capturing the mood of the west and of the Indian than in ethnographic reporting. Romanticism and the exotic and sensational were what attracted his attention.

Catlin promoted the popular image of the Indian both in Europe and in America more than any other artist of his time. By doing this he attempted to insure himself commercial success. His colorful literary and visual depictions of the Indian fulfilled the curiosity and enthusiasm of a wide European audience, but never reached this height in America.

Both because the publications were concentrated in Europe and because they were intended for a popular audience they probably had little impact on United States Government Indian policy. Catlin never had an official connection with the Government, and his illustrations were not used in official Government publications. In fact, his offer to sell his collection of paintings and artifacts was spurned by the Government in 1852.21
The first major publication concerning the Indian sponsored by the United States Government was undertaken in the 1840's. The effort was to document Indian culture, record Indian history, and make observations on the course of American Indian policy. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864) was selected to undertake the scholarly project which was ultimately published between 1851 and 1857 in seven volumes under the title, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indians of the United States*. The project was completely financed by the United States Government and served as a resource for the Government in the conduct of Indian Affairs.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was an explorer, topographer, ethnographer and long-time agent for the American Government involved in Indian Affairs. In 1822 he was appointed as Federal agent to the tribes of the Lake Superior region. During the rest of his life he accompanied numerous expeditions to various areas of the interior of North America.

Schoolcraft knew the Indians intimately; he spent most of his life living with them. He acted as the superintendent of Indian Affairs for Michigan from 1836 to 1841, during which time he participated in the negotiations of numerous treaties with area Indian nations.

Schoolcraft was commissioned, because of his abilities in Indian Affairs and his understanding of the nature of the Indian, to
write the first comprehensive report on the Indian within the boundaries of the United States. This report took almost a decade to complete.

Schoolcraft reported every bit of information concerning the Indian past and present which he could find. He analyzed the physical features of the various Indian nations, their lifestyles, their ceremonies, their hunting and gathering practices, their technology, their religious activities, their art—in short every angle of culture. He also made careful discussions of the geographical and geological areas in which the various nations of Indians were to be found.

Accompanying the text were more than three hundred illustrations executed by seventeen different artists and firms. The prints were done by means of lithography, wood engraving and steel engraving. Consequently, the overall impact of the illustrations was far from uniform. Not only did the various media permit different impressions, but the skills of the different artists and firms involved in the production also varies.

Though the text of the study was scholarly by the standards of the day, and attempted to treat Indian history from as many angles as possible, there was still a large gap between the interpretation in the text and that which appeared in the illustrations. The logo for the publication, appearing on the cover and title page of each volume, showed an Indian brandishing a scalp. The illustrations reflected the same combination of romantic sensationalism and ethno-
graphic detail found in the work of Catlin. Extensive plates showing artifacts did help to shift the emphasis from the sensational to the ethnographic, but the impact of the most interesting plates of the Indians engaged in unusual activities and dressed in appealing costumes could be overlooked. A good number of the illustrations were handcolored, which heightened their effectiveness in the transmission of the Indian image.

The majority of the illustrations, other than of artifacts, were taken from original sketches by Seth Eastman (1808-1875). By using the work of Eastman, Schoolcraft and thereby the United States Government promoted the image of the Indian which appears in that artist's works. Many of the prints which appeared in Schoolcraft's publication had already appeared in Eastman's *American Aboriginal Portfolio*, published in 1853, or his *American Annual*, published in 1855.

Seth Eastman was a lifelong military man. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1829 and was commissioned in the Infantry. Between 1829 and his retirement in 1863 he served on both infantry and topographical assignments.

Though he was not trained as a scenic or portrait artist, he was instructed in art and perspective in his training for service in the Topographic Corps. Throughout his career Eastman continued to record the events in Indian affairs as he saw them.
One major motivation for his art, just as was the case with that of George Catlin, was for financial gain. Eastman and his wife Mary Henderson Eastman published numerous books on the Indian. The Eastmans were constantly involved in promoting the sale of drawings and paintings. The Eastmans did not fancy themselves as ethnographers, or as preservers of the American Indian. Rather, they supplied what the public demanded and would readily purchase.

The Eastmans portrayed the romantic and spectacular aspects of Indian life. Always they were advocates of progress and of White civilization, including education and religion and the civilized arts.

Further illustrations by the Eastmans appeared in *The Iris: An Illuminated Souvenir for 1852*, actually written by Mary Henderson Eastman, (1818- ?) but appearing under the name John S. Hart. The major significance of this volume, which included stories and poems pertaining to the place of the Indian in American history, was that it included twelve chromolithographs. In this case the traditional style of Eastman illustrations was coupled with technological advancements made in lithography during the 1840's and 1850's. Because the plates were intended to be printed in bright colors common in chromolithography during this period they were selected for their effect under these conditions. Just as in most of the other Eastman commentaries on Indians the impact was one of romantic sensationalism.26

The images of the plates were clearly romanticized as can be seen from the titles and subjects portrayed in the views, such as
Indian courtship and marriage customs. At the time, the book was a gift book, a token of friendship and appreciation for hospitality. The subject matter was intended to appeal to a wide and popular audience which romanticized the image of the Indian. Seth Eastman portrayed this image more than other artist of his time. The Iris reflected the popular view of the Indian in the 1850's.27

Though the United States Government was well warned of the complexities of Indian Affairs, as shown in the mass of Congressional documents summarizing the situation, it chose to promote a superficial visual image of the Indian. Official publications which record the complexities of Indian culture and Indian-White relations were illustrated with prints which portrayed the popular image of the Indian.

