



Indian Kings & Councillors

American Scene

American Scene

Published By
THE THOMAS GILCREASE
INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN
HISTORY AND ART

R.R. 6, TULSA, OKLAHOMA 74106

PAUL A. ROSSI Editor
MARY ELIZABETH GOOD . . . Managing
Editor
DAVID C. HUNT Associate Editor
MARIE KEENE Editorial Assistant
OLIVER WILLCOX Photographer
WILLIAM PATTERSON Designer
TULSA LITHO CO., INC. . . . Lithographer
LINDSAY ALEXANDER Magazine
Committee Chairman

Vol. XIII, No. 2 of the American Scene, published and copyrighted by the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, an Oklahoma Corporation. A \$10.00 membership in the Institute entitles the member to four issues of the magazine along with other membership privileges, regular subscription \$5.00 per year. Single issues \$1.25.

© The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, 1972.

THE THOMAS GILCREASE
INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY
AND ART
FOUNDED BY THOMAS GILCREASE

PAUL A. ROSSI
DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE INSTITUTE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

JAMES C. LEAKE Chairman
GORDON T. HICKS President
MRS. ROGER DEVLIN Vice President
PAUL JOHNSON Vice President
LINDSEY ALEXANDER Vice President
CHARLES GANNAWAY Secretary
VIRGIL S. TILLY, JR. Treasurer

cover: *Cunne Shote, Cherokee Chief*;
oil portrait on canvas by Francis
Parsons, 1762.



Indian Kings & Councillors

by
DAVID C. HUNT
Gilcrease curator of art



A brief and experimental discourse on the character & appearance of the Aboriginal American, as seen through the eyes of contemporary observers in the seventeenth & eighteenth centuries.





Christopher Columbus's discovery of primitive man in the New World, and Captain James Cook's subsequent encounters with the natives of the South Pacific, greatly excited Europeans of their respective periods. Contact between European sailors and the dark peoples of

distant lands was regarded as one of great significance on both sides, and Europe's courts and capitals played host to many visitors from across the seas during that age when Spain, England, and France competed for commercial advantage in a rapidly widening world.

Indian chieftains from the wilds of America were to be seen with increasing frequency in the maritime centers of European trade throughout the seventeenth century, as various governments sought the friendship of those whose homelands they hoped to encompass. Iroquois councillors and Cherokee "kings" were presented to European monarchs with much pomp and ceremony; while in the taverns and the drawing rooms of less formal folk, the *Noble Savage* was studied, admired, and frequently memorialized in verse and picture.

The active alliance of several tribes occupying portions of the North Atlantic seaboard figured importantly in contests between warring European factions in America during the eighteenth century. So too, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, interest in the political affiliation of those inhabiting the vast wilderness regions beyond the Alleghenies, the Ohio, and the Mississippi manifested itself in Washington.

Shortly after the founding of the United States of America, representatives of that government were sent to negotiate with various Indian groups for large tracts of western land. And, as solemn missions from the Americas once had been carried abroad to foreign courts, so delegations from among the Ojibway, Winnebago, Sioux, Fox, Omaha, Pawnee, and others made their way eastward to talk of treaties and of trade with the vigorous new power pressing in upon their untamed frontiers.

Several artists in and about Washington established themselves as Indian portraitists during this early

period in the life of the Republic. First among these was Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin, French-born profilist and miniature painter, who was active chiefly in the East from 1804 to 1809, before returning home to France. More famous today, perhaps, is Charles Bird King, a native Rhode Islander, who captured the likenesses of Indian visitors to the Capitol at the request of Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1816 to 1830.

Besides his official portraits, King made replicas of his work for his own collection, and many of his pictures later were reproduced as lithographs in the history of the Indian tribes published by McKenney and Judge James Hall in 1837-44. Of the importance of these to the modern student of history or ethnology, editor Frederick Webb Hodge remarks in the preface to the reprint of McKenney and Hall's history (Edinburgh, 1933):

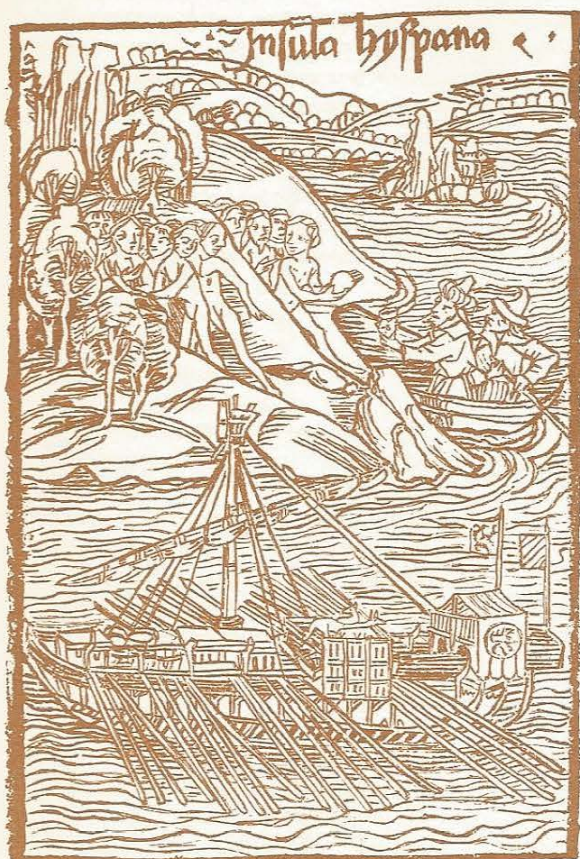
"The value of the great work of McKenney and Hall lies chiefly in the fact that it records the features of numerous Indians . . . faithfully reproduced from portraits painted from life, by far the most of which were subsequently destroyed by fire."

Indian portraits by artist James Otto Lewis also were obtained at this time. Commissioned by the U.S. Government to observe Indian councils in Wisconsin and Illinois, Lewis may have produced some pictures for Thomas McKenney's *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (Baltimore, 1827), when McKenney was with Michigan Governor Lewis Cass at Lake Superior to negotiate a treaty with the Chippewa.

Lewis published his own *Aboriginal Portfolio* in ten serial parts in 1835-6. None of his original portraits are now available for study, however, and we must content ourselves with viewing them through surviving lithographs in various states, many plates having been drawn by different lithographic artists for different printers.

Hodge is less complimentary with respect to the delineations of J. O. Lewis, describing them as being no better than caricatures. Ethnologist Martin Weitenkampf, on the other hand, in a pamphlet entitled "Early Pictures of North American Indians" (New York, 1950), quotes H. H. Peckham as saying that Lewis's work represents "by far the finest and largest effort to portray the Indian of the Central West to that

De Insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis



Woodcut featured in Carlos Verardus's *De Insulis In Mari Indico* (Basel, Switzerland, 1494).

