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THE JOURNAL OF GILCREASE MUSEUM

XIX
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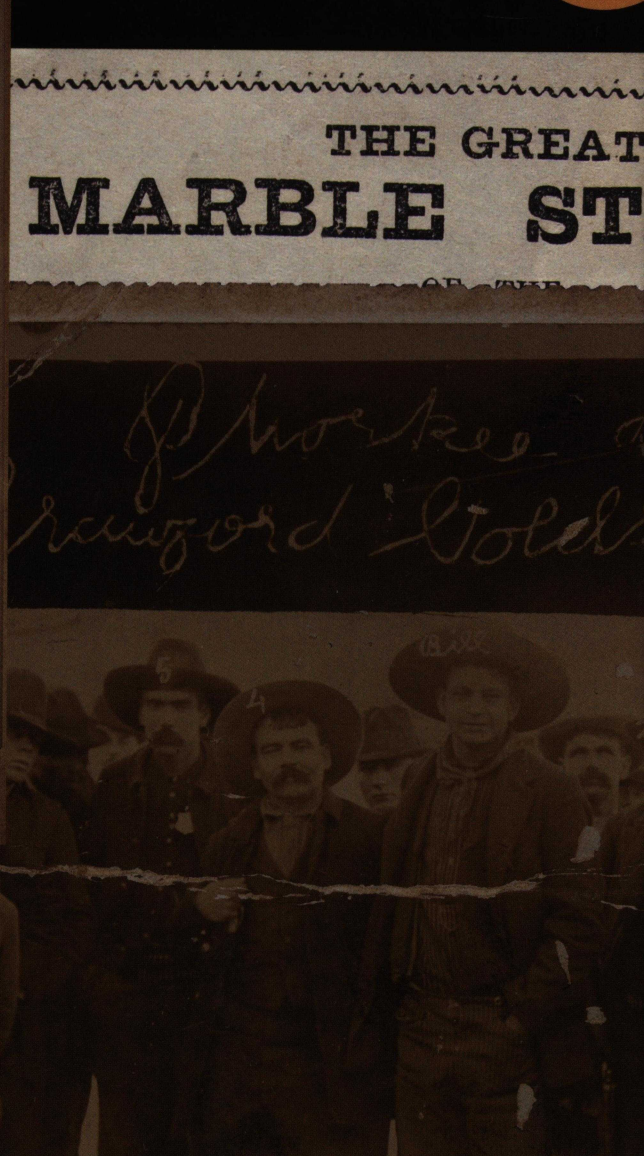

Winter 2012
Vol. 19
No. 2
c. 1

Gilcrease Journal
Winter 2012
Vol. 19, No. 2
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Gilcrease Journal
Winter 2012
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GAYLORD FG

SPLENDID EXHIBITION
OF THE
SOLAR MICROSCOPE.

MR. MERCHANTS

Respectfully announces to the inhabitants of this City, that he will have in operation one of his superior Solar Microscopes, every fair day for a short time at the

Pennsylvania Literary Institute,
Corner of Chesnut and Eighth Streets,
From 9 A. M. until 5, P. M.

This splendid Optical Instrument has the power of magnifying objects (even those that cannot be seen with the naked eye)

MANY MILLION TIMES!

Whether Transparent or Opaque, either in the Mineral, Vegetable or Animal kingdom: Solids and Liquids: Gases or Flame. It also enables us to see the very foundations of

MATTER and MOTION!

The formation of Gas; Analization of Water: the Dissolving of Metals; Growth of Plants; Animalculæ of Vinegar, Water, &c. Also, the form and mechanism of those minute orders of creation, which are, apparently, 'beneath our notice' but which are found to be as exquisitely and beautifully formed as the

LARGEST CREATED BEINGS!

The fine dust upon a fig, or the rind of a cheese, when examined through this instrument, is seen animated with creatures scrambling about like pigs among rocks, and a drop of Vinegar appears an ocean filled with sea-monsters. Also, will be seen, the chemical process of Crystalization, Congelation, or Freezing of Liquids into Solid Forms, whose variety and beauty surpass description; and convey to us an idea of the original Formation of Rocks, and all other

Solid Substances on this Globe.

The above named objects will be exhibited, together with many others alike wonderful, Interesting and Instructive, and calculated to enlarge our ideas of the astonishing works of creation:

Make us Know More of the World we Live in
and adore the skill of the grand Architect of the Universe, in the construction of those objects which cannot be seen with the

UNASSISTED EYE.

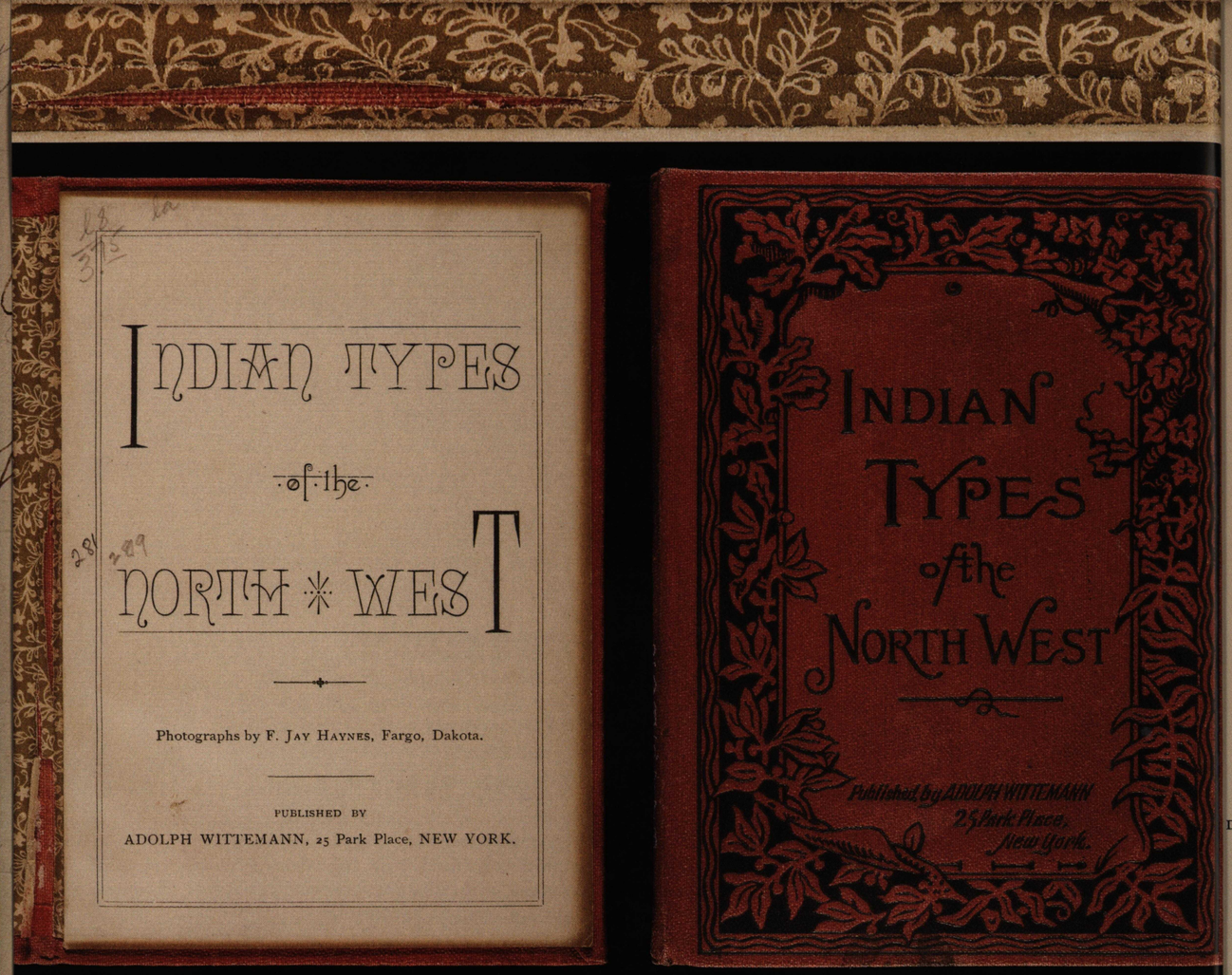
Mr. M. would respectfully inform Teachers and Parents, that during the last few months, he has exhibited his Microscope to many thousands of Scholars belonging to the different Schools in the cities of New York, Baltimore, and Wilmington.

N. B.—The Solar Microscope can only be exhibited when the sun shines. It requires one hour and a half to give an exhibition, and all present can witness it at the same time.

ADMITTANCE 25 CENTS.

Members of Academies and Schools, half price.

Philadelphia, June 11th, 1844. Geddes, Printer, 112 Chesnut Street.



PAGE ONE: Broadside. GM3526.62. ABOVE, BELOW, AND FACING PAGE: Details from the photograph volume *Indian Types of the Northwest.* Adolph Wittemann. Photos by F. Jay Hayne, 1885. GM2936.873.



MASS MEDIA

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GILCREASE JOURNAL
WINNER OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF MUSEUMS AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN DESIGN IN 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, AND 2010.

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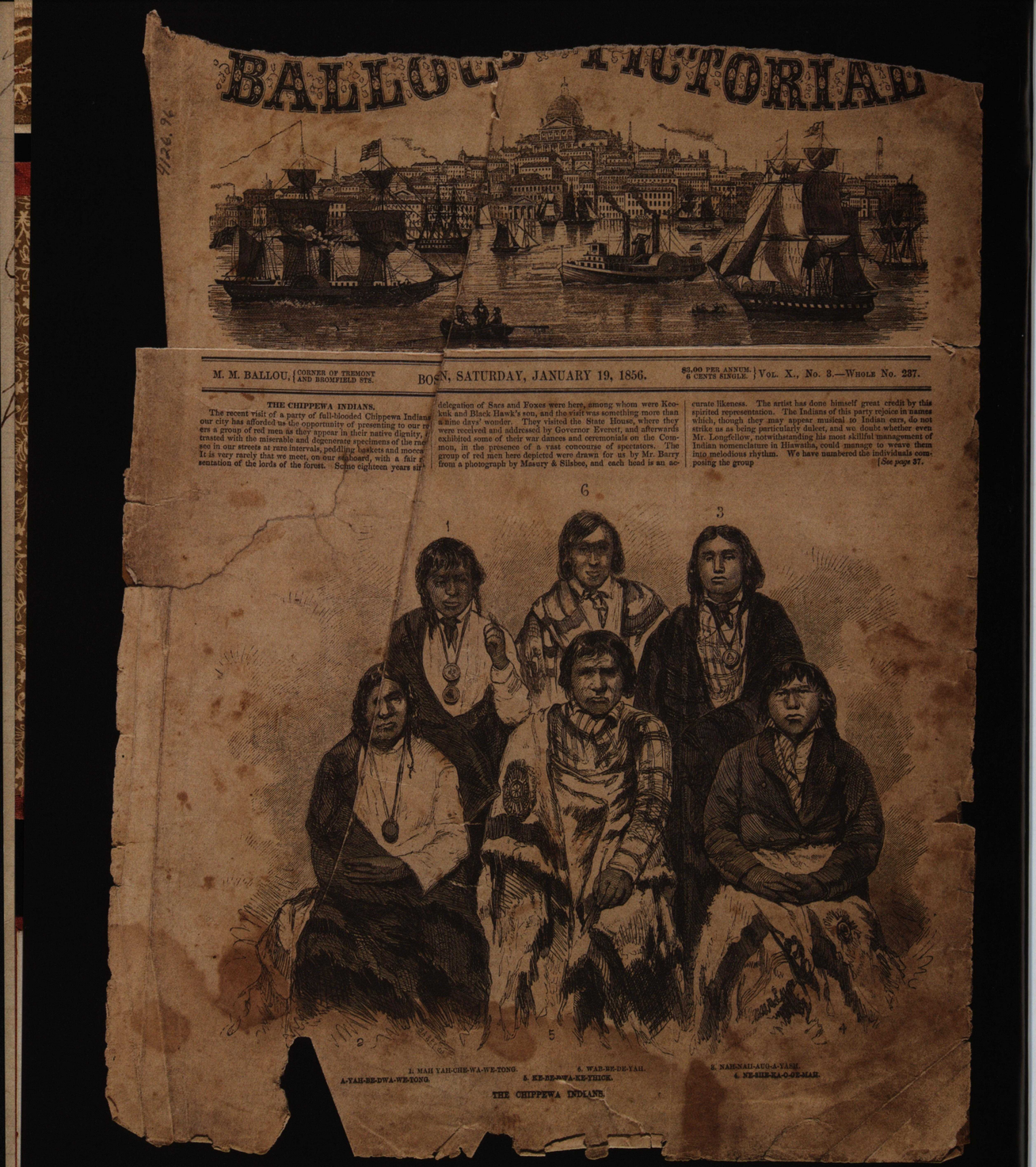


Chippewa Indians in *Ballou's Pictorial.* Boston. Sat. January 19, 1856. Vol X, #3. Etching based on photograph by Barry. GM4126.96.

Words AND PICTURES

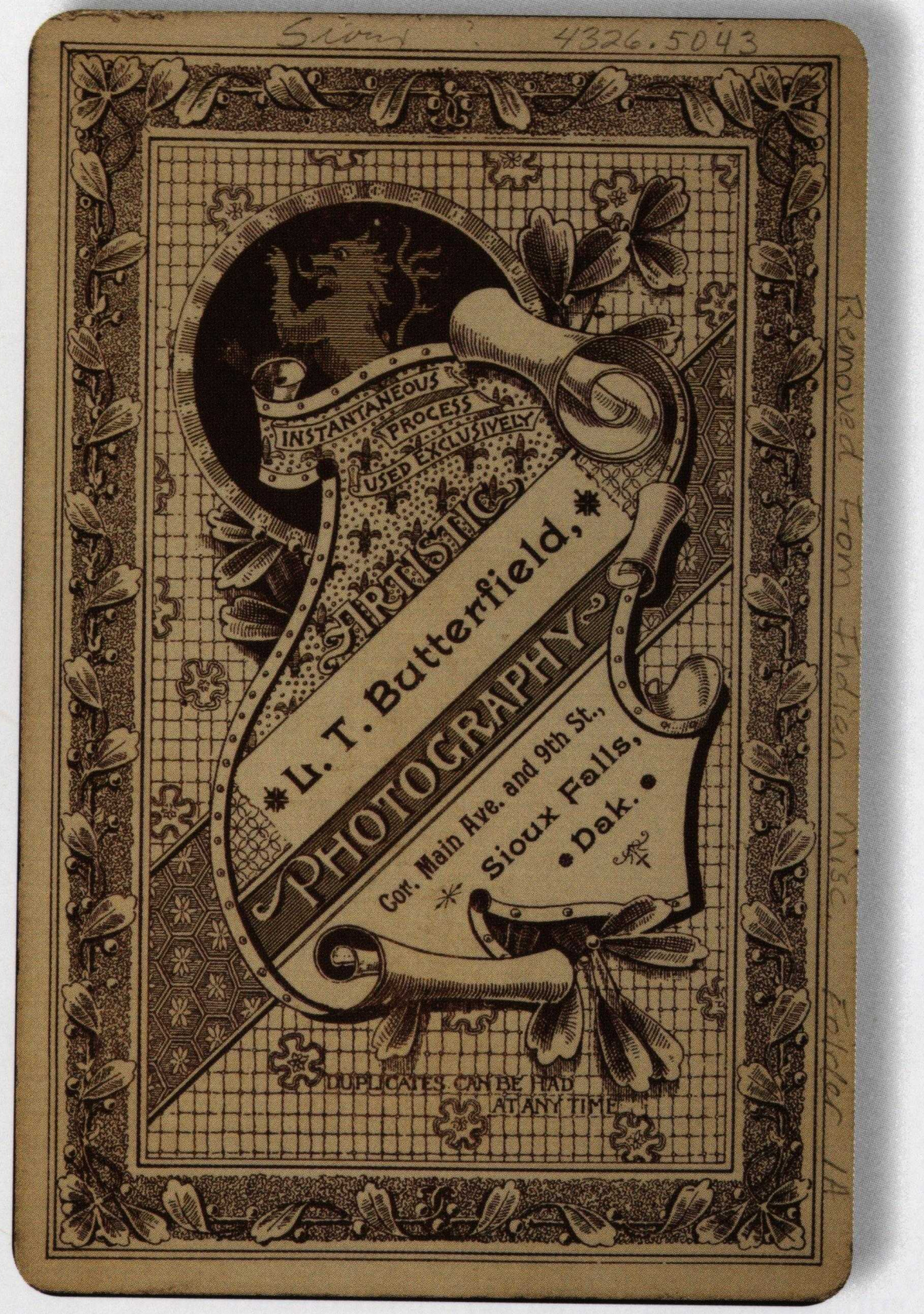
Two men who profoundly influenced them—Johannes Gutenberg and Louis Daguerre—lived nearly 400 years and as many miles apart. One would revolutionize the process of conveying written messages in multiple. The other would teach the world to chemically fix images of 3-D reality onto two-dimensional surfaces. Once encoded in the cultural DNA, these two miraculous processes became the basis for virtually every form of popular communication that connects us in the modern world.

Kimberly Roblin

A native of Mainz, Germany, Johannes Gutenberg did what many young men do—left his hometown to pursue life. Around 1444, he returned from Strasburg to Mainz with an invention that would revolutionize the world. Books at the time were laborious, expensive, and inefficient to produce. Block printing had existed in Asia for centuries but often consisted of entire words and phrases carved into single blocks, thereby limiting its communicative possibilities. Gutenberg took this premise and developed it further into a machine that used individual lettered tiles. This allowed for quicker and more efficient printing; the type was set in place, inked, and pressed against vellum or paper, yielding multiple copies in far less time than could a scribe. What had taken days and weeks, Gutenberg accomplished in hours. And the text was no longer subject to a particular scribe's inclination, instruction, or inadvertent error, so that a man who bought a book in Frankfurt would be reading the exact same book as a man who bought a different copy of the same book in Munich. As importantly, it also lowered the cost of books, which led to broader dissemination of information. Although shared media had existed in various forms and levels throughout human history, the printing press marked the birth of mass media in its truest sense.

Four centuries later and 400 miles southwest of Mainz, in Paris, another man would harness an equally powerful force. Louis Daguerre spent his

Reverse side of a photograph of Plenty Horses, Living Bear, and Chris Mathison by L.T. Butterfield Photography, Sioux Falls, Dakota. GM4326.5043.



early career as an artist, the profession most affected by his eventual invention. He partnered with Joseph-Nicéphore Niépce, a man already experimenting with the process of capturing an image from life, and when Niépce died Daguerre continued to improve the technique until 1839, when he announced to the world, via publications made possible by the printing press, the miracle of photography. A technical process employing silver, copper, acid, mercury, and iodine vapors, daguerreotypes (as they were named) transfixed the world. Although the inventor sought control over his creation, the French government deemed the discovery too significant for mankind to belong to only one person and proclaimed it and the science behind it a gift to the world, granting Daguerre a yearly pension.

Today, it is hard to imagine a world without photography, but during the mid-19th century it was nearly as difficult to conceive of a world with it. For generations people had relied on artists to record and interpret the world for them. While artistic renderings of places, people, and things were better than no images at all, they were still illustrations; the viewer did not see Venice, but a painting or etching of how the artist saw it, sometimes misshapen by ability or creative license. A photograph, though it could still be manipulated, provided an experience as near to "being there" as a person could hope for. With the nearly instantaneous popularity of the new phenomenon, portrait studios soon dotted big and small cities alike across Europe and the United States, and in a short time photography became a part of both individual and personal lives, and of the broader public society.

It seemed invented for mass media, an ideal vehicle that could convey what words struggled to, and sometimes could not. There was power in its immediacy—a person looked at a photograph and had an instant and visceral reaction, no longer having to read a paragraph and conjure an image through imagination. For these reasons, photography became a natural tool for promotion: promoting information and context in newspapers; promoting celebrity, infamy, stereotypes, and rhetoric through formal studio portraits; and promoting business and consumerism through postcards and advertisements.

Newspapers

One of the oldest forms of mass media, newspapers provided the main distribution channel for news of current events. They varied in length, circulation, frequency, and accuracy, but most had illustrations of some kind. Early newspapers were often restricted to simple woodcuts limited to the classified column, functioning more as generic symbols than customized images: a house for real estate notices, a ship for newly arrived cargo, perhaps a cow or horse for livestock sales. Over time, newsprint began to include sketches, etchings, and engravings. These images were larger in scope than their generic woodcut predecessors had been and were intended more explicitly for contextualization. Cityscapes, battle scenes, and famous individuals were popular genres. Their degree

FACING PAGE: Chief Whirlwind and Family in *El Reno Daily Eagle.* Thursday, August 1, 1895. Number 259.



El Reno is The Railroad Center of Oklahoma.

El Reno Daily Eagle.

El Reno is The Supply Point of The Southwest.

VOL. I. EL RENO, OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, THURSDAY, AUG. 1, 1895. NO. 259.

FAIR OKLAHOMA.

A Land of Surpassing Beauty, Marvelous Growth and Glorious Prospects.

CANADIAN COUNTY IS BY FAR THE FINEST PORTION OF THE TERRITORY.

El Reno, the Great Commercial Center, is Bound to Become a Large City. Its Location and Tributary Country Will Make it So.

The 22d of April, 1889, will long be a memorable date in the history of Oklahoma. On that date the fairest land in the domain of the United States was thrown open to settlement, and its rapid and substantial progress since that time has excited the wonder and admiration of the entire country. As now organized the Territory has 25,000,000 acres of as fine land as the sun ever shone on, and about 245,000 inhabitants. The distance east and west is 228 miles, and from north to south 216 miles. The country is well watered by rivers and creeks. The principal streams are the Canadian, the north fork of the same, and the Cimarron rivers. The courses of these rivers are toward the southeast. The north fork ef the Canadian is the principal river of Canadian county and is a stream of considerable importance. The climate of Oklahoma is very evenly balanced, and almost every staple product of the North and South can be successfully cultivated. The summers are long and warm, the winter season being mild. [illegible] tremes of northern climates are unknown. The elevation of El Reno above sea level is about 1350 feet and the average elevation of the Territory is more than 1000 feet. The mortality records show this section of country to be remarkably healthful, being absolutely free from malarial diseases. The annual average temperature is 58 degrees, and rainfall 39 inches. The fact that but little has been written concerning the climate of Oklahoma is due to the absence of official records, and it is only within the past five years that anything like systematic observations have been made and recorded.

A FEW POINTERS.

Outside of the country immediately contiguous to Oklahoma, very little is knewn of its marvelous development since it was first opened to the white man less than six and a half years ago. It is difficult to make those who have watched the settlement of other western territories understand the advancement made here in so short a space of time, and many are inclined to look upon solid facts as base exaggerations. It is but natural that the outside world should doubt the real facts, when it is considered that in all the material elements that enter in a progressive and prosperous country, Oklahoma has make greater strides in six years than was ever before made by any territory in ten years. This marvelous growth, however, is largely due to the favorable conditions under which the Territory was opened. In the first place it was favored by railroad facilities; in the second place it was opened free to all who desired to secure a home, or in other words about 2,000,000 acres of as fine land as can be found anywhere was donated by the government to the homeless. Then, again, the climate was known to be the most inviting and genial of any section of the United States. With such conditions and surrounded as Oklahoma was with old settled States on every side, it is not a matter of surprise that her development is without a parallel in the settlement of this country.

From the most reliable data obtainable it is estimated that three-fourths of the entire area of Oklahoma proper is now under cultivation, every quarter section being occupied. In the country, as in the towns and cities, are seen large, fine buildings, with other improvements that compare favorably with that of the older settled States. Fine stock is also a prominent feature, blooded cattle and horses of the most popular breeds being plentiful in all parts of the Territory. Farmers have wisely adopted the system of diversified farming, hence it is quite common to see fields of cotton, corn and all other cereals growing side by side on the same quarter section. Large attention is also being given to fruits, as the country has proved itself to be one of the best in the Union for that product.

SOIL.

The soil of Oklahoma is mostly uniform in character and consists of a rich, red, sandy loam, varying from one to six feet deep on the uplands, and a rich, black loam in the valleys, capable of producing wonders in the way of crops. The soil of the valleys, commonly known as first bottom, is of considerable depth and is unexcelled for productiveness. These valleys are eagerly sought after by farmers and are made to yield bountiful harvests. There are no marshy lands in these valleys and consequently no miasma or noxious vapors. The country, generally considered, is an agricultural one, and produces all of the principal cereals in great abundance. In this respect the Territory has a never failing source of income. Timber is plentiful. Scattered here and there in the bottoms, on the hillsides and depressions, are found groves and clumps of post oak, burr oak, pecan, elm and walnut trees, with stretches of clean, open prairie between. Cottonwoods are found along the streams.

HORTICULTURAL.

The entire Territory of Oklahoma is well adapted to fruit raising, and from the present outlook will take first rank as the "garden spot" for the culture and production of fruit. Already about ten thousand acres are bearing upon their rich bosoms young orchards unexcelled in thriftness and vigor, and if there be no hidden cause unrevealed to the keen eye of the horticulturist, fruit will be among the chief productions and the source of immense profit to the producer.

STOCK RAISING.

Stock raising has not received the attention that it deserves, or that our people are inclined to give it, on account of the attention required in other directions incident to the opening of a new country, yet we notice that they are turning their attention in that direction and the agricultural fairs held at several points in the Territory have shown that our farmers are fully interested in good stock, and many of their exhibits would compare favorably with those of the older states; however, most farmers have gotten a start now and soon this will be a great industry. The portions of the Territory removed from the railroad are very well adapted to feeding stock, owing to the difficulty of marketing grain in any other way. Our timbered portions of the Territory are especially adapted for hog raising, owing to the large quantity of acorns and other natural products at hand, and this important industry alone is rapidly increasing.

MINING.

As yet but little has been done in the way of opening up mines, saving those of building stone, of which a very fine article is found in different parts of the county, and many buildings in the cities of Oklahoma are built out of our native stone. Coal has been found in various places and several companies have been formed to open up these mines and this will soon be one of our solid industries. There are large deposits of salt and gypsum in the western portion of the Territory which are already being mined.

MANUFACTURING.

as must be expected in a Territory so young, is in its infancy, but still it offers great inducements to capital. Nearly every city has its mills, and some as finely equipped flouring mills are located here as can be found anywhere, and they are turning out an excellent grade of flour. In fact, Oklahoma stands at the head of all the states and territories as to its quality of flour and wheat produced, having taken the first medal at the World's fair for the best quality of flour. Canadian county has many important manufacturing enterprises, consisting of saw mills, cabinet works, ice plants, iron foundries, bottling works, etc. Capitalists will find it to their interest to visit us and see for themselves the openings to be had here in this line.

EDUCATION.

When the first settlers came to Oklahoma they found themselves without school houses and without laws, but with a fortitude certainly admirable they built school houses by private subscription and had schools the first winter. By act of congress $50,000 was appropriated for the use and benefit of the schools of Oklahoma. This materially aided the efforts of the people, and schools have been maintained in nearly every district ever since, and that too in most instances without any bonded indebtedness. With the increase of taxable property and the increased funds derived from leasing school lands, the financial condition of the schools will be very much better in the future.

COLLEGES.

By an act of the Territorial legislature a Territorial university was located at Norman and a Territorial normal school at Edmund, and the Agricultural and Mechanical college at Stillwater. The university has made a very excellent start towards accomplishing the purpose for which it was created. It is supported by a half mill tax, which will amount to about $8,000 per year. The course would compare favorably with that of Eastern colleges. A magnificent university building has just been completed. The normal school at Edmond aims to prepare teachers for public schools, and has just completed a fine building. The agricultural and mechanical college at Stillwater is the best endowed of any of the schools of the Territory, and bids fair to do most excellent work. It was established in pursuance of an act of congress authorizing the establishing and endowment of colleges for the benefit of agricultural and mechanical arts, appropriating $15,000 for the year 1890, and providing for [illegible] increase each year for ten years. The experiment station issues a bulletin of the results of their investigations, which promises much good to the Territory. A fine building for this college has been erected. The President's proclamation opening the Cherokee strip reserves the thirteenth section for the benefit of the three colleges. This will make a very neat income for each of the three colleges. Each of the institutions have in attendance from one to two hundred. It is the aim to have these colleges connected with the high schools, and make a complete system of education from the lowest to the highest. There are several private institutions doing good work, and which have a good attendance.

SCENE ON THE NORTH CANADIAN, NEAR EL RENO.

CHIEF WHIRLWIND AND FAMILY.

SECURE A HOMESTEAD.

An entryman must be the head of a family, or twenty-one years old, and must either be a citizen of the United States or have declared his intentions to become such. A person under twenty-one years of age, but who is the head of a family, can enter lands. A widow who holds her deceased husband's claim may make entry in her own right. Service in the army or navy of the United States in the recent rebellion for a period of ninety days entitles an honorably discharged soldier or sailor to make a homestead entry without regard to age or citizenship. Where the soldier is dead, his widow or his minor heirs can have all the benefits of the law. A married woman who is head of a family, or who has been deserted by her husband is also qualified to enter government land as a home.

Be sure that your homestead rights have not been previously exhausted. If a person owns 160 acres of land anywhere else he can not acquire another homestead.

Homestead claims may attach in either of two ways—by settlement or by first entering at land office. Between two persons, one of whom settled upon and the other entered the same tract, the rule is, first in time is first in right. The safest plan is to settle on your tract first and make the entry afterward. A homesteader has three months from date of settlement in which to enter, and his rights and equities date back to the settlement. He has six months from date of entry to establish residence, and settlement must be maintained after entry as well as before.

To make an entry application must be made at proper office, accompanied by affidavits, and the usual fees paid of $14 for 160 acres, $7 for eighty acres and $6 for forty acres. The final proof fees are $4.

