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THE JOURNAL OF GILCREASE MUSEUM

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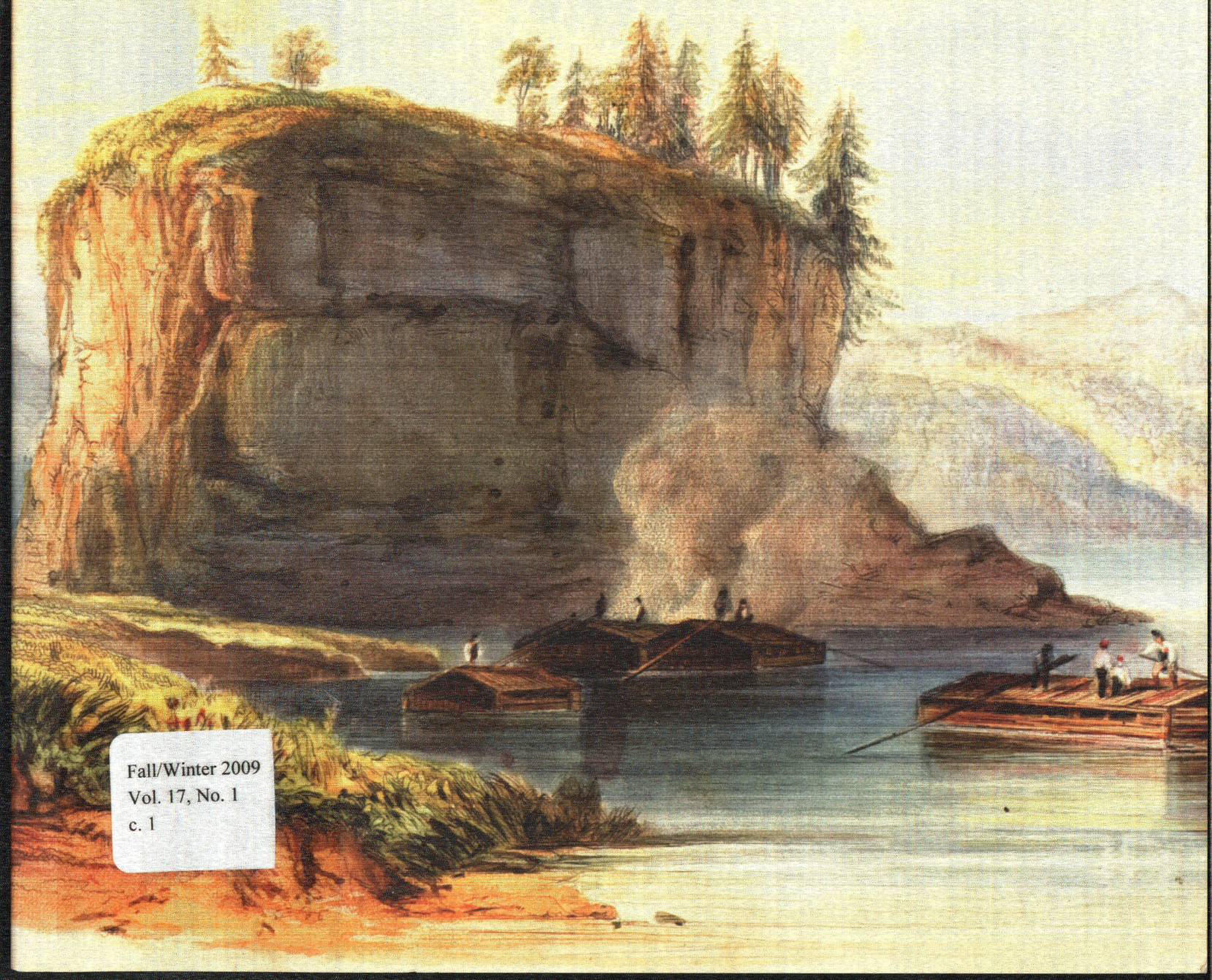

Fall/Winter 2009
Vol. 17, No. 1
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Strangers in a Strange Land: The Travelers

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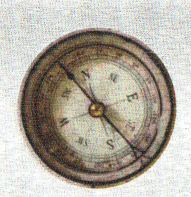

STRANGERS IN A STRANGE LAND

VOL. XVII NO. 1 FALL/WINTER 2009

GILCREASE JOURNAL

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Black Hawk RANDY RAMER 53

Page 4:
Portrait etching of Grand Duke Alexis in *Harper's Weekly* October 14, 1871.

Harper's Weekly cartoon poking fun at America's instant love affair with Grand Duke Alexis.

Facing: *Harper's Weekly* etching of the reception for the Grand Duke on the *Mary Powell*, the U.S. ship that welcomed him to the United States.

The Grand Duke was born Alexei Alexandrovich in St. Petersburg, Russia on January 14, 1850. The third son and sixth child of the Emperor Alexander II of Russia and Empress Marie of Hesse-Darmstadt, he was destined for a career in the Imperial Navy. On his seventh birthday he received the rank of midshipman; he eventually rose to the rank of Admiral General of the Russian Navy before retiring in 1905 following the defeat of the Russian Navy at the hands of the Japanese in the Battle of Tsushima.

Reputed to be a womanizer, the Grand Duke would have many affairs throughout his life. The most famous was with Alexandra Zhukovskaya, the daughter of a Prussian poet, with whom he had a son. During Alexei's travels in the United States rumors of his purported affairs became so numerous that he wrote his mother in an attempt to dispel them. "Regarding my success with American ladies about which so much is written in the newspapers, I can openly say, that this is complete nonsense. They looked on me from the beginning as they would look on a wild animal, as a crocodile or other unusual beast."



THE GRAND DUKE'S RECEPTION.
COLUMBIA. "My long-lost ALEXIS! I am so glad you have come!"



HARPER'S WEEKLY
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. XV.—No. 780. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1871. WITH A SUPPLEMENT. PRICE TEN CENTS

THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS

RECEPTION OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS ON BOARD THE "MARY POWELL."—[DRAWN BY C. S. REINHART.]

Harper's Weekly etchings of the ball at the New York Academy of Music in honor of the Grand Duke Alexis.

Harper's Weekly etching of Grand Duke Alexis being shown the Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

Rumors of affairs would not be the only thing that brought the Grand Duke to the attention of the American people. Having traveled through Chicago shortly after the Great Chicago Fire, he donated $5,000 to help the people of that city. Additionally, he gave gifts to Sitting Bull's people for their help in the buffalo hunt. In New Orleans, the mayor offered him a seat of honor at the annual Mardi Gras celebration.

The Grand Duke's trip to America followed an official visit to Russia by a squadron of the United States Navy in 1867 under the command of Admiral David Farragut. During Farragut's stay an official return visit was negotiated; Grand Duke Alexis was later named its envoy. His Imperial Highness finally sailed into New York harbor on November 20, 1871 on the frigate *Svetlana,* flagship of the Russian fleet. The ship, commanded by Vice-Admiral Possiet, was welcomed by the United States military with a twenty-one gun salute.

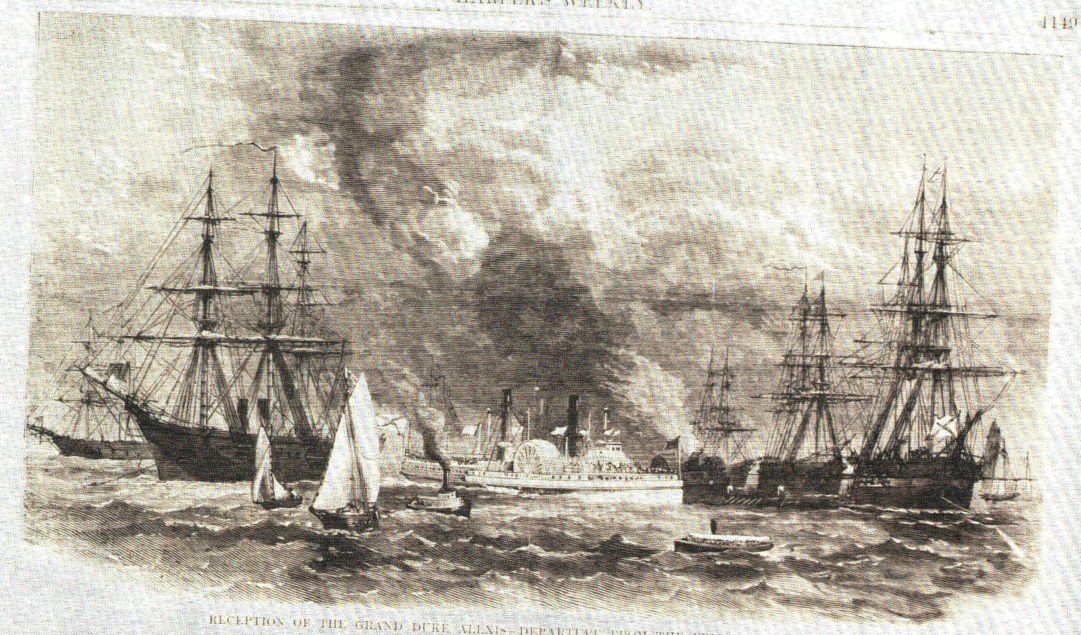


BALL AT THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MUSIC IN HONOR OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS.—[SEE PAGE



THE NAVAL BALL IN HONOR OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS, AT THE BROOKLYN NAVY-YARD.—[SEE PAGE 1178.]


HARPER'S WEEKLY
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1871



RECEPTION OF THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS—DEPARTURE FROM THE FRIGATE "SVETLANA."

LANDING OF THE GRAND DUKE.

THE Grand Duke Alexis landed from the frigate *Svetlana* at the foot of Twenty-fifth-street, North River, on Monday afternoon, at about half-past two o'clock. The weather was unfavorable, the pier was tastefully decorated with the national colors and American flags, and all the available space in the neighborhood was thronged with sight-seeing men, who occupied its eager spectators. The Prince, his suite, the Reception Committee, [illegible] immediately entered the carriages in waiting for them, passed up the pier, and turned into Broadway, the regiment of soldiers [illegible] either side. Flying [illegible] the streets [illegible] and many of the buildings on Broadway were tastefully decorated. The Grand Duke, [illegible] at the Clarendon Hotel at three o'clock, and was presented upon the balcony [illegible] by the Russian minister and [illegible] clemency. He removed his hat, bowed to the multitude, and was received with deafening cheers. The grand review of the troops then began. As the military passed the Clarendon Hotel and marched to Fourth Avenue, each company [illegible] officer saluted the Grand Duke, and the latter returned the salutes by removing his hat and slightly inclining his head. The Grand Duke expressed himself highly pleased with the military display, and when the Seventh Regiment passed (remarked), "What fine company fronts those men present!" The grand stand in Union Square was finely decorated with national colors, and was occupied by many leading citizens and their families.

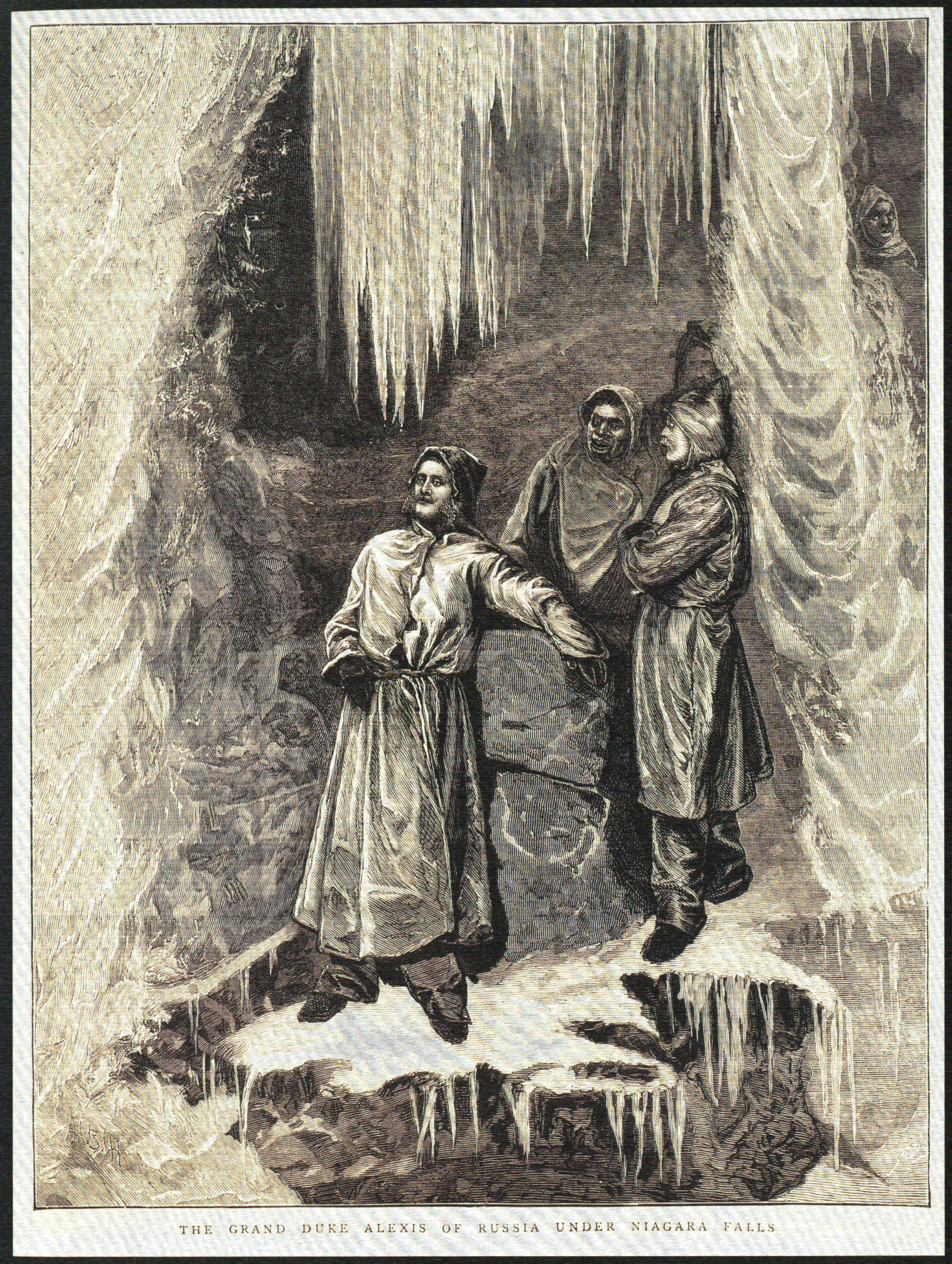
When the troops had all passed, the Grand



RECEPTION OF THE GRAND DUKE—PROCESSION PASSING THE GRAND STAND.—SKETCHED BY STANLEY FOX.

Harper's Weekly etching of the frigate *Svetlana* and a parade honoring the Grand Duke.