Beginning in the 1850's the United States Government began to illustrate Congressional reports with prints. Naturally one of the subjects which was quite important during this period was that of Indian Affairs, or more specifically of keeping the Indians at peace. One of the early reports illustrated with lithographs was entitled Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers by Captain L. Sitgreaves. The report was published by the United States Government in 1853. The set of nine tinted lithographs, after drawings by R. H. Kern, (1821-1853) depicted Indian life as seen by the agents of the United States Army in the southwest. Overall the impression given by the illustrations was of a civilized, peaceful and ignorant people. Religious symbols such as the cross and a figure of Mary and Jesus
were present in the prints, in addition to signs of White technology, which showed the advances made possible through White civilization.28

Though the artist was clearly trying to show the variation in costume and physical features of the Indians, the details were not clear. All of the Indians have non-Caucasoid physical features, but these were exaggerated. The general impact was toward ethnographic realism, but the final product fell short of this, due probably to the artist's skills rather than the nature of the medium.

The style of the original artist, and of the lithographer, indicated the indifference of the Government toward the recording of ethnographic reality. Instead the prints were intended to create moods to indicate the peaceful nature of the Indians of the southwest. The results of the report simply confirmed the progress of the American civilization program, just as did the illustrations of the Eastmans.

The popular and official images of the Indian were in close alignment during the 1830 to 1860 period. These images stressed the Indian as exotic and as uncivilized. These images served to entertain and to excite curiosity among the public. At the same time it justified the Government policies of civilization, of removal and of military conquest. The Indian was a barrier to American progress and civilization. The popular and official image of the Indian vindicated his conquest.
Gradually diminishing in numbers and deteriorating in condition; incapable of coping with the superior intelligence of the white man, ready to fall into all the vices, but unapt to appropriate the benefits of the social state; the increasing tide of white population threatened soon to engulf them, and finally to cause their total extinction. The progress is slow but sure; the cause inherent in the nature of things; tribes once numerous and powerful have disappeared from among us in a ration of decrease, ominous to the existence of those that still remain, unless counteracted by the substitution of some principle sufficiently potent to check the tendencies to decay and dissolution. This salutary principle exists in the system of removal; of change of residence; of settlement in territories exclusively their own, and under the protection of the United States, connected with the benign influences and instruction in agriculture and several mechanic arts, whereby social is distinguished from savage life.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring wrote these words in his report of November 19, 1831. In his view he had summarized the evolution of Indian-White relations from the beginning to his time. This statement followed his enthusiastic report on the progress of Indian removal.

The humane policy, exemplified in the system adopted by the Government with respect to the Indian tribes residing within the limits of the
The very concept of Indian removal would have been inconceivable a mere two centuries before. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, when the first tenuous settlements of Europeans on the eastern coast of North America were made, the American Indian was perceived as a major military threat. The early settlers found Indian military force in many areas which was impossible to challenge in view of their small numbers.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when many Indian groups were able to challenge White military strength, the image of the Indian for the settler was one of cruel suspicion. A very real struggle for land, for hunting grounds and for cultural stability forced the settler to deal directly with the Indian.

During the first period of United States Indian policy the main goals were the preservation of peace through means of treaty negotiation, trade and the promotion of White civilization among the Indian nations. The active Government policy of civilization as an expedient toward peace with the Indians from 1816 through the 1820's began to decline by 1830. Congress increasingly refused to grant monies for civilization and education projects and attempted to remove statutes requiring annual expenditures in these areas. Civilization and education of the Indian now was seen as an expensive luxury.
The use of force against the weakening Indian nations was preferred after 1830.5

The same year that the Louisiana Purchase was executed President Jefferson drafted a constitutional amendment calling for the exchange of Indian lands east of the Mississippi River for new lands recently acquired west of the Mississippi River. A similar provision permitted an exchange for White settlers who were interested in going west. Though the amendment was not successful, the concept of Indian removal west of the Mississippi River had been established as a visible plan for dealing with the Indians.6

The increasing pressure of White settlement in the first half of the nineteenth century forced the adoption of two major policies in American Indian Affairs, removal and concentration on reservations. Between 1816 and 1848 twelve new states were created. The Republic of Texas was annexed in 1845. The Oregon Country was acquired in 1846. The Southwest and California were won from Mexico in 1848. The continental boundaries of the United States were completed with the Gasden Purchase of 1853.7

The United States Government realized that it was in a position of strength in negotiating with the Indians after the War of 1812. It took full advantage of this position to pressure the Indians to give in to most demands. The Indians increasingly realized that promises made by the United States in treaties were meaningless, but had no choice but to give in or fight. Many Indian nations did both. The
most active period of treaty negotiation occurred between 1853 and 1856 when fifty-two treaties were completed, more than in any other similar period in United States history.

During the 1820's there was an increasingly strong demand, especially from the southeastern states of Georgia and North Carolina, that the Indians within this area be moved west of the Mississippi River. The states argued that they needed the lands to continue to grow economically. The vast area west of the Mississippi River, to which the Indians were to be removed, served as a dumping ground for the eastern Indians.

Most of the treaties executed between 1816 and before 1840 required that the Indians exchange their eastern lands for western lands. The intentions of the southeastern states were blatantly clear. They wanted the Indian land. They did not care how advanced the Indians had become, how civilized or how much the Indians protested. The Indians had to go. As early as 1790 the Creeks had begun to cede their lands to the United States. The Choctaws made major land cessions in 1801. The Chickasaws ceded additional lands to those previously given in 1805. The Choctaws made a major land cession in 1805.

