"Real" Indian Songs

The Society of American Indians and the Use of Native American Culture as a Means of Reform

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At a meeting devoted to discussion of the finances and constitution of the Society of American Indians (SAI) during the group's Fourth Annual Conference in 1914, Sherman Coolidge, an Arapaho minister and active member of the organization, reminded committee members that they had not yet organized the "large public meeting and Indian entertainment" scheduled for the following evening and eagerly anticipated by their hosts. Coolidge was uneasy about the possibility of trivializing the issues of greatest concern to Native American reformers and had tried to "get out of it this evening twice." However, these "entertainments" had become a popular feature of the SAI conferences and their Madison, Wisconsin, sponsors "insist[ed]" on it. "The students [at the university] and the people of the town expect it," Coolidge sighed. "Probably there will be a large audience."

The society leaders immediately tackled the task of organizing an "entertainment" on short notice. A non-Native SAI member suggested that a "real" chief give a speech accompanied by an interpreter and that younger Indians sing songs "along wild lines." Carlos Montezuma, a Yavapai physician and an ardent proponent of Indian emancipation, suggested mounting a scene complete with an old Indian, an interpreter, and an agent, a slice of reservation life for a white audience largely ignorant of what Montezuma referred to as "real" Indian culture. Several tribal representatives also offered to speak about their groups' pasts and the troubles they currently faced on their reservations. Urging them to keep the talks short, present the speeches "elegantly," and tone down criticism of government officials, SAI leaders accepted the proposal. The committee also selected SAI leaders to present the organization's goals, and plans for the next evening's entertainment were complete.[1]

The debate over an evening's entertainment opens a new way of looking at the SAI in the course of its active involvement in Indian reform in the early twentieth century. The group's attempts to use Native cultures to advance political and social goals raised central questions about how the SAI should pre-

sent itself, what the purpose of entertainment should be, how the SAI should appeal to non-Indians, and what were the best, most effective ways to advance their agenda. The SAI was not the only minority group to confront these questions in the early twentieth century. Historians of the Harlem Renaissance have traced the ways that African Americans used art to "uplift the race." Some scholars argue that African Americans engaged in art, music, and literature that catered to white expectations of racialized expressions while at the same time manipulating the message of their art works to argue for equality and civil rights. Jon Michael Spencer, for instance, asserts that many African Americans chose art rather than politics as a method for gaining equality. He describes these efforts as "mastery of form," defining it as "the skillful ability of a black artist or intellectual to sound or appear stereotypically 'colored' when the person is really engaging in 'self-conscious gamesmanship' in opposition to racism."[2] Native American spokespeople and public figures undertook similar methods a decade earlier. The SAI, a pan-Indian reform group composed mainly of educated and acculturated men and women, also tried to uplift their race through art, music, and other forms of cultural expression between 1911 and 1924.

Members of the SAI exploited non-Native interest in Indian culture to advance their goals of citizenship and equality within mainstream American society. Recognizing white interest in Indian culture—expressed in the revival of arts and crafts, in the Indianist movement of classical music composers, in antimodernist discovery of the "authentic" in Native cultures, and in back-to-nature movements—Indian leaders in the SAI stressed those particular cultural elements that would appeal to potential non-Native supporters. Within these cultural representations members of the SAI carefully tread a line between pandering to white images of "the Indian" and advancing their own model of the acculturated Indian American. This balancing act proved treacherous as it exacerbated divisions within the SAI over the purpose of the organization, the necessary degree of acculturation it should reflect, and the images of Indian life members hoped to set forth. Such dissensions hindered the SAI from defining its own representation of Indian culture and ultimately lessened the impact of the message intended by their cultural performances. Moreover, whites expressed a greater degree of interest in the "primitive" and exotic aspects of Native culture that mitigated against SAI use of cultural images as a way to advance its own goals. This attempt to exploit white interest in Indian culture ultimately failed to achieve the SAI's goals of equality and acceptance into American society.

The SAI was one of the first pan-Indian political reform groups run by Native Americans. Hazel Hertzberg's comprehensive treatment of this group in *The Search for An American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements*

provides an excellent organizational study of the leaders, agendas, and struggles of this elite group of Indian reformers. However, Hertzberg's purpose is to understand the formation of a pan-Indian identity in the twentieth century, therefore, she offers accounts of fraternal and religious pan-Indian movements including urban organizations and the Native American Church. Influenced by Hertzberg's ground-breaking research, later scholars seeking to understand the SAI have continued to consider the organization as part of a larger pan-Indian movement and an element in the formation of an Indian identity or see it merely as a predecessor to other, more successful, national political reform groups.[3]

Historians have often failed to consider how the SAI operated within the cultural climate of the early twentieth century. In particular, few have tried to understand how SAI members promoted its agenda outside of organizational meetings and official publications. SAI attempts to undertake an Indian version of "mastery of forms," shed light on the operation of the SAI and exposes the causes and consequences of intersections between Native American and non-Indian cultures in this period. Both white and Indian attitudes towards Native culture influenced the place of Native Americans in American society and contributed to the fulfillment or rejection of their political demands.