Harper's Weekly etching of Grand Duke Alexis under Niagara Falls.
3426.6073

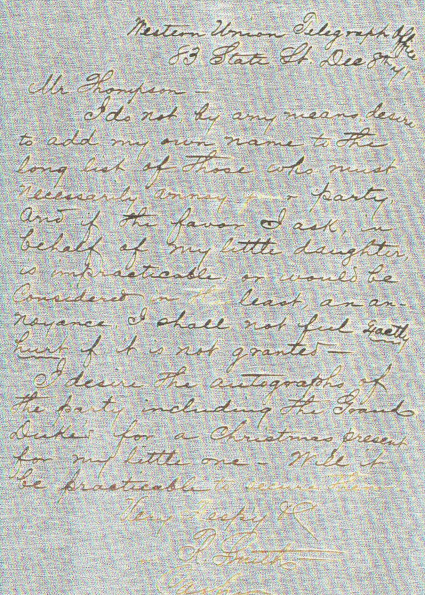


THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS OF RUSSIA UNDER NIAGARA FALLS



Buffalo Bill Cody, 1888.
Henry H. Cross. 0126.1749

A letter requesting the autograph of Grand Duke Alexis and other members of his party for a gentleman's daughter.



Western Union Telegraph Office
83 State St. Dec 8th '41

Mr Thompson —
I do not by any means desire to add my own name to the long list of those who must necessarily annoy your party. And if the favor I ask, in behalf of my little daughter, is impracticable or would be considered in the least an annoyance I shall not feel deeply hurt if it is not granted —
I desire the autographs of the party including the Grand Duke for a Christmas present for my little one — Will it be practicable to [illegible]
Very respy &c
[illegible]
[illegible]

Once aground, the Grand Duke became the toast of the nation. Crowds seemed to gather at every venue except one: the White House. President Ulysses S. Grant provided the Grand Duke with the coldest reception he was to receive during his journey. The president at this time was in a dispute with the Russian minister, Constantine Catacazy, and because of this offered the Grand Duke little more than a firm handshake and an introduction to his family before sending him on his way.

After this brief welcome, the Grand Duke traveled to New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and Annapolis before making a quick sortie into Canada. He made several stops in this northern nation and returned to the United States via Niagara Falls. Although traveling speedily, he was able to take in vast amounts of American culture before arriving in Omaha, Nebraska, on January 12, 1872 to begin the western leg of his trip. In Nebraska Alexei met Spotted Tail and 400 members of the Sioux Nation, William F. Cody, and Lieutenant Colonel Custer (with whom he would correspond until the colonel's death at the Battle of Little Big Horn). These men—Custer, Cody, and Spotted Tail—under the command and supervision of General Sheridan, head of the army's operations on the western plains, organized the most fabled buffalo hunt ever to take place.

The Grand Duke's entourage was met at the Union Pacific station in Omaha by nearly 2,000 well-wishers, including several groups of schoolchildren. Once the train had eased its way over the icy tracks and the party had disembarked the waiting crowds erupted into cheers. These displays were becoming a familiar part of Alexei's tour because of the avid following it had in the papers, but he was nevertheless still very gracious. This spectacle would not last long. The group quickly entered carriages and proceeded to tour the town of Omaha before making its way to Fort McPherson and the camp General Sheridan had created for the hunt, Camp Alexis.

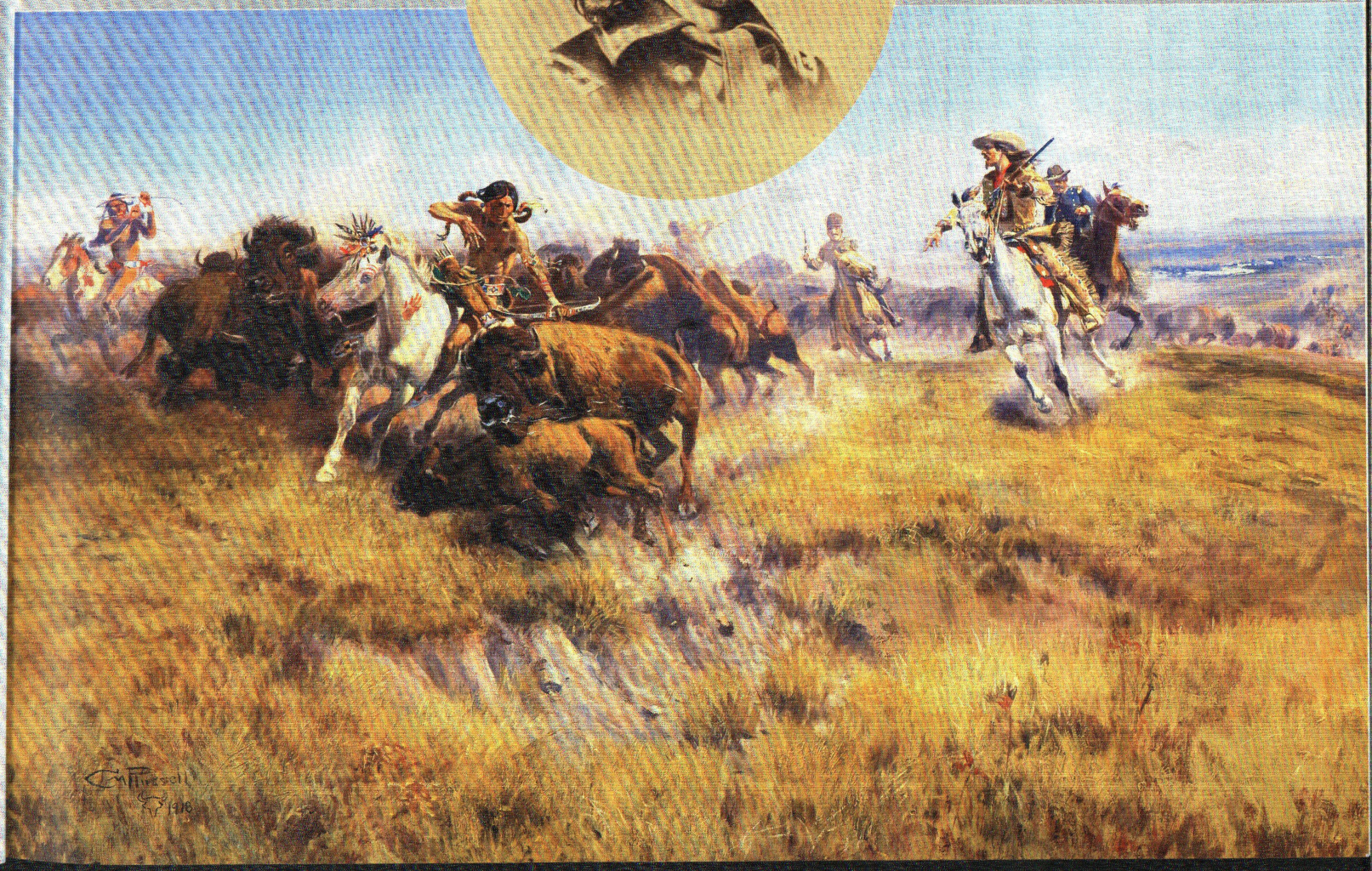
Having completed a hunt for a group of wealthy easterners a few months prior, General Sheridan was becoming an old hand at organizing buffalo hunts. Fifty miles southwest of North Platte, Nebraska Sheridan ordered soldiers from Fort McPherson to set up Camp Alexis on Red Willow Creek. Shortly after this Spotted Tail and other members of the Sioux tribe, including Pawnee Killer, Red Leaf, and Whistler joined the Duke at this location. Here Alexei would see multiple facets of the American pioneer life and be regaled with stories of the frontier by both soldiers and Native Americans.



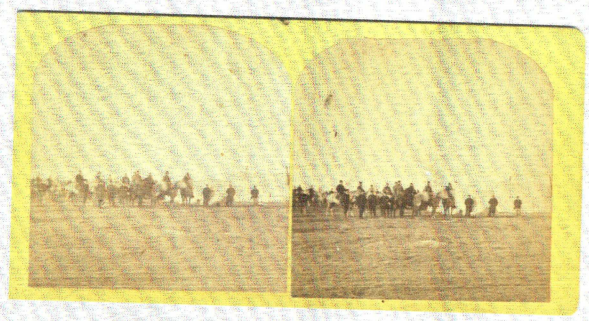
Oglala Sioux Chief Pawnee Killer. 2326.1786

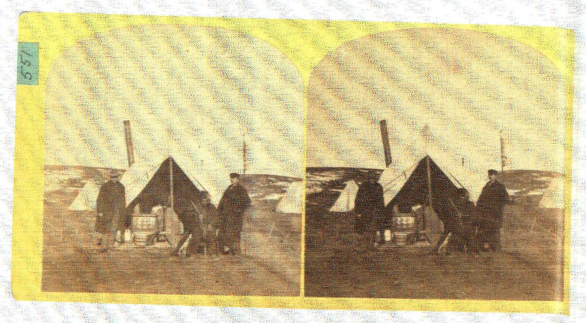


Lieutenant Colonel George Custer. 4326.1538a



Running Buffalo, 1918.
Charles M. Russell. 0137.2266





Photographs by Edric Eaton showing the hunting party about to embark and posed in front of a tent at Camp Alexis.

Thirteen Sioux warriors. 4326.4816





To reach Camp Alexis from North Platte, the Grand Duke and his contingent traveled nearly eight hours via covered wagon over a snow-clad and desolate terrain. Once they arrived, the camp became full of cheer with everyone elated at the prospect of a great hunt.

The hunt began early on the morning of January 14, 1872, the Grand Duke's birthday, and continued the following day. In the morning, Buffalo Bill, acting as scout, traveled ahead to determine the location of the herd. General Sheridan, burdened by other obligations, assigned Lieutenant Colonel Custer to lead the party, and shortly after Buffalo Bill's return the hunting party set out. Custer had served with Sheridan in the Civil War and risen to the brevet rank of Major General during that time. (Under pressure of wartime urgency, he had been promoted from First Lieutenant to Major General at the age of twenty-three; however, with the government scaling back the military after the war he was transferred to the 7th Cavalry and given the regular army rank of Lieutenant Colonel.) Confident in Custer's abilities to entertain the Grand Duke, General Sheridan remained in camp when the hunting party embarked.

General Philip Sheridan (left) and General Custer (right). The two men had been devoted friends since serving together in the Civil War.



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper from February 1872 depicting Lieutenant Colonel Custer in buckskins with Grand Duke Alexis.

The Grand Duke, eagerly awaiting the start of the hunt, was dressed, according to the press, in clothing that was "very appropriate and simple. It consisted of jacket and trowsers of heavy gray cloth, trimmed with green, the buttons bearing the Imperial Russian coat-of-arms; he wore his boots outside his trowsers; his cap was an Australian turban, with cloth top."[2] Both Buffalo Bill and Lieutenant Colonel Custer were dressed in buckskins and many who were present said that they would have easily passed for natives from afar.[3]

Along the trail, the Grand Duke, eager not to miss any opportunity once the shooting began, learned the art of the hunt. As witnessed by a reporter accompanying the party, "Bill led us up and down and round ravines and over rolling lands—and sometimes within sight of howling wolves—a distance of nearly fifteen miles, when, just as we galloped up a rugged slope, we came close upon part of the herd that we had seen."[4]

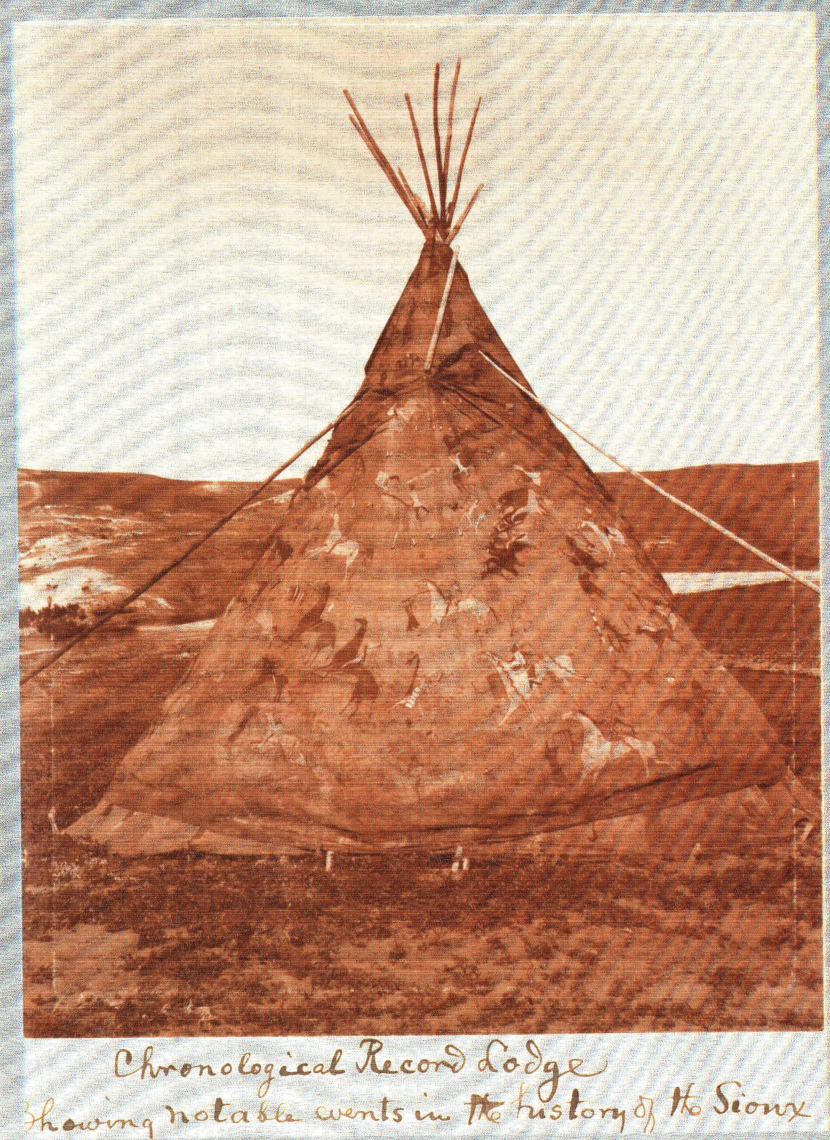
The hunt began. Many animals fell, but since the day was drawing to a close the hunters decided to return to camp till the following day. It was reported that until Buffalo Bill rode beside the Grand Duke and loaned him his gun and mount the Duke had trouble killing a buffalo. However, he eventually achieved success and to celebrate sat on the head of the fallen beast and broke out a case of champagne. Cody later commented that he was "in hopes that he would kill four or six more buffalo before we reached camp, especially if a basket of champagne was to be opened every time he dropped one."[5]

The next morning, January 15, 1872, began as before and again Buffalo Bill acted as scout, but this time General Sheridan and Spotted Tail, along with eight other experienced warriors, accompanied the group. The ground was frozen due to a heavy overnight frost. The great hunters proceeded to follow the same path as the day before and were soon within sight of the herd. General Sheridan gave orders that the Grand Duke would begin the hunt by selecting the first buffalo and after this cow had been taken down the sport would begin. The head and tail of the Duke's buffalo was later mounted and taken back to Russia as a trophy and memento of the hunt.