Substantial and visible improvements must be made immediately upon taking the land, and the settler should have competent witnesses to such acts. The witnesses should be requested to make such memorandum of the event as will clearly fix the day and the hour, in case there is a contest.

TERRITORIAL DIRECTORY.

Governor .... W. C. Renfrow.
Secretary .... T. J. Lowe.
Attorney General .... C. A. Galbraith.
Assistant Attorney Gen'l, R. Hoffman
U. S. Attorney ..... Caleb R. Brooks.
U. S. Marshal .... E. D. Nix.
Chief Justice .... Frank Dale
Associate Justices ... H. W. Scott. J. H. Burford. G. C. Bierer. J. L. McAtee

CANADIAN COUNTY.

This banner county of the Territory is bounded on the south by the Chickasaw and Kiowa nations, on the west by C county, on the north by Kingfisher county and on the east by Oklahoma county. Its area is about 828 square miles, or 529,900 acres. The face of this country is varied and rolling, with here and there a dense foliage that indicates the course of a stream. The soil is rich and capable of retaining moisture a great length of time. The county is traversed north and south by the Rock Island railroad, and by the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf railroad from the eastern line to Fort Reno. The principal city and county seat is El Reno. Next in importance come the towns of Yukon, Okarche, Union City, Frisco and Reno City.

The following statement shows the relative valuations of property in the different counties of the Territory:

OKLAHOMA'S VALUATION.

The total assessed valuation of Oklahoma for the year 1895 as corrected by the territorial board of equalization is $39,275,189.21, which is a little more than double the valuation of last year. Of this amount Canadian county, with its attached territory is assessed at $8,816,650.01. Next in valuation comes Oklahoma county with $4,574,520.43, followed by Logan with $3,889,360.03.

The territorial tax is fixed by the board for all purposes is 4.6 mills divided as follows: General revenue 3 mills, university, normal school and interest on outstanding bonds 5 mills each, and .1 mill for the use of board of education.

The amount of the territorial tax charged to the various counties is given as follows:

Beaver	$ 4,499 39
Blaine	2,075 53
Canadian	40,556 61
D	9,409 68
Day	1,583 04
G	1,508 73
Garfield	5,334 93
Grant	4,800 65
Kay	12,895 73
Kingfisher	9,389 04
Lincoln	4,987 90
Logan	17,891 06
Noble	6,983 62
Oklahoma	21,047 39
Pawnee	7,400 39
Payne	6,372 56
Pottawatomie	4,736 82
Roger Mills	1,591 54
Washita	1,818 91
Wood	9,220 29
Woodward	6,487 83
Total	$180,665 95

The county takes its name from the North and South Canadian rivers, the former traversing the county from east to west, and the latter forming the southern boundary. A casual glance at the maps will show that many advantages are to gained by the geographical position of this county, it being in the center of the territory and controlling a large area of tributary country. In fact the trade of El Reno extends for more than 100 miles to westerly points.

VALUATION OF THE TERRITORY.

Following is the total valuation of the territory by counties and the per cent of increase over that returned by the assessors as given by the territorial board of equalization:

Beaver	$ [illegible]978,104 15	75
Blaine	451,204 80	20
Canadian	5,913,933 75	—
	2,902,716 26	45
Cleveland	2,054,581 02	20
D	244,192 50	50
Day	344,139 50	30
G	327,987 40	20
Garfield	1,379,330 69	30
Grant	1,084,520 63	30
Kay with Osage country	2,804,420 04	35
Kingfisher	2,039,141 70	—
Lincoln	1,684,329 43	35
Logan	3,889,362 03	45
Noble	1,418,177 36	35
Oklahoma	4,575,520 14	30
Pawnee	1,608,781 25	25
Payne	1,385,441 70	25
Pottawatomie	1,029,746 00	35
Roger Mills	345,988 65	05
Washita	395,411 90	30
Woods	1,558,748 60	40
Woodward	2,410,379 40	40
Total	$39,285,189 21	

The total valuation of the railroads in the territory is $2,431,92 41.

The territorial tax as fixed by the board for all purposes is four and six-tenths mills divided as follows: General fund, three mills; university, normal school and interest on outstanding bonds five-tenths of one mill each, and one-tenth of one mill for the use of the board of education.

NEW LANDS TO OPEN.

A vast area of country is attached to Canadian county for judicial purposes, including the Wichita reservation and also the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache reservations. The Wichita country contains about 691,200 acres. It is bounded on the north by the South Canadian river, on the west by Washita county, and on the south by the Washita river. These lands, more especially in the valleys are very fertile and susceptible of great results in the production of all kinds of cereals, vegetables and fruits. The Kiowa and Comanche lands are in what is known as the Ft. Sill country, and are said to be more fertile and desirable than the famous Cherokee Strip, as the proportion of fine farming land is much greater. The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache country is bounded on the east by the Chickasaw nation, on the north by the Washita river, on the west by the north fork of the Red river, and on the south by the main fork of the Red river, being the north line of Texas. The reservation contains 2,910,800 acres.

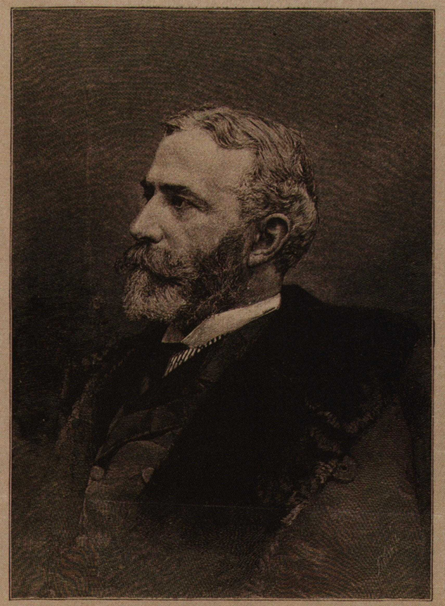
Great quantities of timber are found south and west of the mountains, consisting mainly of oak, hackberry, walnut and cottonwood, while the extreme west is covered with mesquite timber. The country abounds in springs of the purest water, and almost every stream heads in a picturesque range of mountains. The Washita river, which forms the boundary is the principal stream and its valleys the most fertile.

BENEFITS TO EL RENO.

It is confidently expected that these great reservations will soon be thrown open to settlement. Aside from allotments of 160 acres to each of the Indians now occupying them, 3,000,000 acres would be left for homesteads. In pausing to consider the splendid position of El Reno and the fact that it is even now the distributing point for this stretch of country, it requires no prophet to predict a great metropolis where the young city now stands. From this point the supplies for the new settlers must come and the possibilities of future greatness are certainly amazing. There are two possessions that Canadian county can boast of which are not only of great advantage to her commercially but also furnish a never failing source of attraction and instruction to visitors. These points are the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian agency at Darlington, and the old and famous Fort Reno. There is so much of interest concerning these institutions that sketches in detail may not be out of place in this edition of the EAGLE.

COUNTY DIRECTORY.

Probate Judge—W. R. Brown; Treasurer, Neal W. Evans; Clerk, J. K. Stone, Sheriff, J. M. Canon; Attorney, T. R. Reid; Register of Deeds; S. J. Richards; Superintendent, M. E. Gould; Surveyor, L. D. Cornelius; Commissioners, J. A. Osborn, H. B. Vasey, W. H. Hutchinson; Coroner, Dr. J. W. Patterson.



NEW YORK CITY.—COLONEL ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD.
[SEE ARTICLE ON PAGE 254.]

HON. J. M. SHACKELFORD,

FIRST UNITED STATES JUDGE OF OKLAHOMA AND THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

THE important position of United States Judge of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory is not one to be contemplated with envy or delight under its present surroundings of "boomers," cowboys, and Indians. And that there will always be a "full docket" is a matter of certainty. But that the new dispenser of justice and law will be equal to the task will not be questioned by any one conversant with the antecedents of General Shackelford, as a soldier and a lawyer. Judge J. M. Shackelford was born on the 7th of July, 1827, in Lincoln County, Kentucky. After attending private schools five years, he was sent to the Stanford Seminary, and remained there two years, and then became a pupil of the celebrated Kentucky educator, James P. Barbour, at Springfield, Ky., under whom he completed his education. He served in the closing year of the Mexican War, and upon his return home studied law. In 1854 he was admitted to the bar, and continued in an extensive practice until the outbreak of the Rebellion, when he raised and organized the Twenty-fifth Regiment Kentucky Infantry, which he commanded at the battle of Fort Donelson, after which he was compelled, on account of failing health, to resign the office of Colonel of the regiment. In August, 1862, President Lincoln authorized him to raise a cavalry regiment. Two weeks after, he had sixteen hundred men tendered him, from among whom he selected the requisite number to form the Eighth Kentucky Cavalry, of which he was commissioned Colonel. He served with distinction through three years of the war, one of his exploits being the capture of General John H. Morgan, when on his raid through Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, in 1863.

In the East Tennessee campaign he commanded the cavalry corps—sixteen regiments of the Army of the Ohio; on several occasions displaying great gallantry and fine generalship. In January, 1864, having lost his wife, leaving four infant children to be cared for, he resigned his place in the army, and in the same year he left Kentucky and located in Evansville, Ind., and again engaged in the practice of law. In 1880 he was one of the Republican Electors for the State of Indiana, and was appointed by the Electoral College to take the vote on to Washington. In 1888 he was again one of the Republican Electors for the State at large, and was made Chairman of the Electoral College which cast the vote of Indiana for Harrison and Morton. His appointment to the judicial position which he now fills is regarded on all sides as one of the very best, so far, made by President Harrison.

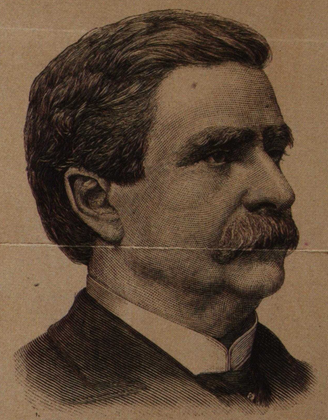


NEW YORK CITY.—THE PUNCH-BOWL VOTED TO THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB, AT THE HAHNEMANN HOSPITAL FAIR.
FROM A PHOTO BY SARONY.

THE SETTLEMENT OF OKLAHOMA.

WE add to our pictorial history of the occupation of Oklahoma two illustrations—one of the first Mayor of Guthrie, and another of the land-office in that marvel of a town, with the would-be settlers "in line," waiting their chance to make land-entries. The Mayor of the young town is Colonel D. B. Dyer, formerly of Kansas City; and he seems to be emphatically "the right man in the right place." He took early steps to clean out the gamblers and other disreputable characters, and law and order have been maintained from the beginning of his administration. With all the rivalries of competing interests, and the disappointments which thousands suffered, acts of violence have been remarkably rare, and the story of Oklahoma affords, as a whole, another striking illustration of the predisposition of the American citizen, under whatever circumstances, to recognize and conform to the demands and invoke the shelter of established law.

Some idea of the growth and present population of Guthrie is shown by the statement of the post-master, that the daily sale of postage-stamps at his office amounts to about $50; that the eleven clerks in the office are kept busy from five o'clock A.M. until midnight, and that when the mail is ready for delivery there is usually a line of men a half-mile long waiting for their mail. About 3,000 letters and 1,000 newspapers are delivered from that office daily. There are five banks and six newspapers in operation in the new town. During the first week 450 land-entries were made, and forty-two notices of contest made.



INDIANA.—HON. JAMES M. SHACKELFORD, FIRST U. S. JUDGE OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY.
PHOTO BY DOUGLASS.



THE OCCUPATION OF OKLAHOMA—WOULD-BE SETTLERS "IN LINE" AT THE LAND-OFFICE IN GUTHRIE.—FROM A PHOTO BY W. S. ROGERS.

of realism, however, depended on the varying skill and ability of the artists who created them. Photography helped standardize images and dramatically increased their realism. Although in the early days the technology did not yet exist to reproduce a photograph in print, etchings and engravings could be based on them. Resultantly, the readers' world came into sharper focus.

This development also coincided with the telegraph and the completion of the first transatlantic cable. Prior to this it took several days for American news to spread across the country and even longer for European news to reach the nation. The telegraph and cable facilitated faster distribution and meant American readers could now open a newspaper and read news stories only one day old. Illustrated even. Imagination was no longer required to picture the subject and content. A person could read the story and now, effectively, see the story. Genres were limitless but popular themes included current events such as trials or visits by delegations, political and/or influential figures, cityscapes, and landscapes. In 1879, the *Dodge City Times* reported on new prisoners:

> The names of the Indian prisoners are: Old Crow, Wild Hog, Run Fast, Tall Man, Young Man, Frizzle Head, and Old Man. A party from Frank Leslie's publishing house arrived Wednesday morning for a similar purpose. Our Cheyenne captives will appear cartooned in Frank Leslie's Weekly, and thus our eastern friends can feast their eyes on the gentle savage from an illustrated stand-point.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper and *Harper's Weekly Newspaper* became famous for their illustrations and competitive for circulations. In 1872, Leslie printed a notice that it was the only illustrated publication in this country which, strictly speaking, was entitled to the name of an illustrated newspaper: "It is the only one which. . . confines itself strictly to the duty expressed in its title—that of giving to the public original, accurate and faithful representations of the most prominent events of the day in every part of the globe." Although *Leslie's* boasted a larger circulation for a time, *Harper's* eventually eclipsed its rival and by the latter part of the 19th century claimed 100,000 readers to Leslie's 70,000.

By 1880 technology caught up with demand, and newspapers began printing photographs, not just etchings based upon them. For the first time in history, readers could literally see people and places in print. Etchings and engravings had been time-consuming and laborious to produce, limiting the number that could be included in a publication. Photographs had no such constraints, and smaller articles that would have never been illustrated by the older process now could be. Readers could now match faces with names and landscapes to places, forever changing the nature and appearance of news. The world was becoming more connected and photography played a significant role.

"The Occupation of Oklahoma—Would be Settlers in Line at the Land Office in Guthrie." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.* May 18, 1889. Etching after W.S. Rogers. GM4126.562.

Portraits

PHOTOGRAPHS VISUALLY REVOLUTIONIZED newspapers and books, and it became a new category of mass media itself whose most popular subset was portraiture. Before Daguerre's invention, portraits were expensive and exclusive, limited to those who could afford an artist's commission. Photography could capture a person's likeness at a fraction of the time and cost, and portrait studios proliferated to meet the demand.

Enterprising photographers quickly realized there was a lucrative market beyond individual family portraits—that people were intrigued by celebrity and infamy and interested in owning a piece of it. Although early photography mediums such as daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes were not conducive to mass reproduction, the newer and more durable carte de visite and its larger cousin, the cabinet card, were. Cartes de visite, or visiting cards, were small, roughly two by four inches. Cabinet cards were somewhat larger. Both were mounted on sturdy board, stiff enough to prop up in a cabinet. Popular cabinet card subjects focused on current events, namely the Civil War, the West, and Native Americans.

Soldiers and officers were the preferred images, faces holding an inherent interest over places. People bought and collected the cards, sometimes assembling them in recently patented personal albums designed specifically for the purpose. William Massie's album, in the Gilcrease collection, is one such example. A Confederate sympathizer, Massie collected several cards, including those of Jefferson Davis and General Joseph Johnston, carefully inscribing the subject's rank and name beneath each. Other individuals pictured included unnamed soldiers and civilian men and women.

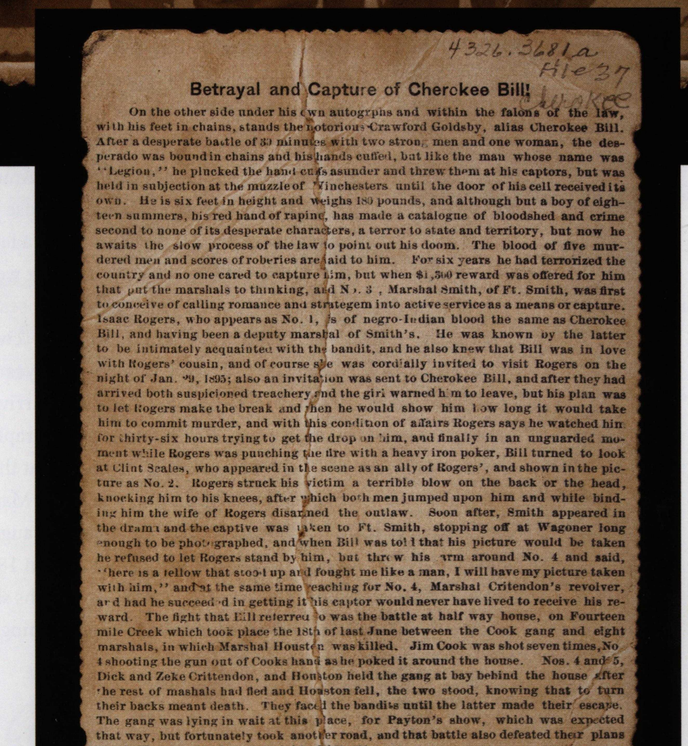
Another popular genre was infamous individuals. Outlaws such as Jesse James and Oklahoma's Crawford Goldsby, alias Cherokee Bill, fascinated the public with their crimes and immorality. Often the card included a brief summation of their exploits on the back of the photograph; for twenty-



Jefferson Davis and General Joseph Johnston, from a Confederate Civil War album belonging to William Massie. GM4526.117.11, .12.



Cherokee Bill and others. E.D. McAfee, Wagoner, Indian Territory. GM4326.3681.


4326.3681a
File 37
Cherokee

Betrayal and Capture of Cherokee Bill!

On the other side under his own autographs and within the talons of the law, with his feet in chains, stands the notorious Crawford Goldsby, alias Cherokee Bill. After a desperate battle of 30 minutes with two strong men and one woman, the desperado was bound in chains and his hands cuffed, but like the man whose name was "Legion," he plucked the hand cuffs asunder and threw them at his captors, but was held in subjection at the muzzle of Winchesters until the door of his cell received its own. He is six feet in height and weighs 180 pounds, and although but a boy of eighteen summers, his red hand of raping, has made a catalogue of bloodshed and crime second to none of its desperate characters, a terror to state and territory, but now he awaits the slow process of the law to point out his doom. The blood of five murdered men and scores of roberies are laid to him. For six years he had terrorized the country and no one cared to capture him, but when $1,500 reward was offered for him that put the marshals to thinking, and No. 3, Marshal Smith, of Ft. Smith, was first to conceive of calling romance and strategem into active service as a means or capture. Isaac Rogers, who appears as No. 1, is of negro-Indian blood the same as Cherokee Bill, and having been a deputy marshal of Smith's. He was known by the latter to be intimately acquainted with the bandit, and he also knew that Bill was in love with Rogers' cousin, and of course she was cordially invited to visit Rogers on the night of Jan. 29, 1895; also an invitation was sent to Cherokee Bill, and after they had arrived both suspicioned treachery and the girl warned him to leave, but his plan was to let Rogers make the break and then he would show him how long it would take him to commit murder, and with this condition of affairs Rogers says he watched him for thirty-six hours trying to get the drop on him, and finally in an unguarded moment while Rogers was punching the fire with a heavy iron poker, Bill turned to look at Clint Scales, who appeared in the scene as an ally of Rogers', and shown in the picture as No. 2. Rogers struck his victim a terrible blow on the back or the head, knocking him to his knees, after which both men jumped upon him and while binding him the wife of Rogers disarmed the outlaw. Soon after, Smith appeared in the drama and the captive was taken to Ft. Smith, stopping off at Wagoner long enough to be photographed, and when Bill was told that his picture would be taken he refused to let Rogers stand by him, but threw his arm around No. 4 and said, "here is a fellow that stood up and fought me like a man, I will have my picture taken with him," and at the same time reaching for No. 4, Marshal Critendon's revolver, and had he succeeded in getting it his captor would never have lived to receive his reward. The fight that Bill referred to was the battle at half way house, on Fourteen mile Creek which took place the 18th of last June between the Cook gang and eight marshals, in which Marshal Houston was killed. Jim Cook was shot seven times, No 4 shooting the gun out of Cooks hand as he poked it around the house. Nos. 4 and 5, Dick and Zeke Crittendon, and Houston held the gang at bay behind the house after the rest of mashals had fled and Houston fell, the two stood, knowing that to turn their backs meant death. They faced the bandits until the latter made their escape. The gang was lying in wait at this place, for Payton's show, which was expected that way, but fortunately took another road, and that battle also defeated their plans to rob Wagoner Station that night of $35,000.

five cents a person could own both the man and the myth. A card photograph of Cherokee Bill was taken in early 1895 upon his arrival in Fort Smith as a prisoner and roughly one year before he was hanged at the age of twenty.

Other figures whose images were collected defied simple categorization as good or bad. George Custer, for example, represented either honor or dishonor depending upon an individual's perception. Either way, he and his 7th Calvary were infamous in death, and Custer cabinet cards helped cement his legendary status, often signed and given in memoriam by his widow, Elizabeth, while on her lecture circuit.



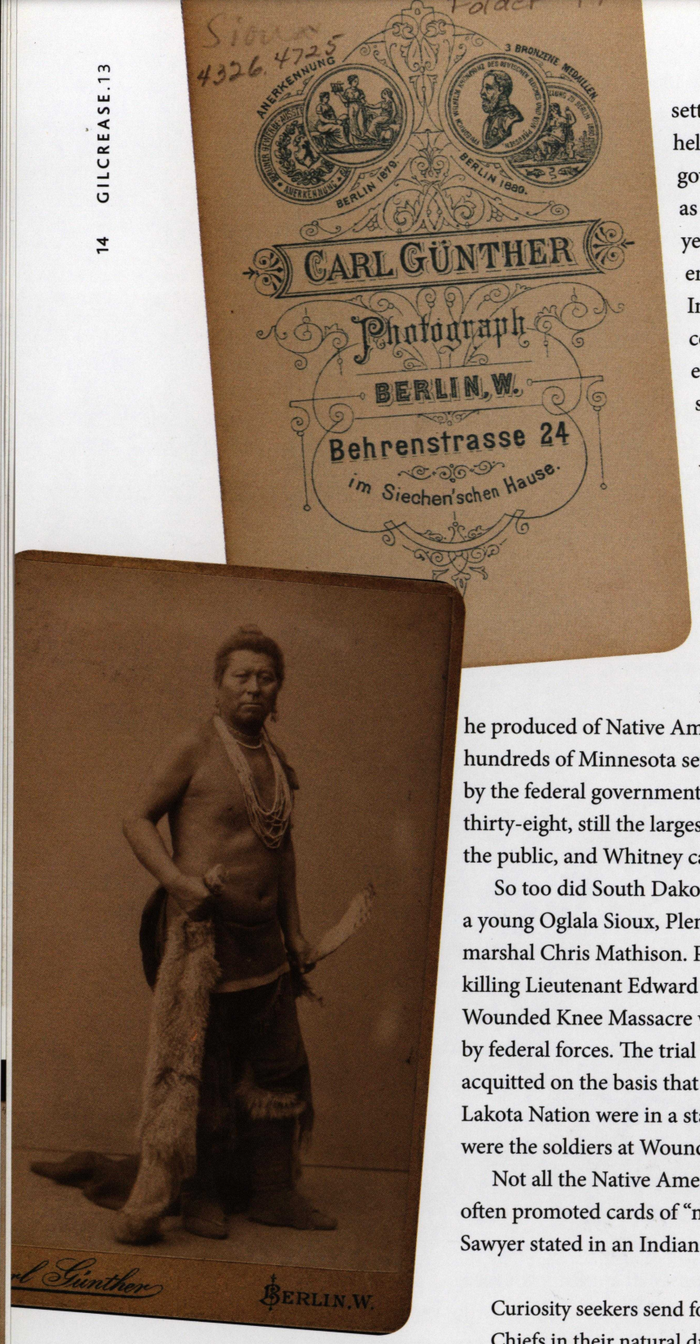
Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill Cody.
GM4326.4830.

Hunkpapa Lakota Sitting Bull had fought against Custer at Little Bighorn in 1876 and had become equally infamous, particularly after he joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and toured the country for a year. Uncharacteristically savvy by any standards, Sitting Bull made certain his contract stipulated that he and he alone had control over any photographs made of him. In the promotional photograph shown here, he stands beside Buffalo Bill, evidence of Buffalo Bill's Cody fame and also one of the most popular genres of cartes de visite and cabinet cards—Native Americans.

If photographs are a barometer of social interests, then the proliferance of Native American images in the 19th and early 20th centuries indicates an extreme level of interest and popularity. The rise of photography happened to coincide with the rise of another man-made creation, the myth of the "Vanishing Indian," popularized by authors and artist explorers. The premise was simple—that American Indians were fast disappearing along with their ways of life and customs and that there was little to be done but "document" those remaining. Boarding schools such as the Hampton Institute and Carlisle often photographed newly arrived students, most often Native American children. The photographer would purposefully pose them wrapped in blankets, frequently sitting on the floor. Then a few months later and in stark juxtaposition, the same student would be photographed in new European clothes and cropped hair, standing or seated in a chair. The rhetoric was clear—a few months in a boarding school could "civilize" any Indian. An example from the Gilcrease collection is twenty-six-year-old Mary Dawson and her daughter, Anna. Arikaras from Fort Berthold, they arrived in November 1878 at Hampton Institute in Virginia. When Anna's photograph is compared to those of other newly arrived Hampton students, it is clear that the blanket she wears was a prop and not a personal item of the eight-year-old's. Mary died from tuberculosis within a year and a half of this photograph but her daughter continued her education at Hampton. Anna eventually graduated in 1887, after which she worked as a teacher at various reservations. Later photographs show her in the latest fashion with her hair upswept—the forced assimilation seemingly complete.

FACING: Mary and Anna Dawson.
GM4316.5194.





ABOVE AND FACING PAGE: Photos of unidentified subjects by Carl Gunther. Berlin. GM4326.4725, 4726.

In addition to the "Vanishing Indian," conflict between settlers, federal forces, and Native Americans also helped spur interest in Native imagery. For decades, the government and various media had presented tribal people as troublemakers. They were often portrayed as exotic, yet dangerous—different from white settlers and thus enormously fascinating—and photographs of American Indians were some of the most popular produced. A person could own an image of an Indian without the risk of encountering one, could keep them literally on a shelf as a souvenir.

Photographs of Indians were popular in Europe as well. A Berlin photographer, Gunther, produced small cards of various Native men. The information he did not include with his images is just as revealing as any information that might have been. He gives no names, nor even tribal affiliation. The subjects are simply Indians for sale as items of curiosity and intrigue. Stateside, Minnesota photographer Joel Whitney included just enough information to help sell the cards he produced of Native Americans involved in the Sioux Uprising of 1862, when hundreds of Minnesota settlers were killed and 300 Sioux were sentenced to death by the federal government. Ultimately, President Lincoln lowered the number to thirty-eight, still the largest mass execution in United States history. It fascinated the public, and Whitney capitalized on the macabre interest.

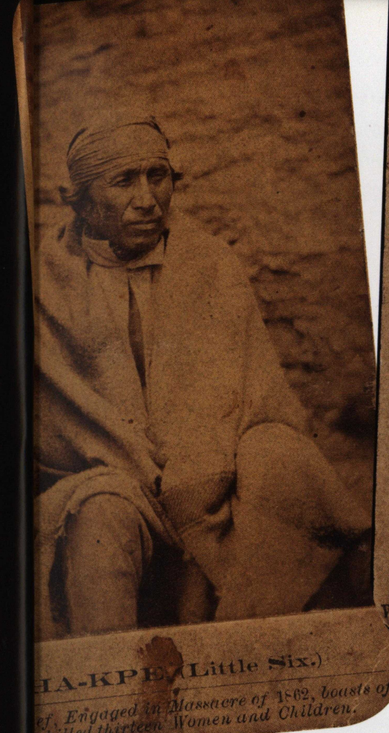
So too did South Dakota photographer L.T. Butterfield, when he photographed a young Oglala Sioux, Plenty Horses, along with his father Living Bear and deputy marshal Chris Mathison. Plenty Horses was on trial at the time for shooting and killing Lieutenant Edward Casey roughly a week after the December 29, 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre when approximately 300 of his fellow Lakota were killed by federal forces. The trial was intensely followed and Plenty Horses was eventually acquitted on the basis that at the time of the murder the United States and the Lakota Nation were in a state of war and if Plenty Horses was guilty, then so too were the soldiers at Wounded Knee.

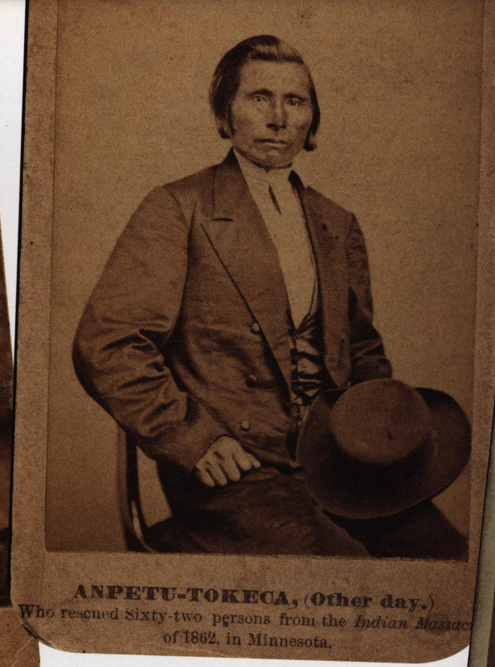
Not all the Native Americans were infamous, and newspaper advertisements often promoted cards of "noted Indians" or individuals associated with them. W.L. Sawyer stated in an Indian Territory paper that:

> Curiosity seekers send for price list of photographs of all the prominent Indian Chiefs in their natural dress, the noted warriors in their buck-skin and buffalo robes, with war bonnets painted for the war path, also scenes of their grass wigwams and teepes in which they reside. In fact every kind of a scene showing the Indian in his wild state.