All factual and illustrative material incorporated or reproduced in this issue is derived from sources contained in the collections of the Gilcrease Institute.

time," adding with reference to the *Portfolio* that "the only disadvantage to the book, historically speaking, is that the Indians are dressed up to have their pictures painted, . . . and probably never looked that way again."

Except for those executed by the natives themselves, and surviving for the most part today in Central America or the southwestern United States, almost all the earliest known representations of American Indians are to be found in books, and thus may be of more interest to bibliographers than to the ethnologist or art historian. Certainly, among the first of European attempts to depict people in the New World—if not the very first—are in the form of wood engravings featured in Carlos Verardus's *De Insulis In Mari Indico* published in Basel, Switzerland, in 1494, an original copy of which is preserved in the Gilcrease Library.

Other publications in Latin or Spanish, and dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, also preserve pictorial impressions of the inhabitants of the Indies, such as those in Oviedo y Valdes's *La Historia de las Indias* (1535). At least some pictures of this sort are believed to have been drawn or engraved from descriptions obtained from eye-witnesses; although most are doubtless wholly imaginary renderings of figures drawn from classical European models.

The first authenticated European studies from life of North American Indians are those attributed to Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and an Englishman by the name of John White, both of whom produced pictures of native American culture at about the same time. Le Moyne visited America with Laudonniere's expedition to the Carolinas in 1564, and was one of the few survivors of the Huguenot settlement on the St. John's River destroyed by the Spanish in 1565.

Returning to Europe, he settled in England instead of his native France, and became attached to the household of Elizabethan adventurer Sir Walter Raleigh. Little else is known of Le Moyne, except that British historian Richard Hakluyt, in writing of the exploits of the French in America, mentions "divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillful painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Blackfryers in London." It is thought that this James Morgues was Jacques Le Moyne.

John White accompanied Raleigh in 1585 as a mem-



ber of that first contingent of English settlers to Virginia, and recorded his views of the America at that time. In 1587 he returned as governor of the Roanoke Island colony with a married daughter, who gave birth shortly afterward to Virginia Dare, first English child born in what is now the United States.

That same year, White sailed for England on official business, and did not see the New World again until 1590, when he returned to Roanoke to find that the entire colony had vanished unaccountably in the interim. Twenty-three of his studies of Indian life in the Virginia wilderness were engraved and published in Frankfort by Flemish printer Theodore DeBry in 1590-1, and reprinted many times along with those of Le Moyne in subsequent volumes dealing with European exploration in the Americas.

Books on this increasingly popular subject, and printed in English, French, Dutch, and German, were published throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reflecting the national interests of those governments sending expeditions to investigate the new found world across the Atlantic. In many of these, pictures of the American Indian figure prominently. Champlain's *Voyages et Decouvertes Faites en La Nouvelle France* (1619) features several plates of Indians that can generally be identified as such, despite a certain lack of definite racial characteristics; and Ducreux's history of Canada published in 1664 provides a few more details respecting dress and personal equipment.

John Ogilby's *America, Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World* (London, 1671), deals mainly with conditions in Mexico and Peru, and copperplate engravings of scenes and figures apparently derived as much from fancy as from fact. The 1698 English edition of Father Lewis Hennepin's account of his travels through the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi Valley also supplies the reader with pictures of Indians rather more suggestive than definitive in nature—the more important illustration in this book being what is regarded by many as the earliest known picture of Niagara Falls.

The French edition of Hennepin's travels also features engravings, although of an inferior sort from the technical standpoint. On the other hand, the Baron

de Lahontan's *New Voyages to America*, published in English in 1703, contains several excellent plates descriptive of Indian customs and activities in what is today northern New York and Ontario.

Unpublished for some 230 years, the Gilcrease album of drawings entitled "*Les Raretés des Indes*," and attributed to a French-Canadian cartographer named Charles Becard de Granville, reveals many aspects of Indian life at the close of the seventeenth century otherwise unaccounted for in similar reports of that period. Dealing with tribes living within the

same general area as that explored by Hennepin and Lahontan, these sketches do not represent much more than antique characterizations of general Indian types; yet they do for the natives of the northwestern interior what the drawings of Le Moyne and White did for the Atlantic coastal tribes.

It is not known why the artist produced this documentary, or if it may have been intended for official review or publication. Nevertheless, it represents one of the earliest known series of first-hand delineations of the Indians of Upper New York and Canada extant.

Detail of copperplate engraving, opposite, is supposed to represent an aboriginal inhabitant of Virginia; by Theodore DeBry after John White, ca. 1590.

The detail at right is from an original line drawing attributed to Charles de Granville, showing what is probably an Algonquin Indian of Upper New York, ca. 1700.





As a subject for scientific or philosophical study, the American Indian occupied the attention of numerous individuals in both Europe and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pictures of Indians continued to appear along with written descriptions of all sorts; and although not always presenting the true character of the savage, such reports found a receptive audience throughout Europe.

Many accounts dealt with the progress of the Gospel among the Indians, or the outcome of various Indian wars in New England, New York, and Virginia, the latter often illustrated with crude scenes and diagrams of Indian "forts" and settlements. Where, in some instances, the engraver got his information for the

details incorporated into such pictures is not known; but in such cases the need was felt to have some kind of pictorial material in order to supply, as artist John Webber phrased it with respect to his drawings of the natives of the Pacific Northwest, "the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts."

One of the questions that troubled contemporary intellects was that of the origin of the native American. This was a matter speculated upon for many years, until a more careful appraisal produced information based upon something more than mere conjecture. Theories were suggested, and as soon rejected; but the debate continued until well into the middle of the nineteenth century—and indeed, for some, has not been settled to this day.

William Wood of Massachusetts, writing on the subject in 1634, remarked that "Some have thought they might be dispersed Jewes, because some of their

words be neare Hebrew; but by the same rule they may conclude them to be some of the gleanings of all nations, because they have words which sound after the Greek, Latine, French, and other Tongues."

In *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Pequet Salvages* (London, 1638), Philip Vincent dismisses such disputes, and gets right to the heart of the matter. He tells us:

There is scarce any part of the world but habitable, though more commodiously by humane culture. This part (though in it's Naturals) nourished many natives, distinguished into divers petty nations and factions. It were needless curiosity to dispute their originall, or how they came hither. Their outsides say they are men, their actions say they are reasonable. As the thing is, so it operateth. Their correspondency of disposition with us, argueth all to be of the same constitution & the sons of Adam, and that we had the same Maker, the same matter, and the same mould. Only Art and Grace have given us that perfection, which they yet want, but may perhaps be as capable thereof as we.

