The Indigenous Experience in Twentieth-Century Musical Indianism

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Abstract

This dissertation reconsiders the American Indian experiences of and reactions to musical Indianism. Indianism was a non-Native intellectual ideology in the early twentieth century that capitalized on the spirituality, primitivity, and authenticity of American Indians as America's "folk" people for philosophical and aesthetic desires. Some Indianist composers wrote original music inspired by the new influx of American Indian music published by music ethnographers like Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore at the turn of the century. Others borrowed transcribed melodies verbatim and composed a piece around what they assumed was an authentic American Indian melody. While the composers were White, American Indians were involved in every aspect of musical Indianism. They engaged in and resisted music ethnography, performed and popularized Indianist songs, outwardly supported and critiqued Indianist composers, and participated in Indianist concerts in boarding and reservation schools. American Indian lives are inextricably woven into the history of musical Indianism. Framing Indianism with their stories offers more profound insights into the complexities of Indianist music and its impact on the broader American Indian community in the early twentieth century.

Dedication

To my grandfather, Chief Red Deer, who passed on before I started this work. And to my family, my ancestors, whose strength and courage gave me the chance to write this dissertation.

Acknowledgments

This project grew from a paper I wrote for Michael Puri's music and humor seminar. With guidance from my comprehensive exam advisers (Richard Will, Michael Puri, and Bonnie Gordon), my prospectus committee (Noel Lobley, Michael Puri, and Bonnie Gordon), and Kasey Keeler, this paper morphed into an archival project that allowed me to access the American Indian experience of Indianism. I am grateful to the entire University of Virginia Department of Music, as well as those outside the department, like Kasey Keeler and Kasey Jernigan, who helped me realize the potential of my initial idea. A very special thanks to Joanna Love and Jesse Fillerup, whose fastidious editing has made my writing more accessible and precise. I also want to thank Frank Mahoney and Mark Marvel, my music instructors from elementary school to high school, who always held me to my potential and encouraged me to continue music studies in college. During college, my flute teacher Robin Kani and music history professors Larry Lipkis and Hilde Binford inspired me to pursue my curiosities, which eventually led me to humanities work.

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Introduction

In the early twentieth century, a group of like-minded composers wrote musical works that were inspired by or quoted from ethnographic transcriptions of American Indian song. Arthur Farwell, Charles Wakefield Cadman, and Arthur Nevin, among others, consulted compilations by ethnographers such as Alice Fletcher and Frances Densmore when creating piano pieces, song cycles, and operas, and often borrowed verbatim from the transcriptions of American Indian melodies that appeared in these compilations. These composers did not constitute a compositional school in that they did not come from the same teacher or compose in the same city during the same years. Nonetheless, musicology has consistently categorized them as "the Indianists" since at least Gilbert Chase's *America's Music* (1955).[1]

The first monograph to study the Indianists in detail was Michael Pisani's *Imagining Native America*.[2] It provides a history of the many ways non-Natives represented, misrepresented, and imitated American Indians and their music since first contact. It reveals that Indianist music was part of a broader ideological and artistic movement at the turn of the century whose participants were searching for American's folk tradition and believed that they had located it in American Indian culture. Indianist composers borrowed from or imitated American Indian music and stories. These appropriations served the purposes of nationalism or exoticism, both of which were

[1] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 399.
[2] Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

popular trends in Western music at this time. They also followed the advice of Antonín Dvořák, who compelled American composers to use American Indian themes.[3]

As its history is told, Indianism begins with Edward MacDowell and his *Indian Suite* from 1892. It then gains steam with Arthur Farwell's Wa-Wan Press, which published Indianist songs in 1901, and culminated in staged works by Charles Wakefield Cadman in the early 1910s. Indianists often used American Indian music collected by those ethnographers who placed a high value on this art form. The composers either situated the melodies in a Western harmonic environment (often referred to as "idealizing") or created compositions using characteristic material—themes, harmonies, and rhythms—that was found in or inspired by these scholarly collections of American Indian music.

What is missing in these historical accounts of Indianism is a sustained effort to foreground the experiences of Native people, either in the ethnographic and compositional processes, or in the music's performance history. There have been some studies in this direction—notably P. Jane Hafen, Catherine Smith Parsons, Tara Browner, and Beth Levy[4]—but, by and large, musicology has consistently defined Indianist music as the work of White men. This overshadows the fact that American Indians were present in every aspect of Indianist music and participated and negotiated their roles in complex

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[3] Tara Browner, "Transposing Cultures: The Appropriation of Native North American Musics, 1890–1990," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1995); Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

[4] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Ša And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly*, (1998): 102–111; Catherine Parsons Smith, "An Operatic Skeleton on the Western Frontier: Zitkala-Sa, William F. Hanson, and The Sun Dance Opera," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 5 (2001): 1–30; Tara Browner, "Native Songs, Indianist Styles, and the Processes of Music Idealization" in *Opera Indigene: Re/Presenting First Nations and Indigenous Cultures* eds. Pamela Karantonis and Dylan Robinson (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2011), 173–186; Levy, "Staging the West" in *Frontier Figures*, 118–142.

ways, from the ethnographic beginnings of the Indianist process to the institutionalization of Indianist music.

This dissertation seeks to replace the dominant narrative about Indianism with one that focuses on the American Indian interlocutors, performers, activists, and students who participated in or resisted Indianism, and the ways that they responded to it. It does so first by revisiting the archival materials that have previously been used in Indianist scholarship. In Chapter One I analyze the ethnographic collections and personal archives from the music ethnographers who captured the source material that inspired Indianist composers. In Chapters Two and Three I use Indianist composer archives to rethink agency and authorship in the composition and performance of Indianist music. In Chapter Four I delve once again into composer archives to reexamine American Indian performers of Indianism. My analysis of this material seeks to bring to light the colonial epistemologies that inform the archive, and even created it.

In Chapters Four and Five I expand the range of sources that we can use to understand the impact of Indianism on the American Indian community in the early 1900s. Chapter Four considers the impact of American Indian activists on the popularity of Indianist music. In Chapter Five I focus on the ways that American institutions implemented Indianist music as an educational tool.[5] By rereading and expanding the Indianist archive, I argue for an understanding of Indianism as a process that misused and profited from American Indians, but also a process in which American Indians participated, and were able to critique. It resulted in a musical repertoire that was widely

[5] This chapter builds upon John Troutman and Melissa Parkhurst's studies of music in American Indian boarding schools. John William Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879–1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009); Melissa D. Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014).

performed by, and sometimes for, American Indian performers and students. Understanding Indianism in this way allows us to explore the complex ways that American Indians reacted to Indianism. It does so by building a narrative that—for perhaps the first time—is not predicated upon non-Native conceptions of indigeneity.[6] Instead, my dissertation recognizes that American Indians shaped the history of the music that they inspired, collaborated on, and performed—and thereby also inflected the non-Native conception of American Indian musicality in the twentieth century.

[6] Mark Rifkin in *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2017) describes how the agency granted to indigenous individuals in retellings of their histories often depends upon their simultaneous existence with non-indigenous cultural movements, which he refers to as their "coeval" histories, a term borrowed from Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). His critique applies specifically to archival methods that seek to reread indigenous agency in non-Native cultural movements. I acknowledge the complex issues of temporality within a historical rereading of non-Native cultural movements by recognizing how Native people challenge temporal and coeval determinations of indigenous agency.

Chapter One, American Indian Interlocutors and Music Ethnography

Tara Browner and Michael Pisani categorized Indianist music by using classic Peircean semiotic terms: symbolic (inspired by American Indian music), indexical (using American Indian sounds), and iconic (using American Indian music).[7] In all three types of Indianist music, which range from borrowing a melody to being inspired by one, the raw musical idea originates in an Indigenous source. A straightforward analysis of the ethnographic development of Indianist music might focus on the differences between types of borrowing and studying the music's provenance. But this research would require comparing the ethnographic transcription to a present-day practitioner's knowledge of the ceremonial song. That analysis would assume that there existed one authentic form of that song, and that ceremonial music from the year 1900 can be compared to the traditions that have been passed down and adapted through the twenty-first century.

Rather than using a flawed methodology to question the ethnographic legitimacy of Indianist music, I seek here to reevaluate the ways that American Indian interlocutors both participated in and resisted ethnographic projects. Their decisions to participate, apprehensions about participating, and acts of resistance to participation can be revealed by critically reading the language that ethnographers used to describe their interlocutors, and the ways that interlocutors themselves described their work. By focusing on an individual interlocutor's motives and concerns, I explore whether participants intimately knew the material they shared, and the impact of resistance on ethnographers' missions. Ultimately, I use this analysis to argue that the source music for Indianist compositions

[7] Browner, "Transposing Cultures," 16; Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*, 12.

was the product of a complex negotiation of Indigenous values and knowledge. Understanding the way that ethnographers and interlocutors cooperated, or failed to cooperate, cannot recreate the actual lineage of musical transmission leading to a particular composition. But by mapping out the various modes of American Indian participation and resistance, and by thinking more critically about ethnographers' treatment of their informants, we can make more informed analyses about Indianism that take into consideration the agency of the potential American Indians whose labor and culture made this music possible.

Browner, Pisani, and others who have written about the Indianists agree that composers who borrowed or were inspired by American Indian songs were implicated in the intricate relationship between interlocutors and ethnographers. And some have even attempted to analyze interactions with American Indian interlocutors as a way of understanding particular compositions. Additionally, decolonial archival scholars in various humanities fields work toward destabilizing settler-colonial understandings of ethnography.[8] But these theories and practices are missing from musicological scholarship as they relate to Indianism as a whole, and not just to individual composers or compositions. My contribution to this scholarship is to analyze the relationships between interlocutors and ethnographers within the scope of Indianism in order to refocus Indianism on the collective and individual experiences and contributions of American Indians. In so doing, this chapter seeks to establish a deeper understanding of

[8] Some recent examples that have been particularly enlightening for me, although not directly related to my work: J. J. Ghaddar and Michelle Caswell, "'To Go beyond': Towards a Decolonial Archival Praxis," *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (2019): 71–85; Ellen Cushman, "Wampum, Sequoyan, and Story: Decolonizing the Digital Archive," *College English* 76, no. 2 (2013): 115–35; Dylan Robinson, "Ethnographic Redress, Compositional Responsibility," in *Hungry Listening*, *Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 149–200.

ethnographic relationships as the first phase in the musical Indianism process in order to better interpret Indianist compositions, the American Indian performers and activists involved in Indianism, and the institutionalization of Indianism.

First, I provide a brief historical overview of American Indian music collecting and ethnography. Then I delve into the archives of ethnographers Alice Fletcher, Francis La Flesche, and Frances Densmore. The complexities of Fletcher, La Flesche, and Densmore's relationships to their interlocutors, as well as their beliefs of American Indian musicality, foreground my analysis on American Indian participation in and resistance of ethnographic work. This analysis is episodic. I do not retell a history of a particular set of encounters in chronological order, nor do I focus on whether or not the information being transmitted was "correct." Instead, I concatenate anecdotes from the ethnographic archives that focus on a variety of interlocutors. When read together, these brief encounters trace the broader outline of enduring friendships, cautious participation, resistance, and refusal in the American Indian story of musical ethnography. In rereading these encounters, I separate the interlocutor's apparent actions from the ethnographer's narrative frame. By comparing the action to its description, we can explore the American Indian position on ethnographic work without discrediting participation as assimilation, or refusal as malice.

My method was informed by recent studies that challenge colonial analyses of historical archives. Adria Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* introduces the concept of "discrepant readings," which look between the lines of materials in imperial archives to find the stories of Indigenous resistance hidden in

colonialist language.[9] Margaret Bruchac's *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists* follows a similar method, using what she terms "reverse ethnography" to expand anthropological archives and reread Indigenous ethnographic interactions, locating histories that challenge dominant anthropological narratives.[10] This chapter critically rereads ethnographic interactions in order to focus on the intentions and actions of the often unnamed interlocutor, and to ask deeper questions about the way that interlocutors may have responded to and materialized musical Indianism.

Brief History of Ethnography

American scholars, government agents, and hobbyists started collecting American Indian music in the mid-nineteenth century. This era of increased intellectual interest in American Indian culture marks a defining period in early American and European ethnographic collection. During the Enlightenment, travelers and missionaries to the New World recorded rituals, poems, and songs to document unusual primitive phenomena. Romantic-era collectors, by contrast, wanted to preserve music and stories from America's own primitive people before they vanished. Eighteenth-century writers portrayed American Indians as savage warriors and beautiful maidens, admiring them for their "primitive" traits.[11] They lamented that the Indian way of life was fading due to assimilation, disease, and conquest.[12] Proto-ethnographers in this era focused on their

[9] Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2012).
[10] Margaret M. Bruchac, *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).
[11] Two notable Romantic literature examples are James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1826); and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Song of Hiawatha," (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1855).
[12] For modern discussions of the "vanishing Indian" trope, see Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, "All the Real Indians Died Off," in *"All the Real Indians Died Off": And 20 Other Myths about*

supposed "savageness," in part to explain why their way of life was incompatible with modern society. Collectors such as Charles Leland and Henry Schoolcraft editorialized American Indian songs and "myths" in order to amplify the emerging Indian stereotypes from Romantic literature.[13] They focused their collections of American Indian "myths" and "legends" on savage rituals, childlike beliefs, and simplistic styles of singing and narration. Their model of fieldwork and recorded preservation influenced new American Indian ethnographers en route to the codification of so-called comparative musicology and ethnomusicology in the early twentieth century.[14]

Music ethnography at the turn of the century was also shaped by developments in biological and social sciences. Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) inspired humanists and social scientists to consider cultural evolution and to investigate the primacy of certain cultural behaviors. Scholars reacted to Darwin's method and theory in two ways. Some, such as Franz Boas, used Darwin's research as a model for new methods of collecting and analyzing ethnological data.[15] Boas, one of the first anthropologists, was an early proponent of what we now call "cultural relativism." His systematic research methods were designed, although were not guaranteed, to avoid the line of cultural inquiry that led other turn-of-the-century scholars to more racist

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Native Americans (Boston: Beacon Press, 2016), 7–13; Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). See esp. chap. 3, "Lasting: Texts Purify the Landscape of Indians by Denying Them a Place in Modernity," 105–144.

[13] See Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Myth of Hiawatha* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1856); Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Indian Fairy Book. From the Original Legends.* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1856); Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884).

[14] See Victoria Lindsay Levine, *Writing American Indian Music: Historic Transcriptions, Notations, and Arrangements*. Recent Researches in American Music, v. 44. (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 2002), xxi–xxx; and Richard Keeling, *North American Indian Music: A Guide to Published Sources and Selected Recordings* (New York: Routledge, 1997), x–xxxiii.

[15] Keeling, *North American Indian Music,* xviii.

conclusions.[16] These types of scholars applied Darwin's theory of evolution to humanity. The most nefarious scientific studies linked racial difference with biological primitivity, leading to the eugenics movement at the end of the nineteenth century. Humanists and social scientists applied the concepts of survival and evolutionary progression to social survival and cultural advancement.[17] Social Darwinism was the belief that different races, cultures, and societies were subject to the law of the "survival of the fittest."[18] Cultural Darwinism, on the other hand, was the belief that all cultures evolve on a similar scale.[19] Lesser-evolved cultures could potentially develop along the same trajectory as more modern cultures.

Early music ethnographers were influenced by both scholarly outcomes of Darwinism. Music researchers such as Theodore Baker, Jesse Walter Fewkes, and Benjamin Gilman used a Boasian systematic approach. They compiled transcriptions of songs with in-depth musical analysis while avoiding comparative cultural inquiry.[20] Others focused on the cultural and social contexts of music, such as Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Francis La Flesche, and Frances Densmore. Their belief that American Indian music should be understood and transcribed within its cultural context occasionally resulted in conclusions rooted in cultural and biological evolution. In their writings, each ethnographer negotiated between their professional systematic research methods and their

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[16] See George Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, 195–233.
[17] Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 91–109.
[18] See Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Biology* (William and Norgate, 1864), 530.
[19] Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution,* 91–109.
[20] Theodore Baker, *Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882); Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Hopi Snake Ceremonies* (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletins 16–19, 1894–1898); Benjamin Ives Gilman, *Hopi Songs* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

subjective analyses of their interlocutors, based on the comparatively primitive behaviors and music of the "Indian race."

Alice Fletcher was one of the first ethnologists to focus primarily on American Indian song. She worked for the federal government, in the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) and the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), as well as for private institutions such as the Peabody Museum and the American Folklore Society. With her Osage interlocutor Francis La Flesche, she coauthored large collections of songs such as *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1893). La Flesche was the son of an Omaha chief, Joseph La Flesche, who led the Omaha through land treaties and religious reform in the mid-1800s.[21] As a result of his progressive beliefs, the entire La Flesche family, including Fletcher's friend Susan La Flesche, was highly educated and believed in the ethnographic mission of documentation and preservation. Fletcher's earliest Omaha fieldwork shows that she first regarded Francis La Flesche as she did any other American Indian interlocutor: professionally, but with a hint of suspicion. As their fieldwork continued, however, they developed a personal relationship.[22] Their collection of Omaha songs is one of the most widely recognized contributions to American Indian music ethnography in this era.[23] It is organized by social and cultural use, and provides an interpretation of the music and of American Indian culture. The analysis is followed by melodic transcriptions in Western notation titled in Omaha with English translations.

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[21] Alice C. Fletcher, *Historical Sketch of the Omaha Tribe of Indians in Nebraska* (Washington, DC: Judd & Detweiler, 1885), 5.

[22] Legally, Fletcher adopted La Flesche, but their correspondence suggests a romantic rather than mother-son relationship.

[23] See Francis La Flesche, *A Dictionary of the Osage Language* (Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1932); Francis La Flesche, *The Osage Tribe* (Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1914–1930)*;* Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1900).

Frances Densmore was inspired by Fletcher's commitment to American Indian ethnography. She worked with the BAE in the early 1900s to archive recordings of American Indian song on wax cylinders. Along with those recordings, she published detailed accounts of her travels with American Indians, as well as transcriptions and brief analyses of American Indian music into the 1950s. Unlike Fletcher, Densmore did not value personal relationships with her informants. Her correspondence and journals show that she purposefully distanced herself from her "subjects," as she called them, to maintain objectivity. Although her processes of recording and transcribing were fairly systematic, she emphasized in her ethnographic writing an understanding of the social workings of American Indian music. She believed that collectors and researchers should not use Western musical systems to understand American Indian song. At the same time, however, her ethnographic method and style of transcription were rooted in Western notation and tonality. Densmore did not see her work as a White collector and analyst as imposing another musical system or epistemology on American Indian music, but as an objective study of their sounds and culture.

Some have argued that Densmore and Fletcher were relatively progressive.[24] Fletcher had intimate relationships with her interlocutors, and Densmore believed that her ethnographic method was an objective science. These positions, however, should not be overstated in a way that obscures their alignment with racist ideologies. Fletcher began her career as a federal agent that participated in the process of removing American Indian children from reservations to federal boarding schools.[25] She promoted the Dawes Act,

[24] Joanna C. Scherer and Raymond J. DeMallie, *Life among the Indians: First Fieldwork among the Sioux and Omahas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 69.
[25] Alice Fletcher, Correspondence to United States Indian Service, 1882. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 1.

legislation that reapportioned Indian territory into private allotments for individuals, and thereby reduced Indian lands to a small fraction of the original reservation system.[26] Densmore also engaged in federal land deals, although not as an official agent. She attempted to leverage her labor in exchange for the sale of her interlocutor's land to the federal government.[27] All three ethnographers participated in the prevailing anti-Indian paternalistic politics of the time, formed by the belief that American Indians were not sufficiently developed or mature to make decisions in their own best interests.

Fletcher and Densmore's ethnographic methods were also predicated on that same paternalistic urge.[28] They wanted to control American Indian methods of collecting and preserving their cultural heritage, believing that they were mentally unable to do so themselves. Their correspondence and journals show that they had primitivist conceptions of their American Indian interlocutors despite their claims of ethnographic empathy and objectivity. For one example, they made comparisons along the lines of Cultural Darwinism that related American Indian music to primitive or childlike behaviors.[29] Fletcher argued that her interlocutors had a "queer childish consciousness."[30] Likewise, Densmore believed that when her interlocutors laughed at her phonograph,

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[26] Joan Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 118. Also see Nicole Tonkovich, *Dividing the Reservation: Alice C. Fletcher's Nez Perce Allotment Diaries and Letters, 1889–1892* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2016) for more general information on Fletcher's role in land allotment.

[27] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 177.

[28] White women of this era engaged in a political maternalism toward the "enlightenment" of Indigenous peoples. Maternalism, as distinct from paternalism, refers to women's emotional labor that altered the domestic lives of Indians. See Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (University of Nebraska Press, 2009). See esp. chap. 3, "The Great White Mother," 87–148.

[29] See John Rhea's discussion of Fletcher and Darwinism in "American Darwinism, Women, And American Indians" in John M. Rhea, *A Field of Their Own: Women and American Indian History, 1830–1941* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 51–67.

[30] Alice Fletcher, Diary from 1881, October 5th, 1881. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 12.

they did so with childish mischievousness.[31] Both ethnographers also believed that American Indian music was an emotionally primitive and evolutionarily archaic form of Western music. Densmore argued that the ritual formality of American Indian music was a consequence of their incapacity for deep reasoning.[32] Fletcher considered American Indian music a pure expression of emotion uncontrolled by their mental faculties, whereas modern composers used their intelligence to mediate emotional expression.[33]

Participation

Within Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche's archive of correspondence and field diaries, we find some American Indian informants who voiced their support for their governmental and ethnographic work. Boarding school students, whom Fletcher likely met when she worked for the OIA, and ethnographic informants often updated Fletcher on their education and personal lives, or gave her ethnographic leads. Rudolph Walton's correspondence is a good example of this type of correspondence. Walton was employed by the OIA as a Tlingit police officer in the 1880s.[34] Fletcher presumably met him during her survey of Alaskan Native and Canadian tribes in 1886.[35] His letters to Fletcher include blessings and illustrations of Tlingit lore. In one of his more comprehensive letters, he describes the Tlingit origin story of the sun. "The Indians been tell [*sic*] us this that king servants he send after some water for his daughter to drink and the raven get

[31] Frances Densmore, "Incidents in the Study of Ute Music." FD, NAA, Box 2.
[32] Frances Densmore, "Lecture on the Music of the American Indians," Art Institute Chicago, February 21 1899. FD, NAA, Box 2.
[33] Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Francis La Flesche, and John Comfort Fillmore, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1904), 54.
[34] United States Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1897), 534.
[35] Scherer and DeMalle, *Life Among the Indians*, 52.

into the pan of water … the woman drank with him then the woman have little baby that is the raven … the Indian says the world was darkness bye [*sic*] that time that is the reason he wants to get sun to give us light."[36] This origin story, common to tribes from the Pacific coast, describes a raven masquerading himself as a young woman's child to steal the sun and give light to early humans living in darkness.[37] Walton's illustrations and storytelling are clear and concise. Having only a few Tlingit words, they are written clearly for Fletcher's understanding.

Walton also wrote to Fletcher as a colleague. His correspondence suggests that he provided her with ethnographic research for her own work. In a letter describing a Tlingit ceremony, he refers to assisting with her research by promising "I will try to write it out I try to help you all."[38] He ends his letter, however, asking for her prayers. "I hope you will pray for us and we will do the same thing may god bless you … your friend, Rudolph Walton." His apparent approval of Fletcher's work was surely influenced by his position as a reservation police officer through the federal government. Although the OIA's records do not indicate his level of education, it is possible that he was a graduate of a boarding school and had spent time off the reservation in order to cultivate the connections required for federal employment. Walton's position implies a degree of comfort with federal intervention into the personal and cultural lives of his own people, similar to other American Indian activists and scholars in the early twentieth century who have been referred to as "Indian/Native/Indigenous intellectuals," "Red progressives" (usually referring specifically to the advocacy group the Society of American Indians), or

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[36] Rudolph Walton to Alice Fletcher, N.D. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 18.
[37] Franz Boas, *The Growth of Indian Mythologies. A Study Based upon the Growth of the Mythologies of the North Pacific Coast* (The Journal of American Folklore, 1896), 2.
[38] Rudolph Walton to Alice Fletcher, N.D. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 14.

"American Indian/Native/Indigenous progressives," discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.[39] They were generally educated to the high-school level or beyond. Some had advanced degrees, and many had professional associations with universities or with the government.

Individuals who collaborated or were friendly with White ethnographers are often included in these categories. For example, Zitkala-Ša, a Yankton Dakota musician, writer, and progressive activist, had an amicable relationship with Fletcher. Their correspondence includes conversations about transcriptions and the possible usage of American Indian melodies for Indianist performances. In a letter from 1901, Fletcher asked Zitkala-Ša if certain transcribed melodies would be appropriate for solo violin performance. Zitkala-Sa responded that "the melodies you suggest as being suitable for violin playing—you are right and when it is done it cannot fail to arouse the interest of musicians."[40] Zitkala-Ša not only approves of Fletcher's transcriptions but also agrees that they could be used as a form of musical "arousal"—language that hints at musical exoticism. In the same letter she says, "I want to thank you with my whole heart for your great work in collecting the Indian songs and making it possible to preserve the music of my race."[41]

Zitkala-Ša's education, performing experience, and societal position all influenced her engagement with musical Indianism. As a friend who worked with Fletcher to authenticate transcriptions, Zitkala-Ša suggests that American Indian

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[39] Bruchac, *Savage Kin*, 17; Rosalyn R. La Pier and David R. M. Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893–1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), xxv; Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 7; Kiara M. Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals: Sovereignty, Citizenship, and the American Imagination, 1880–1930* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 14.
[40] Zitkala-Ša to Alice Fletcher, February 20 1901. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[41] Ibid.

interlocutors could appreciate an ethnographer's effort to preserve their cultural heritage. Zitkala-Ša and Rudolph Walton did not actively help Fletcher in the field as assistants or translators. Other informants participated more fully in the process. A Pawnee man, James R. Murie, was an enthusiastic informant in Fletcher's studies. They collaborated on Fletcher's report on a Pawnee ceremony, the Hako. In her report, she wrote that she had known Murie since he was a "school boy."[42] She praises him for having "taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people," and for never having "spared himself in his labor."[43] Their correspondence in gathering the symbols and music of the Hako elaborates the inner workings of the ethnographic process.

Murie's correspondence suggests that he may not have been the most knowledgeable interlocutor. When he is unsure of a particular detail, he notes whom he would be able to ask, or whom he has contacted for that information. However, most of his letters are lacking in detail or specific information. In a letter dated December 20, 1898, Murie tries to describe an artifact allegedly used in the Hako ceremony. He writes, "I will give you the description of it when I write and you can imagine for yourself what it looks like. The Skee-dees used to make it and lay it in their lodge of doctors—it being made out of willows and offered with buffalo tan hide. I am sorry I could not get the picture of the animal."[44] This information is fragmented. His simple descriptions and suggestion that Fletcher should "imagine" what this alleged artifact looks like seem to indicate that Murie may not be a proficient informant. Even when Murie is able to supply useful information he has difficulties conveying it fully, telling Fletcher, "I find it very

[42] Alice C. Fletcher, James R. Murie, and Edwin S. Tracy, "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," *U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Twenty-Second Annual Report*, 1900, 14.
[43] Fletcher, *The Hako*, 14.
[44] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, December 20 1898. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 18.

hard to put in English as the ideas are very remote and only Indians can tell their story to show others the meaning and the power behind it."[45]

Murie documented his attempts at asking his family and friends for any information he was unable to provide or explain. On December 7, 1898 he discloses, "Next Sunday night I am going to the Skee-dee high priest who has the sacred bundle and will stay with him in the night and I hope I shall be able to get what you want."[46] Murie does not refer to that meeting again. A similar lead from someone he calls "Scout" goes seemingly unrequited, as well. "Scout told me the other day that he had a vision and that he was ordered by the Great Spirit to give all he had and know [*sic*] of the sacred packs," but added perhaps regretfully, "not this year but sometime in the future."[47] It is unclear if Murie's requests for information were unfulfilled because of his inability to follow through with his sources, or if he found their information to be unreliable. He candidly admits his failures, however, writing on at least one occasion about a prospective source that "whether [he knows the ceremony] is true or not I do not know."

Over the course of a year, he gradually shared with Fletcher fragmented pieces of the Hako ceremony. Sometimes their correspondence took the form of long question-and-answer surveys. Fletcher would develop a list of numbered questions, and Murie would answer each one with varying degrees of specificity. In contrast to his more sporadic communication style, these surveys show that Murie was occasionally able and willing to provide pointed answers to Fletcher's questions. Despite their miscommunications or Murie's apparent unreliability in written correspondence, Fletcher published a report on

[45] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, January 6 1899. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 18.
[46] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, December 7 1898. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 18.
[47] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, N.D. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.

the Hako ceremony for the BAE in 1904. However, Murie had already quit in 1902 to assist George Dorsey's anthropological fieldwork for the Field Museum.[48] Fletcher's archive unfortunately does not contain the correspondence leading up to the Bureau's publication of the report prior to Murie's departure.

In contrast to Fletcher's thorough archive of correspondence, most of Frances Densmore's encounters with interlocutors are documented in "reminiscences" and typescripts of field journals. Either her informants rarely corresponded with her via mail, or she did not archive that correspondence. As a result, her descriptions of her relationships with interlocutors are sketchy and sporadic. Often she does not even include her informant's name. One exception is Robert Higheagle, a Lakota interlocutor. While he was a student at Hampton Agricultural and Industrial School, he wrote articles about American Indian history and folklore for the school newspaper. He later returned to the Standing Rock reservation as a teacher through the OIA.[49] An article in the Haskell newspaper *The Indian Leader* described Higheagle as "one of the most intellectual Indians on the reservation, if not the entire country."[50] His academic experience presumably influenced his willingness to accept ethnographic methods and philosophies. He translated for Densmore, mediated between her and American Indian singers, and assisted as an editor and typist. At one point, he expressed his intent to record Lakota songs with his own phonography, but records do not confirm whether he ever followed through with this plan.[51]

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[48] George A. Dorsey to Alice Fletcher, May 4 1902. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[49] Michelle Wick Patterson, "Becoming Two White Buffalo Woman" in *Travels with Frances Densmore: Her Life, Work, and Legacy in Native American Studies*, eds. Joan M. Jensen and Michelle Wick Patterson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 138.
[50] O. R. Kopplin, "Full-Blood Indians Volunteer," *The Indian Leader* 21, no. 21 (1918): 5.
[51] Patterson, "Becoming Two White Buffalo Woman," 142.

Densmore appreciated Higheagle more than any other interlocutor. Although it is far from glowing praise, she acknowledges in the Introduction to *Teton Sioux Music* the "valued assistance of her principal interpreter, Mr. Robert P. Higheagle," who "brought a knowledge of Sioux life and character without which an interpretation of their deeper phases could not have been obtained."[52] This statement is significant. Throughout her career, she touted her emotional distance from her informants and wrote in 1926 that "I like some Indians and do not like others ... there is a value in their music; in their poetry and culture. But I absolutely refuse to sentimentalize about them."[53] Even when her interlocutors participate in song collection, she rarely names them or celebrates their talents and intellect. Her appreciation for Higheagle suggests that he was an especially eager and qualified informant. In *Teton Sioux Music*, Densmore quotes Higheagle as warning that, under the guidance of another informant in his brief absence, misinformation from some less knowledgeable tribal members might deter "prominent men" away from future ethnographic study.[54] He convinced Densmore to omit the offending songs and thereby cemented his value as someone who understood the ethnographic philosophy of preserving authenticity. At the same time, his warning suggests that he sympathized with skeptical interlocutors who feared that ethnography could spread misinformation.

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[52] Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 61, 1918), v.
[53] "Music of Indians Form of Prayer, Woman Asserts," St. Paul Dispatch, July 30 1926. FD, NAA, Scrapbook.
[54] Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music,* vi.

Participation as Modernity

As Higheagle and Murie demonstrate, American Indian ethnographic participants negotiated their position between ethnographer and informant. These individuals often described their own actions as distinct from those of everyday informants. In this way, American Indian ethnographers and interlocutors sought to establish themselves as modern agents that acted apart from the White American conception of indigeneity. Modernity is not opposed to resistance and participation, nor does it refer to a rejection of "traditional" ways of performing indigeneity. American Indian agents act "modern" insofar as they consider their own actions to oppose either outsider expectations of their race or their expectations of their own race. Bruchac introduces the idea that American Indian ethnographers such as Arthur Parker and La Flesche had oppositional modern positioning that informed their studies of American Indian people. They relied on tribal knowledge for their academic pursuits, but ultimately entrusted preservation to expert outsiders rather than Indigenous forms of transmission. Her term for this practice is "literary colonialism."[55]

American Indian ethnographers and activists such as La Flesche and Parker who supported ethnography and Indianism more broadly were responding to a false dichotomy within federal American Indian policy. Policymakers and advocates wrongly believed that Western ideals of progress and modernity were essential for American Indian welfare, while American Indian extinction would be the result of rejecting the American way of life. And as others have argued about American Indians who supported assimilation efforts in this era, modern American Indian ethnographers and interlocutors

[55] Bruchac, *Savage Kin*, 117.

participated as a reaction to colonial trauma, acquiescing to or believing in the dominant ideology of the era.[56] But their participation in musical Indianism, regardless of their personal traumas or ideologies, enabled the collection and composition of American Indian musical idioms which ultimately affected a wider community of American Indian performers and audiences. I consider two types of modern actions in my analysis of American Indian ethnographic participation. Primarily, I focus on American Indian agents who define their own actions as modern. I also use Bruchac's "literary colonialism" to analyze the way that American Indian interlocutors and ethnographers engage with non-Native ideologies of preservation and transmission, and explore the implications of considering those acts modern.

La Flesche often positioned himself as a social outsider compared to his interlocutors in Indian country. As a Christian and proponent of temperance, he was against alcohol use on reservations. He worked with the federal government to reduce liquor trafficking and increase policing on reservations. In a 1916 letter to OIA commissioner Cato Sell, he describes the harm of bootlegging on the Omaha without including himself as a subject of the complaint. Instead, he argues that alcoholism happens mainly to uneducated Indians on reservations. He states that increased liquor laws will help "the Indians" rather than using inclusive language.[57] La Flesche also distanced himself from the alcohol problem when writing to Fletcher. He complains that people on reservations are particularly susceptible to alcoholism, observing that "it is

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[56] See Myriam Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 3; Jane Griffith, *Words Have a Past: The English Language, Colonialism, and the Newspapers of Indian Boarding Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 7–9; Arnold Krupat, *Changed Forever, Volume I: American Indian Boarding-School Literature* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018), xxiii.

[57] Francis La Flesche to Cato Sells, March 28 1916. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 15.

astonishing how quickly these old men die. They have not the vitality to resist disease, the drink habit has sapped their strength."[58] Particularly, he was upset that bootleggers corrupted his informants. They were unable to participate on multiple occasions, either missing meetings or arriving drunk. He regretted that one of his informants, Saucy Calf, was "stupefied" by whisky. La Flesche was a professional who mainly resided in Washington D.C., and thus it was not unusual that the needs of those on reservations were not his own needs. At the same time, however, in his correspondence with non-Native officials, he identifies closely with his social position.

La Flesche also described people on reservations as culturally and intellectually distinct from educated or Christian American Indians. In 1905, he questioned the Omahan resistance to Christianity, writing, "it is queer that the principles of the Christian religion or the other forms do not appeal to the Indians at all. They do not seem to grasp the ideas but it is not so strange after all when you consider the fact that many of the white people themselves do not understand them."[59] La Flesche, a Presbyterian, separates himself from "the Indians" who are unable or perhaps unwilling to understand Christianity. When La Flesche describes himself as an Omaha, he nonetheless positions himself as superior. In his notes from his work on the Yankton reservation, he recounts a meeting he led to explain the laws of land allotment. "They received me as their father and the speeches they made me were touching," he wrote, simultaneously adopting paternalistic rhetoric and sentimentalizing the Dakota at Yankton.[60] Reportedly, an older tribal member thanked La Flesche profusely. "'Before you came I and my people were

[58] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, November 18 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 23.
[59] Francis La Flesche, Field Notes 1898–1906. August 3 1905. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 21.
[60] Francis La Flesche, Field Notes 1898–1906. July 10 1902. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 21.

groping in the dark and we were afraid ... you came in and in a few words you opened our eyes and now we see the light and we are not afraid. Your father was a leader, but of only one tribe. You are a leader of all the tribes.'" La Flesche's self-laudatory recollection positions this Dakota man as overly grateful and self-deprecating. They were afraid and in the dark until the great La Flesche, leader of all tribes, arrived—a narrative similar to the White savior complexes that are common in early ethnographic prose.[61]

The Dakota interlocutors gifted La Flesche a ceremonial pipe and bag in response to his political service. Rather than keep this gift he did what a traditional ethnographer would have done: He gave it to the University of California for their ethnological collection. Between collecting volumes of music and ceremonies and giving tribal possessions to museums, La Flesche was firmly committed to a modern Western model of knowledge preservation that is not congruent with Indigenous epistemologies such as oral transmission, group knowledge, and multiple meanings.[62] La Flesche was not alone in his beliefs. An Osage man who helped La Flesche, Arthur Bonnicastle, also endorsed the supremacy of the ethnographic method. He reports that his study of the Osage war rites was accomplished despite the "disturbance from others of his tribe."[63] He described his own method as the basic ethnographic method of seeking "authority" from one individual, and recording that authentic version. Robert Higheagle, Densmore's trusted Lakota informant, recorded songs in the field for Densmore. James Murie, Fletcher's Pawnee informant, on the other hand, broke away from her research to begin independent work under the guidance of anthropologist George Dorsey. Murie intended to research

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[61] See Jacob's discussion of White savior narratives in Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 281–328.
[62] See "Colonizing Knowledges" in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 61–80.
[63] Francis La Flesche to Arthur Bonnicastle, September 27 1915. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 14.

"bundle ceremonies" across Indian country, a pan-Indian comparative research lauded by ethnologist William John McGee as "a decision which seems to me wise in the interests of your people and in your own ultimate interests."[64] The examples of La Flesche, Bonnicastle, Higheagle, and Murie all show that American Indian informants were capable of not only participating in the ethnographic process but also embracing the Western epistemology that underpinned ethnographic work.

Skeptical Participation

American Indian interlocutors more commonly participated in ethnography despite skepticism about their White colleagues and the ethnographic process. Wajapa, one of Fletcher's translators and guides through Omaha country, is described in Fletcher's field diaries as a concerned informant who distrusts White men. He was a reliable informant for both Fletcher and La Flesche, but Fletcher took particular note of his apprehensive attitude. In 1881, he reportedly told Fletcher, "I believe all white men tell lies," with, as she described, "a seriousness and concentration of gaze that I can never forget. In it was memory, judgement, based on hard facts."[65] Fletcher made a point of expressing that Wajapa had relied and benefited from White intervention, however. She wrote about the ways he had progressed since the days when "Omahas lived in a village, mud lodges" and that he now had "a fine farm." After "changing to citizen's dress," he was able to send his daughter to what she refers to as "Miss Read's school." By identifying these supposed advantages, she undoubtedly seeks to refute his distrust of White people.

[64] George Dorsey to James R. Murie, N.D. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[65] Alice Fletcher, Typescript of Diaries from 1881, September 16 1881. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 12.

Fletcher attributes Wajapa's eventual land ownership and education to his growth and acceptance of modern ways of life. She also believed, however, that he did so in order to "cope with white settlers."[66] Through her descriptions of his attitude and recollections of their conversations, Wajapa emerges as a conflicted interlocutor. He was a tribal police officer and willingly assisted Fletcher with her ethnography; yet his negative feelings toward White men and his mindset of "coping with settlers" signal that Wajapa understood the consequences of his involvement. He observed those feelings of distrust among his own people, as well. In 1886, he penned a letter to Fletcher calling out two Omaha men for "doing mischief" and spreading rumors that Fletcher and the Indian Commissioner were liars and were not working on behalf of the Indian's benefit.[67] Seemingly contradicting his steely "all white men tell lies" admission to Fletcher, he chastised these men, and pleaded that Fletcher continue her research. He writes, "don't give us up we need you it does not matter what the men say don't let us go because of them. ... The plan is easy for us to understand and I am anxious to commence."[68]

In 1884, an unnamed Omaha man confided in Fletcher that he felt conflicted in his decision to give away his "sacred articles" to White ethnographers. Fletcher recounted this interaction to Frederic Putnam, anthropologist and collector for the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography. She described this unnamed interlocutor as carefully considering the implications of entrusting his culture to "experts" for posterity. He reportedly told Fletcher, "I had thought to have these articles buried with me," but admitted that since his sons had "chosen a different path" away from tribal life, he would

[66] Alice Fletcher, Typescript of Diaries from 1881, September 23 1881. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 12.
[67] Wajapa to Alice Fletcher, May 5 1886. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 1.
[68] Ibid.

prefer that his sacred objects be placed "where my children may look upon them when they wish to think of the past and the way their fathers walked."[69] He cautions that there are "men in the tribe who will say hard things to me because of this act," but that "no others have a right to question my actions." He acknowledges his people's prevailing negative opinion of ethnology, but believes that donating his sacred possessions is his only option. Fletcher recalls that this man deposited the items in her carriage and "turned away ... as the round moon rose." She further tells us, in a romantic vein, that "I wished the scene might have been made imperishable and linger." What is clear, however, is that this man was reluctant to cooperate in her study: Had his children taken an interest in tribal life, perhaps he wouldn't have felt it necessary to look to Fletcher for cultural preservation. His further request to be able to "look once more upon that which has been with my fathers" seems to express an alienation from the ethnological project.

In the Introduction to Fletcher's report on the Pawnee Hako ceremony, she tells a story of another hesitant interlocutor. She thanks Tahirussawichi, "a full blood Pawnee," for his expertise in the Hako ceremony and ascribes it to his "tenacious memory."[70] She describes him as "childlike and trusting," which contrasts with his apparent views on ethnographic archival practices. Fletcher reports that she took Tahirussawichi to Washington D.C. in 1898 to tour the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While he appreciated the "vastness and beauty of these structures," Fletcher also notes that he said federal buildings were "unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life."[71] She continues to say that

[69] Alice Fletcher to Frederic Putnam, June 7 1884. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[70] Fletcher, *The Hako*, 14.
[71] Ibid.

he was "devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites," and that it took "four years of close friendly relations with my old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety … He has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved." It is unclear if Fletcher understood Tahirussawichi's apprehension about the very type of institutional preservation for which she praised his cooperation. His attitude toward federal intervention, however, reminds us to be careful in the way we choose to interpret American Indian participation in ethnography.

In 1905, Densmore worked with Chippewa interlocutors who she believed were suspicious of her ethnographic intentions. She attempted to record dances from the Midewiwin practice that she had seen in the past but had not yet researched. Reminiscing later in life, Densmore wrote that she observed what she referred to as some of the "common dances" that she had seen before, but wanted to witness the dances that she believed were more sacred.[72] She asked if the dancers could perform those "spectacular" dances instead. The performers reportedly noted that the dances they omitted from the ceremony were rituals that contained sacred articles, and said that they wanted more financial compensation for that access. Densmore framed this issue as materialistic, complaining that "they wouldn't do that except for lots of money," after claiming that the performers did not think an outsider would "attach much importance to what [she] saw."[73] Their request, however, signals a reluctance to provide sensitive information rather than greed. After Densmore agreed to pay, the performers only sang two additional songs. They still refused to perform the entire ceremony. These interlocutors were initially skeptical that Densmore would understand the importance of their religion, and

[72] Frances Densmore, "First Field Trip Among the Chippewas, 1905–7." FD, NAA, Box 2.
[73] Ibid.

when paid to disclose even more private information, still refused to perform the ceremony in its entirety.

James Murie's correspondence reveals similar apprehensions from his interlocutors. Some were uncomfortable with Murie "selling" tribal secrets. He attempted to talk to a Pawnee man on behalf of La Flesche who "did not want to have the name of being the man who gave the secrets away to white people," and was worried that other Pawnees would "make fun" of him.[74] The unnamed man in this letter felt more comfortable recording a ceremony when La Flesche and Murie could increase his payment. Other Pawnees, however, told him that he was being "cheated" out of money.[75] They placed a higher value on their cultural property than the compensation that La Flesche could offer. Other Pawnees were more disturbed by the ethnographic distance between ethnographers and interlocutors, as one man complained, "that lady did not do me right for as soon as she got the ceremonies from me she has no further use for me, for she does not write to me nor send me word how she is doing."[76] He was not insulted by compensation, but he was discouraged that Fletcher did not appreciate his cooperation enough to maintain some form of relationship.

Resistance

Many interlocutors who worked with Fletcher and La Flesche felt wedged between their roles as both tribal member and informant. La Flesche documents this clearly in his correspondence over a decade of work on the Osage reservation which culminated in a

[74] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, October 25 1901. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[75] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, October 25 1901. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2
[76] James R. Murie to Alice Fletcher, August 24 1901. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.

series of reports titled "The Osage Tribe." One of these reports, "Rite of the Wa-Xo'-Be," analyzed the sacred *wa-xo'-be* ceremony. This ceremony was an initiation to the Osage priesthood which they celebrated with songs about the origin of the tribe, delivered in a "theatrical production."[77] La Flesche's correspondence suggests that his analyses of *wa-xo'-be* songs were often speculative, based more on his linguistic knowledge of the words set to the music performed than guidance from informants. In a letter from 1911, he wondered aloud to Fletcher if the songs mentioning hawks, wolves, and buffalo "refer to the creation of animals as regarded as helpful to man, supernaturally," since those animals were associated "with the rising sun."[78] Fletcher implored La Flesche to continue studying the Osage language instead of relying on such literal translations, suggesting multiple times that he hire an interpreter. "I know that is what the Bureau of American Ethnology expects, that you deal directly with the people and not through an interpreter," she wrote in 1910, "but until your ear gets accustomed to the sound, you will need help." Fletcher indicated that La Flesche needed to spend more time with the language to properly interpret the music, or possibly even identify the appropriate words.[79]

La Flesche's letters to Fletcher reveal not only a linguistic misunderstanding of the *wa-xo'-be* songs, but also a lack of clarity about their musical and cultural significance. In the same correspondence from 1911, La Flesche wrote that the *wa-xo'-be* ceremony "is the queerest thing you ever saw…I cannot give you an idea of it in a short letter like this."[80] By April 30 of that year, he had sent Fletcher his most recently completed transcriptions, but Fletcher, seeking to discern the social function of La

[77] Bailey in Francis La Flesche, *The Osage and the Invisible World,* 76.
[78] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[79] Alice Fletcher to Francis La Flesche, September 22 1910. ACF/FLF, NAA Box 5A.
[80] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.

Flesche's work, asked for more information. "When these songs are sung, are they sung by one man only? Do the people ever join? Do all the men who take part in performing the ceremony sing together? Do women ever sing these songs with the men? ... I have not yet a clear idea just when this ceremony takes place, nor do I understand which one or which ones of the tribal groups take part in it."[81]

Elsewhere, La Flesche's correspondence with Fletcher seems to indicate opposition and distrust between himself and the Osage, and suggests that his interlocutors no longer wished to participate. In one letter from June 10, 1912, La Flesche complained that an older tribal member had suddenly withdrawn his previous offer to cooperate. "The old man from whom I expected to get considerable material has gone back on me."[82] He was relieved, however, that two other men "half promised to give me what they know" after a longtime informant, Wa-xri-ghi, had already shared the extent of his knowledge and could not remember enough to be of value.[83] Osage participation continued to fluctuate throughout the decade. At the same time La Flesche was attempting to record and understand Osage traditions, the federal government was heavily regulating the use of peyote in the "newer" religion of Peyotism.[84] *Wa-xo'-be* practitioners were not necessarily followers of Peyotism, as many Osage attested in La Flesche's correspondence, but the crackdown on Peyotism and the division amsong the Osage people over sharing ceremonial rites created an atmosphere of distrust. Due to the government's cultural suppression and Peyotism's popularity above other Osage

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[81] Alice Fletcher to Francis La Flesche, April 30 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[82] Fletcher La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, June 10 1912. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[83] Ibid.
[84] For a more in-depth discussion of the politics and social issues regarding Peyotism, see Daniel C. Swan, "Early Osage Peyotism," *Plains Anthropologist* 43, no. 163 (1998): 51–71; and Thomas C. Maroukis, *The Peyote Road: Religious Freedom and the Native American Church* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 103–129.

traditions, *wa-xo'-be* practitioners resisted participating in La Flesche's work, feeling they might be spiritually punished for "selling" their ceremonies to him.