After an afternoon of hunting it was decided the Grand Duke should see a demonstration of the Native American hunting tradition and prowess. The Sioux Nation, being excellent hunters and riders, would slowly creep down a ravine where a small herd had assembled and proceed with the hunt. The local paper reported that the Natives' skills were so formidable that their arrows would pass straight through a buffalo. After the kill, the arrows used in the hunt were traced through the snow by the trail of blood and one of the young Sioux warriors presented his arrow to the Grand Duke as a gift.[6] "The Grand Duke killed two buffaloes and the Indians eight; Gen. Sheridan two, in two straight shots; Shorty (another scout) three; Lieut. Stevens one; Buffalo Bill and the other members of the party killed 40, making about 56 in all for the day."[7]

Although members of the American group had great success in the hunt, the Russian delegation did not fare so well. Admiral Possiet was dislodged from his horse and another member of the group, Legation Secretary Vladimir Bodisko, was injured when his ambulance overturned.[8] Some of the horses were also worn to the breaking point. *The American West Magazine* reported that General Sheridan's horse, having failed him towards the end of the hunt, had to be led back to camp. Lieutenant Colonel Custer's horse died from exhaustion.[9]

Upon the return to camp, both the Americans and Native Americans regaled Alexei with stories of valor and presented him firsthand knowledge of diplomacy on the plains. Members of the Sioux Nation, at the behest of General Sheridan, staged a pow-wow and war dance in front of the Duke's tent, "each warrior arising and recounting the history of his exploits, at the same time dancing in a circle formed by his hearers, and keeping time to the monotonous music." Additionally, General Sheridan presented Spotted Tail with various gifts, including "a beautiful scarlet cap, embroidered with white beads; a handsome brown cloth morning robe, trimmed with scarlet; and elegant ivory mounted hunting knife, and a general officer's belt, made of Russian leather, wrought with gilt."[10] The General was careful to note these gifts were from himself and not from the Great Father in Washington. The government had sent nearly twenty-five wagonloads of supplies as payment to the Sioux Nation for aiding the country in this show of frontier life. Within those wagons were 1,000 pounds of tobacco, and 10,000 rations of flour, sugar, and coffee; all under the watchful eye of Company K 2nd division Cavalry commanded by Captain Egan.[11]



Sioux Tipi photographed on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, 4327.4829

Spotted Tail also took this opportunity to request a meeting with the general in order to voice his complaints about the treaty between his nation and the United States. The Grand Duke and several other members of the hunting party were allowed to attend this meeting, which was held in General Sheridan's tent. Spotted Tail began by asking for permission to hunt outside the confines of his nation's new reservation until their farms could properly produce. Due to the dwindling buffalo population, this was probably not an unfair argument and would only be natural for a chief looking after the welfare of his people. The other request was to add a second trader to the reservation. Spotted Tail complained that it was against even the white man's instinct to trade with only one person. How could a person hope to get fair prices if there was no competition? General Sheridan was inclined to agree and responded through an interpreter:

> Say to Spotted Tail that he has made a very good speech to me; a much better one, I think, than I can make to him; that I believe I fully comprehend the points he has made, and they are two. First, he wants permission to hunt south of the Platte until his farms can be made to produce sufficient to support his people; and second, he wants more traders upon their reservation. Now, say to him that, while the control of the Indians does not come under my department, as he well knows, I appreciate the force and justice of his requests. So long as we are at peace with each other, I see no objection to his people hunting the buffalos south of the Platte. Should war at any time arise of course this privilege would be withdrawn. With reference to allowing him more traders I can only promise this: I am going to see the Great Father before many days, and I shall remember that speech and ask him to let Spotted Tail and his people have more traders. I am very glad to see him here; I have great respect for him, because he has faithfully fulfilled his treaty obligations. It has given me great pleasure to have had him respond so promptly to the invitation to join in the hunt with the Grand Duke Alexis, who comes here from a far distant country, the son and representative of the great, if not the greatest of chiefs in Europe. If hereafter Spotted Tail should have any request to make that I can grant, consistently, I will remember his promptness on this occasion and do all I can for him. [12]



Spotted Tail with his wife and daughter. 4326.4836

These comments by Spotted Tail and Sheridan show that interactions between such different nations were not always negative but could evolve into mutual respect and be resolved in a friendly and cordial way. However, this was not always the case. Although the hunt had up to this point been very festive, it now threatened to take an abrupt turn and perhaps would have done so had Alexis not calmed everyone and presented Spotted Tail gifts in contrition for an offense. Custer that evening had apparently enjoyed too many drinks and taken liberties with Spotted Tail's sixteen-year-old daughter. Although many gentlemen in the camp had noticed the beautiful young lady and presented her with various gifts, it was Custer who had topped them all by awarding her a kiss. To calm the situation, Alexis presented the Chief red and green blankets and a large bag of silver dollars.

With the hunt concluded, the delegation once again set out to see the country. Custer joined the Grand Duke on the last leg of his journey, a tour of the South. The trip took them to Colorado, Kansas, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, where they arrived in time for the Mardi Gras celebration.

In a letter to his mother the Grand Duke described America as he had observed it: "American society makes a very strange impression on me. The middle class in general were clever and energetic but lacking in manners and ordinary civility. Army and navy officers, however, were quite refined, well-educated and polished. We have in general a false impression about them in Europe."[13] Although he had only been in this country a short time, he had seen a considerable amount.

The great buffalo hunt that took place on the Nebraska plains and the diplomatic trip across the nation was a stunning success both for the United States and Russia. Alexei received a host of invitations from cities across the nation and was introduced to every aspect of American society, from great balls in Boston and Annapolis to the frontier perspective on the plains. His encounter with every kind of American showed the diversity of the population and how much Europe had yet to understand about this infant nation with its immigrant energy and experimental democracy. The Duke's trip ended in Pensacola, Florida, where his fleet picked him up and took him on to Cuba and Japan. Although the Grand Duke never came back to the United Sates, he did leave a lasting impression on the country. A reenactment still takes place every year in Nebraska to commemorate the greatest buffalo hunt ever held.

1. Norman E. Saul, *Concord and Conflict: The United States and Russia, 1867-1914.* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1996).
2. *His Imperial Highness The Grand Duke Alexis in the United States of America During the Winter of 1871-1872.* (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), p. 161. This Elibron Classics book is a facsimile reprint of a 1872 edition by the Riverside Press, Cambridge. No author is given for the original.
3. Ibid., p. 161
4. Ibid., p. 162
5. Saul, p. 65-66
6. *His Imperial Highnesss. . .*, p. 161
7. John I. White, "Red Carpet for a Romanoff: 1872 Hunting Party—Western Style—in honor of Russia's Grand Duke Alexis," in *The American West Magazine.* Vol. IX, number 1, 1972.
7. Ibid.
8. Saul, p. 66
9. White, p. 9
10. *His Imperial Highnesss. . .*, p. 161
11. White, p. 6
12. *His Imperial Highness. . .*, p. 177
13. Saul, p. 69-70

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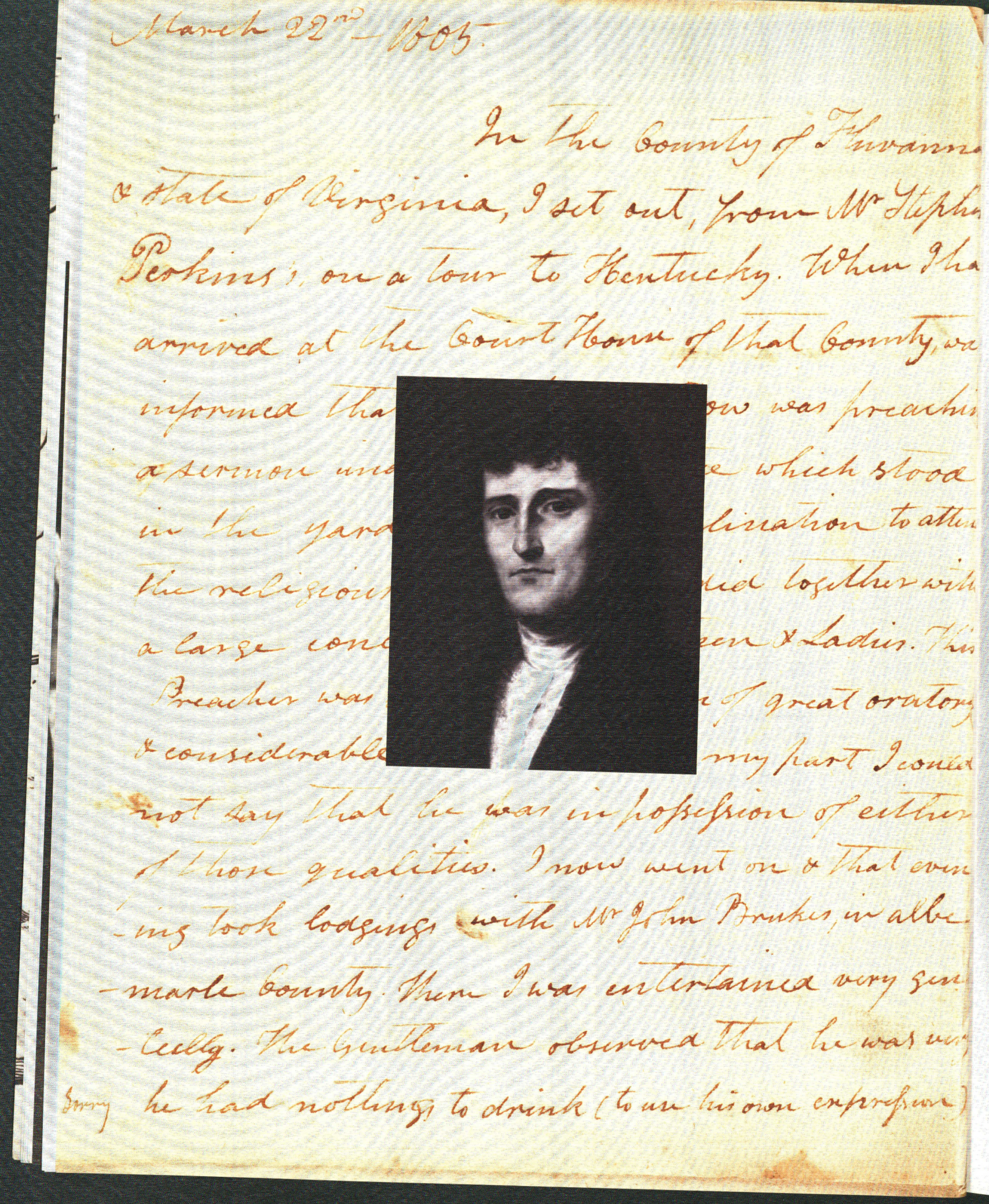

March 22nd – 1805.

In the County of Fluvanna
& state of Virginia, I set out, from Mr Stephen
Perkins's, on a tour to Kentucky. When I ha
arrived at the Court House of that County, wa
informed tha ... ow was preachin
a sermon una ... e which stood
in the yard ... lination to atten
the religious ... did together with
a large conc ... en & Ladies. This
Preacher was ... of great oratory
& considerable ... my part I could
not say that he was in possession of either
of those qualities. I now went on & that even
-ing took lodgings with Mr John Brukes, in albe
-marle County. There I was entertained very gen
-ceelly. The Gentleman observed that he was very
Sorry he had nothing to drink (to use his own expression)

Rushworth Nutt

Peripatetic Witness

KIMBERLY ROBLIN, ASSOCIATE CURATOR, GILCREASE MUSEUM

In the County of Fluvanna and the state of Virginia, I set out. . .

In the spring of 1805, the United States was not yet thirty years old and still adjusting to the freedom and simultaneous responsibility of independence. The revolution of the previous century had dissipated and ushered in an age of exploration and expansion, personified in the recently reelected president, Thomas Jefferson. One of the most influential figures of early American history, Jefferson helped determine the course of the country, both before and during his presidency. As author of the Declaration of Independence, he provided a framework for the colonial cause and a foundation for the young republic. As president, he recognized land as America's most important resource and promoted expansion, most notably through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The following year he commissioned Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, two men now synonymous with exploration, to travel west and chart waterways that could facilitate commerce.

Page 22:
Rush Nutt. University of North Carolina Library Manuscripts Department.

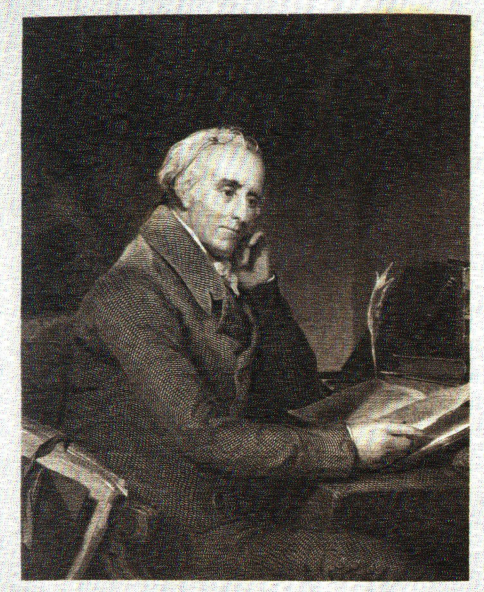
Front page from Rush Nutt's Diary, 1805. 3616.182.

As Lewis and Clark explored the physical landscape, exploration and expansion also occurred within the social and cultural landscapes. Americans explored their new identity and role in the world. The population expanded in sheer number, in cultural diversity, and in geographic distribution as settlers moved to the inner reaches of the country. It was a nation still emerging and fluid, enticing men to experience the frontier for themselves. Rushworth Nutt, a young Virginian, was among them.

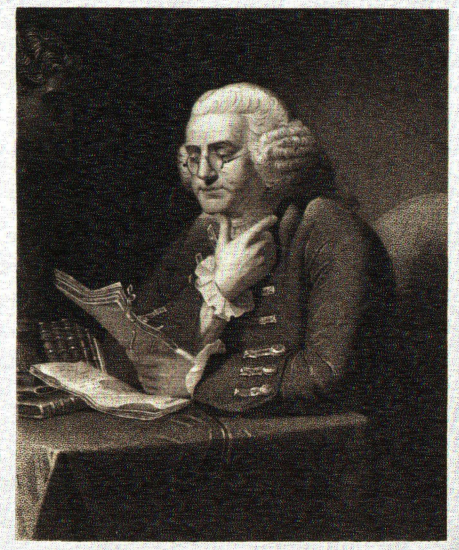
Older than the Constitution, but younger than the Declaration, Nutt was part of the first, true American generation—born not as a subject, but a citizen. Only four years his country's junior, he and the young nation came of age together. He spent his childhood among the fields and farms of eastern Virginia, and as a teenager moved to Philadelphia where he studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. There he met some of the most distinguished minds of the day—men like Dr. Benjamin Rush, a doctor, professor, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Benjamin Franklin, one of the country's founding fathers and preeminent scientists. These men and others formed an elite social and intellectual circle that influenced the impressionable Nutt, his esteem for them evident when he shortened his first name to Rush in honor of his mentor. After completing his medical degree, he returned to the South where he seemingly grew restless. The man of science was intrigued by the adventure and allure of the ever-expanding western frontier, and on March 22, 1805, he set out on a tour of the country west of Tennessee known as the Wilderness. The eventual 2,000 mile journey began in unassuming increments of fifteen to twenty miles, taking him to St. Louis and back over the next seven months. His detailed records of the people and places he encountered reveal the changing demographics of the young country and provide a glimpse into early American life and culture.