Sometimes photographs showed people associated with American Indians. Four German sisters are one such example. They were taken captive in September 1874 after a Cheyenne raid left their father, mother, brother, and two others sisters dead. The sisters were reunited months later after two escaped and two were released, becoming celebrities in their survival. William Bliss, a photographer from the Cheyenne Agency, Indian Territory advertised their cabinet card in *The Wichita City Eagle,* 1875:

> Eight by Ten Photographs of the Cheyenne Battleground, $1.00. Cheyenne camp before battle, 50 cents. Cheyenne camp after battle, 50 cents. Germain girls, captives. 50 cents. Arapahoe and Cheyenne agency, 50 cents. Photographs of noted Indians, Cabinet size, 50 cents each, $5.00 for a dozen. Card size 30 cents each, $3.00 per dozen by mail. W.P. Bliss, Cheyenne Agency, I.T. Register all money letters.

Other photographs were sold bound in small books, such as *Indian Types of the Northwest* with photographs by F. Jay Hayne and text by Adolph Wittemann. With short biographies at the back, it was a complete illustrated text in pocket size. Together these and the other images of Native Americans helped shape perceptions and reinforce stereotypes of Native Americans. Photographers were careful to advertise their names and locations on the cards in order to increase business. Soon, however, photographs alone would be the advertisement.

FACING PAGE: Plenty Horses, Living Bear, and Chris Mathison. GM4326.5043.

ABOVE, LEFT TO RIGHT:
Sha-kpe (Little Six). Whitney Studios. St. Paul, MN. GM4326.4717.
Anpetu-Tokeca (Other Day). Whitney Studios. St. Paul, MN. GM4326.4722.
German sisters. Captured by Cheyennes in 1874. GM4326.3385.

FACING PAGE: Advertisement for Cross photography from Niobrava, Nebraska. GM4316.5054.

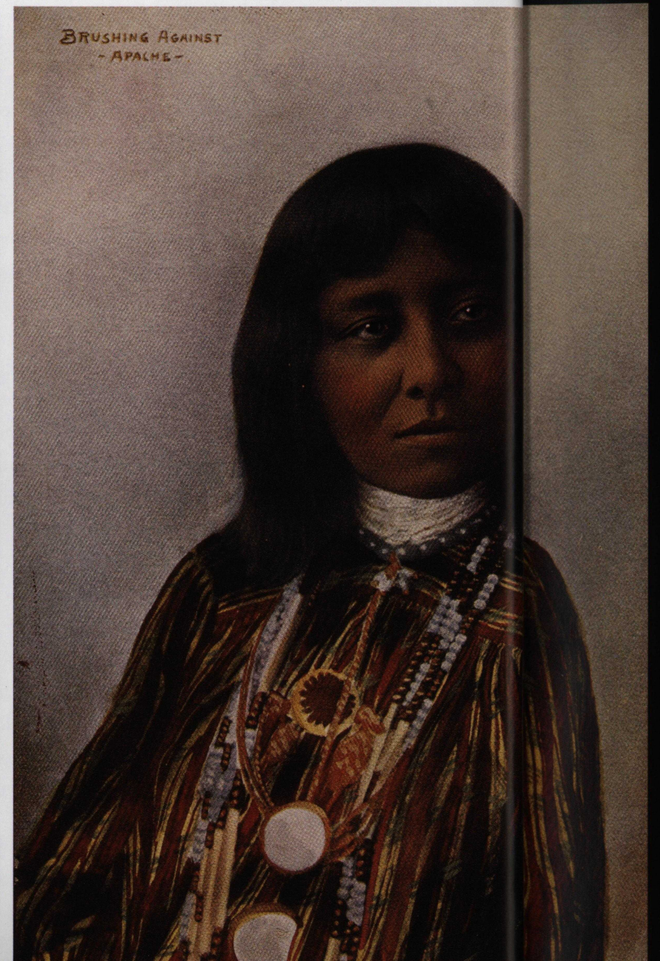
Postcards and Advertisements

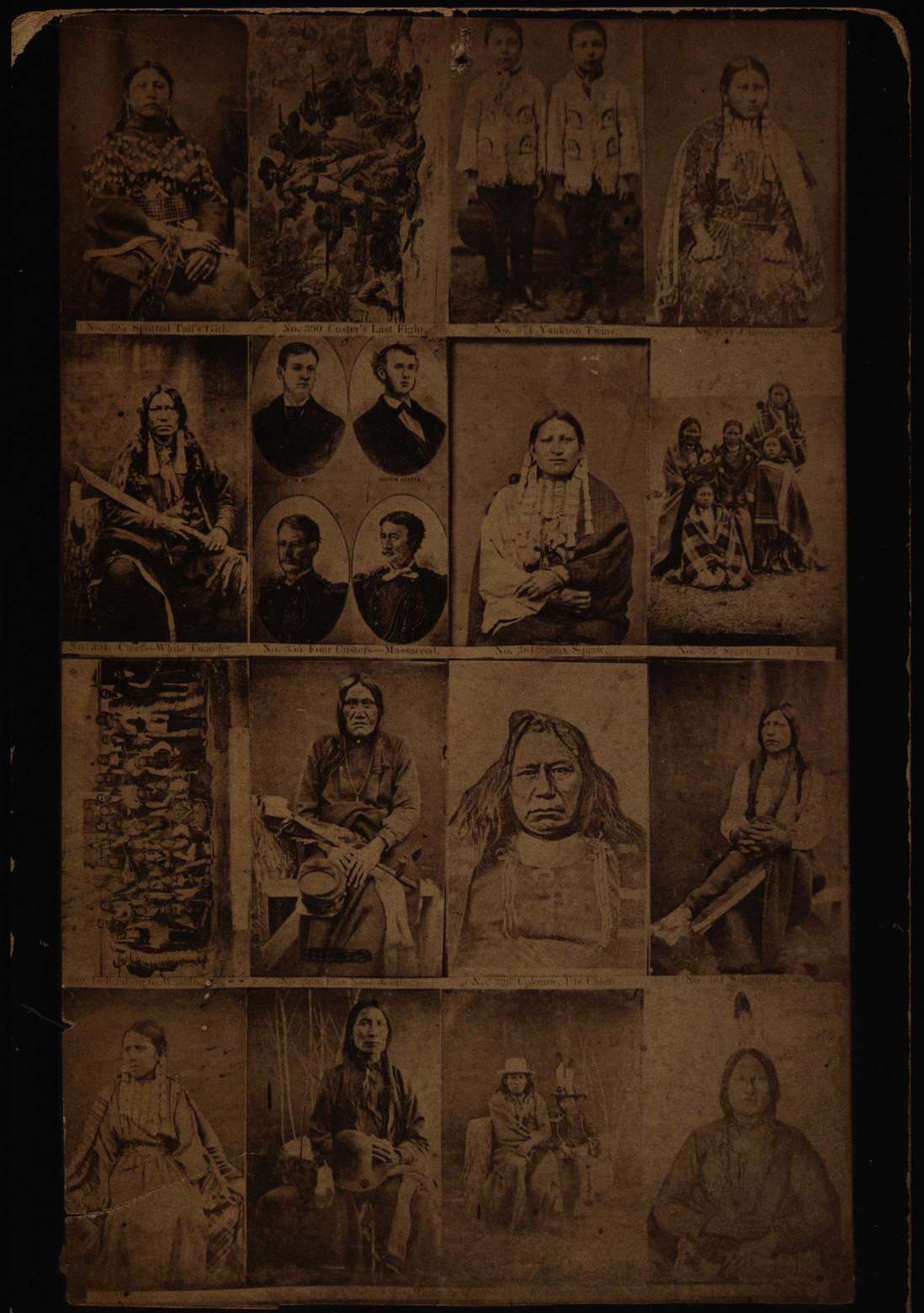
SOME OF THE FIRST PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS using Native Americans grew from the older custom of "documentary" photography. One example came from the Omaha Exposition in 1898 as summarized in *The Coalville Times* the following year:

> In the summer of 1898 the Government Indian Bureau invited all tribes of Indians in this country to send delegates to an Indian Congress , and they gathered from far and near with their ponies and tepees and gaudiest trappings in the Exposition Grounds at Omaha. Never before had there been and never again will there be such a gathering. There were about 500 of them, some partly civilized, but the greater portion picturesque in original savagery. This was probably the last time that so complete and spectacular a view of the North American Indians will be possible and those who had the privilege of witnessing it are to be counted fortunate. At the time of the Indian Congress, a prominent photographer obtained permission to take photographs of the most noted chiefs present.

Hattie Tom. Apache. Frank Rinehart. 1899. GM4326.3583.
Brushing Against. Apache. Frank Rinehart. 1899. 4326.3584.









The photographer was Frank Rinehart, and the photographs were so popular he hand-colored some of his favorite proofs and sold them in local art stores, four of them to the Chicago Great Western Railway. Finally, they were included in a 1900 calendar that could be purchased for twenty-five cents in silver or stamps. Two Apache women, Hattie Tom and Brushing Against, were among those chosen, their images appropriated to convey a desired theme, the premise of all advertisement.

Another example used an Apache man, Go-Shono, in a 1905 advertisement for Tongaline. It was a common stereotype that all Native Americans were healers and keepers of herbal secrets, so who better to promote a medicine. On a semi-positive note, the Rinehart and Tongaline images at least identified Go-Shono by name and tribe.

Not all advertisements, however, were so heavy-handed. One of the most popular and enduring promotional items was, and is, the postcard. As mobility increased and became easier, more people began traveling by car and train. When they stopped somewhere they often wanted a souvenir of some sort to take or send



Advertisement for Tongaline featuring Go-Shono, Apache. 1905. GM4327.3582.





Postcard, Red Sublette. Sent to a family member in Arlington, Texas from Red Dixon Sublette. GM4327.8810.

Postcard, Lucille Mulhall, 101 Ranch. GM4327.8636.

home. A postcard was ideal. It was inexpensive, interesting, small, and with a single stamp could be mailed anywhere. Wild West Shows, a popular attraction during the late 19th century, was still drawing crowds well after 1900. Postcards of Wild West performers, Native and non-Native alike, criscrossed the globe from one mail-drop to another, giving the receiver an idea of what the sender had experienced, the next best thing to being there.

Photography has continued to evolve. In color and digitized, it is embedded in mass media so completely that it is difficult to remember it did not always exist. From newspapers to magazines, television to the internet, film to smartphone videos, it has impacted every facet of mass media. But something that has not changed since the invention of photography is its core value. It is "the mirror with a memory," as Oliver Wendell Holmes famously said, and no matter how its application or methods or resolution might evolve, that will remain the same. It has, and always will, reveal what is relevant and important to a people and a place at a certain time, a permanent and visual inventory of social values and developments—conveying this information to not only the present, but future masses.

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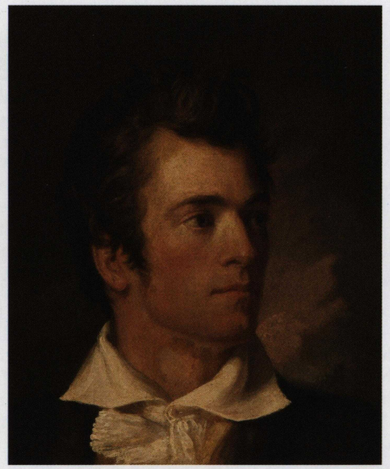
EXPEDITIONARY ARTIST

GEORGE CATLIN'S *Souvenir Album*

was based on his Indian Gallery, a traveling collection of native artifacts and paintings that fascinated many viewers in the mid-1800s. The souvenir album—a hand-annotated and bound portfolio of fifty watercolor images—preserves the artist's observations of 19th-century Native American culture. It also tells the story of a man's desire to convert his life's work into new forms and formats to capture new audiences. Had he been born a century later, Catlin might have parlayed his material into a major photography project. As it was, his Indian Gallery was abbreviated in a one-of-a-kind document now in the Gilcrease Archive.

William H. Truettner

In 1849, for the fourth time in nine years, George Catlin exhibited his Indian Gallery at Egyptian Hall in London. It would be the last time the Indian Gallery was exhibited during his lifetime. New paintings and additional artifacts had recently been added to the exhibit, so what was seen this time around was the most complete survey of his collection that had ever appeared. Accompanying it was an expanded catalogue, for all practical purposes the final inventory of the Indian Gallery. Along with an array of Indian artifacts, it lists about 585 paintings, many more than had appeared in earlier exhibitions. The majority of them—portraits, landscapes, and scenes of Indian life—had been painted by Catlin during the 1830s when he traveled among Indian tribes of the northern and southern Great Plains. On these trips Catlin had also gathered artifacts from the Indians he painted or from fur traders and trappers operating out of St. Louis, whom he met in the course of his travels.



FACING PAGE: *Say-say-gon (The Hail Storm) an Ojibbeway War Chief.* George Catlin, 1852, oil on canvas. GM0176.2165.
INSET: *Portrait of George Catlin.* John Neagle, 1825, oil on canvas. GM0126.2164.

Egyptian Hall,

PICCADILLY.

JUST ARRIVED,

ELEVEN NATIVE

CANADIAN NORTH AMERICAN

INDIANS!!

Of the O-JIB-WAY, O-DEAU-WAU, and MIS-SIS-SAGEE Tribes of Indians, from the Western Wilds of North America,

HEADED BY TWO CHIEFS,

Will Perform at the above Hall, at

2 o'Clock in the Afternoon, & 8 o'Clock in the Evening,

COMMENCING ON

MONDAY NEXT, MAY 12,

AND SUCCEEDING DAYS.

The Performance will commence with

A Grand Indian Council

In front of the Wigwam, when the whole Party will appear in FULL NATIVE COSTUME, Displaying all the Implements of War—the Chief will Address the Council—and the whole of the Forms of declaring War will be gone through.

The INTERPRETER will Deliver

A LECTURE

Descriptive of Indian character; showing the habits and manners of the "Children of the Forest" on the most elaborate scale, embracing a true picture of real Indian life, both in the wild and civilised state—their mode of living through the northern winter, as well as under the burning sun of a southern summer—their means of procuring food in the different seasons—hunting the deer in the depth of winter—fishing on the great lakes through the ice—the interior of the wigwam—the "Papoose" in the cradle—method of cooking in the woods—together with their various ceremonies, religious and superstitious—healing the sick by charms—appeasing the storm—funerals—rifle and bow and arrow shooting, in which they will display great dexterity—various games, dances, &c.

The following are the Names, in Indian and English, their Ages and Height:

MAUNG-GWUD-DAUS—A great Hero, 40 years of age, 6 ft. 1 in. in height.
SAY-SAY-GON—Hail storm, 34 years of age, 6 ft. 3 in. in height.
KE-CHE-US-SIN—A mighty Rock, 27 years of age, 5 ft. 9 in. in height.
MISH-SHE-MONG—King of the Loons, 25 years of age. 5 ft. 8 in. in height.
A-WUN-NWABE—Bird of Thunder, 19 years of age, 6 ft. in height.
WAU-BUD-DICK—A Rein Deer, 18 years of age, 5 ft. 9 in. in height.
AU-NIM-MUCK-KWUH-UM—Thunder Bird, 20 years of age, 5 ft. 7 in. in height.
NOO-DIN-NO-KAY—Raging Storm, 4 years of age, Son of Chief.
MIN-NIS-SIN-NOO—A brave Warrior, 3 years of age, Son of Chief.
U-JE-JOCK—A Pelican, 10 years of age, Son of Chief.
UH-WUS-SIG-GEE-ZHIG-GOO-KWAY—A Woman of the Upper World, 38 years of age, Wife of Chief.

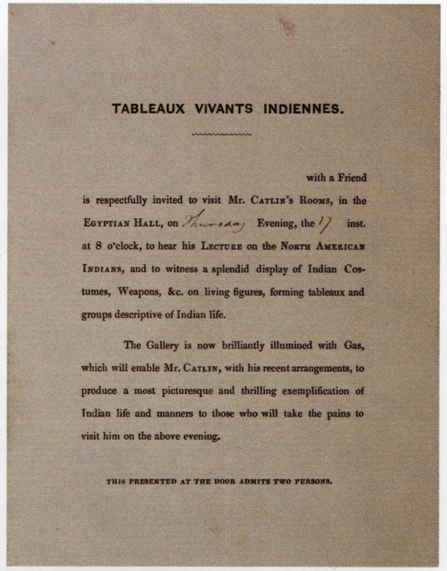
4776.6.64

When Catlin's Indian Gallery had opened for the first time at Egyptian Hall in January 1840, it attracted large crowds for almost a full year, and Catlin became the toast of London. But all that was now in the past; other attractions had come and gone, and neither Catlin nor his Indian Gallery caused the same sensation. Facing the problem of how to make use of his collection, other than by promoting more expensive, time-consuming, and, ultimately, money-losing tours, there were seemingly only two alternatives: find a permanent home for the gallery or redo it as a popular attraction. But he may have come up with another, if we can assume that a remarkable illustrated manuscript, signed and dated "Egyptian Hall, 1849," was meant to be a first step toward a new and more versatile "portable" Indian Gallery.

The bound manuscript with its hand-painted illustrations has belonged to Gilcrease Museum since 1947, one of a number of important Catlin paintings and manuscripts purchased that year by Thomas Gilcrease from the estate of Sir Thomas Phillipps, a major 19th-century collector of books and manuscripts.[1] Phillipps seems to have acquired it in early 1858 from Catlin, if it is indeed the item referred to in Catlin/Phillipps correspondence of February 21, 1858: "I send herewith," Catlin writes, "another epitome of my collection, made a long time ago. . . For this album, which was a selection from my whole Collection, I want 100 pounds" (a large amount for such an album in those days; Catlin eventually had to settle for much less).

The drawings, Catlin continues, are mounted on a "double thickness of paper," supported so well (and presumably surrounded by generous margins) that Phillipps would "see in a moment what sort of book it will make." The album was apparently sent to Phillipps unbound. Today it is bound between two heavy but rough cardboard covers, suggesting that Phillipps acted on Catlin's advice, although the manuscript did not receive the deluxe treatment accorded others he owned. (According to the February 21, 1858 letter, which is in the Gilcrease archive, Phillips maintained a bindery at his home, where "handsome" work was done.)

The main feature of the album, fifty beautifully executed watercolors, each about eight inches by ten, have been mounted on much larger pages, each fourteen and three-eighths by seventeen and one-quarter inches. The watercolors appear on the right-hand pages of the album. On each facing page is descriptive text that identifies the Indians or the activity represented, neatly done in Catlin's own script. The format of the watercolors is repeated in the borders surrounding the text. The title page, which briefly restates the "vanishing race" theme from many of Catlin's earlier publications, is also done in Catlin's own hand, alternating between script and bold print, in the manner of contemporary broadsides.



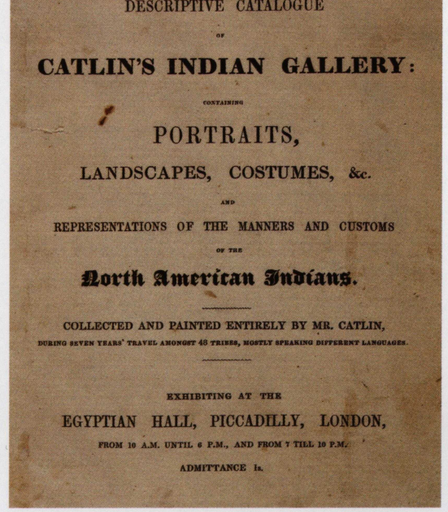
TABLEAUX VIVANTS INDIENNES.

with a Friend

is respectfully invited to visit Mr. Catlin's Rooms, in the Egyptian Hall, on Thursday Evening, the 17 inst. at 8 o'clock, to hear his Lecture on the North American Indians, and to witness a splendid display of Indian Costumes, Weapons, &c. on living figures, forming tableaux and groups descriptive of Indian life.

The Gallery is now brilliantly illumined with Gas, which will enable Mr. Catlin, with his recent arrangements, to produce a most picturesque and thrilling exemplification of Indian life and manners to those who will take the pains to visit him on the above evening.

THIS PRESENTED AT THE DOOR ADMITS TWO PERSONS.



A

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

OF

CATLIN'S INDIAN GALLERY:

CONTAINING

PORTRAITS,

LANDSCAPES, COSTUMES, &c.

AND

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

North American Indians.

COLLECTED AND PAINTED ENTIRELY BY MR. CATLIN,

DURING SEVEN YEARS' TRAVEL AMONGST 48 TRIBES, MOSTLY SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

EXHIBITING AT THE

EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY, LONDON,

FROM 10 A.M. UNTIL 6 P.M., AND FROM 7 TILL 10 P.M.

ADMITTANCE 1s.

Invitation to Catlin's Indian Gallery in Egyptian Hall, 1840. GM5176.131; A Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin's Indian Gallery. GM4776.6.1.

FACING PAGE: Just Arrived, Eleven Native Canadian North American Indians. Advertisement. GM4776.6.64.



Buffalo Hunting from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 68. GM4776.5.68.



Kee-o-kuk, Pash-ee-pa-ho, wife of Kee-o-kuk, Saukie, from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 44. GM4776.5.44.

FACING PAGE: The Fourteen Ioway Indians. Advertisement. GM4776.6.62.

Patronized by their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of CAMBRIDGE, The Duchess of GLOUCESTER, The Grand Hereditary Duke and Duchess of MECKLENBURGH and STRELITZ, and others of the Royal Family.

THE

FOURTEEN

Ioway Indians

From near the Rocky Mountains, in America.

VAUXHALL GARDENS!

Each Day this Week, from 3 to 6.

DOORS OPEN AT HALF-PAST TWO.

GRAND

EQUESTRIAN AND ARCHERY FÊTES.

Mr. CATLIN having made arrangements for these famous and spacious Grounds, the FOURTEEN IOWAY INDIANS will appear for a few days, where they can be seen to great advantage, in all the freedom of savage, forest life; their Tents (or wig-wams) brought with them from their country, will be regularly pitched, forming a picturesque encampment, in front of which they will give their

Dances, Games, Ball Plays, SONGS, ARCHERY,

AND

EQUESTRIAN EXERCISES.

☞ A little Hand Book on this party, fully explaining all the modes, lo-



Red Jacket. George Catlin, 1826, oil. GM0126.2182.

The technique and style of all fifty plates is consistent, suggesting that they were done at the same time, in 1849, or perhaps shortly before, according to the date on the album. They represent a condensed version of the Indian Gallery, following the gallery's roughly half-and-half division between portraits and other subjects. But condensing meant that Catlin did have to make format changes. Most major figures in the Indian Gallery had a canvas to themselves, but in the Gilcrease album, chiefs, warriors, and an occasional spouse share the same plate. Their poses are usually taken from Indian Gallery prototypes but are modified so that they respond appropriately to figures on either side. Although the number of figures per plate varies, three seems to be the norm, enabling Catlin to include seventy-five or more of the more than 300 figures who appeared in the Indian Gallery. In addition, because all are shown full length, a rich variety of clothing and accessories can be seen in each plate—more, in fact, than appear in most of the oil portraits in the Indian Gallery.

Page fifty-four in the album marks the break between the portraits and the subject pictures that follow. These are mostly hunting scenes: Indians pursuing buffalo, grizzly bears, pronghorn antelope, wapiti (elk), and moose—species thought to be unique to North America and that may have had special appeal to European sportsmen seeking new trophies. Along with patronage, Catlin seems to have been concerned about the artistic level of the album, perhaps assuming that more was required of him in Europe than in America. In any case, eighteen plates are close copies of earlier scenes that appear in the North American Indian Portfolio, an album of lithographs Catlin had published in 1844. The difference between the two is that the lithographs, drawn on stone by an artist named McGahey, are more skillfully executed and more broadly imagined than the paintings from which they were taken.[2] The reason for this, one assumes, is that McGahey was simply a better draftsman and composer than Catlin, and therefore able to improve Catlin's material. Catlin was quick to see the difference and to make use of it, incorporating McGahey's "improvements" in his own work, first in the 1849 album and then in later versions of the same scenes.

Accompanying the hunting scenes are two dance scenes, one following the buffalo hunting series, the other following the single bear hunting scene. Both dances were performed, Catlin explains, to bring success to the respective hunts by "conciliating" the buffalo or bear "spirit." Absent from the album, however, are numerous village scenes that played a major role in the Indian Gallery. Also absent are pictures of Indian councils, games and pastimes, lodges, village and burial grounds, and Indian-against-Indian battles. Something had to go, of course; the Indian Gallery could not be reduced to fifty plates without losing important material. But why did the hunting scenes take precedence, and why were the more anthropological scenes cast aside?



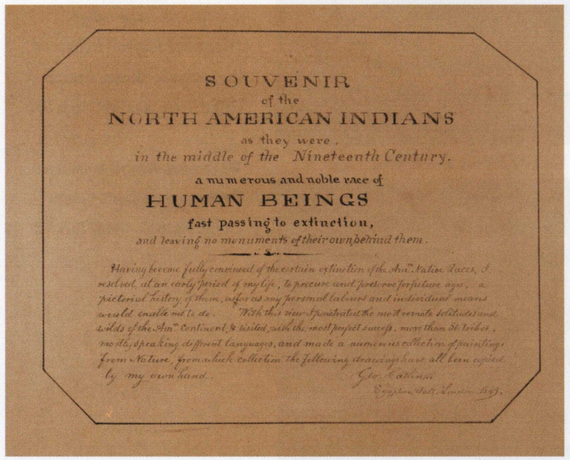
Tul-lock-chisk-ko (Choctaw Ball Player), We-chush-ta-doo-tah, Ah-no-je-nahge (Sioux Ball Players) from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 50. GM4776.5.50.



Wi-jun-jon, Assinneboin, from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 52. GM4776.5.52.

Patronage may again provide insight. By 1849, Catlin was probably attracting more attention in Europe than in the United States. Titled and/or wealthy Europeans were less interested in the actual living circumstances of Plains tribes than in seeing them as free spirits roaming at will across a huge natural hunting preserve. Indians and other subjects in the Gilcrease album thus seem to inhabit a world more purely "noble savage" than their counterparts in the Indian Gallery, a world constructed to appeal to upper-class European males who imagined it as an intriguing alternative to the lives they were leading.

One can argue that the album serves as a guide to Catlin's state of mind in 1849—another insight into his personal life and his artistic intentions. By that time, his obsession with promoting the Indian Gallery had taken a heavy toll. His peripatetic life abroad had literally exhausted his wife, who died of pneumonia in 1845, followed two years later by the couple's young son. Before and after these deaths, Catlin lost several Indian friends who had toured with his collection in England, France, and Belgium. By late 1846, he had turned to lecturing and making copies of his paintings to support himself.



Frontispiece from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. GM4776.5.

As time went on, Catlin's debt increased. He still had three daughters to support, and the proceeds from lecturing, making copies of his collection, and other projects he took on were insufficient to cover his financial needs.[3] Toward the end of the 1840s his correspondence with Phillipps clearly signals financial stress. That might explain why, in 1858, he sold the album to Phillipps for a mere twenty-five pounds. By the late 1840s, he must have known that to save himself he had to reinvent the Indian Gallery, condense it, make it more portable, and, above all, accessible to a wider audience. As it was, he had a collection that had grown considerably during his years abroad while interest in it had diminished. So he needed to find a permanent home for this material—to literally leave it behind—while extracting from it a new and more up-to-date Indian Gallery that could be seen outside an exhibition hall.

If Catlin was grappling with the idea of reformatting the Indian Gallery, what other needs, beyond his own, was he trying to address? The text on the title page of the album purchased by Gilcrease from Phillipps may provide a clue. But how should we read it? As a straightforward plea to recognize the fragile condition of Indian life in North America, or as something more ambiguous—a statement that finally leaves one puzzling over Catlin's motives. What, for example, did the word "souvenir" mean in 1849? Surely it carried more weight than it does today. But it would still seem to diminish the passage that follows, describing North American Indians as "a numerous and noble race of HUMAN BEINGS fast passing to extinction, and leaving no monuments of their own, behind them."



Os-ce-o-la, Not-a-way, wife of chief, Seminole and Iroquoise, from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 32. GM4776.5.32.

On the other hand, that passage had appeared as a romantic lament for vanishing tribes since the end of the 18th century. By 1849, it must have had a slightly hollow ring, a ritual acknowledgement of wrongs done to Native peoples that always stopped short of assigning blame. Added to that is the mildly disparaging allusion to monuments, or rather a lack of them, raising the question of how much a "race" can matter that leaves no trace of itself—no written language, monumental architecture, religious and political system—once it has gone. (Catlin's use of the term "race" reflected notions about biological origins prevalent in his time; anthropologists now see the term as compromised by political meanings, hence it has become something of an anachronism.)

A few lines further on, Catlin's mission (more specifically, his travels) can be read as a mix of derring-do and sexual conquest. "I penetrated the most remote solitudes and wilds of the Amn. Continent," he writes, "&visited, with the most perfect success, more than 50 tribes." This no longer sounds like a lament. It has the tone of a mid-century anthropological report, with more than a hint of imperialism in its phrasing. That said, one can turn in the opposite direction and read Catlin's words, especially those that refer so poignantly to forthcoming extinction, as an

appropriate and chilling epilogue to the decade of the 1840s. During that decade, tens of thousands of emigrants crossed the Oregon and California trails, often encountering, and sometimes exchanging hostilities with, indigenous tribes. A war with Mexico and boundary negotiations in the Northwest increased United States territory by almost a third, but subsequent white settlement of western lands cut deeply into Indian hunting grounds. And a year before Catlin composed the album, gold was discovered in California. What this meant for Indian tribes in the West was recognized at the time; numerous, and not always sympathetic, predictions about extinction came from government, commercial, and scientific sources.[4] In a pamphlet describing the need for a Museum of Mankind to preserve vanishing peoples around the world, one of many ideas Catlin was spinning off two years later in 1851, he cites the major threats to western tribes as the "sudden and unexpected occupancy (by white settlers) of the whole range of the rocky mountains and the Pacific coast, within the last few years. . . the invading armies of the Mexican War. . . the gathering of Mormons around the great Salt Lake, and the crusades to the Gold Region of California." These were, he adds, "events unprecedented in the history of man."