Indeed, letters from 1917 indicate that even more interlocutors refused to participate or reduced their involvement in La Flesche's *wa-xo'-be* collection: Pa-çi-'do-be claimed illness, Mon-in'-ka-mon-in ignored a request for help, and Zhin-ga'-ga-hi-ge specifically urged the Osages to discontinue *wa-xo'-be* rites for fear that "the devil would surely return to torment them."[85] On January 6, 1917, Pe'-tre'mon-j reported to La Flesche that Wa-'thu-xa-ge and Saucy Calf, one of Fletcher's longtime informants, both died prematurely from giving away "forbidden" rituals. Wax-xhri-hi also believed that Ni-ka-wa-zhin-ton-ga died as a "penalty of sacrilege."[86] On January 29, La Flesche wrote to Fletcher, "my work here has been disappointing, but I have learned other things which to some extent compensates for the time and patience expended. The old men have opposed me as they wish to keep up the rites but it is a hopeless situation for them."[87] Despite the Osage's active resistance to a study they felt was spiritually and culturally dangerous, La Flesche published a detailed volume, "The Osage Tribe: Rite of the Wa-Xo'-Be," in 1930. His strained relationship with his interlocutors complicates his position as an American Indian ethnographer and informant, and undermines the authority of his knowledge about the music and traditions he studied.

The Ute people disappointed Frances Densmore in their refusal to participate, as well. She documented "incidents" during her Ute research years after her initial fieldwork in 1914. In this reminiscence the Ute people are demeaned as more primitive than other

[85] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, January 19 1917. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[86] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, January 6 1917. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[87] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, January 29 1917. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.

American Indians. She set up a phonograph on the reservation and waited for interested people to stop by and agree to be recorded for a small payment. She reports that "many Indians came out of curiosity, looked in the windows, sat around the room and laughed [*sic*]. In vain I explained, through the interpreter, that I had been with many tribes who were glad to record their songs. I told of the building in Washington that would not burn down, where their voices would be preserved forever, but still they only looked at each other and laughed."[88] Densmore believed that the Ute's laughter at her earnest attempt to record their songs was their childlike misunderstanding of her important work. Michelle Raheja explores "ethnographic smiling" in her work on the ethnographic film.[89] She suggests that depictions of Indigenous people smiling, or in this case laughing, can be understood not as childish expressions, but as expressions of resistance against the seriousness of ethnography.[90] The Ute's laughter in response to Densmore's recruitment method could be read as resistance. However, their laughter could also be a passive way of communicating aggression or displeasure. In laughing, they are refusing to acknowledge her self-importance. They did not wholly resist ethnographic work, as some would later participate. Rather, they used laughter as a way to passively communicate their defiance of her presence and intentions.

As Utes refused to record, Densmore boasted in frustration that she was Sioux chief Red Fox's adopted daughter. She informed them, through a translator, that Red Fox would be upset with Ute chief Red Cap if they refused to cooperate.[91] Rather than fold

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[88] Frances Densmore, "Incidents in the Study of Ute Music." FD, NAA, Box 2.
[89] Michelle H. Raheja, "Reading Nanook's Smile: Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Revisions of Ethnography, and 'Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner),'" *American Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2007): 1159–1185.
[90] Raheja, "Reading Nanook's Smile," 1160.
[91] Red Fox supposedly "adopted" Frances Densmore in 1911. See Patterson, "Becoming Two White Buffalo Woman" in *Travels with Frances Densmore*, 149–157.

under that threat, one of the members of the tribe called for Red Cap to defuse the situation. They seemingly did not believe, or perhaps care, about her relationship with the Sioux. Densmore felt as though they were calling her bluff. Reminiscing, she discloses, "this was taking a long chance, but I trusted, in part, to the curiosity of the Indian."[92] She knew that her tenuous relationship with Red Fox would not necessarily endear her to Red Cap. Densmore nonetheless wanted to speak to him to prove her legitimacy. Earlier in the day, she had seen Red Cap, and she recalled that "his face wore the smile that I do not like to see on the face of an Indian. It was an anxious moment." She believed that using her connection to Red Fox to impress Red Cap would deflate his ego.

Densmore portrayed Red Cap as a cunning trickster through the rest of the encounter. He agreed to convince his tribe to sing, but reportedly stipulated his own terms. He must be allowed to record a petition for the removal of their reservation's Indian Agent to be played for the Indian commissioner in Washington, D.C. Through a translator he said, "I will talk and I want you to play the record for the Indian Commissioner in Washington. I want to tell him that we do not like this agent. We want him sent somewhere else. We don't like the things he does. What we tell him does not get to the commissioner but I want the commissioner to hear my voice."[93] Densmore described his actions as a "coup," a term that demeaned his agency and humanity. She saw Red Cap's action as a grab for power. She could not conceive of his request as either compensation for participating or as a humanitarian action. Red Cap radically used his

[92] Frances Densmore, "Incidents in the Study of Ute Music." FD, NAA, Box 2.
[93] Ibid.

influence over his tribe to leverage a greater reward than money or power: to be taken seriously by the federal government that was overseeing conditions on their reservation.[94]

Even as Red Cap urged tribal members to participate after recording his plea to the OIA, many refused. Black Otter, a warrior, stopped singing in the middle of his recording: "He was almost overcome by emotion, saying it brought so strongly to his mind the friends and associates of former years."[95] Densmore frames his refusal to continue as "emotional." Instead, I propose that his emotional response be seen as a refusal to have his pain be ethnographically documented. Other informants nervously complied, "first looking up and down the street to be sure that no one would hear."[96] They wanted financial compensation, but did not want to offend other members of their tribe who, despite Red Cap's approval, did not understand Densmore's work. They urged her to leave after her travel plans were unexpectedly delayed. A "disturbing" man reportedly asked, "Why aren't you gone? You said you would go at a certain time and you are still here... we don't like it. How much longer are you going to stay and what are you doing here anyway?" Densmore clearly wants the reader to view this Ute man as unreasonable, emphasizing that he is inflexible and ignorant about ethnography. Instead, his questions need to be interpreted within the entire scope of her visit. He understood that she was permitted to research on his reservation, but seemed to feel disrespected when she overstayed her welcome. Given Densmore's talk with Red Cap, he likely knew

[94] Densmore later wrote that she played the recording to the Indian commissioner, but denied any responsibility: "he was accustomed to the ways of Indians," she wrote, implying that Red Cap's request could not be taken seriously, "and I had kept my promise to an Indian singer," reducing his emotional plea to a simple favor. Densmore, "Incidents in the Study of Ute Music."
[95] Frances Densmore, "Incidents in the Study of Ute Music." FD, NAA, Box 2.
[96] Ibid.

that she was there to record. Thus, his dismissal suggests his overall dissatisfaction with her residency and his more deeply-rooted fears about her ethnographic mission.

Even though La Flesche fully committed his life to ethnography, his correspondence reveals situations when he, as the American Indian interlocutor, resisted non-Native frameworks of indigeneity. Along with his critical view of the term "primitive," La Flesche often critiqued the language that his colleagues used to discuss American Indians. In 1917, he cautioned a State Department agent, Mr. Dixon, who criticized American Indians for their lack of "patriotism." La Flesche did not want Dixon to think that American Indians lacked respect for the United States or were unable to understand the concept. He argued that there are "but few Indians, even among the tutored ones, who fully understand the true meaning of the term [patriotism] … I was asked by a number of Otoe visitors among the Omahas the meaning of the word. The interpreter through whom they spoke with me was an intelligent 'educated' Indian, but he was as much in the dark as the uneducated ones about the meaning of the word."[97] La Flesche pushed back against the insinuation that American Indians were too primitive or uneducated to be patriotic. He suggested that patriotism is not a part of an Indigenous epistemology, in rebuttal of Dixon's analysis.

La Flesche often used his position as an American Indian ethnographer to assert his cultural authority over his White colleagues. Early in their *wa-xo'-be* study, Fletcher and La Flesche sought composer Charles Wakefield Cadman to help transcribe songs in the field. Cadman was an Indianist composer who worked with Fletcher and La Flesche in the early twentieth century in many capacities; for this endeavor, he acted as

[97] Francis La Flesche to Mr. Dixon, November 19 1917. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 14.

transcriptionist. While working with Cadman, La Flesche emerges as the cultural arbiter of the Osage, distinct from his usual role as the professional ethnographer. As previously discussed, however, La Flesche was not an authority on *wa-xo'-be*. He barely spoke the Osage language, and he was often unable to secure knowledgeable informants. As a reaction against Cadman's position as a cultural outsider, however, La Flesche saw fit to assert his greater authority on Osage music.

This negotiation between musical and cultural expertise resulted in a tumultuous relationship. A letter from April 8, 1911 cautioned that Cadman might be troublesome in the field. Since "he has never transcribed any songs," Fletcher warned, "it will be difficult for him, so be careful and watch him."[98] Fletcher's concerns were soon validated. In a letter from April 12, La Flesche asserted his authority over Cadman in a way he did not with his Osage interlocutors, describing Cadman as impatient and observing how he quickly dismissed "corrections." He complained, "The trouble with [Cadman] is he wants to write every little quaver of the voice that is not a note and was never meant to be as a note, and consequently he got more notes than words."[99] He found Cadman "irritating with his importance," noting that when his transcriptions failed to accurately represent the vocal line, he would only write down what he heard. "I am going to write it that way," La Flesche reported of Cadman. "I won't take oath to anything else."[100]

In response, La Flesche interrogated Cadman's authority over the transcription. "You are responsible for the music, not I," La Flesche argued, "But I am responsible for

[98] Alice Fletcher to Francis La Flesche, April 8 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[99] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, April 12 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[100] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, April 15 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.

the words and *I can take oath* that I hear so many words and so many musical syllables."[101] Here, La Flesche suggests that he understood the language better than Cadman understood the music. On April 23, they continued the same fight, with La Flesche exclaiming, "When I told him for the fifth time that the way he had it was wrong he said, 'I don't think you know any more about this than I do!'"[102] Coolly, La Flesche countered that while he was admittedly not an expert in *wa-xo'-be*, he knew "enough about work like this to see that you are not doing it right and when the music is wrong as written by you I am not going to accept it."[103]

If La Flesche met resistance in his work with the Osage, he adopted the role of "the resister" when working with Cadman. His letters reveal that he felt that he had more cultural authority over the music than Cadman, who was farther removed from the music's origin. Although Cadman technically complied with the ethnographic transcription process, La Flesche found it imperative to correct his errors. He fought back against Cadman's efforts as if he were an Osage, laboring to prevent an erroneous transcription. But La Flesche was perhaps less concerned with factual inconsistencies than with Cadman's disregard for his own Indigenous authority. Scholars of early ethnography have suggested that much of this work contained incorrect information due to flawed methodologies and interlocutor bias.[104] Indeed, La Flesche himself grappled with language translation and incomplete information from his interlocutors. His confrontation with Cadman seems rooted in his need for the composer to respect his (often limited) expertise.

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[101] Ibid., emphasis added.
[102] Francis La Flesche to Alice Fletcher, April 23 1911. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 5A.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Rhea, *A Field of Their Own*, 65–66; Bruchac, *Savage Kin*, 18.

Ethnography as Indianism

In this chapter, I focused particularly on interlocutors who worked with the ethnographers who were most influential to Indianist composers, Alice Fletcher, Francis La Flesche, and Frances Densmore. The experiences of the American Indians who worked with those ethnographers demonstrate that American Indians were instrumental in the earliest stages of musical Indianism. Individuals and tribal leadership controlled what ethnographers codified into an American Indian musical aesthetic, even if they did not hold societal power. They deeply considered and negotiated their decisions about when to participate and in what capacity. American Indian ethnography was a complex practice, and the border between ethnographer and interlocutor authority was blurred. In general, American Indian interlocutors seemed to be able to control what information they felt comfortable sharing. But ethnographers were also able to manipulate the recordings or transcriptions, and at times the interlocutors, to fit their needs. This variegated process established the musical ideas that Indianist composers either borrowed or were inspired by. Perhaps more crucial, this ethnographic intervention, particularly with the help of American Indian interlocutors, contributed to the Indianist musical process that affected the popular conception of American Indian musicality throughout the twentieth century.

In the next two chapters, I focus on two examples of Indianist music. One is relatively unknown, and the other happens to be one of the most famous Indianist pieces from this era. I explore the way these compositions interpreted American Indian music and benefited from American Indian labor to convince audiences of the existence of a unified American Indian musical idiom. Chapters Four and Five then explore the further codification of the public concept of musical Indianism and American Indian musicality,

especially as carried out by American Indian performers and activists, and through Native and non-Native musical education efforts.

Chapter Two, *Indian Scenes* and Indian Identities

In 1911, composer Henry Gilbert accompanied ethnographer Edward Curtis for a tour of their lecture-concert series "A Vanishing Race." The event featured music inspired by transcriptions of American Indian music and by photographs of American Indian people and scenes. At the end of a performance in Rhode Island, an audience member approached Gilbert. He recalled that she "questioned me with considerable intelligence and interest concerning the Indians and their music," but that she was "a little bit diffident and stand-offish—did not seem to care to come very near me." She later remarked to Curtis "what a very intelligent Indian you have leading the orchestra."[105] Gilbert, a White composer, concluded from this exchange that his music must have seemed so authentic that it fooled the audience into believing it was written by an Indian.

Curtis developed "A Vanishing Race" as an educational lecture set to music, which he termed a "musicale" or a "picture opera." It was based on his ethnographic research and photography published in *The North American Indian*.[106] Gilbert furnished music for a small orchestra that accompanied Curtis's photography. In 1912, Gilbert published five of these pieces for piano in a series titled *Indian Scenes*. He loosely based his music on phonographic recordings of American Indian song and photographs of American Indians. Gilbert did not work with any American Indian interlocutors, nor did he consult any American Indian performers or ethnographers in his compositional

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[105] Henry F. Gilbert, "A Chapter of Reminiscence. Talk given before the Men's Club of Redding Ridge, Conn. Part I," *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* 20, no. 231 (1921): 91–2.
[106] Edward S. Curtis et al., *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, and Alaska*, 20 vols. (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1907–1930).

process. Moreover, American Indian musicians did not accompany "A Vanishing Race." It is thus probable that he transcribed the ethnographic recordings himself and composed his music without ever interacting with American Indians.

Despite this, American Indians did shape the resulting music. Their actions, attitudes, and scenes, as captured by Curtis in photographs, were mediated by Gilbert through musical tropes that critics and audience members recognized as primitive and exotic. Accordingly, my analysis of *Indian Scenes* will focus on these tropes, especially that of the "vanishing Indian," which surfaces both in Curtis's musicale and in Gilbert's score. I begin by evaluating Curtis's ethnographic process, which included Gilbert's role as a transcriber.

The North American Indian

Edward Curtis was, first and foremost, a photographer. He accompanied ethnographic missions at the turn of the century and earned fame for his photographs of Indian country. In 1906, J.P. Morgan provided Curtis a hefty sum to begin fieldwork for his new photographic and ethnographic project, *The North American Indian*. He published twenty volumes between 1907 and 1930. Each volume highlighted a different region in North America with chapters devoted to particular tribes or linguistic groups. He provided a historical narrative for each group, supplemented by compelling photographs of American Indians in presumably traditional garb, and occasionally musical transcriptions. Curtis, not an ethnographer by trade, hired assistants for the linguistic and ethnological aspects of his project. Frederick Webb Hodge, head of the BAE, agreed to edit his work, which added a degree of institutional legitimacy to this project. In addition to taking

photographs and writing historical accounts of customs and traditions, Curtis recorded songs that were either associated with ceremonies or used in social settings. Since he was not a musician, he outsourced the transcription of these songs to Gilbert for volumes six through eight. Although correspondence between Curtis and Gilbert mention transcription work for only those volumes, it is possible that Gilbert's work appears elsewhere, as well.

Because "A Vanishing Race" was written in 1911, only information gathered or published before that date would have been included. Volumes seven and eight were published in 1911 and include some of the photographs and musical references that Gilbert used. However, it is possible that Curtis completed some fieldwork for later volumes by the time he created "A Vanishing Race," but that material does not seem to appear in the photographs or in the music of *Indian Scenes*. Volumes seven and eight cover American Indian tribes from the Pacific Northwest: the Yakama, Klickitat, Salish, and Kutenai people in seven, and the Nez Perce, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in eight. These volumes focus on historical narratives from American Indian interlocutors more than contemporary observations of culture. Rather than state what a particular individual did, or what contemporary people do, Curtis anonymized his sources and used terms such as "the chief" or "the wife" in lieu of names. The photographs have similar generalized attributions, such as "Son of a Yakima Chief," or "An Old Man." Some photographs included names, but these individuals, while attributed, are not contextualized within the prose.

The North American Indian, as a whole, depicts American Indians living in a primitive era unrelated to Western civilization, a phenomenon that anthropologist

Johannes Fabian termed "allochronism."[107] Curtis used the past tense in his writing to describe these cultures, but his photography portrayed his interlocutors in the "ethnographic present," a term used to describe the ethnographic accounts of other cultures as timeless.[108] These photographs feature the rustic dwellings, clothing, weaponry, and modes of transportation that perpetuate the idea of their perpetual primitivity. A large portion of his photographs are portraits, usually of older tribal members wearing regalia. Some are photographed in action on horseback, in canoes, or posed among symbolic scenery such as sacred sites or mountain formations. Groups of American Indians are occasionally depicted on horseback, in canoes, or around fires on their reservations, but Curtis tended not to include many photographs with multiple subjects. By focusing on single subjects, he made them seem to be the last of their vanishing tribe. Their solitude became a marker of extinction.[109]

Mick Gidley argues that Curtis's attempts to capture the ethnographic present often resulted in manipulation, exaggeration, and reconstruction of American Indian symbols. Curtis was preoccupied with "traditional" Indianness "to the extent of issuing wigs to cover shorn hair, the provision of costumes, and the erasure of signs of the mechanistic twentieth century."[110] Even more, he went to great lengths to obtain ethnographic information, no matter how staged. Curtis reportedly threatened to shoot an interlocutor who opposed his filming of the funeral of Nez Perce Chief Joseph in 1905.[111]

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[107] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 32.
[108] Fabian, *Time and the Other,* 80.
[109] Mick Gidley, "Pictorialist Elements in Edward S. Curtis's Photographic Representation of American Indians," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 24 (1994): 186.
[110] Gidley, "Pictorialist Elements," 182.
[111] Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 177.

Ira Jacknis believes that Curtis's ethnographic reconstruction likely applies to his music ethnography, as well.[112] Unfortunately, as Jacknis notes, there is no surviving documentation about either these recording sessions or the recordings themselves. What we do have, however, are some of Gilbert's transcriptions and those that were ultimately published in *The North American Indian*. Many of the song transcripts are "dumped" in appendices with little commentary.[113] Other songs are included in the narrative of the text but receive only superficial contextualization. For example, in describing medicine songs of the Nez Perce, Curtis states, "Songs are essential of religion … The music of the songs is delightfully rhythmic and entrancing. ... Each day [the Nez Perce] sings this [medicine] song because he has so far to travel."[114] He then inserts a transcription of the song without words or analysis. He has already moved onto a new subject in the next paragraph.

Curtis recorded songs in the field on wax cylinders and sent them to Gilbert for transcription. Gilbert filtered this music through Western musical concepts. He expressed complex rhythmic passages with changing meters and added specific tempo markings. The songs were transcribed in the key that approximated the singer's recorded pitch and modality. Some transcriptions include numerous accidentals, which suggests that the key was more of a practical means for notation than proof of diatonicism.

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[112] Ira Jacknis, "A Chamber of Echoing Songs: Edward Curtis as a Musical Ethnographer," in *Return to the Land of the Head Hunters: Edward S. Curtis, the Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Making of Modern Cinema*, eds. Brad Evans and Aaron Glass (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 111.
[113] Jacknis, "A Chamber of Echoing Songs," 110.
[114] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, 55.

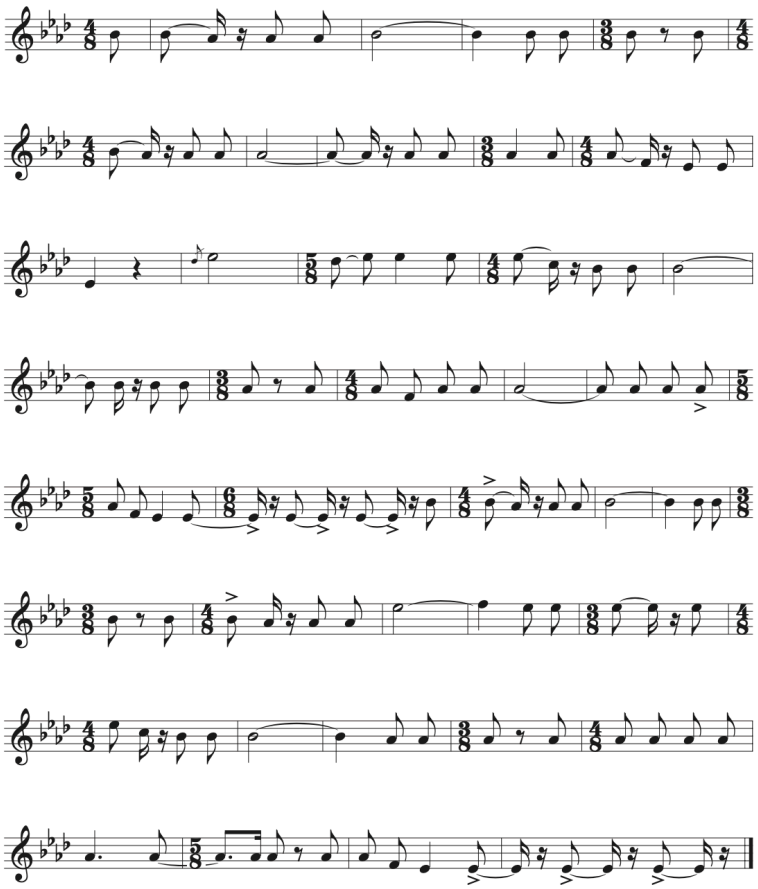

Figure 1, A Transcription from *The North American Indian*[115]

Gilbert often expressed that he found transcription difficult. Despite his precise notation, he thought that transcribing American Indian melodies into music "is somewhat like forcing a square peg into a round hole" because "the Indian habitually sings degrees of pitch for which we have no symbols."[116] As his transcriptions show, however, he was as comfortable assigning pitch values as he was notating rhythm. He did not necessarily believe that American Indian melodies were suited for classical use. In a letter to the editor of *The New Music Journal*, he argued that American Indian music was not at a

[115] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 8, 56–7.
[116] Henry F. Gilbert, "Indian Music. From Lectures by Edward S. Curtis on the North American," *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* 11, no. 122 (1912): 59, 56.

"high state of development."[117] Rather than "harmony, counterpoint, form, etc.," American Indian music "consists of a few elementary drum rhythms above which is sung or rather shouted a wild and not often very definite melody."[118] Instead, "the Indian is somewhat blindly groping for the diatonic intervals which form the basis of civilized music … his deviations therefore are not caused by a conscious disregard of them so much as by his inability to intone them accurately."[119] Most American Indian songs were "much too wandering and formless to admit of their being used in their entirety as themes for music."[120] Nonetheless, Gilbert did use American Indian melodies as the basis for the musical accompaniment to Curtis's "A Vanishing Race."

"A Vanishing Race"

Curtis marketed "A Vanishing Race" as an educational lecture about tribal rites and religious ceremonies. In promotional materials, he wrote that it was "not a commercial undertaking, but rather a co-operative effort to prepare a monumental record of the North American Indians under the patronage of J. Pierpont Morgan and others interested in preserving the history and the lore of our native tribes."[121] The production included a series of photographs and some short films on a magic lantern projected onto a screen. Curtis gave background information about the tribes, but the main feature of the lecture was the musical accompaniment. Each piece was written for a particular film or set of photographs. Gilbert conducted his own score for the first few months of the tour. He

[117] Henry F. Gilbert, "The Editor," *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* 11, no. 123 (1912): 131.
[118] Gilbert, "The Editor," 131.
[119] Gilbert, "Indian Music," 56.
[120] Gilbert, "The Editor," 131.
[121] "The Story of a Vanishing Race" Concert Program, 1911–1912. ESC, Getty Library, Box 1, f. 44.

recalled that the photographs "were arranged similarly to the old dissolving views, one fading into the other," and that he composed the music according to "exactly where these changes should occur … in my left hand I held an electric bulb connected by a wire to the booth of the lantern operator. Therefore, I was enabled to give a signal to the operator to change the picture with one hand while I conducted the orchestra with the other."[122] Many of his compositions were set to more than one photograph, which Curtis described in his program notes as "a changing series of scenes" or "dissolving series."[123]

Gilbert provides details about what the audience saw and heard. "The lecture had given an account of a wild and wonderfully beautiful gorge or canyon in the Far West, which was to be followed by a series of somber and impressive pictures. I started my rather rugged and grandiose music and gave the signal for the first picture where there flashed upon the screen a splendid picture of an Indian papoose in a perfect whirlwind of rage and tears."[124] Curtis's program notes and script drafts reveal that he made broad generalizations about Indian characteristics and further romanticized them with descriptions of the photography.[125] "A Vanishing Race" was nothing less than a spectacle, designed by both Curtis and Gilbert to impress the non-Native audience with a certain vision of Indian Country and American Indian people.

Gilbert's music was integral to creating this impression. According to him, since American Indian music was not in a "high state of development," he had to compose his Indianist music with new material using "short phrases and melodic fragments of

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[122] Gilbert, "A Chapter of Reminiscence," 91.
[123] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 217.
[124] Gilbert, "A Chapter of Reminiscence," 91.
[125] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 219.

considerable power and suggestiveness" as "germinal ideas."[126] We do not have the score for "A Vanishing Race," but Gilbert released some of his compositions for the lecture as a stand-alone suite titled *Indian Scenes*. Most of the movements from "A Vanishing Race" that appear in *Indian Scenes* used American Indian musical tropes found in some of the song transcriptions in *The North American Indian*. Only two used musical ideas found in volumes six through eight of *The North American Indian*: "On the Jocko" and "In the Kutenai Country." Gilbert wrote to Curtis to ask what kind of music he should use for "On the Jocko," a photograph that featured a group dancing on a reservation. Curtis wrote that he had not filmed the dancing, so if Gilbert "wanted to get the thought of dancing in [his] music it would be only to suggest it, as you see there is no motion in the picture itself … any dance idea would be satisfactory."[127] Gilbert used part of the melody from a dance he had already transcribed for volume eight and created a lively rhythm in the bass to "suggest" a hypothetical ceremonial dance. The musicale reproduced aural and photographic scenes of Indian life, but did not seek to preserve American Indian music.

Reviewers commented more favorably on Gilbert's music than on Curtis's overall performance. A letter sent to Gilbert in 1912 begins, "You were the whole show."[128] Reverend Charles O. Wright raved, "The music was evidently written by a man who had the Indian spirit in him. Every note filled its picture or story. I could have sat without intermission for the rest of the night, and listened and looked."[129] Fellow Indianist Arthur Farwell reviewed "A Vanishing Race" by focusing on Gilbert's work. He began his

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[126] Gilbert, "The Editor," 131.
[127] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, August 7 1911. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 171.
[128] J.H Ripley to Henry F. Gilbert, January 7 1912. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 172.
[129] Charles O. Wright, "Extracts from Letters," N.D. ESC, Getty Library, Box 1, f. 45.

review by proclaiming that "A new voice and a strong one in the world of Indian music was heard at Carnegie Hall ... when Henry Gilbert, with an orchestra, gave his new Indian musical developments as an accompany feature to 'The Story of a Vanishing Race.'" He continues by praising Gilbert's compositional skills, but does not mention Curtis's photography or lecture.[130]

The musicale as a whole, however, was not a box-office success. After the first tour, Curtis admitted that "we have not yet made the final totals as to the loss, but it is certainly large enough to cause one to do a great deal of thinking, and it will require several years of severe economy on my part as well as hard work to make it up."[131] The next tour would only "touch at important towns."[132] The show would never make a return on the financial investment, and Curtis was unable to pay Gilbert for his work. On December 30, 1911, a few months after the premiere of "A Vanishing Race," Curtis wrote that he would keep Gilbert's "memorandum of balance due on the hook, and trust that we will be able to reach it at some time before we have all made our appearance before Saint Peter."[133] Gilbert was not pleased by his response. On February 5, 1912, Curtis reminded Gilbert that "I will try to extract some money from somewhere before very long and send your balance."[134] Almost a decade later, Gilbert still had not been paid. In a letter from February 1920, Curtis wrote, "I note what you say in regard to the payment for this work. It is so long ago that I have no recollection in the matter and as *The North American Indian* never has any outstanding obligations, I am naturally at a

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[130] Arthur Farwell, "Indian Music of the Genuine Sort," 1912. ESC, Getty Library, Box 8, f.8.
[131] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, February 5 1912. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 172.
[132] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, February 5 1912. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 172.
[133] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, December 30 1911. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 171.
[134] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, February 5 1912. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 171.

loss to understand this. Was a bill rendered for the work? And just what were the arrangements?"[135] We have no record of Gilbert's reply to this letter.

Since the music was highly regarded by the press, Gilbert took the opportunity to publish five of the twenty-five original movements as a piano suite. He did so against Curtis's wishes, at least to some degree. Curtis agreed that Gilbert should be able to publish his own compositions, but he was concerned that the piano reductions of an orchestral score would lack the connection to the subject matter and thus misinterpret the program of "A Vanishing Race."[136] Curtis eventually acquiesced, although he claimed copyright over the H.W Gray publication.

Indian Scenes

Indian Scenes was advertised through music journals such as *The New Music Review and Church Music Review*. Gilbert later used some of the melodies for an orchestral piece called *Indian Sketches*, which was programmed throughout major cities on the East Coast. But it is unlikely that *Indian Scenes* was performed often after its publication. Newspapers and journals from that time refer exclusively to Gilbert's compositions in regards to "A Vanishing Race," and do not cite any recitals or productions of *Indian Scenes. Indian Scenes* copyright records do indicate, however, at least one contemporaneous commercial recording. We also know that Gilbert filed a lawsuit against Columbia Gramophone Company over a recording that omitted both Gilbert and Curtis's names on the record and in advertisements. Curtis believed that Gilbert's lawsuit

[135] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, February 16 1920. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 174.
[136] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, October 3 1912. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 172.

in some way implied that Curtis was at fault for Gilbert's lack of attribution, and it rankled him:

> If it did not make me a little bit warm under the collar it would certainly cause me to smile. Why don't you hire a bill poster to spread your name over a mile or two of billboards and then get a nice seat somewhere where you can spend a few weeks gazing at it. Have the names all printed in red, so that you cannot help but see them. Personally, I have given so small thought to anybody's name on the phonograph record in question that I didn't even know of the absence of my own name on it until receiving this letter from your attorney.[137]

The copyright suit cleared in 1913. By 1920, Gilbert seems to have achieved some success with his publication. He wrote to Curtis in February of that year to clear a reprint of *Indian Scenes*, which he did.[138] The 1921 version of *Indian Scenes* was published by Novello & Co. Unlike some other Indianist works, it is unclear whether *Indian Scenes* was ever performed by American Indians. American Indian piano students may well have played *Indian Scenes* in boarding schools or in their own private education, but I have found no evidence of this.

Gilbert's Indian Sounds and Tropes

In his program for "A Vanishing Race," Curtis claimed that the Indian race was fading and could only to be remembered through non-Native ethnographic records. Gilbert's music in *Indian Scenes* mostly reaffirms the concept of the original musicale through a surfeit of American Indian musical and thematic tropes. In this section I explore those tropes while taking into consideration the American Indian identities they are built upon. I also consider if the music at times challenges the "vanishing" narrative, and if it is possible to reclaim American Indian agency through alternative readings of the music.

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[137] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, June 4 1913. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 173.
[138] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, February 16 1920. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 174.

Gilbert wrote *Indian Scenes* specifically for Curtis's photographs and, at times, drew musical inspiration from the people captured on film. I use those programmatic aspects to make claims about the music's portrayal of a certain character or depictions of a particular scene. Rather than making an argument about musical narrativity, I instead consider his music as a transformation of a visual medium into sound—a process that Siglind Bruhn has described as "musical ekphrasis."[139]

Indianist composers such as Charles Wakefield Cadman and Arthur Farwell either worked with American Indian performers or used music from ethnographers who documented their relationships with interlocutors. These compositions thus have records through which we can reconstruct the decisions and agency of American Indians in the Indianist process.[140] Gilbert, on the other hand, did not interact with any American Indian musicians or interlocutors in his compositional process, and Curtis did not name any of his ethnographic informants. Accordingly, I have directed my study toward the remnants of American Indian participation—musical transcriptions and photographs—which were used to further the Indianist philosophical mission. I am compelled to rethink Gilbert's composition in this way because so many Indianist compositions, and exoticist works as well, do not have substantial historical or cultural documentation to make claims about the way that the compositional process included or affected the cultures and races

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[139] Siglind Bruhn, *Musical Ekphrasis: Composers Responding to Poetry and Painting* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 51.

[140] For example, Tara Browner and Beth Levy both questioned interlocutor agency in their analyses of Cadman's opera *Shanewis*, which American Indian performer Tsianina Redfeather helped to produce. See: Levy, "Encountering Indians" in *Frontier Figures,* 85–117; and Tara Browner, "Native Songs, Indianist Styles, and the Processes of Music Idealization" in *Opera Indigene: Re/Presenting First Nations and Indigenous Cultures* eds. Pamela Karantonis and Dylan Robinson (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2011), 173–186.

referenced in the music.[141] I seek to understand Gilbert's musical tropes as constructed through interpretations of American Indian interlocutors, and the way that the resulting music construed the continuing existence of Indigenous peoples.

Such an approach does not, at least on the surface, seem to match a vision of scholarship that deconstructs Western concepts of indigeneity. Before we explore American Indian reactions to and consequences of Indianism, we need to identify the way that musical Indianism functioned. To be clear, I do not try to make interpretive claims about the American Indians who are in these photographs or about any contemporaneous people who might be implicated in this work. Indianism very much "imagined" indigeneity as a concept. But as this chapter and Chapter Three show, that concept was built upon, bolstered, and reimagined by the ways that American Indians chose to involve themselves in ethnography, composition, and performances. Musical analysis can show the flaws within Indianist work and the harm from Indianist compositions while at the same time highlighting the ways in which actual American Indian people were present in this process. This is an effort to reclaim a place in music history for American Indians, no matter how fraught it might be.

Gilbert retained the vanishing Indian concept in his music despite changing the title to *Indian Scenes*. Four of the movements feature solo American Indian characters, and one includes multiple photographed figures. The first movement, "By the Arrow," portrays a lone man dressed in traditional clothing on a mountain top. He is wielding a

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[141] Jonathan Bellman and Matthew Head's monographs describe the difficulty of tracing and verifying the source music for European exoticism. See: Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993). See esp. chap. 1, "Provenance and Musical Origins," 11–24; and Matthew William Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Musical Association, 2000). See esp. chap. 3, "A Copy of a Copy: Mozart's Sources," 67–89.

single arrow and holding it toward the sky. The second movement, "The Night Scout," features a man on horseback who is guarding the land. The third movement, "In the Kutenai Country," depicts a solitary canoer in the distance. "Signal to the Fire God," the fourth movement, presents another single person, now performing a ritual atop a mountain. "On the Jocko," the final movement, is the only piece that portrays more than one subject. The music imitates a social dance for the people of the Jocko reservation who are photographed from a distance among their lodges.

We do not have an exact list of the musical titles that correspond to the specific photographs in "A Vanishing Race." Based on a transcript of the program notes for at least one production, there were multiple orchestral movements that corresponded to a series of photographs of American Indian groups: "mounted war-parties," "victorious warriors," men looking across the desert, maidens by a well, people whaling, and canoers.[142] Specifically, the sections labeled "The Kutenai of the Lakes," "By the Arrow," and "Signal Fire to the Mountain God," which seem to correspond to titles from *Indian Scenes*, included photographs of both singular characters and larger groups. Gilbert thus made an editorial decision to use imagery from the program that exemplified vanishing Indian tropes. The first four *Indian Scenes*, which features four lone Indian caricatures, seem to announce the dissolution of the Indian race, whereas the finale brings the characters together in celebration. As we will see, *Indian Scenes* resolves with a fortissimo dance melody played in octaves in both staves. Curtis concluded "A Vanishing Race" with "an evening scene, suggesting the thought of the race, already robbed of its tribal strength, its primitive faith, stripped of its pagan dress, going into the darkness of

[142] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 217–219.

the unknown future."[143] The ending of *Indian Scenes* thus strikes a different tone than that of "A Vanishing Race."

As mentioned previously, Tara Browner draws on Pierce to make semiotic distinctions among symbolic compositions inspired by American Indian sounds, indexical works that approximate American Indian sounds, and iconic compositions that borrow from American Indian music.[144] Gilbert's *Indian Scenes* does not fit squarely into these categories. Instead, he blends together musical concepts that were already coded "Indian" along with more idiosyncratic interpretations of American Indian musicality from his transcription work, including direct quotations. Michael Pisani identified many musical figures that both classical and popular composers began to use at the turn of the century to mimic American Indian music, including open fifth cadences, parallel chords, modal pentatonic melodies, upward octave leaps, ascending and descending intervals of perfect fourths and fifths, chordal accompaniment in a tom tom rhythm, chordal accompaniment in fifths, and grace notes that imitate Indian vocal flourishes.[145]

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[143] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 219.
[144] See Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," *American Music* 15, no. 3 (1997): 265–84.
[145] See Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*. See esp. chaps. 5–7, 211–329.

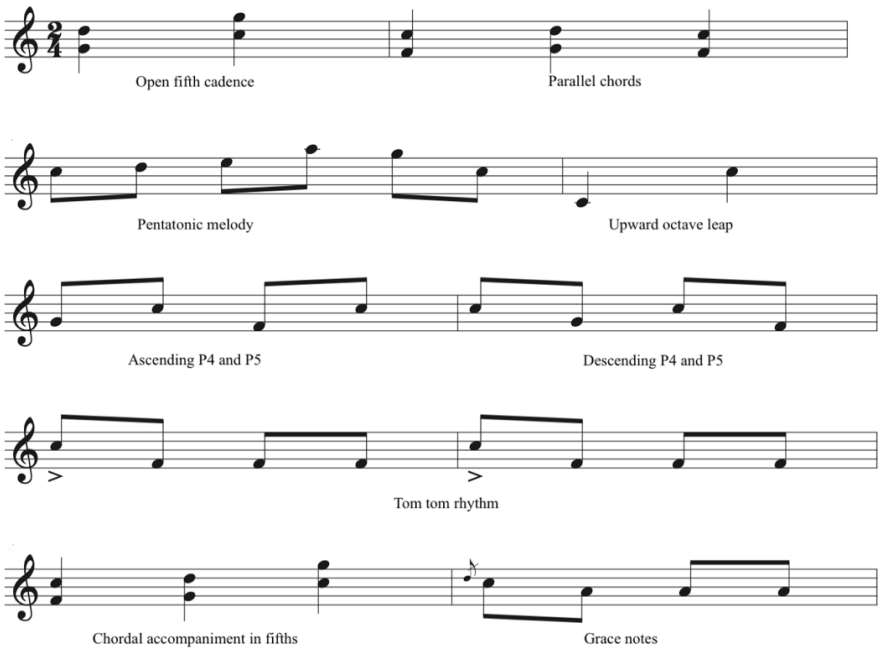

Figure 2, Indianist Conventions

Gilbert used these conventions in his music. While they may have been commonplace in art music at the time, many also appear in his transcriptions for *The North American Indian*. He also directly borrowed other musical ideas from his transcriptions that were not as typical in Indianist music of the time, such as accented rhythmic passages, changing meters, and percussive (not tom tom) rhythms in the bass. Gilbert's transcriptions differ from his compositions in their melodic range and rhythmic complexity. The transcribed melodies often cover an octave range or less, and the rhythms are usually series of eighth or quarter notes. The movements of *Indian Scenes*, on the other hand, include more complex rhythms, expanded melodies, and complicated harmonies.

Gilbert composed the music for "A Vanishing Race" and *Indian Scenes* using American Indian musical conventions which were in dialogue with the photographic imagery on stage and in the score. American Indian life is thus portrayed through

thematic tropes associated with common perceptions of Indianness of the time: voyage, solitude, and solemnity.[146] Travel imagery associated with American Indians is rooted in the perpetuation of noble savage philosophy through the turn of the century.[147] An Indian who was good and natural could roam where he pleased, unencumbered by borders, similar to the White American ideations supporting manifest destiny.[148] As was the case in the Romantic-era literature about noble savages, however, this free Indian was a dying breed, the last of his kind.[149] *Indian Scenes* brings to life this imagery through its portrayal of Indian characters in various modes of travel.

Vanishing Indian tropes are predicated on the idea of an Indian being the last of their kind, when that was usually grossly inaccurate.[150] Ethnographic photography and paintings from the early twentieth century often propagated that myth by exaggerating images with lonely subjects.[151] Curtis in particular exhibited individual portraits. His photography style captured individuals in devotional poses, gazing pensively upon weapons, sacred objects, or toward the sky. But Curtis also took photographs of what were ordinarily group activities, such as ceremonies and voyages, and singled out an individual. Gilbert translated these singular figures into music by differentiating the melodic line from its accompaniment and treating it like the figure's surrogate. He rendered the sense of solemnity in these photographs through musical cues such as minor

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[146] For more on Indian tropes in the early twentieth century, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). See esp. chap. 2, "Fraternal Indians and Republican Identities," 38–70, and chap. 3, "Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects," 71–94.
[147] Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 47.
[148] Kerwin Lee Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 21.
[149] See Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha*, 1855; Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans*.
[150] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting,* 145.
[151] Gidley, "Pictorialist Elements," 188.

modalities and repeated character motifs with Indian characteristics that suggest strength and conviction in the subject's decision to continue their spirituality, despite their demise.

"By the Arrow"

The first movement, "By the Arrow," portrays a solemn character in a ritualistic scene. The photograph does not appear in *The North American Indian*, so its provenance is unknown. The movement depicts a solitary figure dressed in traditional clothing on a mountaintop wielding one singular arrow, looking toward the sky. His upturned face is expressionless and obscured by shadows and distance.

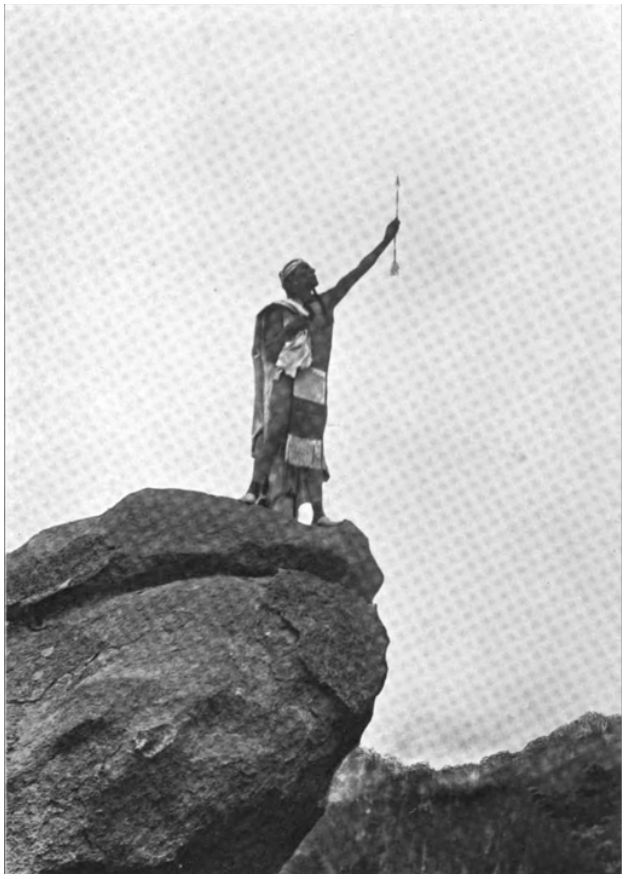

Figure 3, Photograph Corresponding to "By the Arrow"[152]

[152]Henry F. Gilbert, *Indian Scenes: Five Pieces for the Pianoforte* (New York: H.W. Gray, 1912), 3.

Gilbert rendered his solitude by asserting the melodic line of the corresponding movement as a quasi-narration. It begins and ends with both hands in octaves playing an accented rhythmic

motif which uses a minor third snap rhythm figure that skips from D to F. (Figure 4)

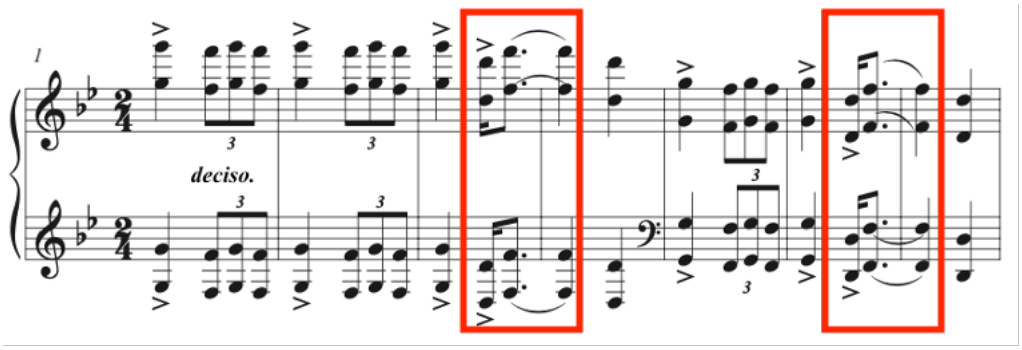

Figure 4, Musical Example From “By the Arrow”

This introduction serves almost as a fanfare, particularly because it is the first movement in the piece: a call to action. Without chordal accompaniment, the phrase rings out clearly, stating the figure’s solemn presence. In the photograph, his body is erect and straight as an arrow—and so, seemingly, is the music. The piece continues with a wailing treble line whose weighty tenutos are buttressed by chords in the bass texture, again in a songlike fashion, with the singular character singing against the accompaniment. (Figure 5)

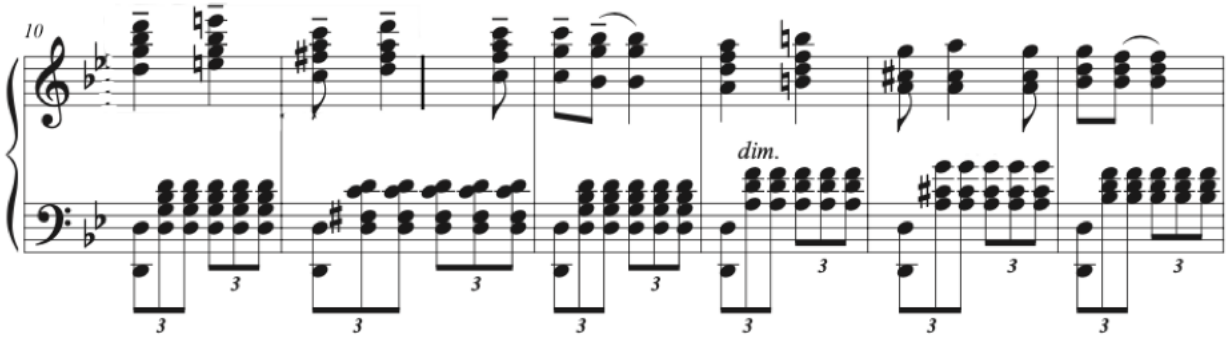

Figure 5, Musical Example From “By the Arrow”

The minor third snap rhythm from the introduction repeats throughout the piece as a narration of the character's solemn lament. It poignantly returns at the end of the piece at measure 30. The minor third cry changes to a quarter note ascending to a half note in measure 33, which carries through until the end. (Figure 6)

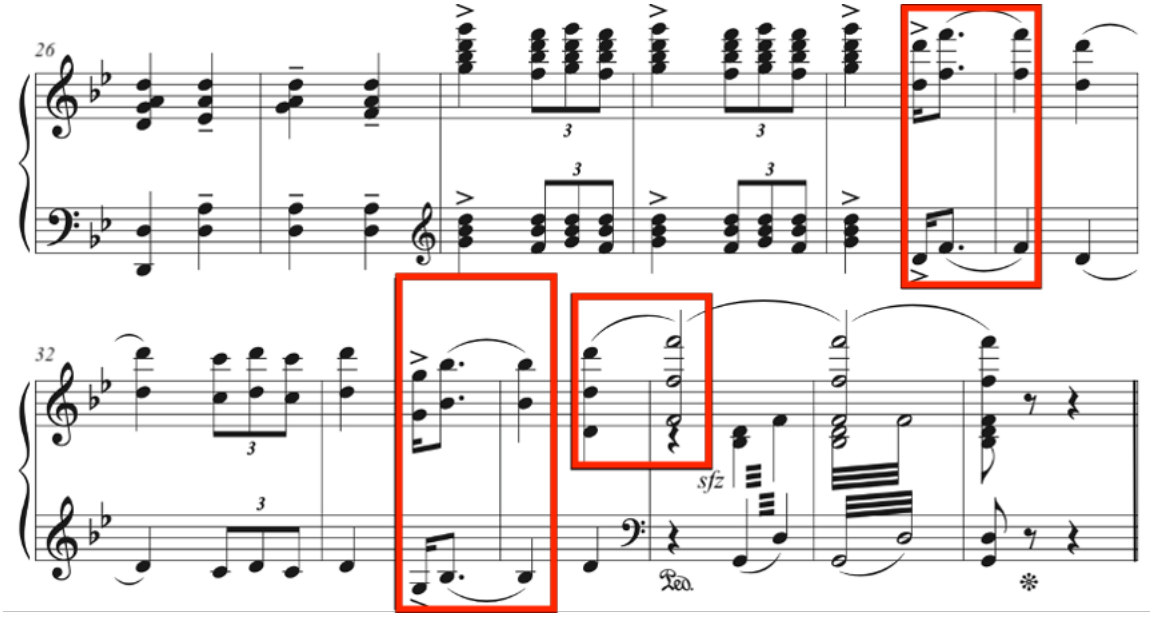

Figure 6, Musical Example From "By the Arrow"

What was a snap rhythm is augmented, a final strong cry at fortissimo, supported by a forceful tremolo in the bass made of two P5 intervals. Curtis's program does not describe the section titled "By the Arrow" in much detail, but he did foreshadow the exact solemn musical details we hear in Gilbert's piece: "a musical series of declaration and devotion."[153]

"The Night Scout"

[153] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated,* 218.