Enlarging further upon the nature of these people, the Reverend Roger Williams, who worked among the Narraganset of Rhode Island for several years, regards them with a more discerning and familiar eye, observing that despite their warlike ways, "There is a savour of civility and courtesie even amongst these wild Americans, both amongst themselves and towards strangers."

Concerning their morals, he also remarks in *A Key into the Language of America* (London, 1643):

I could never discerne that excesse of scandalous sins amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkenesse and gluttony, generally they know not what sinnes they be; and although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect to knowledge of God and Lawes of men) as the English have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them as robberies, murther, adulteries, etc., as amongst the English...

To be sure, the continuing debate in Europe over the origin and character of the aboriginal American involved, as well, a concern for the observable effects that contact with European civilization seemed to be

having upon primitive culture. But if the philosophical implications of the discoveries of the age intrigued scholarship, it remains to be said that to the average colonist in America, the savage was a savage, at best hardly better than the beasts of the forest.

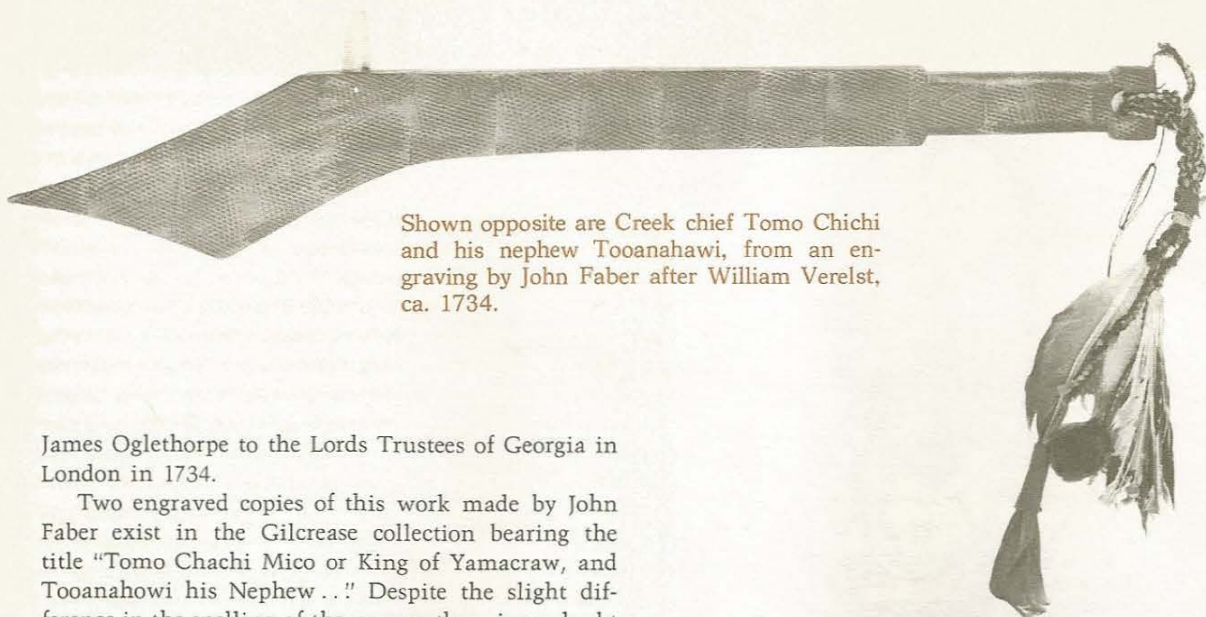
This attitude in general is indicated once again by William Wood, who, in describing in his *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634) a group of Indians he calls the Abergenians, offers the following opinion respecting their hereditary enemies, the dreaded Mohawks.

"These are a cruel and bloody people," he says, "which were wont to come downe upon their poore neighbors with more than brutish savagenesse, spoiling of their corne, burning their houses, slaying men, ravishing women, yea very caniballs they were, sometimes eating on a man one part after another before his face, and while yet living; in so much that the very name *Mowhack* would strike the heart of a poor Abergenian dead, were here not hopes at hand of release from the *English* to succour them."

Indians had been brought to Europe by various discoverers and explorers since the sixteenth century; but it was in the eighteenth century that European artists and engravers made a point of trying to preserve the likenesses of more notable or important individuals. While not able to study the Indian at home in his native surroundings, the artists of the day were able to regard him more personally as a subject for portraiture, rather than simply as a strange or picturesque specimen on which to exercise the imagination. As a result, pictures dating from this period retain at least some measure of individual characterization over and above a basic description from nature.

Among the earliest of this type of picture are the portraits of the "Four Kings of Cannada"—actually Iroquois sachems or chiefs from the Upper New York area—who visited Queen Anne in 1710. Two of these are preserved in engraved form in the Gilcrease Library, one by John Simon after John Verelst, painter to the Queen, and the other by Peter Schenck, along with a printed broadside purported to be the speech offered on their behalf by an interpreter. Of a similar kind in character as well as description is a later portrait by William Verelst of Creek chief Tomo Chi Chi and his newphew Tooanahawi, who were presented by





Shown opposite are Creek chief Tomo Chichi and his nephew Tooanahawi, from an engraving by John Faber after William Verelst, ca. 1734.

James Oglethorpe to the Lords Trustees of Georgia in London in 1734.

Two engraved copies of this work made by John Faber exist in the Gilcrease collection bearing the title "Tomo Chachi Mico or King of Yamacraw, and Tooanahowi his Nephew..." Despite the slight difference in the spelling of the names, there is no doubt that these represent the same persons mentioned in contemporary reports.

Francis Moore, in *A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735* (London, 1744), mentions a chief by the name of Tomo Chi Chi Mico meeting with Oglethorpe at Savannah, and that this chief's wife gave the Georgia missionaries presents and invited them to visit the Creek town of Yamacraw to teach the Creek children the Gospel. The wife's name is given as Scenauky, and a nephew, Tooanahawi, is mentioned. Unknown perhaps to Moore was the fact that "Mico" was a title, which the British engraver equated with "king." Yamacraw was an area, according to a British map of the period, lying westward of Savannah.

Personality as well as racial character is evident in the faces described, if the pose of the figures is conventionally European. The background, of course, is altogether imagined, based perhaps upon earlier descriptions of the Spanish West Indies.

Notable among English portraitists at this time were the elder John Faber, John and William Verelst, Francis Parsons, and a little later, Joshua Reynolds, whose pictures were sometimes reproduced in mezzotint by John Faber, Jr. In the English edition of Pierre Francois de Charlevoix's *History and General Description of New France* (1766), there is featured an engraved portrait supposedly of one Outacite, Chief

of the Cherokees, credited as having been made after an original by Reynolds. This may represent one of the Cherokees who visited London in 1762 with Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, about which more will be said later. Also, again, in the Gilcrease collection is a proof print of an engraving of Mohawk chief Thayendanega, known as "the Brant," or Joseph Brant, to the British in America, taken from an original painting by G. Romney commissioned in 1775 by the Earl of Warwick, and engraved by J. R. Smith.