Did Catlin become more discontent with the government's Indian policy while he was abroad, or was he simply witnessing, in somewhat embittered exile, the unfolding of a crisis he had predicted twenty years earlier?[5] In either case, he must



Group of Mandan Warriors.
George Catlin, 1852, oil on canvas.
GM0176.2111.

have realized by 1849 that the Indian Gallery had been overused, both as a public attraction and as a bully pulpit, and that a new model was needed. That became a fact of life in 1852 when creditors closed in. The Gallery was redeemed by Joseph Harrison, a Philadelphia locomotive manufacturer, who sent it back home. How the Gilcrease album escaped the fate of the Indian Gallery we may never know. But somehow Catlin did save it, and in a format that could show what he had seen on the Great Plains to future generations.

Souvenir albums did not originate with Catlin. He tapped into an ongoing tradition that had started earlier in the 19th century as a way of recording Native peoples seen by white Americans on the first expeditions into midwestern and trans-Mississippi Indian country. The account of the Long Expedition, for example, published in 1823, carried a few plates by the artist-draftsmen Samuel Seymour and Titian Peale. Others that followed were James Otto Lewis's *Aboriginal Portfolio,* Thomas L. McKinney and James Hall's *The Indian Tribes of North America,* Swiss artist Karl Bodmer's breathtaking watercolors of Upper Missouri tribes, and Alfred Jacob Miller's watercolor record of an expedition to a fur trader's rendezvous with Scotsman William Drummond Stewart. Even Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio belongs to this tradition.



Buffalo Bull from the Souvenir Album.
George Catlin. Plate 54. GM4776.5.54.

Catlin had ambitions for his Souvenir Album that probably went beyond those of his predecessors. What developed from the 1849 album was both a shorthand method of recreating and enlarging the lost Indian Gallery and, ultimately, a publishing project that would allow the standard size and shape of the album plates, plus others that might be added over time, to be reproduced by a mechanical process, perhaps making use of photography.

Reconfiguring the Indian Gallery as a fifty-plate souvenir album may have given the gallery a potential new life, but it also had a downside. What we miss in paging through the souvenir album is the size and power of the portraits in the Indian Gallery. Portraits are "miniaturized" in the album, reducing the startling authority of the original images. Each comes across like a mannequin, wearing a costume that appears to be even more elaborate than the Indian Gallery original. What they lack is "wildness"—the impression the sitters in the earlier portraits sometimes convey of being on edge, apprehensive, unsure of what harm a paintbrush might bring. To be sure, this wildness was to some degree Catlin's own invention; he was adept at using a facial expression here or a gesture there to cut a broad distinction between civilized and savage life. But we should also remember that many Upper Missouri chiefs and warriors Catlin painted had been fighting each other for most of their adult lives. Those who had survived probably took nothing for granted, not even the seemingly benign regimen of portraiture. So what Catlin observed and what he invented are often difficult to separate.

In any case, the figures seem content to live on the pages of the album, neatly arranged in compositions all the same size, their rank indicated by subtle distinctions in dress and accessories. One might even say that they embody the space/time distance that separates them from the conditions under which the original portraits were painted—that Catlin's memory has finally reduced a variety of challenging experiences in the field to a less eventful common denominator. The result is an album composed mainly of what might be called good citizens of the West—members of tribes relatively unchanged by contact with whites, whom Catlin, along with other artists and scientists whose careers reach back to the early days of the republic, saw (with some stretch of the imagination) as a society governed by similar ideals.[1]

If the portraits in the album seem a bit diminished when compared to their predecessors, they nevertheless provide a stylistically balanced lead to the subject pictures that follow. The subject pictures hold their own; they are astonishingly well done, as watercolor compositions and as compelling narratives. Horses and buffalo seem to exist as part of the landscape, not as figures dropped into a painted space. The landscapes are also more accomplished, with natural details and tonal gradations rarely seen before.

Evidence of the patience and skill of the artist and of his desire to leave a compassionate record of "vanishing" American tribes appears on every page of the album. What does not, however, is a willingness to confront historical issues that deal with the actual terms and conditions of sustaining Indian life in the United States. Beautifully crafted vignettes of Indian life seem to exist alongside a darker chronicle, not only one that tells us the story of vanishing races but another, more subtle variation that begins to explain why the preservation of vanishing races often ended up as an artistic endeavor. In Catlin's case, he claimed preservation as the goal of his image-making, but one could argue that in doing so he was transferring the collective white guilt of destroying a race to the more benign process of recording it—a process that tended to soften and aestheticize the hard moral question of who was to blame.[6]

Yet Catlin never really claimed that he was trying to save the people he recorded; he thought he was already too late for that. He was instead making a beautiful record to call attention to what was happening to them in 1849, and to provide a "souvenir" for future generations. Catlin used his considerable talent in different ways. He was not just a cipher, or an anthropologist, or a historian, or a showman and entrepreneur, or an advocate of just treatment for Indians, but an artist who was all of these. Thus we can hardly condemn him for trying to accomplish many tasks at once. But we should be less tolerant of ourselves if we simply take him at his word, accepting the album as nothing more than a record of a vanishing race. Because it is much more. It combines a moving narrative with art that is compelling and seductive, so much so that it can replace our historical memory with one less troubling and uncomfortable. The disturbing but attractively rendered past that appears on its pages now seems to forgive a great deal, especially when we compare it to more recent historical accounts of the same period.

Editorial Note

The Catlin souvenir album was never published as a multiple edition in Catlin's lifetime. For more than half a century it rested in the archives of the Gilcrease Museum, where, in 2003, it was shown by the late Sarah Erwin, Gilcrease librarian, to a visitor from Denver, Henry Roath. Roath and his wife Joann became interested in making the album available to a wider audience than could gain access to the archive. They funded a project, shepherded closely by Sarah Erwin, in which a limited edition facsimile of the album was created using contemporary reproduction methods. The facsimile albums were designed and production-supervised by Carol Haralson and printed and bound in Florence by Giunti Industrie Grafiche, the plant where facsimiles of works by da Vinci are produced for major Italian museums. Copies of the facsimile were distributed to museum libraries throughout the United States. And so Catlin's wish that his album should reach a larger and long-lasting audience came true. This essay is extracted from William Truettner's astute and comprehensive introduction to that 2003 facsimile.

Notes

1 For more on Phillipps and his book and manuscript collection, which was one of the largest in England, see A.L. Munby, Phillipps Studies, vol. 4 (Cambridge, England, 1956), and Joan Carpenter Troccoli, "George Catlin and Sir Thomas Phillips: A Nineteenth-Century Friendship." Rare Books and Manuscript Librarianship 1, no. 10 (1995): 9-20.

2 The discussion that follows on how McGahey improved Catlin's work is taken from Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 115-116.

3 These projects include two different commissions from Louis Philippe, one based on Louis's earlier travels in North America, the other commemorating LaSalle's voyage through the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi; a design submitted for a mural, *Boone's Entrance into Kentucky,* to occupy the last remaining space in the rotunda of the United States Capitol; the publication of *Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe,* Catlin's account of how the Ojibwa and Iowa troupes, who for a time traveled with the Indian Gallery, responded to European civilization; and investment in a Texas land scheme, which was probably the main cause of Catlin's financial collapse in 1852.

4 A number of books cover this topic. Three of the most helpful are Wilcomb Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Connecticut: Weslyan University Press, 1982), and Richard Slokin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization* (New York: Atheneum, 1985).

5 Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries* (p. 184 ff.), argues, on good evidence, that Catlin became increasingly disenchanted with the fur trade as time went on.

6 More research needs to be done on Catlin's politics, but a few quick observations can be made here. George's father, Putnam (1764–1842), a Revolutionary War veteran, and subsequently a lawyer and judge, was a self-styled farmer/squire who lived in Upper New York State. He was also the patriarch of a sizable clan, an ardent Federalist, and later a Whig, who supported William Henry Harrison in 1840. George (1796–1872) followed his father's political lead, which had certain professional benefits (see Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries,* p.64), and which he reinforced by marrying into a prominent Albany family, whose son (George's brother-in-law) served a term in Congress as a Whig. In addition, some of George's support for his western trips probably came from the letters he sent back to the *New York Commercial Advertiser,* a newspaper owned by William Leete Stone, another ardent Federalist, who grew up in New York State near the farm owned by Putnam. Daniel Webster, who almost persuaded his Senate colleagues to purchase the Indian Gallery in 1849, was another friend. Among this group there remained a belief in noble savagery (as opposed to the more ruthless dismissal of native tribes by Andrew Jackson and the Democrats) that was articulated by, among others, anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, also a Whig. Morgan's studies of Iroquois society had convinced him that the values of traditional Indian life were disappearing from modern (1840s) American life, and that reviving these values would benefit "a society increasingly inclined to mechanical achievement and economic profit" (see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 89). This was, of course, a favorite republican theme, espoused by Whig elites (and earlier Federalists), and it helps explain why they continued to believe in "good" Indians, while others had little use for them. Image makers, of course, followed suit. Catlin was a much more sympathetic portrayer of Indians than, say, Charles Deas or Arthur F. Tait, American Art-Union artists who, in the mid-and late-1840s, served an expansionist clientele.

Broadside!

Renee Harvey

They promoted and advertised. They warned and informed. They gave notice. They were the Web site pop-ups and television product spots of their era—but ultimately less ephemeral, because, although they existed in fragile pressed pulp and ink, some have borne their messages down through the centuries.

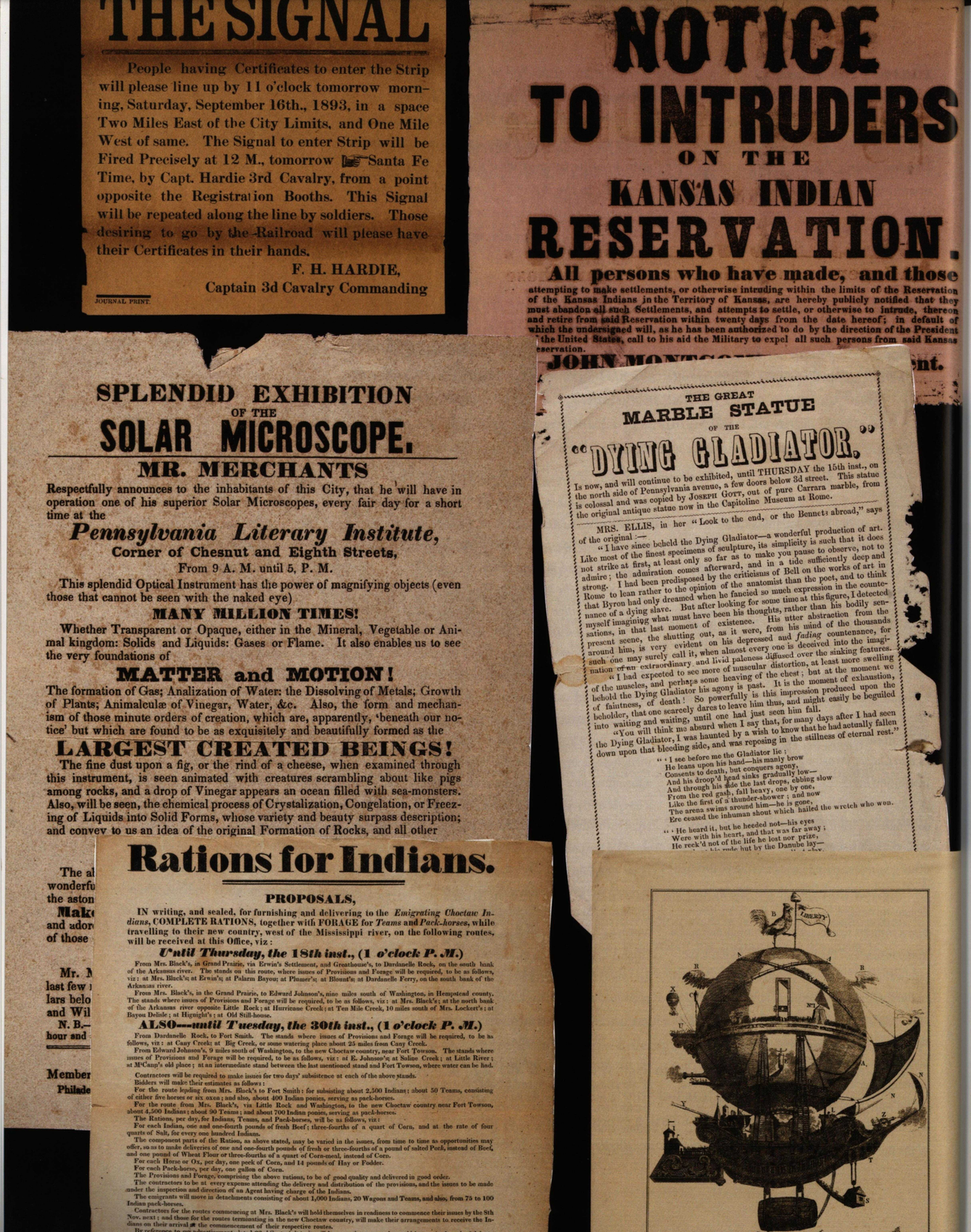
It is hard to imagine in this current age of technology that there was a time when information was not available at the click of a button or the flick of a switch. Any communique that needed to be relayed to the masses was spoken and passed from person to person and took months to deliver, if it arrived at all. With the invention of the printing press in the mid 1400s a new communication era dawned and the inception of the broadside was not far behind.

The term broadside is not as well-known as it once was, so a definition is definitely in order. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* a broadside is "a large sheet of paper usually printed on one side." The terms *broadside* and *broadsheet* are sometimes used interchangeably, but in a more refined defintition a broadside is printed on one side and a broadsheet is printed on both sides. Here we use the term broadside for both.

An early form of broadside was the printed ballad, a simple narrative poem of folk origin composed in short stanzas and adapted for singing. Ballads were extremely popular with the public.

English broadsides were cheaply produced by printers in mass quantity on inexpensive paper. This made them an economical and expedient way to disperse information to the multitudes. For maximum visibility broadsides were posted in public places—court or meeting houses, taverns, coffeehouses, or public squares, and they may have been read aloud to those who were illiterate. Their subjects varied greatly and could include announcements of meetings, legal proceedings, or property sales; legal proclamations; or accounts of battles and massacres.

The broadside in England evolved from simple black letter posters to illustrated sheets embellished with woodcuts. Woodcut designs were sometimes reused from one broadside to another, and thus their appropriateness depended on the observational skills of the printer. Subject matter and image might not match. Many early printers of this ephemeral species of literature siimply wanted to embellish with some attractive representation or ornament; such publishers were in the habit of buying coarse worn-out and worm-eaten woodcuts and putting them at the head of any broadside they would fit. (Collier, Preface IV).



THE SIGNAL

People having Certificates to enter the Strip will please line up by 11 o'clock tomorrow morning, Saturday, September 16th., 1893, in a space Two Miles East of the City Limits, and One Mile West of same. The Signal to enter Strip will be Fired Precisely at 12 M., tomorrow ☞Santa Fe Time, by Capt. Hardie 3rd Cavalry, from a point opposite the Registration Booths. This Signal will be repeated along the line by soldiers. Those desiring to go by the Railroad will please have their Certificates in their hands.

F. H. HARDIE,
Captain 3d Cavalry Commanding

JOURNAL PRINT

NOTICE
TO INTRUDERS
ON THE
KANSAS INDIAN
RESERVATION.

All persons who have made, and those attempting to make settlements, or otherwise intruding within the limits of the Reservation of the Kansas Indians in the Territory of Kansas, are hereby publicly notified that they must abandon all such Settlements, and attempts to settle, or otherwise to intrude, thereon and retire from said Reservation within twenty days from the date hereof; in default of which the undersigned will, as he has been authorized to do by the direction of the President of the United States, call to his aid the Military to expel all such persons from said Kansas reservation.

JOHN MONTG… nt.

SPLENDID EXHIBITION
OF THE
SOLAR MICROSCOPE.
MR. MERCHANTS

Respectfully announces to the inhabitants of this City, that he will have in operation one of his superior Solar Microscopes, every fair day for a short time at the

Pennsylvania Literary Institute,
Corner of Chesnut and Eighth Streets,
From 9 A. M. until 5, P. M.

This splendid Optical Instrument has the power of magnifying objects (even those that cannot be seen with the naked eye)

MANY MILLION TIMES!

Whether Transparent or Opaque, either in the Mineral, Vegetable or Animal kingdom: Solids and Liquids: Gases or Flame. It also enables us to see the very foundations of

MATTER and MOTION!

The formation of Gas; Analization of Water: the Dissolving of Metals; Growth of Plants; Animalculæ of Vinegar, Water, &c. Also, the form and mechanism of those minute orders of creation, which are, apparently, 'beneath our notice' but which are found to be as exquisitely and beautifully formed as the

LARGEST CREATED BEINGS!

The fine dust upon a fig, or the rind of a cheese, when examined through this instrument, is seen animated with creatures scrambling about like pigs among rocks, and a drop of Vinegar appears an ocean filled with sea-monsters. Also, will be seen, the chemical process of Crystalization, Congelation, or Freezing of Liquids into Solid Forms, whose variety and beauty surpass description; and convey to us an idea of the original Formation of Rocks, and all other

THE GREAT
MARBLE STATUE
OF THE
"DYING GLADIATOR."

Is now, and will continue to be exhibited, until THURSDAY the 15th inst., on the north side of Pennsylvania avenue, a few doors below 3d street. This statue is colossal and was copied by JOSEPH GOTT, out of pure Carrara marble, from the original antique statue now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

MRS. ELLIS, in her "Look to the end, or the Bennets abroad," says of the original:—

"I have since beheld the Dying Gladiator—a wonderful production of art. Like most of the finest specimens of sculpture, its simplicity is such that it does not strike at first, at least only so far as to make you pause to observe, not to admire; the admiration comes afterward, and in a tide sufficiently deep and strong. I had been predisposed by the criticisms of Bell on the works of art in Rome to lean rather to the opinion of the anatomist than the poet, and to think that Byron had only dreamed when he fancied so much expression in the countenance of a dying slave. But after looking for some time at this figure, I detected myself imagining what must have been his thoughts, rather than his bodily sensations, in that last moment of existence. His utter abstraction from the present scene, the shutting out, as it were, from his mind of the thousands around him, is very evident on his depressed and *fading* countenance, for such one may surely call it, when almost every one is deceived into the imagination of an extraordinary and livid paleness diffused over the sinking features. "I had expected to see more of muscular distortion, at least more swelling of the muscles, and perhaps some heaving of the chest; but at the moment we behold the Dying Gladiator his agony is past. It is the moment of exhaustion, of faintness, of death! So powerfully is this impression produced upon the beholder, that one scarcely dares to leave him thus, and might easily be beguiled into waiting and waiting, until one had just seen him fall.

"You will think me absurd when I say that, for many days after I had seen the Dying Gladiator, I was haunted by a wish to know that he had actually fallen down upon that bleeding side, and was reposing in the stillness of eternal rest."

"I see before me the Gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.

"He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
But by the Danube lay—

Rations for Indians.

PROPOSALS,

IN writing, and sealed, for furnishing and delivering to the *Emigrating Choctaw Indians*, COMPLETE RATIONS, together with FORAGE for *Teams* and *Pack-horses*, while travelling to their new country, west of the Mississippi river, on the following routes, will be received at this Office, viz:

Until Thursday, the 18th inst., (1 *o'clock P. M.*)

From Mrs. Black's, in Grand Prairie, via Erwin's Settlement, and Greathouse's, to Dardanelle Rock, on the south bank of the Arkansas river. The stands on this route, where issues of Provisions and Forage will be required, to be as follows, viz: at Mrs. Black's; at Erwin's; at Palarm Bayou; at Plumer's; at Blount's; at Dardanelle Ferry, on the south bank of the Arkansas river.

From Mrs. Black's, in the Grand Prairie, to Edward Johnson's, nine miles south of Washington, in Hempstead county. The stands where issues of Provisions and Forage will be required, to be as follows, viz: at Mrs. Black's; at the north bank of the Arkansas river opposite Little Rock; at Hurricane Creek; at Ten Mile Creek, 10 miles south of Mrs. Lockett's; at Bayou Delisle; at Hignight's; at Old Still-house.

ALSO—*until Tuesday, the 30th inst.*, (1 *o'clock P. M.*)

From Dardanelle Rock, to Fort Smith. The stands where issues of Provisions and Forage will be required, to be as follows, viz: at Cany Creek; at Big Creek, or some watering place about 25 miles from Cany Creek.

From Edward Johnson's, 9 miles south of Washington, to the new Choctaw country, near Fort Towson. The stands where issues of Provisions and Forage will be required, to be as follows, viz: at E. Johnson's; at Saline Creek; at Little River; at McCaup's old place; at an intermediate stand between the last mentioned stand and Fort Towson, where water can be had.

Contractors will be required to make issues for two days' subsistence at each of the above stands.

Bidders will make their estimates as follows:

For the route leading from Mrs. Black's to Fort Smith: for subsisting about 2,500 Indians; about 50 Teams, consisting of either five horses or six oxen; and also, about 400 Indian ponies, serving as pack-horses.

For the route from Mrs. Black's, via Little Rock and Washington, to the new Choctaw country near Fort Towson, about 4,500 Indians; about 90 Teams; and about 700 Indian ponies, serving as pack-horses.

The Rations, per day, for Indians, Teams, and Pack-horses, will be as follows, viz:

For each Indian, one and one-fourth pounds of fresh Beef; three-fourths of a quart of Corn, and at the rate of four quarts of Salt, for every one hundred Indians.

The component parts of the Ration, as above stated, may be varied in the issues, from time to time as opportunities may offer, so as to make deliveries of one and one-fourth pounds of fresh or three-fourths of a pound of salted Pork, instead of Beef, and one pound of Wheat Flour or three-fourths of a quart of Corn-meal, instead of Corn.

For each Horse or Ox, per day, one peck of Corn, and 14 pounds of Hay or Fodder.

For each Pack-horse, per day, one gallon of Corn.

The Provisions and Forage, comprising the above rations, to be of good quality and delivered in good order.

The contractors to be at every expense attending the delivery and distribution of the provisions, and the issues to be made under the inspection and direction of an Agent having charge of the Indians.

The emigrants will move in detachments consisting of about 1,000 Indians, 20 Wagons and Teams, and also, from 75 to 100 Indian pack-horses.

Contractors for the routes commencing at Mrs. Black's will hold themselves in readiness to commence their issues by the 8th Nov. next; and those for the routes terminating in the new Choctaw country, will make their arrangements to receive the Indians on their arrival at the commencement of their respective routes.

By reference to my advertisement, dated 23rd Sept. (ult.), it will be seen that proposals would be received on the 8th inst., and, also, that specific information, so far as circumstances would permit, would be given, on the 20th inst., in relation to the movements of the Emigrants. Information on this subject having been received at an earlier period than was contemplated, it is deemed advisable, both as regards the interest of the…

$50.00
REWARD

For the arrest and conviction of any person cutting timber, destroying or taking away from this place anything belonging to the
THOMAS GILGREASE FOUNDATION

Bibliography

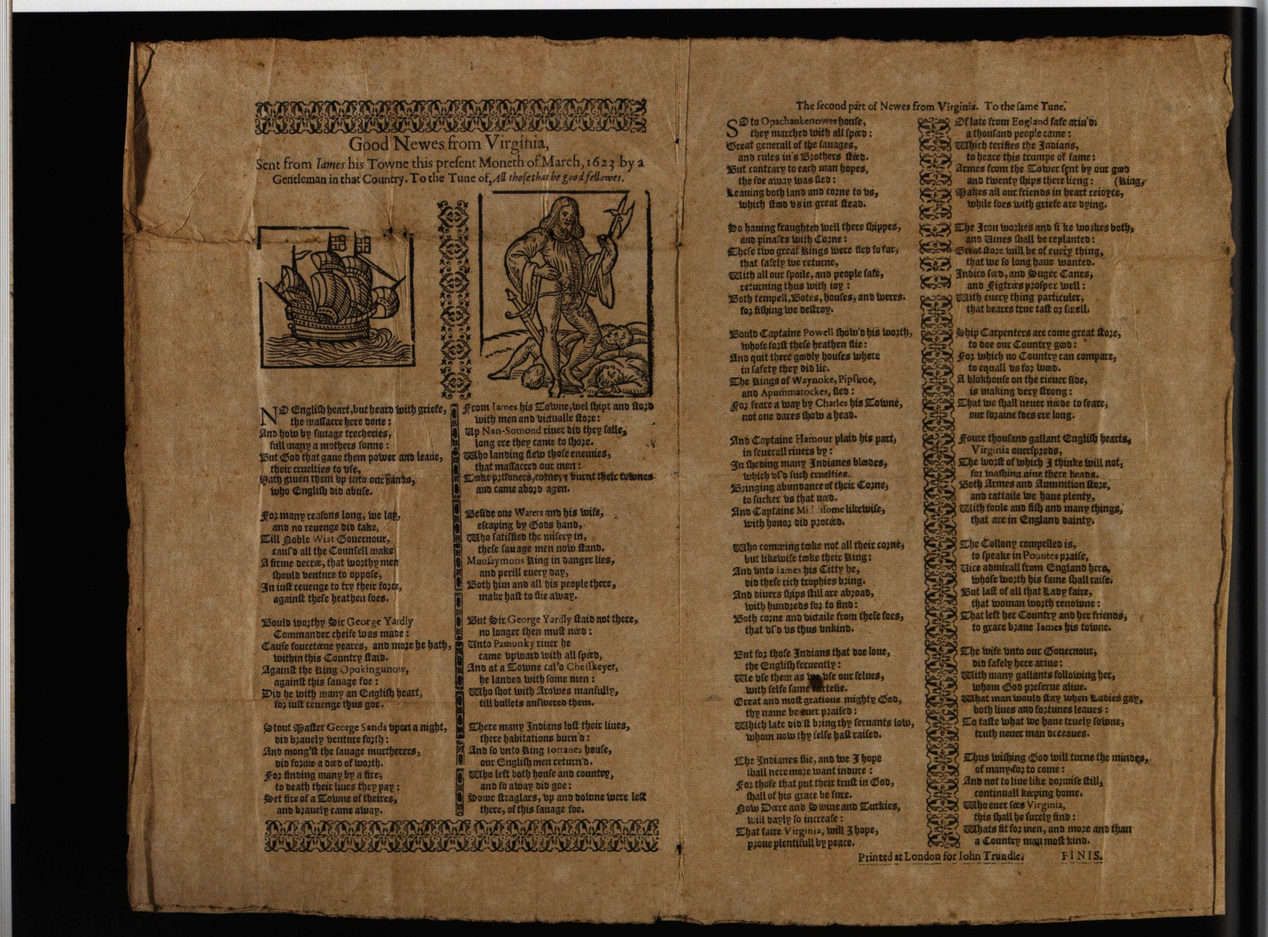
Collier, J. Payne. *Broadside Black Letter Ballads* (New York: Burt Franklin Publishing), 1968.

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. *Indians Abroad* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 1943.

Fumerton, Patricia and Anita Guerrini, *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing), 2010.

Broadsides evolved from their rise in the 16th century through the heyday of the ornamental black letter broadside, and finally through their decline toward the end of the 17th and into the 18th century, when the previous large decorated broadsides became routinely replaced by mere slips of unornamented white letter print. (Fumerton and Guerrini, p. 3).

The broadside was never meant to survive, but to attract attention, communicate the necessary information, and then be thrown away much like a disposable cup or plate. The information communicated in broadsides was time sensitive and their exposure to the elements and their fragile and discardable nature makes their survival today a rarity, and in some cases a rarity of great monetary value. Just as the broadside had its inception with the invention of the printing press, its demise came at the hand of new communication devices such as the telegraph. Though the broadside has been replaced with newer and faster communication methods, those broadsides that survive serve as a communication and cultural bridge to the past.



Good Newes from Virginia,

Sent from *Iames* his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country. To the Tune of, *All those that be good fellowes.*

NO English heart, but heard with griefe,
the massacre here done:
And how by sauage treacheries,
full many a mothers sonne:
But God that gaue them power and leaue,
their cruelties to vse,
Hath guiet them by into our hands,
who English did abuse.

For many reasons long, we lay,
and no reuenge did take,
Till Noble Wat Gouernour,
cau'd all the Counsell make
A time decree, that worthy men
should venture to oppose,
In iust reuenge to try their force,
against these heathen foes.

Would worthy Sir George Yardly
Commander there was made:
Cause foureteene peaces, and more he hath,
within this Country staid.
Against the King Opakingunow,
against this sauage foe:
Did he with many an English heart,
go iust reuenge thus doe.

A stout Master George Sands vpon a night,
did brauely venture forth:
And mong'st the sauage murtherers,
did frame a dard of wroth.
For finding many by a fire,
to death their lines they pay:
Set fire of a Towne of theirs,
and brauely came away.

From Iames his Towne, wel shipt and stord
with men and victualle store:
Vp Nan-Somond riuer did they sayle,
long ere they came to those.
Who landing slew those enemies,
that murthered our men:
Take prisoners, corne, & burnt their townes
and came aboard again.

Beside one Waters and his wife,
escaping by Gods hand,
Who satisfied the misery in,
these sauage men now stand.
Mouyamons King in danger lies,
and perill euery day,
Both him and all his people there,
make hast to flie away.

But Sir George Yardly staid not there,
no longer then must now:
Vnto Pamunky riuer he
came vpward with all speed,
And at a Towne cal'd Chesskeyer,
he landed with some men:
Who shot with Arrows manfully,
till bullets answered them.

There many Indians lost their lines,
there habitations burn'd:
And so vnto King Iohnsons house,
our English men return'd.
Who left both house and country,
and so away did goe:
Some straglers, vp and downe were left
there, of this sauage foe.