The second movement, "The Night Scout," depicts a solitary Nez Perce man on horseback at night, looking up to the starry sky. This photograph, titled "Night Scout – Nez Perce," appears in Curtis's eighth volume of *The North American Indian* which surveyed tribes in present-day Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.[154] It is one of the only photographs featuring a single person mounted on horseback in this series, juxtaposed next to a photo of two mounted scouts titled "Watching for the signal – Nez Perce."[155] It is not clear where this photograph or its corresponding music appeared in "A Vanishing Race," but it may have been featured in the opening movement. Curtis described the opening as "a dissolving series with impressive music" that depicted the everyday life of the Plains Indian, with photographs of "a mounted war-party—statuesque horsemen under the starlit sky."[156] By choosing the lone scout for Curtis's vanishing Indian program and *Indian Scenes*, Gilbert reinforced the scout's solitude as a symbol of the decline of the American Indian.

[154] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 8, plate 260.
[155] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 8, plate 261.
[156] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 217. The Nez Perce are not "Plains Indians," but Curtis and Gilbert were not concerned with tribal specificity.

Figure 7, Photograph Corresponding to "The Night Scout"[157]

"The Night Scout" does not appear to be based on any of the transcriptions in *The North American Indian* and it does not sound particularly Indian. Instead, the music seems to translate the photograph's movement. Gilbert uses some of his Indian tropes such as fourths and thirds in a tom tom rhythm. The latter are boxed on Figure 8.

[157] Gilbert, *Indian Scenes*, 7.

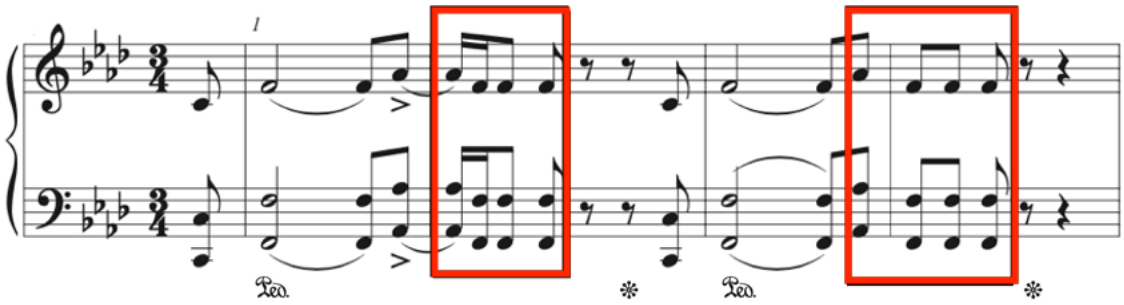

Figure 8, Musical Example From “The Night Scout”

This rhythm as an introductory figure suggests that the piece might have Indian characteristics. But Gilbert mostly relies on nonmusical Indian tropes to translate the stoic and motionless feeling of Curtis’s photograph. Gilbert does not use the romanticized idea of voyage to convey a freedom or the expanse of the West as we will see in “In the Kutenai Country.” Instead, Gilbert communicates a different idea of travel: the night scout on horseback roaming back and forth across his territory, without a particular destination. He accomplishes this by impeding the direction of the melodic line and undermining its momentum with a peregrinating bass line. At first, the bass line provides firm support to the melody, shown by the doubling in the introduction (Figure 9) that continues until measure 14.

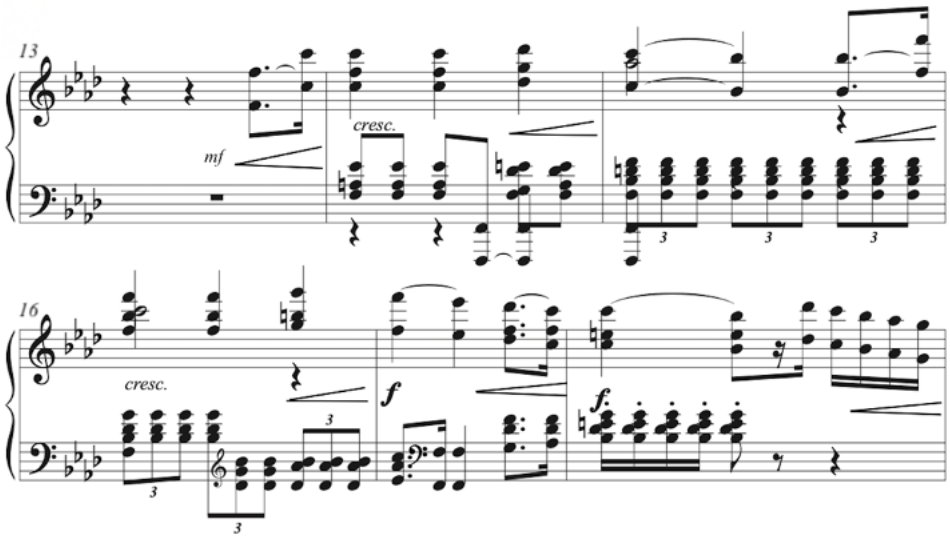

Figure 9, Musical Example From “The Night Scout”

As Figure 9 shows, the melody, even as it reaches its peak, seems unable to make progress. The bassline no longer supports it, and instead interjects with rhythmic chordal triplets that do not allow the melodic line to develop. At measure 19, however, the accompaniment becomes sparser as the melody slowly descends back to the introductory theme. The bass resumes its gentler melodic support until the end of the piece. (Figure 10)

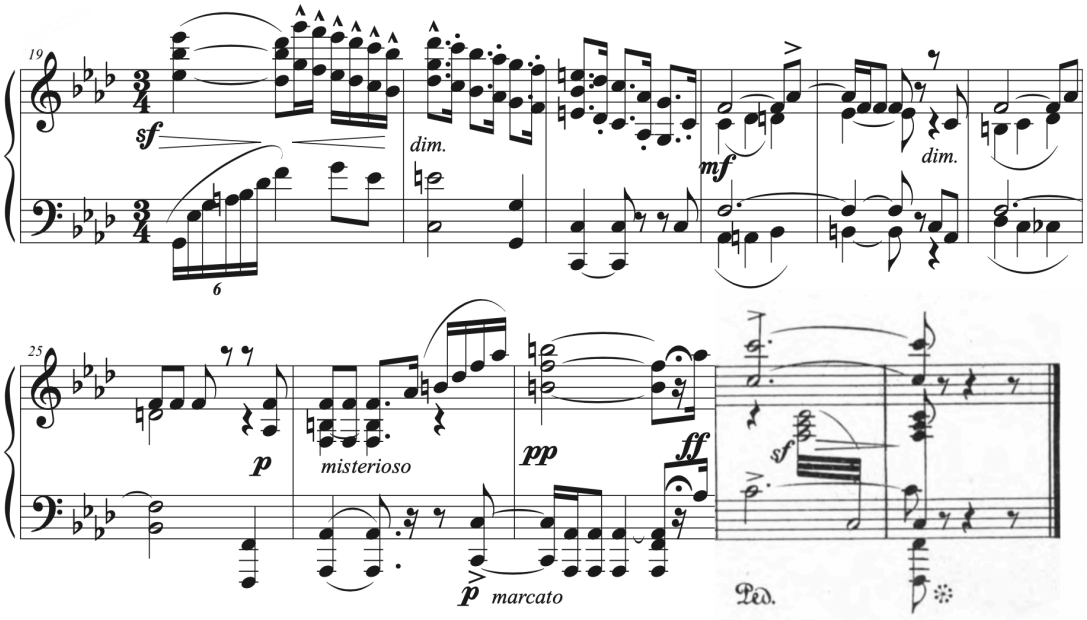

Figure 10, Musical Example From “The Night Scout”

The development in the middle of the piece is unable to push the music toward a resolution that accounts for that growth. The night scout remains unmoved, sauntering between two points. Gilbert characterizes the night scout’s journey as melancholic by avoiding any actual development after the melodic climax, setting the piece in a minor mode, and appending a forceful minor tremolo in the last two measures. (Figure 10) His wistful idea of travel evokes the trope of the vanishing Indian.

"In the Kutenai Country"

The third movement, "In the Kutenai Country," describes a lone in a canoe on a placid river. The photograph was published in volume seven, which surveyed tribes from the Pacific Northwest.[158] Curtis took this photograph on Flathead Lake in present-day Montana, north of the Flathead reservation where the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes now reside.[159] In "A Vanishing Race," this photograph appeared as the final slide of the section titled "The Kutenai of the Lakes."[160] This section featured images of "hunter gatherers" on still waters and groups of canoes traveling on the lake, "homeward bound."[161] In this photograph, however, one canoer sits in the boat, face unable to be seen, gliding across the lake seemingly without a paddle. Many of Curtis's photos feature Indian characters looking back toward the past or with their faces turned away from the camera. Gidley argues that Curtis posed his interlocutors in such a way as to emphasize their vanishing way of life.[162] Curtis used this photograph to conclude "The Kutenai of the Lakes" with "a far distant glimpse of a canoe against the setting sun."[163]

[158] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 7, 116.
[159] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 7, 117.
[160] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.
[161] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.
[162] Gidley, "Pictorialist Elements," 182.
[163] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.

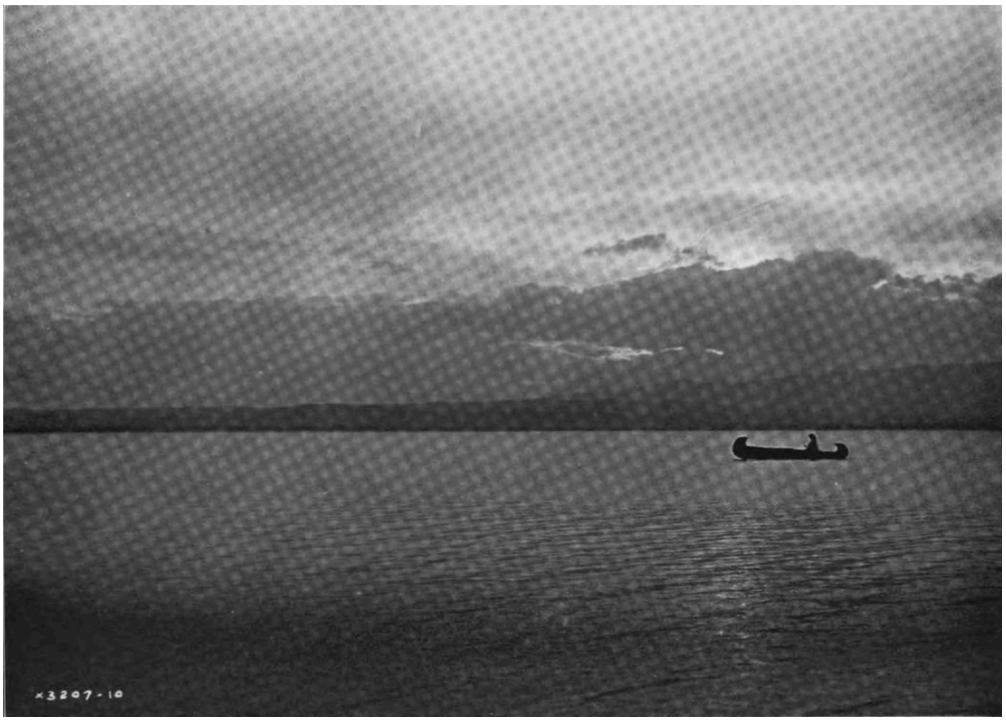

Figure 10, Photograph Corresponding to "In the Kutenai Country"[164]

The music bolsters the imagery of the ambiguous voyage. Gilbert directly quoted one of his transcriptions from volume eight titled "Canoe Song."[165] Curtis classified it as a "Wishham song [*sic*]" referring to the Wishram people within the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The song was not a part of Kutenai culture.

[164] Gilbert, *Indian Scenes*, 20.
[165] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 8, 185.

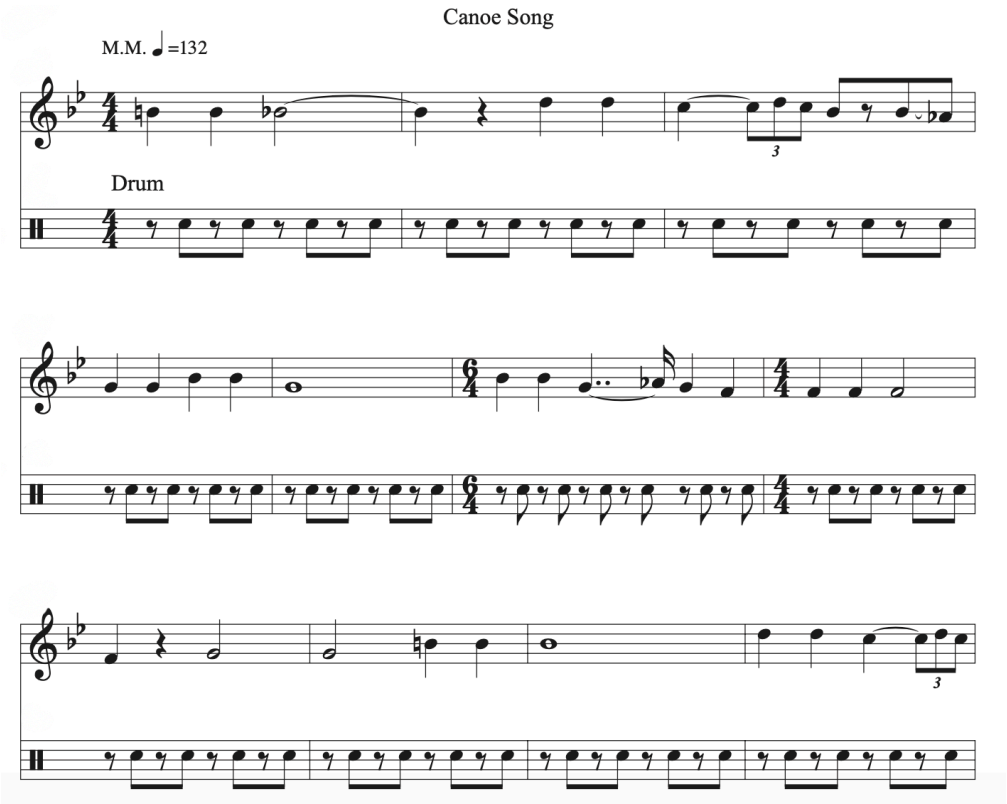

Figure 11, Transcription of "Canoe Song" from *The North American Indian*[166]

In contradiction to the corresponding photo, "Canoe Song" was sung by a group of canoers. Curtis wrote that the Wishram sang this song "while some of the singers beat rhythmically on the gunwales with their paddles."[167] But this movement does not represent groups of canoers, which are more prevalent images in *The North American Indian*, as well as in the other canoe scenes in the Kutenai section of "A Vanishing Race." Gilbert used inspiration from the only photograph with a solo rower to compose this music, programmed in "A Vanishing Race" as "a far distant glimpse of a canoe against the setting sun," an obvious appeal to the vanishing Indian trope.[168] "In the Kutenai Country" retains the melodic line but with a slower tempo. The transcription

[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.

notes the tempo as 132 beats per minute, but “In the Kutenai Country” denotes a slower tempo at 84 bpm, and marks the music as “quasi misterioso.” Gilbert removed the rhythmic paddle beats which, in the transcription, are notated as a drum line. Instead, the bass line is a steady undulation of triplet arpeggios beneath the melodic treble line. (Figure 12)

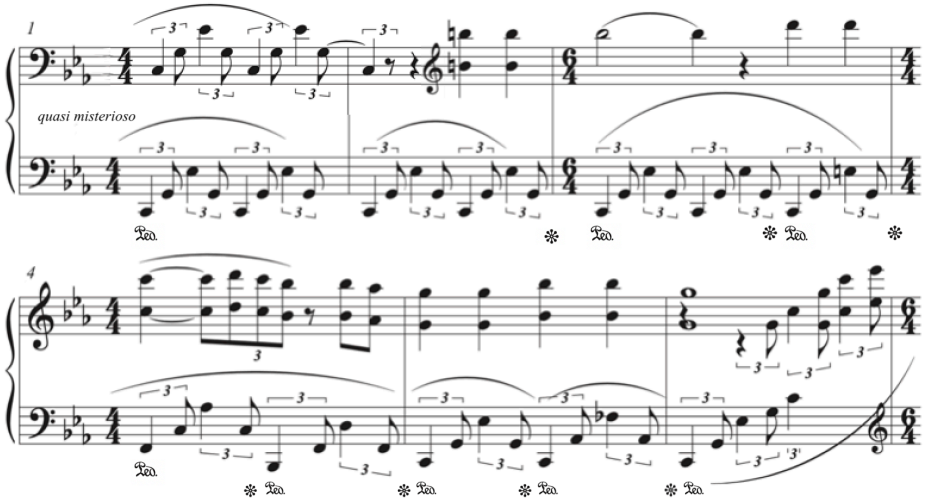

Figure 12, Musical Example From “In the Kutenai Country”

He retained his original meter, which shifts between 4/4 and 6/4. The 6/4 measures flow with pick-up notes into the 4/4 measures, creating a water-like effect.

The melodic section, A, is stated four times throughout the piece, intersected by a B section. A begins with the pickup notes to measure 3 shown in Figure 13. The melody is songlike in its distinction from the steady accompaniment, as if the treble line personifies the canoer while the bass line depicts the flow of the lake. It begins with some uncertainty on the leading tone, resolving to the subtonic on the first downbeat of the third measure. The line gently swells to its highest pitch but quickly falls, and does not progress further before being interrupted by the B section in measure 7. The music is restrained from moving forward. (Figure 13)

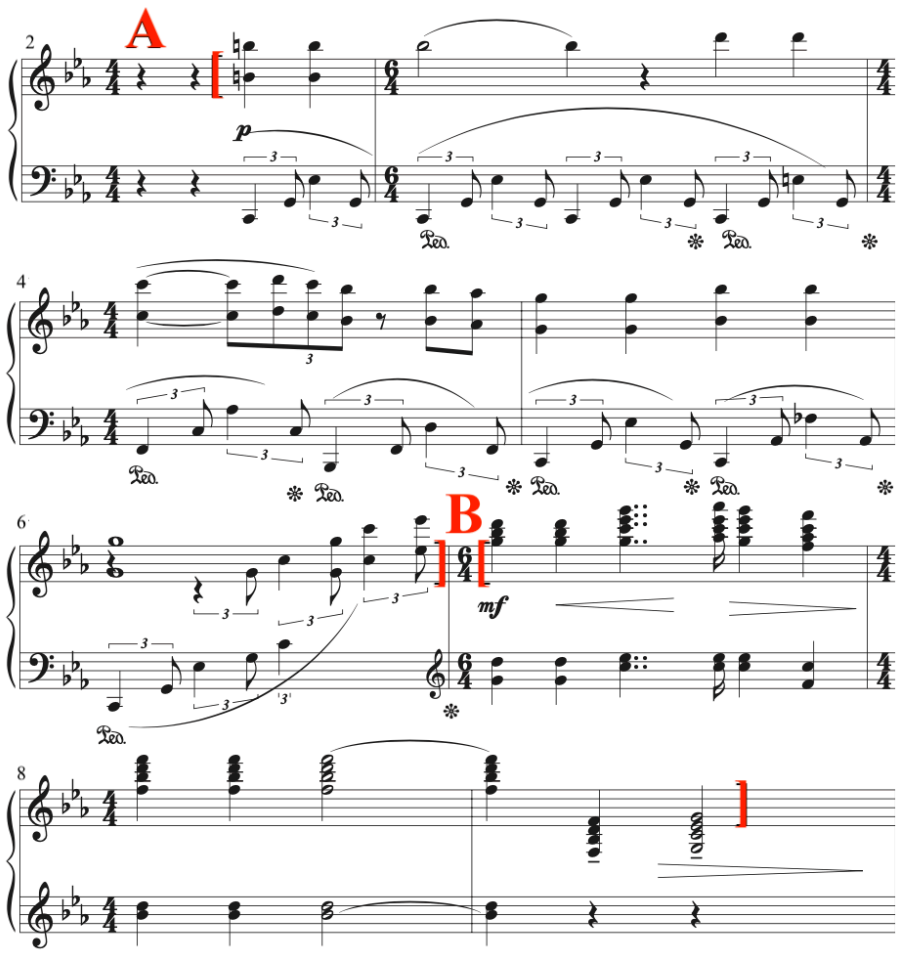

Figure 13, Musical Example From “In the Kutenai Country”

The B sections are points of reflection. The canoer has stopped rowing, as indicated by the change in the fluid motion of the bass and the lack of melody in the treble. But when A returns, the undulation resumes, and the rower is propelled forward once more.

The B sections have a distinct chordal accompaniment. In the first statement of B, the chords are blocked in unison in the manner of choral music. It begins on the weak minor dominant and moves toward the subtonic in a brief cadence the return to A, seen in Figure 13. The second B section at measure 15 repeats the same chords, but with an altered bass texture. (Figure 14)

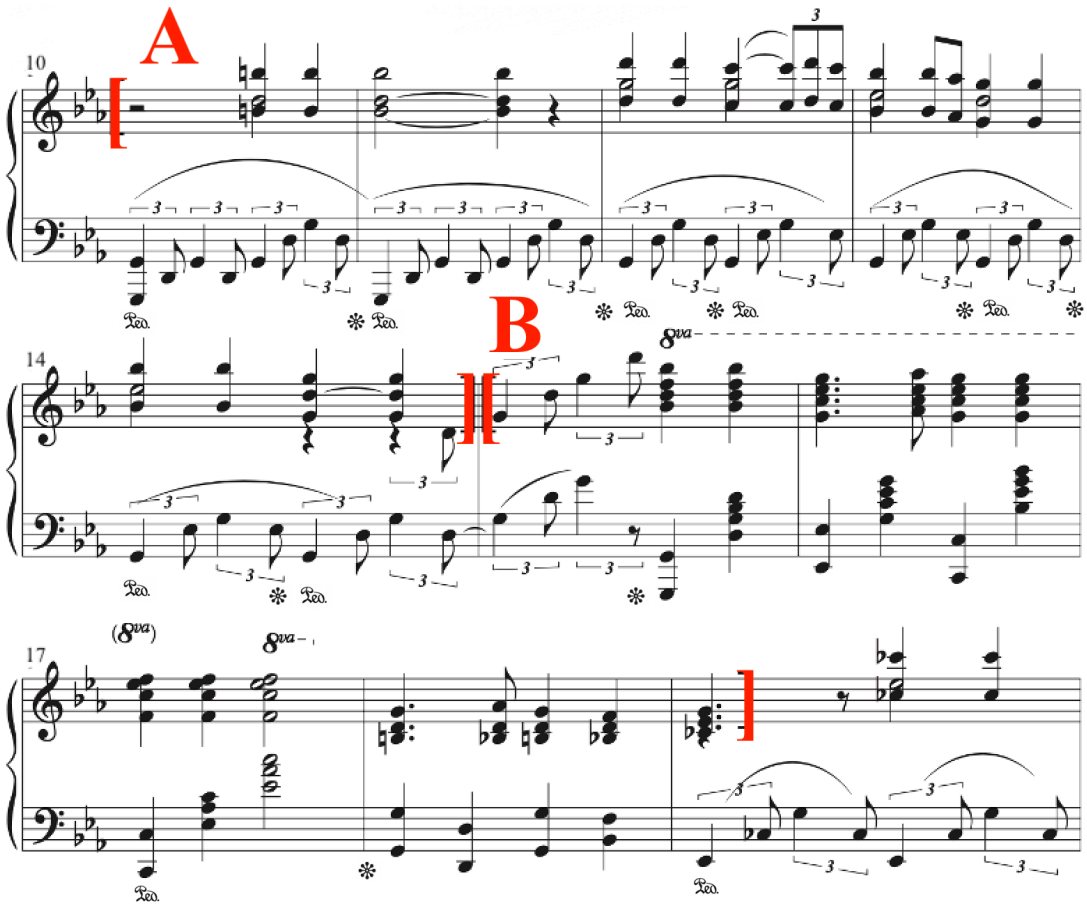

Figure 14, Musical Example From “In the Kutenai Country”

The third B at measure 25 deviates even farther from the first. (Figure 15) The swell of sixteenth notes between the melody and the accompaniment in measures 25 and 26 sound more like a lament by the canoer, stopped once again. But he moves on. The canoer must keep moving as the rolling arpeggios begin again in the bass line. As the music fades with a diminuendo, so too does his way of life.

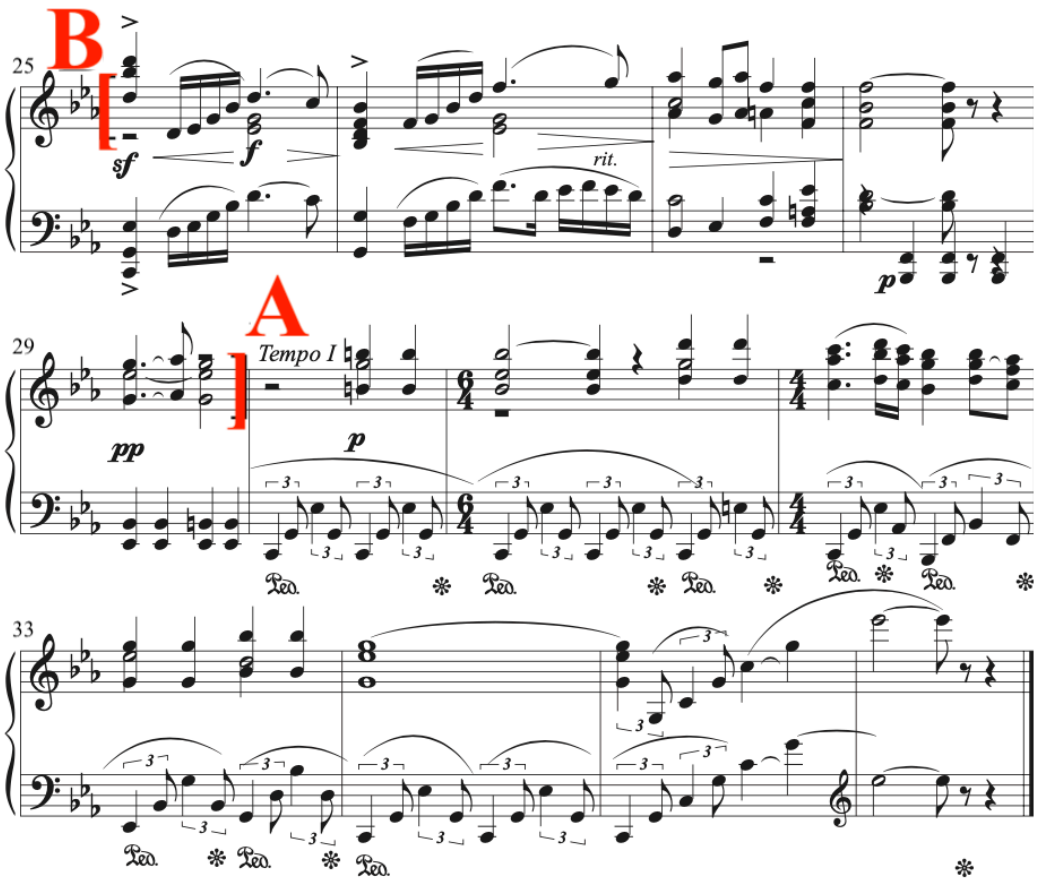

Figure 15, Musical Example From "In the Kutenai Country"

"Signal Fire to the Mountain God"

"Signal Fire to the Mountain God," the fourth movement, shares a title with a section of "A Vanishing Indian" that Curtis described as "a dissolving scene with musical accompaniment, depicting the devotional hours of a priest of the Tañon people."[169] The photograph from the score, however, was not published in *The North American Indian,* so we do not know if it can be attributed to the Tañon. The photograph that Gilbert used in

[169] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.

his published score was probably the finale of this section: “Our priest poised in the gray dawn, watching the dying flame.”[170]

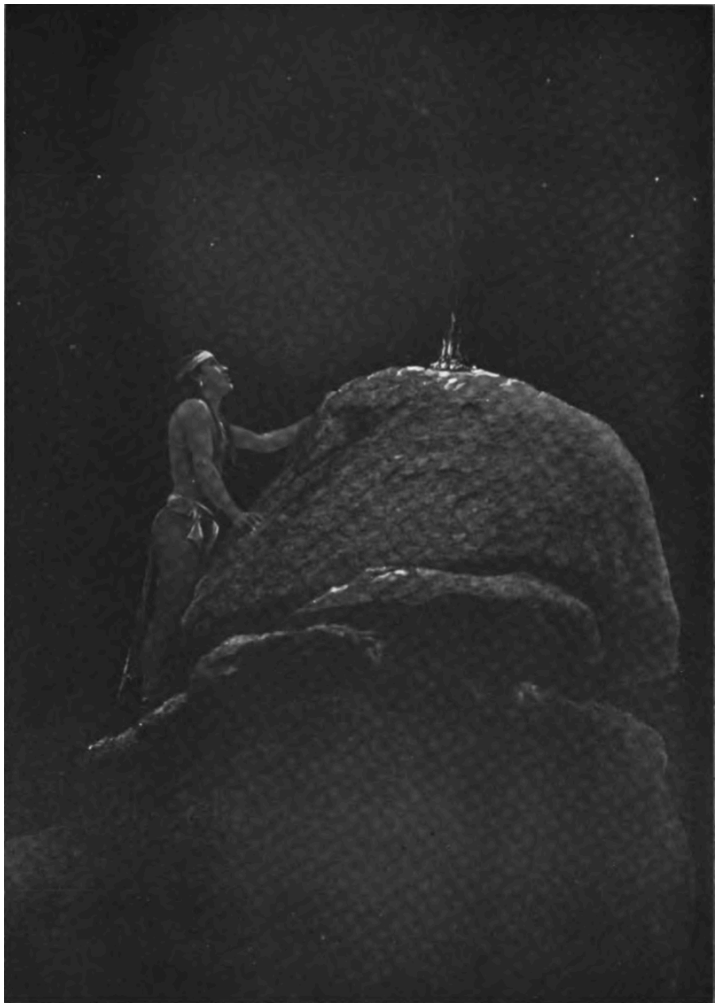

Figure 16, Photograph Corresponding to “Signal Fire to the Mountain God”[171]

Accordingly, the music is mostly soloistic. The treble is often doubled in octaves, as in Figure 17. The priest’s devotion is translated musically with repeated pitches that return throughout the piece in a meandering melody in the treble line.

[170] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.
[171] Gilbert, *Indian Scenes*, 15.

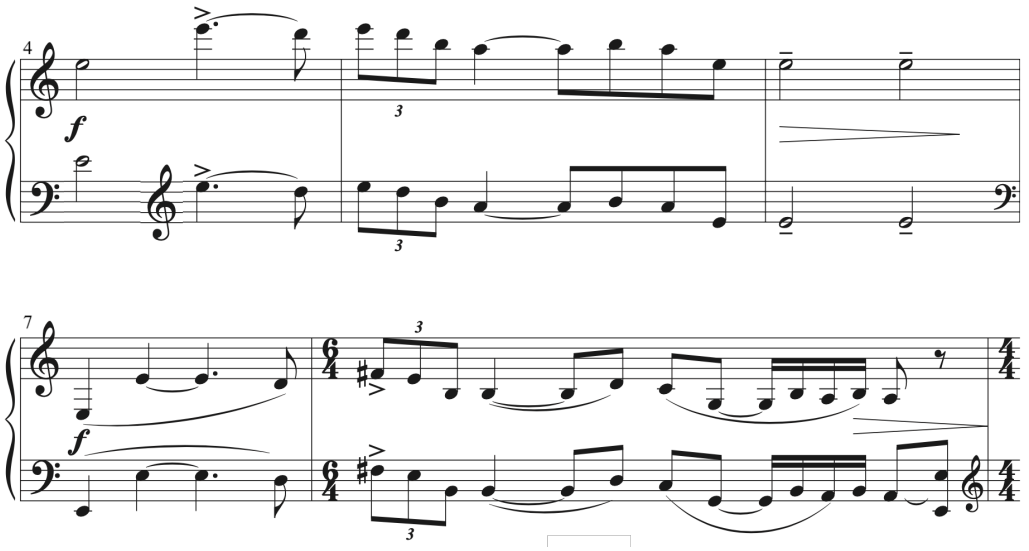

Figure 17, Musical Example From “Signal Fire to the Mountain God”

The piece begins with a dotted-eighth to sixteenth note C major chord. (Figure 18)

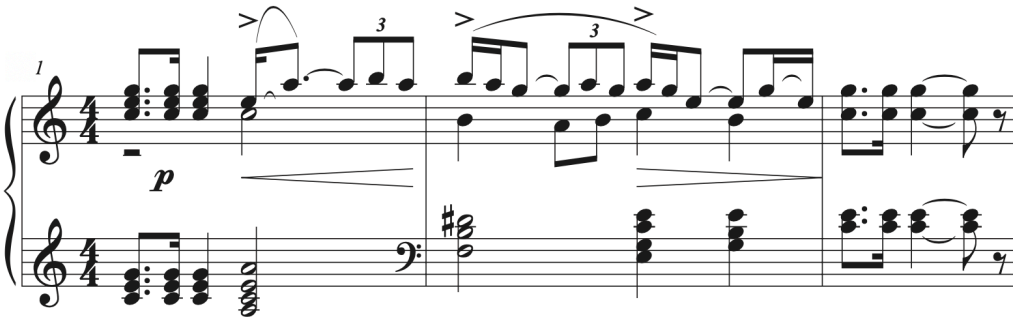

Figure 18, Musical Example From “Signal Fire to the Mountain God”

Whenever the melody expands, the priest repeats this rhythmic chord, a sober call that roots his devotional ceremony. The changing meter, one of Gilbert’s Indian characteristics, elongates the wandering cadenza-like line that weaves throughout the piece. That drifting melody is always brought back down to earth, grounded in the repeating, assuring call, such as in measure 16. (Figure 19)

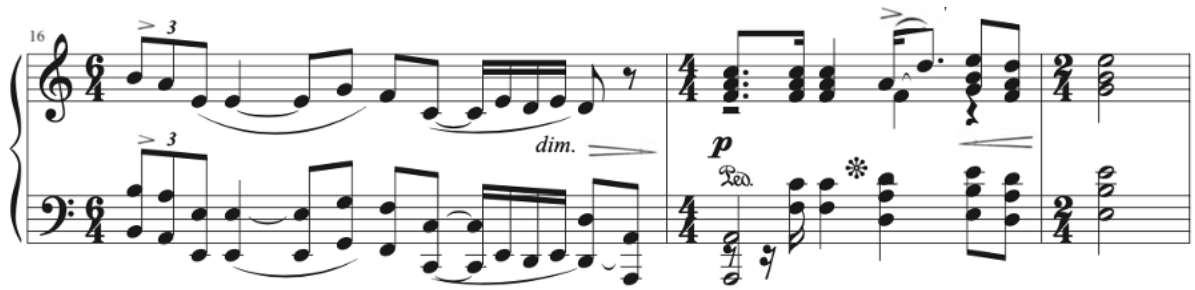

Figure 19, Musical Example From "Signal Fire to the Mountain God"

The energy slowly dissolves throughout the piece. It ends with a diminuendo and an echo of the melody in the bass in a very low register. (Figure 20)

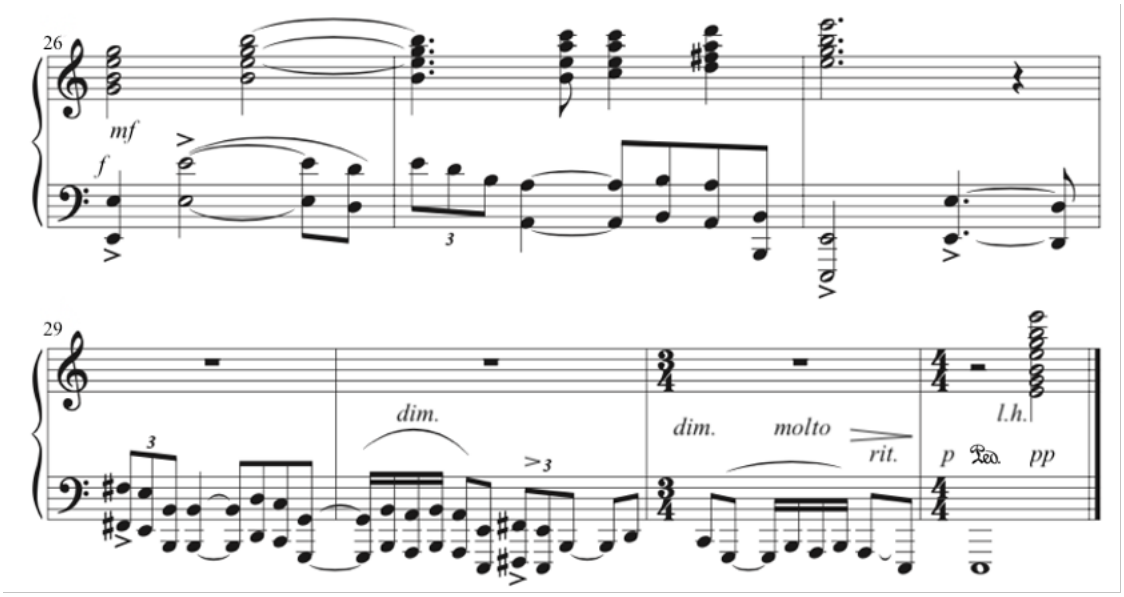

Figure 20, Musical Example From "Signal Fire to the Mountain God"

The pianissimo E minor chord in the last measure is one last hopeful prayer, a sober reminder that he is still there, the fire is still burning.

"On the Jocko"

"On the Jocko," the last movement, is the only one that is based on a photograph with multiple subjects. As such, the music challenges the trope of solitude as a signifier of

extinction. The photograph was published as “Flathead Camp on Jocko River” in the seventh volume of *The North American Indian*, a volume that covers the Yakima, Klicktiat, and Salishan tribes of the interior.[172] People of the Flathead reservation are seen dancing in front of their lodges; a few spectators appear in the corner of the frame.

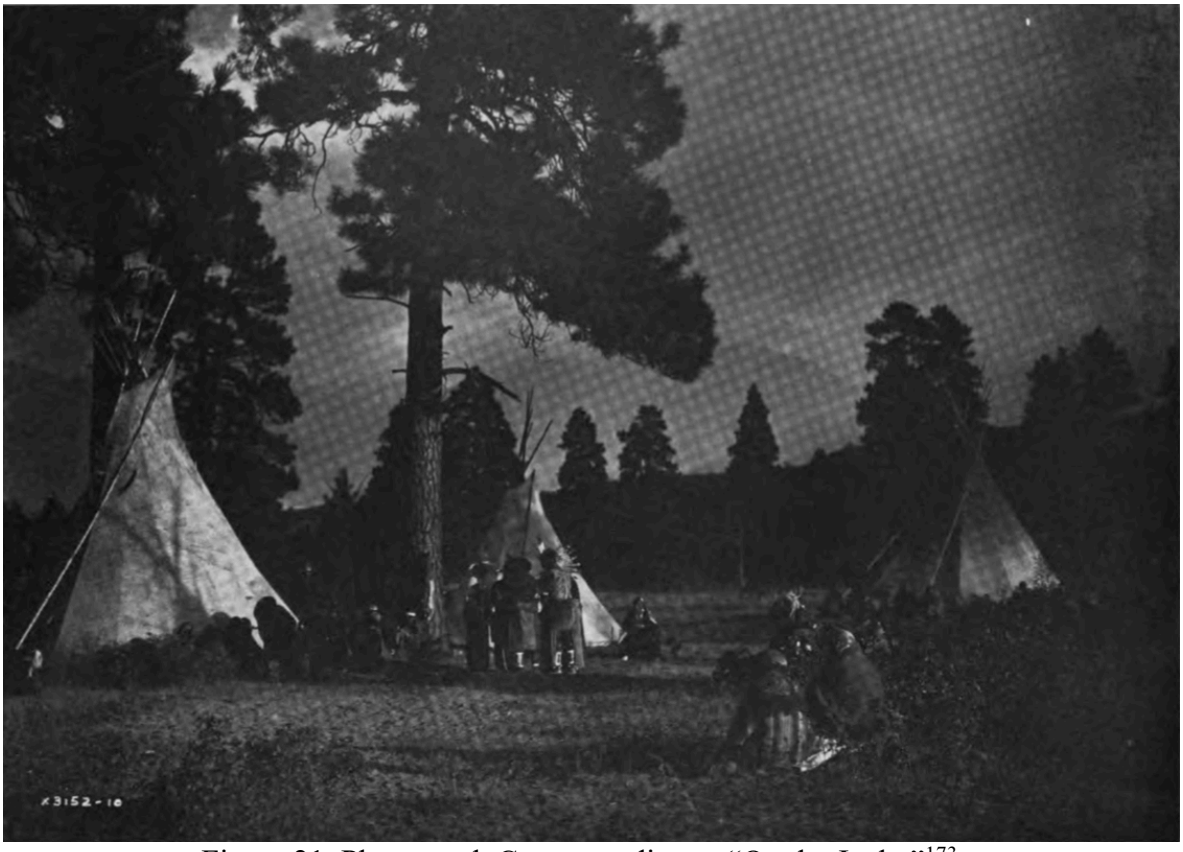

Figure 21, Photograph Corresponding to “On the Jocko”[173]

As previously noted, Gilbert wrote to Curtis to ask what kind of music he should compose to portray this dancing. Curtis replied that “any dance idea would be satisfactory.”[174] For “On the Jocko,” he borrowed a dance song not from the Flathead reservation but from the Wishram people. He used the rhythm and basic melody but expanded the scope to make it less repetitive. (Figure 22)

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[172] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 7, plate 232.
[173] Gilbert, *Indian Scenes*, 10.
[174] Edward S. Curtis to Henry F. Gilbert, August 7 1911. HGP, Yale Music Library, Box 38, f. 171.

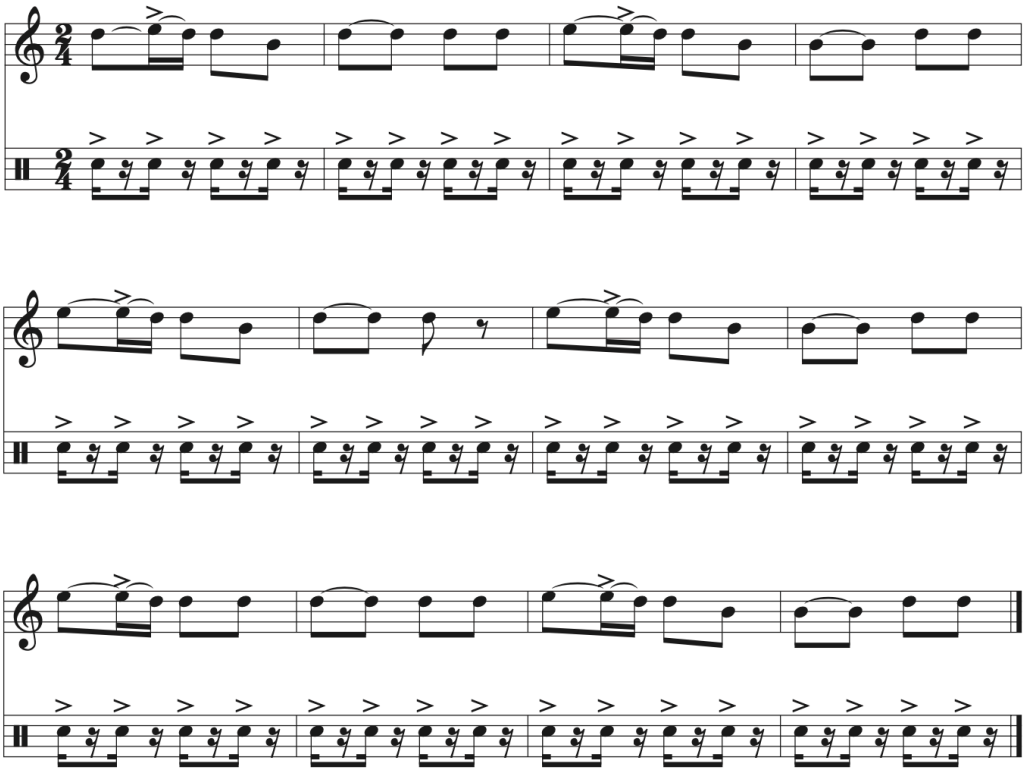

Figure 22, Transcription of "Waqhli Dance Song" from *The North American Indian*[175]

"On the Jocko" begins with a pentatonic motif in octaves in both staves, which repeats periodically throughout the piece between statements of the dance melody. (Figure 23)

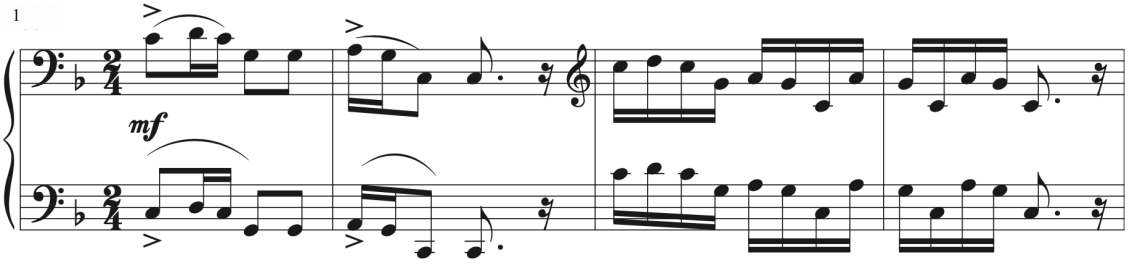

Figure 23, Musical Example From "On the Jocko"

In contrast to the introduction, the borrowed melody in a major mode is then introduced in the treble line and supported by chordal accompaniment in the bass. The rhythmic bass

[175] Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 8, 177.

line almost sounds like a ragtime accompaniment, first appearing in measure 5. (Figure 24)

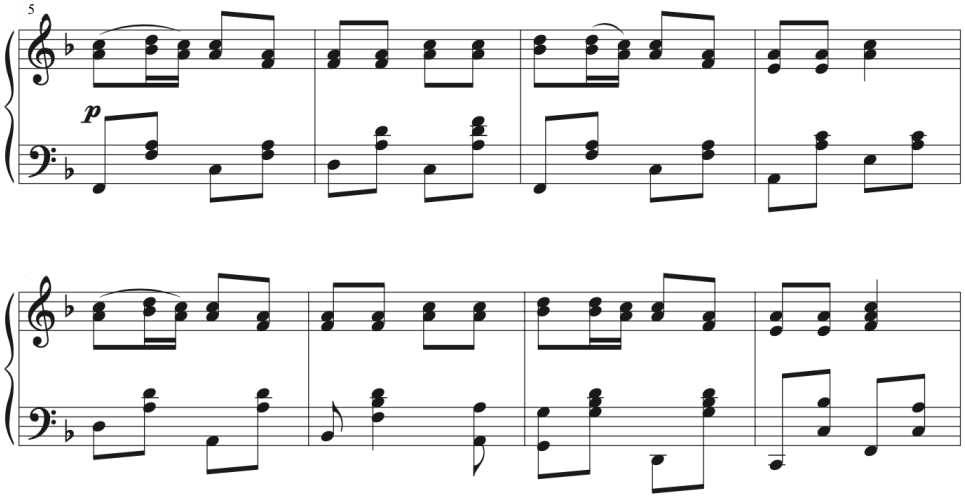

Figure 24, Musical Example From “On the Jocko”

Those characteristics, however, are also part of Gilbert’s American Indian musical language: a strong rhythmic pattern similar to the pulse of the tom tom rhythm. The contrast between the opening pentatonic motif and the accompanied dance melody might also bring to life the juxtaposition of a solo singer and dancers. At the end of the piece, all voices come together with a denser melodic texture in four parts as a joyous ending. (Figure 25)

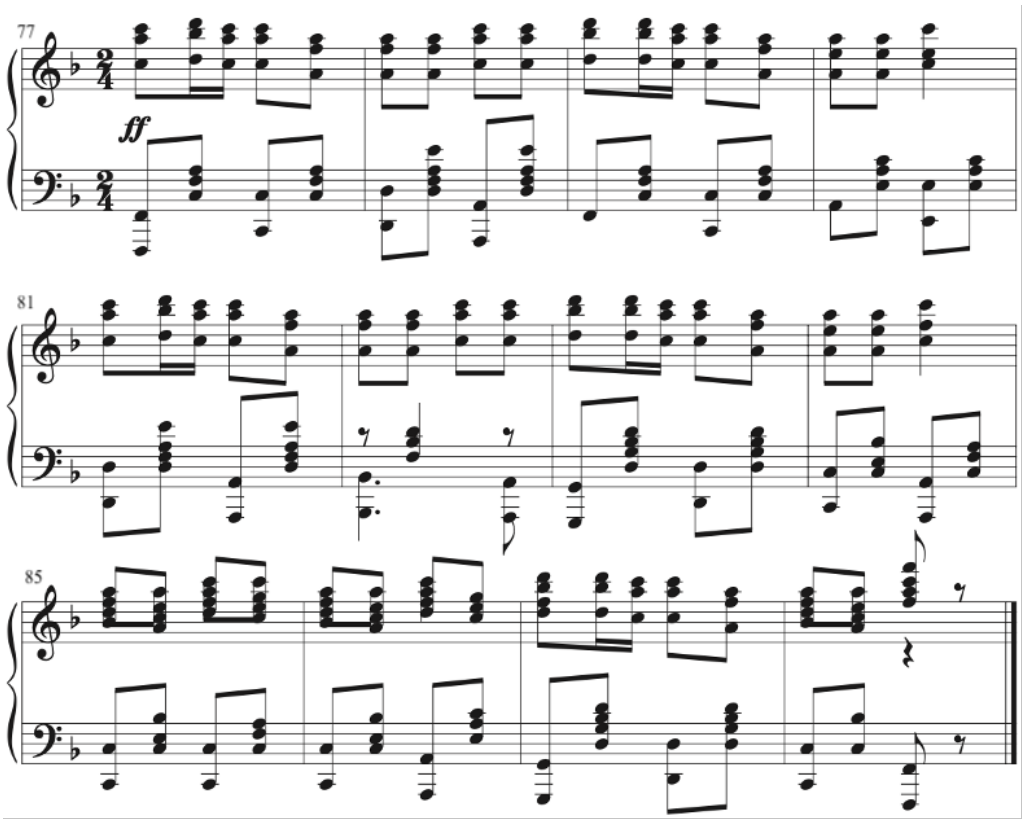

Figure 25, Musical Example From "On the Jocko"

This movement originally appeared in a section of Curtis's musicale titled "The Mountain Camp." This photograph series showcased "Indians in their dance, and in the third we see the participants more distinctly, the full enthusiasm of their ceremony upon them. This changes to a wonderful evening picture of the camp, gradually subdued by the darkness and quiet of night and slumber."[176] "On the Jocko" is likely the fourth photograph as it is set in the evening. "The Mountain Camp," including "On the Jocko," would have been heard in the middle of the program, but Gilbert made a decision to end his suite with the joyful ceremony. In fact, this movement is the only major movement of the suite, and the only dance. His Indian characters only rejoice when they are in a communal setting. His departure from the trope of solitude in the final movement,

[176] Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, 218.

however, only ends up setting into further relief the vanishing Indian theme in the previous movements.