Other representations of doubtful quality abound, as well, such as that of the engraving of "Brave Old Hendrick," sachem or chief of the Mohawks, who distinguished himself in the Battle at Crown Point, Lake George, on the British side, during the French and Indian War. Author Weitenkampf calls this print "indubitably fictitious," as he does Paul Revere's portrait of the seventeenth century Wampanoag chief known as King Philip to the Massachusetts colonists, appearing in Benjamin Church's *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War* (Boston, 1772). Weitenkampf is probably right in saying that this portrait "evolved entirely from his (the artist's) own consciousness," since the war in question occurred nearly a hundred years before.



Above is a portrait of Cherokee chief Outacite, or "Man-killer," supposedly after an original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and reproduced in Charlevoix's *History and General Description of New France* (1766). Outacite was one of three Indians who visited the city of London in 1762 in the company of Lt. Henry Timberlake.

Eighteenth century Americans exhibited the strength of their British background and associations in many areas, especially politics and education. In other areas they lagged behind, however. Colonial literature, as such, for example, hardly existed, although there were a great number of factual narratives published on topics ranging from natural history and travel to religion. Books played an important part in the lives of Colonial Americans, and many immigrants brought their own libraries with them, or continued to import the latest editions of the classics from abroad. Much of the earlier writing in or about America by John Smith, William Bradford, and William Penn, had dealt with colonization; and an enormous quantity of material continued to be printed about the settlement of America.

Colonial Americans produced no sculpture, and very little music, painting, or poetry. Among the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Puritans of New England, the arts generally were thought of as frivolous pastimes. The harshness of frontier life, itself, the smallness of the average house, the bareness of the churches, allowed little or nothing in the way of decoration. Yet, there were some colonial artists to be found during this period, most of whom were limners, or "face painters," and even fewer who sometimes painted rustic landscapes or utilized religious or historical subjects in their works.

Various processes of engraving were known, to be sure, their main use being that of reproducing designs or making copies of original works. Until the nineteenth century, the majority of such engravers were either silversmiths or copperplate artists by trade or profession, who passed occasionally from ornamentation and lettering to picture design.

Peter Pelham probably was the first professional engraver in the colonies, better known today, perhaps, as having been the step-father of Colonial portraitist John Singleton Copley. Paul Revere is also known to have produced a few pictures of historic interest, the most famous being his print depicting the so-called "Boston Massacre"

A more serious development in art in America was bound to come with the appearance of more serious and academically trained men in the colonies. The arrival of John Smibert in Boston in 1721 is considered

to be the occasion of the first formal introduction into America of the artistic techniques then in vogue in Europe. As a teacher and practitioner of European methods, Smibert influenced the coming generation of native-born artists: men such as Robert Feke, John Singleton Copley, and Benjamin West, who was the first American painter to receive recognition abroad.

West made the most of his career in Europe, establishing a precedent followed by later American artists in leaving the colonies to settle in England before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Eventually, he succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the London Academy of Art. In this position he was able to direct the studies of other Americans who received their formal training abroad and his influence may be detected in the works of several painters of the post-Revolutionary and early Federalist periods in America.

An exponent of the "neo-classic" school of art and thought that swept Europe in the latter half of the century, West devoted himself to heroic themes and the depiction of historical events, particularly American episodes, such as his *Death of Wolfe*, and his widely reproduced *Penn's Treaty with the Indians*. Both of these canvases incorporate Indian figures, for the most part idealized, as are the presentations of the respective events, themselves.

Horace J. Smith, in his *Quaker Biographies* (1909) wrote that he believed the Indian mother in the foreground of the Penn Treaty picture to be a portrait of West's wife, who may have sat as a model for the figure. He also admits that "various historians have criticized West for not being more accurate, but apparently he took the artist's privilege in making an attractive picture . . ."

West himself wrote in 1785 from London that "The leading characters which make that composition are the Friends—and the Indians—the characteristics of both having been known to me from my early life. By possessing the real dresses of the Indians, I was able to give that truth in representing their costume which is so evident in the picture."

For the rest, one would suppose he relied upon earlier memories of life in his native America.

William Penn's treaty of friendship with the Leni Lenape, or Delaware, was one of the most popular of

subjects among Colonial American artists, who sought through its portrayal to convey those sentiments and ideals which were soon to give birth to a new nation in the American wilderness. Many untrained artists such as the Quaker, Edward Hicks, depicted this moment in American history, Hicks himself repeating the scene over and over, and often incorporating it into one or another of his "Peaceable Kingdom" allegories.

Voltaire is said to have remarked to the effect that Penn's contract with the Indians in America was "the only treaty never sworn to, and never broken," and indeed it was not broken during the lifetime of its author. Penn's peaceable concept was not destined to prevail, however; and the tentative relationship established between the earlier colonists and the Indians of the eastern seaboard developed, in time, into a certain and obvious conflict of interests, one that proved at last to be irreconcilable.

The question of Indian ownership of American soil by right of prior tenancy was largely ignored by most promoters of European colonization, although it was a matter of some importance to many colonists, who often purchased land from the natives, while petitioning the British Parliament for legal title to same in order to prevent further encroachments from other settlers or national groups. That the Indians in most instances little realized the nature or the consequences of such transactions was overlooked by the majority of Europeans, only a few protesting that the price paid for American real estate fell far short of its actual, or potential, value.

The average settler no doubt would have agreed with Northampton parson Solomon Stoddard, who wrote in a tract entitled *An Answer to some Cases of Conscience respecting the Country* (London, 1722), that the Indians, having made little or no use of the land of America in the accepted European sense, ought to have been "well contented to admit Neighbours." He sums up his case with the remark:

Tho' we gave but a small Price for what we bought; we gave them their demands, we came to their Market, and gave them their price; and indeed, it was worth but little: And had it continued in their hands, it would still have been of little value. It is our dwelling on it, and our Im-

provements, that have made it to be of Worth.

Complicating the issue between European settler and native inhabitant was the contest between Great Britain and France for control of the country itself, particularly the vast, forested region stretching from the Appalachian Frontier to the Mississippi. Both nations claimed this largely unmapped territory, France by virtue of its explorations of the Ohio and Mississippi waterways and their numerous tributaries, and England by its earlier establishment of seaboard colonies whose westward limitations were considered to extend more or less indefinitely.

Below is a detail of an engraving of "Brave Old Hendrick," sub-chief of the Mohawks during the French and Indian wars in America. n.d.



In every plan of English or French expansion into this area, the position of the Indians figured heavily. Neither the French nor the British could afford to let the other take possession of the land, much less allow the other to become the Indians' only ally. The Indians themselves remained for the most part divided in their loyalties, some fighting with the French, others on the side of the English.