Lewis at the Black Eagle Falls of the Missouri, 1933. Olaf Seltzer. 0237.1127.

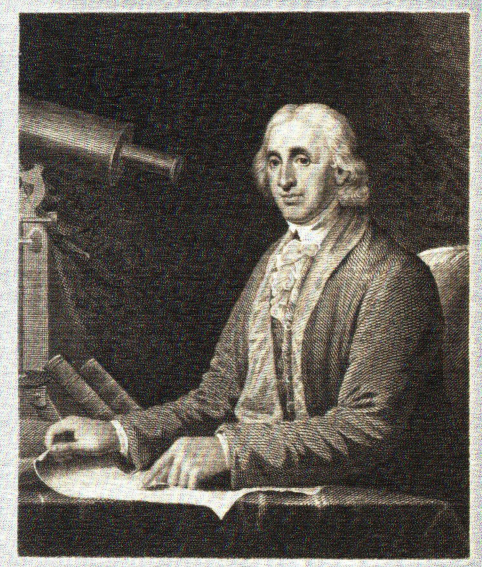




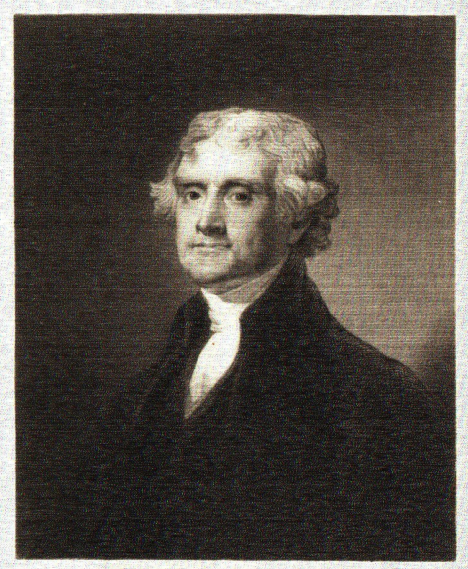
Benjamin Rush



Benj.ª Franklin



Dav.ª Rittenhouse



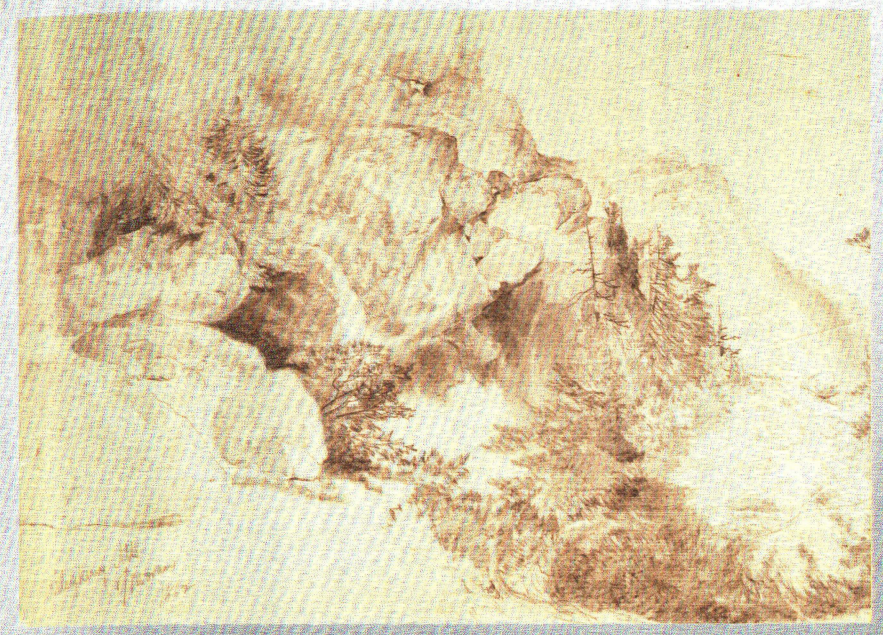
Th. Jefferson

Clockwise from upper left: "Benjamin Rush," "Benjamin Franklin," "Thomas Jefferson," and "David Rittenhouse" from *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans.* Volume II. D. Rice and A.N. Hart: Philadelphia, 1856. 2326.1784.

David Rittenhouse was a prominent scholar and belonged to the elite social and intellectual circle of Philadelphia. Nutt named one of his sons Rittenhouse in his honor.



A Map of Kentucky: Drawn from Actual Observations. John Filson. 1793. 3976.90.



Allegheny Mountains, 1862. Thomas Moran. 1326.1011.

FROM THE DIARY OF

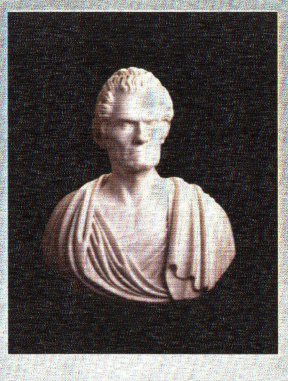
Rushworth Nutt

March 22 — In the County of Fluvanna state of Virginia, I set out, from Mr. Stephen Perkin's on a tour to Kentucky. When I had arrived at the Court House of that County, was informed that Mr. **Lorenzo Dow** was preaching a sermon under a large oak tree which stood in the yard… This Preacher was said to be a man of great oratory & considerable reason, tho for my part I could not say that he was in possession of either of those qualities.

March 26 — still pursuing a west course — crossed the Alleghany mountains. These mountains are of great height — This day was overcast & very foggy; so much as to prohibit the grand prospect from the summits… that evening took quarters in Wythe County with a **Mr. Montgomery**…He has been married twice — he married his second wife at the age of seventy five when she was about twenty two. I saw him his seventy eighth year when his wife had two children. He was a man rather larger than the common size of men & very remarkable for his sobriety he informed me that he did not make use of spirituous liquors nor had he ever in the course of his life.

Lorenzo Dow *was a Methodist preacher who traveled over 200,000 miles in his 38-year career. Famous for his oratorical skills, he drew crowds by the hundreds wherever he traveled.*

James Montgomery, *lieutenant in the Revolution, was born near Donegal, Ireland in 1727 and immigrated to Pennsylvania with his parents and siblings around 1733. He married Cynthia Crockett around 1800 and was also a second cousin to John C. Calhoun.*

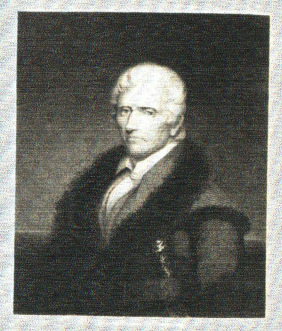


John C. Calhoun. Clark Mills. 0926.1.

Calhoun was a prominent southern politician and served as Vice President of the United States under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Philip King, *born on May 22, 1760 in Louisa County, Virginia, enlisted in Gaskin's Virginia Regiment at the age of 20 during the Revolution. After the war ended, he settled in Virginia before moving to Sullivan County, Tennessee. He and Nancy Woodson had eight children. He died on August 14, 1836.*

Nutt was on the famous **Wilderness Road.** *Originally a game trail used by American Indians, the Wilderness Road had become the primary western route for American emigrants after Daniel Boone popularized the path in the late 18th century.*



"Daniel Boone" from *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans.* Volume II. D. Rice and A.N. Hart: Philadelphia, 1856. 2326.1784.

Daniel Boone

*The phrase "***illiterate & uncultivated***" reveals not only Nutt's opinion about the effects of religion on society but also his tendency to draw parallels between the land and the people. Virginians he saw as refined and cultivated, like their fields and farms. Those living in Kentucky and Tennessee, however, he viewed as crude and unrefined, much like the raw and wild land they inhabited.*

March 31— we continued on through Washington County — about 12 o'clock we crossed the line which divides Virginia from Tennessee — proceeded on through Sullivan County in Tennessee & that evening took quarter with **Mr. Philip King.** This county is remarkably mountainous, very rocky & that of limestone. The inhabitants of this county are most and originally from Virginia.

April 1— about four o'clock in the evening we got at the foot of the Clinch mountain in Granger County. This is a remarkable & very difficult mountain to cross — …After geting to the top of the mountain…I looked behind & found the view very grand — mount after mount, hill after hill as far as the human eye could behold. At one view, the whole world appeared to be composed of nothing but mountains.

April 3— we went on through Claibourn County. It went on & crossed the Cumberland mountain. On the summit of this mountain runs the state line between Tennessee & Kentucky. Virginia, Tennessee & Kentucky corners upon this mount, near the **roads** we continued on through Knox County in Kentucky & came to the Cumberland river — The south side of the river, all the lands belong to the Cherokee Indians.

April 4— we continued on through the new settlement of Kentucky or commonly known by the name of The Wilderness. The wilderness is said to begin two or three miles beyond the eastern side of Clinch mountain — continues across this mountain & so on until it reaches that part of Kentucky caled the Crab orchard.

April 6— attended the public ministry & worship of the Presbyterians…There is something curious in the conduct of many of the people in their attendance on public worship…They are thrown into convulsions — (this affliction is known among them by the name of the Jerks)…I shall briefly…advance my opinion on this extraordinary affliction of the people…if a man remains some time in the dark & then suddenly presenting a torch of fire before his face, light immediately becomes painful to the eye…In like manner these afflicted people were very **illiterate & uncultivated** set of beings…they remained in darkness until the ministers of the gospel…began to spread light & knowledge among them. Which being too suddenly applied, dazzled their sight… & finally threw them into convulsions… I feel happy in saying that the Jerks, yells, howls are going out of fashion & will continue to decline in proportion as the people become more accustomed to preachers & singing.



Detail from *A Map of Kentucky; Drawn from Actual Observations,* showing the Wilderness Road.

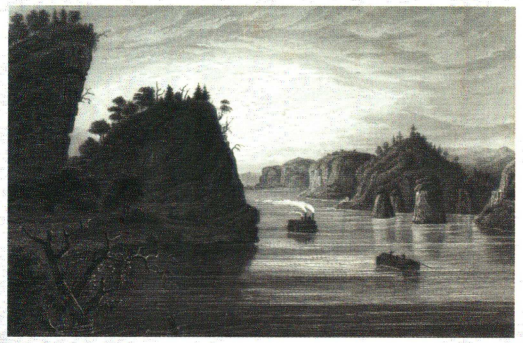
This town is situated in a rich country. . .

April 12—…about three o'clock p.m. arrived at the well known inland town called Lexington in the County of Fayette. This town is situated in a rich country — the neighboring land is remarkably fertile. The growth consists of the **black & white walnut, horsechestnut, locust & sugar maple & grapevines** — but the principal growth is the black walnut.

June 3— in the evening I crossed the river against St. Louis… The town is half mile in length (as the river runs) and about three hundred yards in breadth. The houses are very scattering and of inferior quality. There is a few good framed houses occupied by some wealthy Frenchmen. **The Inhabitants are principally of a mint/mixed breed.** They are called frenchmen because they speak the french tongue—but it would puzzle the greatest naturalist to tell what they are of the french, Indian, and negroe decent.

Trees and wild plants *were more than pleasant additions to the landscape for people in the early 19th century. For those who depended on the land for subsistence and survival they offered food, medicines, and the materials for crafting useful household items. Nutt closely recorded ecological elements, such as variety and abundance of flora, as well as the presence of rivers and the frequency of floods. He used these observations to determine how desirable a location was for settlement.*

*Nutt's observation about "***mixed breeds***" clearly illustrated that the United States was a "melting pot" long before 19th century European immigration. In addition to St. Louis, Nutt also commented on the significant Spanish influence and presence in towns such as San Antoine (San Antonio) and Nacogdoches, evident through their celebration of Our Lady of the Pillar, the patron Virgin of Spain, on October 12th. The celebration included a bull-fight and feast. Nutt also observed cultural convergence in the southeastern Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.*



"Grand Tower" from *The United States, Illustrated.* Charles A. Dana (Ed.). Herrmann J. Meyer: New York, 1855. 2516.892.

"Tower-Rock" by Karl Bodmer from *Illustrations to Maximilian Prince of Wied's Travels in the Interior of North America.* Ackermann and Co: London, 1844. 4576.91.108.

In late November of 1803, Lewis and Clark arrived at Tower Rock, a large island in the Mississippi River with a notorious whirlpool near its base. Lewis wrote that it seemed "among the watermen of the Mississippi to be what the . . . Equinoxial line is with regard to the Sailors; those who have never passed it before are always compelled to pay or furnish some sperits to drink or be ducked."

June 10— I continued my journey. Passed the rock known to the french by the name of the **grand-tour.** This rock is round, perpendicular and covers about an acre of land. About two hundred feet high with its apex perfectly flat and level and situated in the river so that the current runs around it. . . . About 12 o'clock I got to the town of Cape Girardeau.

June 12— I set out from Capt. Bird's with a little butter and flour and embarked on board a flat bottom boat bound for Orleans. We continued on down the river at the rate of 45 miles per day. The weather very warm (mercury at 92). The moschettoes very troublesome.

June 13— about 5 o'clock after noon we made Lance de Grace, recently called New Madrid. This is a small town on the west banks of the Mississippi and in the district of New Madrid. It situation is pleasant and landscape agreeable. The houses are built of wood and but few in number. The inhabitants are principally French.





Map of Southern Section of United States. John Melish. Philadelphia, 1813. 3926.664.

we made the Yazoo river. . .

June 14— in the evening we got to a small settlement of French and americans call'd the **Little Prairie** and in the district of **New Madrid.** There the land was of fine quality and equal in point of production to any situation. All kinds of vegetables grown luxuriantly and to the best advantage. No part of the world affords better range for cotton.

June 18— early in the morning we passed the Chickasaw bluff. The land here is for some distance above forms high and elevated banks. This land belongs to the Indians.

June 27— we made the Yazoo river. This river empties into the Mississippi on the west side and is about three quarters of a mile wide—here the land lays high and broken and very fertile—here also the settlements begin (which is within the Mississippi Terr.)…The land clothed with walnut, locust, cherry, cottonwood, poplar, sycamore, ash, cypress, live, elm and oak—the farmers inform me that the land produces from 1600 to 2200 hundred pounds of cotton per acre.

Six years later the towns of **Little Prairie and New Madrid** *were destroyed by the New Madrid earthquake. With a magnitude estimated at 8.0 on the Richter Scale, it infamously rang the church bells in Boston and temporarily caused the Mississippi to flow backwards.*



"New Orleans" from *The United States, Illustrated*. Charles A. Dana (Ed.). Herrmann J. Meyer: New York, 1855. 2516.892.

July 2 – about 2 o'clock in the morning I set out for Orleans. Continuing down the river the plantations of a beautiful appearance continued to present themselves. At half after 10 o'clock in morn the mercury stood at 98— That evening got to the lofty heights, being 50 miles below Natchez.

July 17— I set out from Orleans for Natchez, continued down the canal of Canoudelet, which extends from the back of town and communicates with the bayou…This bayou is about 47 miles in length from the bridge which extends across it to its junction with lake Ponchartrain and about twenty or thirty yards wide. On the borders or banks of the bayou…are situated about 21 small log houses, and occupied by spaniards who live entirely by fishing. There is also an old spanish garrison there, now occupied by 15 american soldiers.