The second part of Newes from Virginia. To the same Tune.

SO to Opachankenowes house,
they marched with all speed:
Great generall of the sauages,
and rules in's Brothers stead.
But contrary to each mans hopes,
the foe away was fled:
Leaving both land and corne to vs,
which stood vs in great stead.

So hauing slaughter'd well there shippes,
and pinaces with Corne:
These two great Kings were fley to fat,
that safely we returne.
With all our spoile, and people safe,
returning thus with ioy:
Both tempest, Boates, houses, and weres,
for fishing we destroy.

Would Captaine Powell showd his worth,
whose force all these heathen flie:
And quit there goodly houses where
in safety they did lie.
The Kings of Wayanoke, Pipsisco,
and Apumnatocke, fled:
For feare away by Charles his Towne,
not one dares show a head.

And Captaine Hamour plaid his part,
in seuerall riuers by:
In shewing many Indianes blindes,
which vs'd such cruelties.
Bringing abundance of their Corne,
to succor vs that need.
And Captaine Mr Hone likewise,
with honor did proceed.

Who comming take not all their corne,
but likewise take their King:
And vnto Iames his Citty he,
do these rich trophies bring.
And diuers ships shall see abroad,
with thousands for to find:
Both come and victaile from these foes,
that vs'd vs thus vnkind.

But for those Indians that doe loue,
the English fecundity:
We vse them as our pale our selues,
with selfe same charitie.
Great and most gratious mighty God,
thy name be euer praised:
Which late did ill thing thy seruants low,
whom now thy selfe hast raised.

The Indianes flie, and we I hope
shall here more want inioure:
For those that put their trust in God,
shall of his grace be sure.
How Dane and Swine and Turkies,
will daily so increase:
That faire Virginia, will I hope,
proue plentifull by peace.

Printed at London for Iohn Trundle. FINIS.





Good Newes from Virginia,

Sent from *Iames* his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country. To the Tune of, *All those that be good fellowes.*

NO English heart, but heard with griefe,
the massacre here done:
And how by sauage treacheries,
full many a mothers sonne:

From Iames his Towne, wel shipt and stord
with men and victualle store:
Vp Nan-Somond riuer did they sayle,
long ere they came to those.
Who landing slew those enemies,

The broadside migrated to America with the European arrival and the formation of the colonies. One of the earliest black letter broadside ballads about America is the "Good Newes of Virginia" dated 1623. This broadside celebrated the recovery of the young Colony of Virginia and details the punitive measures taken against the Indians, including a threat by Captain John Smith to avenge the deaths after the massacre of 347 settlers by the Powhatan Indians in March of 1622. Interestingly, while the broadside is about America, it was printed in London by John Trundle in 1623 and is based on the account of a resident of the Jamestown Colony. It is probably safe to assume that a printing press had not been shipped to America from England yet. GM3526.138; map GM2576.2016.

Another black letter broadside ballad is "A New Humorous Song, On the Cherokee Chiefs: Inscribed to the Ladies of Great Britain" by H. Howard. In 1762, a delegation of Cherokee leaders traveled to England to be presented to King George III. The group included British Lieutenant Henry Timberlake and interpreter William Shorey, who died on the voyage to England and was reputed to have been poisoned; the true cause of death was "galloping consumption" he contracted after his wife plunged him into an icy stream while he was intoxicated in an attempt to sober him up (Foreman, 66). H. Howard in his satirical depiction of the three Cherokee Chiefs seems to make fun of their exotic dress, hairstyles and tattooing. A hint of jealousy and perhaps a bit of envy is evoked as Howard inscribes his broadside to the ladies of Great Britain, who must have been enamored with the three Cherokee chiefs. Facing: GM3576.408. Below: *The Three Cherokees*. Detail from a 1762 broadside. GM3576.429.





A NEW HUMOROUS SONG,

ON THE

CHEROKEE CHIEFS.

Inſcribed to the LADIES of GREAT BRITAIN.

By H. HOWARD.

To the Tune of, *Cæſar 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 ſend 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 *Matrons*, 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.

IV.

That *Cherokee* Lips are much ſofter and ſweeter,
Their Touch more refin'd, and their Kiſſes repleter,
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 ſw——d by the Chiefs of the *Cherokee* Nation.
Ye Nymphs then, &c.

V.

Ye Females of *Britain*, ſo wanton and witty,
Who love even Monkies, 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.

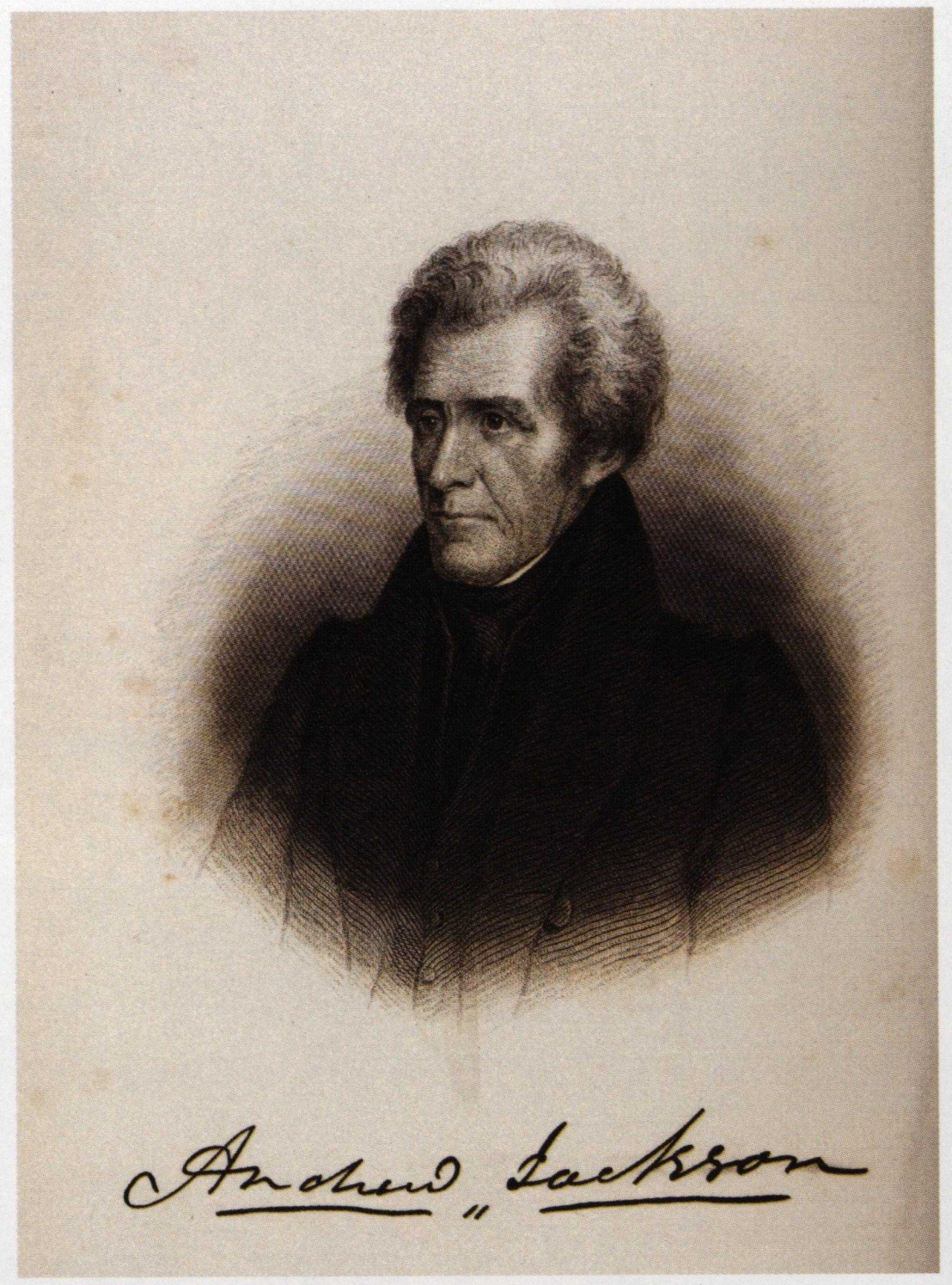
No more then theſe Chiefs, with their ſcalping Knives dread, Sir,
Shall ſtrip down the Skin from the *Engliſhman*'s Head, Sir;
Let the Caſe be revers'd, and the Ladies prevail, Sir,
And inſtead of the Head, ſkin the *Cherokee* T—l, Sir.
Ye bold Female *Scalpers*, courageous and hearty,
Collect all your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

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—t.*
Courageous advance then, each fair *Engliſh* Tartar,
Scalp the *Chiefs* of the *Scalpers*, and give them no Quarter.
Courageous advance then, &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 Bagpiper*. A new Song, with a Head-piece.

Social commentary, massacres, and politics were all subjects of broadsides. A unique broadside about General Andrew Jackson encompasses all these in one sheet. Jackson's execution of members of his own troops after the defeat of the Creek Indians at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814 subjected him to criticism and censure in the broadside titled "Some Account of some of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson." This graphic broadside features the coffins of Jackson's execution victims, a pictorial of Jackson stabbing Samuel Jackson as he bent to pick up a stone to defend himself (Jackson was tried but acquitted on the grounds of self-defense), and an editorial by Thomas Hart Benton. Engraving of jackson GM2316.865; "Some Account of some of the Bloody Deeds. . . GM3526.48; "Do not be startled. . . GM3526.225.





Do not be startled, gentle reader, at the picture before you. It is all true and every body ought to know it. Gen. Jackson having made an assault upon Samuel Jackson, in the streets of Nashville, & the latter not being disposed to stand still and be beaten, stooped down for a stone to defend himself. While in the act of doing so, Gen. Jackson drew the sword from his cane and run it through Samuel Jackson's body, the sword entering his back and coming out of his breast. For this offence an indictment was found against Genl. Jackson, by a grand jury, upon which he was subsequently arraigned and tried. But finding means to persuade the petit jury that he committed the act in self-defence, he was acquitted. Gentle reader, it is for you to say, whether this man, who carries a sword cane, and is willing to run it through the body of any one who may presume to stand in his way, is a fit person to be our President.



Some Account of some of the Bloody Deeds OF GENERAL JACKSON.

Jacob Webb *David Morrow* *John Harris* *Henry Lewis* *David Hunt* *Edward Lindsey*

A brief account of the Execution of the Six Militia Men.

As we may soon expect to have the *official* documents in relation to the SIX MILITIA MEN, arrested, tried, and put to death, under the orders of General Andrew Jackson, this may not be an improper time to give to the public some of the particulars of their execution, as we have them from "AN EYE WITNESS," who appeals to Col. Russell, for the truth of every word he relates.

Harris was a Baptist preacher, with a large family. He had hired as a substitute for three months. This was the case with most of them. They were ignorant men, but obstinate in what they believed right, and what they had been told by their officers was right.—They were all sure they could not be kept beyond three months, and they gave up their musquets, and had provisions dealt out to them, from the public stores, before they left the camp.—This confirmed their convictions that they were right and doing what was lawful.

Col. Russel commanded at the execution. The Militia men were brought to the place in a large wagon. The military dispositions being made, Col. Russell rode up to the wagon and ordered the men so descend. Harris was the only one who betrayed feminine weakness. The awfulness of the occasion; his wife and nine children; the parting with his son; and the fear of a quickly approaching ignominious death! quite overcome him, and he sunk in unmanly grief. No feeling of military pride could brace him up.

Col. Russel, doubtless, felt as a man, but he felt also for the pride of the army, and desired to animate the men with fortitude. "You are about to die," said he, by the sentence of a Court "Martial—die like men; *like soldiers.* "You have been brave in the field—"you have fought well—do no discredit to your country, or dishonour to the "army, or yourselves, by any unmanly "fears. Meet your fate with courage."

Harris attempted to make some apology for his conduct, but while he spoke, he wept bitterly. The fear of death, the idea that he should never again behold his wife and little ones, and his son weeping near him, had taken such entire possession of his mind that it was impossible he should rally.

Lewis, the gallant Lewis, said in a clear and manly tone, "Colonel, I have "served my country well. I love it "dearly, and would, if I could, serve "it longer and better. I have fought "bravely—*you know* I have, and HERE "I have a right to say so MYSELF. I "would not wish to die in this way"—here his voice faltered, and he passed the back of his right hand over his eyes—"I did not expect it: But, I am now "as firm as I have been in battle, and "you shall see that I will die as becomes a soldier, you know I am a "brave man." "Yes, Lewis, said the Colonel, you have always behaved like a brave man." Other sentences were uttered, other declarations were made, and words of comfort spoken, but they were lost on me: my attention, says an Eye Witness, being chiefly directed to Lewis.

Six coffins were ranged as directed, and on each of them knelt one of our condemned American Militia Men—Such a sight was never seen before! I trust to God it never will be seen again! Six soldiers were detailed and drawn up to fire at each man. What an awful duty! Their white caps were drawn over the faces of the unhappy men.—Harris evidently trembled, and I could almost persuade myself that the heart of Lewis was enlarged, and that his bosom rose with manly courage to meet death. The fatal word was given and they all fell.

As we approached the scene of blood and carnage, Lewis gave signs of life; the rest were all dead—he crawled upon his coffin. After the lapse of a few minutes he said—I give his very words: "Colonel"—the Colonel was close to him—"Colonel, I am not killed, but I am sadly cut and mangled." His body was now examined and it was found that but four balls had wounded him. "Colonel," said he, "did I behave well." "Yes, Lewis"—said the Colonel in the kindest tone of voice—"like a man." "Well sir," said he, "have I not atoned for this offence? *Shall I not live?*" The Colonel was much agitated, and gave orders that the Surgeon should, if possible, preserve his life. They did all that skill and humanity could do—it was all of no avail. Poor Lewis expressed a great desire to live—"not," said he at one time, "that I fear death, "but I would repent me of some sins, "and I desire to live yet a little long-"er in the world." He suffered inconceivable agony, from his wounds, and died on the fourth day.

Many a soldier has wept over his grave. He was a brave man and much beloved. He suffered twenty deaths.—I have seen the big drops chase each other down his forehead with pain and anguish. There was much sensibility and sympathy throughout the camp.—I would not have, unjustly and unnecessarily, signed this death warrant for all the wealth of all the Indies. The soldiers detailed to shoot Lewis had, from strong feelings of sympathy, or mistaken humanity failed to shoot him—but four balls had entered his body.

"An Eye Witness" appeals to Col. Russell, who he thinks now lives in Alabama, for the perfect truth of this sketch. He does not fear but the Colonel will keenly recollect and faithfully depict the horrors of the day on which six Americans were shot to death under his command—but not by his orders.

The order bears date the very day after *General Jackson* returned in triumph to New Orleans, and the day before he joyfully went, under triumphal arches, to the Temple of the living God; where, says the historian, "they *crowned* their adored General with laurels." The order for the execution of these six unhappy men bears date January 22, 1815. His crown of laurels had not yet withered, when blood, the life's blood of his countrymen, of his fellow soldiers, flowed plentifully by his order. May that order and its consequences, sink deep into the hearts of the American people and steel them against him who had no flesh in his obdurate heart; who did not feel for Man; in the midst of Joy and Revelry, almost in the more immediate presence of his Creator, who issued the fatal order to put his fellow creatures to death, and to make their wives & children, widows and orphans.

MOURNFUL TRAGEDY;

Or, the death of Jacob Webb, David Morrow, John Harris, Henry Lewis, David Hunt, & Edward Lindsey—six militia men, who were condemned to die, the sentence approved by Major General JACKSON, and by his order the whole six shot.

O! DID you hear that plaintive cry
Borne on the southern breeze?
Saw you JOHN HARRIS earnest pray
For mercy, on his knees?

Low to the earth he bent, and pray'd
For pardon from his chief;
But to his earnest prayer for life
JACKSON, alas! was deaf.

"Spare me"—he said—"I mean no wrong,
"My heart was always true:
"First for my county's cause it beat,
"And next, great Chief, for you.

"We thought our time of service out—
"Thought it our right to go:
"We meant to violate no law,
"Nor wish'd to shun the foe.

"Our officers declared that we
"Had but three months to stay;
"We served those three months faithfully,
"Up to the latest day.

"No one suspects intended wrong;
"The judgment only erred:
"In such a case, O noble Chief,
"Let mercy's voice be heard.

"At home an aged mother waits
"To clasp her only son;
"A wife, and little children—this arm
"Alone depend upon.

"Cut me not off from these dear ties;
"So soon from life's young bloom;
"O 'tis a dreadful thing to die,
"And moulder in the tomb!

"Sure mercy is a noble gem
"On every Chieftain's brow;
"More sparkling than a diadem—
"O exercise it now.—"

'Twas all in vain, John Harris' pary'r,
'Tis past the soul's belief!
Hard as the flint was Jackson's heart;
He would not grant relief.

He order'd Harris out to die,
And five poor fellows more!
Young, gallant men, in prime of life,
To welter in their gore!!

Methinks I hear the muffled drum,
And see the column move;
—Lo here they come—how sad their looks:
Farewell to life and love!

See six black coffins rang'd along—
Six graves before them made;
Webb, Lindsey, Harris, Lewis, Hunt,
And Morrow kneeled and prayed.

They kneel'd and pray'd, and tho't of home,
And all its dear delights.
The deadly tubes are levell'd now—
The scene my soul affrights!

Sure he will spare! Sure JACKSON yet
Will all reprive but one—
O hark! those shrieks! that cry of death!
The dreadful deed is done!

All six militia men were shot;
And O! it seems to me
A dreadful deed—a bloody act
Of needless cruelty.

A short time before the execution of the militia-men, seven regular soldiers were shot near Nashville, by a band of regulars scarcely sufficient to guard the prisoners.—They were confined in a house, and taken out and executed one at a time, there being scarcely enough men for the purpose of executing and guarding at the same moment. An eighth soldier was to have been executed at the same time. He was a young man, who had deserted one month before his time had expired. General Jackson doomed him to die with the others. He was saved by a writ of habeas corpus from Judge M'Nairy, who fell under Jackson's displeasure for snatching this one victim from his blood-stained hands. If Jackson's army had been at hand, no doubt M'Nairy would have shared the fate of Judge Hall and Judge Fromentin. Capital punishments in an army, are designed for example as well as for penalty; but in this case it was a transaction of horror to peaceful citizens; no army was there to witness the bloody tragedy. He has ever been a man of "blood and carnage."

Poor JOHN WOODS, he was a generous hearted, noble fellow as ever lived, who had volunteered in the service of his country. He was on guard one day at Fort Strother—the officer of the guard had permitted him to go to his tent, and snatch a hasty breakfast; whilst disposing of his scanty meal, seated on the ground beside his skillet, an upstart little officer, who was not Woods' equal at home, ordered him to pick up and carry off some bones that lay scattered about the place—Woods refused, and the little officer attempted to compel him. At this instant, Gen. Jackson, having heard the dispute, came out of his tent, and without knowing any thing of the merits of the case, repeatedly vociferated—"*Shoot the damn'd rascal!—Shoot the damn'd rascal.*" For this offence, the unfortunate, the gallant Woods, was tried, condemned and shot. Before his trial, Gen. Jackson used this language to the court-martial. "*By the immortal God! if you find him guilty I will not pardon him!*" And he kept his promise; though he did offer a pardon provided he would enlist in the regular service—Thus perished as noble a fellow as ever lived, for as trifling an offence as ever took the life of man!!!

On the 27th day of March, 1814, General Jackson had found at an Indian village, at the bend of the Tallapousie, about 1000 Indians, with their *squaws* and *children*, "running about among their huts." The following is an account of the sanguinary massacre which took place;—it is Gen. Jackson's own, and therefore must be received as sufficient evidence against himself. He says:—"DETERMINING TO EXTERMINATE them, I detached Gen. Coffee with the mounted men, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, to cross the river about two miles below the encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river." The result he then details:—"*Five hundred and fifty seven were left dead on the Peninsula, and a great number of them were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river*; IT IS BELIEVED THAT NO MORE THAN TEN ESCAPED. We CONTINUED to DESTROY *many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night.* THIS MORNING WE KILLED 16 WHICH HAD BEEN CONCEALED."

We ask you to pause and reflect that the above tragic narration of cold-blooded and merciless cruelty, is taken from an official communication made by General Andrew Jackson. The General, after sleeping (with what composure, we cannot say) thro' the night ensuing the tragedy we speak of, awoke in the morning surrounded by the corpses of "five hundred and seventy" fellow creatures, to cause, by way of worthy afterpiece, sixteen others to be dragged from their concealments, and put to death in cold blood. We cannot boast of more than common sensibility, but we must think that to witness such an act, would make ours a little cold also. What are the general's words?—these: "this morning we killed sixteen which had been concealed"—and the man who acts and speaks thus; who has half as much blood upon his conscience, as he has upon his hands,—he, forsooth, is to be called the peer and *like* of Washington, the happy warrior,—

——"he
Whom every man at arms could wish to be!"

But it is time to have done with the unpleasant subject. We will observe in addition to the details already given, that the village was burnt, and several women and children killed. In conclusion, we ask our fellow citizens, whether Genl. Jackson, though he has contributed largely to the military reputation of our country, has not done enough to disqualify him, in the eyes of the people as virtuous as they are free, for the office he seeks at their hands.

Do not be startled, gentle reader, at the picture before you. It is all true and every body ought to know it. Gen. Jackson having made an assault upon Samuel Jackson, in the streets of Nashville, & the latter not being disposed to stand still and be beaten, stooped down for a stone to defend himself. While in the act of doing so, Gen. Jackson drew the sword from his cane and run it through Samuel Jackson's body, the sword entering his back and coming out of his breast. For this offence an indictment was found against Genl. Jackson, by a grand jury, upon which he was subsequently arraigned and tried. But finding means to persuade the petit jury that he committed the act in self-defence, he was acquitted. Gentle reader, it is for you to say, whether this man, who carries a sword cane, and is willing to run it through the body of any one who may presume to stand in his way, is a fit person to be our President.

Gen. Jackson, detailing his progress among the Indians, in the course of which, men, WOMEN and CHILDREN, were indiscriminately "exterminated," their towns burnt and their country laid waste, with the utmost complacency and *sang froid*, says, in his letter dated, "Camp before St. Marks, April 9, 1818"—"Capt. M'Ever having hoisted English colours on board of his boats, Francis *the Prophet*, Hocomochemutcho and *two others*, were *decoyed* on board. *These have been hung to-day!*" Reader, mark the perfect indifference with which Gen. Jackson shoots, hangs or stabs his fellow beings, with or without trial, and the more than callous, aye, even exulting composure, with which he details his horrid and bloody deeds! If the Indians, according to the customs of their nation, put to death a prisoner, all the feelings of our nature rise into indignation against them. With what feelings then should we contemplate the *decoying* and cold-blooded murder of prisoners, by a civilized man, in the face of the laws and customs of his country!

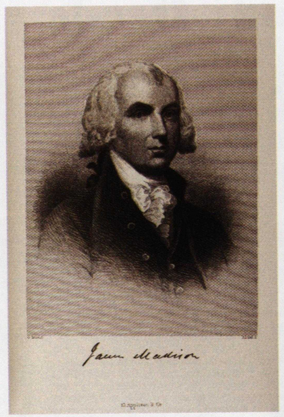
FRANKLIN, Tenn. September 10, 1818.

A difference which had been for some months brewing between Gen. Jackson and myself, produced on Saturday, the 4th inst. in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country. In communicating the affair to my friends and fellow-citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs.

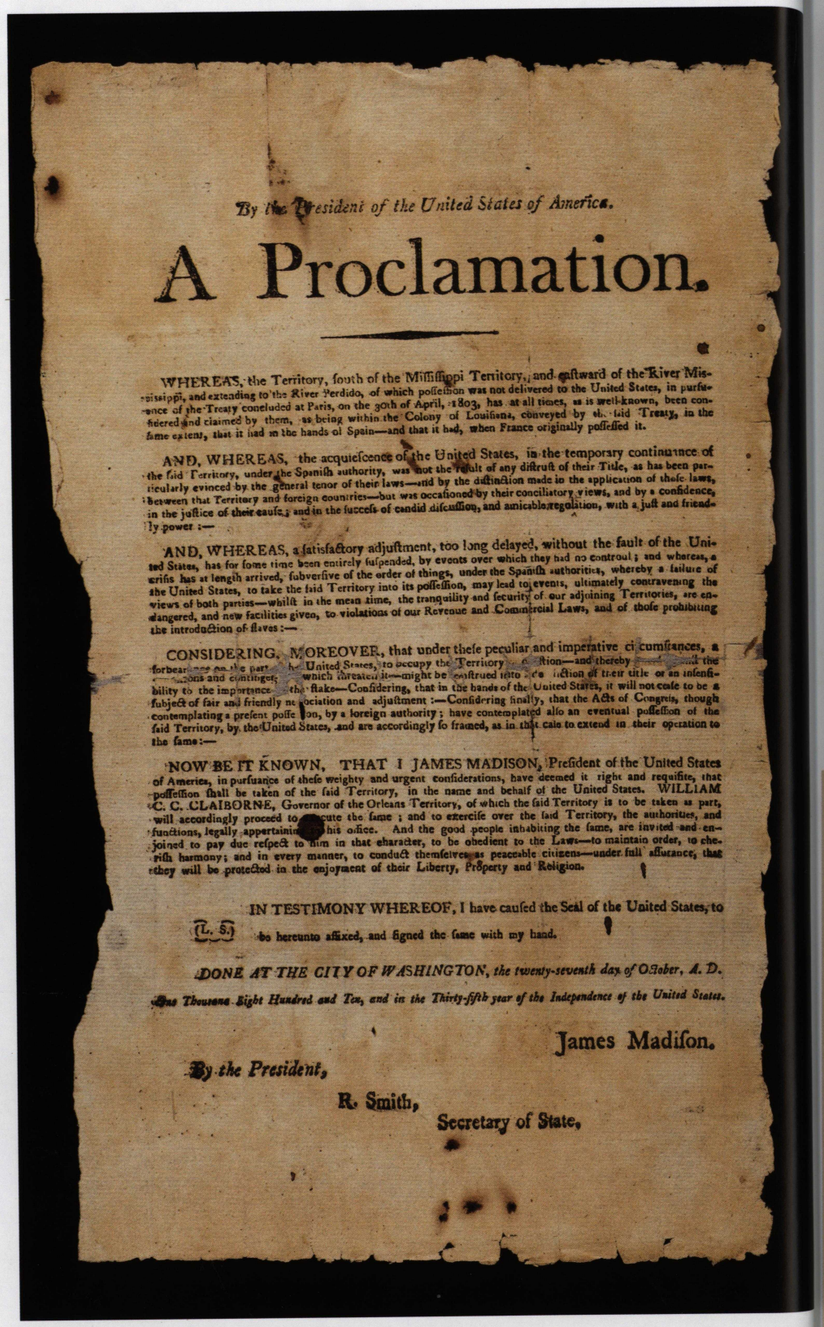
1. That myself and my brother, Jesse Benton, arriving in Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of General Jackson's threats, went and took lodgings in a different house from the one in which he staid, on purpose to avoid him.
2. That the General and some of his friends came the house where we had put up, and commenced the attack by levelling a pistol at me, when I had no weapon drawn, and advancing upon me at a quick pace, without giving me time to draw one.
3. That seeing this, my brother fired upon General Jackson, when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.
4. That four other pistols were fired in quick succession; one by General Jackson at me; two by me at the General; and one by Col. Coffee at me. In the course of this firing, General Jackson was brought to the ground; but received no hurt.
5. That daggers were then drawn. Col. Coffee and Mr. Alexander Donaldson made at me, and gave me five slight wounds. Captain Hammond and Mr. Stokeley Hays engaged my brother, who being still weak from the effect of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down; and while Capt. Hammond beat him on the head to make him lie still, Mr. Hays attempted to stab him, and wounded him in both arms, as he lay on his back parrying the thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation a generous hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr. Summer, relieved him. Before he came to the ground, my brother clapped a pistol to the breast of Mr. Hays, to blow him through, but it missed fire.
6. My own and my brother's pistols carried two balls each; for it was our intention, if driven to arms, to have no child's play. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burnt the sleeve of my coat, and the other aimed at my head at a little more than arms length from it.
7. Capt. Carroll was to have taken part in the affray, but was absent by the permission of General Jackson, as he has proved by the General's certificate, a certificate which reflects I know not whether less honor upon the General or upon the Captain.
8. That this attack was made upon me in the house where the Judge of the District, Mr. Searcy, had his lodgings! Nor has the civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

These facts are sufficient to fix the public opinion. For my own part, I think it scandalous that such things should take place at any time; but particularly so at the present moment, when the public service requires the aid of all its citizens.—As for the name of *courage*, God forbid that I should ever attempt to gain it by becoming a bully.—Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan in defending his post, than I would for the reputation of all the duellists and gladiators that ever appeared upon the face of the earth.

THOMAS HART BENTON, *Lieut. Col. 39th Infantry.*
And now a member of the Senate of the United States



In 1810, angry settlers stormed a Spanish Fort in West Florida and declared themselves the Republic of West Florida. Acting out of fear and without the approval of Congress or negotiations with the settlers of the Republic of West Florida or Spain (to whom this area belonged), President James Madison declared a proclamation that the newly formed Republic of West Florida belonged to the United States pursuant to the Louisiana Purchase. The Republic of Florida, located today in the area of southeastern Louisiana, existed for less than four months before being annexed into the United States and completing the Louisiana Purchase. GM3526.162; engraving of Madison GM2316.329.



By the President of the United States of America.

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, the Territory, south of the Mississippi Territory, and eastward of the River Mississippi, and extending to the River Perdido, of which possession was not delivered to the United States, in pursuance of the Treaty concluded at Paris, on the 30th of April, 1803, has at all times, as is well-known, been considered and claimed by them, as being within the Colony of Louisiana, conveyed by the said Treaty, in the same extent, that it had in the hands of Spain—and that it had, when France originally possessed it.