After the War of 1812 Andrew Jackson began to use his influence to promote removal of the eastern Indians. In several treaties, ostensibly as punishment against those Indians who had participated in the hostilities against the United States, Jackson managed to obtain
significant cessions of land and the agreement that the Indians would be removed west. A large cession was extracted from the Creeks in 1814. In 1817 under mounting pressure from the state of North Carolina the Cherokee made a major land cession and agreed to exchange their lands for territory west of the Mississippi River. By the treaty of Dock's Stand negotiated in 1820 the Choctaws were forced to cede most of their remaining lands and to agree to removal. And so it went throughout the 1820's.\textsuperscript{11}

Beside demands for Indian removal which were clearly motivated by greed, there were many supporters of removal who felt that this was the only benevolent solution to the problem of the Indian being destroyed by White civilization. Thomas L. McKenny was such an individual. He felt that contamination of Indian culture and the assimilation of the Indian cultures into the White culture would eventually remove the Indian from the country. In an attempt to preserve the remnants of native culture he felt that the Indians should be removed; placed away from the Whites where they could become civilized and develop at their own pace.\textsuperscript{12}

McKenny recorded his sentiments in his reports as Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated November 1, 1828.

What are humanity and justice in reference to this unfortunate race? Are these found to lie in a policy that would leave them to linger out a wretched and degraded existence, within the districts of country already surrounded and pressed upon by a population whose anxiety and efforts to get rid of them are not less restless and
persevering, than is that law of nature im-
mutable, which has decreed, that, under such
circumstances, if continued in, they must
perish? Or does it not rather consist in
withdrawing them from this certain destruc-
tion and placing them, though even at this
late hour, in a situation where, by the
adoption of a suitable system for their
security, preservation, and improvement,
and at no matter what cost, they may be
blest?13

The policy of concentrating Indians on carefully defined re-
serves of land began sporadically during the last quarter of the
eighteenth century. As a national policy it appeared as an alterna-
tive mentioned by Jefferson in the period after the acquisition of
Louisiana. By the 1830's the policy of reservations merged with the
requirements of removal. The Indians would be removed from their
lands in the East to defined reserves in the West.14

The principle purposes for concentrating Indians on reserva-
tions were to allow the acquisition of the greatest amount of Indian
lands for White settlement and to permit the close regulation of the
Indians by agents of the United States. On reservations the policy
of civilization could more effectively be promoted than it had been
among the Indians remaining in their uncivilized environment. On
reservations the Indians would be exposed to White standards of
living and could be taught agriculture, mechanical and domestic
skills. In short, the Indian would be encouraged to modify his cul-
ture and bring it more in alignment with White culture.15

The major result of both removal and civilization policies
was the same—Indian violence. As the pressure to abandon their cultures increased the Indians rebelled. During the 1830’s and 1840’s constant skirmishes occurred between Whites and Indians in the southeast as the Indians were forced to leave their lands and remove west. Hostilities between the Seminoles of Florida and various agents of the state and federal governments were continuous during this period. As land and cultural pressures increased in the West violence became the norm. Between 1849 and 1860 hostilities between Indians in the west and agents of the United States Government were incessant.  

In an effort to counter problems of White trade and intercourse with the Indians, especially due to the illegal sale of alcohol, the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 was passed. The Act also defined the administration of Indian Affairs. No further major legislation relating to the administration of Indian Affairs occurred until after the Civil War. In 1849 when the Department of the Interior was created the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department. Though the administration of Indian Affairs had been primarily a civilian activity for a long period this action formally acknowledged its proper place.

In evaluating the course of United States Indian policy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix wrote in 1853

Experience has demonstrated that at least three serious, and to the Indian, fatal errors have been from the beginning marked in our policy towards them, viz: Their removal from place to place as our population advanced; the assignment to them
of too great an extent of country, to be held in common; and the allowance of large sums of money, as annuities, for lands ceded by them.

Our present policy, as you are aware, is entirely the reverse of that heretofore pursued in the three particulars mentioned. It is to permanently locate the different tribes on reservations embracing only sufficient land for their actual occupancy; to divide this among them in severalty, and require them to live upon and cultivate the tracts assigned them; and in lieu of money annuities, to furnish them with stock animals, agricultural implements, mechanic-shops, tools and materials, and manual labor schools for the industrial and mental educations of their youth.

Mix summarized the Indian policy of the 1830 to 1860 period and outlined the policies which would be followed in the administration of Indian Affairs in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.
Analyses of the Image of the American Indian in Prints of the 1830 to 1860 Period

CHAPTER FIVE

No events which occurred in the realm of Indian Affairs during this period had more impact on the image of the American Indian than did the atrocities committed by Indians upon Whites. The image of the American Indian which existed in the prints of the 1830 to 1860 period did not reflect the same emphasis, or for that matter any of the strongest aspects of American Indian policy. Of the over one thousand prints in thirty-one publications which were utilized in this study, less than a dozen directly related to Indian hostilities or atrocities against Whites. Through documentary evidence other than prints, including United States Congressional documents and popular literature, we know that atrocities were indeed committed with some regularity.