The rich land of the Ohio Valley represented the ultimate objective of British ambition, and the final struggle for possession of this area was set off by a clash for control of an outpost within what is now the city of Pittsburgh. The French had built Fort Duquesne at this strategic site at the headwaters of the Ohio earlier in the century, and in 1755 British General Braddock attacked the stronghold with a large force of regular and provincial troops. Braddock deployed his men in standard military formation against an enemy scattered and hidden amid the surrounding, dense forest. George Washington, a young Virginia surveyor with Braddock's troops, barely escaped with his life in the disaster that followed.

With Braddock's defeat, the main body of the Great League of the Five Nations of the Iroquois threatened to give its support to the French. William Johnson, one time fur trader in the Mohawk Valley, who was then serving as agent in charge of Indian affairs in this area, was quickly dispatched to the Iroquois Council to persuade the chiefs to offer a number of their best men as "unofficial" allies on the side of the British cause. Johnson had some influence at this time among the confederated tribes, having married the sister of Joseph Brant, one of the most respected Mohawk leaders of his day.

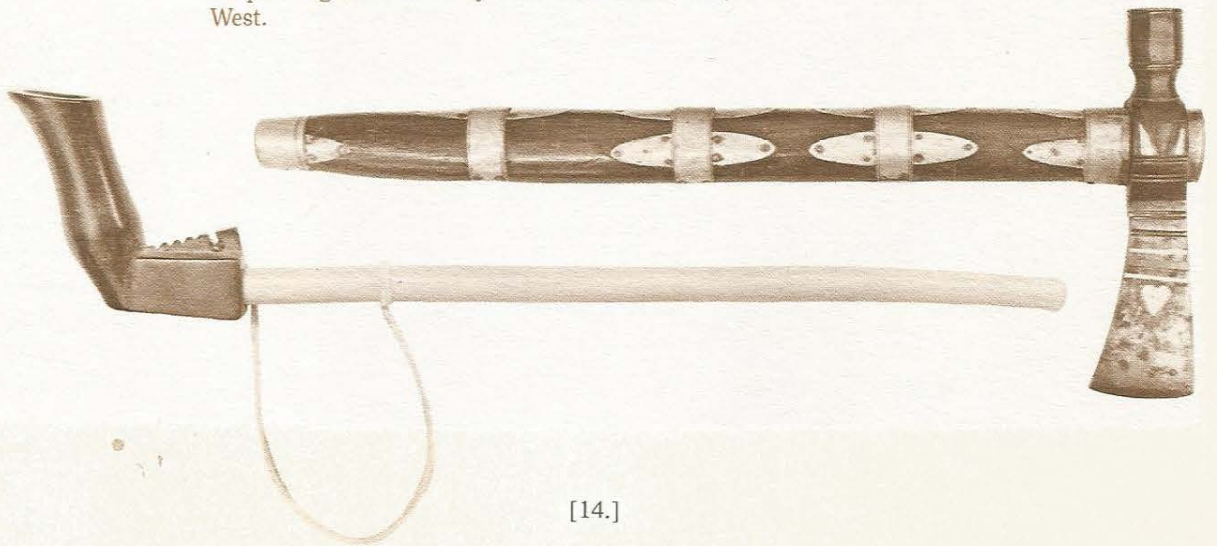
Several hundred warriors accompanied Johnson to join with British regulars at Crown Point near Lake George, New York. Among this group was a Mohawk sachem, or sub-chief, of nearly seventy years of age, called Hendrick by his white friends, who had done much to persuade the Indian detachment to go along with Johnson's plan. Hendrick was killed in the battle that followed, and Iroquois casualties were exceedingly heavy. But the fight was won for the English, and from that time the situation for the French in America took a decided turn for the worse.



At left is an engraving of Mohawk chief Joseph Brant after an original painting by G. Romney commissioned in 1775 by the Earl of Warwick. A proof print in the Gilcrease Library Collection inscribed in pencil by engraver J. R. Smith.



Penn's Treaty with the Indians, above, is an unfinished oil painting on canvas by American artist, Benjamin West.



In 1758 Braddock's successor, Brigadier General John Forbes, and Colonel Henry Bouquet advanced westward from Bedford, Pennsylvania, to capture Fort Duquesne from the French. This hard-won success was partly offset, however, by the loss of Fort Loudon on the Little Tennessee River to the Cherokees in 1760. Here the English had built a settlement in what was then called the "Overhill Country" near the Cherokee town of Chote, in what is today southeastern Tennessee, in exchange for Cherokee assistance against the French and their Shawnee allies.

Forbes regarded his Indian troops with marked contempt, and several unfortunate incidents arising between the Indians and the British had created an ugly atmosphere between supposed allies. In 1760 a group of some twenty-four Cherokee renegades being held hostage by Governor Lyttleton of Carolina were murdered by their captors. The Indians responded by attacking the garrison at Fort Loudon and forcing its surrender after a brief campaign. A punitive expedition against the Indians followed, led by Colonel James Grant; and after some months, the Cherokees sued for peace, signing a new treaty of friendship with the English in the fall of 1761.

Numerous accounts concerning the Indians and their relations with the colonists of this period survive in the form of letters, diaries, military order books, and the like. William Fyffe, a medical doctor in George Town, South Carolina, recorded some of his observations of the Cherokees in a letter written in 1761 to his brother in Scotland. Preserved in the Gilcrease archives, this narrative gives an interesting, if somewhat prejudiced, account of the manners, customs, and continuing troubles of the Cherokees shortly following the incident at Fort Loudon, to which he refers when he writes that:

... Our Governor Littleton who last Winter undertook the Expedition against the Cherokees effected nothing tho' he saved his Honour by the Peace he concluded. The Expedition cost the Province between 40 and 50,000 Sterlg. which is about 1/3 of the value of our Exports in a good year... you've no doubt heard G. Littleton undertook his

expedition to force the Cherokees to give satisfaction for some of the back Inhabitants whom they had murdered in a clandestine manner, some of their head men, particularly Atakullakulla, whom we call the Little Carpenter promised to deliver up the murderers to the number demanded which was 24. He brought in 3 and was in quest of more when Sallonese or the Young warrior of Estatowe stirr'd up the young fellows to rescue some the Little Carpenter was bringing in. Atakullakulla told the Governour there was such a ferment in the Nation that it was impossible to get the rest which made our Governour detain 21 of those Indians he had in camp as hostages till a like number of murderers were brought in, these he left at Fort Prince George, patch'd up a hasty peace & return'd. I believe indeed he was glad to get off with so much honour for his people were leaving him daily & the Indians begun to collect in a Body for as yet the Nation was not unanimous against us, but the rash young Fellows only. . .