AND, WHEREAS, the acquiescence of the United States, in the temporary continuance of the said Territory, under the Spanish authority, was not the result of any distrust of their Title, as has been particularly evinced by the general tenor of their laws—and by the distinction made in the application of those laws, between that Territory and foreign countries—but was occasioned by their conciliatory views, and by a confidence, in the justice of their cause, and in the success of candid discussion, and amicable negotiation, with a just and friendly power:—

AND, WHEREAS, a satisfactory adjustment, too long delayed, without the fault of the United States, has for some time been entirely suspended, by events over which they had no controul; and whereas, a crisis has at length arrived, subversive of the order of things, under the Spanish authorities, whereby a failure of the United States, to take the said Territory into its possession, may lead to events, ultimately contravening the views of both parties—whilst in the mean time, the tranquility and security of our adjoining Territories, are endangered, and new facilities given, to violations of our Revenue and Commercial Laws, and of those prohibiting the introduction of slaves:—

CONSIDERING, MOREOVER, that under these peculiar and imperative circumstances, a forbearance on the part of the United States, to occupy the Territory in question—and thereby [illegible] the various and contingent [illegible] which threaten it—might be construed into a dereliction of their title or an insensibility to the importance of the [illegible]—Considering, that in the hands of the United States, it will not cease to be a subject of fair and friendly negociation and adjustment:—Considering finally, that the Acts of Congress, though contemplating a present possession, by a foreign authority; have contemplated also an eventual possession of the said Territory, by the United States, and are accordingly so framed, as in that case to extend in their operation to the same:—

NOW BE IT KNOWN, THAT I JAMES MADISON, President of the United States of America, in pursuance of these weighty and urgent considerations, have deemed it right and requisite, that possession shall be taken of the said Territory, in the name and behalf of the United States. WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE, Governor of the Orleans Territory, of which the said Territory is to be taken as part, will accordingly proceed to execute the same; and to exercise over the said Territory, the authorities, and functions, legally appertaining to his office. And the good people inhabiting the same, are invited and enjoined to pay due respect to him in that character, to be obedient to the Laws—to maintain order, to cherish harmony; and in every manner, to conduct themselves as peaceable citizens—under full assurance, that they will be protected in the enjoyment of their Liberty, Property and Religion.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States, to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.

(L. S.)

DONE AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, the twenty-seventh day of October, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten, and in the Thirty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States.

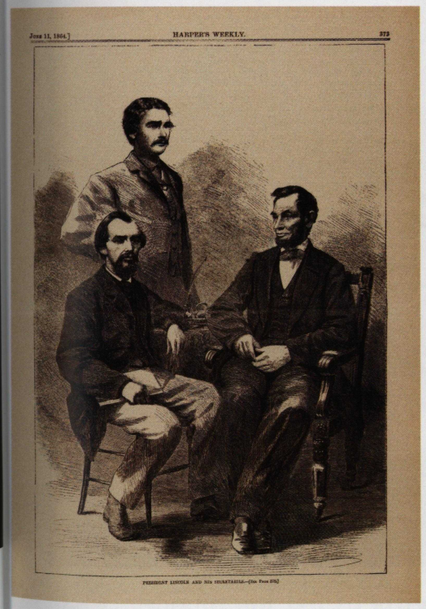
James Madison.

By the President,

R. Smith,

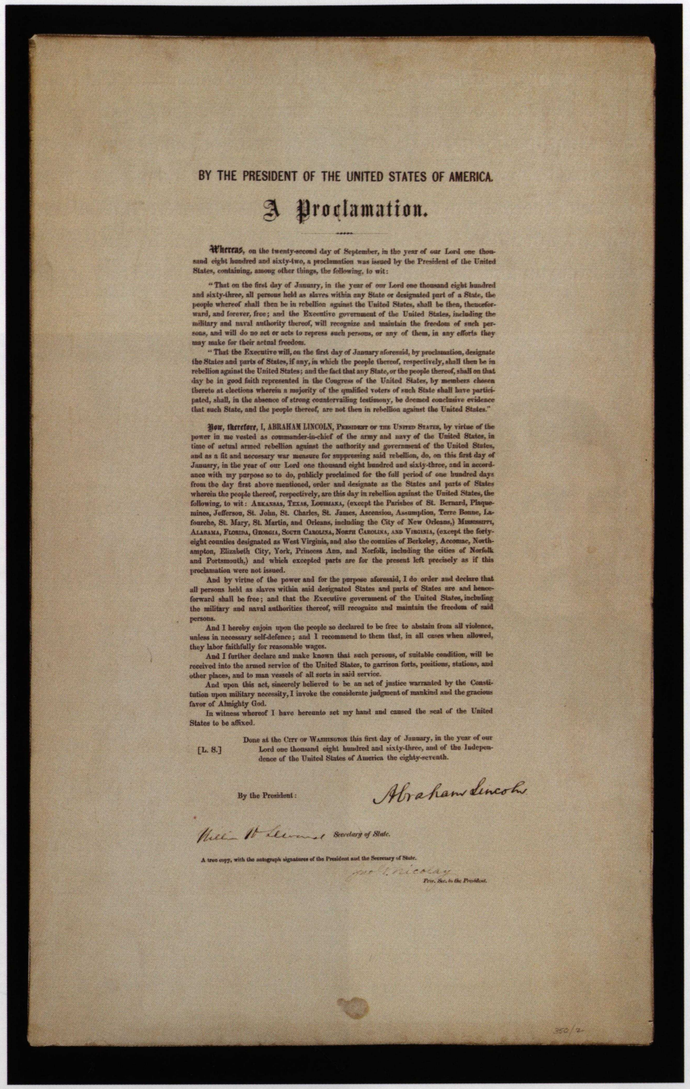
Secretary of State.

President Abraham Lincoln offered for sale in June of 1864 a broadside of the Emancipation Proclamation with his signature at the Great Central Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia in order to raise funds for sick and wounded soldiers and military camps during the Civil War. Forty-eight copies were printed at the request of Charles Godfrey Leland and George Henry Boker, two distinguished Philadelphians and supporters of the emancipation. This broadside features the signatures of President Abraham Lincoln, Secretary of State, William H. Seward and Lincoln's private secretary, John G. Nicolay. All three signatures make what is referred to as the Leland-Boker "Authorized Edition" Emancipation Proclamation broadside rare and valuable. GM5326.801; engraving from *Harper's Illustrated* GM5017.1794; Lincoln photograph GM4316.3148a.



June 11, 1864.] HARPER'S WEEKLY. 373

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS SECRETARIES.—[See Page 376.]



BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans,) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

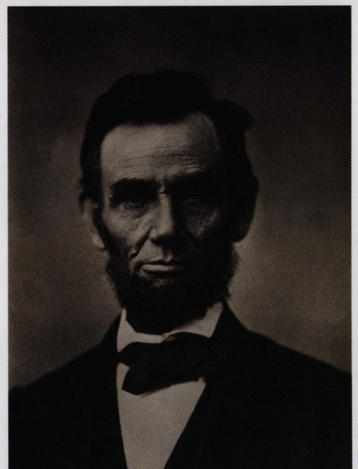
[L. S.] Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

By the President: Abraham Lincoln

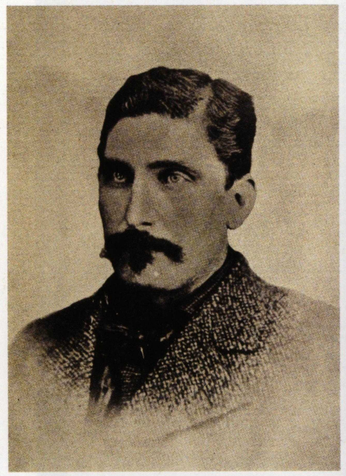
William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

A true copy, with the autograph signatures of the President and the Secretary of State.

John G. Nicolay, Priv. Sec. to the President.



The opening of territories, reservations, and land sales were a popular topic of broadsides. The Oklahoma Colony broadside announces that the Colony of Oklahoma has been organized for the purpose of the settlement of the country south of the State of Kansas starting on June 25, 1883. The Oklahoma Colony was founded by David L. Payne, a charismatic organizer who sold thousands of Oklahoma Colony memberships with the promise of obtaining superior lands. Payne orchestrated several "invasions" into Indian Territory and the settlers were pushed back by the U.S. Cavalry. The repeated military action pressured the federal government to eventually "open" up the territory for settlement and the creation of the state of Oklahoma. "The Time is Short" GM3526.48; David Payne GM2827.172a; "On to Oklahoma GM3526.395; "Oklahoma Colony!" GM3527.413.



The Time is Short!

OKLAHOMA

THE LAST CHANCE!

The Kiowa, Comanche, Apache and Wichita Reservations will soon be opened to settlement. These lands consist of about 3,303,610 acres; bounded on the north by Oklahoma, on the west and south by Texas, and on the east by the Chickasaw Nation. The famous Wichita Mountains, said to contain gold, silver, lead, copper and coal, are located near the center of this country. The topography of this country is level and undulating; it has sufficient timber for all farm purposes and is the best watered country I ever saw; its streams and tributaries abound in fish, with plenty of deer, turkey, chicken and quail left for sportsmen. The soil of this country is black loam, sandy loam, mulatto and red, all of which are very productive. A greater diversity of crops is raised here than in any country on earth. Cotton, corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, Kaffir corn, sorghum, broom corn, millet, alfalfa, castor beans, etc., are successfully raised. All vegetables simply grow in abundance. The rainfall in Oklahoma is from 35 to 45 inches, and in this new country from 43 to 55 inches, insuring a crop every year. Oklahoma has had but one substantial crop failure in twelve years. The Great Rock Island Railroad runs along the entire eastern border of this country, giving an outlet to the north, east, west, and the gulf on the south. This company also has a line running from Chickasha west, through the northern part of this country, into Texas, and a line running from Anadarko south, to Fort Sill. When this country opens, it becomes a part of Oklahoma. The exemption laws of Oklahoma are as liberal as those of any state or territory. Any kind of farm work can be done here every month in the year. Stock run on pasture the year round, without shelter or feed, and do well. This is a healthful climate; many invalids come here and regain their health.

All the Reservations in this Territory have been opened by "Race or Run." This manner of opening, for various reasons, has grown in disfavor, and the prevalent opinion now is that this opening will be made by the President without date, so the exact time is not known. Under the law, it has to be before August 6, 1901. Under the law, the rights of soldiers, sailors and marines have not been abridged. They can file their declaratory through an agent. This can be done for less money than it would take to pay railroad fare here, to say nothing of delay, hotel bills and other expenses. Besides, those away from here would not know when to come. And, again, this country will be opened when you are in the midst of your crops. After your selection is made by an agent, you have six months in which to get to your claim and transmute. You will find unscrupulous parties flooding the mails with unwarranted statements, who have no interest in you other than to get your money. Of such, I caution you to BEWARE. I have practiced law for over 30 years, and have practiced before the courts and United States Land Offices of this Territory, and before the departments at Washington. I have never done any crookedness to be censured for. I have been in this country since the opening. I am a Past Post-Commander of Kingfisher Post No. 2. I have filed hundreds of Declaratories for my comrades, and given general satisfaction. I am familiar with the land to be opened to settlement, and can make you as good selection as any one, for less money than those who have no interest in your welfare. The comrade who fails to get 160 acres of this fine land, for a home in his old days, misses the best opportunity of his life. **Give this Circular to some Comrade.**

For Terms and Particulars write me. Always inclose postage for reply. I have a few sectional maps of Oklahoma and the country to be opened to settlement. Will send you one for 20c in stamps.

Correspondence Solicited. Send for blank Declatory Statement.

Yours in F. C. and L.

M. M. Duncan,

Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

On to Oklahoma!

An opportunity is now offered to every person desirous of securing a home upon Government Lands, to gratify their wishes a colony has been organized and is still forming for the purpose of occupying that famous country south of Kansas known as Oklahoma Territory. The colony will start for that locality on or about June 25, 1883, and every poor man can now be enabled to provide himself with a home upon Government Lands at a mere nominal cost—the entry or pre-emption fee.

Capt. D. L. Payne, who has long been agitating the question of the settlement of this country will lecture upon that subject in this city, and will describe the country, the previous efforts made to colonize it, and the present condition and status of the colony. No person who desires to obtain a good home and farm should fail to hear the lecture. This will probably be the last chance ever offered to secure a cheap home upon Government Lands.

Oklahoma Colony!

A Colony has been organized for the purpose of opening up and settling this beautiful country lying south of the State of Kansas. This Colony will start for that country on June 25, 1883, and will settle upon and occupy this famous and fertile country. This is the last and only chance to secure for yourselves homes upon government lands that have heretofore been held for the Indians. This country belongs to the government and is surveyed and sectionized. Capt. D. L. Payne, the famous Oklahoma agitator, will lecture upon this subject

TO-NIGHT!

fully relating the progress made by previous expeditions to that country, and will give his hearers a truthful description of the country and the present status of the colony.

Every person who desires to secure an excellent home, should not fail to attend the lecture.

IOWA TRUST LANDS.

Notice is hereby given to all persons who are intruding on the trust Lands ceded by the Iowa Indians, with a view to acquire any right or pre-emption to the tracts occupied by them, to leave the same within 20 days from the date hereof. If any person or persons shall refuse to comply with this warning, I shall in accordance with the instructions of the Department of Indian affairs at Washington City, "call upon the Military of the United States most convenient to the Iowa cession for assistance to expel them;" "for under no circumstances will their claims be regarded or respected at the sale of these lands."

D. VANDERSLICE, Indian Agent.
Great Nemaha Agency, K. T., January 6, 1857.

In 1857, D. Vanderslice, an Indian Agent at the Great Nemaha Agency in the Kansas Territory issued a notice to all persons who were intruding on the trust lands ceded by the Iowa Indians, with a view to acquire any right or preemption to the tracts occupied by them, to leave the same within twenty days. If any refused to comply, military force would be used to remove them and their land claim would be null and void. The Iowa tribe, along with the Delaware and various other tribes ceded nearly all of their reservations through hastily created treaties enacted immediately before the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill that allowed for the creation of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Franklin Pierce on May 30, 1854. GM3526.97.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

TO THE CHEROKEE PEOPLE.

Executive Department, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.

Thanks are due for Divine Blessings at all times—more especially at the time when they are received. To fix upon a certain day of the year, and wait for that day to render thanks, may conform to the etequette of civilization, but as a mere formality, will not be acceptable to the Great King. "Thanksgiving Day," therefore, must be a time selected by those who are sensible enough to know and to acknowledge whence their happiness comes, so to pledge the Nation, by a public recognition of Divine favor, that the Giver will not be insulted, nor His gifts dishonored, by a perversion of them to evil uses.

ON THE LAST THURSDAY AND 29TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1883.

Enlightened America will celebrate the annual festival of Thanksgiving. Let the Cherokees also, on that day, express their gratitude to the Great Spirit, and do honor to this ancient custom by heartily joining to observe it. While our White Brothers have the blessing of an invincible national strength to be grateful for and glory in, as the sum of innumerable other blessings, the weaker Indian race may well thank a Kind Providence (among a thousand other favors) that this strength has not been used during the past year to trample on their rights.

In Testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and affix the seal of the Cherokee Nation on this 13th day of November, A. D., 1883.

By **D. W. BUSHYHEAD,**
Principal Chief.

On November 13, 1883, D.W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation. Bushyhead wrote that to fix a certain day of the year conforms to the "etiquette of civilization, but as a mere formality, will not be acceptable to the Great King. He further states that "enlightened America" will celebrate the annual festival of Thanksgiving and let the Cherokees do so as well. Bushyhead writes that the white brothers are to be thankful for the blessing of an invincible nation strength, the weaker Indian race may well thank a kind providence that this strength has not been used during the past year to trample on their rights. In 1789, President George Washington issued the first Thanksgiving proclamation by the government of the United States. GM3526.130.

PAPER FROM ASHES

The Life and Death and Life of the Venerable Cherokee Phoenix and Advocate

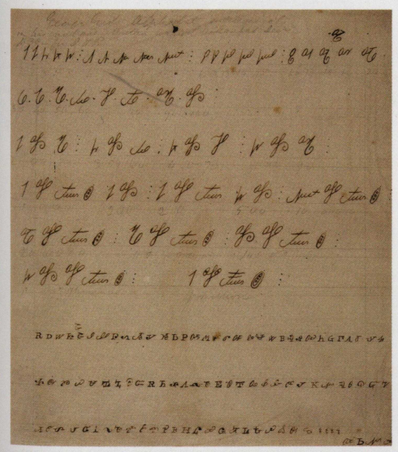
Will Chavez

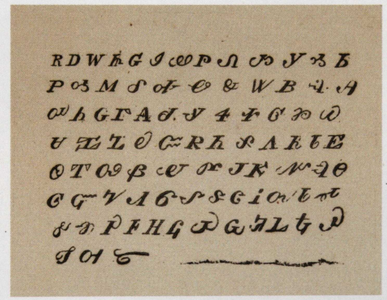
It was given the name of the mythical bird that rises again and again from its own ashes. The Cherokee newspaper called variously the *Phoenix* and the *Advocate,* and sometimes by both names, went out of existence more than once, but always came back—a testament to the value of the written word to the Cherokee people.

The history of the *Cherokee Advocate* is anchored from beginning to end by the newspaper that started Native American journalism on February 21, 1828, in New Echota, Georgia. On that day the first edition of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was printed, at what was then the capital of the Cherokee Nation, under the leadership of editor Elias Boudinot. It was printed in English and Cherokee, using the Cherokee syllabary created by the great Sequoyah, and was the official voice of the tribal government.

The newspaper came about with the help of Reverend Samuel Worcester and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who helped to build the printing office, cast type in the Cherokee syllabary, and procure the press and other equipment. Boudinot, his brother Stand Watie, his cousin John Ridge, and Elijah Hicks, all tribal leaders at that time, raised money to help start the newspaper. During his education in Connecticut, Boudinot had learned about the phoenix bird of Egyptian mythology that consumes itself in fire every 500 years and is reborn from the flames. His title would prove metaphorically appropriate.

The 1830s was a time of great change for tribes still living in the southeastern United States. Boudinot and Principal Chief John Ross (1828 to 1866) used the *Phoenix* to write against the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the growing encroachment and harassment by Georgia settlers against Cherokee people.





FACING PAGE: Sequoyah. McKinney and Hall. GM2126.1814.13.

LEFT: Cherokee syllabary written in Sequoyah's hand. GM4026.312.
RIGHT: Syllabary printing proof, 1826. GM3526.343.

Willstown Cher. N. 10th Dec. 1827

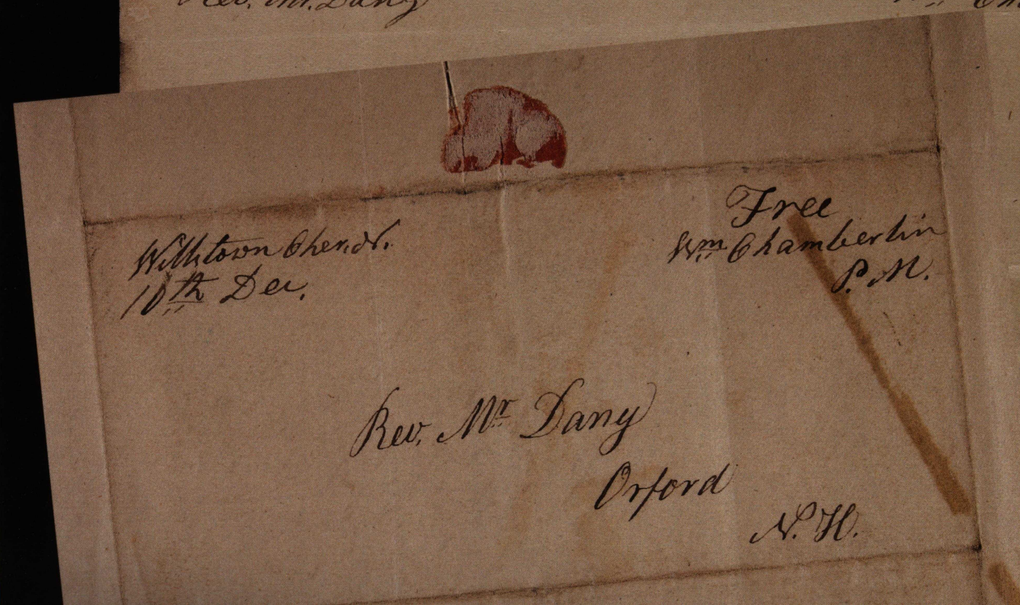
Rev. & Dear Sir

I take the liberty to send you a copy of the prospectus of the Cherokee Phoenix, with the hope that you may think it worthy of some attention to obtain subscribers. We all think it an object deserving of public patronage, and hope that, if it should be well supported, it will be a means of promoting both the temporal and eternal welfare of this people. From my acquaintance with the editor, I am led to believe that he will perform as much as could with any reason be expected in the present circumstances of the nation, and that the light which the paper will give respecting their state, will render it well worthy of perusal. It is not probable that the paper can be issued quite so soon as the first week in January, but the editor wishes a return of subscriber's names as soon as possible

Yours with esteem

Wm Chamberlin

Rev. Mr. Dany



PROSPECTUS

For Publishing at New Echota, in the Cherokee Nation,

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER,

TO BE CALLED THE

Cherokee Phœnix.

It has long been the opinion of judicious friends to the civilization of the Aborigines of America, that a paper published exclusively for their benefit, and under their direction, would add great force to the charitable means employed by the public for their melioration. In accordance with that opinion, the legislative authorities of the Cherokees have thought fit to patronise a weekly paper, bearing the above title; and have appointed the subscriber to take charge of it as Editor. In issuing this PROSPECTUS the Editor would, by no means, be too sanguine, for he is aware that he will tread upon *untried ground:* Nor does he make any pretensions to learning, for it must be known that the great and sole motive in establishing this paper, is the benefit of the *Cherokees.* This will be the great aim of the Editor, which he intends to pursue with undeviating steps. Many reasons might be given in support of the utility of such a paper as that which is now offered to the public, but it is deemed useless. There are many true friends to the Indians in different parts of the Union, who will rejoice to see this feeble effort of the Cherokees to rise from their ashes, like the fabled PHŒNIX. On such friends must principally depend the support of our paper.

The Alphabet lately invented by a native Cherokee, of which the public have already been apprized, forms an interesting medium of information to those Cherokees who are unacquainted with the English language. For their benefit Cherokee types have been procured.

The columns of the Cherokee Phœnix will be filled, partly with English, and partly with Cherokee print; and all matter which is of common interest will be given in both languages in parallel columns.

As the great object of the Phœnix will be the benefit of the Cherokees, the following subjects will occupy its columns.

1. The laws and public documents of the Nation.
2. Account of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in Education, Religion and the arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
3. The principal interesting news of the day.
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote Literature, Civilization, and Religion among the Cherokees.

In closing this short Prospectus, the Editor would appeal to the friends of Indians, and respectfully ask their patronage. Those who have heretofore manifested a christian zeal in promoting our welfare and happiness, will no doubt freely lend their helping hand.

ELIAS BOUDINOTT.

TERMS.

The PHŒNIX will be published weekly, at $2,50 if paid in advance, $3 in six months, or $3,50 if paid at the end of the year.

Every subscription will be considered as continued unless subscribers give notice to the contrary before the commencement of a new year.

The Phœnix will be printed on a Super-Royal sheet, with type entirely new, procured for the purpose. The first Number will be issued within the first week in January, 1828, or as soon after as circumstances will admit.

Any person procuring six subscribers and becoming responsible for the payment, shall receive a seventh gratis.

P. S. All communications addressed to the Editor at New Echota, Cherokee Nation, and post paid, will receive due attention.

October, 1827.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

Letter from William Chamberlin to Rev. Dany of Oxford, New Hampshire; with printed prospectus; dated December 10, 1827. GM3826.2475.



John Ross. GM4327.1807.

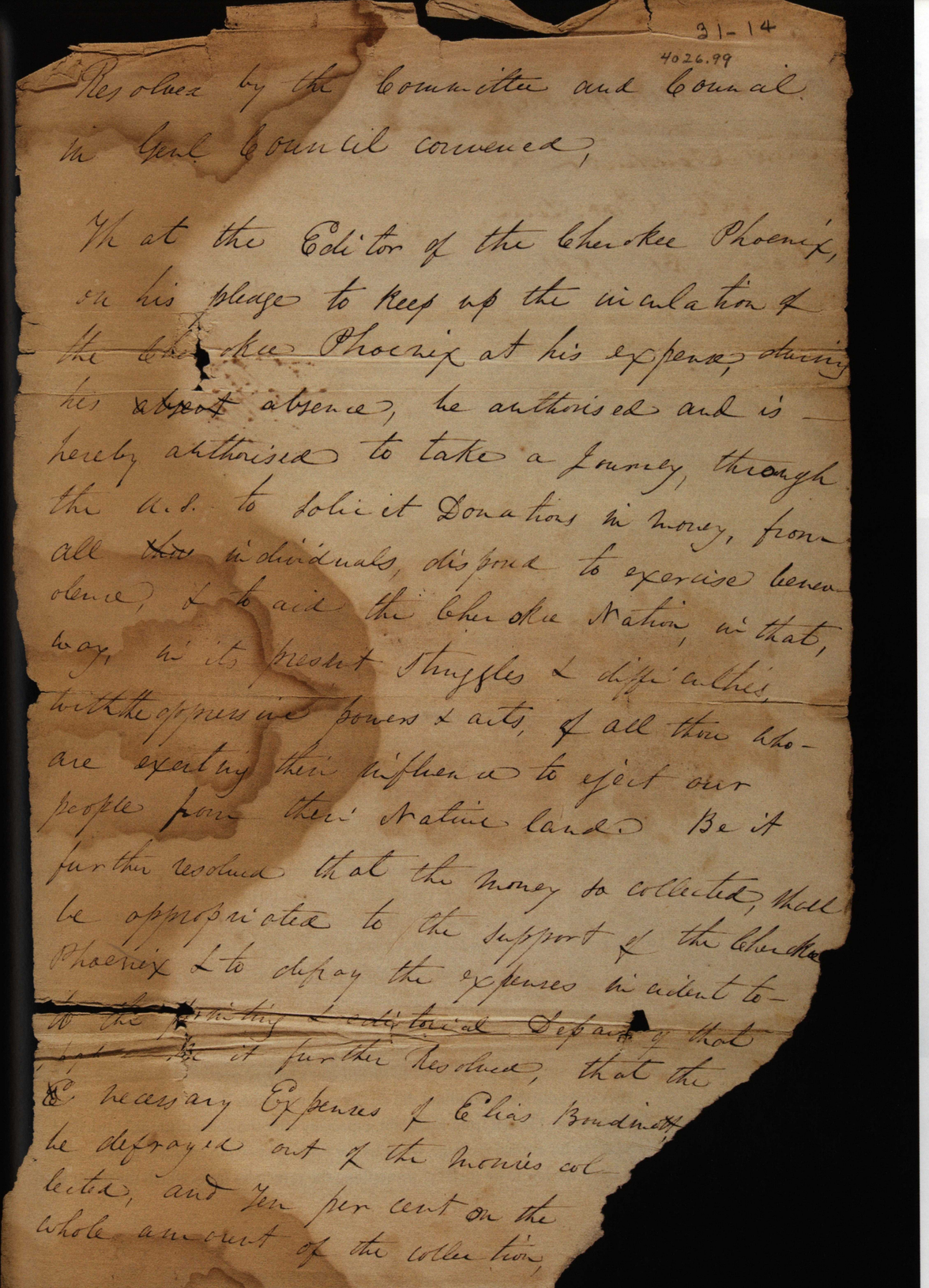
Resolution dated October 31, 1831. Elias Boudinot needs to go collect money for the *Phoenix*. GM4026.99.

As pressure for the Cherokee to leave Georgia increased, Boudinot became convinced that his people would never be allowed to live in peace in Georgia and began to advocate in the *Phoenix* for their voluntary removal to the West. At first, Chief Ross did not suppress Boudinot's opposing view, but in early 1832 the two leaders' differences regarding removal caused them to split and Boudinot resigned as editor.

On May 31, 1834, the *Cherokee Phoenix* ceased printing because the Cherokee government ran out of money for the paper and because of harassment from Georgians. Four years later, in the spring of 1838, most of the approximately 16,000 Cherokees who remained on their lands in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina were rounded up by the U.S. Army and forcibly marched or sent by boat to Indian Territory, in what is now Oklahoma. In Indian Territory, Cherokee leaders quickly reorganized their government after three major Cherokee factions reunited in the summer of 1839. Within five years, schools, government buildings, and homes were rebuilt including a Supreme Court building in the tribe's new capital of Tahlequah, in what is today Cherokee County in eastern Oklahoma.