Accounts of Indian hostilities, depredations, battles and massacres were frequent in the publications of the period, but this image does not appear in the prints of the day. Josiah Gregg showed two prints of Indians in the process of attacking a wagon train in his Commerce of the Prairies: or the Journal of a Sante Fe Trader during Eight Expeditions published in 1844. (See Figure 1) These...
graphics, however, were not very descriptive. They simply showed a group of mounted Indians in the distance approaching the wagon train which braces for the attack. No specific acts of cruelty were included.¹

Thomas L. McKenny showed two prints in his Memoirs: Official and Personal published in 1846, which showed Whites who were held captive by Indians. (See Fig. II) In neither case were atrocities exhibited. The Indians were made to look cruel and savage, but no specific manifestations of their nature were depicted.²

Two additional instances of the image of Indians attacking white settlers going west in a wagon train appeared in the publications illustrated by Seth Eastman. In the American Aboriginal Portfolio written by his wife Mary Henderson Eastman and published in 1853, a group of mounted Indians were seen surrounding a wagon train. Again atrocities were not indicated. (See Fig. III) The illustration reappeared in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indians published by the United States Government between 1851 and 1857. The image of the settlers being attacked by the Indian was thereby placed in the official records of the United States.³

The only illustration of Indians actively engaged in battle with a group of Whites was created by Eastman. It first appeared in Schoolcraft's History and then in The American Annual: Illustrative of the Early Life of North America by Mary Henderson Eastman in 1855.
The print depicted a group of early explorers fighting with a group of Indians. In this case atrocities and the death of individuals on both sides were included. Because the event occurred centuries before the depiction, supposedly showing D'Ayllon in Florida in the sixteenth century, the details were purely conjectural. Therefore, the only depiction during the period which shows Indians and Whites engaged in battle was not based on the first hand experience of the artist, but rather on rumor of an event which occurred centuries before.

At least four separate times during the period a print depicting the taking of a scalp appeared. Three of these times, however, the illustration was identical. The image first appeared in Schoolcraft's History, contained in the second volume printed in 1852. It appeared a second time in the American Aboriginal Portfolio in 1853. The third time the image appeared was in Schoolcraft's History, this time in the sixth volume printed in 1857.

The print showed a man waving a freshly taken scalp over the body of a middle aged White male. The man brandishing the scalp was dressed in a coon-skin cap and buckskin clothing. That he was an Indian was not clear. His facial features were unquestionably Caucasoid. But the act he had committed against a White man was clearly associated with the Indian.

The same image, though not strictly speaking in print form,
served as the logo for Schoolcraft's *History*. In the center of the blue front cover of each volume was a gold embossed image of an Indian brandishing a scalp. (See Fig. VI) At his feet lay his victim. Because of the medium the details were not good, nor were they intended to be clear. The outline and the mass of the logo made the subject perfectly clear to the viewer upon first glance. The inspiration for the logo was the print by Eastman discussed above. 6

The only modification between the print and the logo of the figure brandishing the scalp was that in the latter the individual was wearing feathers rather than a coon-skin cap. The substitution of the feathers emphasized that the aggressor was intended to be an Indian. The mere appearance of this logo and the source of it was a strong indication of both the popular image of the Indian and of the official view of the Indian at the time that Schoolcraft's massive work was published.

The second image of an Indian taking a scalp appeared in Henry Lewis' *Dus Illistirte Mississippithal* published in Germany in 1857. This illustration depicted a figure, clearly an Indian from his dress and physical features, brandishing a scalp over the figure of a man. (See Fig. VII) The details, however, are insufficient to determine if the victim is an Indian or a White. 7

Several aspects of the United States civilization program during the period appeared in the prints. The benefits of religion, of
education and of the civilized arts were indicated. Pierre Jean de Smet (1801-1873) in his publication *Missions de l'Oregon* published in Paris in 1848, furthered the image of the Indian in the process of civilization. He showed three prints relating to the progress of civilization, specifically that promoted by the effects of religious missionaries. The prints showed a mission church in the wilderness, the interior of the church with Indians present, and a group of missionaries overseeing the construction of a White form of settlement in the wilderness in the sight of Indian tents.8 (See Fig. VIII) Thomas L. McKenny in his *Memoirs* showed the interior of an Indian school. (See Fi. IX) The Indian children were seen inside a white building, dressed in civilized clothing and being educated in a civilized manner.9

The benefits of civilization and of white technology were indicated in the plates which appeared in the United States Army *Report on an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers*, published in 1853. These plates showed Christian symbols indicating the influence of religion. They showed primitive methods of technology, such as grinding corn by hand, contrasted with White technology in the form of a blacksmith shop. The Indians were seen as peacefully adopting the best aspects of White civilization.10 (See Fig. X)

The long process of Indian removal which occurred during the 1830's was not even hinted at in the image of the Indian portrayed in prints. As the Indians were concentrated on reservations under
the influence of White civilization they experienced drastic alterations in their cultures. Only a few prints depicted Indians in a reservation setting. Most of the prints depict not reservations, but agencies, areas where groups of Indians were gathered under White supervision. Other prints showed Indians under the influence of Whites illustrated treaty negotiations or Indians receiving annuities.

The strongest images of the Indian associated with United States agents appeared in the United States War Department Report of 1855-1860, Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. The prints showed the Indians camped around Army Agents, engaged in talks and basically peaceful. (See Fig. XI) This image, though uncommon in prints, was quite common in official reports of the period. 11

Aside from the few prints showing the distribution of annuities, also appearing in the previous report, no image of the administration of Indian Affairs appeared.