There follows a detailed account of the attack on Fort Loudon, and an even longer description of the character and habits of the Indians themselves, which ends with the observation that:

... I think if the manners of the whites & Indians are compared impartially the Indians in the few things they know and practice act more reasonably than we, & I'm afraid that tho' we may be improving in Knowledge we are not making much progress in Virtue, or in reasonable Actions. The more the Indians are connected with us the faster its observ'd they decline, the Six Nations joining our Albany Settlement were 10,000 strong the beginning of this Century & are now said not to exceed 1500 fighting men tho' a Nation call'd Tuscarora's which we drove from here has join'd them. Its imputed to Rum & the Epidemick Diseases we often given them, particularly the small pox. . .

A more inclusive account of life in the wilderness and among the Cherokees at this time is that which was produced by a Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, whose journal published in London in 1765 conveys a vivid description of the state of British-Indian affairs during the mid 1700's. A native of Virginia, Timber-



Above is a copperplate engraving entitled "The Three Cherokees, came over from the head of the River Savanna to London," and dated 1762.

lake took up a military career and made his first assault against the Indians in 1750 in a company called the Patriot Blues. Returning from this encounter, he made application for a commission in the Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel George Washington, but without success, and in 1758 received a coronetcy in a troop of Virginia Light Horse commanded by William Byrd. He served in various operations near Fort Pitt, or Pittsburgh, in 1759, and in 1761 was ordered to proceed southward to join the expedition then being formed against the Cherokees.

Following the Cherokee capitulation, Timberlake was one of those who in the spring of 1762, made his way by canoe down the Little Tennessee to the town of Chote to meet Ostenaco, one of the chiefs who signed the treaty of friendship mentioned earlier. Passing the ruins of Fort Loudon south of the present

Knoxville, Tennessee, he arrived at the settlement of Tommothy where, as he says "we were received. . . in a very kind manner by Ostenaco, the commander-in-chief." Head men of each of the surrounding Cherokee towns then "assembled in the town-house of Chote, the metropolis of the country, to hear the articles of peace read, whither the interpreter and I accompanied Ostenaco." He also mentions meeting another prominent chief and treaty signer named Outacity, or Man-killer.

Timberlake made his way to the colonial capital of Williamsburg with three chiefs, including both Ostenaco and Man-killer, and arrangements were soon made to take the Indians to England to be presented to King George. Timberlake was assigned the duty of accompanying the chiefs and acting as their guide, assisted by an interpreter, who, unfortunately, did not survive the ocean voyage.

Landing at Plymouth on June 16, 1762, Timberlake relates that the Indians created a sensation as they made their way to London, Ostenaco in particular by his song of thanks to the Creator for a safe journey

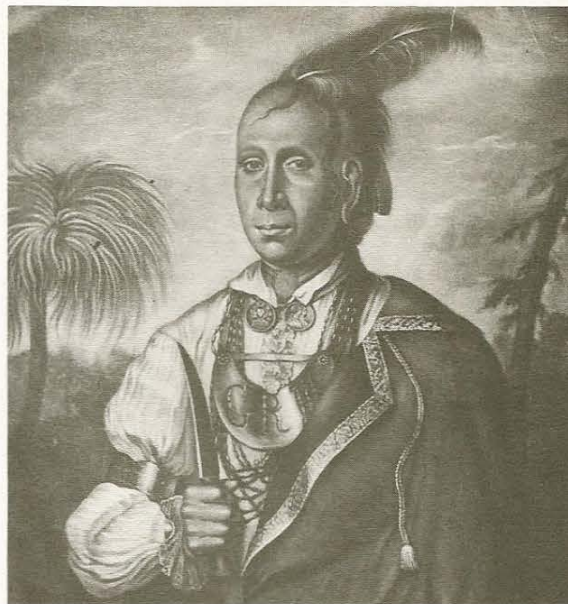
over the water, delivered in a thunderously loud voice, and at some length, the moment he stepped ashore. While waiting for their scheduled interview with the King, and without their interpreter, the Indians spent their time visiting various entertainment spots, including some of the more notorious taverns of the city, and everywhere attracted large crowds of curious Londoners.

The *St. James Chronicle* at this time describes the Indians briefly as "tall, well-made men, dressed in their own country fashion with only a shirt, trowsers, and mantle around them; their faces painted a copper colour, and their heads adorned with shells, feathers, ear rings, and other trifling ornaments." A song written and peddled by the proprietor of a London coffee house also commemorates the occasion in terms of bawdy rhyme, a copy of which survives in the Gilcrease files.

Portraits of the Cherokees were also made while the Indians toured the city, two of which may be seen exhibited in the Gilcrease galleries. One is attributed to Joshua Reynolds, and although entitled "Sycust Ukah," is believed to represent Ostenaco. Francis Parson's painting of "Cunne Shote" pictures a chief whose identity has not been positively established.

Timberlake did not give the names of all three of the chiefs in his *Memoirs*, but the *St. James Chronicle* mentions that one of them was called Tohanohawigh-ton. Printer James McArdle made an engraving from the Parsons portrait, which he entitled "Cunne Shote, the Indian Chief, a Great Warrior of the Cherokee Nation!" It is from this print that the present original receives its name.

There is no other historical record mentioning a Cherokee by the name of Cunne Shote. A contemporary English print representing the three Cherokees "come over from the head of the River Savanna to London, 1762" gives the name of all three, and indicates one as being called "Stalking Turkey!" This may refer to Standing Turkey, a chief who played a prominent role in the events of 1760-61. Since the colonists often wrote his name as *Cunnicatogue*—a corruption of *Kanagagota*, or Standing Turkey—they may have further abbreviated this spelling to read simply *Cunni*, adding the name of the town from which he came. Hence, we have the name Cunne Chote, (or Shote)—or "Turkey of Chote!" •



Above, an engraving by J. McArdell after the original portrait by Francis Parsons featured as the cover illustration for this issue of the *American Scene*. Original and engraved copy in the Gilcrease Collection.

Below is an engraving by Peter Schenck of Mohawk chief Tee Yee Need Ho Ga Row, described as "one of the four Kings of India" who visited Queen Anne in London in 1710.



Reproduced in its entirety, left, is the printed ballad written and sold by London coffee house proprietor, H. Howard, to commemorate the visit of the Cherokees to that city with Lt. Henry Timberlake in 1762.



A NEW HUMOROUS SONG, ON THE CHEROKEE CHIEFS.

Inscribed to the LADIES of GREAT BRITAIN.

By H. HOWARD.

To the Tune of, *Cesar and Pompey were both of them Horned.*

I.
WHAT a Piece of Work's here, and a d—d Botheration
Of Three famous Chiefs from the Cherokee Nation;
Who the Duce wou'd ha' thought, that a People polite, Sir,
Wou'd ha' stir'd out o' Doors to ha' seen such a Sight, Sir?
Are M—rs so rare in the British Dominions,
That we thus shou'd run crazy for Canada Indians.
Are M—rs so rare, &c.