Indian Scenes as American Indian Music History

Gilbert established a sense of indigeneity in *Indian Scenes* by contributing musically to Curtis's imagining of the uncertain fate of American Indians in the early 1900s. His use of Indian tropes misrepresented what were once American Indian songs and photographic imagery for Western narratives of Indigenous vanquishment and resilience. I do not believe that we should try to reclaim this music as American Indian music. But I do believe that acknowledging the way that American Indians had their music and likeness distorted in such a way makes room to reconsider this movement within a broader understanding of American Indian music history. American Indian music, interpretations of their music, and their photographs were translated through *Indian Scenes*. And Gilbert originally intended for these movements to teach a particular idea of American Indian musicality through various tropes of indigeneity. Even considering a piece such as *Indian Scenes* which had minimal input from American Indian performers or co-writers, the American conception of Indian music is ultimately a piece of American Indian music history.

Society's determinations of American Indian sounds have continually fed into the way that American Indians understood their music in society. *Indian Scenes* is one example of the way this happens. It was not a widespread success, however, so it is difficult to determine exactly what impact Gilbert's interpretation of American Indians had on the American Indian community. Other Indianist pieces that were more successful

often had active involvement from American Indians both in production and popularization. The following chapter examines the compositional process and performance history of a popular Indianist piece to further demonstrate the manner in which American Indians affected, and were affected by, the non-Native codification and idealization of American Indian musicality.

Chapter Three, Princess Watahwaso and Sitting Eagle's "By the Waters of Minnetonka"

Thurlow Lieurance was a composer, teacher, ethnographer, and collector of American Indian flutes.[177] He used American Indian melodies to compose his earliest works in the beginning of the twentieth century. Some scholars refer to him as an Indianist, but he was undoubtedly unique among them. The other Indianists were mostly based on the East Coast and had elite connections, such as studying with Antonín Dvořák, or partnering with federal ethnographers. Lieurance spent the majority of his life in Iowa and Kansas and studied music in Cincinnati. He also studied with Nadia Boulanger in the 1930s, but only after his initial success with Indianism.[178] He claimed that his familiarity with American Indian music came from his proximity to reservations and his family's marriage into various tribes. Unfortunately, Lieurance's biographical sources are less than reliable. Stories about his life are often written in hyperbole and lacks concrete dates or verifiable facts. He did achieve some degree of success with his 1914 piece for voice, piano, and flute, "By the Waters of Minnetonka." But he never gained acceptance from the more elite American musical community. He was also an outsider among the broader Indianist artistic community of ethnographers, authors, artists, and composers, a group that did not generally endorse his music and ethnographic work.

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[177] The Wichita State University music library holds Lieurance's wide collection of Indian flutes.
[178] "Biography of Thurlow Lieurance (1878–1963)," TLC, WSU, Box 47.

This rejection was due, in part, to the way in which Lieurance acquired American Indian information. He eschewed ethnography conventions of the time such as taxonomical classification and analysis. Even the BAE criticized Lieurance's methods, as I will explore further below. He nonetheless based most of his music, including "By the Waters," on his fieldwork, which was questionable despite his self-proclaimed personal relationships with American Indian interlocutors, singers, and musicians. He generally praised American Indians in his interviews. He published materials by them and thanked his "Indian friends" by name in his personal recollections.[179] But these small concessions do not make up for the fact that Lieurance's career as a composer and eventual head of the music department at Wichita State University was dependent on the labor and cultural products of American Indians. Despite the few instances mentioned above, Lieurance seldom named his American Indian interlocutors in print. Their labor deserves more recognition within Lieurance's achievements, particularly for the everlasting success of "By the Waters of Minnetonka."

This chapter presents "By the Waters of Minnetonka" as an achievement not of Indianism but of American Indian labor and performance. The popularity of "By the Waters" was based on two factors: the original field recording by a Sioux interlocutor named Sitting Eagle, and the extensive performance of the song by American Indians, primarily Lucy Nicolar, a Penobscot singer professionally known as Princess Watahwaso.[180] The song was commercially successful insofar as audiences felt that its mythic origins and the performer's race authenticated its Indian sound.

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[179] *Endah-Edesta*, TLC, WSU, Box 49, FF 2.

[180] Throughout this chapter, I refer to Nicolar using both her name and stage name Princess Watahwaso. I use Nicolar when referring to her biographical details and non-Indianist actions, and her stage name when referring to her involvement with Lieurance.

Example 1, Promotional Photograph of Princess Watahwaso[181]

Audiences and critics were captured by Sitting Eagle's song and myth as well as Princess Watahwaso's famed recording and performance history. Their contributions translated the music into sonic Indian signifiers that resonated deeply with twentieth-century listeners. This chapter considers an ethics of reattribution in Indianist scholarship. I do not believe that we should reclaim Indianist music as an American Indian music. But the success of "By the Waters" should nonetheless also be attributed to Sitting Eagle and

[181] "Princess Watahwaso and Assisting Artists," RCC, MSC0150, Series I Box 266, UofI.

Princess Watahwaso. To make this argument I will examine the song's ethnographic roots and performance history. I begin by exploring Lieurance's ethnographic method to foreground Sitting Eagle's impact on "By the Waters." I then analyze Lieurance's compositional method before launching into an analysis of "By the Waters"—not only as an Indianist work, but also as Princess Watahwaso's achievement. Since the archive is heavily weighted toward Lieurance, most of this chapter will necessarily focus on Lieurance as ethnographer and composer. But it will also explore alternative ways to recognize Indigenous attribution and accomplishment through critically rethinking composer archives and reanalyzing the music and its reception.

Ethnography and Composition

Unlike other ethnographers, Lieurance did not systematically document his ethnographic fieldwork. He kept neither a field journal nor correspondence from his time on reservations. He did not record the exact dates of his excursions, and corroborating evidence from interlocutors or other associated members of his ethnographic team has yet to be discovered. What does exist, however, are the phonograph recordings from his 1911 fieldwork in present-day Montana. According to Lieurance, these cylinders contain songs from Apache, Cheyenne, Crow, Gros Ventre, Nez Perce, Sioux, Taos Pueblo, and Ute peoples. Not all of these tribes are associated with that region of the United States. He later mentioned that some of these recordings took place "around a campfire on October evening … across the Little Big Horn from the Custer Battlefield in Montana" where "a number of Crow, Cheyenne, and Sioux Indians" were gathered.[182] It is unclear what type

[182] "By the Waters of Minnetonka: Stories of Famous Concert Songs! (interview with Thurlow Lieurance)," *The Etude* 50, no. 6 (June 1932): 396.

of gathering this was, or if "Montana" was a misnomer, or if Lieurance found members of those more distant communities in Montana, or if these tribal associations were simply falsified. This type of disorganization undermines confidence in Lieurance's methodology and claims.

Lieurance's documents do not explain who or what funded his 1911 fieldwork. Some of his press materials claim that he was funded by the Smithsonian, or more broadly "the U.S. government," but, as we will see, this was not true. A few interviews assert that Lieurance's brother was a surgeon for the OIA stationed at the Crow Reservation.[183] Even if this were true, it would not necessarily give Lieurance access to singers. A retrospective on his music alleges that he was a member of the Dixon-Wanamaker Expedition earlier in his career, but the dates of this particular expedition, led by businessman and American Indian enthusiast Rodman Wanamaker, do not seem to correlate with the details of his Montana fieldwork.[184] He did not have formal professional relationships, federal contracts, or monetary allowances for interlocutors. Instead, he attributed his success in fieldwork to his ability to make friends on reservations.

His recollections about the ethnographic work he undertook are quite generalized. He liked to make vague statements, such as "there was an educated Indian boy acting as an interpreter," or "the war chief, with an interpreter, was there."[185] He did not usually explain the way that his interlocutors were related to his expedition or their names, so it is difficult to know what information his interlocutors supplied. By comparison,

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[183] Hazel Gertrude Kinscella, "Thurlow Lieurance's Researches in Indian Song Disclose Rich Material for Our Composers," *Musical America* 29, no. 26 (April 1919): 3.
[184] Jennie Small Owen, "Kansas Folks Worth Knowing," *Kansas Teacher* (May 1940): 44.
[185] Thurlow Lieurance, "Saving Indian Music from Oblivion," *The Etude* 31, no. 13 (December 1913): 857.

Lieurance's ethnographic process was less standardized than those of his federally funded contemporaries. As Judith Gray, Library of Congress American Folklife Center archivist, wrote in 1985: "Lieurance was no scholar. He occasionally did refer to the circumstance of collecting a specific song or story, but his interests were not ethnographic."[186] She even identifies apparent errors in his work. For example, she noted that a supposed "a sample of 'Chippewa language'" in an unpublished manuscript, *Endah-Edesta*, actually "bears no resemblance to an Algonquin language."[187]

Despite these inaccuracies, the recordings from his 1911 fieldwork and their associated materials provide the best window into his ethnographic method. The song he used for "By the Waters" was allegedly recorded during this trip. It is listed on the acquisition receipt as a love song recorded by Mortimer Dreamer, or Sitting Eagle. Lieurance erroneously referred to Sitting Eagle as both Crow and Sioux. Records indicate that he worked as a "laborer" for the OIA and that he attended the Crow Indian School, so it is probable that Lieurance was mistaken.[188] Unfortunately, the particular cylinder with Sitting Eagle's love song presumably broke; it was never digitized by the Library of Congress despite a receipt from Lieurance's initial deposit. The other cylinders, however, indicate the type of music Lieurance collected and the way he collected it. Since Library of Congress patrons do not have access to the physical wax cylinders, a Library of Congress archivist to described the state of the recording and provided further information about its container and associated materials on the digitized version. One cylinder contains a recording titled "Medicine Pipe Songs." The archivist prefaces on the

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[186] Judith Gray, "Notes," 1985. Thurlow Lieurance Collection of Cylinder Recordings, 1911–1912, LOC.
[187] Ibid.
[188] "Official Report of Indian Service Changes for August," *The Chilocco Indian School Journal* 8 no. 1 (1907): 68.

recording that the box contains a note: "sung without permission of the medicine man by Sitting Eagle." This note contradicts a 1919 article in *Musical America*, which states that "Mr. Lieurance had secured one precious war-song of the Cheyenne. This is the medicine pipe song. Mortimer Dreamer (Sitting Eagle) knew the medicine-man and so was able to give Mr. Lieurance the songs peculiar to that profession."[189] The archivist's claim seems more probable, given the article's first incorrect claim that the song belonged to the Cheyenne people.

Sitting Eagle could well have divulged sensitive information without permission; Margaret Bruchac has shown this to occur among American Indian ethnographers and archaeologists.[190] But it is also impossible to know if Sitting Eagle sang a protected song. Lieurance more than once bragged about his ability to record protected songs despite refusal. He admitted in an interview that the Taos Pueblo "war chief," Ventura, made him feel "about as welcome as a skunk," and that the chief dissuaded Pueblos from participating in Lieurance's recording for fear of their spiritual well-being.[191] The article implies that Lieurance did not care about the Ventura's spiritual concerns. He "secretly got some of the best singers away from the Pueblo and made about a hundred records."[192] (Ventura apparently accepted these "through kindness" once he heard Lieurance perform some of his compositions.) This evidence points to Lieurance's disregard for tribal customs and a tenuous relationship with the truth.

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[189] Kinscella, "Thurlow Lieurance's Researches," 4.
[190] See Bruchac, *Savage Kin.* See esp. chap. 3, "Representing Modernity: Beulah Tahamont and Arthur Parker," 48–83.
[191] Kinscella, "Thurlow Lieurance's Researches," 4.
[192] Ibid.

In 1911, Lieurance wrote to the OIA with regard to these phonograph recordings. He offered his recordings free of charge for the federal repository of music ethnography which was not under the purview of the OIA, but the BAE. He also casually recommended his services as an ethnographer. In 1912 Frederick Webb Hodge, the Director of the BAE (rather than the OIA, to whom Lieurance incorrectly addressed his request), declined by stating that the BAE was not extending their American Indian music studies program. After another inquiry by Lieurance in 1914, he replied more forcefully:

> Permit me to say, however, that the Bureau of American Ethnology is not endeavoring to make a collection or records of Indian music, except such as are recorded by our own representatives in connection with their ethnologic studies, since without more or less definite knowledge respecting the employment of the songs in association with Indian rites and ceremonies it is not believed that they could be put to the fullest use.[193]

In 1921, Acting Director of the BAE Jesse Walter Fewkes told Lieurance that his work was not of academic interest. "The efforts of the Bureau of American Ethnology are directed to rescuing the fast vanishing aboriginal customs of the Indians and the dramatization of the San Geronimo Fiesta [Lieurance's proposed fieldwork] would be foreign to the study of the American Indians for which our appropriation is made by Congress."[194] The implication is that Lieurance's work was neither historically grounded nor academically rigorous.

One letter from 1915, however, indicates that the acting secretary of the BAE did agree to accept some recordings. Lieurance sent cylinders with about 500 songs to the BAE. But contemporary records show that they did not archive these cylinders upon receipt. Lieurance nonetheless proceeded to describe himself as a "Smithsonian

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[193] Frederick Webb Hodge to Thurlow Lieurance, March 17 1914. TLC, WSU, Box 47.
[194] Jesse Walter Fewkes, March 8 1921. TLC, WSU, Box 47.

ethnographer" in his press releases and composer notes around the debut of "By the Waters." By 1925, however, that over-inflation reached the bureau. A researcher sent a letter to the BAE asking for Lieurance's recordings, to which Chief Clerk H.W. Dorsey replied that they had no record of Lieurance's work.[195] Dorsey then confronted Lieurance. Lieurance replied that he never claimed to have recorded 500 songs for the Smithsonian, but was under the impression that his recordings were being held by the BAE.[196] Through the 1920s and 1930s, press materials still printed Lieurance's false claims. One researcher wrote to the Smithsonian Institution in 1945 to inquire about Lieurance's cylinders. Acting Chief Frank H. H. Roberts Jr. replied that Lieurance's work was not sponsored by the Smithsonian, and that his recordings had been transferred to the National Archives. The American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress ultimately received these records. But, as Judith Gray queried in 1985 concerning Lieurance's collection, "was there ever, in fact, hundreds of cylinders?"[197] Currently, the Library of Congress claims to have thirty-two such cylinders.

The contents list of phonograph recordings that accompany these cylinders names the informants with whom Lieurance worked: Sitting Eagle, Chief Turkey Leggs, and Dennison Wheelock. But these are recordings of multiple singers, not single individuals. The performers begin immediately after Lieurance announces the song title, as if they were waiting for his cue. This is not the behavior typical of a spontaneous performance. The recordings are quite long; each melody repeats many times. One low voice talks to the group prior to their entrance, and sometimes during the song, although due to the

[195] H.W. Dorsey to Mrs. M. Conlan, June 12 1925. TLC, WSU, Box 47.
[196] Thurlow Lieurance to H.W. Dorsey, June 5 1925. TLC, WSU, Box 47.
[197] Judith Gray, "Notes," 1985. Thurlow Lieurance Collection of Cylinder Recordings, 1911–1912, LOC.

condition of the recordings it is difficult to hear if they are speaking English and what is being said. The singers cooperate and sing in unison. This indicates that what is being sung was at least rehearsed, even if it was not actually a song from their community.

Either in response to, or as a result of, the BAE's general refusal to accept Lieurance's work, he occasionally opposed ethnographic principles of the time. He argued that American Indian songs were mostly "occupational," rather than spiritual or social—two categories of American Indian music that he believed the BAE to care most about.[198] He did not approve of what he called the "archaeological" treatment of American Indian music:

> It has always been my feeling that this material should not be dragged into musical composition where the purpose is more archaeological than musical. Unless these themes can be idealized and presented in a way that does not destroy the original flavor, and unless the composer can see the beauties of them, he had better not attempt them. They must stand on their own musical merit or not at all.[199]

In this statement, he argues that American Indian music should be used insofar as it is aesthetically beautiful and not a historical artifact, which Fewkes implied was the BAE's focus in his rejection of Lieurance's fieldwork. He also seems to believe that composers should not corrupt the inherent beauty of American Indian music when they use it to compose. One would assume that using the music "archaeologically," or as a historical object, would be the least corruptive method of borrowing American Indian music, but he believed that it must also be "idealized" to preserve its beauty. This contradiction points to Lieurance's misunderstanding of the principles of American Indian music ethnography

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[198] Thurlow Lieurance, "Beauties in the Music of the American Indian," *The Etude* 36, no. 1 (January 1918): 13.
[199] Lieurance, "Beauties in the Music," 13.

of the time as well as his own ideological inconsistencies regarding American Indian music and Indianism.

Lieurance's method of idealizing, however, ignored much of the inherent beauty for which he advocated. He complained that the piano was unable to mimic the "split intervals" and "portamentos" of Indian musicality,[200] and he did not perceive that American Indians had harmony "except occasionally accidental harmony."[201] These views, particularly that American Indian music was comparatively underdeveloped, suggest his overall primitivist view of American Indian musicality. He wrote that American Indian music was a "human impulse" from "spontaneous, natural origin,"[202] with similar characteristics that correspond "very closely—in fact dovetail exactly—with those just now being brought to light by scientific delvers in the background of Oriental life," a belief in one shared primitive past.[203] He not only believed that American Indian music was underdeveloped but that American Indians were unable to progress to the point that they would view music as an art. He wrote that he "never encountered [an Indian] that seemed to possess the qualities to do for his race what [Samuel] Coleridge-Taylor did for the negro," because Indians are only able to understand music as perfunctory, but not as a philosophical "necessary medium of life."[204]

These comments are at odds with the praise he gave to his "friends," whom he viewed as exceptional to their race.[205] He seemed to regard his interlocutors and musician

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[200] Lieurance, "Beauties in the Music," 14.
[201] Thurlow Lieurance, "The Musical Soul of the American Indian," in *Indian Music* (Philadelphia: The Etude Musical Booklet Library, Theodore Presser, 1928), 5.
[202] Lieurance, "The Musical Soul of the American Indian," 5.
[203] Hazel Gertrude Kinscella, "Lieurance Traces American Indian Music to Oriental Origins," *Musical America* (April 1923), no page.
[204] Lieurance, "The Musical Soul of the American Indian," 7.
[205] Ibid.

friends in high esteem as evidenced by the effusive praise in the introduction to an unpublished manuscript on Indian culture, *Endah-Edesta*.[206] He often wrote kind sentiments about Princess Watahwaso, as well, but he also referred to her and other performers with paternalistic rhetoric. He called Watahwaso and Tsianina Redfeather his "Indian proteges [*sic*]" whom he gave the "opportunit[y] to go on the Chautauqua circuits and concert platforms,"[207] despite the fact that Watahwaso actually earned more as a singer than Lieurance as a composer.[208] This terminology comes up frequently in his press materials. One interviewer wrote that Lieurance had been "instrumental in having many young Indians educated and when unusual talent in music has been developed, he unselfishly helped these young people to market their wares."[209] He believed that it was his "missionary purpose to make the art and music of the Indian understood by the white people of America ... Help them to compete with other races."[210]

In this we see the duality of his praise. On the one hand, he felt gratitude for the people and musicians who made his work possible. On the other, he believed that creating a career which profited from their undervalued labor was actually for their own benefit. Fittingly, he did not often recognize specific tribes or interlocutors in his music or his writing. His written materials and interviews often conflated cultural distinctions among communities and did not cite or thank those from whom he sourced his information. For all that Lieurance wrote about "By the Waters," its sheet music only mentions his name as composer and copyright holder, and that of the dedicatee, a Mr.

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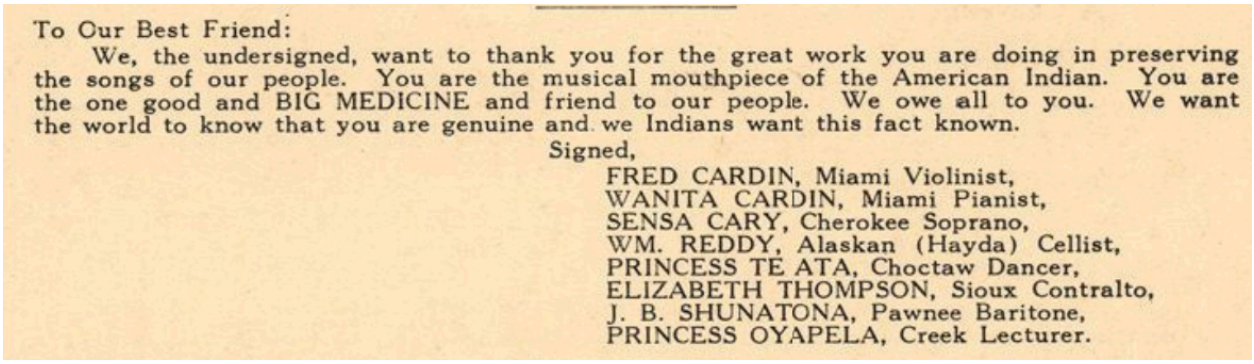
[206] *Endah-Edesta*, TLC, WSU, Box 49, FF 2.
[207] Lieurance, "The Musical Soul of the American Indian," 7.
[208] Bunny McBride, "Princess Watahwaso: Bright Star of the Penobscot" in *Of Place and Gender: Women in Maine History* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2005), 104.
[209] Kinscella, "Thurlow Lieurance's Researches in Indian Song," 3.
[210] Lieurance, "The Musical Soul of the American Indian," 7.

Alfred Williams.[211] Likewise, in his 1920 printed collection *Songs of the North American Indian*, which includes "By the Waters," Lieurance anonymized all interlocutor references and wrote about American Indian musical aesthetics without tribal specificity.[212] Lieurance's supposed deference for American Indian culture does not hold up against his casual disregard of American Indian ethnography and his interlocutors' labor.

We do not have any information that tells us what Sitting Eagle, Chief Turkey Leggs, or Dennison Wheelock felt either about their participation in Lieurance's fieldwork, or about Lieurance, or about ethnography in general. Lieurance believed that American Indians "recognize an idealized song when it is well executed and as all beautiful [*sic*] implies to them the superhuman, they delight in it … they can trace the relationship between the original theme and the idealized song."[213] But his records do not offer American Indian perspectives on his music. Author Paige Lush cites a letter signed by notable American Indian performers for Lieurance's promotional materials in 1922 to demonstrate that his American Indian friends were fond of him.[214]



To Our Best Friend:

We, the undersigned, want to thank you for the great work you are doing in preserving the songs of our people. You are the musical mouthpiece of the American Indian. You are the one good and BIG MEDICINE and friend to our people. We owe all to you. We want the world to know that you are genuine and we Indians want this fact known.

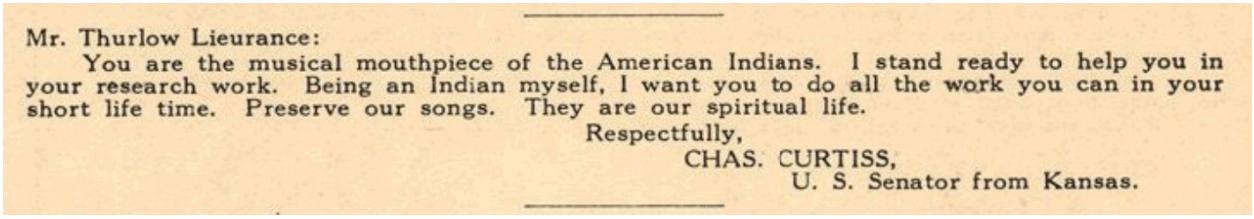
Signed,

FRED CARDIN, Miami Violinist,
WANITA CARDIN, Miami Pianist,
SENSA CARY, Cherokee Soprano,
WM. REDDY, Alaskan (Hayda) Cellist,
PRINCESS TE ATA, Choctaw Dancer,
ELIZABETH THOMPSON, Sioux Contralto,
J. B. SHUNATONA, Pawnee Baritone,
PRINCESS OYAPELA, Creek Lecturer.

[211] Thurlow Lieurance, "By the Waters of Minnetonka," (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1914).
[212] Thurlow Lieurance, *Songs of the North American Indian*, (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1920).
[213] Lieurance, "Beauties in the Music of the American Indian," 13.
[214] Paige Lush, *Music in the Chautauqua Movement: From 1874 to the 1930s* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 177.

Example 2, Letter from Cardin, Cary, Et. Al. in Lieurance Promotional Materials[215]

But upon further inspection, two separate letters in the same promotional brochure may have been written by the same author. The other letter is attributed to Charles Curtis, then-Senator from Kansas who would later be the first, and only, American Indian Vice-President of the United States under Herbert Hoover.



Mr. Thurlow Lieurance:

You are the musical mouthpiece of the American Indians. I stand ready to help you in your research work. Being an Indian myself, I want you to do all the work you can in your short life time. Preserve our songs. They are our spiritual life.

Respectfully,

CHAS. CURTISS,

U. S. Senator from Kansas.

Example 3, Letter from Charles Curtis in Lieurance Promotional Materials[216]

These letters share the same unusual metaphor: "You are the musical mouthpiece of the American Indian." The phrase "you are the musical mouthpiece," and its variants, is so unusual that even a basic internet search returns only Lush's book with this citation, the original document, and a letter between two turn-of-the-century poets. This leads me to believe that these letters of praise are not the direct words of the undersigned, but may have been written by the same author, who may not have been Native. Thus we do not have reliable evidence of American Indian goodwill toward Lieurance other than what he wrote about himself, save for a short recollection by Tsianina Redfeather which I discuss in Chapter Four.

[215] "Songs, Stories, and Legends of the American Indian: Thurlow Lieurance, Mrs. Thurlow Lieurance, George B. Tack," RCC, MSC0150, Series I Box 189, UofI.
[216] Ibid.

"By the Waters of Minnetonka"

Lieurance first published "By the Waters of Minnetonka" in 1914 with Theodore Presser. This composition encompassed his entire ethos as a collector, composer, and educator. He recorded the melody in 1911, composed the piece in 1914, and used it as an educational tool to lecture on American Indian music and customs throughout the twentieth century. After a notable debut on the Redpath Chautauqua Circuit in 1917, "By the Waters" surged in popularity. The piece became a standard for women's choirs and small ensembles, and eventually found its way to popular music and jazz. Lieurance's archive contains over three hundred compositions, not including alternative arrangements or reprintings. Of those, nearly one third are based on Indian themes or contain Indian imagery, between the time he wrote "By the Waters" until as late as the 1950s.

Lieurance described the original song upon which he based his composition as a Sioux story of forbidden love between two clans. He referred to the story as a "legend" and a "myth" in interviews and press materials. As such, he mythologized its origin by shrouding the song in mystery. At times, he said that he was compelled toward "the beating drums" and "high piercing measure" where he found Sitting Eagle on the Crow Reservation singing.[217] We know, however, from his field recordings that they were not that extemporaneous. Neither interviews nor his own writing contextualized the song with historical nor cultural facts. Instead, he often wrote in generalities, such as "no one knows how old the Sioux Love Song is," or that the song was "many moons old."[218]

[217] Owen, "Kansas Folks Worth Knowing", 45.
[218] "Ancient Sioux Legend Inspired Composition of Minnetonka Waters," TLC, WSU, Box 47 FF 9; "By the Waters of Minnetonka: Stories of Famous Concert Songs," 449.

Lieurance's version of the story prioritizes the tragedy between the Moon and Sun Clans. In his retelling, Moon Deer, daughter of the Moon Clan, and Sun Deer, son of the Sun Clan, fell in love. Their clans, however, forbade intermarriage. The couple ran away to Lake Minnetonka where the Sioux's enemies, the Chippewas, lived across the lake. Knowing that their families disapproved and that their enemies were nearby, Sun Deer and Moon Deer drowned themselves in the lake. When their families happened upon Lake Minnetonka while hunting, they heard the lake sing a sad melody. Two lilies appeared and grew to the sky. These were supposed to be the spirits of Moon Deer and Sun Deer.[219] Lieurance used the themes and imagery from that Sioux story to illustrate "By the Waters," as he described in a program for the Redpath Circuit Chautauqua:

> In the song [the lovers] will arise from the depths of the lake for you; you will hear the steady and regular beat of their paddles, and see the diamond spray drip off in the moonlight as they pass, once again, in their ghost canoe. A violin typifying the wind, if you choose, echoes the soft harmonies of the accompaniment, which rocks to and fro on harp-chords, between the major key and its relative minor, in and out of that singular domain musicians know as the added sixth chord and its derivatives.[220]

Lieurance viewed his piece as a musical illustration of the original story. But I do not believe that the musical imagery in "By the Waters" is strong enough to provide a clear narrative of the story. The concept of Indian lore is more evident in the simplicity of the harmonic progression and the wide intervals of the vocal line, which are supported by an ornamental piano flourish and a flute countermelody.

Lyricist J.M. Cavanass wrote the lyrics based on Lieurance's interpretation of Sitting Eagle's song. As such, the lyrics allude to the story, but do not give a full

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[219] "Ancient Sioux Legend Inspired Composition of Minnetonka Waters," TLC, WSU, Box 47, FF 9.
[220] "Songs, Stories, and Legends of the American Indian: Thurlow Lieurance, Mrs. Thurlow Lieurance, George B. Tack," RCC, MSC0150, Series I Box 189, UofI.

narrative of the events. It is sung from the point of view of both lovers, Moon Deer and Sun Deer.

A: Moon Deer, how near
Your soul divine.
Sun Deer, no fear
In heart of mine.

B: Skies blue o'er you
Look down in love;
Waves bright, give light
As on they move!

A': Hear thou my vow
To live, to die.
Moon Deer, thee near
Beneath this sky.

Cavanass interpreted a poetic version of the story and reduced it to a love story rather than the more complicated story of conflict between two clans. Lieurance's musical rendition also reduces the tale to its more basic love story implications. He arranged the melody like a Western love song: gentle swells, longing fermatas, and satisfying cadences, with supportive harmonic accompaniment.

"By the Waters" is a small ternary form, ABA'. Each A section is a sixteen-measure compound parallel period. The first statement of A features a fluid melody in two themes with gentle, wide leaps in a I-V-I progression. B changes the mood with a choppier melodic line and a more complex harmonic progression. B ends with a dramatic fermata before the recapitulation (A') begins. Unlike other Indianist songs, the piece is not modal but diatonic. But the thirty-second note octuplet in the harmonic

accompaniment, introduced in the first two measures of the piece, are more characteristically Indian. (Figure 1)

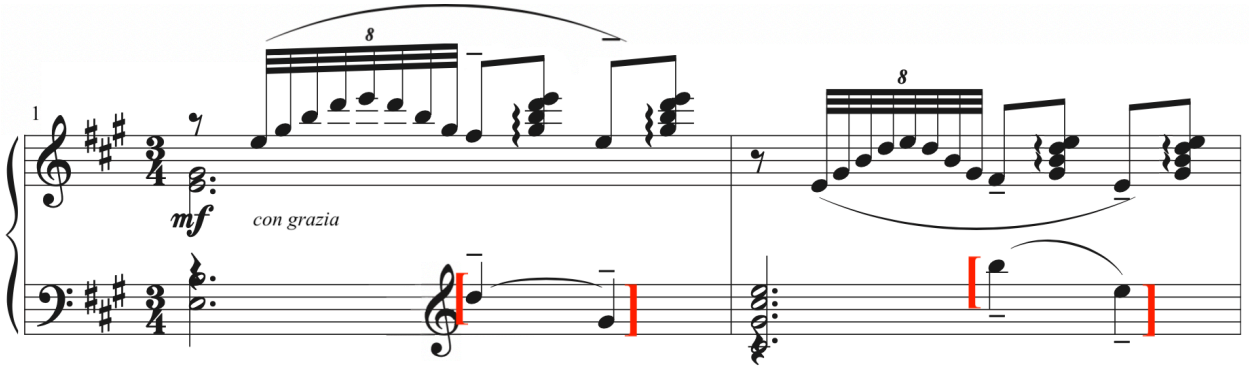

Figure 1, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

This arabesque moves through various scales while the left hand blocks chords in a straight- forward A major harmonic structure. Reviewers of the time noted that the piano accompaniment mimicked the "ripple of the waters" concealing the lovers' bodies. But the octuplet leads to two repeated block chords which halt the waterlike flow. The "rippling" effect is minimal. Instead, the arabesque signals a sonic exoticism and adds vitality to the general simplicity of the melody and harmony. This introduction also features a sighing gesture between D and G (in brackets in Figure 1) which returns as a sigh between F-sharp and E (in brackets in Figure 2) throughout the entire piece.

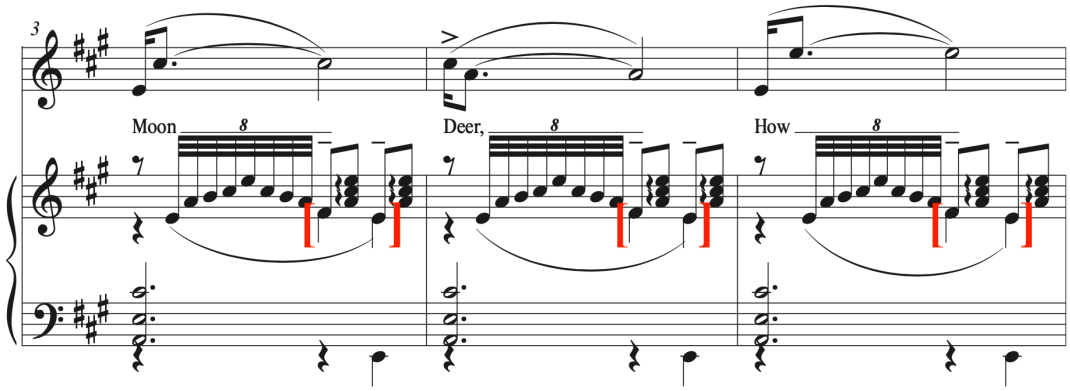

Figure 2, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

That sigh, even though it occurs on a whole step, signals unrequited desire, and grounds this piece within the characteristics of more traditional love songs.

The first A section has two themes which move slowly above a simple dominant-tonic alternation. (Figure 3)

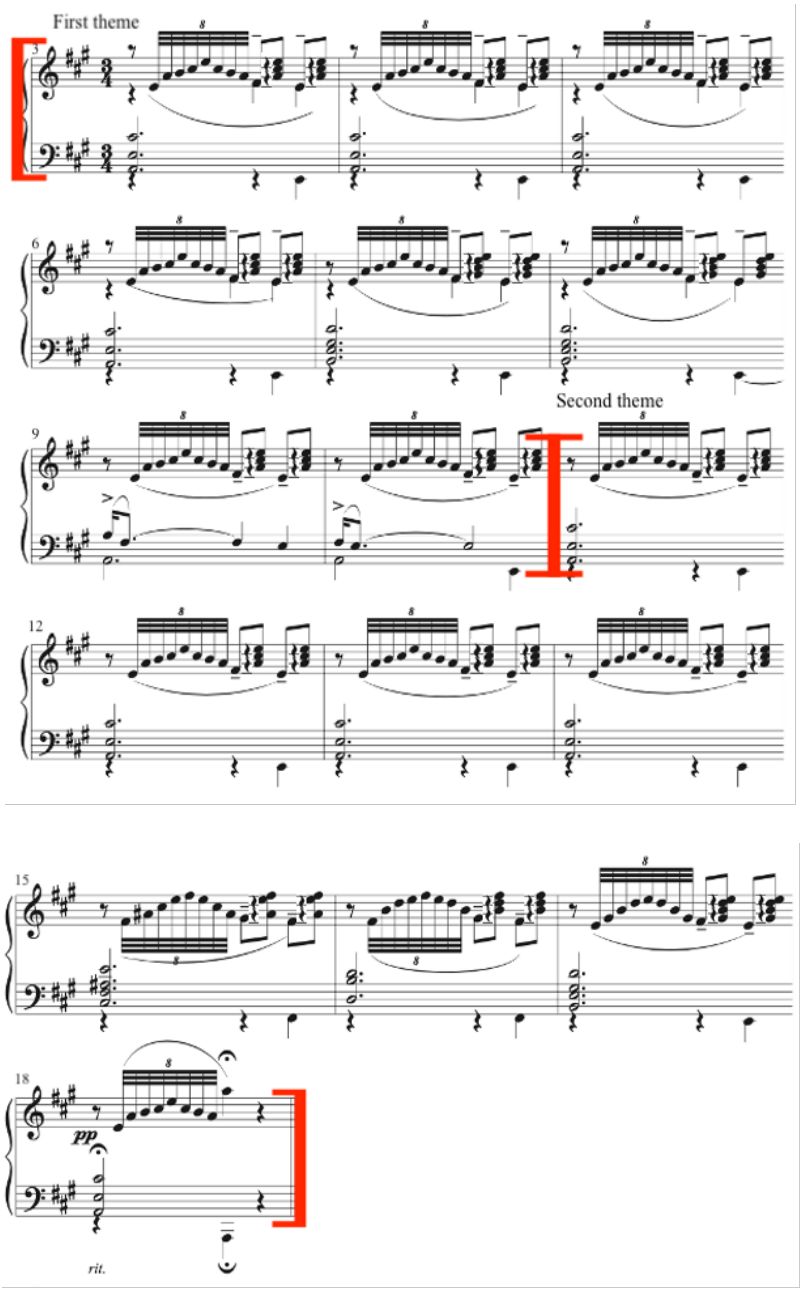

Figure 3, Musical Example from “By the Waters”

Each bar contains a leap to the next pitch which is sustained until the end of the measure. These snap rhythm figures are common in other folk musics and would have evoked a folk quality for audiences. Each ascending leap is followed by a descending motion until the descent pushes the melody to the end of the theme. The first theme moves from the tonic to the dominant seventh in its fifth and sixth measures, resolving back to the tonic in its seventh and eighth measures. The melody descends to the fifth of the tonic at this resolution. (Figure 4)

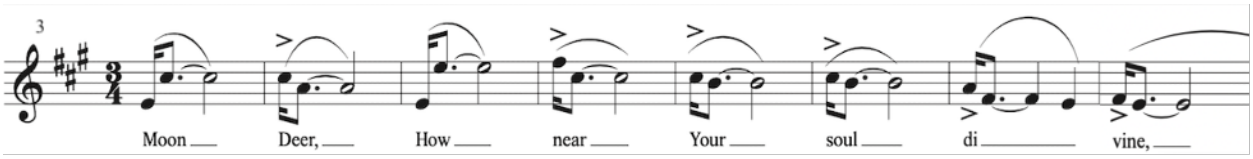

Figure 4, Theme One from “By the Waters”

The second eight-measure theme is similar to the first, but the harmonic line briefly ventures to the secondary dominant to extend the tension before the resolution leading to B. Additionally, the vocal line resolves with an ascending P4 interval on the root of the tonic on the fermata at the end of this compound period. (Figure 5) This transitions to the mood change at B.

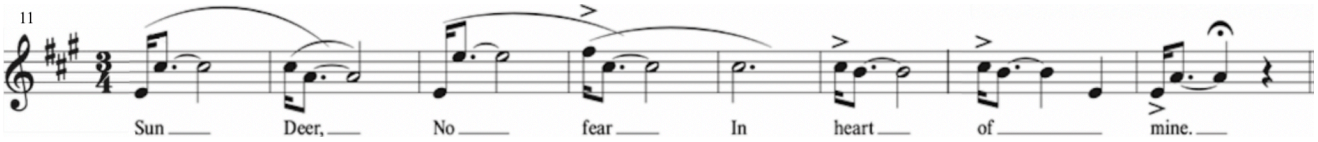

Figure 5, Theme Two from “By the Waters”

In comparison, the harmony of the B section is more complex. It builds tension by oscillating between the circle of fifths, changing once per measure in contrast to the slower rate in A. (Figure 6)

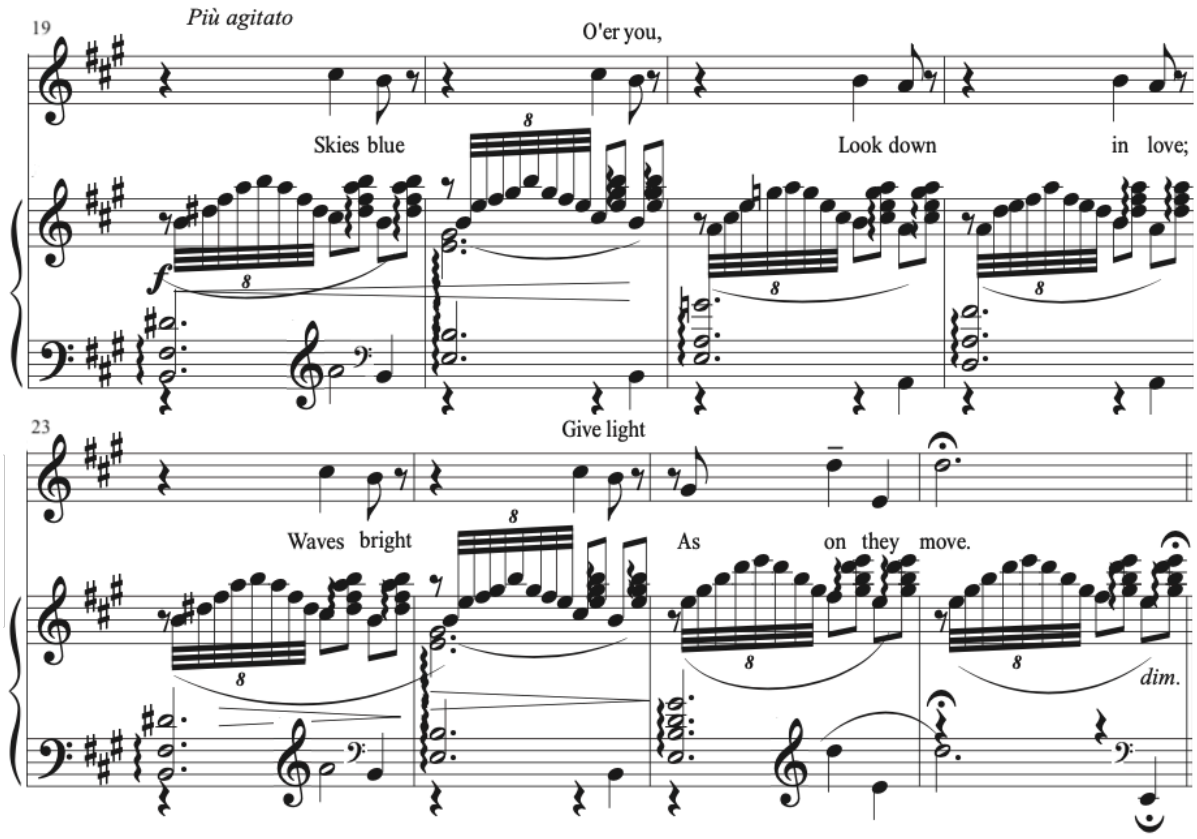

Figure 6, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

The vocal line of the B section is more rushed, with quarter rests and quick bursts that abruptly end to match the *più agitato* marking. This section ends on a V7 that lingers beneath a fermata before the A' section enters on the tonic.