A small group of prints depicted the Indian watching the progress of civilization as it overtook his wilderness land. The most significant of these prints appeared in Lewis's publication of 1855. By far the largest number of prints in the publication were devoted to the scenery of the American west and the settlements which existed during the time of the artist's visit. In a number of these prints, which showed small White settlements encroaching a panoramas of
wilderness land, there was the tiny figure of an Indian in the foreground. (See Fig. XII) Presumably this romantic image showed the Indian watching as civilization crept closer and closer to his home. Possibly he wonders at the abundance and strength of the White. The Indian in Lewis' image must have been wondering what was to become of his culture in the face of the constant encroachment of a technologically advanced and aggressive white culture.12

A very large number of prints published during the period were portraits of American Indians. The largest group of these are the one hundred and seventeen hand colored lithograph portraits which appeared in Thomas L. McKenny and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. The subjects were depicted out of their natural surroundings on a visit to Washington. The details which appeared were only of the people themselves and of the artifacts which they brought with them. (See Fig. XIII) Other series of prints which featured extensive portraiture included the Wied-Neuwied, *Travel into the Interior of North America* (See Fig. XIV) and several of the publications of George Catlin, including his *Letters and Notes*.13

There was little indication in the Congressional documents of the United States on Indian relations that these prints had any effect on policy. Overall the Indian was not treated as an individual, but was thought of as an amorphous mass, savage and ignorant. Official policy seldom allowed for the differentiation between the tribes,
either in terms of their cultural needs or their degree of civilization. An example of this lack of recognition of diversity was promoted during the removal of the "Five Civilized" tribes from the southeast. Though many of the Indians were successful farmers, as successful or even more so than their White neighbors, policy stated that the Indians were to be removed from the east. Their hunting and gathering way of life was not properly utilizing the land. The good lands in the east were to be given to White farmers who could properly use them. Despite the degree of civilization of the Indians in the southeast they were removed westward.  

Approximately equal attention was focused on portraits of American Indians and of the depictions of scenes documenting material culture and costumes. The main thrust of the scenes, depicted most extensively in the works of George Catlin and Seth Eastman, was romantic sensationalism. The Indians were shown engaged in exotic activities and dressed in colorful clothing. The image of the Indian as a curiosity, an exotic and uncivilized being, was continued from the sixteenth century tradition begun with the engravings of De Bry.  

Colorful, active scenes of Indian activities caught the imagination and curiosity of the public more than did the portraits. They contributed more to the popular image of the Indian than did any other group of prints. The sensational customs and material culture of the Indian were exciting to the public and this emotional rather than rational impression strongly affected the image of the
Indian. Rather than as individuals, Indians were thought of as a part of a savage mass, all of one kind, not diverse in physical type or representative of many nations and cultures.

To a lesser extent ethnographic documentation was accomplished in the scenes. This was especially true in the prints appearing in Maximilian Philipp, prinz von Wied-Neuwied's *Travels through the Interior of North America*. Certain aspects of life were recorded, though normally only the most spectacular, such as dancing, hunting, playing ball, and battling. Material culture, though not the main interest of Catlin or Eastman was also depicted with varying degrees of accuracy. 15
CONCLUSION

The image of the American Indian which appeared in the prints of the period 1830 to 1860 did not accurately reflect the image of the Indian found in other documentary sources. The most important aspects of American Indian policy, such as the process of removal west, were not even hinted at in the prints. Rather, the majority of the prints reinforced the image of the Indian as exotic, uncivilized, different, and a barrier to White civilization. This image was actively followed by the American public as well as by those in the United States Government who formulated Indian policy.

Little effort appeared in the popular or government publications to reach a "true likeness" of the Indian either in his physical appearance or his culture. The few publications which were truly concerned with scientific and ethnographic accuracy were expensive and reached a limited audience. They had little impact on public opinion or government policy.

The culture of the Indian was not accepted as simply different from that of Whites, but rather as inferior and "threatening." Because of this the Indian had to be civilized and improved, requiring the needs of the White culture and the American nation to take precedence over those of the inferior culture. Because the Indian culture was inferior most Americans accepted the right of the superior
White culture to take the lands and resources of the Indian. If the culture of the Indian was destroyed in the process this was accepted as unavoidable and even beneficial. In this way the Indian could begin to rise to the cultural level of the White conqueror.
NOTES - PREFACE


NOTES - CHAPTER ONE


5. Horseman, p. 98.


7. Prucha, pp. 213-249; Rogen, pp. 206-250; Tyler, pp. 57-59.

8. Tyler, pp. 48-49.


10. Hoopes, pp. 15-34; Tyler, pp. 48-49.

11. Tyler, p. 49.


13. Tyler, pp. 52-53.


Parry, pp. 1-7; Swan, pp. 241-259.

Swan, pp. 259-262.

Swan, p. 262.

Jean Bernard Bossu, Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentoriale (Amsterdam: Changuion, 1777), pp. Frontispiece, 102, 148, 162.


Parry, 60, William Charles Etching, "A Scene on the Frontier as Practiced by the Humane British and Their Worthy Allies", c. 1813-1815.

Trumbull, pp. Frontispiece, 154.

NOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1When the lithographic copyists Albert Newsman and Albert Hoffy created the stones for Thomas L. McKenny and James Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America* they copied oil paintings by Henry Inman made after the original oil paintings by Charles Bird King. Among the King portraits were some which had already been copied from watercolor paintings by James Otto Lewis. Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (The City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press), 1976, pp. 55, 69, 75, 80.