II.
How eager the Folks at *Vauxhall*, or elsewhere, Sir,
With high Expectation and Rapture repair, Sir;
Tho' not one of them all can produce the least Reason,
Save that M—rs of all Sorts are always in Season.
If so, let the Chiefs here awhile have their Station,
And fend for the whole of the Cherokee Nation.
If so, let the Chiefs, &c.

III.
The Ladies, dear Creatures, so squeamish and dainty,
Surround the great *Canada* Warriors in plenty;
Wives, Widows and Mistresses, and pert little *Misses*,
Are pressing and squeezing for Cherokee Kisses.
Each grave looking Prude, and each smart looking Belle, Sir,
Declaring, no *Englishman* e'er kiss'd so well, Sir.
Each grave looking Prude, &c.

VII.
For Weapons, ye Fair, you've no need to petition,
No Weapons you'll want for this odd Expedition;
A soft Female Hand, the best Weapon I wean is,
To strip down the Bark of a Cherokee P—r.
Courageous advance then, each fair *English* Tartar,
Scalp the Chiefs of the *Scalpors*, and give them no Quarter.
Courageous advance then, &c.

IV.
That Cherokee Lips are much fister and sweeter,
Their Touch more refin'd, and their Kisses repletter,
The fair ones agree—nay, I mean not to flatter,
For who like the Ladies can judge of the Matter?
Ye Nymphs then, who like 'm, indulge your odd Passion,
Be fw—d by the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation.
Ye Nymphs then, &c.

V.
Ye Females of *Britain*, so wanton and witty,
Who love even Monkeys, and swear they are pretty;
The Cherokee Indians, and stranger *Shimpanzeys*,
By Turns, pretty Creatures, have tickl'd your Fancies;
Which proves, that the Ladies so fond are of Billing,
They'd kiss even M—rs, were M—rs as willing.
Which proves, that, &c.

VI.
No more then these Chiefs, with their scalping Knives dread, Sir,
Shall strip down the Skin from the *Englishman's* Head, Sir;
Let the *Cafe* be revers'd, and the Ladies prevail, Sir,
And instead of the Head, skin the Cherokee T—l, Sir.
Ye bold Female Scalpers, courageous and hearty,
Collect all your Force for a grand *Scalping Party*.
Ye bold Female Scalpers, &c.

Sold by the AUTHOR, opposite the Union Coffee-House, in the Strand, near Temple-Bar, and by all the Print and Pamphlet-sellers.

[PRICE SIX-PENCE.]

N. B. In a few Days will be published the *Political Register*. A new Song, with a Head-piece.



It is interesting to note, in looking at examples of painting and portraiture from this period, that there is little to be seen to suggest that the artists of the day felt any undue concern for achieving what we think of today as "realism" in their work.

This might be explained to some extent by the viewpoint of the age, with its avowed sense of "fitness" which simply did not consider all aspects or details of life as being "art-worthy!"

As Alan Moorehead in his novel *Fatal Impact* says concerning those artists who witnessed life in the South Seas in the eighteenth century:

It was not merely that no photographs were available. . . but a question of whether or not the artists could paint what they actually saw. The temptation to paint the idea rather than the reality was very strong, and it was an idea often interpreted in a European manner.

The revival of interest in Greek philosophy and the study of Classical antiquities influenced artistic expression throughout the eighteenth century, and we find the events of history portrayed as nothing less than awe-inspiring episodes, the portraits of sages, patriots, kings—and Indians—rendered in obvious admiration of the noblest characteristics attainable by men. Rousseau's belief in the superior qualities of untamed nature over society's demoralizing artifices found many adherents, and was commonly ascribed to by most artists and literary men of the time, who saw in the American Indian the virtual embodiment of the Frenchman's *Noble Savage*.

This European attitude survived well into the nineteenth century in America, and can be discovered in the works of such American painters as John Wesley Jarvis, Charles Bird King, George Catlin, Alfred Jacob Miller, John Mix Stanley, and others, who depicted Indians in the East, or Indian life in the trans-Mississippi West. The excellence of the Indian as a model for the artist is brought home to the reader of one of Miller's "Rough Draughts to Notes on Indian Sketches," a manuscript preserved in the Gilcrease Library. Writing of the Western Sioux in 1837, Miller says:

Among this tribe we found some as fine specimens of Indians as any that we met. They reminded us strongly of antique figures in Bronze, and presented a wide and ample field for the sculptor; nothing in Greek art can surpass the reality here. . .

Sculptors travel thousands of miles to study Greek statues in the Vatican; but here at the foot of the Rocky mountains are as fine forms stalking about with a natural grace (never taught by a dancing master) as ever the Greeks dreamed of in their happiest conceptions.

The U. S. Government sustained only a passing, official interest in reports on Indian life, concentrating on those which seemed to have practical and immediate political application. There were some men like McKenney, Henry R. Schoolcraft, and later artist J. H. Sharp, who succeeded in gaining Government recognition and support of their ethnological studies. As for art in general, however, and Indian portraits in particular, the sentiment of mid nineteenth century, frontier-oriented America might be summed up in the remark of a Congressman debating a proposed bill before the House in 1847 for the purchase of Catlin's great collection for the newly funded National Gallery.

A portion of the Senate Record for February 27, 1847, reprinted in the Smithsonian Institution's *Miscellaneous Reports* (Washington, D. C., 1900), alludes to the proposal to buy 600 of Catlin's pictures for \$50,000, to be paid for in annual installments of \$5,000. It states that the proposal was debated at some length among the Senators, a Mr. Sidney Breese remarking that so large a number of pictures would fill the gallery intended for the fine arts, which would hardly be appropriate, and a Mr. James D. Westcott opposing the purchase altogether on the ground that no moral example or national purpose would be served thereby—and that in any case he would not "vote a cent for a portrait of an Indian!" The motion, says the Record, was "then decided in the negative."