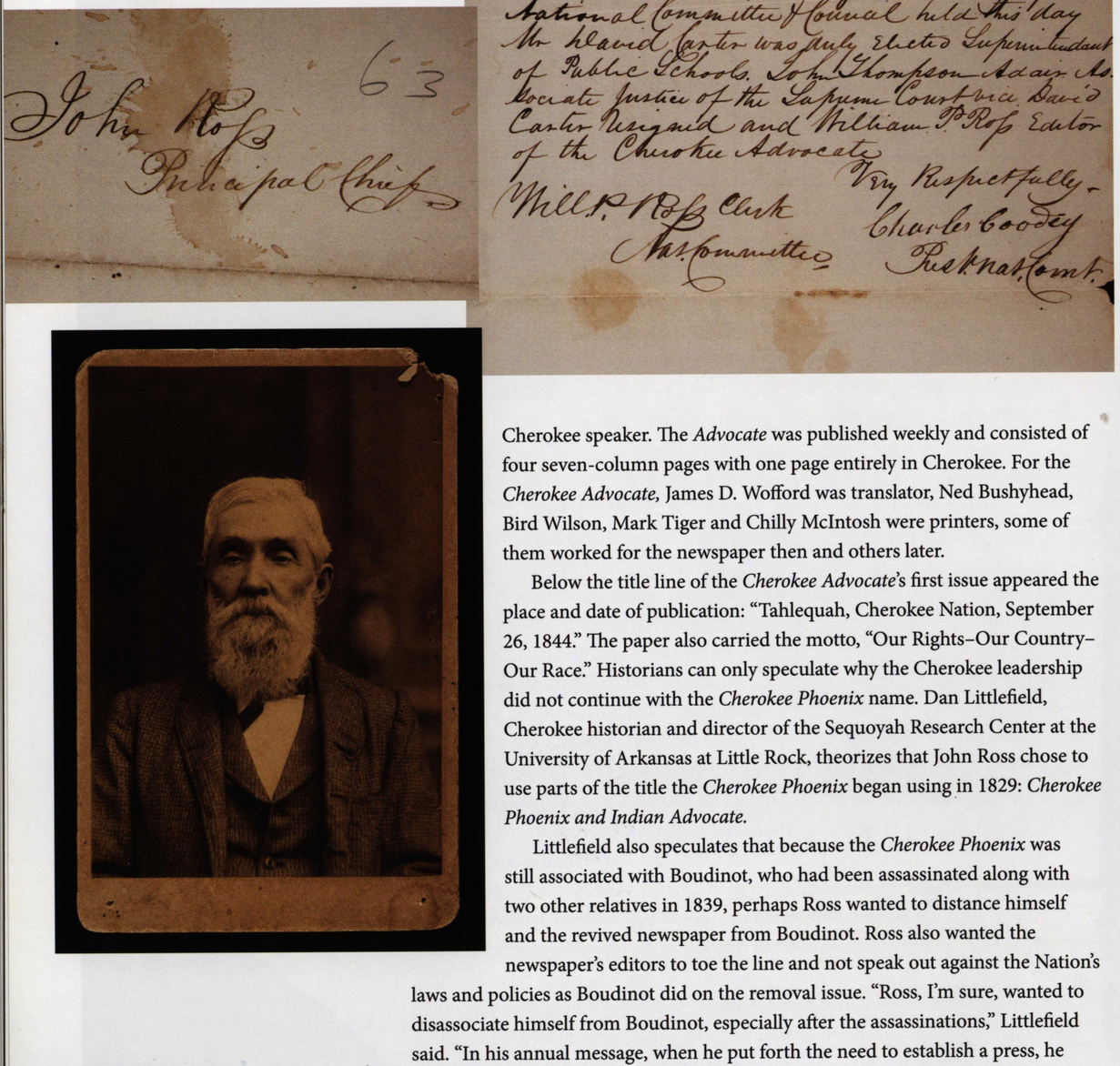
It was Chief Ross who envisioned reviving a Cherokee newspaper. In October 1843, when the Cherokee National Council met for its regular session, Ross made the proposal for funding a newspaper. Cherokee legislators approved an act that established the *Cherokee Advocate* on October 25, 1843, "to inform and encourage the Cherokees in agriculture, education and religion and to enlighten the world with correct Indian news."

On September 26, 1844, 168 years ago, the first issue of the *Cherokee Advocate* was printed, in Cherokee and English, in the Supreme Court building under the guidance of John Ross's nephew William Potter Ross, a Princeton University graduate. During his lifetime W. P. Ross was also a clerk in the Cherokee National Council, a merchant, a Cherokee Nation senator, principal chief, and statesman, and is called by some the "father of Oklahoma journalism." The twenty-four-year-old editor "was devoted to composition, news, literature, law and treaties." Diligent application to his work made him a profound thinker, ready writer, and a fluent



Letter to John Ross announcing the appointment of William P. Ross to editor of the *Advocate.* GM4026.1074.

William Potter Ross. GM4326.3672.



Committee Room Dec. 12th 1843

John Ross
Pr. Chief Sir

At a joint meeting of the National Committee & Council held this day Mr. Hdavid Carter was duly elected Superintendant of Public Schools. John Thompson Adair Associate Justice of the Supreme Court vice David Carter resigned and William P. Ross Editor of the Cherokee Advocate

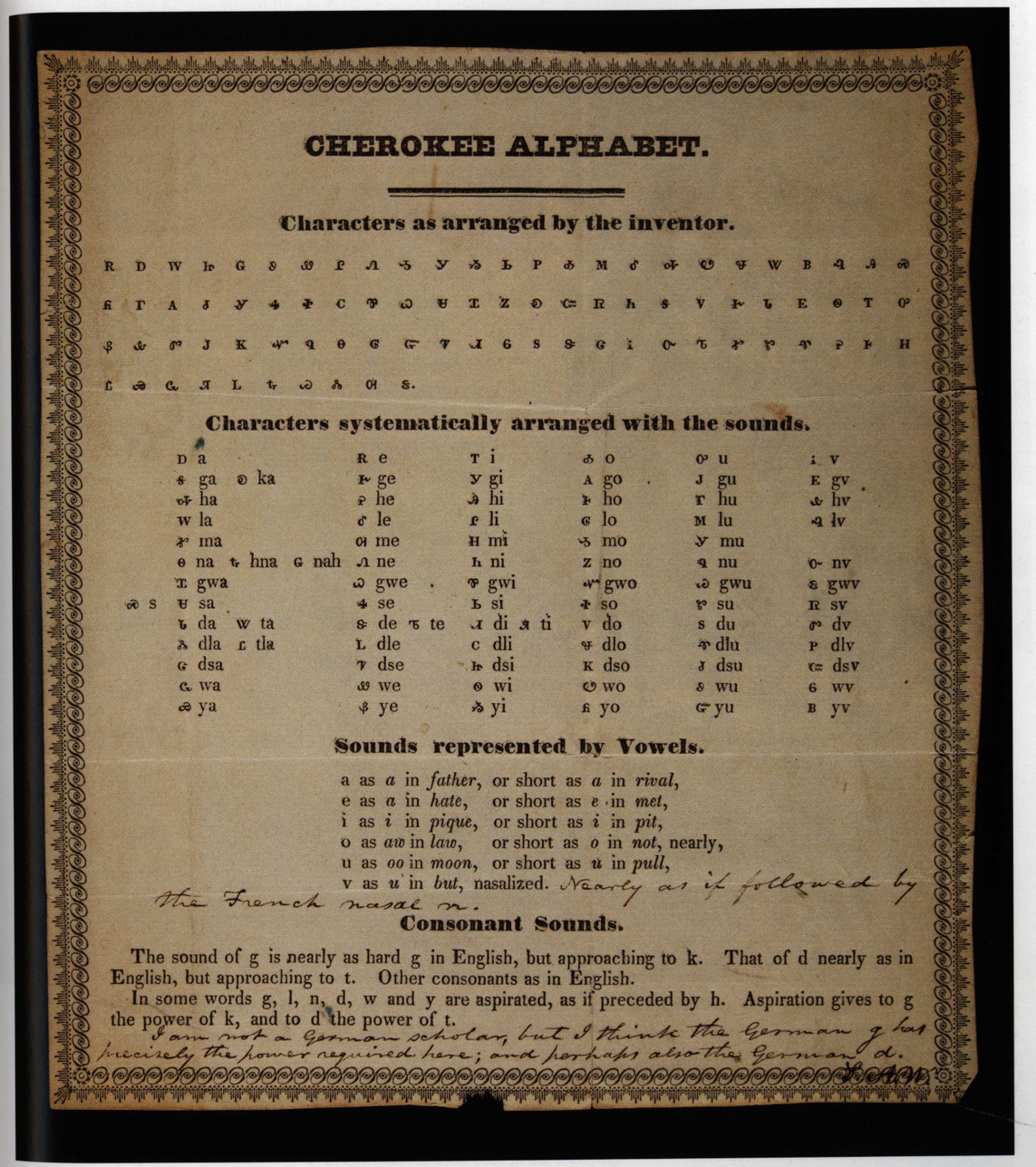
Very Respectfully
Charles Coodey
Pr. Nat. Comt.

Will P. Ross Clerk
Nat. Committee

Cherokee speaker. The *Advocate* was published weekly and consisted of four seven-column pages with one page entirely in Cherokee. For the *Cherokee Advocate,* James D. Wofford was translator, Ned Bushyhead, Bird Wilson, Mark Tiger and Chilly McIntosh were printers, some of them worked for the newspaper then and others later.

Below the title line of the *Cherokee Advocate*'s first issue appeared the place and date of publication: "Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, September 26, 1844." The paper also carried the motto, "Our Rights–Our Country–Our Race." Historians can only speculate why the Cherokee leadership did not continue with the *Cherokee Phoenix* name. Dan Littlefield, Cherokee historian and director of the Sequoyah Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, theorizes that John Ross chose to use parts of the title the *Cherokee Phoenix* began using in 1829: *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate.*

Littlefield also speculates that because the *Cherokee Phoenix* was still associated with Boudinot, who had been assassinated along with two other relatives in 1839, perhaps Ross wanted to distance himself and the revived newspaper from Boudinot. Ross also wanted the newspaper's editors to toe the line and not speak out against the Nation's laws and policies as Boudinot did on the removal issue. "Ross, I'm sure, wanted to disassociate himself from Boudinot, especially after the assassinations," Littlefield said. "In his annual message, when he put forth the need to establish a press, he wanted the law to be specific: 'prescribing the principles upon which the paper shall



CHEROKEE ALPHABET.

Characters as arranged by the inventor.

R D W Ꭵ G Ꭶ Ꮾ Ꮲ Ꭿ Ꮥ Ꭹ Ꭻ Ꮟ P Ꭷ M Ꭸ Ꭼ Ꮻ Ꭽ W B Ꭺ Ꭰ Ꮅ

Ꭾ Ꮖ A Ꭴ Ꭻ Ꮄ Ꭲ C Ꭽ Ꮓ Ꮼ T Ꮓ Ꭸ Ꭾ Ꮕ R Ꮒ Ꭶ V Ꭻ Ꮭ E Ꮎ T Ꮕ

Ꮈ Ꮚ Ꮜ J K Ꮯ Ꭺ Ꮎ Ꮆ Ꮗ Ꮷ Ꭷ Ꭾ S Ꭶ G Ꭵ Ꮎ Ꮣ Ꮴ Ꮹ Ꮺ Ꮲ Ꮱ H

Ꮭ Ꮓ Ꮯ Ꮷ L Ꮣ Ꮓ Ꮑ Ꮝ S.

Characters systematically arranged with the sounds.

D a	R e	T i	Ꭴ o	Ꮜ u	i v
Ꭶ ga Ꭰ ka	Ꭻ ge	Ꭹ gi	A go	J gu	E gv
Ꮒ ha	Ꮕ he	Ꮒ hi	Ꭻ ho	Ꭲ hu	Ꭿ hv
W la	Ꮮ le	Ꮭ li	Ꮆ lo	M lu	Ꭺ lv
Ꮇ ma	Ꮉ me	H mi	Ꮝ mo	Ꮉ mu	
Ꮎ na Ꮣ hna G nah	Ꮑ ne	Ꮖ ni	Z no	Ꮁ nu	Ꮜ nv
Ꭲ gwa	Ꮤ gwe	Ꮶ gwi	Ꮻ gwo	Ꮬ gwu	Ꮃ gwv
Ꮝ S Ꮥ sa	Ꮄ se	Ꮟ si	Ꮥ so	Ꮅ su	R sv
Ꮣ da W ta	Ꮚ de Ꮕ te	Ꭷ di Ꭲ ti	V do	s du	Ꮇ dv
Ꮄ dla Ꮯ tla	L dle	C dli	Ꮹ dlo	Ꮼ dlu	P dlv
Ꮆ dsa	Ꮧ dse	Ꮡ dsi	K dso	Ꭻ dsu	Ꮳ dsv
Ꮳ wa	Ꮾ we	Ꮎ wi	Ꮙ wo	Ꮄ wu	6 wv
Ꮕ ya	Ꮈ ye	Ꮕ yi	Ꭿ yo	Ꮶ yu	B yv

Sounds represented by Vowels.

a as *a* in *father*, or short as *a* in *rival*,
e as *a* in *hate*, or short as *e* in *met*,
i as *i* in *pique*, or short as *i* in *pit*,
o as *aw* in *law*, or short as *o* in *not*, nearly,
u as *oo* in *moon*, or short as *u* in *pull*,
v as *u* in *but*, nasalized. Nearly as if followed by the French nasal n.

Consonant Sounds.

The sound of g is nearly as hard g in English, but approaching to k. That of d nearly as in English, but approaching to t. Other consonants as in English.

In some words g, l, n, d, w and y are aspirated, as if preceded by h. Aspiration gives to g the power of k, and to d the power of t.

I am not a German scholar, but I think the German g has precisely the power required here; and perhaps also the German d.

Cherokee Alphabet, printed with a manuscript note at the bottom in Rev. Samuel A. Worcester's hand. GM3526.1.



E.C. Boudinot and Major W.D. Wylie. GM4326.2025. Following W. P. Ross, three other Cherokees served as editors before the paper was suspended on September 28, 1853, due to a lack of funding. James S. Vann was appointed in 1848 but after five months took a temporary leave of absence. David Carter served for two years until Vann returned. Later, William Penn Boudinot (son of Elias) became the substitute editor for six months. Other editors during that period were Daniel H. Ross (1846-47, 1848), James Shepard Vann (1848-49), David Carter (1849-51), and William Penn Boudinot (1852-53), the son of Elias Boudinot.

be conducted, so as to exclude all personal and scurrilous matter of a political character from its columns—also, of the duties, for the Government of the Editor and others who may be employed in conducting the business of the office.' It is clear he didn't want politics in it nor rogue editors."

The weekly *Cherokee Advocate* covered Cherokee issues and, like its predecessor, also covered issues affecting other tribes. It was provided free of charge to tribal members. Other subscribers paid an annual fee. As it evolved, the newspaper also came to include agent reports, foreign news, anecdotal matter, inspirational stories, and general articles. It was the primary vehicle for dissemination of information across the Cherokee Nation from 1844 to 1906. The newspaper also reported the actions and policies of the Cherokee government, laws, memorials, protests to the U.S. Congress, proceedings of the national council and negotiations with Washington, messages of the principal chiefs, missionary activities and temperance campaigns and other local news.

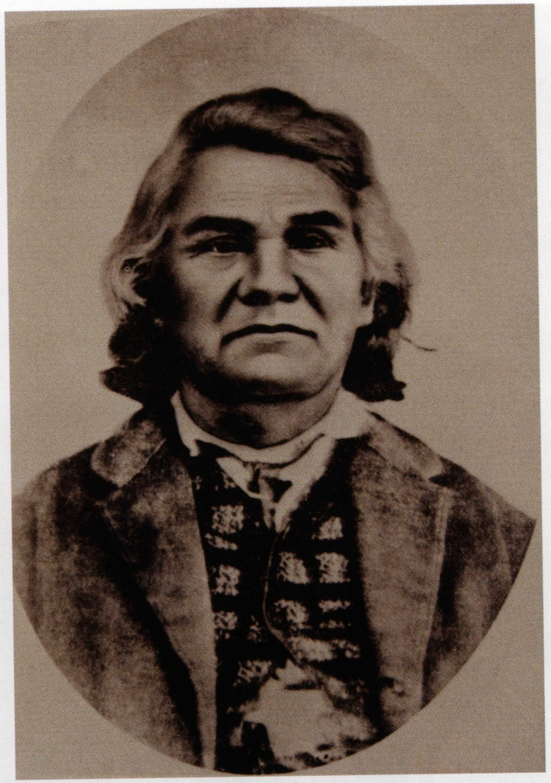
In 1861 the Cherokee people once again became entangled in a white struggle, this time the American Civil War. Cherokee loyalty was divided because as slaveholders some Cherokees were sympathetic to the Southern cause. Chief Ross tried to maintain neutrality for the tribe but because surrounding tribes allied with the Confederacy and Ross's adversary Stand Watie joined the Confederate army, neutrality became impossible.

The cost of the Civil War for the Nation was possibly as devastating as the forced removal in 1838 and 1839. The Cherokee Nation became a site of massive destruction, and more than 7,000 Cherokees died, leaving approximately 25 percent of Cherokee children orphans. The treaty of 1866 that restored a government-to-government relationship between the federal government and the tribe after the Civil War's end was harsh. It required the tribe to surrender land and open territory to railroads, and it began the process that eventually led to Oklahoma statehood.

When the Civil War reached the Cherokee Nation, the *Advocate*'s printing press had been moved from Tahlequah to nearby Fort Gibson for protection during the Civil War. After the war, William P. Boudinot returned to lead the newspaper. It resumed publication on April 26, 1870, in Tahlequah with circulation reaching about 480 readers in 1871 for the weekly Saturday paper. The *Advocate* was again quieted in February 1875, when a fire destroyed the printing office and equipment. It was revived again on March 1, 1876.



John Rollin Ridge, Saladin Watie, Richard Fields, E.C. Boudinot, and William Penn Adair. GM4326.3693. During his first tenure as editor, Elias Cornelius Boudinot, Jr., the grandson of Elias Boudinot, (1879-81) increased the use of Cherokee to a full page in the four-page weekly. Ten editors managed the *Advocate* over its final twenty-five years, including former editors Daniel H. Ross (1881-85), W.P. Boudinot (1888-89), and E.C. Boudinot, Jr. (1885-87). The Cherokee Outlet land controversy, the Dawes Commission and allotment dominated the *Advocate* under editors Robert F. Wyly (1889-91), Hugh Montgomery Adair (1891-93), George O. Butler (1893-95, 1901-1903), Waddie Hudson (1895-97), Joseph R. Sequiche (1897-99), Will T. Leoser (1899-1901) and W. J. Melton (1903-1906). Hudson, an adopted citizen and experienced newspaperman, was the only non-Cherokee editor. GM4396.3693.



Stand Watie. GM4326.3303.

In 1893, the federal government formed the Dawes Commission to begin the process of forcing the Five Civilized Tribes, which included the Cherokee, to allot their lands among their tribal members. The government had an ulterior motive of taking the land not allotted, and the *Cherokee Advocate* opposed the Dawes Commission until the Cherokees agreed to allot their lands in 1899. The Curtis Act of 1898 sped up the process of allotment, and in 1906 the Oklahoma Enabling Act provided for the admission of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory to the Union as a single state.

The *Advocate* ceased operations on March 4, 1906, after the U.S. government dissolved the Cherokee Nation government. The printing office, press, and other equipment were sold to the publisher of the New Era newspaper in Fort Gibson for $151. The Cherokee syllabary type was sent to the Smithsonian Institute for preservation.

Cherokee journalism would remain dormant for forty-six years until 1950 when the *New Cherokee Advocate* newsletter was born, with Watie Petit as editor. The publication ended a few months later with the October edition. Another publication, the *Cherokee Nation News,* began publishing in March 1968 and continued until December 1976. The newspaper provided general news, news about the tribe's programs, news affecting all tribes and profiles on Cherokee people. One of the writers for the publication was Wes Studi of Nofire Hollow in Adair County, who wrote articles and columns under the pseudonym of "Anyway James" years before achieving success as an actor.



Cherokee Advocate printing office, 1900. Cptn. N.J. Cale Starr and Watie Foreman. Ora Eddleman Reed Collection, 3955. Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The *Cherokee Advocate* returned after the Cherokee government was officially reorganized in 1975. Stories about Cherokee people and culture, activities of the Tribal Council and principal chief, and news of tribal programs were printed in the monthly paper from January 1977 to May 1981, when lack of funding led to irregular publication. The paper was not printed from spring 1983 until July of the same year, when the Cherokee Nation Tribal Council voted to resume monthly publication by subscriptions. The next issue appeared in October 1983.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the *Advocate* was seen as a communications tool of the principal chief as it had been under Chief John Ross. Mostly, the newspaper published stories about the Tribal Council, Cherokee culture and history, accomplishments of Cherokee people, and information about tribal services. It was eventually placed under the tribe's Public Affairs Department, which prevented anything negative from being published about the Nation or the tribe's leadership. As it had always been in the history of the *Cherokee Advocate*, reporters wrote stories without receiving byline credit. In September 1994 the *Advocate* staff and the Nation celebrated the newspaper's 150th birthday.

"We (are) always ever mindful of the legacy left to us by former *Advocate* editors and work diligently to uphold its tradition," said Public Affairs Director Lynn Howard during the celebration. "People who read the *Advocate* are the most informed about their tribe and its government, and likewise, also feel the most positive about the work being done here on behalf of the Cherokee people."

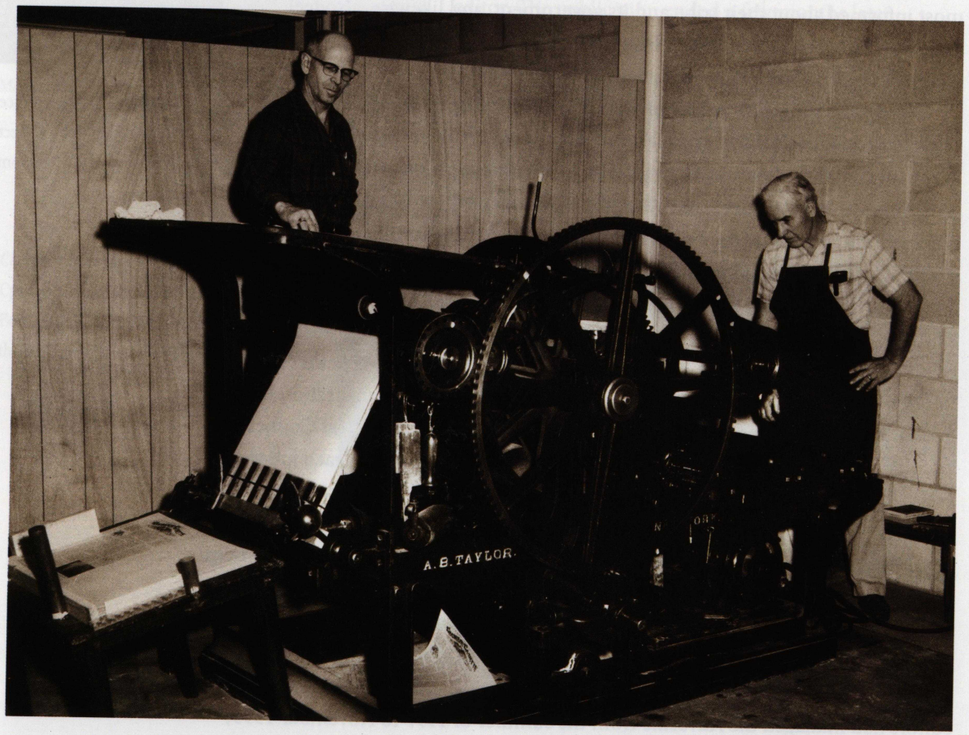
Three years later the newspaper would be involved in a "constitutional crisis" that involved all three branches of the Cherokee government and eventually led to protections from government influence for the tribal newspaper. Early in the morning of February 25, 1997, Cherokee Nation Marshals raided the office of Principal Chief Joe Byrd (1995 to 1999) searching for financial documents that had been requested by members of the Tribal Council. The raid kicked off months of court orders from the tribe's Supreme Court and finger-pointing over who was to blame for causing the tense situation. The *Cherokee Advocate* was being printed on a bimonthly basis. A background story on the controversy that appeared in the March-April issue leaned heavily in favor of the Byrd administration though it did manage to include information that some members of the Tribal Council and the court were against the Byrd administration's attempt to impeach judges and amend tribal laws in Byrd's favor. As the crisis moved to federal court in the spring of 1997, the *Advocate* published a second story that was more balanced and provided points of view from all three branches of government. This did not sit well with Byrd and his advisors. Editor Dan Agent was let go in August 1997, and the rest of the staff were threatened with layoffs, but were later allowed to keep their jobs. Though an independent commission found fault with all sides involved in the crisis, it took the election of a new chief in 1999 to resolve the situation. Temporary editors had managed the *Advocate* from the summer of 1997 to November 1999, when Agent was rehired as editor.



Cherokee Advocate office, Tahlequah. Jennie Ross Cobb Collection, 20661.15. Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The *Cherokee Advocate* name was retired in 2000, after being used off and on for 156 years. In October 2000, the newspaper began using the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate* name again. Also, that same year, on July 17, the tribe's fifteen-member council passed the Cherokee Independent Press Act of 2000, which keeps the coverage of all aspects of the tribal government and the news of the Cherokee Nation free from political control and influence. Reporters also began to receive byline credit for their stories. "It is the duty of the press to report without bias the activities of the government and the news of interest to have inform citizens," the act states.

Principal Chief Chad Smith (1999 to 2012) supported the passage of a Cherokee freedom of information act for the Cherokee Nation and helped write the Free Press Act legislation. "When you think about preserving our government for the next hundred years, you realize it's good to have someone looking over everyone's shoulder," he said. "I told the [*Cherokee Phoenix*] paper to tell the truth—good, bad or ugly. Having an informed citizenry is a very important thing." In January 2007, the newspaper began using the shorter name of *Cherokee Phoenix* and gained a web site, a radio show, and a multi-media component to supplement the monthly broadsheet publication. Today the newspaper reports on the tribe's government, current news and events, and Cherokee culture, people, and history.



Men with the Cherokee printing press. Gilcrease Reference Collection.

After more than a hundred years, the *Cherokee Advocate* printing press returned to the tribe on February 2, 2010, as part of the renovation of the old Cherokee National Supreme Court building for use as a museum. The museum opened in April 2010. The history of the 3,100-pound press is imprecise from 1911 to the 1940s when Thomas Gilcrease purchased it for his collection. The press has been on display at the Cherokee Heritage Center, the Gilcrease Museum, and possibly the Five Civilized Tribes Museum at various points since the 1940s. Gilcrease stored the press in Muskogee before loaning it to the Cherokee National Supreme Court Museum in 2010. It is once again in the building where it was once used. "This is a chance to see the last working press for the *Cherokee Advocate,*" said Travis Owens, Cherokee Nation Cultural Tourism senior project manager. "This press signifies what was a suppression of our government, of our voice for the Cherokee people. And so now that we've got it back in our hands, in our building that we've acquired and restored, it speaks to the history of the Cherokee Nation that we have this great artifact to tell that story."

The museum in what had been the Supreme Court building features artifacts relating to the tribe's judicial system, the *Cherokee Advocate and Phoenix* newspapers, and the Cherokee language, including a variety of historical items such as photos, objects and furniture. "We brought back a piece of history that demonstrates what separates us from other native people: a written language, the value we place on education, an open government, and a method for keeping people informed. Bringing it back to its rightful home is a blessing," said Cherokee Nation Principal Chief Bill John Baker. "For schoolchildren, elders, and everyone, it's very emotional to know that Cherokee hands were printing Cherokee news for Cherokees over all that time."

The *Cherokee Advocate* printing press is currently on long-term loan to the Cherokee Nation from Gilcrease Museum.

SOURCES

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"A Long Journey Home," Teddye Snell, *Tahlequah Daily Press,* February 3, 2010.

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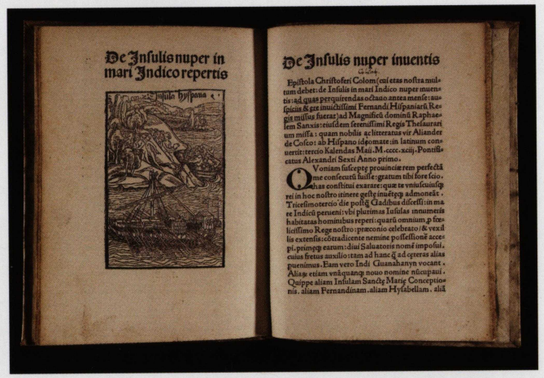
"Advocate Celebrates 150th Anniversary," *Cherokee Advocate,* Vol. XVIII, No. 9, September, 1994.

"CN has a free press but freedom of the press in Indian Country is rare," Will Chavez, *Cherokee Phoenix,* July 2010.

MOLINA'S VOCABULARIOS
in Spanish and Nahuatl

Stephanie Schmidt

The Franciscan linguist and priest Alonso de Molina (ca. 1514–1585) wrote the first dictionary in an indigenous language of the Americas to be disseminated in print. Molina's unsurpassed *Vocabulary* of 1571 facilitated communication between Spaniards and Nahuas in Colonial Mexico. It remains in circulation both in print and as an ebook in a new age of digital media.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De Insulis nuper inuentis

Epistola Christoferi Colom[i] ea[s] nostra mil[it]ate habet: de Insulis in mari Indico nuper inuentis: ad quas perquirendas octauo anno a me fuit: auspiciis & gr[at]ia inuictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarū Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificū dominū Raphaelem Sanxis: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Thesaurarū missa: quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco: ab Hispano idiomate in latinum conuertit: tercio Kalendas Maij. M. ccc. xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam fidei pr[a]ecepta proximis[que] rem perfectā me consecutū fuisse: gratum tibi fore scio, quibus constitui exactor: quæ ea vendicandi ordinis in hoc nostro itinere gerēdi me[a]q[ue] admonest. Tricesimo tercio die postq[uam] Gadibus discessi in mare Indicū peruenī: vbi plurimas Insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus reperi: quarū omnium p[ro]spectissimo Rege nostro: pręconio celebrato: & vexillis extensis: obuiam me nemine pręstitissē accepi: primoq[ue] earum: diui Saluatoris nomē imposui: cuius fretus auxilio: ita et hanc: & cęteras alias quærimus. Eam vero Indi Guanahanyn vocant. Alias enim vetusq[ua]m nouo nomine nūcupauī. Quippe aliam Insulam Sanctę Marię Conceptionis: aliam Fernandinam: aliam Hyspalensem: alią

One of the first strategic efforts of Spaniards in the Americas was to establish communication with indigenous peoples. Columbus inaugurated a practice of kidnapping local people to serve as informants and interpreters. These captives would learn Spanish aboard ship and become *"lenguas,"* literally "tongues." They were linguistic go-betweens, translators, and voice pieces for Columbus's men as they interacted with native communities and attempted to learn about new lands.