2Karl Bodmer made sketches in charcoal on location, then later made watercolor paintings. Many of these were not finished because of the knowledge that they would have to be reworked in making the aquatint engravings for publication. Elements from the sketches were combined freely and used over and over as needed. Davis Thomas, *People of the First Man* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1976), pp. 10-11.


4Thomas, pp. 10-11.


6This is evident in the different states of Charles Bird King's portrait of Hoowawnneka done in 1828, when comparing it with the Henry Inman copy, c. 1834 and the lithograph in the McKenny and Hall publication. In the first state the subject's right hand and streamers hanging from the right arm are cropped off; in the Inman copy they are cropped less. In the lithograph the hand and the streamers appear in their entirety and the textured background appearing in the first two states is eliminated. Andrew Consentino, *The Paintings of Charles Bird King* (1785-1862) (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977), pp. 9-10.
For example, Charles Bird King eliminated the bow which appeared in the original James Otto Lewis portrait of Jackopa when he copied it. The body was redrawn, the clothing was rearranged and the coloring was modified in the King copy. Peter C. Marzio, Perfect Likenesses (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977), p. 8.

Marzio, p. 13.

Marzio, p. 13.


Brunner, pp. 81-84; Curwen, pp. 24-29.

Brunner, p. 84; Curwen, p. 29.


Brunner, pp. 143-150; Curwen, pp. 35-37; Wilder, pp. 144-147.


Berry, p. 214; Brunner, p. 84; Curwen, p. 38.


Brunner, pp. 300-301; Curwen, pp. 60-61; Marzio, "Lithographic Technology", pp. 222-223.
Eighteenth Century print sellers charged twice the price of uncolored prints for their colored prints. For example, in the Sayer and Bennett Catalogue of Prints for the Year 1775 (Reprinted by Holland Press, London, 1970), pages 34 to 55 list "Fine Prints in Sets", most were available either colored or uncolored. The colored prints cost twice as much as did the uncolored prints.

Maximilian Alexander Philipp, prinz von Wied-Neuwied, first published his Travels into the Interior of North America in a German edition produced at Coblenz between 1839 and 1841. This contained only scattered hand colored aquatint engravings, the remainder were uncolored. When the book was printed in English in London during 1843 all of the plates were hand colored under the supervision of the original artist Karl Bodmer. Bodmer signified his approval of each finished print by stamping it with a seal bearing his name toward the lower edge of the image area.
NOTES - CHAPTER THREE


2Henry Lewis, Dus Illistrirte Mississippithal (Dusseldorf: Arnz and Company, 1857).


4Supra, p. 23.


7The portfolio was issued in twenty parts, each containing six hand colored lithographs and costing $6.00. The edition was elephant folio. The price for the complete subscription, which was the only manner in which it was originally available, was a staggering $120.00.

8There were two major sources for the original images. Most of them were first recorded in oil by Charles Bird King, (1785-1862) a competent Washington portrait painter. He had been instructed by Edward Savage, Benjamin West and Thomas Sully. Between 1821 and 1844
he painted 143 portraits of Indians visiting Washington for the United State Government.

The second source for the 1799-1858 images was the series of watercolor portraits done by James Otto Lewis in the west. Lewis was the first artist in the Michigan Territory. He was commissioned by the Government to paint portraits of local Indians. Lewis's skills as an artist were not as well developed as were King's, but he was the only artist available. At least twenty-six Lewis paintings were subsequently repainted by King or his student George Cooke, making them conform with the other oils. The oils of the Lewis paintings therefore were already in a second state.

When the decision was made by McKenny that the portraits would be incorporated as the major portion of his work on the American Indian the next state of the portraits was stimulated. They were copied by Henry Inman, (1801-1846) a portrait artist working for the lithographic firm which was to execute the commission, so that they could be kept on hand for lithographic copying.

The resulting portraits, in oil, by Inman represented a combination of the second and third states of the images. Those that had originally been done by King were now in a second state; those which King or Cooke had copied from Lewis were now in a third state. The Inman portraits were copied by the lithographic artists onto the stones for printing. Albert Newsman (1809-1864) executed least forty-two of these, and most of the rest were done by Alfred Hoffy (c. 1790 - ? ). The images on the stones represented the third and fourth states depending on their original source, King or Lewis.


9 Marzio, pp. 1-12.
10 Marzio, pp. 1-12.
11 In commenting about the public reception of the History its co-author James Hall states: "The large and expensive form of the work ($120.00 for the whole), has confined it to public libraries or to the collections of wealthy persons, so that it is not known in the literature of the country." Viola, Charles Bird King, pp. 64-87.
Because of the expense of the aquatint illustrations the number of prints was limited in relation to the number of images which Bodmer had recorded on the journey. Eighty-one illustrations were included in both the German and English editions; fifty-two pertain to the American Indian, the remained show the landscape of the American west.

Following is a list of artists who were involved in the preparation of the aquatints for the publication:

- Allais
- Aubert
- Beyer
- Beyer and Hurliamann
- Beyer and Weber
- Collet and Hurliamann
- Desmadryl
- Du Casse
- Du Casse and Doherty
- Geoggry
- Himely
- Hurliamann
- Leaderer and Hurliamann
- Legrand and Hurliamann
- Lschoke and Hurliamann
- Manceau
- Manceau and Hurliamann
- Outhwaite
- Prevost
- Rollet
- Salathe
- Salathe and Hurliamann
- Talbot
- Taxerneir
- Tschokke
- Vogel
- Weber

Plates which well exemplify these points are those numbered Tab 9 in both editions and entitled, "Bison Dance of the Mandan Indians". In many ways these particular plates are representative of Maximilian and Bodmer's abilities as ethnographic reporters. The illustration includes scenery in the background and one of the many important rituals of the Mandan material culture. The Indians are shown dressed in their ceremonial costumes, with all of their ritual paraphernalia. The movements which they follow in the dance are well documented.