A' is almost identical to the first, but the lyrics describe the lovers' deaths instead of their love. The melody does not change, but the harmony of the first theme of the second A period differs slightly. The first theme moves from the tonic to dominant in the fifth and sixth measures, but the harmony does not use the seventh in the dominant before resolving back to the tonic. The arabesque in the accompaniment leads to a dominant seventh chord, but its effect is understated, moored by the deeper chords in the left hand. Compared to A, this theme thus has less harmonic tension in its resolution as the singer proclaims their death: "Hear thou / My vow /To live / to die." (Figure 7)

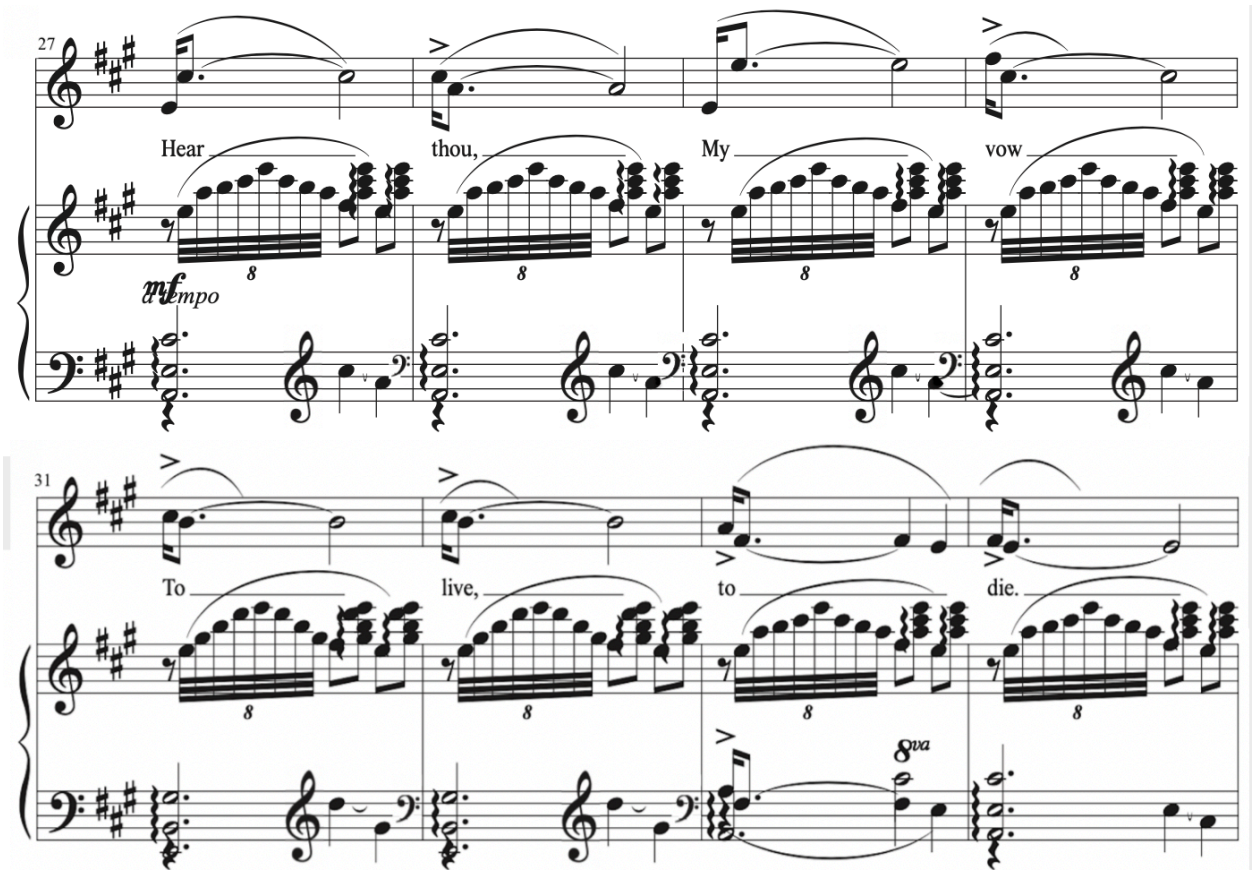

Figure 7, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

The second theme of A' ends with the same harmonic progression as the ending of the first A period, despite the subtle change from the dominant seventh in its first theme. This analysis shows that "By the Waters" is not exaggeratedly Indian in form or aesthetics. The melodic conventions and harmonic structure are typical for Western vocal music, and the predictable tension and release mimic the romantic poetic interpretation of the Sioux story.

Lieurance added an optional flute line between the voice and piano. In some versions, this line was also advertised as a violin accompaniment. The addition of the flute, despite the instrument's association with American Indian music, does not necessarily make this piece sound more stereotypically Indian. The sighing figures

mentioned previously might suggest the flute, perhaps in reference to the romantic trope that Indian men call to lovers on a flute. But overall, the flute makes the piece sound more classical, while also adding to the dramatic action of the love story. In the first A section, the flute builds momentum toward the shift to the dominant, and helps the melody resolve before B. (Figure 8)

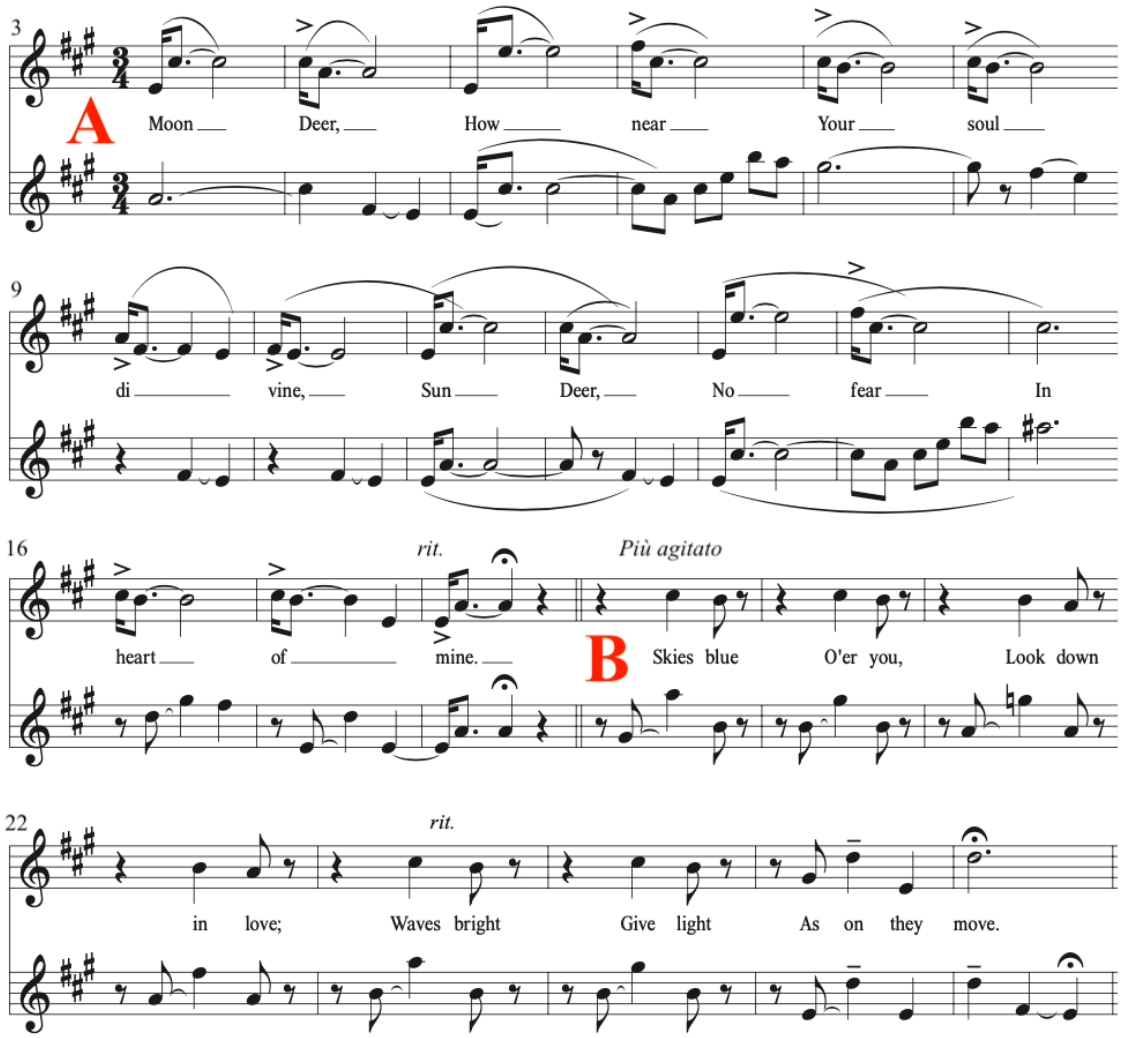

Figure 8, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

In the last two measures before B, however, the flute introduces a new rhythmic figure on the upbeat, a more excited rhythmic figure than previously heard. B begins with

a *più agitato*, signaling the musicians to perform more agitated than the previous section. This section features the same energetic rhythm introduced by the flute now in the vocal line, as well. The flute has an eighth-note lead on the melody and sounds above the melodic line either a fifth or sixth above, occasionally in unison. The duet between the flute and voice adds a climactic tension to the love story: agitation, breathlessness, "waves bright, give light, as on they move," possibly signaling the moments before they drown. The relationship between the voice and the flute dramatizes the lore, but does not necessarily add more Indian musical characteristics.

Although we do not have Lieurance's field recording of the melody used in "By the Waters," none of the recordings sound similar to this melody. The recorded melodies are short phrases without typical Western cadences. The way the melody appears in "By the Waters" is more fluid and melodic than in any of the field recordings Lieurance made. Furthermore, the composed song has distinct sections and relies on a pattern of tension and release not heard in any of his recordings. He did believe, however, that American Indian love songs were unlike other songs. "[The Indian] uses intervals which are not found in a scale of whole and half steps. There are, however, exceptions to this statement, as in the love songs of the Sioux … They harmonize well and are often beautiful … The Sioux Indians have music of perfect intervals and their love songs are the most melodious to all our ears."[221] But even the few love songs preserved on phonograph do not sound like this melody, including other love songs that are credited to Sitting Eagle. It is unfortunate that we cannot compare "By the Waters" to the transcription or to the recording. I suspect, however, that Lieurance's piece, like many Indianist works, was not

[221] Lieurance, "Saving Indian Music from Oblivion," 857.

a replication of the original song, but rather loosely based on the overall aesthetic of his understanding of Sitting Eagle's song.

Compared to many other works, "By the Waters" is not as stereotypically Indianist. It does not have the exaggerated primitivism that other Indianists, such as Arthur Farwell, prided themselves on. Nor does it have the comparatively more modern composition style and intense programmatic imagery that we saw in Henry Gilbert's *Indian Scenes*. But this may have been why the piece became so popular. Many of Lieurance's other Indianist pieces that were not as popular actually sounded more stereotypically Indian than his biggest hit. These compositions were similar in that they were typically arranged for small ensembles or accompanied vocals and the sheet music includes the legend of the borrowed song's origin. But "A Sioux Serenade" (1916), for example, does not have a ternary form like "By the Waters," nor does it have the dramatic action and corresponding musical cues of a Western love song. Instead, "A Sioux Serenade" has a meandering melody, more rhapsodic than the constrained "By the Waters," allowing space for vocal flourishes and stark leaps. The accompaniment is not just a repeating arabesque figure with chords, but a sparser line that adds emphasis and ornamentation to the narrative singer. Its overall effect is intended to be enigmatic and "exotic" with fewer references to concert music of the time. (Figure 9)

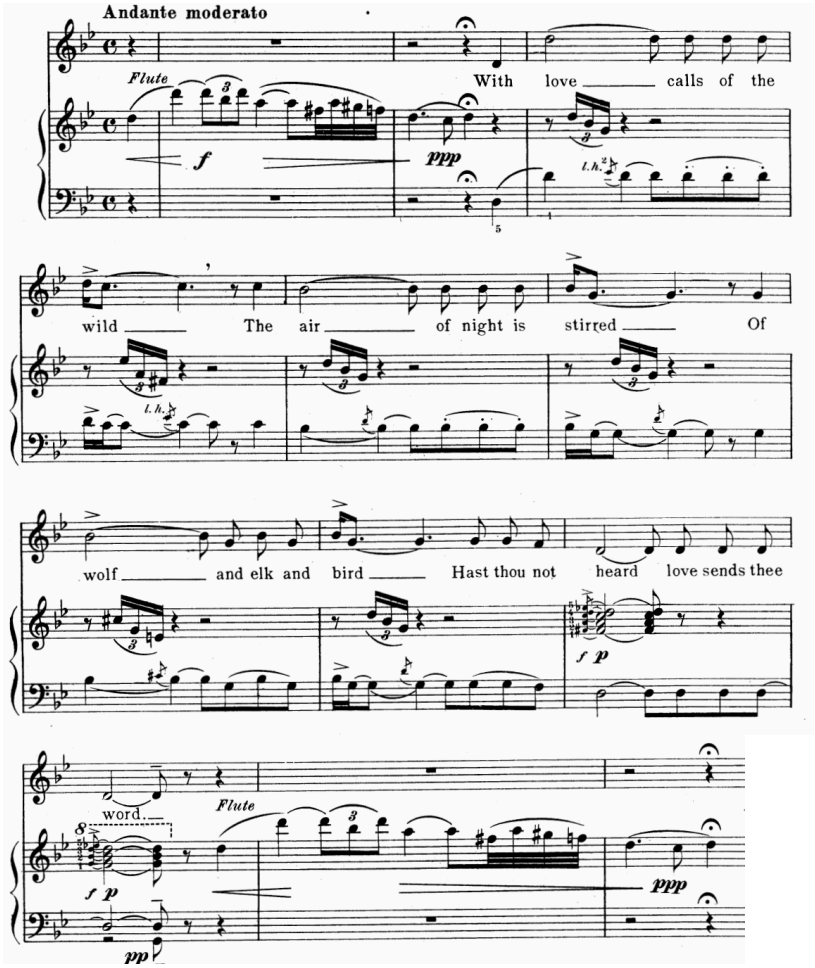

Figure 9, Musical Example from "A Sioux Serenade"[222]

"By the Waters" was not the most representative of the Indianist style of the early twentieth century, nor was the most primitivist of his own oeuvre. But it was nonetheless one of the most performed Indianist works throughout the midcentury. Moreover, critics always commented that it was a real, exotic Indian song, despite its more Western style. I argue that "By the Waters" was not successful based solely on its Indianist musical merits, but because of its association with Sitting Eagle's song and story and its performance legacy among American Indians who conveyed its Indianism to a wider audience.

[222] Thurlow Lieurance, "A Sioux Serenade," (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1916).

Although we do not have a recording or transcription of Sitting Eagle's original performance, we know that audiences were deeply moved by the mythology and origin of Lieurance's composition. A columnist from *The Etude* wrote that "By the Waters" was exceptional because of the "beautiful legend." "Mr. Lieurance has caught this effect magically—the movement of the phantom canoe, the ripple of waters, the night bird's note, the lovely swaying melody—all make a little masterpiece."[223] A reviewer from the Ohio State Journal agreed that "By the Waters" was powerful in its translation of the Sioux legend. "The ripple of the lake water where Moon Deer and Sun Deer, the two Sioux lovers, drowned themselves was unmistakable in Mr. Lieurance's rendition of the accompaniment."[224] It was the association with Sitting Eagle's story, even if he was not credited, that compelled audiences to find the music exceptional, because they felt it was an actual legend translated into sound. But as the first reviewer also notes, it was the "gifted" American Indian singer who was able to bring the piece to life. No performer was more formative in this regard than Princess Watahwaso.

Princess Watahwaso

Princess Watahwaso was not a royal, and her given name was not Watahwaso. American Indian musicians sometimes gave themselves strategic stage names starting with "Princess" or "Chief" to attract White audiences. Often, as is the case with Lucy Nicolar, that stage name took on a life of its own. She was described in program notes as an Indian noble, even though that status did not exist among the Penobscot people. Chapter

[223] "Legend of a Famous Lieurance Song, 'By the Waters of Minnetonka'" *The Etude* 39, no. 2 (February 1921): 94.
[224] "Lieurance Concerts Recent Comments" TLC, WSU, Box 47.

Four considers the peculiar relationship between American Indian musicians and Indianist music. Their relationships were predicated on a delicate balance of power between who can dictate how to perform Indianness and who is subjugated to Indianist music unwittingly. This section anticipates that analysis. Similar to the shift in emphasis from composer to performer in vocal music scholarship, I analyze Nicolar as a performer insofar as she had an ability to legitimize Lieurance's Indianist sounds.[225]

Nicolar was born and raised on Indian Island, the Penobscot reservation in Maine, to a prominent family. Her grandfather, John Neptune, was the "lieutenant governor" of Indian Island, which Bunny McBride described as a vice chief.[226] Joseph Nicolar, her father, published *The Life and Traditions of the Red Man* in 1893, one of the first written narratives in English from a Northeast tribe. Both parents were involved with Buffalo Bill-style Indian performances throughout New England in the late 1800s. McBride states that the Nicolar family's life "echoed that of many other Indians who, in the course of the nineteenth century, resorted to commodifying their cultures to make a living."[227] While it is debatable whether this amounted to "commodification," the Nicolar family undoubtedly was able to benefit from the conditions of tribal life in the Northeast at the turn of the century.

Lucy was no exception. She used her musical training and education to leave Indian Island, first as an "assistant" to Montague Chamberlain from Harvard College, and then as a touring musician out West.[228] She moved to Chicago in 1914 to begin her career

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[225] Feminist operatic scholars analyze how artists shaped the music and often had a great deal of authority over the score and performance. See Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Karen Henson, *Opera Acts: Singers and Performance in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[226] McBride, "Princess Watahwaso," 95.
[227] McBride, "Princess Watahwaso," 95–6.
[228] McBride, "Princess Watahwaso," 101.

at the Music School of Chautauqua.[229] She met Thurlow Lieurance sometime between 1914 and 1917, likely through the Redpath Chautauqua Circuit. Nicolar signed a $75 per week contract with the Redpath Lyceum Bureau in 1917. Lyceum and Chautauqua tours were part of the broader self-improvement and educational lyceum movement of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Nicolar, like many other American Indians in lyceum circuits, sang, danced, and told tribal stories in a more serious performance than the relatively cruder opportunities for American Indians in the past.[230] Princess Watahwaso and Lieurance toured together for the 1917 Redpath Chautauqua season, but concert programs from as early as January 1917 suggest that the two may have already interacted professionally. Princess Watahwaso performed a recital for Sandor Radanovitz at his studio in Chicago.[231] Radanovitz was one of the musical directors of the Chicago Chautauqua, and he was presumably her professional connection to Lieurance.[232] She sang four of Lieurance's compositions, "Aooah," "Pa-pup-ooh," "By the Waters," and "A Crow Maiden's Prayer Song," two of which she later recorded with Lieurance in October 1917 for Victor Records.

Victor Records' educational imprint released "By the Waters," "Aooah," "By the Weeping Waters," "A Sioux Serenade," "Four Penobscot Tribal Songs," and "Two Indian Songs" in 1918. Its first appearance in a phonograph trade magazine was the June 1918 edition of *The Talking Machine World*.[233] Prior to 1917, "By the Waters" was only

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[229] Ibid.
[230] See Troutman, *Indian Blues*. See esp. chap. 1, "The Citizenship of Dance," 34–80; and chap. 2, "The 'Dance Evil,'" 81–122.
[231] "Recital at Radanovits Studio," *Music News: Report of the Music Supervisors National Conference* (January 1917): 21.
[232] Harry P. Harrison and Karl Detzer, *Culture Under Canvas: The Story of Tent Chautauqua* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 206.
[233] "Record Bulletins for August, 1918," *The Talking Machine World* 14, no. 7 (July 1918): 105.

performed by a handful of musical groups. In 1918, however, “By the Waters” appeared in numerous concert programs for a wide array of concerts: small choirs, women’s groups, concert halls, and school performances, including American Indian boarding schools. “By the Waters” had been published since 1914, yet before Princess Watahwaso’s recording, the piece was practically obscure. The 1917 Victor recording was a pivotal moment for Lieurance’s success. For the first time on a recording, an American Indian performer authenticated the musical Indianness “By the Waters.” But she did so as a classically trained singer which made that musical Indianness more accessible to non-Native audiences.

The Princess Watahwaso recording features Lieurance on piano and Hubert Small on flute. Unlike the score, the recording begins with a statement of the first phrase of the melody by the flute. Small’s performance is not highly expressive. The leaps in the first phrase begin and end at the same volume, and he did not rearticulate the repeated pitch between the first and second measures. The timbre and tone signal a non-classical style that suggests American Indian musicality without stereotypical musical characteristics. But Princess Watahwaso’s entrance quickly assures listeners that this Indian song still fits comfortably within their Western music sensibilities. In contrast to the flute introduction, Watahwaso begins with a rich vibrato and typical art song phrasing in the first iteration of A. (Figure 10)

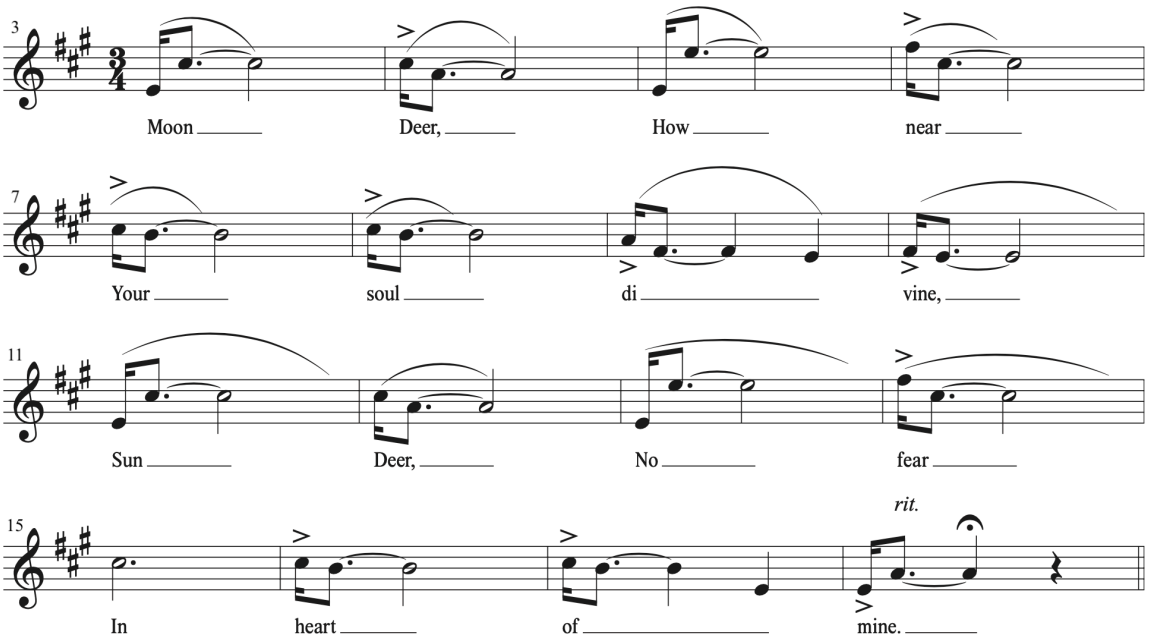

Figure 10, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

She carefully glides to the higher pitches in "Moon" and "How," but adds a gentle glissando between the descending intervals. She also takes liberty with the tempo by lingering on the higher pitch in the falling intervals of "Near," and the cadence of the first phrase, "Divine." She sings the second statement of the melody with similar phrasing, avoiding abrupt leaps with *rubato* timing and glissandos. Her artistry is particularly moving at the conclusion of the A section at measure 13. Beginning at the secondary dominant on "In," Watahwaso takes more liberties with her tone and pacing. Between "of" and "mine," she observes the *ritardando* and leans into the accented sixteenth on "mine" by exaggerating the P5 interval before it. This anticipates the more rushed, less melodic *più agitato* at B. (Figure 11)

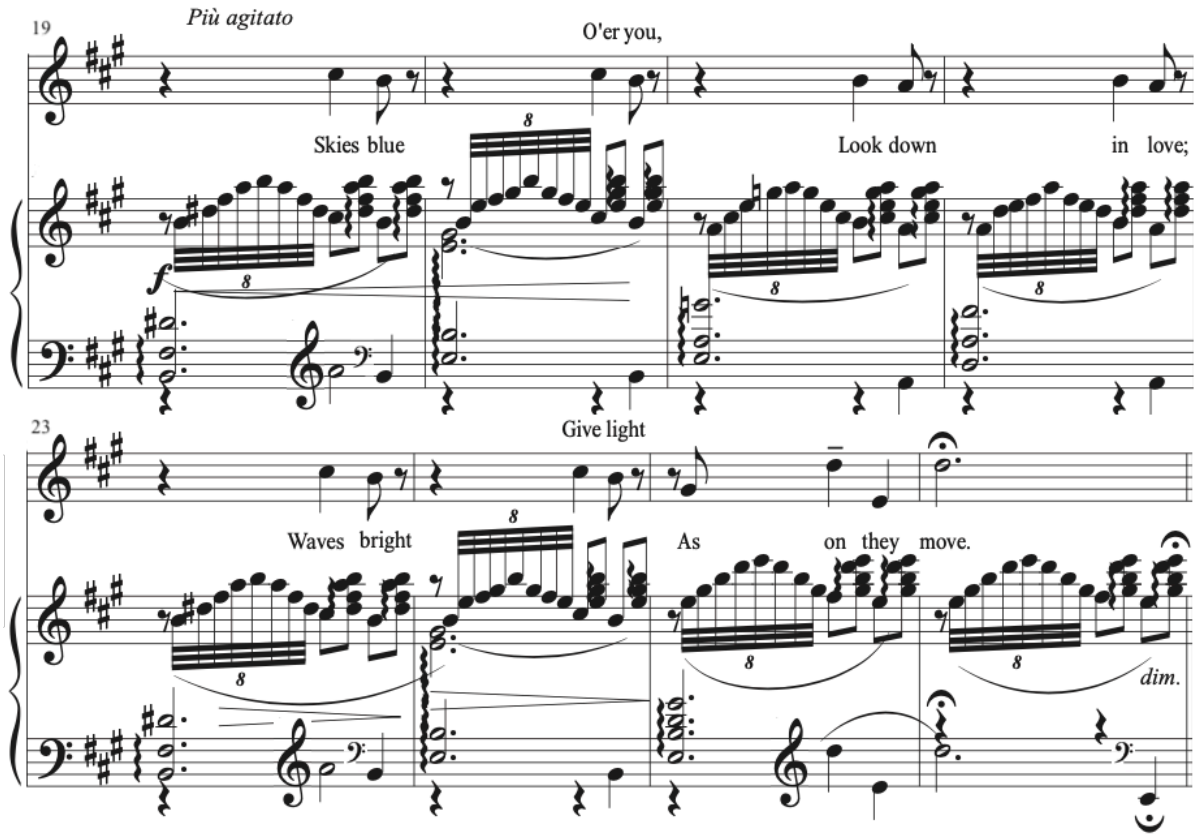

Figure 11, Musical Example from "By the Waters"

Watahwaso continues to sing *legato* through this section, however, in contrast to the style direction. She glides through the syncopated melody building up to the suspenseful fermata, "as on they move." She uses the *rallentando* to expand and elongate this cadence with gentle slides between the wide intervals. Despite this suspense, the ending does not necessarily elaborate on the first statement of A. Watahwaso sings the original melody identically to the beginning of the piece without altering her expressive features for the sad conclusion of the lovers' story.

Nicolar was able to sing this song with professional control, yet expressively enough to convince audiences that she, as an American Indian woman, resonated with the lore. That duality was the secret power of this recording. It was not unusual for an American Indian singer to be classically trained. Many American Indian students took

music classes, and some children were taken from their schools or reservations to study privately with teachers.[234] At the time, however, Nicolar's skillful performance would have surprised listeners whose only exposure to American Indian singers was Wild West Shows or comic vaudeville and burlesque.[235] The fact that she could sing this song with professional restraint but still emote a deep connection with what audiences thought was a pan-Indian kind of mythology meant that she was viewed as both exceptional to her race as well as an amplifier of the best aspects of her race.

Reviewers usually referred to her as "well-trained," or found other ways of assuring the reader that Nicolar could sing Western music, such as this review from a church performance:

> Her offering was enjoyable to the last degree. She is personally attractive, has a speaking voice that carries admirably, has the gift of felicitous inflection and graceful choice of words, has ease of manner and simplicity of forceful gesture, and best of all has a fascinating topic to talk about and does not try to exhaust her subject … She sings delightfully in a voice of excellent timbre well trained and responsive. Naturally she infuses a peculiarly touching feeling into the phrases. In Cadman's 'Thunderbird' song she brought out splendidly his dramatic setting of the legend. The tribal dances and customs are part of an engaging offering and no movement was more attractive than when she said 'thank you' for the encores and applause in the guttural language of her tribe and suited action to the words.[236]

In the excerpt above, the reviewer notes that Nicolar had a "natural," innate ability to put emotion into Indianist music. The Redpath Chautauqua Circuit booklet from 1917 has a more romantic version of the racialized descriptions of Nicolar's talent and appeal. The program describes her as a modern singer, but a "messenger from a departing race," a "flower of one of the last families of unmixed blood," able to bring the message of

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[234] See Troutman, "The Sounds of 'Civilization'," in *Indian Blues*, 123–165.
[235] Phillip J. Deloria, "Music," in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 70.
[236] "Festival at the New First Congregation Church," *Music News: Report of the Music Supervisors National Conference* (March 1917): 7.

Longfellow's "tale of love and sorrow" and the "beauty of aboriginal life" to later generations:

> As a messenger from a departing race,—noble, picturesque, yet little understood,—comes charming and beautiful Watahwaso ("Bright Star,") Princess of the Penobscot tribe and flower of one of the last families of unmixed Indian blood. Longfellow's artful story of 'Minnehaha,' with its wondrous colorings and its tale of love and sorrow, revealed much of the beauty of aboriginal life and character, but it has remained for this modern singer of the songs of her fathers, to bring their message to this later generation. … Thus she has come to her own, an artist supreme in the portrayal of Indian lore and in the interpretation of Indian music.[237]

A review from a music education journal endorsed the "splendid quality" of her art by praising "the seriousness and reliability of her race."[238] It emphasized that Nicolar's unique talent was due to the power that her education and training had over her more natural, racial characteristics: "Gifted with keen intelligence and musical ability she has added to the force of her natural heredity the style and finish which come from fine education and she stands today as a public entertainer possessing both intelligence and artistry of high order."[239] That blend of Indianness and refinement, this reviewer believed, gave her the "rare appeal" that fascinated "every audience."

In 1920, Nicolar performed for the first time at Aeolian Hall in New York City, an important debut for an artist of her reputation. Newspapers promoted this recital by advertising "a new Indian singer," one of the first "full-blooded Indians" to sing at Aeolian Hall.[240]

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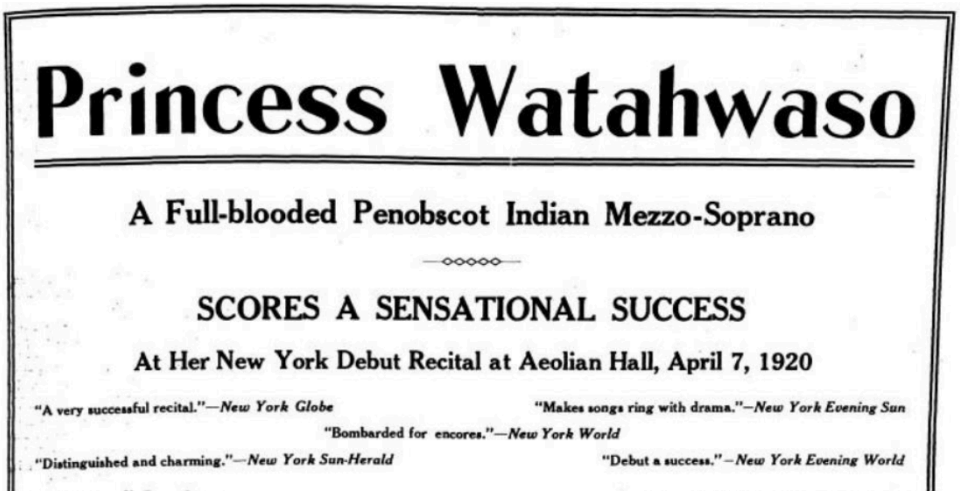
[237] "Princess Watahwaso and Assisting Artists," RCC, MSC0150, Series I Box 189, UofI.
[238] C.E.W., "Princess Watahwaso," *Music News: Report of the Music Supervisors National Conference* (March 1917): 11.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Advert in *Musical Courier Weekly* 80, no. 16 (April 1920): 19.



Example 4, Excerpt from a Newspaper Promotion for Watahwaso, 1920[241]

The advertisement made sure to include that Nicolar would also perform operatic works "to demonstrate that she is by no means deficient in the vocal art of the white race."[242] Critics, in general, agreed that her renditions of Western music could stand on their own accord. A *Musical Courier* review stated that her Aeolian Hall debut demonstrated "fine talent and skill in the artist's use of a very rich and splendid trained voice," but also acknowledged that "it was in her native songs that she was entirely at home, as was to be expected, signing them with a tremendously effective directness."[243] As these reviews show, Nicolar's character of Princess Watahwaso was appreciated as an exceptional artist who was able to apply Western vocal training to an innate, authentic talent rooted in her racial identity. Her voice was able to tame ideations of primitivity while still maintaining the racial qualities that piqued her audiences' interests. Her performance legacy, both from her recording and recitals, professionalized the American Indian musicality of Lieurance's composition and promoted a kind of safe exoticism.

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[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] "Aeolian Hall," *Musical Courier Weekly* 80, no. 16 (April 1920): 24.

As a result, "By the Waters" became a standard for women's vocal repertoire, small ensembles, music students, and music clubs. It was not an "ethnic" song, but a song in the Indian style, suitable for classical concerts programmed alongside standard repertoire. A pupil from Miss Ruth Fulmer's piano studio in Water Valley, Mississippi, performed "By the Waters" as a vocal solo among selections from Beethoven, Holst, Grieg, Gottschalk, and Holst.[244] The piece was included in a benefit concert for the National Special Aid Society in Lumberton, North Carolina, as a vocal solo.[245] Other selections included Schumann's *Carnaval* and various orchestral excerpts. Mrs. Caldwell of Paris, Tennessee hosted an afternoon recital where a pianist performed pieces by Schutt and Beethoven and a soprano sang a short cycle including "By the Waters."[246] Lieurance's work was also programmed alongside other Indianists. At the Blackfoot, Idaho Current Event Club's Indian concert in November 1920, compositions by Lieurance, Cadman, and Troyer were performed together.[247]

"By the Waters" would outlast the category of Indianist, which was losing popularity after the 1920s. Lieurance continued to perform the piece on the Redpath Chautauqua Circuit with different singers, such as Princess Te Ata, who joined him for the 1921 Chautauqua tour.[248] Fred Cardin, famed violinist from Carlisle Indian School, performed a string quartet version on throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[249] Multiple American Indian boarding school graduation ceremonies featured Lieurance's composition. Music organizations promoted "By the Waters" for inclusion in patriotic

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[244] "Piano Forte Recital," *The City Itemizer* (May 03 1917): no page.
[245] "Concert for National Aid," *The Robesonian* (December 03 1917): 4.
[246] "Afternoon Musical," *The Parisian* (June 27 1919): no page.
[247] "Indian Music Will Be the Course of Study," *The Idaho Republican* (October 31 1919): 1.
[248] "Princess Te Ata," *The Adair County News* (June 28 1921): 8.
[249] "Original Night," *The Music News* 13, no. 2 (1921): 6.

music programs to celebrate American achievement.[250] Some critical reviewers found that the piece was "feeble" for an American composer.[251] But the song still found its way into the mainstream. Paul Whiteman recorded a jazz version in 1924, and Glenn Miller recorded Whiteman's version in 1938. Miller's version was popular throughout the swing era and quickly became a standard referenced by other jazz musicians in the midcentury.

On Authorship and Agency

What is at stake in considering "By the Waters of Minnetonka" within the legacy of American Indian interlocutors and performers? And how can we uplift their histories when the archive privileges the composer as artist and authority? Highlighting their histories does not mean spending more time or space on American Indian actors, which would be difficult to do given the archival bias. Instead, this chapter shows that we can reconsider the way we frame a composer's successes and contributions to music history. In the case of "By the Waters," that means recontextualizing Lieurance's history and archive to draw attention to American Indian contributions to his musical legacy. Analyzing reattribution in this way also overrides the temptation to reascribe an Indianist piece to an American Indian, which would be inappropriate. In lieu of more descriptive archival accounts of Sitting Eagle and Princess Watahwaso's roles, we can critically analyze Lieurance's archive to find space to reconnect his legacy to those who deserve more recognition.

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[250] "Back Matter," *The English Journal* 9, no. 10 (1920): 612; *Theodore Presser Company and Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition, Two Centuries of American Musical Composition: The Etude Music Magazine Souvenir of the Sesquicentennial, Celebrating One Hundred and Fifty Years of American Independence, 1776–1926* (Philadelphia: Theodor Presser Co., 1926).
[251] Discus, "Gramophone Notes," *The Musical Times* 65, no. 974 (1924): 355.

It is important to consider that American Indian performers achieved success from, but also for, Indianist music as a way of understanding the American Indian role in a process that enforced specific musical stereotypes. American Indians were present in spaces that demanded that their music be mediated through a White person's authority. Reattributing this song's legacy to Sitting Eagle and Princess Watahwaso does not diminish their contributions to American Indian history as pawns of Indianism. Rather, acknowledging that American Indian interlocutors and performers were vital to the success of Indianism is crucial to understanding the way that Indianist music functioned in society, particularly for American Indian activists, musicians, and students of the time. Chapters Four and Five analyze the effects of Indianism on these groups and on the broader American Indian community.

Chapter Four, American Indian Progressives and Performers

Richard Henry Pratt, the army general who founded Carlisle Indian School, argued that federal American Indian policy should be shaped to "kill the Indian" in order to "save the man."[252] Pratt, although he was not the first to believe such a sentiment, became a figurehead for early-twentieth-century federal American Indian policy that sought to assimilate American Indians to Western society. This broader vision was filtered through American Indian educational, economic, and social policies such as land removal, allotment, and Christian missionary work. "Killing the Indian" was a paternalistic solution that would end the "Indian problem," a term used since the late nineteenth century to describe the conflation of sociocultural and economic issues. Primarily, White Americans were concerned that reservations, created as a solution to removal, were interfering with plans for western expansion. Advocates for this type of federal intervention couched their concerns within a pseudo-interest in American Indian welfare. They believed that American Indians would benefit from increased education, such as boarding schools, and separating individuals from their communities with the promise of land ownership by encouraging many to become farmers and accept American citizenship. In this way, they would "save the man."

Pratt's racist and genocidal ideology in the name of American Indian welfare was, of course, controversial among Native and non-Native activists at the time, even those who seemed to support assimilation methods more broadly. Others within the settler-

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[252] *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction* (1892), 46–59. Reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–271.

colonial state sought different methods to solve "the Indian problem," such as acceptance and perpetuation of Indian stereotypes that would endear American Indians to White Americans. Within these two poles exist many positions which are combinatory, even if they are at odds, forming a sociological field of assimilative and progressive politics. This chapter maps out this field from the perspective of American Indian figures who had important relationships to musical Indianism. The progressive American Indian activists and professional American Indian musicians who promulgated, performed, or decried Indianism did so within the field of non-Native responses to the Indian problem. They acted and opined in relation to the federal policies and cultural beliefs that regulated their cultural products and contributions. These outside forces encouraged cultural eradication and celebration, and all possibilities in between, often at the same time. In order to understand this field from the Indigenous perspective, this chapter analyzes American Indian progressives and professional American Indian performers' varied opinions about, and actions within, musical Indianism. It also evaluates their contributions to Native and non-Native media that promoted, or opposed, Indianist philosophy. I argue that American Indian progressive activists and performers had a unique potential to shape Native and non-Native opinions on musical Indianism, both through their own writing and ideology, and the ways in which Native and non-Native media characterized their roles in Indianism.

First, I analyze the American Indian progressive response to Indianism, which includes views from activists as well the ways that some progressives collaborated with Indianist composers. Then, I analyze the ways that the media used professional American Indian performers to shape an Indianist narrative, and the way their own beliefs and

actions intersected with the way in which their public image was used. Performers and progressives are not exclusive categories. Some musicians and singers were associated with the American Indian progressive movement, and some American Indian progressives were performers or were related to them. Wherever necessary, I make these individual distinctions as the terminology pertains to particular actions or opinions. For both performers and progressives, I analyze their writings on Indianism as they would have been understood by the target audience of the publication. Scholars of American Indian literature have shown that American Indian writers employed "trickster" and "doubleness" rhetoric as a way of communicating critiques from the colonized position. Most recently, Renya Ramirez showed that American Indian intellectuals wrote and communicated in multiple meanings, or "doubleness of speech," in order to "speak the unspeakable without the colonizer's awareness."[253] To read American Indian performer and progressive Indianist opinions appropriately, I take into consideration the publication's audience, and closely analyze any passages that are written in a way that may indicate a hidden meaning. In many cases, this means rethinking an author's intent to include overwhelming praise, or to juxtapose contrasting ideological views.

My archive consists of composers' correspondence, national and local newspapers and music journals, newspapers published for American Indians, newspapers and journals from American Indian boarding schools, musical program notes, unpublished writing, and ethnographic archives containing correspondence and musical materials. This selection of evidence demonstrates the far reach that American Indian progressives had to communicate their thoughts and opinions about Indianist music, either explicitly or

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[253] Renya K. Ramirez, *Standing Up to Colonial Power: The Lives of Henry Roe and Elizabeth Bender Cloud* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 6

tacitly through their actions.[254] It also establishes the way that the mainstream media interpreted American Indian performers for both Native and non-Native readers. The end of this chapter thinks critically about the ways that American Indians saw their own involvement with Indianism as part of the assimilatory field that White Americans constructed around Indigenous identities.

American Indian Progressives and Music

The coalitions of American Indian political and social reformers in the early twentieth century have been referred to as "Indian/Native/Indigenous intellectuals," "Red progressives" (usually referring specifically to the advocacy group, the Society of American Indians), or "American Indian/Native/Indigenous progressives."[255] They were generally educated to the high school level or beyond, some with advanced degrees. Similar to W.E.B Du Bois's determination of Black intellectuals as "the talented tenth," both Natives and non-Natives distinguished those who were able to use educational and, at times, financial and white-passing privilege to socialize and advocate in White spaces

[254] An archival note: It is sometimes difficult sometimes to know the identity of the authors who wrote the articles or essays in the American Indian newspapers I cite. The question of authorship and identity within those newspapers makes it difficult to say with certainty that the opinions therein are those of educated American Indian writers. See, for example, Griffith, *Words Have a Past*, 2. That being said, many of the sources I use contain articles and opinion editorials from notable Indian activists, and have a record of being distributed throughout Indian territories. The way that Indianism was presented through these sources undoubtedly reached American Indian audiences, or at least were intended to do so. How musical Indianism was described and perpetuated through these sources is significant even if the exact authorship cannot be determined.

[255] See the discussions of terminology in Bruchac, *Savage Kin,* 5; La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, xxv; Maddox, *Citizen Indians,* 5; Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 14. I also agree with David Martínez that "intellectual is a foreign word imposed upon individuals who never described their roles as writers and speakers in such elitist terms," and that "one can argue that intellectual signals a colonized mind more than it evokes an Indigenous perspective." (David Martínez, "Neither Chief Nor Medicine Man: The Historical Role of the 'Intellectual' in the American Indian Community," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 26, no. 1 (2014): 30). But I also agree with his determination that "intellectual" is a necessary term for scholarly discourse.

on behalf of American Indian causes. In this era, that meant taking progressive stances such as increasing education initiatives, enforcing land rights, and attaining better conditions on reservations and schools, all of which were rooted in ensuring United States citizenship for all American Indians as a means of racial uplift. It also meant performing American Indian culture, including Indianist music, for both Native and non-Native audiences, which codified and promoted a pan-Indian aesthetic, or opposing such practices. Kiara Vigil asserts that this generation of leaders and activists had to figure out "how to claim their rights as modern, American citizens who wanted to use citizenship to intervene in the affairs of a government that had already been intervening in Native people's affairs for too long."[256] By fighting for equality in a colonial government, they often made decisions that many Indigenous activists disagree with in hindsight. But they did so by "retain[ing] their own definitions of Indigenous sovereignty while fighting for political citizenship that was not about integration but rather a means for tipping the balance of power in their favor."[257]

The Society of American Indians (SAI) was one of the foremost American Indian rights organizations in the early twentieth century. Prominent American Indian figures in education, music, medicine, law, and government founded the organization in 1911 alongside other progressive organizations of the time, including the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and women's suffrage groups. At its core, the SAI promoted a pan-Indianism, a movement that sought unity among American Indians regardless of tribal affiliation or geographic location. Different members of the SAI, however, interpreted that guiding philosophy differently. Some,

[256] Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 14.
[257] Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 15.

such as Arthur Parker, an anthropologist, and Angel de Cora, an artist and educator, believed that a strong racial identity included the preservation and celebration of American Indian culture. And while most members of the SAI agreed that pan-Indianism would lead to racial uplift that would move American Indians from "'primitivism' into the economic and social life of the nation,"[258] as historian Tom Holm argued, some, such as Carlos Montezuma, a medical doctor, feared that promoting what anthropologists and ethnologists defined as American Indian culture would be a barrier to progress. Montezuma believed that governmental bodies, such as the OIA, existed solely to curb American Indian progress by creating programs that othered American Indians from mainstream White American society. Included in his condemnation of "bureaurism" was his belief that reservation life hindered social progress.[259] He believed that reservations isolated American Indians from American society, and in doing so, perpetuated less cultivated behaviors, music, and arts that further ostracized American Indians. Around 1916, Montezuma began to dissociate from the SAI. He believed in abolishing the OIA, but his opinion was not favorable among other SAI members who believed that the OIA at least had the capacity to create important pathways to education and citizenship. The organization dissolved in 1923, largely due to disagreements about the OIA and Peyotism, a religion based on the use of Peyote popular on reservations, yet deemed by many progressives as immoral and dangerous.[260]

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[258] Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (University of Texas Press, 2009): 59.
[259] David Martínez, "Carlos Montezuma's Fight against 'Bureauism': An Unexpected Pima Hero," *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2013): 311–30.
[260] Thomas C. Maroukis, "The Peyote Controversy and the Demise of the Society of American Indians," *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2013): 161–80.

Previous scholarship has analyzed the debate among SAI members regarding if American Indian music, art, and culture should be taught in boarding schools or instituted nationally.[261] Some of what was performed, championed, and criticized by American Indian progressives was "traditional" American Indian music, but they also promoted Indianist compositions. This section focuses on the ways that American Indian progressives felt about the end product of musical Indianism, but I also introduce evidence from their attitudes about the more general concept of musical and cultural preservation. The way they felt about American Indian music is distinct from their sentiments toward cultural preservation because of the implications of Westernization and musical uplift inherent in musical "idealization," such as Indianism. But the American Indian progressive opinion about Indianist music did, at times, correlate with the prevailing progressive position of cultural preservation.

The two opposing progressive views on cultural preservation can be best summed up through the disagreement between SAI members Arthur Parker, Charles Eastman, and Carlos Montezuma. In 1913, Parker asked Montezuma if he believed that non-Native and Native children should have the opportunity to learn American Indian music in schools.[262] In asking this question Parker was trying to determine "whether [Montezuma] would support the perpetuation of Indian culture—which Parker believed to be worth keeping alive—if whites would stop defining that culture as savage or backward and view it as equal."[263] Montezuma's response, if he did reply, is not available. But Parker's

[261] See Michelle Wick Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs: The Society of American Indians and the Use of Native American Culture as a Means of Reform," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2002): 44–66; and La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, 41–55.
[262] La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, 43.
[263] Ibid.

question reflects the debate that began at the first SAI conference in 1911 over exhibitions and displays of American Indian song, dances, arts, and crafts. SAI activists wanted to offer "counterimages" to more popular Indian media at the time such as Wild West Shows. As Michelle Wick Patterson argues, "Instead of allowing the 'barbaric' dances to continue hurting Native American chances for acceptance into American Society, SAI members intended to push forward the idea that Indians could adapt to civilized life and could achieve great things."[264] Most members of the SAI believed that they had a duty to present American Indian culture on their own terms to both Native and non-Native audiences, but "they disagreed over the place of traditional music and art in their organization."[265] Some, Patterson argues, "advocated an assimilationist agenda that viewed Native lifestyles and beliefs as incompatible with modern American society," and "dismissed traditional music and art as quaint relics of an irretrievable past."[266] Montezuma, to whom Parker attempted to have a conversation about the preservation and education of American Indian music, was one of the more outspoken critics of traditional music.

Rosalyn La Pier and David Beck claim that "Montezuma believed that because Indians were stereotyped as savage and backward, Indian cultural practices, including music and art, should be abandoned."[267] In an article titled "Indians are Men, not Freaks," Montezuma forcefully denounces ethnological studies of American Indian music. He starts by quoting a dictionary definition of music: "The Imperial Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Knowledge (1892) defines [music] thus: 'A succession of sounds so

[264] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 50.
[265] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 59.
[266] Ibid.
[267] La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, 42.

modulated as to please the ear; melody or harmony: science of harmonical sounds: the art of producing harmony or melody: the written or printed score of a composition;' and Webster—science of harmonical sounds, harmony, or melody."[268] He continues, however, that "we do not need the dictionaries in this [*sic*] days to tell us what music is. The ear of the civilized being distinguishes readily between mere noise and music ... Whenever sounds are so produced ... That they do not conform to a fixed rule called the science or harmony, there can be no melody, no pleasing sensation on the ear, no harmony and hence no music."[269]

This was an indictment of the prevailing concept of American Indian music in this era. Montezuma believed that non-Natives, including collectors, only invoked American Indian music to describe "the music of quacking ducks and cackling hens."[270] He was under the impression that ethnographers could not collect actual music that was "in no sense public property and could not be commonly used, and was guarded by the master of melody with all the jealous care of civilized authorship." Instead of the "mystic strains of savage opera or oratorios," which would have "incur[red] the ill will of the mighty mystery workers" and "call forth the wrath of the offended gods," ethnographers recorded and transcribed "a bit of weird melody—a semblance of a tune—a scale ignoring all standards and subject to myriad innovations—suggestive of melancholy and the tyranny of evil powers." He rejected what became known as Indian musical characteristics: "la-la-la, pum, pum, pum, rattle, rattle, rattle, O O O; an indescribable blending of minors and semitones rising to falsetto screeches and descending through

[268] Carlos Montezuma, "Indians are Men, Not Freaks," *Tomorrow Magazine* (December 1906): 56.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.

tangled skeins of sound to guttural tones." He even mocked folklore tropes, such as "the human creature is transformed to a bear, and is beseeching the gods to let the universe collapse about his unworthy foes, etc. etc."[271]

It is unclear if Montezuma felt that such tropes or musical characteristics were inherently false, but elsewhere he wrote that such musical ideas represent "that dark period in Indian life of which the best that can be said is that it ought to be forgotten in the march toward the more advanced life."[272] Furthermore, other civilized cultures such as the French and the German "brought no jargon of discordant sounds" to American music: "They had no 'wow-wows,' no 'pum-pums,' no 'la-la-las' to be uttered to the accompaniment of frenzied leaps and weird gesticulations."[273] Montezuma presumes that the same could be argued of the American Indians, but admitted that "if the Indian wishes to preserve his savage noises for the future edification of his people let him do it himself. If he does not so choose than neither he nor anyone else will have missed anything of worth."[274] He believed that cultural preservation, particularly of music, was a non-Native effort, and should be abandoned if there was no widespread support among American Indians. But Francis La Flesche, among others, was already working in a federal capacity to collect and maintain Indian song at the time the article was published in 1906.