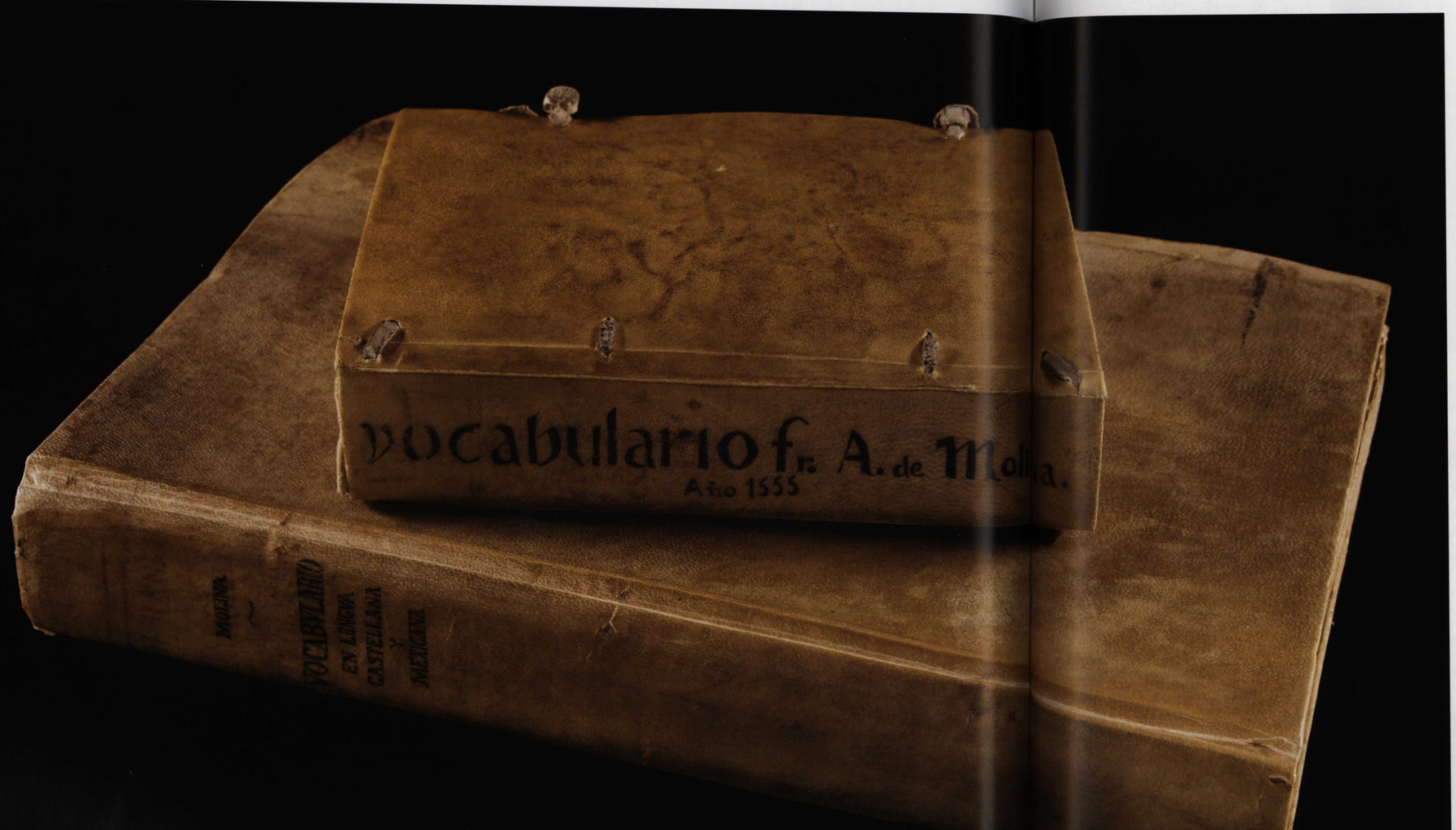
The militant explorers who followed Columbus similarly relied on native interpreters, with varying degrees of success. Cortés in Mexico had the extraordinary luck to discover a gifted polyglot named Malintzin among a group of women he received as a human peace offering from a local ruler near the Yucatan Peninsula. Malinche, as she became known, served Cortés throughout his Mexican campaign as a *lengua,* cultural advisor, and astute diplomat, ensuring his success at key moments. Often, however, attempts to communicate through captive informants and translators

Portrait of Cortez. Unknown artist, oil. GM01.1969.

went awry. The writer Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca noblewoman, served in his time as a literary *lengua,* translating or explicating cultural information about the Andes for Spanish readers. In his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* of 1609 he tells the perhaps apocryphal story of early explorers in Peru who captured a man fishing in a river and plied him with questions about his land, gesticulating "as if to a deaf-mute" (Garcilaso de la Vega, p.16). The man gave his name, "Berú," and the word for river, "pelú," from which misguided Spaniards inferred that his country was called "Perú." The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wryly concludes that "the [Spanish] Christians thought what they wanted to think, imagining that the Indian had understood them and responded accordingly, just as if he and they had been speaking Spanish" (16). This story of miscommunication between invaders and a local informant highlights the error of Spanish presumptions to understand more than they actually did about the people and lands they had recently dominated and begun to administer as colonial provinces.

Indeed, problems of communication with native peoples extended beyond early conquest encounters. Missionaries crossed the Atlantic to proselytize, but language barriers at first made their task nearly insurmountable. For example, a few monolingual friars traveled to the Central Mexican city of Tlaxcala just two years after the conquest of Mexico of 1519–1521 (Townsend, p. 160). Unable to preach to Tlaxcaltecs in their native language of Nahuatl, the friars resorted to the language of signs. They erected a cross in the marketplace, where they stood pointing alternately at the sky and earth to teach about Heaven and Hell (Martínez Baracas, p. 114-115). The missionaries successfully caught the attention of the Tlaxcaltecs, but not as they intended. The sixteenth-century historian Diego Muñoz Camargo, son of a *conquistador* and a woman of Tlaxcala, reports that locals looked on with wonder as the friars gesticulated in the public market from midday until midnight. Some questioned their sanity, while others took pity and kindly offered food and drink (175). Of these first missionaries in Mexico, the most successful was the Franciscan friar Pedro de Gante. He was a skilled communicator whose facility with the local language of Nahuatl quickly surpassed that of his peers. Gante began to teach Aztec Nahuas and other Nahuatl-speaking peoples with hand-painted testerian books that used a system of drawings to communicate Christian teachings and prayers.

Conversion efforts in Colonial Mexico began in earnest in 1524, when a team of twelve Franciscans arrived to lead an organized missionary campaign. While their communication efforts were stunted at first, they soon received an enormous boon. A boy named Alonso de Molina had traveled with his parents to the City of Mexico immediately after the conquest (León-Portilla, p. XXV). He quickly picked up Nahuatl from his Nahua playmates and became one of few

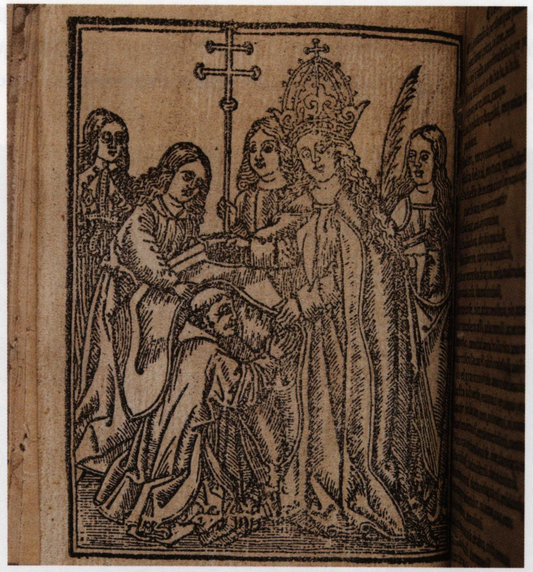




La Malinche from the Florentine Codex. GM2047.1087.

Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.
Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.

Spaniards living in Mexico City at the time with a high level of fluency in the language. Young Alonso came to the attention of the Franciscans and was brought to work among them as a *lengua.* He served as a teacher of Nahuatl and helped priests translate their sermons in order to better reach those they hoped to convert (León-Portilla, p. XIV). Influential Franciscans like Andrés de Olmos and Bernardino de Sahagún gained aptitude in Nahuatl, and other boys—Nahuas of Molina's generation—began to study Spanish and Latin with the friars, help with their sermons, and collaborate in an effort to create a system to write Nahuatl alphabetically. Using this new method to write in the local language,[1] Franciscans worked with young scribes and translators to record a wealth of learning from Nahua elders and to produce missionary literature in Nahuatl.

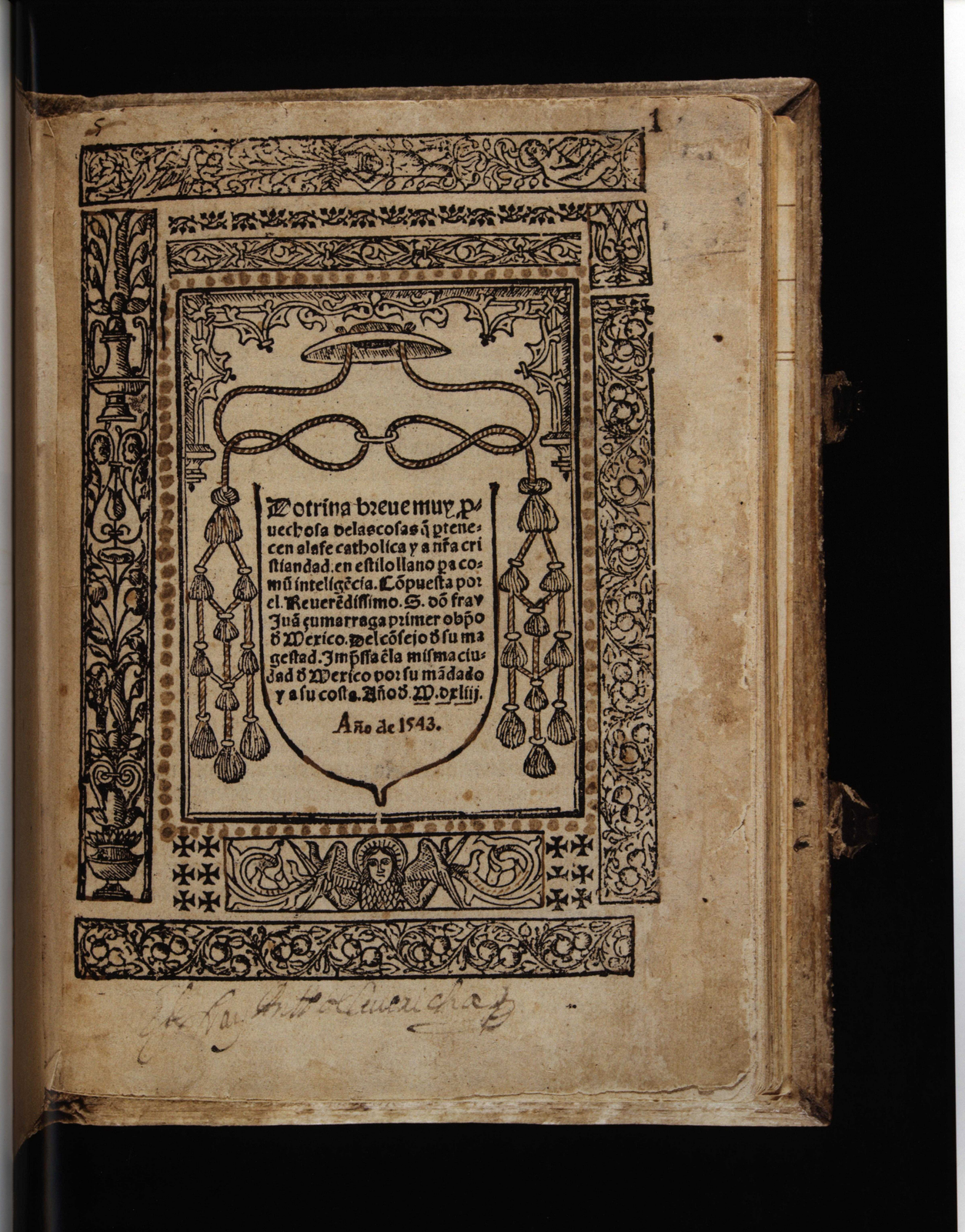


Not long after friars and scribes had completed their project to alphabetize Nahuatl, they received a new boon in their efforts to communicate with the local populous. The printing press arrived in Mexico City in 1539. It facilitated a mass media missionary campaign, equipping priests to indoctrinate native peoples in Nahuatl and other Mesoamerican languages. Early testerian books and other missionary writings had been handmade and reached a very limited circle of readers. Now, however, a single doctrinal or confessional manual could be produced in great numbers and distributed broadly.

The dynamic center of this scribal and print activity in Colonial Mexico was the Franciscan mission school of Santa Cruz in the indigenous neighborhood of Tlatelolco, a formerly autonomous ethnic state that was absorbed into Mexico City after the conquest. Alonso de Molina became an integral part of the activities at this school (Hernández, p. 236), as well as the monastery and school of San Francisco in Mexico City, first as a language aid to friars and later as a friar himself. Yet with his religious calling as an adult, he continued to embrace his early calling as a *lengua*. Molina was one of the first and most prolific lettered *lenguas* of his colonial milieu. He wrote a score of materials in Nahuatl, including sermons, a confessional manual, a doctrinal manual, and a Nahuatl grammar. He is best known, however, for his dictionaries. He published his Spanish-to-Nahuatl *Here Begins a Vocabulary in the Spanish and Nahuatl Languages* in 1555. This was the first printed dictionary of any indigenous language of the Americas (Clayton and Campbell, p. 337). Sixteen years later an expanded bidirectional version went to press.

Molina's *Vocabulary* of 1571 is actually two dictionaries printed together. The frontispiece of the Spanish-to-Nahuatl section reads *Vocabulary in the Spanish and Nahuatl Languages.* This is a revision of his *Vocabulary* of 1555, with a total of 17,410 entries (368), more than 4,000 of which were new. Molina also added a Nahuatl-to-Spanish section entitled *Vocabulary in the Nahuatl and Spanish Languages,* bringing the total entry count of the combined bidirectional dictionary to more than 40,000 (Canger, p. 195).

Molina's work on these dictionaries was a painstaking effort undertaken at the behest of his prelates. Several decades after Franciscan missionaries first sought Molina as a *lengua,* they continued to rely on his



Doctrina Cristiana. Fray Juan de Zumarraga. Mexico City, 1543-44 (facing). GM5345.822; Plate Two (inset above) from *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.* Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.

exceptional abilities to facilitate communication with Nahuas. During the second half of the sixteenth century, missionaries had become increasingly aware of the challenges both in understanding their indigenous flock and in making their Christian teachings heard and embraced as they intended. In the prologue that accompanies both editions of Molina's Spanish-to-Nahuatl dictionary, he underscores his own concerns about miscommunication, even in an era of mass communication and intensive language work in Nahuatl.

The principal aim of Molina's prologue is to highlight the problems of the communication model that Columbus introduced in the Americas. Molina knew from experience that *lenguas* were imperfect conduits of information between Europeans and native peoples. He poignantly reflects on the inadequacy of early child translators like himself who struggled to find the words to communicate complex doctrines, administer the sacraments, and "uncover" the profound marital "impediments" of adult converts who had formed families in a polygamous society but were now instructed to set aside multiple wives and practice monogamy. "[For ministers of the church] to entrust such grave matters to a youth, just because he understands a little of the language, and words very different from those necessary for the business that he must manage—this, I believe, is detrimental [to their mission] and a matter of uncertainty for their consciences." Molina also knew that important content was lost in translation when Nahuas interacted with colonial authorities. "The reason or justice" of Spanish-speaking governors was often lost in the "good or bad intention of the Nahuatl speaker or interpreter." Molina perceived that Nahuas were misunderstood and thus misgoverned.



On the heels of this critique of a program of ministry and colonial administration based on interpreters, Molina proposes a clear solution. His prologue cleverly draws a parallel between Imperial Rome's colonization of Iberia, or "Hispania" (3rd century B.C.E–4th century C.E.) and Imperial Spain's colonization of the Americas; between the colonized proto-Spanish of Iberia and the Amerindian peoples that Iberians now colonized. He writes that "the anguish and disconsolate sorrow of our Spain was no small matter when the Unconquered Caesar began to reign… and, to the contrary, great was the joy and happiness of Spain when [Caesar] understood and spoke our language without means of interpreters." Molina suggests that Spaniards in the Americas, like Romans in Hispania, learn the languages of the people, making the need for interpreters obsolete.

Molina's *Vocabulary* itself was to become a *lengua,* a precise translating tool, printed and distributed in quantities so that ministers of church and empire could more adequately serve the people. This mass media tool, of course, was nothing more than a user's guide for learning. It invited religious and colonial authorities to become students of the people they served, at least at the level of linguistic culture. Molina therefore begins his prologue with a discourse on "the sin of arrogance" as a downfall of kings. He gently suggests that a fundamental art of empire is to humble oneself and learn to speak the language of the conquered.

Frontispiece (facing) and Plate One (inset above) from *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.* Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.



VOCABVLARIO
EN LENGVA MEXICANA Y CASTELLANA, COMpuesto por el muy Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonso de Molina, dela Orden del bienauenturado nuestro Padre sant Francisco.
DIRIGIDO AL MVY EXCELENTE SENOR
Don Martin Enriquez, Visorrey desta nueua España.

tuum Franciscum:

Signasti domine seruum

Signis redēptionis nostrę.

¶ Indorum nimia te fecit prole parentem.
Qui genuit moriens, quos pater alme foues.

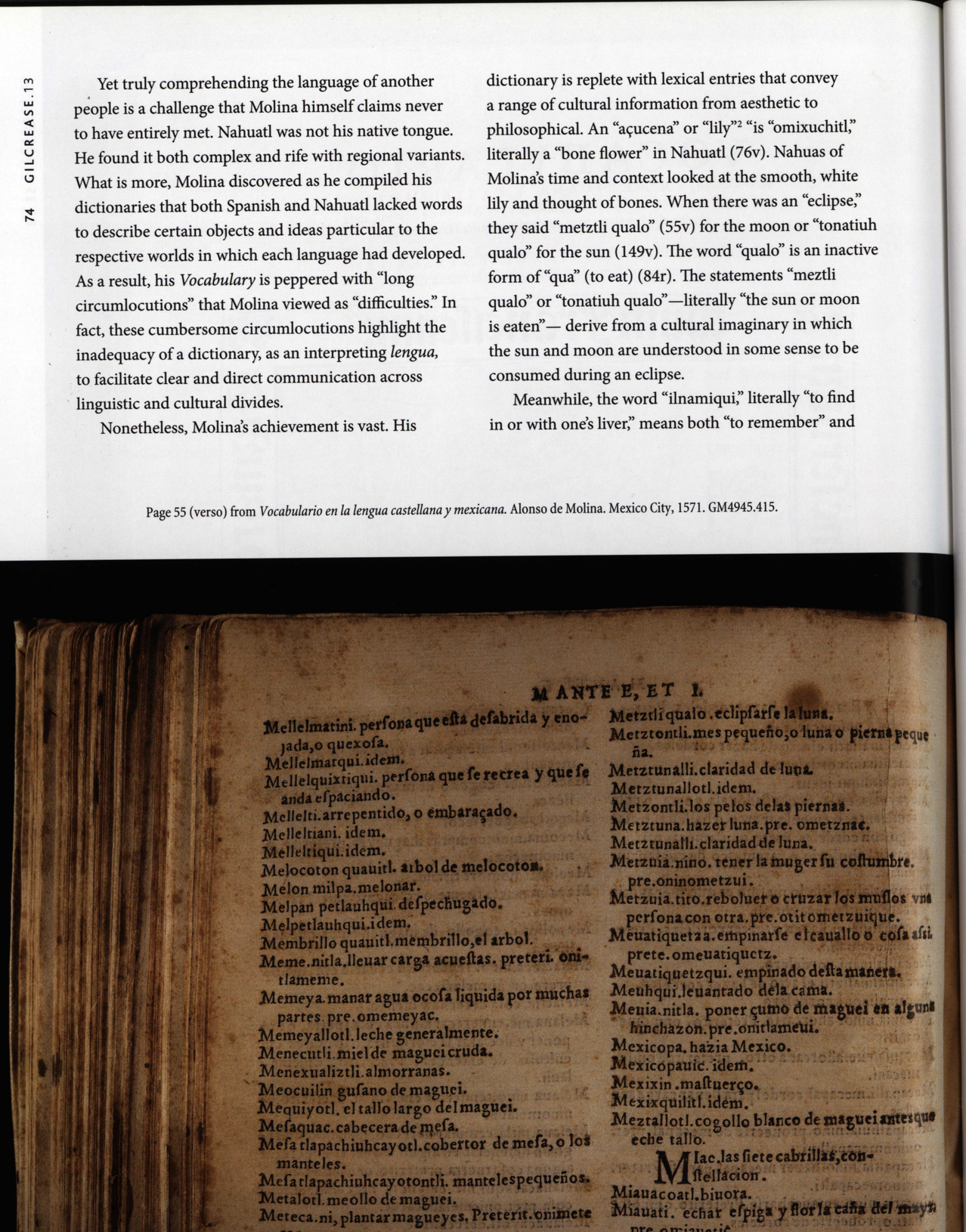
Confixus viuis, langues: cum mente reuoluis.
Vulnera, cum spectas, stigmata carne geris.

EN MEXICO,
En Casa de Antonio de Spinosa.
1571

Yet truly comprehending the language of another people is a challenge that Molina himself claims never to have entirely met. Nahuatl was not his native tongue. He found it both complex and rife with regional variants. What is more, Molina discovered as he compiled his dictionaries that both Spanish and Nahuatl lacked words to describe certain objects and ideas particular to the respective worlds in which each language had developed. As a result, his *Vocabulary* is peppered with "long circumlocutions" that Molina viewed as "difficulties." In fact, these cumbersome circumlocutions highlight the inadequacy of a dictionary, as an interpreting *lengua,* to facilitate clear and direct communication across linguistic and cultural divides.

Nonetheless, Molina's achievement is vast. His dictionary is replete with lexical entries that convey a range of cultural information from aesthetic to philosophical. An "açucena" or "lily"[2] "is "omixuchitl," literally a "bone flower" in Nahuatl (76v). Nahuas of Molina's time and context looked at the smooth, white lily and thought of bones. When there was an "eclipse," they said "metztli qualo" (55v) for the moon or "tonatiuh qualo" for the sun (149v). The word "qualo" is an inactive form of "qua" (to eat) (84r). The statements "meztli qualo" or "tonatiuh qualo"—literally "the sun or moon is eaten"— derive from a cultural imaginary in which the sun and moon are understood in some sense to be consumed during an eclipse.

Meanwhile, the word "ilnamiqui," literally "to find in or with one's liver," means both "to remember" and


MANTE E, ET I.

Mellelmatini. perſona que eſta deſabrida y enojada,o quexoſa.
Mellelmarqui.idem.
Mellelquixtiqui. perſona que ſe recrea y que ſe anda eſpaciando.
Mellelti.arrepentido, o embaraçado.
Melleltiani. idem.
Melleltiqui.idem.
Melocoton quauitl. arbol de melocoton.
Melon milpa.melonar.
Melpan petlauhqui.deſpechugado.
Melpetlauhqui.idem.
Membrillo quauitl.membrillo,el arbol.
Meme.nitla.lleuar carga acueſtas. preteri. onitlameme.
Memeya.manar agua ocoſa liquida por muchas partes.pre.omemeyac.
Memeyallotl.leche generalmente.
Menecutli.miel de maguei cruda.
Menexualiztli.almorranas.
Meocuilin guſano de maguei.
Mequiyotl. el tallo largo del maguei.
Meſaquac.cabecera de meſa.
Meſa tlapachiuhcayotl.cobertor de meſa, o los manteles.
Meſa tlapachiuhcayotontli. mantelespequeños.
Metalotl.meollo de maguei.
Meteca.ni, plantar magueyes. Preterit.onimete
Metztli qualo.eclipſarſe la luna.
Metztontli.mes pequeño,o luna o pierna pequeña.
Metztunalli.claridad de luna.
Metztunallotl.idem.
Metzontli.los pelos delas piernas.
Metztuna.hazer luna.pre. ometznac.
Metztunalli.claridad de luna.
Metzuia.nino. tener la muger ſu coſtumbre. pre.oninometzui.
Metzuia.tito.reboluer o cruzar los muſlos vna perſona con otra.pre.otitometzuique.
Meuatiquetza.empinarſe el cauallo o coſa aſsi. prete.omeuatiquetz.
Meuatiquetzqui. empinado deſta manera.
Meuhqui.leuantado dela cama.
Meuia.nitla. poner çumo de maguei en alguna hinchazon.pre.onitlameui.
Mexicopa.hazia Mexico.
Mexicopauic. idem.
Mexixin.maſtuerço.
Mexixquilitl.idem.
Meztallotl.cogollo blanco de maguei antesque eche tallo.

Mlac.las ſiete cabrillas,conſtellacion.

Miauacoatl.biuora.
Miauati. echar eſpiga y flor la caña del mayz.

Pages 30 and 40 from *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.* Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.

"think" (37v, 94v). Memory is thus an important form of thought or knowledge based in the liver as an interior core. Similarly, the verb "*tlacaqui*" (understand; literally "hear something") describes a form of comprehension that is based in another region of the body, the zone of "hearing" (12v). In this way, a translator like Molina "tlacaquiztilia," because he "makes something heard" and therefore "makes it understood" (115v). Moving from hearing to sight, a person who "teyolloitta" is said to "understand another," or, literally, "see another with or from the heart" (40r). This compound phrase links the heart as a site of understanding to the eyes as a zone of visual intake. Lexical items based on hearing and sight—or knowing in the heart or liver—reveal a Mesoamerican system of thought about the various modes of human knowledge that are centered in anatomical zones of sensory perception.

Molina's Nahuatl-to-Spanish dictionary also alphabetically catalogues lexically related words that correspond to major systems of cultural thought. Entire pages are sometimes dedicated to a single conceptual network based on terms such as "heart." The *Vocabulary in Nahuatl and Spanish* includes 252 consecutive entries related to "yoli" (living thing) (39v) or "yollotl" (heart, or pith of a dried fruit) (40v). This bounty of heart-related terms highlights the importance of the heart for Nahuas as center of emotion, perception, will, and vitality (Karttunen 340). Thus we read in the pages of Molina's dictionary that

"yolicniuh" (heart friend) is a "friend of deep affection" (40r) and "yoliliz tlatolli" are "words of life" (40r), while "yollo cuecuepcayotl," or the "turning of one's heart" means "inconsistency" (40r), and so forth.

Finally, Molina also achieved a grammatical precision still unmatched by some of the most respected dictionaries of Classical Nahuatl in print today. By comparison, Frances Karttunen's excellent *Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* of 1983 uniquely conveys important phonetic information that prior dictionaries did not. However, because it is also deliberately concise, it loses some of the exactitude that Molina gained by generating exhaustive groupings of separate lexical entries based on various combinations of prefixes with a single verb. For example, Karttunen has just one entry for the verb "cāhu(a)" (to leave, abandon, relinquish something, someone / dejar algo, o llevar alguna cosa a otra parte (M), dejar o desamparar a otro, o exceder y sobrepujar a los otros (M)" (20). Molina, however, has five entries for the same verb. For example, "caua" with the reflexive pronoun "mo" (mocaua) means "for a processional line to break" (12v). However, with the addition of an animate subject pronoun (ninocaua), the meaning becomes "to quiet, or cease doing something, or for a person who came from another place to remain somewhere" (12v). Molina meticulously shows the different meanings of "caua" by itemizing a range of prefixes that may accompany it. Without this distinguishing feature, one must infer from context and guess the semantic effect, e.g., of adding the directional prefix "on" between animate subject and object pronouns. Sometimes a directional prefix has little effect on the overall meaning of a verb phrase. With "caua," however, Molina shows that "on" can be the difference between "abandoning someone" (nitecaua) and "accompanying someone to his or her house" (nontecaua) (12v).

The range and precision of the linguistic and cultural information in Molina's *Vocabulary* of 1571 have made it an enduring classic for those who heed its author's exhortation to learn the Nahuatl language. Nearly five centuries after it first went to press, the *Vocabulary in Spanish and Nahuatl and in Nahuatl and Spanish* remains in print as an indispensible reference for scholars of Classical Nahuatl. In fact, Molina's bidirectional dictionary has now entered circulation as an ebook, broadening the communicative range of this mass media *lengua* to a degree that Molina could never have imagined.

NOTES

1 At the time Spaniards arrived in Mexico, Mesoamericans had their own sophisticated systems of painted and carved script.

2 The Franciscan friar and ethnographer Bernardino de Sahagún somewhat differently identifies the omixuchitl as a fragrant flower similar to a jasmine (Máynez, p. 190).

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Page 115 from *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.* Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.



Mah-to-toh-pa and Mi-neek-ee-sunk-te-cah, Mandan, from the Souvenir Album. George Catlin. Plate 2. GM4776.5.2.

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Detail from reverse side of frontispiece, *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana.* Alonso de Molina. Mexico City, 1571. GM4945.415.

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¶ Aqui comiença vn vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana, Compuesto por el muy reuerendo padre fray Alonso de Molina: Guardiã dl couẽto d sant Antonio d Tetzcuco dla ordẽ delos frayles Menores.

✠ tuũ Franciscum sig ✠

¶ Signasti domine seruum ✠ nis redemptionis nostre.



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¶ Indorum nimia te fecit prole parentem
qui genuit moriens, quos pater alme soues.
Confixus vinis langues: cum mente reuoluis.