In the colored edition the details of the objects pictured are clear. The modern ethnographer can easily determine the forms and materials of the objects. Body paintings of the Indians is easy to determine. The hair styles and facial characteristics of the subjects are clear.

In the uncolored version, however, the scientific worth is seriously compromised. Many of the careful details, picked out for the viewer's eye in the colored version, are almost totally lost in the uncolored version. The medium of the aquatint, though permissive in terms of shading over many of the other media, was still limited. It was the presence of color, in addition to graphic design, which permitted the artist to approach ethnographic reality.
Among Catlin's acquaintances were Charles Wilson Peale and Thomas Sully. Catlin was most influenced by the work of Sully. By 1824 Catlin's skills were recognized as worthy of his election to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. In 1828 he was invited to exhibit twelve of his paintings at the American Academy of Fine Arts.

Catlin once said of his life in Philadelphia during this period that he was "...continually searching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole lifetime of enthusiasm". As one of his many projects he painted the Indian leader Red Jacket in 1826, his first Indian subject. In 1829 he again painted Indians, this time several Iroquois, Mohegans and Ottowas. About this time he must have decided that documentation of the life of the American Indian was the life long project which he sought.

An excellent example of the romantic thrust of Catlin's publications is the caption to any one of the plates appearing in the 1844 publication Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio. One plate, titled "An Osage Warrior" reads

An Osage Warrior from a southern latitude, entirely primitive in his habits and dress; his head is shaved, and ornamented with the graceful crest manufactured from the hair of a deer's tail and horsehair, (a uniform custom of this tribe) his robe of the buffalo's hide, with the battles of his life emblazoned on it; his necklace made of claws of the grizzly bear; his bow and quiver slung upon his back; and his leggings fringed with scalp locks taken as trophies from the heads of his enemies slain by him in battle.
Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, the Actual Source of this River . . . (New York: Harper, 1834); Notes on the Iriquois; or Contributions to American History, Antiquities and General Ethnology (Albany: E. H. Pease, 1847); Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American frontier. . . (Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975); The Red Race of America (New York: Wm. H. Graham, 1848).

24Eastman, Portfolio; Annual.


27The list of plates in the Iris includes:

1. Presentation Plate
2. Landing of William Penn
3. Illuminated Title Page
4. List of Illustrations
5. We-Har-Ka
6. Laughing Waters
7. Indian Courtship
8. Sounding Wind
9. Indian Marriage Custom
10. Mission Church of San Jose
11. Wenona's Leap
12. Fall of St. Anthony

The publication was re-issued in 1853 under the title, Romance of Indian Life by Mary Henderson Eastman. The title of the second edition makes more explicit the spirit of the images created in the illustrations in the text.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
NOTES - CHAPTER FOUR


6 Prucha, pp. 213-249; Rogin, pp. 206-248; Tyler, pp. 54-55; Viola, pp. 200-202.


8 Rogin, pp. 165-205; Tyler, pp. 54-74.

9 Prucha, pp. 227-247; Rogin, pp. 165-248; Viola, pp. 200-222.

11 Prucha, pp. 233-259; Rogin, pp. 165-205; Tyler, pp. 56-60; Washburn, vol. , pp.

12 Rogin, pp. 216-217; Viola, pp. 201-222.


14 Hoopes, pp. 40-41, 236-238; Prucha, p. 13; Tyler, pp. 71-74.

15 Hoopes, pp. 236-238.

16 Hoopes, pp. 235-238; Rogin, pp. 145-164.


NOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

1 Josiah Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies, or the Journal of a Sante Fe Trader during Eight Expeditions Across the Great Western Prairies and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico* (New York: H. G. Langley, 1844), "Indian Attack on the Cimarron River" and "Camp Comanchee".


6 Schoolcraft, covers volumes 1-7.


9 McKenny, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 32a, "Indian School".


71

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Though the romantic image of the Indian watching the progress of White civilization is not well developed in the prints, it was well represented in American academic paintings of the first half of the nineteenth century. John Vanderlyn included a tiny figure of an Indian in his painting, "A Distant View of the Falls of Niagara", 1804. This painting was subsequently reproduced in steel engravings by J. Merigot. John Trumbull also included a small Indian in the foreground of his painting, "Panorama of Niagara Falls from under Table Rock", 1808. Thomas Cole included a small Indian in his landscape painting, "A Distant View of Niagara Falls", 1829.

Ellwood Parry states that the "displacement or disappearance of the Indians from the land became a major nineteenth century theme, contrasting the once free and happy state of the noble savage with the sad idea of his imminent extinction. Ellwood Parry, The Image of the Indian and the Black in American Art 1590-1900 (New York: George Braziller, 1974), pp. 54-59.


Catlin, Letters and Notes: North American Indian Portfolio (London: George Catlin; 1844); Die Indianer Ned Amerikas (Brussels: C. Maquart, 1848); Seth Eastman, The Aboriginal Portfolio: The American Annual.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
Primary Sources

Bossu, Jean Bernard (1720-1792) Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, contentant une collection des lettres ecrites sur les lieux, par l'auteur; a son ami, M. Dowin... ci-devant son camarade dans le Noveaux monde Par M. Bossu...Amsterdam: Changuion, 1777.