The artist's *Noble Savage* thus passed from the American scene in the latter half of the nineteenth century, replaced for the most part by a figure of interest primarily to the ethnologist, social historian, and writer of popular fiction. Men of earlier centuries had, indeed, been intrigued with the savage from distant, undeveloped lands, and eighteenth century Europeans in particular had been captivated by the spectacle of visiting natives from the New World or the South Seas. But the questions raised in America in the nineteenth century concerning the proper course of action to be taken by the Government in its dealings with the Indian had little in common with those of a previous age, when the effects of civilization upon primitive societies was debated by more sensitive men, and Europe's poets and painters protested her intrusion into the unsuspecting world of pagan innocence. •



BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR NOTES AND PICTURE SOURCES:

BOOKS:

- Barck, Oscar, Jr. *Colonial America*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958.
- Hawkesworth, John. *An Account of the Voyages for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*. 3 vols. London, 1773.
- Hennepin, Lewis. *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*. London: printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship, 1698.
- Lahontan, Baron. *New Voyages to North-America*. London: printed for H. Bonwicke, T. Goodwin, M. Wooton, B. Tooke, and S. Manship, 1703.
- Leicht, Hermann. *History of the World's Art*. London: Spring Books, 1963.
- Lorant, Stefan. *The New World, First Pictures of America*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946.
- McKenney, Thomas L., and Hall, James. *The Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. Edinburgh, 1933.
- Mather, Frank J. *The American Spirit in Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.
- Moore, Francis. *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the Year 1735*. London: printed for Jacob Robinson, 1744.
- Moorehead, Alan. *Fatal Impact*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Ogilby, John. *America, Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World*. London, 1671.
- Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*. London: printed by William Stansbury for Henry Featherstone, 1625.
- Timberlake, Henry. *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake*. London: printed for the author, 1765.
- Verardus, Carlos. *De Insulis In Mari Indico*. Basel, Switzerland, 1494.
- Vincent, Philip. *A True Relation of the Late Battell Fought in New England, between the English and the Pequet Savages*. London: printed by M. P. for Nathanael Butter and John Bellamie, 1638.
- Williams, Roger. *A Key into the Language of America*. London: printed by Gregory Dexter, 1643.
- Wood William. *New Englands Prospect*. London: by Thomas Cotes for John Bellamie, 1634.

TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS:

- Stoddard, Solomon. *An Answer to some Cases of Conscience respecting the Country*. London: for the author, 1722.
- Weitenkampf, Frank. *Early Pictures of North American Indians*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1950.

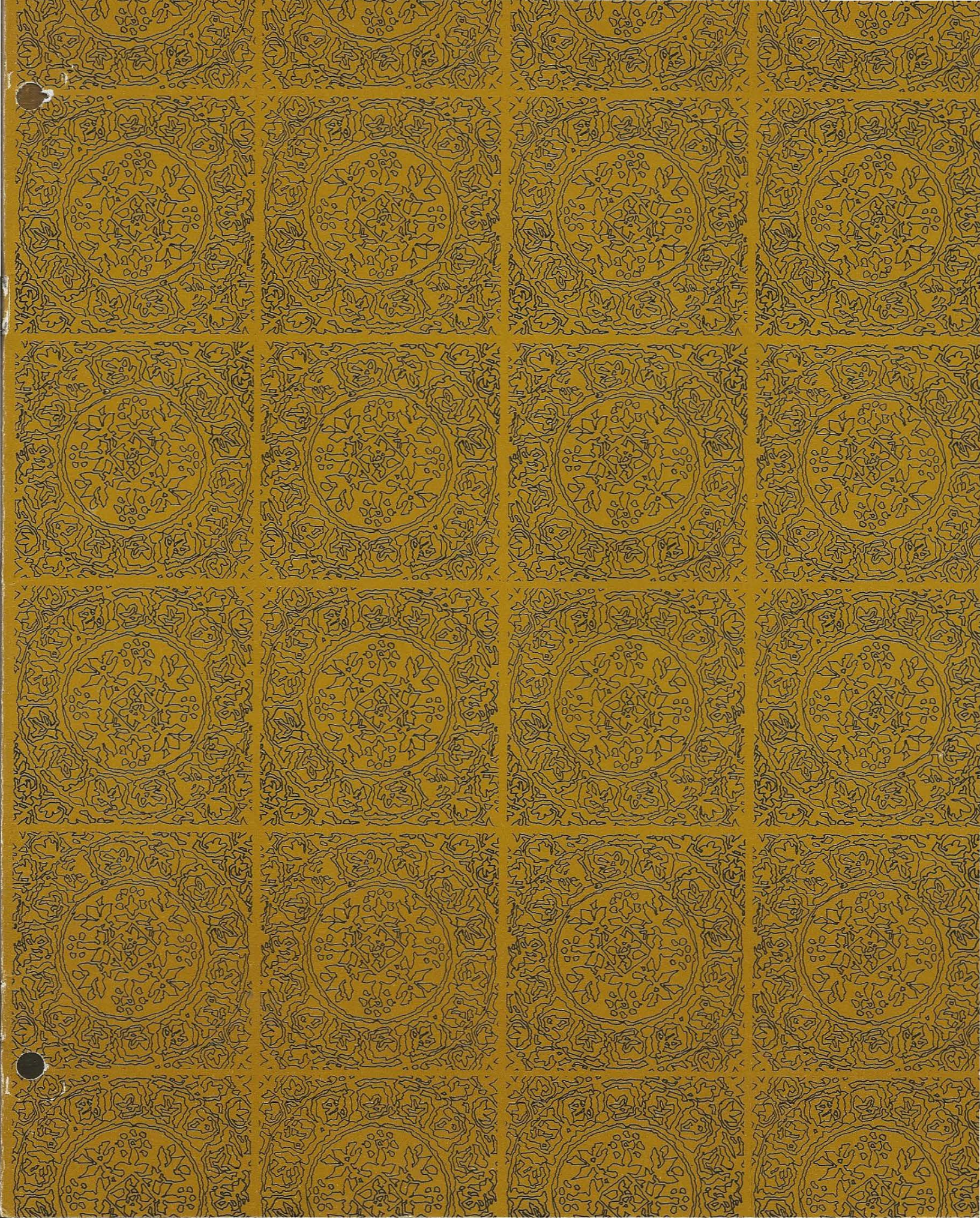
GOVERNMENT BULLETINS:

- Miscellaneous Reports of the Smithsonian Institution*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1900.

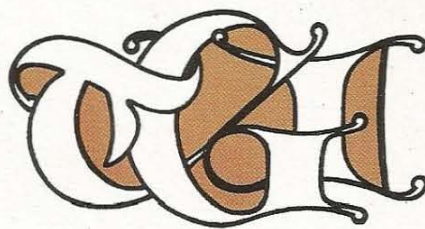
MANUSCRIPTS:

- Fyffe, (William, Doctor and Planter of George Town, S. Carolina). A.L.s., 10 closely-written pp. folio 1st February, 1761, to his brother John Fyffe, merchant and banker of Edinburgh.
- Miller (Afred Jacob, Artist in Baltimore, Maryland). "Rough Draughts to Notes on Indian Sketches." Hand-written 288 pp, n.d., describing persons, scenes, and events associated with studies of frontier life obtained as the result of a journey to the Rocky Mountains with Captain William Drummond Stewart in 1837.





Line engraving of an imaginary scene entitled simply
America, printed for Robert Sayer, London. n.d.



A PUBLICATION OF THE
THOMAS GILCREASE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN
HISTORY AND ART