July 22— I set out on foot for Natchez with several men we went that day about 16 miles. The rain prevented our going further. On the 23rd we still proceeded and completed a journey of 30 miles. The land continued wavy and rather uneven tho held some ponds of water which we had to wade through.

July 26— we made natchez about 12 o'clock which journey was 19 miles…We passed many large and valuable plantations, with excellent corn and cotton. I have seen the largest peach that I ever saw before. Apples they say do not thrive so well cheries will grow here. Sweet potatoes are much better than the Irish.

July 27— I walked out to the town of Washington (seat of government) being 6 miles from Natchez. This town consists of about 12 dwelling houses which are framed bodies. It may be said to be in an infant state here…I find the inhabitants of this territory more than usually hospitable and polite.

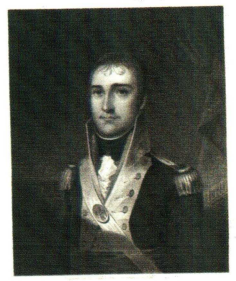
Judge Rodney of Washington informed me that he moved from the state of Deleware two years past and has enjoyed better health than when in Delaware. That he is in possession of more strength and activity than before. I expect from his appearance, he is 60 in years… **Major Claibourn** told me that he has enjoyed better health in this country than ever he did in Virginia.

August 1— I set out from Washington for the Chickasaw nation being 300 miles and on the 9 day I made the destined place. Mr. Frank Mitchell the agent of that nation receiv'd me with kindness and much civility…The Choctaw nation I traveled through first, there are some of them building log houses and cultivating the earth in corn fields…

west 3 miles from the agency house is a small village called Chuquilla, containing six comfortable cabins inhabited by Choctaws and Chickasaws. This village is on the head waters of Tloolgee—near the agency house on high and beautiful situations are six forms in a state of high cultivation. Those are made by white men having Indian families and by Choctaw half-breeds who have settled here by permission of this nation. In this settlement travelers are mostly supplied with grain and provisions—here would admit of a large settlement.

North 9 miles is Etockshish, the residence of **Mr. McIntosh** a high and beautiful situation. Fine springs, timber, blackjack and hickory, undergrowth, shoemake and hickory, near Mr. McIntosh's are six well improved farms, made by white men and natives who are in the habit of farming after the mode of the whites; and vend their surplus to travelers.

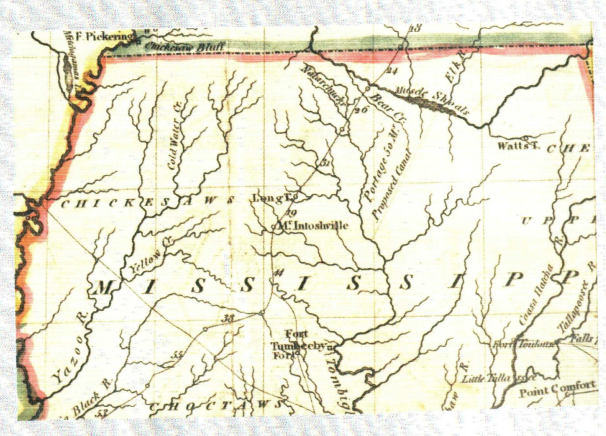
The King of this nation is an old weak well meaning man call'd **Chinaumbee,**..William Glover, a half breed, of a strong mind but wants stability, stands high with the people…Tisshamastubba is the speaker of the nation, is a very good man and have full confidence in himself. He now fills the place of **George Colbert** who has for some time declined attending to business. George Colbert altho he has declined sitting in council has more the ear of the nation and more weight than any of his people. He is an artful designing man, more for his own interest than that of his nation; having the ferries in his own family and some valuable stages on the road.



"William C. C. Claiborne" from *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*. Volume IV. D. Rice and A.N. Hart: Philadelphia, 1856. 2326.1786.

Major Claibourn *was the brother of William C. Claiborne, former Governor of Mississippi Territory and Governor of Louisiana Territory in 1805.*

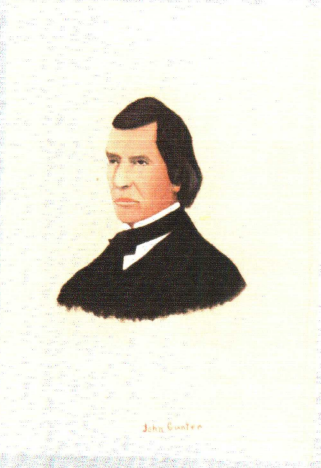
Thomas Rodney *was born June 4, 1744 in Sussex County, Delaware. His brother, Caesar Rodney, was a member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Thomas participated in politics early in his career as a lawyer. From a justice of the peace to a member of the Council of Safety, colonel of militia during the Revolution to a chief justice, he served his country. In 1803, President Jefferson appointed him Territorial Judge of Mississippi. He held the position until his death in 1811.*



Detail from *Map of Southern Section of United States* showing McIntoshville.

John McIntosh *was the British commissary to the Chickasaws in the 18th century. He lived at Etockshish, also known as Tockshish and McIntoshville. It became a popular settlement for families of Chickasaw and European heritage.*

The Chickasaw Nation had recently signed a treaty on July 23rd, 1805. Signers included **Colonel George Colbert**, *William Glover, and* **Chinnubby.**



Daughtery Colbert.
John Gunter. 1327.434.

Born in 1810, Daughtery Colbert was raised by the large and influential family of Levi Colbert. As an adult, he served two terms as governor of the Chickasaw Nation.

August 19— I went to an Indian dance…The fiddler sit down in the dancing yard and as many as wished to dance gathered around and formed a ring…The dancing gentlemen had their legs draped with numerous small bells or brass hollow balls with iron shot within to ring. The ladies had the skeletons of five tarapins (tortoise) half filled with pebbles, suspended to each leg and with this rattling noise they merrily moved. After a few hours I left them in this merry condition, which continued until night.

August 20— I was solicited by one Indian gentleman (who spoke some english) to walk out with him…that he had many questions to ask me…—what makes the moon sometimes round and then in a halfround—what is the moon—what is the sun and of what does it consist—its size—whether it moves—what makes rain come on every change of the moon. These questions I answered him according to the general opinion and calculations of philosophers.

September 4— From Agency House I set out for Nashville, Tennessee. That day, journey opened to my view much good land clothed with hickory and oak. The soil fine and black with a red clay foundation.

September 14— I got to franklin a small town with in 15 miles of Nashville. Here I made a stay from the agency house until I got to the Cumberland settlement…This settlement or country is dispersed throughout with what they call knobs which are scattering and broken mountains. The bottoms are very rich and are settled by people.

September 16— in the morning I got to the ferry where **Gen. George Colbert** lives, who ownes the ferry himself. James and **Levi,** brothers, are half-breeds and have slaves with whom they cultivate corn and garden vegetables.

September 26— I set out for the Red branch in Kentucky—continued on to Nashville…The town is perhaps 100 feet above the bed of the river... This town is situated on the banks of Cumberland river. Its in a state of rapid improvement—perhaps there is now 400 houses.

September 28— On the 28th left Logan and that day journey ended four miles beyond mulenbourgh courthouse. The land of common quality and continued with a gradual rise. On the 29th I got to the Nob Sick. The land not very level. Small growth of oak and hickory.

October 21— the earth slightly freezed…When I passed the Crab-Orchard, saw the knobs and mountains of Tennessee coming from the south and traversing to the north…Continuing on to the east I crossed the raven hills and Copper ridge all lofty and stupendous hills and then crossed Clinch mountain a very considerable height.

A little over a week later, after seven months of exposure to the elements and travel over difficult terrain, Nutt arrived in Fluvanna County, Virginia. Within three years of his return he had relocated to Natchez, Mississippi and married Elizabeth Ker, daughter of Judge David Ker. While Nutt established himself as a successful planter, the couple built a home and quickly started a family. The curiosity that had led him on a western trek as a young man never diminished, and eventually carried him to Europe and the Middle East. It also fueled his keen interest in the physical world around him, particularly in geology—the examination of how time and pressure affect the land. Even as a 25 year old he had diligently documented the rocks and strata as he traveled through Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, and Mississippi. He unknowingly, however, had also demonstrated how time and pressure could affect an element other than land—the socio-cultural climate of an evolving nation. As the earth responds to time and pressure, early American society responded as well—to over a hundred years of British rule, to hard-won independence, to European influence, to immigration, to diversity, and to expansion.

Nutt's accidental exercise in social science produced a revealing and compelling glimpse into the emerging American identity, and although this mythic identity today seems hard and fixed, like the rocks that Nutt studied, it is subject to time and pressure—always shifting and never absolute.



Detail from *Map of Southern Section of United States* showing the Mississippi River from St. Louis to New Orleans, the route Nutt traveled.

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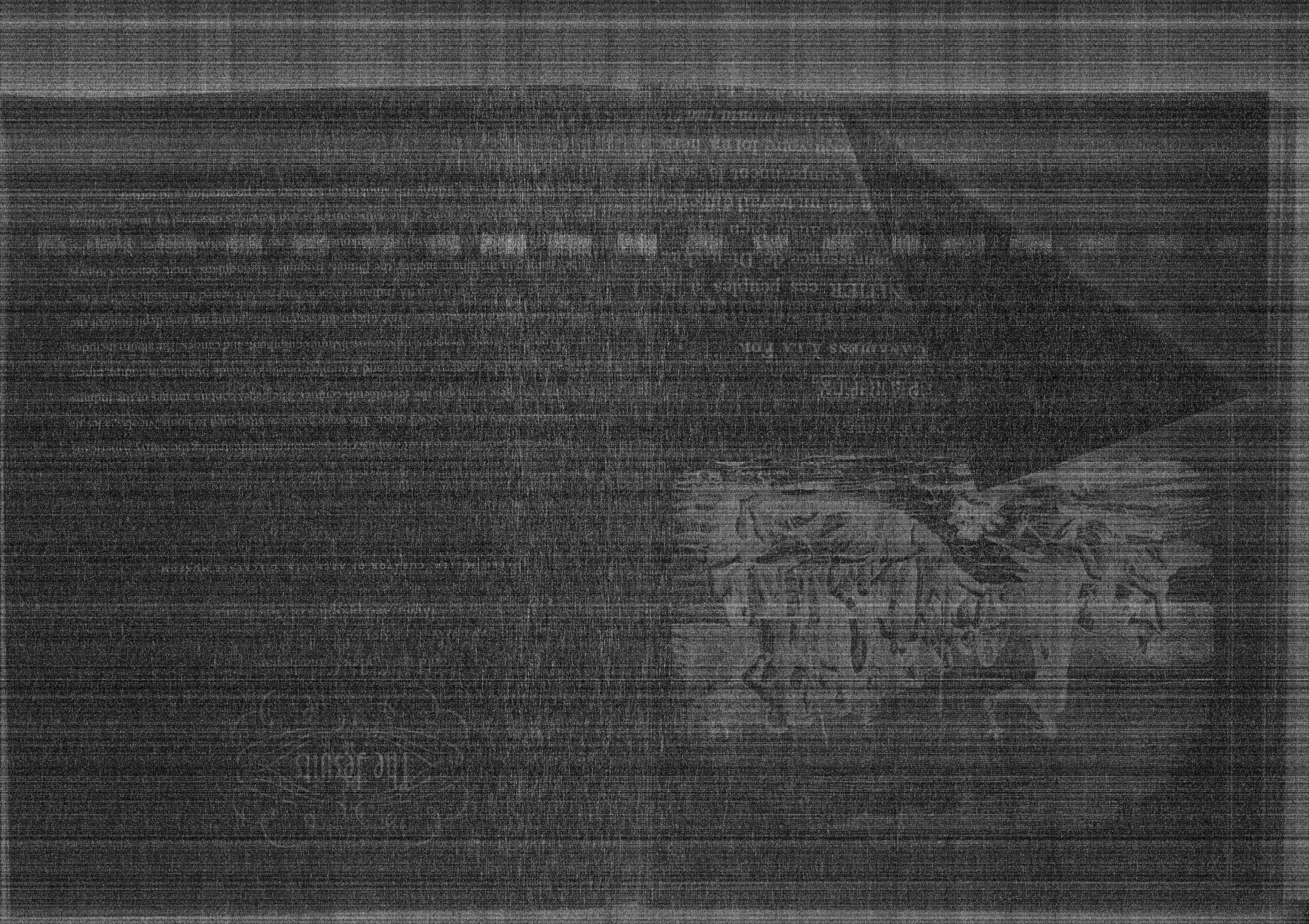

336 De Quadrupedibus

DE CASTORE.

A.



CASTOR animal quadrupes eſt amphibiũ: Latini fibrum, & ut Seruio placet canẽ Ponticum uocant; Græcis nomi-natur caſtor, & ὕδρα ποτάμιος, id eſt, canis fluuiatilis, ut apud Syluaticum legimus. Italis, bituaro: uel beuero: Gallis, bieure, quanquã Braſauola Gallos Caſtoris nomẽ retinere ſcribit: id quod Hiſpanos feciſſe puto: fieri tamen poteſt ut Galli etiam in regionibus quibuſdam retinuerint. In Matthæoli Italica Dioſcoridis trãslatione ſiber ipſe il caſtoreo uocatur. Germanis biber: Anglis beuer: Illyrijs bobr: quæ omnia à fibro uoce Latina deducta eſſe prima fronte ſtatim apparet. Syluaticus plurima paſſim caſtoris & caſtorei in Arabum libris nomina recenſet, quorum multa ſcriptura ſolum & orthographia differũt, ego omnia utcunq; corrupta adnumerabo. Albedueſter, caſtoreum: ego ipſum caſtorem potius intelligo, nam pro teſticulis ium uel iune uel ſimilem uocem addere ſolent: Ium de beduſt. Iuna da baduſter: Anguſ de belduſtor: Guidelarus: Quibar: In de bidiſter: Zun de beduſter: Iuna da bauſter: Iune de buſtor: Gen de beduſter. Auicẽna habet Giẽdedeſtar, aliás Giendibideſtar. Reperio & alia quædam uocabula apud Syluaticum & alios, quæ tum inter ſe tum à ſuperioribus non parum differunt: ut, Caſcubas, Amphima, uoce corrupta forſan ab amphibio: & Anfinia ſimiliter, nam ceu Græcam Syluaticus exponit: item Achiam, Anchian, Anchiani, Antin algil, Aſuſchelhar. Albertus lamyekyz barbaram uocem, ex Auicẽna puto, caſtorem interpretatur; quæ uox fortaſſis Illyrica eſt. Nam Polonis dama lanij dicitur, cuius diminutiuum lanijka. Caſtoreum teſticulus eſt animalis, quod caſtor appellat uel deũ, Platearius. Ex his tot ſcribendi modis quin maior pars corrupta ſit, dubiũ non eſt: ego quos quibus præferam incertus ſum. Kipod Hebraicã uocem Eſaiæ 34. & alibi in Sacris literis non caſtorem, ut cuidam uidetur, ſed echinum terreſtrem ſignificare in eius hiſtoria demonſtrabo. אנקה anakah Leuitici cap. 11. aliqui ericium, alij hirudinem interpretantur, author concordantiarum reptile uolans. R. Salomon alibi hericium, alibi חברא exponit, id eſt fibrum, Gallica lingua (qua is uti ſolet) bieure dictum: ſic etiam Munſterus legit. Non placet legi uiuerra, quod id uocabulum lingua Gallica R. Salomoni familiari, aliter efferatur.