La Pier and Beck note that Montezuma also protested the collection and instruction of American Indian art, particularly the initiative to start an art center at Carlisle Indian Industrial School.[275] Montezuma was close friends with the founder of

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[271] Ibid.
[272] Carlos Montezuma, "Against Indian Art Study," The Daily News, Chicago, April 5, 1907. Cited in La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, 42.
[273] Montezuma, "Indians are Men, Not Freaks," 58.
[274] Ibid.
[275] La Pier and Beck, *City Indian*, 42

Carlisle, Richard Henry Pratt. They both believed that primitive concepts of American Indian culture must be eradicated in order to allow racial progress. La Pier and Beck caution that Montezuma's views, particularly about culture, were not shared by most in the SAI. Patterson demonstrates that the majority opinion of the SAI tried to "capitalize on white interest in Indian music," and that any negative ideas associated with traditional song, such as primitivity, "were transmitted alongside contradictory SAI messages that Native Americans possessed the capacity to adapt to modern society."[276] She maintains that the SAI's interest in Indianist music could have backfired on their best intentions.

Montezuma's statement against American Indian music collection was, in fact, a disavowal of musical Indianism. He was not only upset about the collection and preservation of American Indian music, but also the fact that this music was being "arranged ... with our notations" and "played by the Indian school bands," in this case by composer Harold Loring.[277] Loring was the music director at Chilocco Indian School and he composed music using songs he collected from school children. Montezuma disagreed with Loring's mission to reteach the children's own songs, "singing the songs of their ancestors," and being able to play and sing Indian melodies in English and Western notation.[278] "What good can come to the 'Indian,'" he argued, "by teaching him his own benightedness? ... We want no retrograde movements; we have naught but pity and charitable contempt for the so-called Arts of our people."[279]

In contrast, Charles Eastman, a Dakota physician and activist, penned an essay in almost direct contradiction to Montezuma. In a 1914 edition of *The Indian Craftsman*—a

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[276] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 61.
[277] Montezuma, "Indians are Men, Not Freaks," 55.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Montezuma, "Indians are Men, Not Freaks," 57.

newspaper of the Carlisle Institute—Eastman agrees with Montezuma that American Indian music does not have "definite harmony," and that it may be rendered "difficult to the 'civilized' ear."[280] Unlike Montezuma, however, Eastman praised the ethnographic and compositional efforts that sought to preserve and honor American Indian music, such as Fletcher, Farwell, Lieurance, Cadman, and even Harold Loring. He celebrates that "several singers of Indian blood are giving public recitals of this appealing and mysterious music of their race," because recalling that "as recently as twenty years ago, all Native art was severely discountenanced and discouraged, if not actually forbidden in Government schools and often by missionaries as well, the present awakening is matter for a mutual congratulations."[281]

These ideological differences concerned American Indian musicality and Indianist music, but they also reflected a dissonance among the American Indian progressive class about sovereignty and assimilation. Montezuma's side, arguing against "bureaurism" and the non-Native use of Native arts and culture, was a rebuke of the government involving itself in the cultural-educational affairs of American Indian children. The other side, championed by Eastman and Parker, celebrated the preservation and honoring of American Indian music. Montezuma feared that the government wanted American Indians to reject cultural progress by preserving their music, which despite Montezuma's more radical beliefs, could be understood today as his supporting the American Indian assimilation to Western musical standards. Eastman's position, on the other hand, reads as supporting a movement that sought to coalesce American Indians around a codified

[280] Charles Eastman, "My People: The Indian's Contribution to the Art of America," *Indian Craftsman* (December 1914): 137.
[281] Ibid.

culture as a different form of assimilation, one that kept some cultural artifacts as a consolation for genocide, removal, and citizenship over sovereignty.

I do not believe, however, that we have sufficient archival evidence to make large claims about any one individual's complicated beliefs on assimilation and sovereignty as they relate to the arts. Often, a progressive activist's opinions on art and music are buried within more general correspondence and writings. There exists no definitive source of progressive reformers' beliefs about non-Native Indianism. I am also conscious of the abundance of scholarship that rethinks past analyses of early twentieth-century American Indian progressivism by challenging us to avoid charges like "assimilationist" or "accommodationist." Scholars such as Philip Deloria, Beth Piatote, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Kiara Vigil, Lucy Maddox, and Renya Ramirez caution against discrediting American Indian progressives as assimilationist for their positions on Western education and racial uplift.[282] They believe that analyzing any one individual in the early twentieth century as such reduces their political agency and ignores the harsh realities of their lived experience. Any complicity in Western society was a byproduct of American sociopolitical policies. At the same time, however, I believe it is important to recognize that the American Indian progressives who participated in actions that oppose our present-day understanding of assimilation and sovereignty nonetheless impacted the lives of other American Indians at the time who did not have the same educational, societal, or financial advantages.

[282] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "The Mutuality of Citizenship and Sovereignty: The Society of American Indians and the Battle to Inherit America," *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2013): 340; Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 25; Maddox, *Citizen Indians*, 7; Ramirez, *Standing Up to Colonial Power*, 4.

I thereby echo Margaret Bruchac's decision to question if some American Indian progressives misused their community affiliations and cultural heritage.[283] I do not intend to analyze American Indian progressivism and musical Indianism by demonstrating the distinctions between American Indian progressives. Focusing solely on progressive ideology would force a discussion about individual and collective agendas that is antithetical to my aim of understanding the social impact of progressive politics on the broader American Indian community. Rather, I point out these distinctions to allow space to explore the ways in which their progressive opinions about Indianist music published in mainstream publications and American Indian newspapers had the power to influence popular opinion on Indianist music. Their actions and words, regardless of their political beliefs, communicated broad notions of approval and dissent to both Natives and non-Natives.

Progressivism and Indianism in the Press

Eastman, Parker, and other members of the SAI regularly invited Indianist performers to events and conferences, championed Indianist composers in the press, and helped produce certain compositions. As Michelle Wick Patterson has demonstrated, certain members of the SAI felt that American Indian concerts during SAI conferences and events were a type of outreach to non-Natives that would serve their progressive agenda. The first conference in 1911 reportedly featured Native songs and dances as well as an arts and crafts exhibition.[284] During the second conference, "a female soloist in Native costume" sang Cadman's Indianist piece, "The Lover's Flute." By the third conference,

[283] Bruchac, *Savage Kin*, 69.
[284] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 50.

Tsianina Redfeather and Dennison Wheelock performed programs that likely included Indianist music as the program alludes to "idealized" songs.[285] Tsianina sang again during the ninth annual conference in 1920, featuring Cadman's "Ho Ye Warriors," "Canoe Song," and "Moon Drops Low," as well as some of Lieurance's compositions.[286] Patterson states that these events focused on authenticity "by pointing to the costumes, Native language used, and Native peculiarities,"[287] and that SAI members such as Eastman thought that "appealing to non-Indian sensibilities through pseudo-Indian rituals but instilling in these rituals an 'authenticity' brought on by a real Indian informer ... Would lead to increased respect and equality."[288]

Furthermore, Patterson argues that by writing about or publicizing Indianist performances and compositions, "SAI leaders could stress the positive aspects of Indian culture to a white audience" and "demonstrate that Native Americans deserved a larger voice in the education system."[289] My research into the SAI quarterly journal (first published as the Quarterly Journal of the Society for American Music and later as The American Indian Magazine), however, shows that SAI-condoned rhetoric often aligned with Indianist ideology. It went further than the use of Indianism to "stress the positive aspects" of American Indian culture. This includes deciding to publish reviews of Indianist performances that used othering language common in White descriptions of Indianism. The SAI quarterly journal was written for the American Indian progressive members of the SAI and its non-Native "friends." Occasionally, SAI articles were

[285] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 51.
[286] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 52.
[287] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 51.
[288] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 55.
[289] Patterson, "'Real' Indian Songs," 54.

reprinted in boarding school newspapers, either intended for students to read or for the broader readership of non-Natives interested in Indian education. There is little evidence that the SAI quarterly journal was widely circulated on reservations or outside of the American Indian progressive circle, so it is likely that the authors intended their work for a particular, like-minded audience.[290]

The first volume of the SAI quarterly journal contains a report of the third SAI conference which mentions "a series of Indian folk-songs by Tsianina Redfeather, a Creek girl whose remarkable voice is hailed by musicians as a rare discovery."[291] The report boasts that Tsianina, "who is a pupil of [John] Wilcox and Cadman ... has a great career before her, and a rarely wonderful voice to sustain her personal charm."[292] These "Indian folk-songs" were presumably the simple vocal numbers that Lieurance and Cadman wrote with titles such as "A Sioux Serenade" or "Indian Love Song," as seen in her other programs during the same time period. By publishing this review, the SAI promoted the idea that the Indianist project could be authenticated by American Indian performers. Other articles published by the SAI went further in their support. One, seemingly by the non-Native progressive activist Mary Frost Evans, celebrated Cadman and Tsianina's collaborations in 1915.[293] Evans's views on Indianism, however, were not at odds with the opinions of the SAI editorial board.

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[290] Gregory D. Smithers, "The Soul of Unity: The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians, 1913–1915," *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2013): 265.
[291] "The Third National Conference of Indians and Their Friends," *The Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 1, no. 4 (1913): 408.
[292] Ibid.
[293] This Evans worked primarily with the Universal Peace Union, but another woman of the same name could possibly have authored this article. Frances Elizabeth Willard, Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, eds. *American Women: Fifteen Hundred Biographies* (Mast, Crowell and Kirkpatrick, 1897), 549.

Evans wrote that American Indian music "would have been buried in oblivion" without the ethnographers and composers who "made a strenuous succession of efforts to keep the same from effacement."[294] Cadman, in particular, was able to appeal to "the world of the paleface" through the "magnetic attraction of his Indian music."[295] He "heroically" wrestled "Indian folklore from the wreckage of the past history," and in "interweaving of the same into musical symphonies" reconciled "the white race and the Indians."[296] Evans does admit, however, that Cadman's music may be a "dramatization," but Tsianina's performance of Cadman's music was a "truthful" depiction "of the life of the Indians."[297] Tsianina, through Cadman's music, interpreted American Indian music and culture like "the Rosetta Stone to the hieroglyphics of the Indians."[298] Publishing these views outwardly aligned the SAI editorial board with the overall philosophy of musical Indianism, from its ethnographic roots in vanishing Indian rhetoric to the idea that composers can and should poeticize American Indian music and life for non-Native audiences.[299]

The SAI continued to champion Indianism as a method of cultural preservation and an artistic style throughout the decade. In 1915, Evelyn R. Twoguns wrote an article titled "Indian Fondness for Music" regarding the American Indian proclivity toward classical music. Twoguns began by stating that even on reservations, American Indians have pianos, self-playing pianos, or Victrolas to play and listen to music.[300] She

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[294] Mary Frost Evans, "Charles Wakefield Cadman: An Interpreter of Indian Music," *The Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 3, no. 1 (1915): 218.
[295] Evans, "Charles Wakefield Cadman," 219.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Evelyn R. Twoguns, "The Indian Fondness for Music," *The Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 3, no. 2 (1915): 136.

transitioned from a discussion of their "fondness for music" to praising Cadman and Lieurance for "elaborating" Indian music to "be considered as classical music."[301] She notes in particular that "a noted Indian girl singer" (Tsianina) performed Cadman's music at the SAI conference in Denver, where "the audience appreciated them as highly as any classic song."[302] Through Twoguns' essay, the SAI editorial board communicated that Indianism was an appropriate method to preserve "old tribal melodies" along with "the other history of the American Indians," and that it was an honor for the resulting music to be described as "classical."[303] But Twoguns' decision to reassure the reader that people on reservations were able to listen to or play music reveals a tension between the Native writer and the likely non-Native reader who needed to be told that American Indians do, in fact, listen to records. By convincing the reader that American Indians enjoy contemporary music, Twoguns sets up a barrier between the Indigenous position and the reader's. That barrier exists throughout the article, even as she praises Indianist composers and Tsianina's performance. The reader must do more to understand the American Indian and their music, but the American Indian, unbeknownst to the reader, is already accustomed to Western musical traditions.

Articles from the SAI quarterly journal also indicate that the group condoned the educational value of Indianism. In 1917 the journal reprinted a review of Tsianina and Cadman's visit to the Chemawa Indian School originally published by an uncredited author in the school newspaper. The review highlighted Tsianina's ability to impress the young American Indian students. "Much appreciation was shown by the students and the

[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

applause did not cease ... Tsianina is an artist and in addition is a girl of such utter unaffection and so earnest and of such unusual winning personality, which, added to her loyalty to her race, captivated the entire school."[304] The author even mentioned that the students played a composition by their own conductor, titled *Second Indian Suite,* for Tsianina and Cadman, and that Cadman applauded the piece as having a "great effect, as it was difficult to play."[305] By including this positive review and details about the band's own Indianist-esque performance, the SAI relayed their approval of Indianism as a part of American Indian education. Indeed, some SAI activists even supported their own family members learning and performing Indianism, such as Eastman's daughter Irene. An article in the SAI quarterly from 1917 celebrates Irene as a successful concert soloist who sang an Indianist repertoire including Carlos Troyer, Lieurance, Loring, Cadman, and Frederick Burton. That Eastman approved of his daughter's music, and that the journal celebrated her work, indicates that the progressive support for Indianism was normalized in this era.

Other publications by and for American Indians also contained articles and reviews that supported Indianist ideology. In particular, the *American Indian Magazine,* published in the early 1900s by a group of Oklahoma tribes, and *The Tomahawk*, a newspaper for the Minnesota Ojibwe, covered musical Indianism extensively.[306] I analyzed extant copies of both publications and found that both regularly advertised Indianist performances, particularly in schools, and championed Indianist concepts more broadly. In a 1926 volume of *American Indian Magazine*, a reporter promoted an

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[304] "Chemawa Honored," *American Indian Magazine* 5, no. 1 (1917): 61.
[305] Ibid.
[306] *American Indian Magazine* is distinct from the title for the later issues of the SAI Quarterly, "The American Indian Magazine."

upcoming concert by Chief Standing Elk at the YWCA.[307] As mentioned previously, "Chief" and "Princess" titles were often used by American Indian singers to appeal to White audiences. Chief Standing Elk was the stage name of the Omaha man Frank Cayou, and in this concert, he performed dramatic readings, songs, and dances with Larson Robbins and "Mrs. James Thorpe," presumably famous American Indian athlete Jim Thorpe's wife. She sang "Hiawatha in Indian costume."[308] The rest of the evening featured piano and violin solos. Given that Cayou sang under a "Chief" stage name and that other performances included dramatic renditions in Indian costume, it is probable that Indianist works were featured as well.

Many concerts from this era, particularly ones for schools or community organizations, included a mix of Indianist music, poetry or drama, and demonstrations of arts and crafts, particularly with singers in Indian costume. In 1926 *The American Indian Magazine* reported on the wide availability of American Indian performers in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and their ability to use their identity and stage personas for the White gaze.[309] A 1928 volume likewise advertised a list of Indianist songs "set to music by Chief Sisco" based upon Sioux melodies passed down "from father to son, never before put on paper."[310] The article featured American Indian performers who regularly sang Indianist programs such as Chief Os-ke-non-ton, profiled later in this chapter, and encouraged the practice of Indianist songs that depicted American Indian life. These shows were clearly intended for non-Native audiences. The articles stressed the very performative cues that

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[307] "Carlisle Indian Club to Give Entertainment," *American Indian Magazine* 1, no. 2 (1926): 14.
[308] Ibid.
[309] "Many Oklahoma Indians in Theatrical and Movie Limelight," *American Indian Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1926): 13.
[310] "A Sheaf of Pretty Songs Depicting Western Indian Life by Mrs. Henry Harrison," *American Indian* Magazine 3 no. 3 (1928): 8.

are Indianist in nature, including Indian costuming, "Chief" stage naming, and the mythology of Indian cultural heritage. The decision to promote such events indicates a broader support for ideas about music and musicality that are inherently Indianist.

The Tomahawk and *American Indian Magazine* also endorsed musical Indianism by including articles about the ethnographic and artistic study of American Indian music more generally, such as *The Tomahawk's* coverage of Densmore's fieldwork.[311] Other articles mentioned Indianist composers explicitly. An author named Edna Wilson published an article in *American Indian Magazine* in 1926 titled "Popular Indian Music Originates from the Old Legends."[312] Wilson argues that "American folk song, in its true sense, can only be derived from Indian or plantation life," echoing Arthur Farwell's philosophies from more than a decade prior. Written for a Native audience, Wilson continues to classify some tribes as "more primitive" while commending the poetic songs of others, and categorizes American Indian song similar to ethnographers like Densmore: historical songs, songs of mourning, love songs, and convivial or social songs.[313] Her description of American Indian music concludes with praise for Cadman and Lieurance as "two of the foremost composers of Indian music" who were able to bring American Indian music to life by idealizing relatively simple melodies.[314] A 1921 article in *The Tomahawk* also praises composers who used their talents to popularize American Indian music. The author of "Indian Melodies Lead at Concert" praised Charles Sanford Skilton's *Suite Primeval* that had developed through the years when American Indian

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[311] "Minnesota Woman Saves Indian Airs," *The Tomahawk* 19, no. 35 (1921): 4.
[312] Edna Wilson, "Popular Indian Music Originates from the Old Legends," *American Indian Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1926): 4.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

music was "an absolute novelty."[315] The article describes Skilton's "mystic rhythms," "charming cello incidents," and "musical pictures" while celebrating the piece as "American music of worth."[316] A year later, another *Tomahawk* article reviewed a performance of *Suite Primeval*. The reporter argued that it was popular due to its ability to transform nature and worship songs of the Cheyenne, Winnebago, and Oregon Indians.[317]

By the late 1920s the mainstream American Indian press demonstrated to both Natives and non-Natives that the practice of idealizing and setting traditional melodies for concert music, as well as the practice of American Indians performing such music, was a worthwhile venture. Even taking into consideration the rhetorical use of multiple meanings in American Indian writing does not produce a substantive alternative that would suggest refusal or resistance. This is primarily due to the nature of these articles as brief and succinct rather than literary. Advertisements and reviews for concerts, like most of the Indianist content within these publications, do not offer much prose to dissect. Furthermore, the SAI's interest in Indianism could be scrutinized through the politic of strategic utilization of their White allies, but that would be difficult to prove solely through their formal publications. These articles acted as their authoritative stance on the issue. There are, of course, exceptions to that general approval. Montezuma, who espoused anti-Indianist ideas, also cautioned American Indians and allies who were interested in Indianism more broadly:

> If you are so interested in the Indian as a man, and you are his friend, duty to man demands that you help free him from the shackles that bind him to doom. ... If you are interested in Indian music and folklore and you are a friend of the Indians that

[315] "Indian Melodies Lead at Concert," *The Tomahawk* 19, no. 35 (1921): 4.
[316] Ibid.
[317] "Indian Music Popular," *The Tomahawk* 20, no. 13 (1922): 4.

> friendship binds you to come to his aid and free him, that he may develop and become a factor in the world.[318]

An anonymous author in *The Tomahawk* suggested a similar sentiment that many in Indianism were "spurious friends of the Indians":

> Gathering Indian trinkets and erecting museums in which to store them in order to satisfy morbid curiosity seekers does not help the Indians. Being enthusiastic over Indian music, legends, or arts is not evidencing genuine friendliness. ... You may join a million organizations to promote 'fellowship' but that will not show that you are helping the Indian cause along.[319]

While these are not pure admonishments of Indianism, both writers signal that a faction of American Indian progressives existed who felt a dissonance between Indianism as a philosophy and the realities of American Indian advocacy and welfare. In surveying American Indian newspapers and other public forums, however, American Indians who supported Indianism, at least on the surface, were more visible. This includes the American Indian performers who collaborated with non-Native Indianist composers.

Progressive Musical Collaboration

The American Indian progressives who supported and assisted Indianist composers, or who used Indianist composers to tell their own musical stories, tacitly endorsed the overall mission of musical Indianism. Three examples are Francis La Flesche and Tsianina Redfeather's collaborations with Cadman, and Zitkala-Ša's opera with William Hanson. At times these individuals disapproved of the ways in which composers misused or misrepresented particular tribal customs, and disagreed quite vocally with the composers with whom they worked. But they nonetheless used their authority on

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[318] Wassaja, "We Must Stick Together," *The Tomahawk* 17, no. 35 (1919): 1.
[319] "Spurious Friends of the Indians," *The Tomahawk* 18, no. 19 (1920): 4.

American Indian cultural heritage to further Indianist ideology. Unlike the interlocutors and performers whose labor and identity made successful Indianist music possible, Zitkala-Ša, La Flesche, and Tsianina were, in some way, a part of the compositional process. And all three were at the time associated with progressive American Indian politics: Zitkala-Ša and La Flesche were associated with the SAI, and Tsianina, although not officially a member, performed for the SAI and maintained connections with progressive American Indian advocates throughout her life. Publications from the time, including American Indian newspapers, used the connections between the composers and these collaborators to authenticate Indianism. Their participation in the creation of musical Indianism was communicated to a broader audience, often through the lens of American Indian progressivism.

As discussed in Chapter One, Cadman and La Flesche worked together on ethnographic transcriptions. Cadman first became acquainted with La Flesche after soliciting help from Alice Fletcher in March 1908. Fletcher referred him to La Flesche instead. By August 1908 La Flesche had already supplied Cadman with melodies for his "Indian Suite." Correspondence between La Flesche and Cadman shows that La Flesche used his cultural and social position to help Cadman's broader Indianist project. Cadman sought La Flesche's help in promoting his *Indian Songs* in 1909. "Will you please forward one of your copies to the Carlisle School to those who will advertise the work? And also if you can tell your other musical, scientific, or personal friends about it, it will help."[320] In addition to this outreach, La Flesche often connected Cadman with his "Indian friends," as Cadman puts it, to gain "more 'experience' and 'color'" for his

[320] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, January 1 1909. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

music.[321] La Flesche also regularly supplied Cadman with musical instruments, even without expecting monetary compensation. “Your kindness and generosity touches me deeply and if you will not accept renumeration for your trouble in making this, the only way to show my appreciation to you is to stick to my ideals and work toward a goal that may in the end satisfy you.”[322] In the beginning of their relationship, La Flesche was more than willing to assist Cadman in his search for melodies and instruments, and provide him with personal connections to aid his compositional journey.

Their relationship became more complex during the long process of composing the opera *Da-O-Ma*, later titled *Ramala*, between 1908 and the 1920s. La Flesche’s began working on *Da-O-Ma* by supplying Cadman with Omaha and Osage melodies, but he became more involved over time. For this opera, and much of Cadman’s music, Nelle Richmond Eberhart wrote the libretto. Eberhart was a White poet and librettist who worked mainly with Cadman throughout her career, although her poetry appears in some literary magazines of the era. In November 1908 Cadman brought up the possibility of working with Eberhart on an opera with La Flesche, and by December, they were in agreement: “To work at something along the lines projected by you would be most pleasurable and so far as we know I think we can say that we shall be quite willing to go in on this scheme.”[323] Cadman promised La Flesche that he is “studying orchestration with the best teacher in this country,” and the composition and libretto will be done “in one year’s time.”[324] Cadman, Eberhart and La Flesche did not complete a draft of the opera until 1912, and ran into financial difficulties printing the score. The larger obstacle,

[321] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, January 4 1909. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, December 4 1908. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[324] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, December 27 1908. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

however, was finding an opera company or theater to premiere the opera. In a letter from 1913, Cadman insinuates that the opera has not had much luck, and the Metropolitan Opera had held onto the score but had not yet given word on producing it.[325] The Met would never produce *Da-O-Ma*, nor would the other major opera houses. In 1917, Cadman consoled La Flesche. "Do not lose hope. I feel that the time is not long now when we will actually interest the managers and the public to the tenet of getting a production for it."[326] The Washington National Opera contacted La Flesche in 1922 in the hopes of staging it, but the opera was never produced by a major opera house in full. Parts of *Da-O-Ma* were performed in small concerts around the country throughout the 1930s.

In the beginning, Cadman, Eberhart, and La Flesche seemed to share the concern for using American Indian materials correctly and respectfully. In March 1909, Cadman sought "melodies which will be consistent and true" for *Da-O-Ma*, so that the music is "ethnologically as well as artistically right."[327] Eberhart wrote to La Flesche in May 1909 to ask if they could use the Hako ceremony melodies "in any way we wish," to ensure thematic and ethnographic accuracy.[328] Additionally, she sought La Flesche's input on tribal specificity. "Are we restricted to Dakota and Omaha melodies or may we use any Indian melody, Hopi, etc." But her later correspondence suggests that at some point, La Flesche's assumed authoritative position began to impede her writing process. "As there will probably not be a market for more than one Indian opera and as a grand opera in three acts is a large undertaking would it not be best to use the finest of all melodies,

[325] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, July 18 1913. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[326] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, April 30 1917. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[327] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, March 9 1909. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[328] Nelle Richmond Eberhart to Francis La Flesche, May 20 1909. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

making the opera national, as you might call it, instead of tribal? Need we be too specific?"[329] La Flesche's reply to Eberhart is not in the archive, but Eberhart's subsequent response reveals that La Flesche had begun to push back against her desire to avoid tribal specificity. La Flesche seems to argue that two parts of the musical dialogue, a maiden singing a lullaby to herself and a duet between male and female characters, would not make thematic or cultural sense. In response, Eberhart rejected La Flesche's beliefs. "It would be very fruitful to have the maiden sing to herself ... And an American woman would be as apt to sing a lullaby as anything else. ... The duet you speak of is a necessity ... It is the conversation in Act II, Scene II. All conversation in Grand Opera is musical."[330]

Two years later, in December 1911, Cadman pressed La Flesche to use a song that La Flesche had deemed inauthentic and unusable, trying to subvert La Flesche's cultural authority. "You seemed to fear it had not been taken down right. You told me, I believe, that it was hard to copy it down the way Indians sing it although you admitted it was effective even the way I had it ... Now I want to use this song for I can make some big effects with my treatment of it for orchestra and chorus."[331] Cadman continued to argue that "If the notes are not absolutely correct or if it happens to savor one of the Mescal songs please tell me, <u>who will know</u> but you and Miss Fletcher? Will the public or the critics or even ANY ethnologists? I think not."[332] In reading Cadman's insistence that accuracy was not essential, it is plausible that La Flesche had previously resisted

[329] Ibid.
[330] Nelle Richmond Eberhart to Francis La Flesche, May 24 1909. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[331] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, December 1911. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[332] Ibid.

Cadman's casual attitude toward cultural heritage. Cadman was, at the least, preemptively aware of the fact that La Flesche might oppose misusing cultural materials.

In a twist of irony, Eberhart and Cadman constantly sought out La Flesche's revisions but disregarded them, agitating La Flesche throughout the decade of composing. Eberhart told La Flesche that she was pleased his revisions included "Indian expressions" which Eberhart had no experience in writing. But at the same time, she admonished him for rewriting or changing parts of her libretto, despite the fact that La Flesche was a co-author. La Flesche attempted to rewrite a duet scene between the opera's two main characters to change the storyline and change the musical action to match the way an American Indian would perform. Eberhart outright rejected his suggestions. "Of course no Indian would sing [an aria] at such a time, but neither would a man of any other nationality, but grand opera are never true to life."[333] She nonetheless closed her letter by pandering to him. "Now if you don't care for the scene as I write it, don't hesitate to tell me so. Perfect frankness on all sides will help our work."[334] Later that summer, Eberhart continued to dismiss La Flesche's alterations. She reminded him "not to rewrite anything as the music is done—merely suggest different words," but hoped that he would "not be disappointed if I ask you to let [the scene as it is written] stay."[335]

The correspondence does not indicate that La Flesche ever relented. Eberhart and Cadman repeatedly argued with him over revisions, particularly as they concerned American Indian music and plots. For example, Cadman reassured La Flesche that his

[333] Nelle Richmond Eberhart to Francis La Flesche, April 27 1910. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Nelle Richmond Eberhart to Francis La Flesche, N.D. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

interpretation of American Indian melodies might sound "unpleasant," but that it is simply what "modernism demands nowadays to make it dramatic enough," even if people such as La Flesche only seek to hear "pure melody and appealing tunes."[336] Cadman further disparaged La Flesche in his private correspondence with Eberhart. When Cadman wanted to use a flute melody but with an "occult" orchestration, he complained to Eberhart that "La Flesche will no doubt try to kick and say it is not ethnological, etc? And 'unusual' and all that rot but I will fight to the death for this stunt as it is so Indian and appropriate to the opera as you know."[337] He continued to plead with Eberhart to "stand by me in this fight. We will just finish the score and say nothing and then when it is ready to be produced we will spring it on him. I would like to spring it the 'first night' if possible. Let me know how you like this stunt."[338] La Flesche, despite working without gain for this operatic endeavor, was not as respected as the platitudes in Cadman and Eberhart's letters to him suggest.

La Flesche understood this toxic dynamic. He accused Eberhart and Cadman of conspiring to change the name of the opera without his consent and to conceal his co-authorship of the libretto:

> It was agreed that the title of the libretto was to be a joint authorship but I notice that the title of the score just received reads, 'libretto by Nelle Richmond Eberhart, after a story by Francis La Flesche.' Had I known that it was your intention to claim the entire authorship I would not have put into the libretto the time and work which I have given it. Your letters, which I have kept, indicate the joint authorship in the libretto was the only understanding between us.[339]

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[336] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, December 22 1911. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[337] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Nelle Richmond Eberhart, January 14 1912. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Francis La Flesche to Nelle Richmond Eberhart, August 2 1922. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

Furthermore, La Flesche notes that the most recent score was titled *The Land of Misty Water* instead of *Da-O-Ma*, the titular character in the opera. Eberhart admits sheepishly to those changes. "By all means, Libretto by Nelle Richmond Eberhart and Francis La Flesche, if you so desire. Charles and I had wondered how to best word it, since you really furnished what is technically the 'book' and I the 'lyrics' but the above suits me all right. ... As for the name, ... Nobody pronounces them correctly, anyway, so they may as well mispronounce that. If the Met had taken it, they would have named it to suit themselves anyhow."[340] She ends her letter pleading to "not misunderstand each other. We all mean fair."

Despite these apprehensions, La Flesche seemed to be proud of his work in *Da-O-Ma*. His excitement is palpable in a letter from 1922 informing Cadman about the potential to debut the opera with the Washington National Opera. He began by lightly poking fun at Cadman's perpetually ill state: "Are you still on the surface, and kicking feebly? If so I wish to have a little paper-talk with you on a subject that interests you ... So sit up and listen."[341] The letter continues to shower Cadman with praise, exclaiming that the music to *Da-O-Ma* was even better than the libretto, and that Cadman was a world-class composer. La Flesche recounted Mr. Albion's reaction to hearing the libretto to flatter him:

> Mr. A. said: 'This is beautiful, and a thing like that should not be permitted to remain hidden.' After some discussion, Mr. A. said: 'Mr. La Flesche, did you hear all or a part of the score, and do you think it equally as good as the libretto?' replied that you had sketched nearly all of the score for me on the piano, even to the parts of the instruments, wind, and string, and it all impressed me as being much above the libretto. 'Then the score must be very good,' Albion remarked.[342]

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[340] Nelle Richmond Eberhart to Francis La Flesche, August 3 1922. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[341] Francis La Flesche to Charles Wakefield Cadman, July 25 1922. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[342] Ibid.

Without any personal reflections of his time working on *Da-O-Ma*, it is difficult to fully grasp La Flesche's conflicted thoughts on the compositional process. But we can determine through his enthusiasm and the basic fact that he worked steadily with Cadman and Eberhart on an opera that would never come to fruition, that he was quite dedicated to the Indianist project, even when his authority was disrespected. On August 4, 1922 he wrote "we can all pull together, toward success, I hope," affirming his unwavering support.[343] That letter, however, was the last piece of correspondence between La Flesche and Cadman regarding *Da-O-Ma*.

Tsianina Redfeather also collaborated with Cadman on an opera in the 1910s. She was a contributor to Cadman and Eberhart's *Shanewis* (1918), an opera loosely based on Tsianina's life. This opera involved a different compositional process. Eberhart and Cadman were responsible for the libretto and the music, respectively, while Tsianina supplied thematic details about her life and cultural heritage. They consulted La Flesche to choose melodies and ensure that they were appropriate for the opera. Tsianina, by contrast, did not seem to assist the musical writing. She approached her involvement with less concern for authenticity than La Flesche did. What little remains from her correspondence, as well as her own writing, portrays a singer who was grateful for Indianist composers and the opportunity to be involved in the opera. Beth Levy and Tara Browner have both described the specifics of the way that *Shanewis* was composed and Tsianina's involvement, which revealed that she was more of a consultant, but nonetheless led the opera to renewed success when she decided to perform the lead role at the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles in 1926.[344]

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[343] Francis La Flesche to Charles Wakefield Cadman, August 4 1922. HPC, PSU, Box 3.
[344] Levy, *Frontier Figures*, 84–142; Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit,'" 265–84.

Later in her life, Tsianina described *Shanewis* as Cadman and Eberhart's portrayal of her life. She excluded herself from the creative process by referring to her only contribution in jest:

> Charles Cadman is perhaps the best known for idealizing Indian themes. In the opera 'Shanewis' Mr. Cadman used several Indian themes to portray the story of my life. I had jokingly suggested to them that he write an Indian opera and give me a song to sing in it which would tell the white race what they had done to my people. Nelle Richmond Eberhart wrote the libretto from my story and did an excellent job of it. Some of the loveliest Cadman melodies are in this opera, idealized to be sure, but fundamentally Indian.[345]

Tsianina approved of the musical and lyrical portrayal of her life story as well as the "idealization" of American Indian music, writing that the music Cadman used was "fundamentally Indian." And even if it was a "joking suggestion," she believed that *Shanewis*, and Indianism more broadly, could convey a message of justice and Indigenous resiliency to White audiences.

Tsianina's work on *Shanewis* on the surface is similar to Zitkala-Ša's involvement in *The Sun Dance Opera*, composed by William Hanson. Zitkala-Ša, often referred to by her American name, Gertrude Bonnin or Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, was a member of the Yankton Dakota. She was an active participant of the SAI, even serving as editor for the quarterly journal and organizing their annual meetings. Zitkala-Ša was also a talented musician, having trained in a Quaker missionary school. Her religious education was the subject of her essay, "School Days of an Indian Girl," which divulged the assimilation tactics of and mistreatment from missionaries.[346] As correspondence to Alice Fletcher suggests, she was keen to the Indianist project early on. In a letter written prior to 1912, Zitkala-Ša thanked Fletcher with her "whole heart for your great work in collecting the

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[345] Tsianina Redfeather, "On Wings of a Song," *Music of the West* (February 1948): 9.
[346] Zitkala-Ša, "School Days of an Indian Girl," *The Atlantic Monthly* 85, no. 508 (1900): 47–80.

American Indian songs and making it possible to preserve the music of my race."[347] The letter goes on to ask Fletcher to borrow her "Indian dress" for an upcoming production of *Hiawatha* that Zitkala-Ša would later perform at the Lafayette Opera house. Additionally, Zitkala-Ša was associated with those members of the SAI who supported Indianist music, as well as cultural preservation, ethnography, and the education of Indian culture in schools.[348]

Prior to the academic investigations by P. Jane Hafen, Tara Browner, Catherine Parsons Smith, and Beth Levy, Zitkala-Ša's work with *The Sun Dance Opera* was characterized as a mere consultation given Hanson's solo copyright, and Zitkala-Ša's name appended "hastily" on the manuscript score.[349] Their research, however, demonstrates that Zitkala-Ša was heavily involved in *The Sun Dance* through rereading Hanson's scores and revealing his familiarity, or lack thereof, with the Sun Dance.[350] Parsons in particular notes that the opera's success must be wholly indebted to Zitkala-Ša's participation in the compositional process, a point which I believe is imperative to understanding musical Indianism. Scholars have made similar arguments about Tsianina and even Princess Watahwaso, who was not generally as involved in the compositional process as Tsianina was.[351] Acknowledging their agency as American Indian singers is an important intervention. But their histories also demonstrate that the American Indian performers and collaborators who could benefit from Indianist music carried Indianism,

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[347] Zitkala-Ša to Alice Fletcher, February 20 1901. ACF/FLF, NAA, Box 2.
[348] Tadeusz Lewandowski, *Red Bird, Red Power: The Life and Legacy of Zitkala-Ša* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 19.
[349] Catherine Parsons Smith, "An Operatic Skeleton on the Western Frontier: Zitkala-Sa, William F. Hanson, and The Sun Dance Opera," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 5 (2001): 13.
[350] See Smith, "An Operatic Skeleton,"; P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Ša And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly*, (1998): 102–111; Browner, "Native Songs, Indianist Styles," 173–186; Levy, "Staging the West" in *Frontier Figures*, 118–142.
[351] McBride, *Princess Watahwaso*, 104–107; Levy, *Frontier Figures*, 84–142.

as a philosophy, to a broader American and American Indian audience. Zitkala-Ša's name attached to the opera, then, was not just an example of legitimized Indianist music. Similar to La Flesche's work on *Da-O-Ma* and Tsianina's work on *Shanewis*, *The Sun Dance* is an example that American Indian performers and musical collaborators were capable of affecting the way that others understood Indianism.

American Indian Performers and Indianism in the Media

Musicologists and historians have thoroughly analyzed the concepts of race, representation, and modernity concerning American Indian performers of Indianism.[352] These studies focus on biography and the way that singers and musicians utilized Indianist music to their advantage. Philip Deloria, for example, demonstrated that some were able to find a cross-cultural space for their own musical and artistic expression while at the same time exploiting the White interest in their music.[353] That kind of complicated liminality grants performers the ability to subvert the circumstances of the federal treatment of American Indians for individual fulfillment and gain. Theorizing American Indian performers within their individual beliefs and personal successes contextualizes the ways that American Indians at the time were in control of their own identities and agency. However, the press and media of that era did not always view American Indians with full agency. This section analyzes the media formation of a narrative of American Indian performers within Indianism that was harmful to the

[352] See Troutman, *Indian Blues.* See esp. chap. 5, "Hitting the Road," 216–267; Deloria, "Music," in *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 183–223; Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music*. See esp. section III, "Americans Again," 241–329; Levy, *Frontier Figures*. See esp. chap. 4, "Staging the West," 118–142; Browner, "Native Songs, Indianist Styles," 173–184.
[353] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 210.

broader American Indian community. I demonstrate that this class of American Indians collectively affected, and were affected by, the narratives of gender and mythology engendered by the media.

The press characterized American Indian performances of Indianism within certain factors that were associated with the Indianist paradigms of authenticity, nature, and primitivity. My analysis explores the media descriptions using the concepts of mythology, tribalism, and gender for a range of singers to control the overall narrative of musical Indianism. Additionally, I show that these performers understood and rationalized musical Indianism, in spite of the Indianist narratives that framed their lives, and that their own views sometimes intersected with the media's characterizations. In order to have a broad understanding of the way that Indianism functioned among performers, this section surveys prominent figures and lesser-known musicians, primarily Tsianina Redfeather, Lucy Nicolar (Princess Watahwaso), Suzanne La Homa, and Os-ke-non-ton.

Suzanne La Homa was a Cherokee singer from Muskogee, Oklahoma.[354] Newspaper articles suggest that she was merely a fledgling singer, a "black haired, dark-eyed Cherokee girl" who "used to sing at school entertainments," highly regarded among her Cherokee peers.[355] Clara Schumann-Heink, "the greatest contralto singer in the world," noticed her while touring in Oklahoma.[356] Schumann-Heink became her patron, helping to "pay for the musical education of her Cherokee protégé,"[357] and reportedly

[354] Reports often referred to her as her married name, Suzanne McDaniels or McDaniel, but also mononymously as La Homa or LaHoma.
[355] "Indian Girl to be World's Great Soprano, Says Schumann-Heink," *The Detroit Times*, January 16 1911.
[356] Ibid. Clara Schumann-Heink is likely Ernestine Schumann-Heink, well-known contralto in this era.
[357] Ibid.

took her to Berlin to find an appropriate vocal teacher.[358] Evidence of her repertoire has mostly not been preserved. Only a few programs from her concerts were printed in local newspapers. One program in *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* lists that she sang a song entitled "Memories" by Cadman.[359] An article from *The Denver Post* notes that her repertoire often included Cadman works, in particular "From the Land of Sky Blue Water," which was a "great favorite with her audiences."[360] Other advertisements for her performances do not include her repertoire. Given that La Homa's life story is mostly archived in newspaper ads, we do not know much about her career. But it is likely that her popularity was greater than the archive suggests. *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* reported that in 1911, La Homa, the "Cherokee Nightingale," secured a pardon on behalf of her imprisoned uncle from President Taft, who had heard her perform years before.[361]

Os-ke-non-ton was a member of the Mohawk in present-day Toronto but found success in the United States as an operatic and Broadway singer and recitalist. Reports of his performances began as early as 1914 and continued into the 1940s, which indicates that he had long career independent from Indianism. But Indianism did fuel his early career. Early reviews mentioned that he sang songs in "full warrior regalia."[362] Some articles specify that he commonly sang music by Carlos Troyer, Lieurance, Arthur Farwell, Homer Grunn, and Cadman, as well as "his own native songs."[363] Os-ke-non-ton also frequently appeared on radio for various programs that included "primitive Indian

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[358] "Cherokees to Aid Singer to Raise $30,000 Fund for Redskin Prima Donna," *The Caucasian* (Shreveport, LA), July 26 1910.
[359] "LaHoma," *Vinita Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), December 29 1910.
[360] "Diva Comes Here to Have Cadman Interpret Songs," *The Denver Post*, September 17 1911.
[361] "Howell Cobb a Free Man," *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), December 26 1911.
[362] "Music and Trees of Light Attract Big Crowds," *The Sun* (New York, NY), December 25 1914.
[363] "Indian in Debut Here Sings to a Tom Tom," *The New York Times*, January 23 1925; "Oskenonton The Mohawk Singer," *El Palacio* 19, no. 2/3 (1925): 56.

music," which presumably referred to Indianist music.[364] He had a professional relationship with Tsianina and Cadman for a few years in the 1920s. Cadman cast him in the 1926 Hollywood Bowl debut of *Shanewis*, and again as the male lead in *The Sunset Trail*, Cadman's Western/Indian themed cantata.[365] After *Shanewis*, articles about Os-ke-non-ton foregrounded their praise in his operatic success and his association with Tsianina and Cadman.

La Homa, Tsianina, Nicolar, and Os-ke-non-ton had similar fates in the popular press and musical magazines of the era. Their roles in Indianism were defined by their mythic backstories, tribal relationships, blood quantum, and gender. Articles and program notes included background stories that amplified a performer's uniqueness and authenticity, particularly as their heritage related to the Indianist music being promoted. Newspaper reviews mythologized Os-ke-non-ton's rise to fame in a way that stressed his primitive nature. In multiple articles promoting his performance with Tsianina at the Douglas, Arizona Music Club, Os-ke-non-ton was described as uneducated, pulled from the wilderness by onlookers. One promotion stated that he "springs from a long line of Indian chieftains," and was "discovered by a party of campers" while he was singing an "invocation to the great spirit."[366] A subsequent article further noted that "when Os-ke-non-ton started out he couldn't even speak English—he had no money—no friends—no companions. But this young prince—for such he is—did not disdain stepping stones," arguing that he learned how to develop "sound musicianship" while ushering at Carnegie

[364] "Local Radio Entertainment," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), April 28 1924.
[365] "Oskenonton The Mohawk Singer," 57.
[366] "Society Events," *Douglas Daily Dispatch* (Douglas, AZ), December 12 1926.

Hall.[367] The press leaned into his primitivity throughout his career. After a year-long tour in London, Os-ke-non-ton reportedly declared that he was "stifling" in the "close air of over civilization," and that he needed time in nature to clear his head.[368] The Chicago Defender decided to report that sentiment in primitivist language: "Chief Os-ke-non-ton ... Is going back to his tribe, away from white man's civilization."[369] This reporter misrepresented Os-ke-non-ton's desire to take a reprieve from the city. He was quoted as complaining that the city was "stifling" and "over-civilized," but the reporter exaggerated the point that Os-ke-non-ton would be returning to uncivilized tribal life. In doing so, the reporter contributed to an American Indian stereotype that for Os-ke-non-ton was not justified by his actions.

Tsianina was referred to by *El Palacio* magazine as "perhaps the only daughter of her race among those who have left the reservation to mingle with the whites, who still clings to the traditional Indian dress."[370] These types of articles wanted the readers to believe that Tsianina had strong familial and cultural values to undergird her performative authenticity. The same review called her "loyal" to her ancestry out of respect for her mother who "begged her to always retain the individuality of her race in the matter of dress."[371] Not even her schooling could modernize her way of dress: "Never, save for the few years when she attended the government Indian school ... Has the Princess abandoned her Indian garb."[372] Other reviewers agreed, writing that she still

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[367] "Two Famous Indian Opera Stars to Appear Jointly at Grand Theater Tonight," *Douglas Daily Dispatch* (Douglas, AZ), February 11 1927.
[368] "Indian Chief Takes Part in Cantata, Yearns to Return to His Tribe," *The Chicago Defender*, July 3 1937.
[369] Ibid.
[370] "Indian Maid Prima Donna," *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), March 13 1914.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Ibid.

had "something of the brown of the plains, in spite of her three generations of literacy."[373] Like Os-ke-non-ton, she was described as being "unspoiled by any kind of schooling," her indigeneity prevailing over any perceived acculturation.[374] Nicolar was also praised for her connections to her primitive past, lauded "as a messenger from a departing race—noble picturesque, yet little understood," able to bring "the beauty of aboriginal life and character ... To this later generation."[375]

Reviewers and commentators also emphasized an Indianist performer's tribal connections by engaging in blood quantum rhetoric. La Homa was "a strange blending of races ... Her mother is a Cherokee Indian and her father is a combination of Irish and Spanish. She has Indian eyes, the Spanish physiognomy and the Irish good humor and quick wit. She is large and dark, with skin that is real olive."[376] Nicolar and Tsianina were usually referred to as "full-blooded" in an attempt to capitalize on their racial novelty. A program promoted Nicolar's New York City debut by referring to her as "The Princess Watahwaso, a full blooded Penobscot Indian."[377] One reviewer called Tsianina "Redskin pur sang, with no admixture of Caucasian blood."[378] Even Cadman admitted in a letter to La Flesche the importance of Tsianina's full-blooded identity. "At last a real Indian to assist me in my recitals ... Won't this be a novelty? It looks as if I had struck a good thing in exploiting this Indian girl."[379] As the quotation from the writer who called

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[373] Redfern Mason, "Tsianina and Cadman Visit San Francisco, But Are Not Heard in Recital. Why Not?" CWC, PSU, Box 19.4.
[374] Richard Spamer, "Cadman and Tsianina Heard in a Program of Best Indian Music," *St. Louis Dispatch* N.D. CWC, PSU, Box 19.1.
[375] "Princess Watahwaso," *Music News* 9, no. 13 (1917): 11.
[376] "Diva Comes Here to Have Cadman Interpret Songs," *The Denver Post*, September 17 1911.
[377] "A New Indian Singer," *Musical Courier* 80, no. 13 (1920): 46.
[378] Redfern Mason, "Tsianina and Cadman Visit San Francisco, But Are Not Heard in Recital. Why Not?" CWC, PSU, Box 19.4.
[379] Charles Wakefield Cadman to Francis La Flesche, September 8 1913. HPC, PSU, Box 3.