Carver, Jonathan, Three years travels through the interior parts of North America, for more than five thousand miles; containing an account of the Great Lakes, and all the... north-west regions of that vast continent...Together with a concise history of the genius, manners, and customs of the Indians inhabiting the lands that lie adjacent to the heads; and to the westward of the great river Mississippi; and an appendix, describing the uncultivated parts of America that are the most proper for farming settlements, Philadelphia: Key & Simpson, 1798.

Catlin, George (1796-1872), Catlin's North American Indian portfolio. Hunting scenes and amusements of the Rocky Mountains and prairies of America. From drawings and notes of the author, made during eight years travel amongst forty-eight of the wildest and most remote tribes of savages in North America, London: George Catlin, 1844.


Catlin, George (1796-1872), Catlin's notes of eight years' travels and residence in Europe, with his North American Indian Collection. With anecdotes and incidents of the travels and adventures of three different parties of American Indians whom he introduced to the courts of England, France and Belgium, @2nd ed., London, The Author: 1848.
Catlin, George (1796-1872). *Illustrations of the manners, customs & condition of the North American Indians.* With Letters and notes; written during eight years of travel and adventure among the wildest tribes now existing. By George Catlin, with three hundred and sixty coloured engravings from the author's original paintings. London: Henry C. Bohn, 1866.


Catlin, George. *Letters and Notes on the manners, customs and condition of the North American Indians.* By George Catlin. Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America. In 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39...London: Published by the author; printed by Tooswill and Meyers, 1841.


Gregg, Josiah (1806-1850). Commerce of the prairies: or the journal of a Santa Fe trader during eight expeditions across the great western prairies and a residence of nearly nine years in northern Mexico...New York: H. G. Longley, 1844.

Heap, Gwinn Harris. Central route to the Pacific from the valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the expedition of E. F. Bale...and Gwinn Harris Heap, from Missouri to California, in 1853. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1853.

Hennepin, Louis. A new discovery of a vast country in America, extending above four thousand miles, between New France & New Mexico; with a description of the Great Lakes, cataracts, rivers, plants, and animals. Also, the manners, customs, and language of the several native Indians; and the advantage of commerce with those different nations...London: Printed by Henry Bonwicks, 1699.

James, Edwin (1797-1861), comp. Account of an expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the years 1819 and '20, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, secy of war: under the command of Major Stephen H. Long, From the notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say, and other gentlemen of the exploring party. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822-23.

Kane, Paul (1810-1871). Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America, from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon, through the Hudson's Bay company territory and back again. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859.


McKenny, Thomas L. Memoirs, Official and Personal, Sketches of Travels among the Northern and Southern Indians; Embracing a War Excursion and Description of Scenes along the Western Borders, Vols. 1 & 2. New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846.

Mears, William (1756-1809). Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the north west coast of America. To which are prefixed, an introductory narrative of a voyage performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the Ship Nootka; observations on the probable existence of a northwest passage, and some account of the trade between the north west coast of America and China, and the later country and Great Britain. London: 1790.

Murray, Sir Charles Augustus (1806-1895). Travels in North America during the years 1834, 1836 & 1836. Including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians, in the remote prairies of the Missouri, and a visit to Cuba and the Azore Islands. New York: Harper & Bros., 1839.
Ogden, Peter Skene (1794-1854). *Traits of American Indian life & character by a fur trader*. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1933; (The original edition published in London in 1853 was issued without plates); (Illustrations are from Father De Smet's *Mission de l'Oregon*, 1848.)


Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe (1793-1864). *Narrative of an expedition through the upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, the actual source of this river; embracing an exploratory trip through the St. Croix and Burntwood (or Broule) Rivers in 1832*. New York: Harper, 1834.


Trumball, Henry. *History of the discovery of America, of the landing of our forefathers, at Plymouth, and their most remarkable engagements with the Indians, in New England, from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1679*. Norwich: Printed by James Springer, for the author, at his office, 1812.

United States War Department. Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Made under the direction of the secretary of war, in 1853-1856. Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1855-1860.

White, George (1802-1887). Historical collections of Georgia: containing the most interesting facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes etc. relating to its history and antiquities, from its first settlement to the present time. Comp. from original records and official documents. Illustrated by nearly one hundred engravings. . . New York: Pudney & Russel, 1854.


Secondary Sources


Lorentz, Stefan, ed. The new World, the first pictures of America made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne...New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946.


Articles


83


Figure I
"Indian Attack on the American Rivers", from Josiah Gregg's, *Commerce on the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader during Eight Expeditions Across the Great Western Prairies and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico."
Figure II
Figure III
"Emigrants Attacked by the Commanches", from Mary Henderson Eastman's, The American Aboriginal Portfolio, plate 33.
Figure IV
Figure V


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Figure VI
Figure VII

From Henry Lewis', Illustried Mississippial, P. 144a.
Figure X
Figure XI
"Distributing of Goods to the Gros Ventres", from the United States War Department's, Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, Supplement to Vol. 1, p. 78.
Figure XIII
"A Fox Chief", from Thomas Loraine McKenny and James Hall's, The History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principle Chiefs, plate 36.
Figure XIV
From Maximilian Alexander Philipp, von Wied-Neuwied's, *Travels into the Interior of North America.*