B.

Differt à lutra ſiber cauda ſolum: cætero pilus utriq; pluma mollior: utrũq; aquaticum, Plinius. Sunt qui fibrum meli comparent: ſed corpus ei longius tribuunt, & pilum ſubtiliorem. Pilos habet pulchros,

Facing: *Historiae Animalium* by Conrad Gesner. 1551. De Quadrupedibus de castore. Image courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine.

Jesuit missions in New France started during the seventeenth century and faltered at the beginning of the eighteenth. The missions contributed to the colonial drive of France during the period, the conversion of the Native Americans to Christian religion and European ideals being an integral part of the establishment of a colony there. Jesuit missionaries began arriving in Quebec by 1625. In 1632, when the troubles with England were brought to an end and the colony was once more securely in the hands of the French, the Jesuits began increasing their number steadily, a few arriving with almost every ship. Upon arrival they would be sent off to the Indian settlements – to the Hurons around the Georgian Bay, to the Algonquins north of the Ottawa, and the Iroquois south of the lakes.

The Jesuits in New France mandated that Indian life was to be radically altered if true conversion were to be successful. Permanent and stationary communities were to be created, and traditional nomadic tribes were to settle in these towns. In spite of persistent effort on the part of the Jesuits, relatively few Indians accepted the sedentary life. Many tribal units were decimated by war and disease before accepting the resettlement, although several moderately successful settlements did exist for brief periods. One of the most important was St. Joseph, founded in 1637 as part of an effort to reorganize the Montagnais Indians. Later renamed Sillery (after the French diplomat who provided the funds for the establishment of the town) the community in 1645 was home to one hundred and sixty-seven native inhabitants. The next year however, the community was raided by the Iroquois, then fell subject to an epidemic of measles. The Montagnais and Algonquins left the territory and in 1698, the Jesuits abandoned their post there.

Jesuit efforts in converting the Indians were relatively unsuccessful. As disease swept through the native populations, the Jesuits were often suspected of witchcraft. It was noted that the outbreaks began shortly after the arrival of the "Black Robes" and that the French priests themselves were spared. Others hoped that conversion would save them from the plagues, which caused more ill feeling toward the Jesuits when it did not. The Jesuits' practice of baptizing only the dying led many to assume a cause and effect relationship there as well.

The attempts at conversion and change served to disrupt the established traditions of the Indians, often causing conflict and strife between and within tribes. Native traders who became Christians were given preferential treatment by French traders, separated from non-Christian Indians, sold supplies at lower prices, and permitted to buy guns.

As the fur trade was incorporated into the very fabric of native society, the difficulty in extricating themselves from the Jesuit influence became more and more problematic. In many villages, Native Americans acquiesced when it came to giving the appearance of Christianity, but remained loyal to their traditional beliefs and religious practices. The Jesuits continued their labors in the Indian outposts until the eighteenth century, but in general failed to make much headway during the last half-century of French rule.

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Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 22. Figure 38 (top).

Portrait of a female captive from whom all teeth and fingernails have been pulled out. I saw her being burned in the village of toniotogehaga for six hours during which time she was scratched by inches; she was partly eaten by the Iroquois and their dogs. Volunteer executioner/torturer who offers himself to burn and make suffer the war prisoners.

Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 22. Figure 39 (bottom).

Doctors who mask themselves in the manner shown here singing and dancing around a sick person whom I represent at the bottom of this page lying down naked on the skin of a wild animal. The entire medication given by these doctors consists of dancing or singing or fanning the sick woman in order to scare the devil who made her ill.

Facing: **Codex Canadiensis**
4726.7. Page 55.

Sea monster killed by the French on the Richelieu River in New France.



Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 5.

Portrait of an Illinois leader. He is equipped with his pipe and his dart (spear).



Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 7.

Iroquois Indian of the Nation of Gandaouagehagu in Virginia. This young man practiced for war in my presence by having some of his fingernails pulled out, the tip of his nose cut off by his friends who led him as if in triumph around the village, wanting everyone to know that he would bravely suffer all the torments that the enemies of war would make him suffer if he were captured.





Facing: **Codex Canadiensis**
4726.7. Page 10.

Indian of the Oneida Nation. He smokes tobacco in honor of the sun whom he worships as his personal deity.

Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 14.

Portrait of an illustrious one-eyed man. This leader had an eye put out by an arrow. He was a great warrior and terrorized the various nations along the coast of his country. He harangued his solders through a tube made of the bark of a birch tree, he incites them to listen to him, saying pissintaouik nikanissitak, listen to me, my brothers. His name was Iscouakite, which means burning firebrand.

Codex Canadiensis 4726.7. Page 27.

Unicorn.



Codex Canadiensis 4726.7. Page 15.

The fishing of the Passonassionek Indians. I describe this fishing elsewhere, which is one of the very amazing things about fishing.





Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 41.
Colored birds.



Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 52.

(1) Heron. (2) coucoucoucou that we hear at night from a distance of three or four leagues in the forest or alongside the river. (3) Crane.

amic ou castor

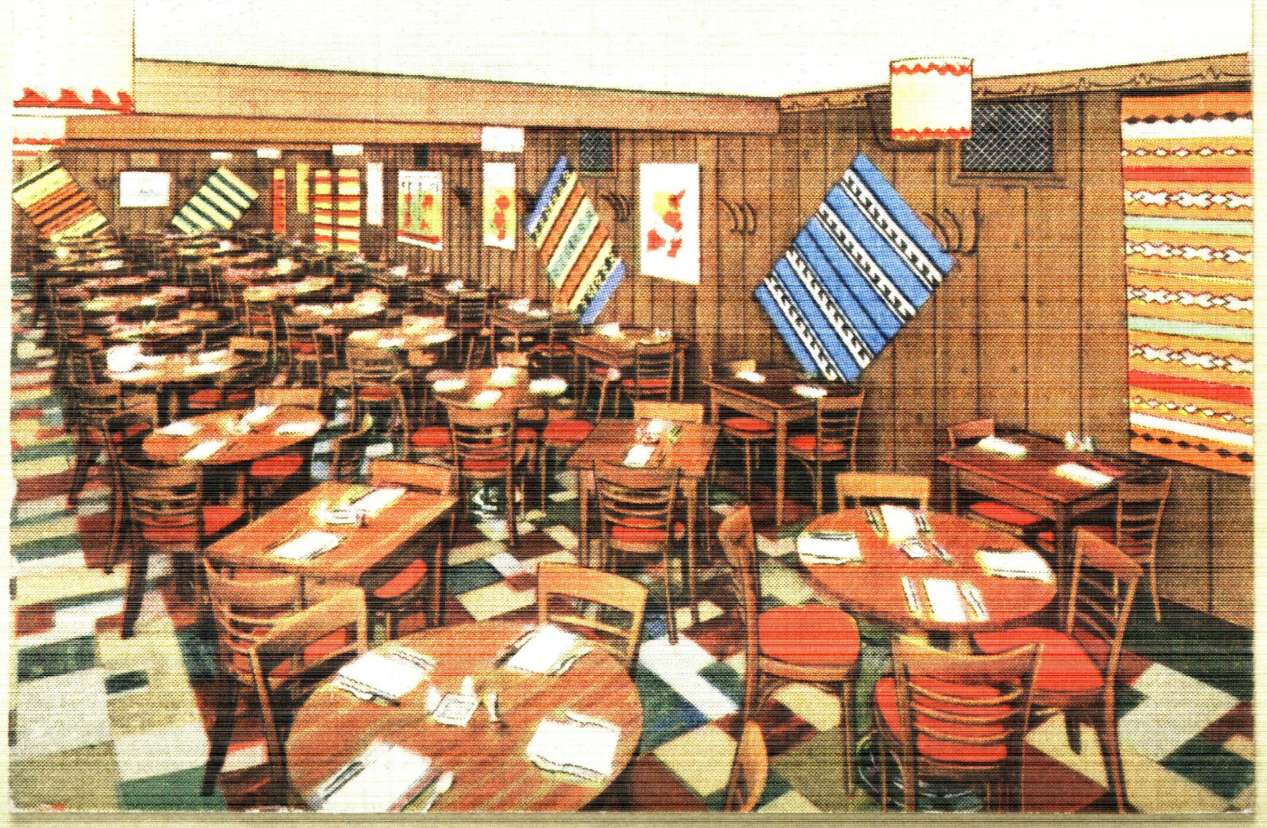
I



Codex Canadiensis
4726.7. Page 37.

Beaver.





Black Hawk

Celebrity and Meaning in Early American Life

RANDY RAMER, DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS AND EXHIBITIONS, GILCREASE MUSEUM

On June 6, 1833, President Andrew Jackson rose from his box seat in a Baltimore, Maryland, theater at the close of a performance of *Jim Crow*. The sixty-six-year-old former general and current head of state was making a brief stop on a tour of eastern cities to celebrate his recent inauguration to a second term in March. The theater was crowded with spectators—both admirers and the simply curious. Jackson acknowledged the onlookers with characteristic formality and grace. The moment was not typical, however, as the crowd had not gathered only for him. First as general and then as president, Jackson had grown accustomed to commanding the limelight; he was used to having the full attention of those around him. Perhaps, then, he felt some consternation at the public outpouring of admiration for his recent rival—not his election foe Henry Clay, but his own late prisoner of war, the diminutive, sixty-six-year-old Indian leader simply known as Black Hawk.



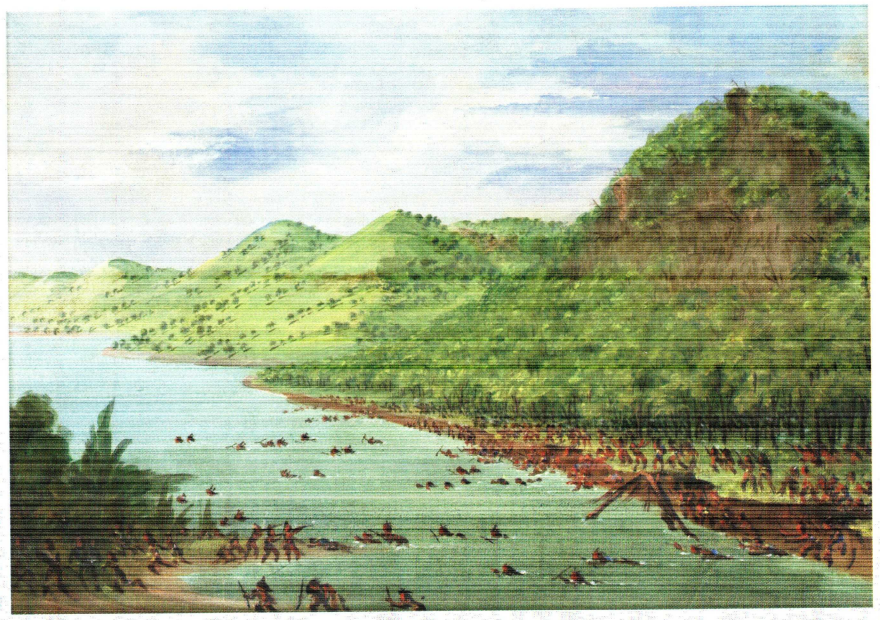
"It is really amusing to see what an infectious thing greatness is," wrote a newspaper editor who witnessed the event. "Black Hawk attracts almost as great a crowd as the President and, resolving not to be outdone, even by the General, he walks out on balconies and bows to the multitudes…"

As the crowd of spectators watched, the president and the Sauk rebel exchanged pleasantries. The moment marked their second meeting, the first having occurred privately some weeks prior in the War Room at the White House. The Baltimore theater, electric with excitement, was the perfect setting for a public re-engagement between the two opposed leaders. They were actors in a performance rarely matched on any stage of popular culture. As a "man of the people," Jackson was undoubtedly intrigued by the interest Black Hawk stirred among the American crowd, particularly at his own expense. It was clear that the Sauk Indian leader and namesake of a recent uprising had become one of the most famous men in the United States.

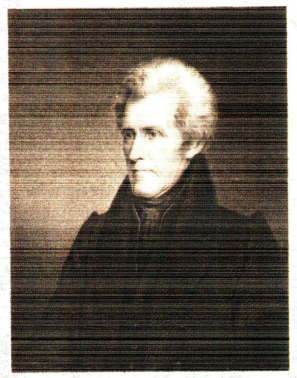
Pages 52 and 53: Postcard of The Blackhawk Indian Room in Chicago, circa 1940. TL2009.36.5; *Muk-A-Tah-Mish-O-Kah-Kaik, the Black Hawk,* 1832. George Catlin. 0226.1519;

Facing: *Kee-O-Kuk, First War Chief of the Sauks (Watchful Fox),* 1825. Charles Bird King. 0126.1199.

Right and below: *Defeat and Capture of Black Hawk,* 1852. George Catlin. 0176.2113. *Andrew Jackson, President of the United States.* J.B. Longacre. 1526.847.



The Black Hawk War of 1832 began in a maelstrom of fear and anxiety, panic and hysteria, lies, hatred, and distrust. The causes of the war are perhaps too numerous to fully comprehend. Its foundations were laid, however, with the Sauk and Fox Treaty of 1804, an agreement that ceded all Sauk and Fox lands east of the Mississippi River to the United States. Although the tribe was allowed to remain settled there into the early 1830s, American encroachment into the area gradually began to increase after the War of 1812. Many in the traditionally united Sauk and Fox tribes, especially Black Hawk, considered the 1804 treaty invalid; in their view the small group of signers had no real authority to bargain away tribal lands. It was also claimed that the territorial governor, William Henry Harrison, and others intentionally misled the Sauk and Fox leaders about the full scope of the land cession. Indeed, by the terms of the 1804 treaty, for the equivalent of $2,234.50 in goods and the promise of future annual payments of $1,000 in goods, the Sauk and Fox leaders signed away all claims to over 14 million acres of tribal lands including Saukenuk, the epicenter of Sauk and Fox traditional life.



Andrew Jackson

Founded at the confluence of the Mississippi and Rock Rivers, the Sauk tribal home of Saukenuk had thrived since the mid 18th century. Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, was born there in 1767. During his lifetime, the great village became one of the largest and most prosperous Native settlements in the region. It was once part of the Northwest Territory and was eventually annexed by the United States with the establishment of the State of Illinois in 1818.