Tsianina "redskin pur sang" continues, however, "pur sang" was important to those who championed the use of American Indian performers in Indianism: "You feel it in the candid directness of her gaze and in the simple wisdom of her speech."[380]

An article in the *Musical Courier* shows that Os-ke-non-ton's racial identity was used toward a different stereotype. The article recounted an encounter where campers discovered Os-ke-non-ton in the forest, but the author also admitted that he attended a residential school in Toronto through high school.[381] The idea that he could not speak English when he began his singing career is thus unlikely. The article also denotes clearly with whom he studied music and provides a lineage to his success that is not built upon the myth that he went from the forest to New York City. Similarly, La Homa rejected claims that she was the "protégé" of any White benefactor, refuting that she was a "little Indian girl" whisked away to Europe by Schumann-Heink from her reservation because she belonged "to a wealthy family."[382] Tsianina's autobiography perhaps is the best indication of how far the press would go to mythologize American Indian lives. In reflecting on her childhood, she expresses:

> My grandparents were among the first persons who survived the march and they settled in Eastern Oklahoma and tried to tame the savage land. In this strange, new harsh land, from time to time harassed by hostile tribes and white outlaws, the Indians set to work. By the time I was born, they had plowed their fields, built up their herds and built their homes. They had built a competent modern government and once again the printing got going. They established a public school system and I attended one of them. From this hardy stock came me after my mother.[383]

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[380] Redfern Mason, "Tsianina and Cadman Visit San Francisco, But Are Not Heard in Recital. Why Not?" CWC, PSU, Box 19.4.
[381] "Oskenonton Gives Classic Program," *Musical Courier* 81, no. 25 (1920): 51.
[382] "Diva Comes Here to Have Cadman Interpret Songs," *The Denver Post*, September 17 1911.
[383] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led Me* (Burbank, CA: Tsianina Blackstone, 1968): 7.

Tsianina was far more realistic about the realities of reservation life for many in the West that others tried to exploit. American Indians went to school, they read, they learned English, and they worked. At the same time, however, as this *Evening Mail* comic demonstrates, the success of large events such as the debut of *Shanewis* depended on abject tribalism and primitivity. (Example 1)

Example 1, Comic of Tsianina Redfeather and Charles Wakefield Cadman[384]

Articles and programs that described Tsianina or Nicolar as performers referred to them erroneously as the daughters of prominent chiefs, and thus "princesses." That reference is often untrue given that many communities do not ascribe to a nobility hierarchy.[385] While adopting a noble stage name was not just a phenomenon for female singers (Os-ke-non-ton was frequently referred to as Chief Os-ke-non-ton, for example),

[384] Morris, "Lo the Poor Indian Returns to the White Man's Operatic Stage," *The Evening Mail* (New York, NY) N.D. CWC, PSU, Box 19.4.
[385] See Dan Blumlo, "Pocahontas, Uleleh, and Hononegah: The Archetype of the American Indian Princess," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 110, no. 2 (2017): 129–53.

"princessing" had a unique effect on their identity and the way the music was perceived. Some reviewers used "princess" to qualify individuals who were "exceptional" in spite of their race. Tsianina and Nicolar were often described as sophisticated or remarkably beautiful, traits deserving of a "princess." *The Music News* called Nicolar "personally attractive" with a "speaking voice that carries admirably," along with "the gift of felicitous inflection and graceful choice of words," an "ease of manner and simplicity of forceful gesture," and above all "a fascinating topic to talk about" for which she "does not try to exhaust her subject."[386] She was not just Indian, but had "all the seriousness and reliability of her race ... In addition she has individualizing charms and graces which make her the peer of brilliant young womanhood of any race, and her superior of most."[387] Reviewers also described Tsianina as "lithe ... attractive and intensely histrionic," and possessing "the grace of a wild doe."[388] Just as Nicolar was referred to as "superior," Tsianina was hailed as unique among other American Indian women. She was a "splendid type for some of her sisters of less logical and orderly minds to emulate" because of her "wonderful poise and absolute lack of affectation."[389] The press individualized these performative princesses at the expense of other American Indian women who were not as "cultured."

An article in *The Tomahawk* by an American Indian writer named Broken Wing Bird suggests that there was a faction of American Indians which opposed such naming practices. She discussed the more recent trend of "all this 'Princessing' and 'Chiefing'

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[386] "Festival at the New First Congregation Church," *Music News: Report of the Music Supervisors National Conference* (March 1917): 7.
[387] "Princess Watahwaso," *Music News* 9, no. 13 (1917): 11.
[388] "Critical Comments from a Few of the Larger Cities," N.D. CWC, PSU, Box 19.1
[389] Ibid.

one hears so much nowadays," and recalled when her friend was tasked with coming up with "a suitable Indian name" in order to impress Thurlow Lieurance.[390] He apparently suggested that this friend have a better stage name before touring on the Chautauqua circuit. The author and her friend made fun of stage names such as "Prairie Flower, Hanging Flower, Moon Flower."[391] When the friend finally met with Lieurance, Broken Wing Bird claims that "with a twinkle in her brown eyes, yet with a face as straight and sober as could be she said, 'I declare, Mr. Lieurance, I can't think of anything but Lizzie Red Shirt.' But she wasn't called that, of course. She is Dowanna, the Singer. And isn't that much nicer that [*sic*] a Red Shirt."[392] This short story indicates that such stereotypical stage names, particularly using "Chief" and "Princess," were considered gauche by some in the American Indian community, and already recognized as inauthentic, potentially harmful, and ridiculous. Performers such as Tsianina and Nicolar nonetheless continued to use those stage names throughout the early twentieth century.

La Homa was not usually referred to a princess but the press still focused on her pairing of gender and race as a signifier of her attractiveness in the Indianist movement. Multiple articles referred to her as a "little Indian girl" and a "Cherokee nightingale," and her voice and appearance were singled out for their agreeableness.[393] These female performers were analyzed as proper despite their indigeneity, whereas their male counterparts were not. This is best seen in an article reviewing both Tsianina and Os-ke-non-ton during one of their tours in 1925. The author from *El Palacio* described Tsianina

[390] Broken Wing Bird, "What's in an Indian Name?" *The Tomahawk* 19, no. 49 (1922): 1.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Broken Wing Bird, "What's in an Indian Name?" 4.
[393] "Howell Cobb a Free Man," *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), December 26 1911.

as an "American Indian Prima Donna," but Os-ke-non-ton a mere "Mohawk Singer."[394] Tsianina was an Indian maiden, "the greatest singer the Indian race has ever given the world," "educated and cultured to the highest degree."[395] Os-ke-non-ton on the other hand was "an expert with the canoe ... A master of the lore of the woodsman," who was found singing "in the depths of his native forest," only saved from primitivity by New York campers who overheard and were "astounded at the quality of his voice."[396] Other articles referred to him as a "strong personality" and "picturesque figure" that could properly interpret American Indian music in "its primitive form."[397] Indian princesses, on the other hand, were able to "charm" audiences with their unexpected demeanor.

Gender dynamics also affected the manner in which American Indian performers were able to support their careers and their professional treatment. Some scholars argue that Tsianina and Nicolar were in control of their financial decisions and the types of concerts they chose to accept.[398] But La Homa's story is different, and indicative of the way that a process such as musical Indianism could abuse the musicians within it. The majority of newspaper articles concerning her musical career were published in 1910 or 1911, fairly early for an Indianist performer. While these articles indicate that she would soon be the "next big soprano" and hint toward a career-altering debut in London, there are no further reports, either of her time abroad or of the future of her career. But in all likelihood, her life may not have been stable enough to support such a career. An article from 1911 indicates that she was 22 at the time, but noted that she "had been the wife of

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[394] "Oskenonton The Mohawk Singer," *El Palacio* 19, no. 2/3 (1925): 56.
[395] "Princess Tsianina, Famous American Indian Prima Dona," *El Palacio* 19, no. 2/3 (1925): 55.
[396] "Oskenonton The Mohawk Singer," 56.
[397] E.B., "American-Indian Music," *Manchester Guardian,* July 7 1927.
[398] See McBride, *Princess Watahwaso*, 102; Browner, "Native Songs, Indianist Styles," 182.

Horace McDaniels since she was in her teens,"[399] suggesting an imbalanced relationship dynamic common among American Indian women of the era.[400] Other details of her personal life were described as "tragic." Her brother was murdered on the same day that she returned to Oklahoma from visiting Berlin with Schumann-Heink, and she was due to perform for her hometown at the Hinton Theater. A review of the recital states that "LaHoma, not knowing, smiled and bowed and sang to a fashionable audience that filled the Hinton Theater. She had not been told for fear that it would spoil her first great success."[401] At the price of "the little Indian girl" being able to perform, she was kept ignorant of her brother's untimely death. La Homa's story is not complete, but it hints at more negative implications of American Indians, in particular women, performing Indianism: tokenization, mistreatment, and questionable power dynamics in both professional and personal relationships.

American Indian Performers on Indianism

To understand the contemporaneous support of Indianism by American Indian performers, I searched for articles or essays in newspapers, music journals, and American Indian newspapers and journals, as well as published autobiographies from American Indian singers. Personal correspondence also provides insight, but I was more interested in the way that performers communicated their support publicly. I did not, however, find many articles written by performers supporting Indianism. American Indians did author articles in American Indian publications and national newspapers, but musicians did not

[399] "Indian Girl to be World's Great Soprano, Says Schumann-Heink," *The Detroit Times*, January 16 1911.
[400] Nicholas L. Syrett, *American Child Bride: A History of Minors and Marriage in the United States* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 61–64.
[401] "Howell Cobb a Free Man," *The Vinita Daily Chieftain* (Vinita, OK), December 26 1911.

often have the opportunity to promote their own opinions or to answer questions about their personal beliefs. *The Etude* gave a tuba player named Red Cloud, also referred to as John Koon, such an opportunity in 1920. The journal published an article titled "Indian Musicians in the Modern World," noting "the following story is given direct to *The Etude* from 'Red Cloud.'"[402]

Red Cloud studied at both Haskell and Carlisle and toured with Carlisle's traveling band. His essay defines his upbringing, education, and views on American Indian independence and mistreatment by the OIA. Red Cloud also described his thoughts on performing music that utilized American Indian likenesses, from his time with Buffalo Bill to his work with John Phillip Sousa and Indianist repertoire. He used evocative language to express his complex positions on American Indian manners of performance. He noted that Buffalo Bill "understood Indians and treated them right," and was able to help them demonstrate "an idea of Indian strength and endurance."[403] John Phillip Sousa, as well, with whom he toured as a sousaphone player, "had an inborn feeling for the Indian because in his famous suite *Dwellers in the Western World* he has an Indian section which, although composed of themes which are entirely original with him, have all the characteristics of Indian music quite as though some departed Indian spirit had inspired him."[404]

On Indianism in particular, Red Cloud wrote that he understood the White interest in romanticizing American Indian culture. "Its charm has been known for years. What could be more romantic than to see on horseback a brave silhouetted against the sinking

[402] "Indian Musicians in the Modern World," *The Etude* (October 1920): 665.
[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid.

sun singing a love song to some sweetheart hiding behind the door of a tepee."[405] He continued to praise composers who "have caught the Indian idea in modern music by the utilization of real Indian themes." He wrote that he believed when Indianist music was real, not parody, that "all of the old fire comes back in me. It is the 'call of the wild.' When we play such a piece as *American Indian Rhapsody* by Preston Ware Orem, founded on real Indian themes ... I feel as though I could jump right up and 'holler.' I heard some of those same themes when I was a little papoose and they are in my blood and will be in the blood of my children as long as the race lasts."[406]

Red Cloud's strong praise of Buffalo Bill, John Philip Sousa, and Indianist compositions should be understood within the context of his more forceful condemnation of the OIA and the plight of American Indian welfare. In the same essay, he structured his previous praise in a way that could some readers to recognize a deeper, hidden critique. He wrote that the OIA was "often represented by old, worn out, good for nothing political henchmen" who tried to "curb the race instead of permitting it to develop along natural lines in the rightful way."[407] Red Cloud lamented that the OIA banned certain music and dances and that American Indians were "unjustly disciplined." He faulted the government for forcing assimilative measures such as haircutting that caused "death, mourning, and humiliation," breaking the Indian spirit, and allowing "tuberculosis [to step in] and the American Indian [to die] by the thousands." He ended this section by asking rhetorically, "Do you ever wonder that he fought superior numbers against such wicked stupidity?"

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[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.

The ideological juxtaposition between praising people such as Buffalo Bill while decrying the OIA allows for the possibility that Red Cloud could have been using a rhetorical strategy to communicate something more serious to non-Natives. His emotional reaction to Indianist music could be exaggerated, writing that "it is the 'call of the wild'" which made him "feel as though I could jump right up and 'holler.'" On its own, this language is a direct appeal to non-Native readers. But it could possibly have been overly intense in a way that would signal jest to a Native reader. Red Cloud's article, regardless of the possibility that contemporaneous readers would have understood the implications of multiple meanings, was nonetheless a public promotion of Indianism by an American Indian performer. *The Etude* was not written for American Indian audiences, so any intricacies of his writing would have been missed, and White audiences would have understood his opinions as a justification and endorsement of musical Indianism.

Tsianina was one of the only American Indian performers who wrote autobiographically about her relationship to Indianism. She penned an article, "On Wings of a Song," in *Music of the West*, as well as an autobiography, *Where Trails Have Led Me*, that she self-published in 1968. Both texts expose her complicated positions on race, identity, and Indianism, and preempt those who might criticize Indianism for being appropriative and insensitive. *Where Trails Have Led Me* focuses on her ambition and her desire for success while discussing her early relationship with Cadman and introduction into Indianism. Tsianina's first teacher, John Wilcox, set up an audition with Cadman sometime before 1913. But she wrote that "Mr. Cadman was not at all enthusiastic over

my singing," and that he even told her teacher, "I don't think the girl will ever sing."[408] But she was not deterred. "I decided then and there that I would work hard and make him take back every word. In less than six months, I was ready for my first public concert with Cadman."[409] She saw herself as the victor in this relationship, despite Cadman's believing that he could "exploit" her talent for his own gain. She believed she was paid fairly, which she attributed to Cadman's exemplary character. "This generosity to me—an unknown—to share equally as a fellow artist, was magnificent."[410]

Tsianina didn't believe that Cadman was guilty of musical appropriation. She noted that some American Indians believed "the white man after taking our land now wants to deprive us of our music too."[411] She held that Cadman was able to assuage those fears by sensitively and appropriately setting "From the Land of Sky Blue Waters." "As long as there is a land of sky blue water, there will always be a Cadman who took this true, Indian melody from the Omaha tribe and made out of it a classic, living thing that embodies all the beauty and dignity of the American Indian."[412] The song preserved the "Indian emotions" of love, joy, hate, and sorrow from the original melody while also presenting an overall poetic description of the Indian race. She believed Cadman was able to do so because he lived "in close touch with the different tribes of Indians, absorbing the spirit of their music, then harmonized many of their traditional melodies."[413] We know, however, from a closer investigation into Cadman's ethnographic work that this

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[408] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led* Me, 25.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led Me*, 27.
[411] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led Me,* 34.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid.

has not been substantiated. It is unlikely that he ever lived on tribal lands, and his harmonization and transcription work was heavily critiqued by La Flesche.

Tsianina granted other Indianist composers the same amount of "sympathy" for American Indian music as she granted Cadman. She praised Carlos Troyer, Lieurance, and Homer Grunn, arguing that they used American Indian themes "effectively," "sympathetically," and "authentically," and that they saved American Indian music from obscurity.[414] She was in general quite supportive of the Indianist movement, particularly as an educational tool for non-Natives. "The world has to be educated to listen to the music of the great masters; so one must learn to listen beneath the rhythmic beat of the tom tom of the Indian people to hear the soft toned melodies that lullabies the little papoose to sleep, that grinds the corn, that causes the heart of the Indian maiden to skip a beat when she hears her lover's flute call, that heals the troubled heart and blesses those who listen and understand."[415] Furthermore, she thought that Indianist harmonizing or idealizing "adds much to the enjoyment of the music ... And understatedly it detracts little from the original theme. These melodies echoed in the forest long before the coming of the man."[416]

She believed that Indianist music and its performance by American Indians were appropriate methods to educate her people and garner sympathy for them. She acknowledged that some critics believed Indianists, or "friends of the race," to be merely "poeticizing the Indian."[417] But she refuted this claim, not because Indianists were innocent of this, but because she believed that American Indians were inherently poetic.

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[414] Tsianina, "On Wings of a Song," 7–8
[415] Tsianina, "On Wings of a Song," 9.
[416] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led Me*, 34.
[417] Tsianina, "On Wings of a Song," 9.

"The truth is that this is what [the Indian] has done for himself. He has [poeticized himself] so completely that the White man's failure to meet him on his poetic level where his important processes take place, is the vital reason for America's failure to understand him."[418] Tsianina is arguing here against the scientific or even political treatment by Americans. To her, American Indians are essentially poetic, and thus any movement that seeks to understand that poetic life, in this case through idealized music, arrives closer to the truth of the race than any scientific movement.

Tsianina did not write about White people uncritically, however. Her autobiography contains many examples of her lived experience of racism and mistreatment as well as a historical contextualization of colonial abuses. She claims to hold "a deep-rooted aversion for the white race in general. Had the whites not treated the Indian race shamefully? Had we not been robbed of our homeland?"[419] She lamented that education in the United States presented a "false picture ... The white man tried to justify his crookedness and misrepresent the facts so as to present the Indian people in a bad light to the innocent children."[420] But she also noted that one of her music teachers taught her how to look past that generational trauma to conceptualize her role as a performer. "He said 'We must trust the Holy One to straighten this thing out and set the world free. You are not singing to people, you are singing for the Great Spirit. He has blessed you with this precious gift and you must give as He has given you. After all the white man has done to your people, and I agree it has been bad, hating will not help.'"[421]

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[418] Ibid.
[419] Tsianina, *Where Trails Have Led Me*, 28.
[420] Ibid.
[421] Ibid.

Public Narratives of Indianism and American Indians

Tsianina understood her role in Indianism not as a performer for the White gaze but as an educator about American Indian culture, a way of honoring her ancestors and the Great Spirit. She felt that her audience understood her role, as well, writing in her autobiography that "I shall always love [my audience] for their 'at one' feeling for the Indian race. They did not speak against anyone or anything regarding the Indian's problem—they just caught the spirit of the Red Man and gave the Indian all they had. They were on our side."[422] As I have attempted to show, the media framed the way that American Indians involved themselves in Indianism without regard to their individual beliefs. The ways in which performers were mistreated in the media affected the musical identity of American Indians on a much broader scale. And their coverage of American Indian singers was generally supported by American Indian progressives for Indianist music. Any anti-Indianist rhetoric from American Indian progressives or performers, like that of Carlos Montezuma, was an outlier. Without a strong counternarrative to the Indianist project among those who had the privilege to write, speak, and advocate to the American public, Indianism seemed to have support from performers and progressive activists, despite any strategically hidden multiple meanings within the language of American Indian performers or activists. This had a lasting effect on the way that Indianism infiltrated Native and non-Native educational systems and became part of the everyday lives of American Indian children.

[422] Ibid.

Chapter Five, Institutional Indianism

The ways in which the press boosted the voices of American Indians who had the privilege to elevate Indianist music affected Indianism more broadly. Composers, publishers, and reviewers used the American Indian progressive perspective to promote Indianist authenticity. Their own opinions and actions, as reported through popular publications, contributed to Indianism's success. While Indianism was not the most successful musical venture for composers in the early twentieth century, many Indianist pieces found their way into standard concert and recital repertoire, most notably Lieurance's "By the Waters of Minnetonka" and Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water." These two pieces, in particular, are classic examples of Indianism, because American Indian interlocutors and performers heavily influenced their conception, composition, and performance. But what these two pieces also have in common is that composers, educators, and federal agents used them in public institutions to convey messages about patriotism and assimilation.

This chapter looks at the way institutions used Indianist music, including American Indian schools, American public schools, and the military, and speculates about the impact of institutionalization on a broad understanding of American Indian musicality for both Natives and non-Natives. Although I focus on American Indian students and Indianism, I do not theorize about the opportunities afforded to American Indian students through musical performance. Music education in American Indian schools, particularly in boarding schools and reservation schools supported by the government, is a complicated history. John Troutman's *Indian Blues* and Melissa

Parkhurst's *To Win the Indian Heart* reveal the conflicting federal and educational forces that used music education for religious and cultural assimilation. Schools enforced federal mandates on American Indian musical expression while promoting Western and Christian musical traditions to reinforce Christianity, vocational work ethics, and "American" values. As Parkhurst argues, school administrators recognized that formal education "might reach an Indian's head and hand," but that "a deeper, more lasting assimilation could take place only if a way was found to reach the Indian heart."[423] Educators thus turned to music, which was widely recognized as important to American Indian culture. Both Troutman and Parkhurst avoid characterizing such musical assimilation as wholly tragic. Children who were socialized within music ensembles were able to bond with other musicians in their groups, and often found musical performance as a psychological or emotional escape.[424] Additionally, graduates with musical skills could capitalize on those talents for financial gain, and some used the social and cultural capital, gained through performing and touring, toward other careers. Troutman and Parkhurst's work argues that American Indian students were resilient within a cruel educational system.

Both authors also argue for understanding American Indian student performances of Indianism as an additional form of resiliency. The federal policies regarding American Indian cultural expression in school were contentious. At the turn of the century, most schools did not permit students to engage in American Indian music or dances. But with the rise of federal ethnological studies in the early twentieth centuries, ethnographers and other non-Native advocates urged the OIA to foster American Indian music education for

[423] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart,* 32.
[424] Ibid.

the students' cultural and emotional well-being.[425] Troutman argues that federal music education policy "built upon the work of Densmore, Fletcher, Curtis, and Indianist composers to create a sanitized, decontextualized form of Indianness within the school."[426] Parkhurst furthermore shows that the federal American Indian educational system used music as a tool to assimilate students to both proper Whiteness and proper Indianness. Troutman's work reveals that some students were "liberated" by getting to "play Indian," and that they were able to "establish their own hidden transcripts of resistance within the scripted performances of Indianness that non-Indians increasingly demanded."[427] Additionally, Parkhurst notes that Indianist music in Indian pageants, demonstrations of pan-Indian culture held both in schools and for the public, "allowed thousands of students to explore and publicly perform aspects of their Indianness."[428] This type of scholarship analyzes the ways in which students managed to survive and even thrive as a response to a legacy of scholarship that has focused on institutional oppression rather than American Indian lives.

This methodology arguably stems from K. Tsianina Lomawaima's approach to boarding school studies. She argued that these students were not "passive consumers of an ideology or lifestyle imparted from above by federal administrators. … [but] actively created an ongoing educational and social process."[429] Both Troutman and Parkhurst appropriately lift up the perspectives of American Indian performers who found an important social and cultural function for their music education. And indeed, the

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[425] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 181.
[426] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 182.
[427] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 200.
[428] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 119.
[429] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 167.

realization that mandated musical education could have been a site of resilience, or even resistance, is a crucial intervention. But I also believe that realizing that Indianism was deeply embedded within Indian education is vitally important to understanding student resilience. I do not want to engage in what Eve Tuck calls "damage-centered research" which analyzes the effects of colonization to explain Indigenous trauma.[430] This type of research can end up representing the colonized as mere victims. The alternative to "damage-centered research," Tuck argues, is "desire-based research," which "is concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives."[431]

My work, as a whole, aims not to diagnose Indianism as the root of any malady within historical or contemporaneous communities. But, in an effort to focus on student lives and performances, we may have missed an opportunity to disclose the lengths to which Indianism was institutionalized in both American Indian and public education, and to theorize the unique effects that Indianism had on students' understanding of American Indian musicality. This chapter seeks to reconcile those views. I focus on Indianist music in American Indian education and American institutions, as opposed to general music education in American Indian schools, which is the thrust of Troutman and Parkhurst's scholarship. I argue for a fuller understanding of musical Indianism by analyzing the institutional use of Indianism in places that served vulnerable populations or had a national educational impact. Revealing the ways in which the music was institutionalized is part of my main intervention into Indianist scholarship, which is to redefine Indianism

[430] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 413.
[431] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416.

as a social process from ethnography to reception rather than as a compositional movement. I first explore Indianism in public institutions before looking closely at Indianism in boarding and reservation schools.

Public Indianism

Indianist ideology was prevalent in non-Native public schools and universities. Indianist composers such as Thurlow Lieurance, Arthur Farwell, Arthur Nevin, and Charles Sanford Skilton taught composition and other musical topics at public universities. Both Nevin and Skilton, for example, were professors at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, which neighbored the Haskell Institute boarding school. Unfortunately, neither Skilton nor Nevin's lectures have been archived, so it is difficult to know the extent to which Indianist ideology made its way to their students. But their professorships at the university raised the public profile of Indianism. Newspaper articles featuring Skilton and Nevin's music often stressed their connection to the University of Kansas. A 1916 review from the *Minneapolis Tribune* of Skilton's "Indian Dances" foregrounds Skilton's position as faculty at the University of Kansas as the reason why he was able to accomplish such "valuable pioneer work."[432] His composition was "beautifully done, with scholarly appreciation of [American Indians'] ethnological value." A 1909 review of Nevin's Indianist opera, *Poia*, from *The Evening Times* of Grand Forks, North Dakota also focuses on Nevin's academic credentials as the basis for his ability to compose a grand opera with American Indian material.[433] Nevin used his scholarly understanding of American Indian themes to compose an opera that was "constructed upon the accepted

[432] "Indian Dances," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 20, no 13 (1916): 6.
[433] "A Hartley and Nevin Grand Opera," *The Evening Times* (Grand Forks, ND), July 06 1909.

lines of modern music drama."[434] Their professional status gave them a platform to promote Indianism as an intellectual musical philosophy rather than as a hobbyist's interest in American Indian music.

Evelyn Culbertson's biography on Arthur Farwell reveals that Farwell's Indianism permeated his lifelong mission of securing an American music tradition, including his teaching career at Cornell University and later at the University of California at Berkeley. Archival materials do not indicate, however, that he taught Indianist ideology openly. Rather, his lectures promote the ideals of community music-making and the importance of music history. In particular, he felt that an American musical tradition should be built upon a "universal" music history in which folk traditions, linked through their primitive origins, were the basis of tonality.[435] Lieurance's archive, on the other hand, contains more information about the methods he used to translate Indianism into his teaching. Lieurance initially taught at the University of Nebraska but later worked at the University of Wichita, known today as Wichita State University.[436] The Wichita State University Music Library not only bears his name but also contains his extensive collection of American Indian flutes. As a professor and composer affiliated with the University, he continuously promoted Indianism as an ideology. His archive contains many programs from University groups or local music groups who performed his Indianist music, often with some sort of lecture, as late as

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[434] Ibid.
[435] Evelyn Davis Culbertson, *He Heard America Singing: Arthur Farwell, Composer and Crusading Music Educator* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 198.
[436] Henrietta M. Rees, "Music," *Omaha Daily Bee* (Omaha, NE) April 6 1919.

1938.[437] In 1940, a Kansas teacher magazine profiled his commitment to Indianism, and the enduring legacy of "By the Waters."[438]

The methodologies and philosophies that underpinned his song's success were embedded in his educational efforts. A good example can be found in one of his music history lectures for the University of Wichita, titled "Who is Original?" for the unit he called "The Creative Artist." He begins by trying to define a creative musical genius. He does not argue against the notion of "musical genius"—a trope associated with Eurocentricity[439]—but instead leads his students to rethink musical originality with the concept of a shared primitive musical past. He states that "our pentatonic scale, FGACDE [*sic*], etc, originated in China 4000 years ago and the most beautiful toned percussion instruments we have come out of China," positing that "we of today are not so original as we think we are."[440] What that means for American music, he believed, is that even our most original traditions, such as jazz, are related to ancient traditions. He says that jazz is "pagan music like that of the Egyptians" because of its "clashing cymbals and moaning saxophone." But he also noted that "American Indian" and "Negro folk songs" underpinned the "new" American art music, and suggested that the "folk" or the "average person" is the true genius. If more lectures or course materials from these composers' tenure had been archived, we would better know the extent to which they promoted Indianist methodologies or normalized musical appropriation to their students. But their presence in large, publicly-funded universities, particularly by Lieurance who had a long

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[437] "The Wichita Independent Businessmen's Association Presents: Thurlow Lieurance in Musical Horizons." April 5, 1938. TLC, WSU, Box 47.
[438] Owen, "Kansas Folks Worth Knowing", 44–47.
[439] See Edward E. Lowinsky, "Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept," *The Musical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1964): 321–40.
[440] "Who is Original," Music History Chapter V of *The Creative Artist*. TLC, WSU, Box 51.

tenure and left an enduring legacy, leaves open the possibility that Indianism could have made a significant impact on the narratives of indigeneity and musical appropriation in higher education.

The reach of Indianism is more apparent in primary and secondary education. Some composers, such as Charles Wakefield Cadman, intended their Indianist music for amateur high school-aged performers. These pieces are not always considered as part of the Indianist canon, but the drafts of his scores in his archive at Penn State University indicate that Cadman commonly used American Indian songs outside of his collaborations with La Flesche or Tsianina. Some examples include the operetta *Lelawala* (1926) and the cantata *The Father of Waters* (1927), both of which were written for student performers and programmed by high schools. Cadman wrote *Lelawala*, subtitled a "dramatic operetta" for a June 1926 debut by Los Angeles High School.[441] The operetta is based on the love narrative from the Iroquois creation story of the Niagara Falls. It contains three acts, including camp fire scenes, ceremonial dances, lullabies, all of which are stereotypical Indianist operatic elements that Cadman and others used in previous works.[442] Harry Perison notes, in his dissertation on Cadman, that *Lelawala* was performed more than one hundred times in under one year due to its suitability for small-scale concerts, which is far more than any other Indianist operatic work.[443]

The Father of Waters, subtitled an "American cantata," was written as a "tribute to the diverse national ethnic elements in American history," including American Indian

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[441] Harry Perison, "Charles Wakefield Cadman: His Life and Works," Ph.D. Diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1978, 244.
[442] See more on Cadman's style in Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit,'" 265–84; Levy, "Encountering Indians," *Frontier Figures*, 85–117.
[443] Perison, "Charles Wakefield Cadman," 244.

songs set for mixed chorus in a "semi-operatic style."[444] The cantata begins with a creation story, then moves to the Western "discovery" of America, love songs, laments on cultural "devastation," and finally a rejoice of freedom. The score notes that this cantata was dedicated to the supervisor of music in the Pittsburgh public school system, indicating that *The Father of Waters* was not only intended for students, but was also a "tribute" to a particular version of American history.[445] American nationalism was, of course, not a new concept in public schools by this time. But music with Indianist themes, such as *The Father of Waters*, and other Indianist compositions were used in the early twentieth century in schools to teach about the relationship between American music and American Indian culture.

A variety of materials from music educator journals and popular publications suggests that Indianist materials were targeted toward music educators. They advertised Indianist works as age- and skill-level-appropriate for students and claimed that Indianism provided an educational lesson about both American Indians and nationalism. A 1920 *Etude* included a full-page advertisement for various Indianists. It lists multiple composers as well as others who dabbled in Indianism for potential musical programs at schools and clubs. It also notes that most of the music listed is probably not authentic, but would still provide a "good experience" for the audience. (Example 1)

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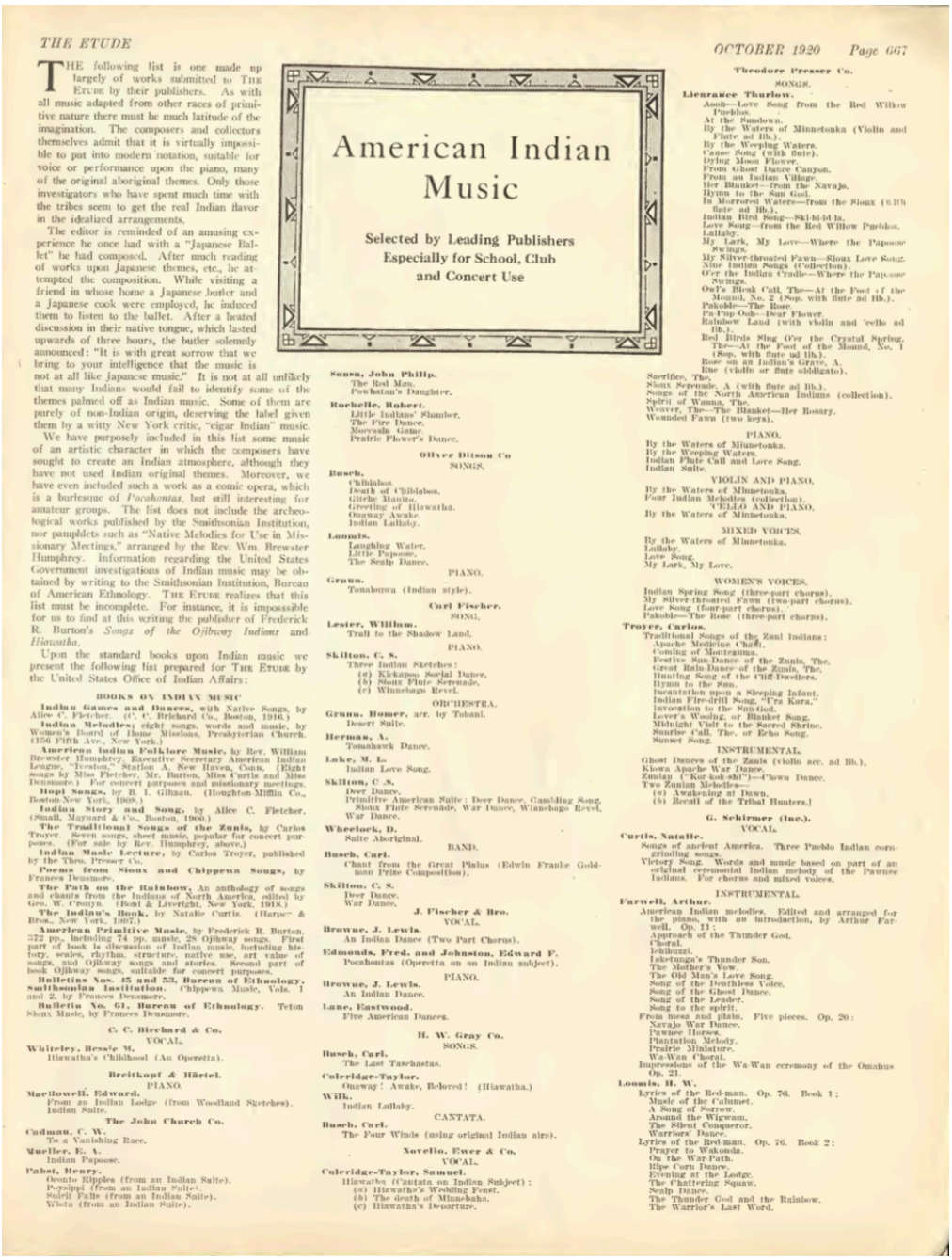
[444] Ibid.
[445] Charles Wakefield Cadman, *Father of Waters*, CWC, PSU, Box 11.1.



THE ETUDE

OCTOBER 1920 Page 667

American Indian Music

Selected by Leading Publishers
Especially for School, Club
and Concert Use

THE following list is one made up largely of works submitted to THE ETUDE by their publishers. As with all music adapted from other races of primitive nature there must be much latitude of the imagination. The composers and collectors themselves admit that it is virtually impossible to put into modern notation, suitable for voice or performance upon the piano, many of the original aboriginal themes. Only those investigators who have spent much time with the tribes seem to get the real Indian flavor in the idealized arrangements.

The editor is reminded of an amusing experience he once had with a "Japanese Ballet" he had composed. After much reading of works upon Japanese themes, etc., he attempted the composition. While visiting a friend in whose home a Japanese butler and a Japanese cook were employed, he induced them to listen to the ballet. After a heated discussion in their native tongue, which lasted upwards of three hours, the butler solemnly announced: "It is with great sorrow that we bring to your intelligence that the music is not at all like Japanese music." It is not at all unlikely that many Indians would fail to identify some of the themes palmed off as Indian music. Some of them are purely of non-Indian origin, deserving the label given them by a witty New York critic, "cigar Indian" music.

We have purposely included in this list some music of an artistic character in which the composers have sought to create an Indian atmosphere, although they have not used Indian original themes. Moreover, we have even included such a work as a comic opera, which is a burlesque of *Pocahontas*, but still interesting for amateur groups. The list does not include the archeological works published by the Smithsonian Institution, nor pamphlets such as "Native Melodies for Use in Missionary Meetings," arranged by the Rev. Wm. Brewster Humphrey. Information regarding the United States Government investigations of Indian music may be obtained by writing to the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. THE ETUDE realizes that this list must be incomplete. For instance, it is impossible for us to find at this writing the publisher of Frederick R. Burton's *Songs of the Ojibway Indians* and *Hiawatha*.

Upon the standard books upon Indian music we present the following list prepared for THE ETUDE by the United States Office of Indian Affairs:

BOOKS ON INDIAN MUSIC

Indian Games and Dances, with Native Songs, by Alice C. Fletcher. (C. C. Birchard Co., Boston, 1916.)

Indian Melodies; eight songs, words and music, by Women's Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church. (156 Fifth Ave., New York.)

American Indian Folklore Music, by Rev. William Brewster Humphrey, Executive Secretary American Indian League, "Iyeton," Station A, New Haven, Conn. (Eight songs by Miss Fletcher, Mr. Burton, Miss Curtis and Miss Densmore.) For concert purposes and missionary meetings.

Hopi Songs, by B. I. Gilman. (Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston-New York, 1908.)

Indian Story and Song, by Alice C. Fletcher. (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1900.)

The Traditional Songs of the Zunis, by Carlos Troyer. Seven songs, sheet music, popular for concert purposes. (For sale by Rev. Humphrey, above.)

Indian Music Lecture, by Carlos Troyer, published by the Theo. Presser Co.

Poems from Sioux and Chippewa Songs, by Frances Densmore.

The Path on the Rainbow, An anthology of songs and chants from the Indians of North America, edited by Geo. W. Cronyn. (Boni & Liveright, New York, 1918.)

The Indian's Book, by Natalie Curtis. (Harper & Bros., New York, 1907.)

American Primitive Music, by Frederick R. Burton. 372 pp., including 74 pp. music, 28 Ojibway songs. First part of book is discussion of Indian music, including history, scales, rhythm, structure, native use, art value of songs, and Ojibway songs and stories. Second part of book Ojibway songs, suitable for concert purposes.

Bulletins Nos. 45 and 53, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Chippewa Music, Vols. 1 and 2, by Frances Densmore.

Bulletin No. 61, Bureau of Ethnology. Teton Sioux Music, by Frances Densmore.

C. C. Birchard & Co.
VOCAL.

Whiteley, Bessie M.
Hiawatha's Childhood (An Operetta).

Breitkopf & Härtel.
PIANO.

MacDowell, Edward.
From an Indian Lodge (from Woodland Sketches).
Indian Suite.

The John Church Co.

Cadman, C. W.
To a Vanishing Race.

Mueller, E. L.
Indian Papoose.

Pabst, Henry.
Oconto Ripples (from an Indian Suite).
Poysippi (from an Indian Suite).
Spirit Falls (from an Indian Suite).
Wieta (from an Indian Suite).

Sousa, John Philip.
The Red Man.
Powhatan's Daughter.

Rochelle, Robert.
Little Indians' Slumber.
The Fire Dance.
Moccasin Game.
Prairie Flower's Dance.

Oliver Ditson Co
SONGS.

Busch.
Chibiabos.
Death of Chibiabos.
Glitche Manito.
Greeting of Hiawatha.
Onaway Awake.
Indian Lullaby.

Loomis.
Laughing Water.
Little Papoose.
The Scalp Dance.

PIANO.

Grunn.
Tonaluwa (Indian style).

Carl Fischer.
SONG.

Lester, William.
Trail to the Shadow Land.

PIANO.

Skilton, C. S.
Three Indian Sketches:
(a) Kickapoo Social Dance.
(b) Sioux Flute Serenade.
(c) Winnebago Revel.

ORCHESTRA.

Grunn, Homer, arr. by Tobani.
Desert Suite.

Herman, A.
Tomahawk Dance.

Lake, M. L.
Indian Love Song.

Skilton, C. S.
Deer Dance.
Primitive American Suite: Deer Dance, Gambling Song, Sioux Flute Serenade, War Dance, Winnebago Revel, War Dance.

Wheelock, D.
Suite Aboriginal.

BAND.

Busch, Carl.
Chant from the Great Plains (Edwin Franko Goldman Prize Composition).

Skilton, C. S.
Deer Dance.
War Dance.

J. Fischer & Bro.
VOCAL.

Browne, J. Lewis.
An Indian Dance (Two Part Chorus).

Edmonds, Fred. and Johnston, Edward F.
Pocahontas (Operetta on an Indian subject).

PIANO.

Browne, J. Lewis.
An Indian Dance.

Lane, Eastwood.
Five American Dances.

H. W. Gray Co.
SONGS.

Busch, Carl.
The Last Taschastas.

Coleridge-Taylor.
Onaway! Awake, Beloved! (Hiawatha.)

Wilk.
Indian Lullaby.

CANTATA.

Busch, Carl.
The Four Winds (using original Indian airs).

Novello, Ewer & Co.
VOCAL.

Coleridge-Taylor, Samuel.
Hiawatha (Cantata on Indian Subject):
(a) Hiawatha's Wedding Feast.
(b) The death of Minnehaha.
(c) Hiawatha's Departure.

Theodore Presser Co.
SONGS.

Lieurance Thurlow.
Aooh—Love Song from the Red Willow Pueblos.
At the Sundown.
By the Waters of Minnetonka (Violin and Flute ad lib.).
By the Weeping Waters.
Canoe Song (with flute).
Dying Moon Flower.
From Ghost Dance Canyon.
From an Indian Village.
Her Blanket—from the Navajo.
Hymn to the Sun God.
In Morrored Waters—from the Sioux (with flute ad lib.).
Indian Bird Song—Ski-hi-hi-la.
Love Song—from the Red Willow Pueblos.
Lullaby.
My Lark, My Love—Where the Papoose Swings.
My Silver-throated Fawn—Sioux Love Song.
Nine Indian Songs (Collection).
Over the Indian Cradle—Where the Papoose Swings.
Owl's Bleak Call, The—At the Foot of the Mound, No. 2 (Sop. with flute ad lib.).
Pakoble—The Rose.
Pa-Pup Ooh—Dear Flower.
Rainbow Land (with violin and 'cello ad lib.).
Red Birds Sing Over the Crystal Spring, The—At the Foot of the Mound, No. 1 (Sop. with flute ad lib.).
Rose on an Indian's Grave, A.
Rue (violin or flute obbligato).
Sacrifice, The.
Sioux Serenade, A (with flute ad lib.).
Songs of the North American Indians (collection).
Spirit of Wauna, The.
Weaver, The—The Blanket—Her Rosary.
Wounded Fawn (two keys).

PIANO.

By the Waters of Minnetonka.
By the Weeping Waters.
Indian Flute Call and Love Song.
Indian Suite.

VIOLIN AND PIANO.

By the Waters of Minnetonka.
Four Indian Melodies (collection).
'CELLO AND PIANO.
By the Waters of Minnetonka.

MIXED VOICES.

By the Waters of Minnetonka.
Lullaby.
Love Song.
My Lark, My Love.

WOMEN'S VOICES.

Indian Spring Song (three-part chorus).
My Silver-throated Fawn (two-part chorus).
Love Song (four-part chorus).
Pakoble—The Rose (three-part chorus).

Troyer, Carlos.
Traditional Songs of the Zuni Indians:
Apache Medicine Chant.
Coming of Montezuma.
Festive Sun-Dance of the Zunis, The.
Great Rain-Dance of the Zunis, The.
Hunting Song of the Cliff-Dwellers.
Hymn to the Sun.
Incantation upon a Sleeping Infant.
Indian Fire-drill Song, "Tra Kara."
Invocation to the Sun-God.
Lover's Wooing, or Blanket Song.
Midnight Visit to the Sacred Shrine.
Sunrise Call, The, or Echo Song.
Sunset Song.

INSTRUMENTAL.

Ghost Dances of the Zunis (violin acc. ad lib.).
Kiowa Apache War Dance.
Zunian ("Kor-kok-shi")—Clown Dance.
Two Zunian Melodies—
(a) Awakening at Dawn.
(b) Recall of the Tribal Hunters.

G. Schirmer (Inc.).
VOCAL.

Curtis, Natalie.
Songs of ancient America. Three Pueblo Indian corn-grinding songs.
Victory Song. Words and music based on part of an original ceremonial Indian melody of the Pawnee Indians. For chorus and mixed voices.

INSTRUMENTAL.

Farwell, Arthur.
American Indian melodies. Edited and arranged for the piano, with an introduction, by Arthur Farwell. Op. 13:
Approach of the Thunder God.
Choral.
Ichibuzzi.
Iaketunga's Thunder Son.
The Mother's Vow.
The Old Man's Love Song.
Song of the Deathless Voice.
Song of the Ghost Dance.
Song of the Leader.
Song to the spirit.
From mesa and plain. Five pieces. Op. 20:
Navajo War Dance.
Pawnee Horses.
Plantation Melody.
Prairie Miniature.
Wa-Wan Choral.
Impressions of the Wa-Wan ceremony of the Omahus Op. 21.

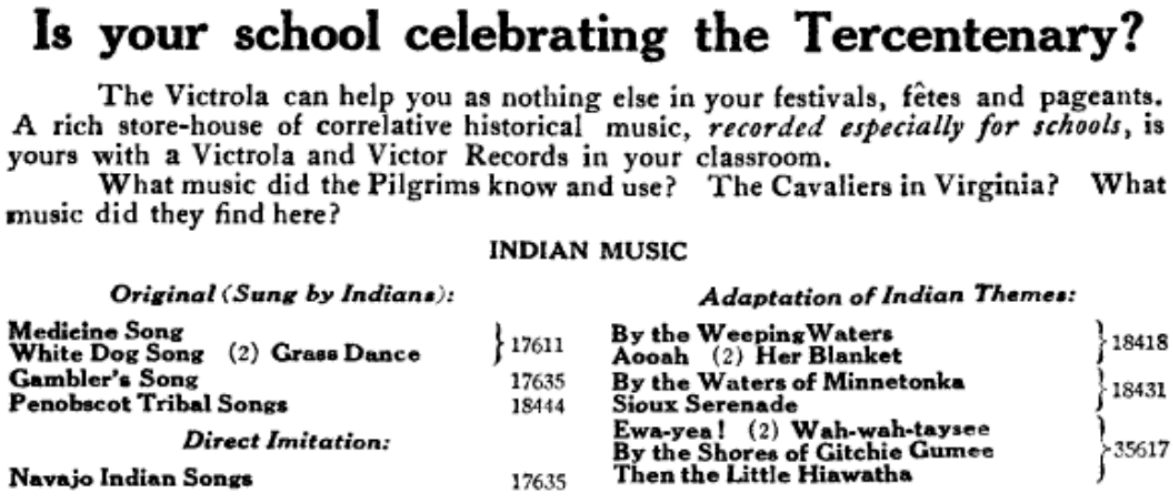
Loomis, H. W.
Lyrics of the Red-man. Op. 76. Book 1:
Music of the Calumet.
A Song of Sorrow.
Around the Wigwam.
The Silent Conqueror.
Warriors' Dance.
Lyrics of the Red-man. Op. 76. Book 2:
Prayer to Wakonda.
On the War Path.
Ripe Corn Dance.
Evening at the Lodge.
The Chattering Squaw.
Scalp Dance.
The Thunder God and the Rainbow.
The Warrior's Last Word.

Example 1, Publisher's Advertisement for American Indian Music in Schools in *The Etude,* 1920[446]

A 1920 ad for Victrola records sought to pique the interest of teachers whose schools might be celebrating the tercentenary of the Mayflower. (Example 2) Princess

[446] "American Indian Music," *The Etude Music Magazine* 38, no. 10 (1920): 667.

Watahwaso's recording of "By the Waters," as well as other Lieurance compositions, could be used as "correlative historical music," which were "recorded especially for schools" as part of Victrola's educational imprint.



Is your school celebrating the Tercentenary?

The Victrola can help you as nothing else in your festivals, fêtes and pageants. A rich store-house of correlative historical music, *recorded especially for schools*, is yours with a Victrola and Victor Records in your classroom.

What music did the Pilgrims know and use? The Cavaliers in Virginia? What music did they find here?