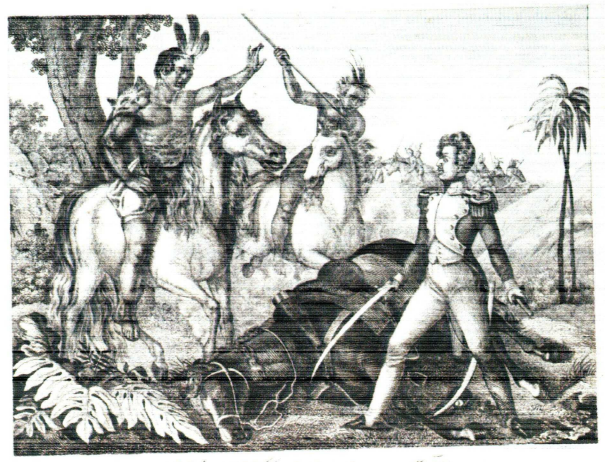
Saukenuk had long been a highly productive commercial center. Its economy included not only the planting and harvesting of corn and other crops but also the trade in hides, feathers, and lead procured in Native mines. That the Sauks and Foxes were among the wealthiest

. . . for the equivalent of $2,234.50 in goods . . . the Sauk and Fox leaders signed away all claims to over 14 million acres of tribal lands . . .





BLACK HAWK.



W. Black Hawk der schwarze Falke

Above and above right: *Black Hawk.* TL2009.36.3; *Black Hawk, der schwarze Falke.* Lithograph, ca. 1840. TL2009.26.6.

Facing: *Black Hawk and His Son Whirling Thunder.* 1833. John Wesley Jarvis. 0126.1007.

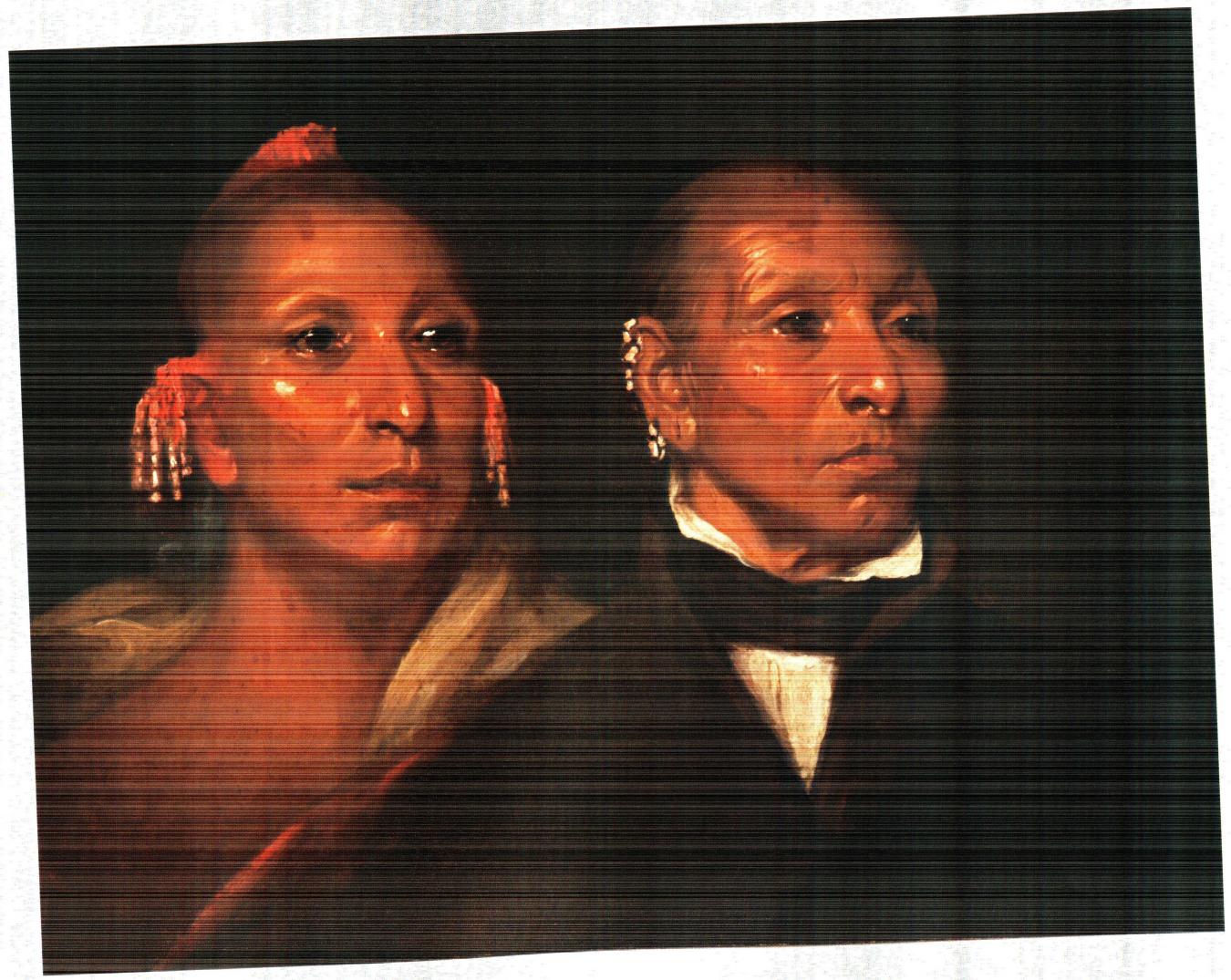
peoples in the region did not go unnoticed by their American neighbors. The rich mineral resources of traditional Sauk and Fox lands were of special interest. By the late 1820s, the encroachment of American miners into the area pushed regional tensions to an all-time high. Killings occurred—perpetrated by both Americans and Indians each against the other. Hostility and fear continued to build into the early 1830s. Eventually, white settlers petitioned the governor of Illinois to organize an army of volunteers. Federal troops moved into the area to intercede and to compel the Sauks and Foxes to abandon their homes east of the Mississippi. In June of 1831, under the threat of military force—and dramatically outnumbered—Black Hawk and his band were among the last to leave.

Black Hawk's capitulation to the military demands of the whites was short-lived. Through the fall and winter of 1831, he attempted to rally support among the other Sauk bands as well as other neighboring tribes to resist the Americans. In his effort, Black Hawk's chief rival was Keokuk, the charismatic leader who had assumed a significant leadership role among the Sauk people and with the council of civil chiefs. Keokuk had long supported appeasement of the Americans, believing that resistance to their demands would be largely pointless. In 1824, he and other Sauk and Fox leaders had toured eastern cities while visiting Washington, D.C., for peace negotiations to settle an ongoing conflict with the Eastern Sioux. According to historian Patrick J. Jung, "this was a common tactic in the 19th century. The War Department reasoned that such tours impressed the Indians with the numerical strength of the Americans and the futility and foolhardiness of armed revolt against the United States."

In Black Hawk's autobiography, published only a year after the war, the Sauk leader described his thoughts about his rival and the motivations for his actions. "We were a divided people, forming two parties—Keokuk being at the head of one, willing to barter our rights merely for the good opinion of the whites, and cowardly enough to desert our village to them. I was at the head of the other division and was determined to hold on to my village although I had been ordered to leave it… It was here that I was born and here lie the bones of many friends and relations. For this spot I felt a sacred reverence…"

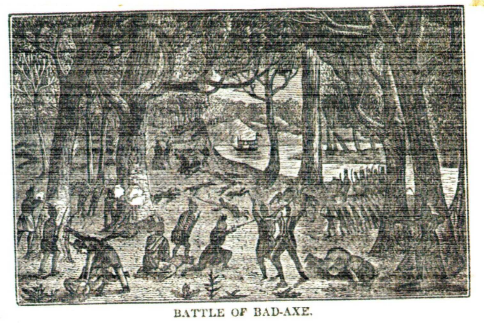
On April 5, 1832, Black Hawk led his band of approximately 1,000 individuals back across the Mississippi River intending to reclaim Sauk and Fox homes and fields. While his actions ignited the hysteria that quickly escalated into war, it is believed that Black Hawk had no plans to undertake hostile action and that a significant majority of his followers were women, children, and older members of the tribe. The fighting began in only a matter of weeks, however, fueled by an influx of white volunteers eager to kill Indians. From the outset, Black Hawk and his warriors were severely outnumbered and the band of women and children was nearly constantly on the run. Over the next few months, they managed to elude capture. News of the war quickly spread across the nation and was the cause of considerable embarrassment, particularly for President Jackson, who was facing reelection that November. Jackson demanded that Black Hawk be "chastised" for his actions in order to deter further "unprovoked hostilities by Indians on our frontier."

Black Hawk and his band grew increasingly weary from the conflict. By midsummer they were starving. In early August, they were caught attempting to make their way back across the Mississippi near Bad Axe. The battle that followed ended in the massacre of noncombatants. While Black Hawk and many of his followers escaped, their losses were considerable, including many women and children. Weeks later the war ended with the surrender of Black Hawk

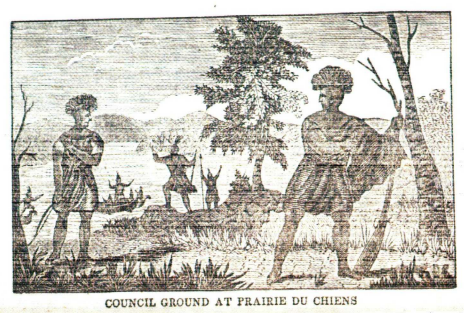


Clockwise from upper right: "Battle of Bad-Axe" from *The Great Indian Chief of the West.* Applegate and Co.: Cincinnati, 1854. 2326.1721; "Council Ground at Prairie du Chiens" from *The Great Indian Chief of the West.* Applegate and Co.: Cincinnati, 1854. 2326.1721; "Treaty at Ft. Armstrong" from *The Great Indian Chief of the West.* Applegate and Co.: Cincinnati, 1854. 2326.1721; "White House" from *The United States, Illustrated.* Charles A. Dana (Ed.). Herrmann J. Meyer: New York, 1855. 2516.892;

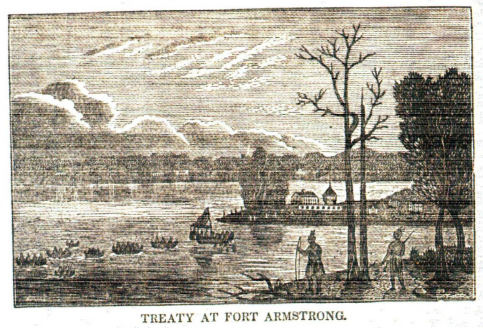
Facing: "Sauk and Fox Indians" from *The Indian Wars of the United States.* William V. Moore. W.A. Leary & Co.: New York, 1850. 2926.1113b; Label from Blackhawk Ginger Ale, circa 1940. TL2009.36.4.



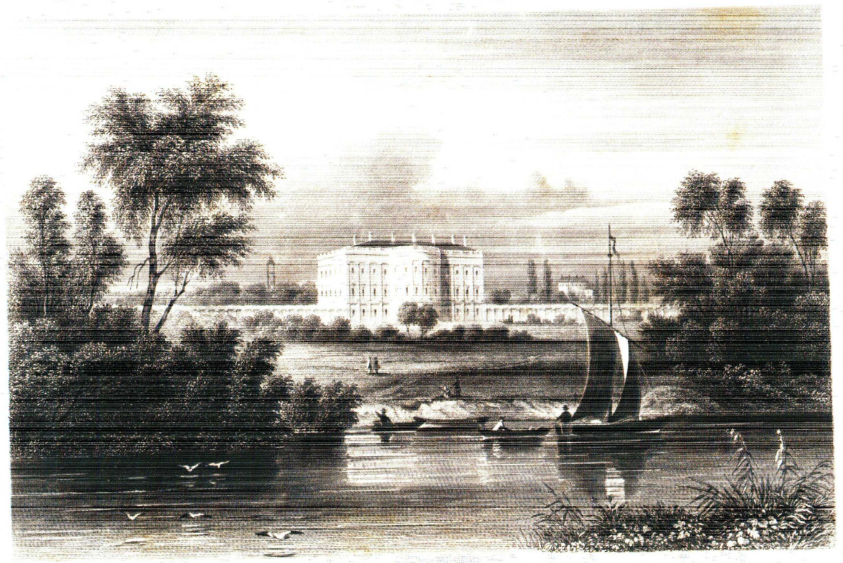
BATTLE OF BAD-AXE.



COUNCIL GROUND AT PRAIRIE DU CHIENS



TREATY AT FORT ARMSTRONG.



to Colonel Zachary Taylor and Indian agent Joseph Street at the agent's house at Prairie du Chien, Illinois. Dressed in white deer skins, the defeated Sauk leader was taken away to Fort Crawford under military guard.

Tired and emaciated from the privations of the conflict, Black Hawk must have feared his life as a Sauk was over. He was unaware that he would soon become one of the most famous men in America. From Fort Crawford, the Sauk leader was ordered removed to the military post at Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis. For the journey, he was placed "under the charge of a young war chief…with whose conduct [he] was very much pleased." Black Hawk was referring to his Army escort, twenty-four-year-old Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederate States during the Civil War. While the prisoner was largely well treated, the trip down the Mississippi was a journey of loss and defeat. "On our way down," he wrote, "I surveyed the country that had cost us so much trouble, anxiety and blood, and that now caused me to be a prisoner of war. I reflected upon the ingratitude of the whites when I saw their fine houses, rich harvests and everything desirable around them; and recollected that all this land had been ours…"

On September 21, less than a month after Black Hawk's surrender at Prairie du Chien, Keokuk signed a formal treaty with General Winfield Scott and others at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois. The treaty stipulated not only the cession of Sauk and Fox lands but also that Black Hawk and ten fellow combatants would be "held as hostages for the future good conduct of the late hostile bands." The imprisonment was to be indefinite and subject to "the pleasure of the President of the United States." At Jefferson Barracks, Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners were placed in irons. They were subsequently met by Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, who



had commanded the U.S. Army against them. As the general confronted him, Black Hawk "felt the humiliation" of his present circumstance.

"A little while before I had been leader of my braves," he later recalled. "Now I was a prisoner of war…forced to wear the ball and chain…If I had taken him prisoner…I would not have wounded his feelings so much by such treatment, knowing that a brave war chief would prefer death to dishonor."

Black Hawk and the other prisoners spent the winter of 1832-33 at Jefferson Barracks. News of their captivity soon spread throughout the United States. While imprisoned, they were visited by a handful of notables including writer Washington Irving and painter George Catlin. Public interest in the prisoners continued to grow, particularly in the East. In the spring, half of the prisoners were released. Black Hawk and five others were to remain imprisoned, however. They were again ordered relocated to a more secure location. Over the next several weeks, they were to be transported by steamboat, stage, and railroad to Fortress Monroe in Virginia where they would continue to be held at the discretion of the president.



The journey east was an eye-opening experience for the prisoners, particularly for Black Hawk. He had never before seen large American cities—with houses, civic buildings and other structures reaching far into the distance. He was impressed with the finely-graded highways on which they traveled and especially the railroads which he later called "the most astonishing sight I ever saw." The journey was full of amazements, perhaps none more surprising than the crowds of spectators that continued to build as the entourage made its way east.

"On our way up the Ohio, we passed several large villages," he recalled. "The first is called Louisville and is a very pretty village…The next is Cincinnati…This is a large and beautiful village and seemed to be in a thriving condition. The people gathered on the bank as we passed, in great crowds,

apparently anxious to see us." Black Hawk's reputation had been firmly established in newspaper accounts over the past year. He was fast becoming a cultural icon, a celebrity in a nation that had up to that time known only a few. In his book *Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America*, historian Kerry A. Trask notes that the imprisoned Sauk leader was emerging as "the most famous Indian in America and in the months ahead would become a living legend and the very symbol of courageous native resistance to the forces that were destroying their world and way of life."

Before making the final stop at Fort Monroe, the prisoners were taken to Washington, D.C., for a visit with President Andrew Jackson, the one individual who, by treaty, maintained full authority over their freedom. According to Black Hawk, the encounter was brief as Jackson "appeared to be busy and did not seem to be much disposed to talk." The Sauk captive recalled that the president looked "as if he had seen as many winters as I have and seems to be a great brave… He said he wished to know the cause of my going to war against his white children. I thought he ought to have known this before and consequently said but little to him about it as I expected he knew as well as I could tell him."

Newspaper accounts indicate that "The President met them kindly" and that Jackson also "directed the articles of dress provided for them…with a view to their common comfort." For the rest of his life, Black Hawk would be seen wearing a white shirt and a blue military style coat. The clothes became a symbol of his acceptance—an awareness of his place in a changing world. Jackson then indicated that the Indians must "repair immediately to Fort Monroe and remain there contented until he gave them permission to return to their homes."

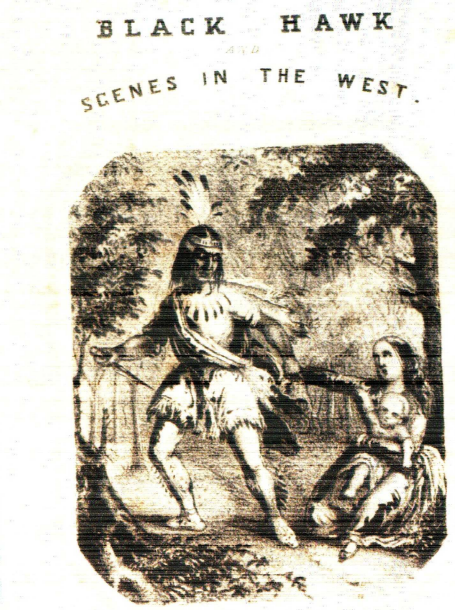
During their incarceration at Fort Monroe, Black Hawk and the others were again visited by notables who included artists eager to record their likenesses: Charles Bird King, Samuel Brookes, Robert M. Sully, and John Wesley Jarvis, men who were among the most prominent American portrait painters of the day. According to Trask, the artist's portraits of Black Hawk are "so distinctive it is difficult to tell they are images of the same man. But all present him as a figure

He said he wished to know the cause of my going to war against his white children. I thought he ought to have known this before and consequently said but little. . .

Right: "Black Hawk" from *Autobiography of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, or Black Hawk*. Continental Printing: St. Louis, 1882. 2326.47.

Facing, clockwise from upper left: "Black Hawk" from *Black Hawk and Scenes in the West*. Ed Kearny: New York, 1848. 2926.1091a; "Winnesheik" from *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*. Perry A. Armstrong. H.W. Roker: Springfield, Illinois, 1887. 2926.452.; "Powesheik" from *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*. Perry A. Armstrong. H.W. Roker: Springfield, Illinois, 1887. 2926.452; "Black Hawk" from *The Great Indian Chief of the West*. Applegate and Co.: Cincinnati, 1854. 2326.1721.





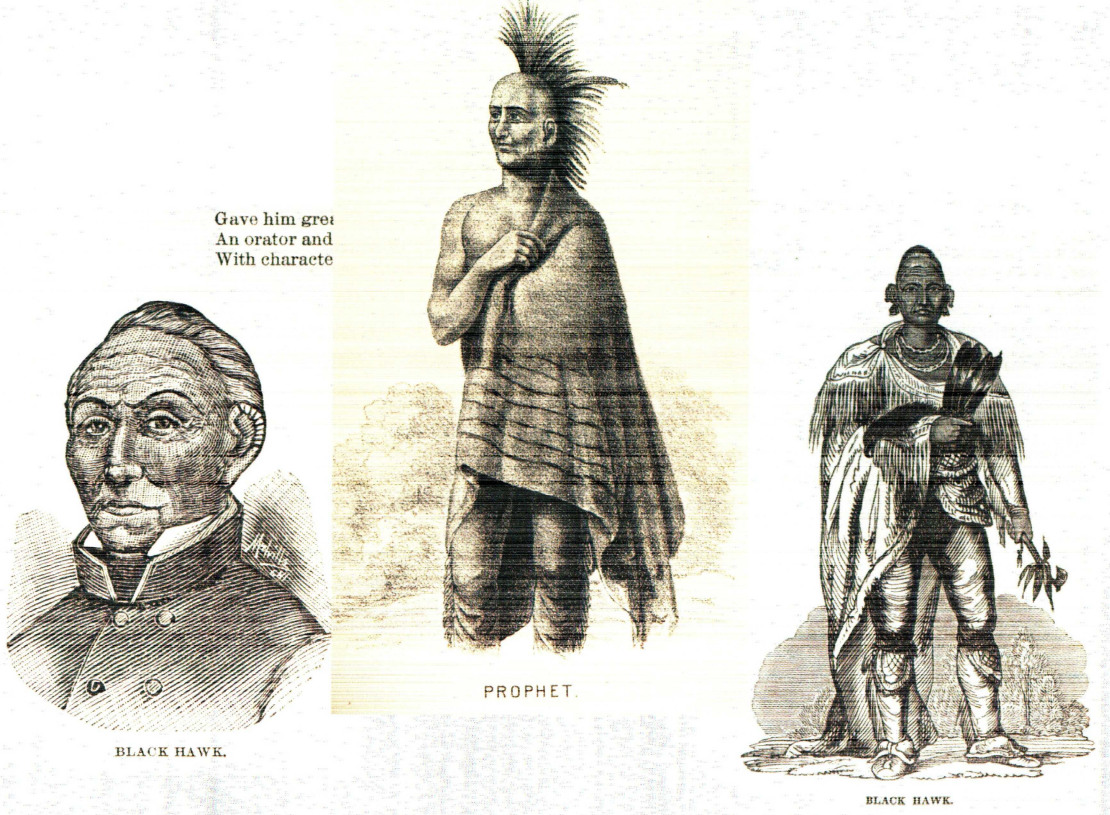


WINNESHEIK.





POW-E-SHEIK.



Left to right: "Black Hawk" from *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War.* Perry A. Armstrong. H.W. Roker: Springfield, Illinois, 1887. 2926.452; Prophet" from *Autobiography of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, or Black Hawk.* Continental Printing: St. Louis, 1882. 2326.47; "Black Hawk" from *Parley's Cabinet Library: Lives of Celebrated American Indians.* Part Two. Bradbury, Soden, & Co.: Boston, 1843. 2326.1699.

At the time of Black Hawk's eastern tour, the people of the United States were engaged in a cultural obsession with a romanticized past, that is, idealized and symbolic interpretations of their own national heritage.

of great dignity and inner strength gazing pensively off into the distance and as an 'authentic' Indian uncorrupted by the artificialities and vices of civilization…in the artists' renderings of him, Black Hawk became a reflection of some of American culture's most powerful myths and intriguing fantasies, evoking strong feelings of both admiration and pathos, which gave white America a bittersweet sense of heroic tragedy…" Trask's observations are significant. Black Hawk had touched something deep in the American consciousness. "Who Black Hawk really was and what he had actually done seemed almost irrelevant." To the nation, the captive Sauk became "a symbol that served the emotional needs of a society in search of self definition and highly ambivalent about itself and its government's policies." Black Hawk's captivity represented the inevitability of American power over the continent and particularly Indian peoples.

Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners were released by President Jackson after only a month in captivity at Fort Monroe. Before they were allowed to return home, however, it was decided, perhaps by Jackson himself, that Black Hawk and the others would tour a number of eastern cities, to instill in them the futility of further resistance to the will of the federal government. While eager to return home to their families, again Black Hawk and his companions acquiesced and set out on yet another journey across the United States, one that continued to strike chords of meaning in American life.

At the time of Black Hawk's eastern tour, the people of the United States were engaged in a cultural obsession with a romanticized past, that is, idealized and symbolic interpretations of their own national heritage. In the decades after the American Revolution and the subsequent separation with European history and tradition, the young nation continued in a struggle to define itself. After the military successes of the War of 1812, the United States had emerged as a world power. In sociopolitical terms, the nation needed to make known its own unique cultural history—a worthy past that would promote and further a worthy legacy—or perhaps to legitimize expanding national ambitions. From the nation's earliest times, Indian peoples had been central characters in the American story. Though largely portrayed as foils in early historical accounts, Native Americans remained significant players in the written traditions and oral histories of the United States. By the time of the Black Hawk War, the Indian presence in the national narrative had taken a new turn.

During the first half of the 19th century, the American fixation with an idealized past can be seen in the immense popularity of the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, perhaps most notably in his instant classic from 1826, *The Last of the Mohicans.* Cooper's novels were highly-fictionalized accounts of Colonial America, morality tales in which frontier ideals emerged center stage against a backdrop of Old World struggle and a New World search for meaning. It is significant that Cooper's popular works employ the frontier experience as an essential mechanism that ultimately sets his main characters apart from their British and French counterparts. The frontier narrative appealed not only to popular romantic sentiments but also to expanding notions of progress and the burgeoning sense of American significance in the larger world. The frontier experience became a symbol of a national character that was often marked more by ambition than discretion, where strides toward contemporary notions of progress, by any means, were seen as essential American virtues.

In city after city, from Baltimore to New York, Black Hawk was met by enthusiastic crowds eager to get a glimpse of the Sauk leader. To the American people of the 1830s, Black Hawk was perhaps a real life incarnation of Cooper's fictional Chingachgook, the last of a tribe fading fast into extinction. In the book *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture,* historian Susan Scheckel proposes that what "Americans saw when they looked upon Black Hawk was a vision of themselves framed by his perspective…Black Hawk offered Americans an opportunity to measure their own power through his eyes. As a representative of an era that had passed, Black Hawk helped Americans to situate themselves within a historical framework that defined the present as a triumph over the past."

Black Hawk dictated the story of his life not long after his return home in 1833. He wanted to set the record straight, and

. . . what "Americans saw when they looked upon Black Hawk was a vision of themselves framed by his perspective"…



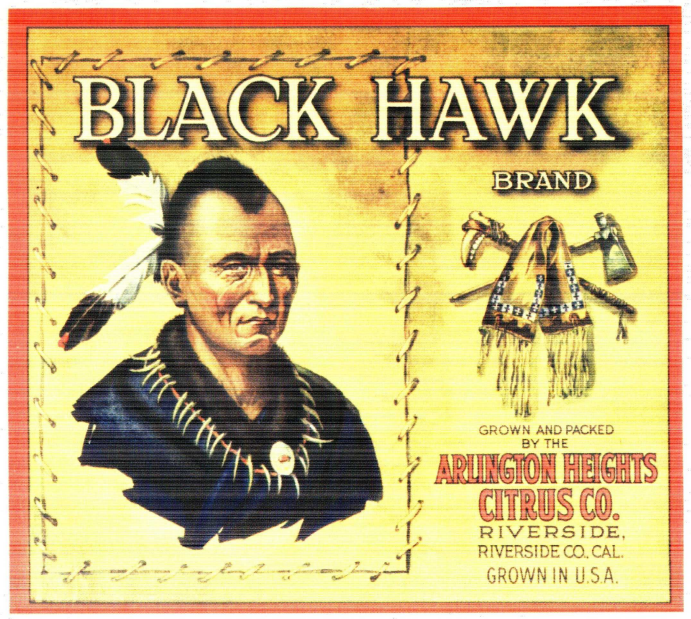
Left: "Attack" from *Black Hawk and Scenes in the West.* Ed Kearny: New York, 1848. 2926.1091a.

Right: "Black Hawk" from *Life of Black Hawk.* Milo Milton Quaife (Ed.). Lakeside Press: Chicago, 1906. 2327.1629a.

his eastern tour had suggested that he had a ready audience. The autobiography, quickly published, became an instant best seller across the nation. In the last words of his narrative, Black Hawk continued to speak his part in the larger national story. "I am done now. A few more moons and I must follow my fathers to the shades. May the Great Spirit keep our people and the whites always at peace. It is the sincere wish of Black Hawk." The Sauk leader died in 1838 at the age of seventy-one.

The story of Black Hawk and the Black Hawk War is indeed an American story. Its significance lies less in the particulars of recorded events than in the social responses to those events and the meanings that they reveal in the larger realm of human experience. In the spring of 1832, a small band of Indian people defied a nation. The war that followed, while filled with death and suffering, became largely symbolic. Its aftermath became a celebration of national prowess characterized by a collective American curiosity and fascination with cultural ideals that were far more fanciful than the actuality of the facts on the ground. For Black Hawk, the war became one of words and perceptions. The defeated warrior went on to upstage a president—the captive in turn captured the attentions and imaginations of a world still mostly alien to him. The Sauk waged war in the field of public opinion. His victory is confirmed in that his story remains relevant even today after nearly two centuries. Terry A. Trask's observations in *Black Hawk* remain eloquent:

"In many ways we remain too much like those cheering spectators who crowded the streets in Baltimore and Philadelphia in the spring of 1833, accepting the benefits of the conquest while confusing sympathy for contrition, idolization for justice, and seeking easy absolution without ever doing proper penance. As always it has been a problem deeply rooted in our collective identity and in the stories we keep telling ourselves about who we imagine ourselves to be."



Arlington Heights Citrus Company advertisement for Black Hawk Brand Oranges. TL2009.36.7.

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Warriors Path

Virginia to Kentucky thro the great Wilderness

Buffaloe C.

Flatlick

Shinaro C.

Turkey C.

Rockland C.

Limestone C.

Part of Cumberland Mountain

Tenessee R.

VOL. XV.—No. 781.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1871. [WITH A SUPPLEMENT. PRICE TEN CENTS.

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PRINCE ALEXIS AND THE N. Y. FIRE DEPARTMENT.

THE review of the Metropolitan Fire Department by the Grand Duke ALEXIS took place on the 28th ult., in Tompkins Square. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the square was crowded long before the hour named for the commencement of the review. The south side of the square was reserved for carriages, and a space inclosed by ropes was kept clear for the fine apparatus which comprised Engine Companies Nos. 3, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 26, 30, and 31, with Hook and Ladder Companies Nos. 5, 9, and 10. These were ranged on the north-east and west sides of the square, and in the centre of the south side was the platform erected for the accommodation of the Grand Duke and suit, and the Fire Commissioners. Near by was a music stand occupied by GRAFULLA'S band.

About half past one P.M. the Prince and suit, accompanied by Generals M'DOWELL and SHALER, and other gentlemen, arrived on the ground in carriages. Their appearance was hailed with hearty cheers, the band playing the Russian national anthem. The Prince, who wore a brown overcoat, blue pantaloons, and a white hat, ascended the platform, and as soon as the band had ceased playing, in company with the Fire Commissioners, passed around the square, and inspected each engine with its company drawn up beside it. The Grand Duke then returned to the platform, and the brigade passed in review before him, the officers saluting by raising their trumpets. After the apparatus had passed once round at a walk they halted, and



THE REVIEW OF THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE BY THE GRAND DUKE ALEXIS.—[FROM A SKETCH BY C. S. REINHART.]