INDIAN MUSIC

Original (Sung by Indians):		*Adaptation of Indian Themes:*	
Medicine Song White Dog Song (2) Grass Dance	17611	By the Weeping Waters Aooah (2) Her Blanket	18418
Gambler's Song	17635	By the Waters of Minnetonka	18431
Penobscot Tribal Songs	18444	Sioux Serenade	
Direct Imitation:		Ewa-yea! (2) Wah-wah-taysee By the Shores of Gitchie Gumee Then the Little Hiawatha	35617
Navajo Indian Songs	17635		

Example 2, Victrola Ad for Indianist Music in *The English Journal*, 1920[447]

Another advertisement from a 1922 issue of *Etude* promotes Indianism as "instructive" but also "delightfully entertaining," and lists both Indianist songs and "traditional songs" published by Theodore Presser. (Example 3) The music was "instructive" partly because the press included an accompanying lecture or introductory texts. They further reassured readers that the music was "idealized," or fit for use alongside Western classical music. Between 1922 and 1934, educational ads for Indianism were less common than other Indianist content such as concert reviews or essays by composers. But in 1934 issue of *Etude* echoed previous sentiments that teachers should use Lieurance's music to fulfill the American Indian history portion of local history pageants.[448]

[447] "Back Matter," *The English Journal* 9, no. 10 (1920).
[448] Robert Price, "Music for the Local History Pageant," *The Etude Music Magazine* 52, no. 8 (1934): 466.

Unusual Programs can be Arranged on

The Music OF THE American Indian

The Beauties of Many American Aboriginal Tribal Melodies have been Recorded and Harmonized by Such Writers as THURLOW LIEURANCE and CARLOS TROYER. A Program of Songs, Stories and Legends of the American Indian, or an Indian Music Lecture, Makes a Unique and Most Interesting Offering that is Instructive Yet Delightfully Entertaining.

Vocal Numbers by THURLOW LIEURANCE in which Tribal Melodies of the Sioux, Chippewa, Pueblos, Cheyenne, Navajo, Winnebago, have been Harmonized and Idealized.

SONGS

Catalog No.	Title	Voice	Price
14561	By the Waters of Minnetonka. An Indian Love Song (With Violin and Flute ad. lib.)	High	$0.60
12125	The Same	Low	.60
17550	By the Waters of Minnetonka—Recital Edition (With Violin or Flute ad. lib.)	High	.60
17446	The Same	Low	.60
14235	By the Weeping Waters	Low	.40
16878	Canoe Song (With Flute ad. lib.)	High	.60
16879	The Same	Med.	.60
16880	The Same	Low	.60
16842	From Ghost Dance Canyon	Med.	.50
17245	The Same	High	.50
16383	From an Indian Village	High	.60
9895	Her Blanket—From the Navajo	Low	.30
14843	Hymn to the Sun God	High	.50
12220	In Mirrored Waters—From the Sioux (With Flute)	Med.	.75
16783	Indian Spring Bird—Shi-hi-hi-la	Low	$0.40
16125	The Same	Med.	.40
16782	The Same	Med.	.40
16126	The Same	High	.40
9894	Love Song—From the Red Willow Pueblos	Low	.30
9898	Lullaby	Low	.40
15403	My Love, My Love—Where the Papoose Swings	Med.	.30
9948	My Silver-Throated Pawn—Sioux Love Song	Med.	.30
15404	O'er the Indian Cradle—Where the Papoose Swings	High	.40
15068	Owl's Bleak Call, The—At the Foot of the Mound, No. 2 (Sop. with Flute ad. lib.)	High	.50
9949	Pakehle—The Rose	Med.	.30
9897	Pa-Pap-Osh — Deer Flower	Med.	.30
12546	Rainbow Land (With Violin and 'Cello ad. lib.)	High	.60
15067	Red Birds Sing O'er the Crystal Spring, The—At the Foot of the Mound, No. 1 (Sop. with Flute ad. lib.)	High	$0.60
18537	Rose on an Indian Grave, A	Low	.40
13731	Rue—Indian Spring Song (Violin or Flute Obbl.)	High	.40
12154	Sacrifice, The	Low	.40
14049	Sioux Serenade, A (With Flute ad. lib.)	High	.50
16146	Spirit of Wanna, The	Med.	.40
16147	Spirit of Wanna, The	Low	.40
9896	Weaver, The — The Blanket—Her Rosary	Low	.30
17562	Wild Bird — From the Santa Fe Trail (With Flute Obbligato)	High	.40
17562	Wild Bird — From the Santa Fe Trail	Low	.40
16261	Wounded Fawn	Med.	.40
16262	Wounded Fawn	Low	.40

TRADITIONAL SONGS OF THE ZUNI INDIANS
Transcribed and Harmonized by CARLOS TROYER

Catalog No.		Voice	Price
11905	Apache Medicine Chant	Med.	$0.40
9788	Coming of Montezuma	High	.50
9789	Festive Sun-dance of the Zunis, The	Med.	.50
9790	Great Rain-dance of the Zunis, The	High	.75
11770	Hunting Song of the Cliff-dwellers	Low	.50
9782	Hymn to the Sun	Med.	.60
9785	Incantation Upon A Sleeping Infant	Med.	.50
9791	Indian Fire-drill Song "Ura Kura"	Med.	.60
9786	Invocation to the Sun-God	High	.50
9787	Lover's Wooing, or Blanket Song	Low	.40
15368	Midnight Visit to the Sacred Shrine	Low	.50
9784	Sunrise Call, The, or Echo Song	Low	.50
9793	Sunset Song	Low	.50

Indian numbers for Chorus, Piano, Violin, Flute or 'Cello as well as a complete list of songs are given on the folder entitled "Hidden Beauties in the Music of the American Indian." *A Postal Request Will Bring You This Helpful Folder.*

Practically all of these songs have introductory text telling of the legends upon which they are based and the tribal melodies utilized.

INDIAN MUSIC LECTURE
By Carlos Troyer—Price, 50 cents
An outline of Zuni customs, music, etc., is given in the book and whether one intends giving a lecture or not, this book will be found to be intensely interesting.

THEODORE PRESSER CO. 1710-1712-1714 CHESTNUT ST. **Philadelphia, Pa.**

Example 3, Theodore Presser Ad for Indianist Music in *The Etude,* 1922[449]

Music educators also promoted the merits of Indianist music and composers as early as 1913. An article about the 1913 Music Teachers' Association of California conference notes that the Sacramento Oratorio Society performed Indianist works by Carlos Troyer, likely as a demonstration of a way to use Indianism in the classroom.[450] In 1917 teachers from a public elementary school in Lawrence, Kansas, invited Arthur Nevin to lecture on Indian music for an event which included Haskell student performances of the composer's music.[451] And in 1924, the Federation of Indianapolis Public School Teachers sponsored a concert by Cadman and Tsianina as an educational experience for teachers and other members of the public.[452]

[449] Theodore Presser Advertisement, *The Etude Music Magazine* 40, no. 1 (1922): 149.
[450] Walter Anthony, "Henley Charms Music Teachers," *The San Francisco Call* (San Francisco, CA) July 10 1913.
[451] "Notes of Interest," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 20, no. 20 (1917): 3.
[452] "City Teachers Give Real American Concert," *The Indianapolis Times* (Indianapolis, IN) April 25 1924.

The prevalence of Indianist music in public school concerts correlates to these music education initiatives. One of the earliest such concerts using Indianism was a 1912 performance in a high school in Klamath Falls, Oregon. It included Grieg and Bach for solo cello, but also a vocalist singing Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water."[453] In 1913, Glendale High School in Arizona hosted a visiting pianist who played Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water" and "The Moon Drops Low" for the students of Glendale as well as a larger audience of seven-hundred local Phoenix residents.[454] And of course, many schools performed Cadman's operettas and cantatas, including the Mechanic Arts High School, which staged a production of *Lelawala* in 1927.[455] Small colleges also found educational and musical value in Indianism. Between 1913 and 1928, women's colleges and teaching colleges performed Cadman's vocal music (including his operettas), Carlos Troyer's Zuni music, and Lieurance's "By the Waters" in a variety of concerts advertised in local newspapers.[456]

The most produced Indianist works, both in school repertoire and in professional music, were by Cadman and Lieurance, notably "From the Land of Sky Blue Waters" and "By the Waters." Other Cadman and Lieurance pieces were popular as well, as were Troyer's vocal settings of Zuni music. Vocal performances had the potential to exploit Indian costuming and to provide a historical and cultural lesson. Instrumental Indianist works were thus not as commonly performed in schools. Some college or private student recitals occasionally programmed Preston Ware Orem's *American Indian Rhapsody* for

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[453] "Entertainment Well Planned," *The Evening Herald* (Klamath Falls, OR) December 06 1912.
[454] "Glendale," *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix, AZ) October 26 1913.
[455] "St. Paul Notes," *The St. Paul Echo* (St. Paul, MN) March 05 1927.
[456] "Girls' Glee Club Scores Hit," *Evening Times-Republican* (Marshalltown, IA) March 15 1913; "Operetta 'Lelawala' Be Presented Monday P.M.," *Watauga Democrat* (Boone, NC) April 21 1927.

piano. This piece was also part of the United States Navy Band's repertoire, and was performed at least twice between 1941 and 1951.[457] The inclusion of *American Indian Rhapsody* in the United States armed forces musical canon suggests that Indianism might be more widely disseminated within federal branches than previously considered. What we do know, however, is that Indianism has deep roots in the federal Indian offices due to its presence in boarding and reservation schools.

American Indian Schools

Indianism crept into American Indian education in the early 1900s in three major ways. Indianist composers worked with boarding and residential schools, musical groups performed for students, and students performed Indianist music. Troutman revealed that Indianist composers were eager to work with the OIA to collect musical inspiration from students and also to introduce their music into the OIA curriculum.[458] Particularly, he notes that Cadman and Lieurance recorded groups of boarding and reservation school children in the 1910s.[459] He also cites that the OIA hired a composer named Geoffrey O'Hara to record and arrange American Indian music for Native performance, similar to Harold Loring's position described in the previous chapter.[460] Ultimately, Troutman argues that Indianists were part of the internal struggle within the OIA and among the SAI members to teach, or not to teach, appropriate forms of American Indian music to reservation and boarding school children. Indianism was just one part of the music-

[457] "Band Concerts," *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC) July 7 1941; "Programs of the Week," *The Evening Star* (Washington, DC) January 7 1951.
[458] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 188.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 190.

educational mission to teach Whiteness and appropriate forms of Indianness. But there is something particularly unique about Indianist composers choosing to involve themselves in Indian education, and the way their involvement had an immediate impact on students.

Composers who are not usually associated with the Indianists, such as Loring and O'Hara, were nonetheless hired by the OIA to do work that is typical of Indianism: recording American Indian music and arranging it for students to perform. And there is evidence of Indianist composers participating in Indian education in various ways, such as recording songs or teaching their own music, from the late 1900s to the 1920s. While we know that Loring, O'Hara, Lieurance, and Cadman attempted to compose music using students' songs, the results of those efforts are unclear. There does not currently exist a record of what those compositions might have been. Skilton, however, composed a suite of pieces, later titled *Suite Primeval*, that was based on melodies he recorded at Haskell Institute. He collected songs from Haskell students to use in his compositions, but also for general inspiration.

The Haskell newspaper, *The Indian Leader*, stated that "Prof. Skilton visits Haskell often and he frequently has come for the express purpose of hearing some of the pupils at Haskell in their tribal songs."[461] *The Indian Leader* did not mention any particular interlocutors. But Hampton Institute's newspaper, *Southern Workman*, noted in 1921 that at least two of Skilton's pieces were supplied by George La Mere, a Winnebago student at Haskell Institute.[462] An article about La Mere from 1935 reinforces the notion that Skilton relied on La Mere for his Indianist music. "Several years ago a study of the music of the Winebagoe [*sic*] tribe was completed by La Mere for which he gained

[461] "Indian Dances," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 20, no 13 (1916): 6.
[462] "Indian Music," *The Hampton Southern Workman* 50, no. 8 (1921): 383.

considerable prominence—some of the music recorded being used by the symphony orchestras in Minneapolis, Chicago, New York, and Boston. Prof. Charles Sanford Skilton of the University of Kansas used it in some well known compositions."[463] This report suggests that Skilton used La Mere's own descriptions of his community's music, rather than La Mere providing songs for Skilton's collection.

Skilton's recording of students at Haskell is different from his relying on La Mere's musical knowledge. The former implies that Skilton was involved in a more extemporaneous ethnographic moment while visiting Haskell, but the latter suggests that Skilton worked with a knowledgeable student in a more consensual manner. Haskell's own newspaper, however, prioritized Skilton's positive impact on the school, particularly regarding the pieces that would later become *Suite Primeval*. "We are glad to know that Mr. Skilton is receiving recognition in this line and we feel as though Haskell is indirectly reaping some of the fruits of his success."[464] The Haskell newspaper continued to support Skilton, lauding a visit by the Chemawa string quartert in 1918 and their renditions of at least two of pieces from *Suite Primeval,* "Deer Lodge Dance" and "Cheyenne War Dance." This review also notes that Skilton attended the performance by the Chemawa students for the students of Haskell, implying that Skilton had a longstanding relationship with the school.

Cadman, likewise, recorded school children singing at the Phoenix Indian School. But he also brought his lecture concert series with Tsianina to American Indian schools, such as their performance at Chemawa Indian School and a similar appearance at the Puyallup Indian School in 1917. *The Chemawa American* newspaper, as well as the SAI

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[463] "Tribal Customs to be Studied," *Reno Gazette-Journal* (Reno, NV) March 11 1935.
[464] "Indian Dances," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 20, no 13 (1916): 6.

quarterly journal, both reported on Tsianina and Cadman's appearance at the school. As Jane Griffith has suggested, boarding school newspapers were, at times, propaganda for the continuation of federal policy, even if they held the possibility of revealing student resistance.[465] The review of Tsianina and Cadman's concert in *The Chemawa American* thus appears to be mostly written for non-Native readers. Whoever authored the article wrote that the students were "honored" by their visit, and used Tsianina to trumpet Chemawa's legacy. "After supper Tsianina joined with the other girls and visited with them in their rooms elsewhere. She remarked that Chemawa was so different from the school she attended and that she would love to go to school there."[466] By including that information, the author appeals mostly to a non-Native desire to hear positivity about the school, particularly from a federal Indian school alumna.

The author also described Indianism's effect on Chemawa students in an indoctrinating manner. Tsianina and Cadman played his song "At Dawning," as well as other Indianist pieces such as Troyer's "Invocation to the Sun God" and Lieurance's "Canoe Song"—allegedly in the "Creek language," despite the fact that these songs do not all originate with the Creek people.[467] The students reportedly liked this recital so much that "the applause did not cease until this lovely and charming Indian maiden" sang an encore, a song that Tsianina supposedly wrote, called "Crow Egg," which caused the students to laugh until they cried.[468] After their performance, the Chemawa string quartet played an original Indianist suite composed by the music director, Mr. Turney, for the visiting duo.

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[465] Griffith, *Words Have a Past,* 7.
[466] "Chemawa Honored," *American Indian Magazine* 5, no. 1 (1917): 61.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.

The article states that Tsianina "captivated the entire school" with her ability to blend her "unaffection" and "winning personality" with her "loyalty to her race."[469] The author thus suggests that Tsianina was an ideal role model for these Chemawa students: serious yet personable, and a civilized American that still displayed an appropriate level of connection to her heritage through Indianist song. It is difficult to determine the ways in which Chemawa students received this performance given the overly persuasive language in this article. While it seems reasonable to believe that the students enjoyed Tsianina, it is less clear if Cadman's presence impressed them, especially in his role as an arbiter of American Indian music. By 1917 Cadman and Tsianina toured with a fairly standard program, including the pieces mentioned in this article as well as demonstrations of American Indian instruments and a lecture on Indian musicality. Would Cadman have given a similar lecture to the students and mostly non-Native faculty at Chemawa? And what would they have thought about Cadman as a composer who set American Indian songs in "appropriate" Western forms? By presenting Tsianina and their Indianist program, and by having listened to the Chemawa string quartet perform an Indianist suite, Cadman had the unique potential to affect the ways that young Chemawa students saw their connection with music and their cultural identities.

Other Native and non-Native musicians also performed Indianist music for American Indian school audiences. The importance of this cannot be understated. Professional musicians, some of whom were Native, represented Indianism and normalized the Indianist process to potentially hundreds of students. Zitkala-Ša, for example, showcased her opera, co-written with William Hanson, *The Sun Dance*, at the

[469] Ibid.

Unitah Academy on the Unitah Reservation in present-day Utah with student performers. *The Southern Workman* reported that Zitkala-Ša, Hanson, and "Indian students of Unitah Academy" played roles in the opera and helped to prepare the event "as part of academy work."[470] The reporter notes that "Indians and whites drove in from forty miles around to hear it," indicating that it was not only students, but locals who were present for one of the first productions of Zitkala-Ša and Hanson's composition in 1913.[471] Not all visiting Indianist musicians were Native, however. *The Southern Workman* notes that Roland W. Hayes, a Black tenor, visited Hampton Institute in 1915 for a Christmas concert that included Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water."[472] In 1922, Hampton invited the Russian Symphony Orchestra whose program included Tchaikovsky and Saint-Saëns, but also Skilton's "Deer Dance" and "War Dance" from *Suite Primeval*.[473] Students reportedly received Skilton's Indianist works with such enthusiastic applause that the orchestra gave an encore.

American Indian schools prominently featured Indianist music in student repertoire. The OIA and school administrators did not always agree whether American Indian music should be instituted. Despite these differing opinions, there was a precedent of racially-coded performances prior to the performance of Indianist music. The Carlisle Indian School band frequently programmed compositions by Dennison Wheelock, an Oneida musician who was a former Carlisle student and the leader of the band, who notably also consulted with Lieurance's fieldwork. In 1900, Wheelock led the Carlisle

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[470] "An Indian Opera," *The Southern Workman* 42, no. 11 (1913): 640.
[471] Ibid.
[472] "The Holidays," *The Southern Workman* 44, no. 2 (1915): 118. The Hampton Institute was founded as a school for Black freedmen, but eventually had a Native American education program in the late 1800s.
[473] "Russian Symphony Concert," *The Southern Workman* 51, no. 7 (1922): 341.

band on a tour using repertoire based on "aboriginal music."[474] Reviews of their concerts from major newspapers noted that Wheelock's compositions were "very Indian in character," novelties which were "thoroughly American in spirit," with Indian "songs and shouts" that added an "irresistible realism."[475] Wheelock's compositions are not typically categorized within the Indianist canon because he was a Native composer. But his scores indicate that he used American Indian melodies in a manner similar to many Indianists. He introduced an Indian theme and embedded it within an idealized harmony.[476] By 1900, some students, such Wheelock's, already had the opportunity to explore American Indian musical expression through school performances.

Throughout the early 1900s, students performed in staged musical works such as *The Captain of Plymouth* where they played both pilgrims and Indians. One reviewer from the Carlisle Indian School's performance of *The Captain of Plymouth* noted that it was an "imaginative romance" as "some of the ancestors of these aborigines who sang parts in the opera were there when the Puritans landed."[477] Students at Chilocco Indian School portrayed Indian characters in *The Death of Custer,* "a descriptive American and Indian fantasy," as part of their 1915 commencement,[478] and students at Haskell mounted a production of a Pocahontas musical as part of a Thanksgiving celebration in 1917.[479] Additionally, student bands regularly performed Indian burlesque tunes or other popular music with Indian names and symbolism that were not Indianist, such as Haskell's

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[474] "Without a Flaw," *The Red Man* 16 no. 1 (1900): 8.
[475] Ibid.
[476] See Dennison Wheelock, *Suite Aboriginal* (Philadelphia: Harry Coleman, 1900).
[477] "Review of Captain of Plymouth from Entertaining Magazine," *The Indian Craftsman* 2, no. 1 (1909): 38.
[478] "Band Concerts," *The Indian School Journal* 15, no. 10 (1915): 537.
[479] "Thanksgiving Program," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 21, no. 14 (1917): 3.

rendition of H.S. Sawyer's "Big Heap Injun,"[480] and Upper Farm Day School's "Oh That Navajo Rag."[481] Students were also tasked with costuming and depicting other racial identities, such as Chilocco's production of *The Mikado,* or even more common, recitals of minstrel tunes. (Example 4) The ways in which American Indians were asked to dramatize their own identities was linked to a broader sense of racial performativity, even if, as Troutman and Parkhurst argue, individual performers were able to subvert those norms to reclaim a portrayal of their own cultural heritage, such as performing banned dances and ceremonies.[482]

Example 4, Photograph from Chilocco's production of *The Mikado*, 1915[483]

Indianist compositions do not appear in programs published in school newspapers until 1913. The first on record is Cadman's "Far Off I Hear a Lover's Flute," sung by Leila Waterman, a Carlisle student, with an Indian accompaniment on oboe by Fred

[480] "Band Concert," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 18, no. 17 (1915): 3.
[481] "Closing Exercises from Upper Farm Day School," *The Indian School Journal,* October 1916: 106.
[482] Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*, 119; Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 150.
[483] "The Mikado," *The Indian School Journal* 15, no. 10 (1915): 545.

Cardin.[484] This was a part of the Carlisle school's commencement ceremony among a more general program for band, including trumpet variations of "The Carnival of Venice." By 1916 students performed many of Cadman and Lieurance's works, most often "From the Land of Sky Blue Waters" and "By the Waters," in a variety of concerts. Some students played solos or in small ensembles in the auditorium in front of their peers, such as a concert at Chilocco in May 1916. Four students with the last names of Riley, Sultuska, Morago, and Shipley sang Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water" and "Far Off I Hear a Lover's Flute," in a four-part arrangement.[485]

The review for this concert notes that it was a "musical treat in the auditorium" from the Chilocco music department and that "a number of Arkansas City friends were invited."[486] The program also included more typical intermediate vocal repertoire, such as selections for *Pirates of Penzance, Il Trovatore*, and *The Mikado*, as well as a Mozart string quartet. Indeed, most American Indian school programs include Indianist music as just one part of a large program of operatic excerpts, art songs, and popular music. For example, a 1921 recital at Hampton included Tchaikovsky, minstrel tunes, and an excerpt from Cadman's *Shanewis*.[487] The soloist, Christine Langerhan, was supported by other Hampton students in the choir, and sang for a large audience. Recitals that featured solo Indianist vocal pieces were common, primarily because small performances occurred more frequently than larger staged or concert bands. School newspapers regularly reviewed or commented on small recital programs with one to three soloists, such as a recital at the Santee Normal Training School in 1919 by Winona Riggs and Philip

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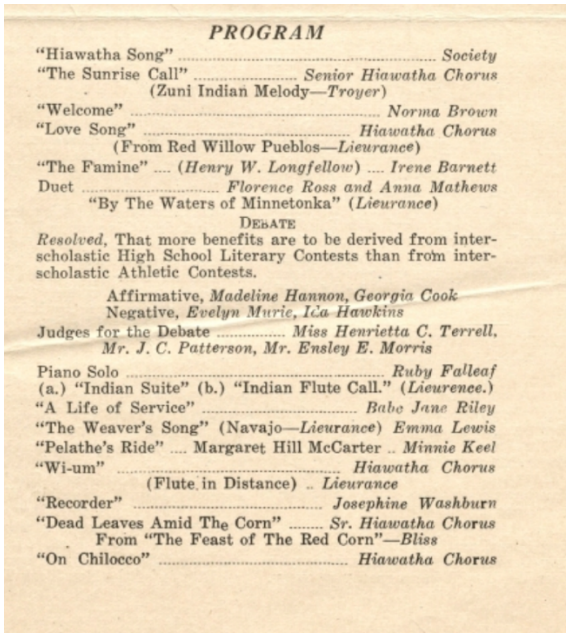
[484] "Commencement Band Concert," *The Red Man* (May 1913) 362–3.
[485] "Concert by the Music Department," *The Indian School Journal* 16, no. 9 (1916): 562.
[486] Ibid.
[487] "Hampton Incidents, Concerts," *The Southern Workman* 50, no. 4 (1921): 182.

Frazier. They grouped Cadman and Lieurance's compositions together as "Indian songs" among canonical Western classical pieces such as Chopin, Wagner, and Rachmaninoff.[488] This recital was given to a "a large audience" during a "mission meeting," which meant that it was part of a religious meeting of the Congregational Church that ran the Santee Normal School. The Eufaula Indian School also programmed Indianist music within a religious context. An Easter celebration concert from 1918 featured "Indian Flute Call and Love Song" from Lieurance, "Teepee Dance" from William Dawson Armstrong, sacred music by Gluck and Haydn, and contemporary pieces such ass Chaminade's "Scarf Dance."[489]

Other small performances occurred at literary society and debate team meetings. Similar to colleges, American Indian schools had literary societies and debate teams as extracurricular social and academic clubs. These regular meetings included poetry recitations, structured debates, short dramatic scenes, invited guest speakers, and occasionally, Indianist music. The Chilocco Hiawatha Literary Society, for example, included Indianist pieces in Indian costume as early as 1920. At a Hiawatha Literary Society meeting in January 1920, a student named Rose Keigley performed "Love Song" by Cadman, and the Double Quartet sang Troyer's "The Sunrise Call" and Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Water" in Indian costume.[490] This was only one part of a longer event which included literary readings and a debate. But in 1927, the Chilocco Hiawatha Society had scheduled an entire Indianist evening. The debate was nestled

[488] "A Musical Recital," *The Word Carrier* 48, no. 5 (1919): 2.
[489] "Recital," *The Indian School Journal* (March 1918): 326.
[490] "Hiawatha Literary Society Open Session," *The Indian School Journal* (January 1920): 54.

between Troyer and Lieurance songs, including "By the Waters," as well as literary readings and school songs. (Example 5)



PROGRAM

"Hiawatha Song" ..... *Society*
"The Sunrise Call" ..... *Senior Hiawatha Chorus*
(Zuni Indian Melody—*Troyer*)
"Welcome" ..... *Norma Brown*
"Love Song" ..... *Hiawatha Chorus*
(From Red Willow Pueblos—*Lieurance*)
"The Famine" .... (*Henry W. Longfellow*) .... *Irene Barnett*
Duet ..... *Florence Ross and Anna Mathews*
"By The Waters of Minnetonka" (*Lieurance*)

DEBATE

Resolved, That more benefits are to be derived from inter-scholastic High School Literary Contests than from inter-scholastic Athletic Contests.

Affirmative, *Madeline Hannon, Georgia Cook*
Negative, *Evelyn Murie, Ida Hawkins*
Judges for the Debate ..... *Miss Henrietta C. Terrell, Mr. J. C. Patterson, Mr. Ensley E. Morris*

Piano Solo ..... *Ruby Falleaf*
(a.) "Indian Suite" (b.) "Indian Flute Call." (*Lieurenee.*)
"A Life of Service" ..... *Babe Jane Riley*
"The Weaver's Song" (Navajo—*Lieurance*) *Emma Lewis*
"Pelathe's Ride" .... Margaret Hill McCarter .. *Minnie Keel*
"Wi-um" ..... *Hiawatha Chorus*
(Flute in Distance) .. *Lieurance*
"Recorder" ..... *Josephine Washburn*
"Dead Leaves Amid The Corn" ..... *Sr. Hiawatha Chorus*
From "The Feast of The Red Corn"—*Bliss*
"On Chilocco" ..... *Hiawatha Chorus*

Example 5, Program from a meeting for the Chilocco Hiawatha Society, 1927[491]

These programs suggest that Indianist music was not necessarily viewed as a novelty for Native students. Indianist music was widespread and normalized in American Indian schools. It was programmed as routinely as Chopin in school-wide concerts and smaller ensembles. Reviews or notices regarding smaller concerts do not provide much detail about their audiences. In most, the audiences seem to be students and some members of the public, such as the Chilocco "musical treat" described previously. There is no evidence that these concerts were intended specifically for people outside of the institutions, although in the case of Skilton visiting Haskell, outsiders were clearly welcome.

[491] "Chilocco Hiawatha Society," *The Indian School Journal* 26, no. 15 (1927): 4.

Indianism used in school graduation ceremonies, however, had a more particular function. These graduation exercises were intended for students, but also for visiting administrators and OIA officials. The purpose of Indianist musical performances during graduation was for students not only to display their Indianness but also to demonstrate their musical education and provide an Indian experience to those outside the institution. As previously mentioned, one of the first Indianist pieces in an American Indian school concert was Cadman's "Far Off I Hear a Lover's Flute," part of Carlisle's commencement ceremony, along with instrumental pieces and a larger orchestral fantasia.[492] During the 1916 commencement ceremony at Chilocco, a women's quartet performed Cadman's *American Indian Songs*, including "From the Land of Sky Blue Water" and "Far Off I Hear a Lover's Flute," alongside patriotic songs and speeches about assimilation.[493] The Santee Normal Training School also used Indianist music for their graduation ceremonies. This included the 1924 exercises which featured Lieurance's "By the Waters" with prayers and a Grieg piano solo.[494] Their 1927 exercises included performances of J.S. Zamecnik's "Indian Dawn," Cadman's "From the Land of Sky Blue Waters," and Frederick Knight Logan's "Pale Moon," as well as a Mendelssohn chorus, English folk songs, and a Psalm in the Dakotan language.[495]

Graduation programs, in general, featured addresses by religious leaders or school administrators who averred that assimilation tactics in American Indian schools benefited American Indian children.[496] They communicated this message to outsiders, as well as to

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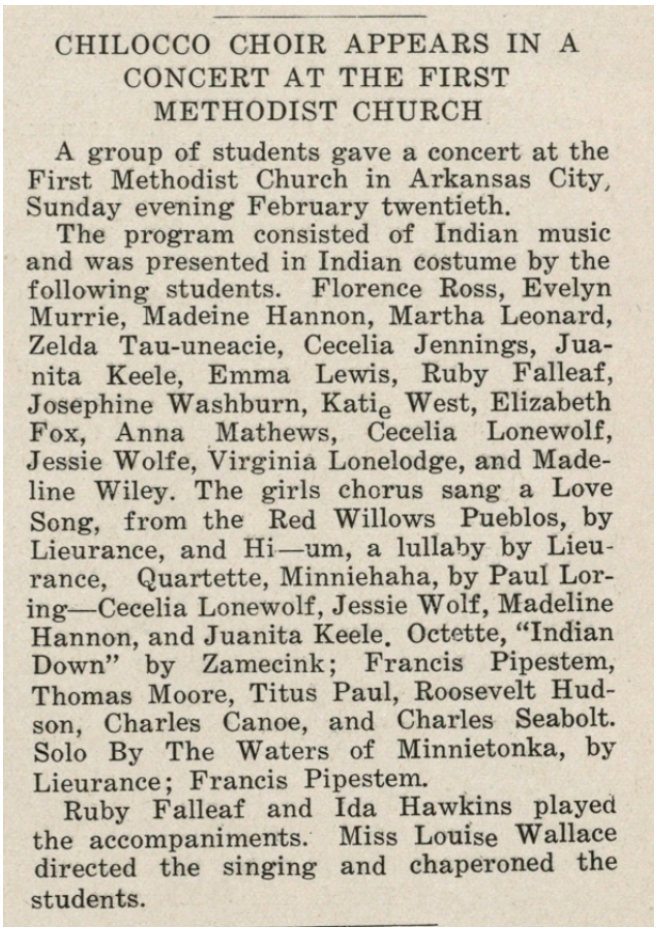
[492] "Commencement Band Concert," *The Red Man* (May 1913): 363.
[493] "Concert by the Music Department," *The Indian School Journal* 16, no. 9 (1916): 562.
[494] "Closing Program for Tuesday Evening," *The Word Carrier* 53, no. 3 (1924): 1.
[495] "Graduation Program," *The Word Carrier* 56, no. 4 (1927): 1.
[496] See John Gram's study of pageants and assimilation tactics at the Albuquerque Indian School in "Acting Out Assimilation: Playing Indian and Becoming American in the Federal Indian Boarding Schools," *American Indian Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2016): 251–73.

the students in attendance. Within this pageantry of propaganda, students performed Indianist songs alongside Western classical and religious music, as if to demonstrate that they had been taught not only classical music, but also proper ways of expressing their indigeneity. These graduation performances sent a strong signal to federal agents and certain "friends of the Indian" activists that American Indian students could do both.

As Troutman has shown, American Indian students used that duality as musicians in school music ensembles as a way to gain financial and social opportunities, particularly if they were part of touring bands, such as the popular Carlisle and Chemawa bands and quartets.[497] Indianist music seems to have been popular on tour. *The Indian School Journal* reported that a performance by the Chemawa String Quartet in 1916 included "music that is given to white audiences only by means of the phonograph records prepared by certain investigators into natural or primitive music."[498] This seems to imply that the quartet played Indianist music. Ensembles from Chilocco began performing Indianist music explicitly in 1918. In an event for the Red Cross, Chilocco students played a variety of national patriotic songs such as "God Save Our King" and "By the Waters."[499] Between 1918 and 1927, the touring Chilocco music groups performed Indianist music a handful of times. During the 1927–1928 season, however, touring Chilocco vocal ensembles regularly programmed Indianist music. (Example 6)

[497] Troutman, *Indian Blues*, 217.
[498] "Chemawa Entertains Indian Service Workers," *The Indian School Journal* (November 1916): 145.
[499] "A Red Cross Entertainment," *The Indian School Journal* (January 1918): 243.



CHILOCCO CHOIR APPEARS IN A CONCERT AT THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

A group of students gave a concert at the First Methodist Church in Arkansas City, Sunday evening February twentieth.

The program consisted of Indian music and was presented in Indian costume by the following students. Florence Ross, Evelyn Murrie, Madeine Hannon, Martha Leonard, Zelda Tau-uneacie, Cecelia Jennings, Juanita Keele, Emma Lewis, Ruby Falleaf, Josephine Washburn, Katie West, Elizabeth Fox, Anna Mathews, Cecelia Lonewolf, Jessie Wolfe, Virginia Lonelodge, and Madeline Wiley. The girls chorus sang a Love Song, from the Red Willows Pueblos, by Lieurance, and Hi—um, a lullaby by Lieurance, Quartette, Minniehaha, by Paul Loring—Cecelia Lonewolf, Jessie Wolf, Madeline Hannon, and Juanita Keele. Octette, "Indian Down" by Zamecink; Francis Pipestem, Thomas Moore, Titus Paul, Roosevelt Hudson, Charles Canoe, and Charles Seabolt. Solo By The Waters of Minnietonka, by Lieurance; Francis Pipestem.

Ruby Falleaf and Ida Hawkins played the accompaniments. Miss Louise Wallace directed the singing and chaperoned the students.

Example 6, Review of a Chilocco Choir Concert, 1927[500]

A student named Francis Pipestem sang "By the Waters" within a broader Indianist program for the First Methodist Church of Arkansas City in 1927. Pipestem appeared throughout the season in Indian costume to portray Lieurance's work, such as at the Block and Bridle Club at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.[501] Pipestem and other Chilocco choral students performed a similar program in 1928 as a vocal quartet intermezzo between films at a movie theater. The article notes that "people seldom see the Indian singing modern songs and dressed in his Indian blanket and

[500] "Chilocco Choir Appears in a Concert," *The Indian School Journal* (February 1927): 18.
[501] Frank Louwalk, "Indian Trio Entertains," *The Indian School Journal* 27, no. 6 (1927): 1.

feathers," so the Chilocco musicians presumably performed for non-Native audiences between films.[502]

As this section has shown, performances of Indian identity, specifically through Indianism, were pervasive in boarding schools as institutions, despite the fluctuating OIA stance against teaching American Indian cultural heritage in the early 1900s. The capacity for American Indians to perform racial identities, both their own and others, was mostly controlled by non-Native instructors, with a few exceptions such as Native band leaders Dennison Wheelock and Fred Cardin. This left open a vulnerable space for Indianism to manifest itself as a way for students to safely—but somewhat defiantly, as Troutman suggests—express their identities. But it also affected the ways that young American Indians understood the external fascination with and consumption of their culture.

Student Reception

Troutman and Parkhurst have told the stories of individuals who were able to harness their musical education for their own benefit, including their performances of Indianness. Their work has shown the ways that some successful musicians felt about their opportunities to perform some form of their cultural heritage and profit from the White gaze. When we focus on individuals or small collectives of individuals and their use of Indian musicality and Indianism for financial gain, or analyze their use of double-speak or ways in which they justified or contextualized their own actions, we are analyzing only a specific social class. In the case of my project, this is mainly the progressives. Indeed,

[502] Rubye Falleaf, "Quartett Entertains," *The Indian School Journal* 27, no. 19 (1928): 4.

even when researching American Indian writing in the boarding school press in this era, most of the secondary literature concentrates on notable American Indian progressives such as Parker or Montezuma.[503] Notable exceptions are Amanda Zink and Jennifer Bess who focus on American Indian student literary writing in specific boarding school papers, including essays and poems about domesticity or sentimental graduation speeches.[504] That is not a fault of this genre of scholarship. Rather, it is the reality of the way that American Indian newspapers were published in this era. In the time that Indianist music was popular in American Indian schools, most newspapers did not have a practice of publishing student reviews of concerts nor student reflections about musical study. And if they did publish such articles, author attributions have been lost, leading us to wonder whether the author was a Native student or a White administrator.

My initial intent was to dive more deeply into students' conceptions of Indianism within their education, and if they identified or disagreed with the process or the music. Unfortunately, there is little information about these students, especially those who did not continue to have a musical career, or were not members of the American Indian progressive class. In my investigations into the archives of student writings in school newspapers and other school documents, I have found no substantial source that would allow us to describe the way student performers understood their role within musical

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[503] See Jacqueline Emery, *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017); Amelia V. Katanski, *Learning to Write Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

[504] Amanda J. Zink, "Carlisle's Writing Circle: Boarding School Texts and the Decolonization of Domesticity," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 27, no. 4 (2015): 39; Jennifer Bess, "Battles, Syntheses, Revisions, and Prophecies: Histories and Modernities in the Phoenix Indian School's Native American, 1901–1916," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 29, no. 3 (2017): 30.

Indianism.[505] Nonetheless, student letters and prose do provide enough facts and sentiment to allow us to draw some inferences.

Boarding school newspapers often included letters from alumni who reflect on their lives outside of school or give updates of life events. The Haskell alumna Irene Campbell Beaulieu recognized Frances Densmore's ethnographic work during a trip to Washington D.C. "I attended a lecture at the National Museum one afternoon and met Miss Densmore ... She has promised me her latest on Sioux music as soon as it comes from the press."[506] This statement is not necessarily an endorsement either of Densmore or of Indianism, and should be read critically within the context of the rest of the letter. "Mr. Sells asked me if I was a Haskell graduate and I was proud to answer in the affirmative. ... I am a patriot when it comes to country, tribe, and Alma Mater."[507] This former student could not have said negative things about either being a Haskell graduate or of Densmore's work. Those criticisms would not have been published by the newspaper. Yet this letter was not written under duress. We should understand from this letter that American Indian ethnography, the philosophies and ideologies of which were akin to Indianism, was merely a reality, something happening around young American Indians that they had to experience as part of their life both inside and outside of school.

There were also students who wanted to take a more critical stance on Indianism. As mentioned in Chapter Four, a student named Broken Wing Bird wrote about

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[505] K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light)* and Brenda Child (Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) delved into personal and tribal archives to find letters, diaries, and other materials that give intimate details about students' experiences in Indian schools. An archival project like this is outside of the scope of this dissertation, but I expect that there exist personal archives that would divulge more details on students' perceptions of Indianism.

[506] "Notes of Interest," *The Haskell Indian Leader* 20, no. 36 (1917): 3.

[507] Ibid.

Lieurance and Indianist performances with a hint of sarcasm. She made light of "all this 'Princessing' and 'Chiefing' one hears so much nowadays," and of Lieurance's penchant for giving singers fake Indian names, such as "Prairie Flower, Hanging Flower, Moon Flower."[508] Broken Wing Bird's essay indicates that, at least by 1922, Native students had conflicted feelings about Indianism—both its legacy of performance and its place in music education. This seems to be borne out by an essay that Margaret Jones, a student from Haskell, published in *The American Indian* in 1929 about an imaginary meeting with an apparition of Minnehaha, the fictional character from Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha." As Jones speaks to Minnehaha, she is suddenly interrupted by a soprano singing Lieurance's "By the Waters of Minnetonka." She explains to Minnehaha that Lieurance's song contains an Indian theme, but that his composition belongs to "the better type of popular music" rather than Indian music, not her own opinion but an acknowledgement of the song's critical reception.[509] Minnehaha considers the music and notices similarities. "How very like the music I make in the silvery brooklets in the woodland is this imitation by the orchestra ... but here, no modest violet bends her velvet petals to kiss the cool, clear water."[510]

Jones introduces the character of Minnehaha, an American Indian folkloric persona, to make a judgement on Indianism. While Lieurance's song may borrow from an American Indian tradition, it is a mere "imitation," lacking an important connection between music and nature. Jones wrote from the point of view of a student who had listened to and even possibly performed this song in an institutional educational setting

[508] Broken Wing Bird, "What's in an Indian Name?" *The Tomahawk* 19, no. 49 (1922): 1.
[509] Margaret Jones, "Minnehaha and Our Music," *The American Indian* 3, no. 12 (1929): 13.
[510] Ibid.

many times. It is possible that she had internalized this song and the more general aesthetics and philosophies of musical Indianism, and chose to express her complex feelings through a poetic tale. Jones's critique of Indianism was mild but pointed. It was directed toward musical appropriation, and the power and authority that non-Natives held over the representation of Indian sound. She describes Indianist music assuming that her reader knows "By the Waters" and can understand Minnehaha's commentary without further elaboration. Scholars of American Indian writing in this era suggest that writers used storytelling and metaphor to obscure more radical opinions.[511] Additionally, Zink argues that educators wanted female students to write in boarding school papers to "propagate[e] the rituals of European American domesticity."[512] Once students were comfortable writing however, "these Indian girls became women writers who shaped their own responses to their domestic education and would manipulate the sentimental discourse in ways reformers and officials could have never predicted and would have never desired."[513] Jones's article thus implies that there existed a critical discourse about Indianism among her fellow students, probably harsher than her prose indicates.

Toward an Ethics of Desire-Based Research

An editorial from *The St. Louis Republic* regarding a Carlisle performance of *The Captain of Plymouth,* a comic opera about pilgrims and their first contact with North America, was reprinted in Carlisle's newspaper, *The Indian Craftsman*, in 1909. The

[511] Ramirez, *Standing Up to Colonial Power*, 6.
[512] Zink, "Carlisle's Writing Circle," 39.
[513] Ibid.

reviewer wrote with a sense of humor about the juxtaposition of students playing both Indian characters as well as pilgrims in this staged opera:

> It is worthy of note that a comic opera should be the first to be presented by musical representatives of this grave and saturnine race and that its subject should relate to the early planting upon this continent of that civilization which has so nearly swept the Indian from the face of the earth. The ability on the part of these Indian young people to see the joke in these events argues a type of humor which possesses a certain sardonic grandeur of its own. The enthusiastic singing by three hundred Indians of 'My Own United States' was a creature of the performance which affords food for reflection and—to push the metaphor a little farther—leaves a good taste in the mouth of the reflector.[514]

This review could be read as being sympathetic toward American Indians in its critique of colonialism. But when placed among the myriad other reviews of American Indian performances during this era, or any scholarly or artistic studies of American Indians, it echoes the way that non-Natives generally wrote about American Indians and colonialism. Many thought that the Indian race was going to vanish, and they spoke plainly about genocide and colonialism. This review did not "speak truth to power," but rather dehumanized the American Indian student performers, as evinced by his description of Indians as "grave and saturnine." The reviewer assumes that the students "saw the joke" in their portrayal of both the colonizer and colonized, and presupposed that they were "in" on this gallows humor. The students sang "My Own United States" within the same production, a patriotic song by Julian Edwards that was not part of *The Captain of Plymouth*. The reviewer receives that performance with the levity or enthusiasm that could only come after a dark comedy. The audience could further reflect upon that contrast, but ultimately feel satisfied.

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[514] "Educational Value of Student Performances," *The Indian Craftsman* 1, no. 5 (1909): 47.

While *The Captain of Plymouth* is not Indianist, this reviewer demonstrates one way in which White audiences conceptualized American Indian performance in this era, which often included Indianist music. Similar to Indianist operas, this production of *The Captain of Plymouth* was directed by non-Native faculty using music that presented their histories but was controlled by a White narrative that reinforced the paternalistic ideologies of federal American Indian policy. The Native students who performed Indianist music were certainly resilient and did what they could with the musical education they were given. Indianism, however, is more complex than that. As *The Captain of Plymouth* reviewer indicates, institutions used Indianism for sardonic effect, with the aim of leaving a "good taste in the mouth of the [White] reflector." The ways in which Indianist music was instituted was directly related to the way that White people wanted to see American Indians perform, and the belief that Indianist compositions could be an appropriate alternative to American Indian students' own musical traditions.

This chapter explored methods of "desire-based research" when analyzing Indianism in American institutions. Rather than focusing solely on the irrevocable harm on American Indian students as victims of Indianism, I showed that American institutions promulgated Indianism, and demonstrated the complex ways in which American Indian students performed, experienced, and reacted to that musical influence. My research also shows that Indianism was ubiquitous in American Indian boarding and reservation schools. Hypothesizing about the effects that Indianism might have had on students' understandings of American Indian musicality in general does not make my work "damage-centered research." Rather, it indicates that Indianism may have had a bigger impact on a generation of American Indian students than previously understood. But this

generation was not a "victim" of Indianist ideology. Students had complex and at times contradictory ways of engaging in and understanding Indianism. If this chapter sought to only consider the ways that individual students were able to benefit from Indianist education as a form of "desire-based research," we would not understand the unique evil of the methods institutions used to enforce Indianism, and what they sought to gain from it. Furthermore, even if some students were able to use Indianism to their advantage, focusing solely on their resiliency ignores the many students who could not make use of Indianism in their social or professional lives, and were only affected by its prominence in their music education. By revealing more about institutionalized Indianism, I hope we come closer to understanding those students' truths.

Conclusion: Indianist Legacies

As shown in each chapter of this dissertation, Indianist compositions emerged not from authenticated or codified melodies but through complex negotiations of Indigenous knowledge, culture, participation, and resistance. American Indian interlocutors controlled the way that ethnographers were able to source and record music. Their compliance, obfuscation, hesitancy, and resistance altered what ethnographers had hoped would be an authentic rendering of American Indian music and culture. Whatever errors, misrepresentations, or even "correct" musical ideas that American Indian interlocutors provided were immortalized in scholarly essays and tomes that were shared beyond the academic realm to artists, musicians, and composers. Composers either distilled Indian characteristics from these ethnographic studies or borrowed the melodies, harmonies, and rhythms directly. Sometimes, as in the case with Gilbert's *Indian Scenes*, Indian music and personas were blatantly misinterpreted to support racial tropes that were used to define, categorize, and instruct an Indian musical aesthetic. Often, however, as is the case with "By the Waters of Minnetonka," American Indian interlocutors and performers were not simply misrepresented. They also had the power to control the Indianist narrative and the success of a composer's work. Their ability to do so had an effect on the public's conception of American Indians in Indianism.

Newspapers, journals, and other media of the time mostly depicted American Indian performers as agreeable musical collaborators or muses who were able to mediate their own indigeneity through the composer's more "disciplined" approach to Indianness. Likewise, with few exceptions, the popular and American Indian press portrayed

American Indian progressives as supportive of Indianism both as an art form and an educational tool. Without a strong counternarrative from either performers or American Indian leaders, American institutions adopted Indianism for educational and patriotic means. In particular, American Indian boarding and reservation school students heard, performed, and wrote about Indianist music as it appeared in their everyday lives: during concerts, debate meetings, holiday celebrations, and graduation ceremonies. American Indian ethnographic interlocutors, musical collaborators, performers, and activists justified, critiqued, and authenticated Indianism. And the musical product born out of that process returned to the American Indian community as a musical standard of Indianness that was more acceptable than popular notions of primitive tribal music.

My intent in reframing Indianism with the actions and livelihoods of American Indians is not to place blame or reduce them to co-conspirators or assimilationists. American Indian people had intricate, conflicting, and at times contentious roles in Indianism. As Margaret Jones's story in *The American Indian* intimates, however, Indianism did not displace an American Indian sense of musicality. Rather, it shaped the way that American Indians perceived the *public* conception of their musicality, which I believe must have had a lasting effect on American Indian identity formation and self-worth well into the mid-century. The Red Power movement developed in the 1960s and 1970s as a reaction against new and historic government abuses against land and civil rights. And as Vine Deloria Jr.'s *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969) implied in aggregate, the movement also acknowledged the cultural power of non-Native conceptions of American Indian history and identity on the national narrative and the emerging Native concept of a reactionary pan-Indian identity. Musical Indianism, even if

its exact impact on American Indian culture is difficult to define, was part of that national narrative and the Native opposition. And the process and product of musical Indianism are interwoven into many Indigenous histories. Their lives, stories, and complexities should ultimately frame the music's historical significance.

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