The SAI confronted a non-Indian culture that had a long history of interest in Native peoples for a variety of purposes and reasons. Myriad appraisals of Native American cultures existed in the white mind, from positive valuations of Native peoples to negative assurances of their eventual demise. The SAI's awareness of these attitudes compelled the group to formulate their own vision of "being Indian." Most non-Native Americans believed that Indians as a group were vanishing. The notion of the "vanishing Indian" affected white understandings and treatment of Native peoples.[4] Both professional and amateur scholars of Native cultures contended that Indians, as primitive peoples, were still mired in the lower stages of human development. In the late nineteenth century many whites believed that with education and introduction to Euro-American civilization and Christianity, Native Americans could advance as a race. By the turn of the century, however, optimistic assessments of Indians' capacity to assimilate turned into negative, often racist, views of Native Americans as scholars, government officials, and a broad segment of the American public began to doubt Native capabilities. In the early decades of the twentieth century many whites perceived of Native Americans as having certain "racial" traits that no amount of education or exposure to white civilization could ever change. Although some whites found these traits admirable, ultimately their biology would prohibit Indians from surviving in the modern world.[5]

The belief that Native Americans had traits worthy of esteem was also not a new idea to white America. Although many non-Indians continued to view

Native Americans as savages incapable of civilization and undeserving of white sympathy, some whites in the early decades of the twentieth century began to praise what they deemed the worthy aspects of Native cultures. Many non-Indians imagined Native people in ways that met their own needs. Writers, artists, musicians, promoters of tourism, and anthropologists, especially those working in the Southwest, increasingly presented Native Americans' "primitive" cultures as somehow superior to that of modern white society. These whites presented Indian cultures as the panacea to a host of individual and even national problems. They understood Native cultures as different, and within this difference lay the appeal. Their efforts to teach a mostly white audience about Indian cultures did help to gradually change attitudes and, occasionally, to improve the treatment of Native Americans, but it also dehumanized and romanticized Native people and showed little regard for the consequences this held for Native Americans.[6]

In the early part of the twentieth century, several movements sought to appropriate elements of Native American culture to meet the new needs of modern American society. Antimodernist disenchantment with industrialization, urbanization, and the lack of "authentic" experiences attracted many Euro-Americans to Indian cultures. The "primitive" life of Native peoples appealed to seekers of authentic lifestyles. The enticement with Indian cultures took many forms. The number of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, for example, grew dramatically during the first decades of the century, as did the number of groups devoted to the development of Native handicrafts. Infatuation with Indian culture also found expression in a movement of American classical composers, dubbed "Indianists," who drew upon Native songs to develop a national American musical identity. Fascination with the "vanishing" race manifested itself in popular culture as well. The sheet music of Tin Pan Alley drew from Indian themes, crowds flocked to see exhibitions of Indians at expositions and Wild West shows, and books like Edward Curtis's *The North American Indian* and Joseph K. Dixon's *The Vanishing Race* introduced many readers to a highly romantic view of Native cultures. These expressions of non-Indian interest in Native Americans did not escape the attention of the SAI.[7]

Society members recognized non-Indian interest in Native cultures and its potential to spread the message of their organization. Alnoba Waubunkai, a writer in the society's journal, noted that Indian influence and "heroic values" were "rapidly becoming those of the new race that seeks to find better ways of life and more natural forms of happiness. The modern American seeks the forest, the camp, the out-door world; his children emulate red children and seek to know the lore of the natural world as a part of it."[8] SAI members also recognized that many of the ideas whites learned about Indian cultures actually came from Native Americans. The group's leaders also realized that they com-

peted with other groups of Indians who offered different images of Native cultures to white audiences. The SAI sought to reconcile the diverse images presented by other Indians, as well as those appropriated by white audiences, with images that they as educated, acculturated Native Americans wanted to present to forward their own agenda.

Members of the SAI expressed their understandings of the negotiation of Indian cultural imagery in their writings and actions. Although many members of this organization adhered to the assimilationist policies of white reformers, most rejected the notion that every vestige of Indian culture would or should vanish if Native Americans were to participate in mainstream American society. Their platforms, for example, always included the goals of preserving Indian history and culture in the hope of upholding their "distinguishing features." Perpetuating the Indian heritage corresponded with their more overtly political aims. Many contended that the development of a positive public image of Native Americans would encourage white sympathy and fulfill the SAI's legislative and judicial goals.

Members of the SAI shared common attitudes about culture and politics and their place within their organization. Indians, they believed, possessed common biological and cultural characteristics as a "race." These shared traits and a similar past would lead to a sense of pride in their Native American heritage. Influenced by the evolutionary thinking of their day, they held that Indians as a race were advancing and needed to rely on themselves to hasten their racial progress. Because of the prevalent assumptions of white society that Native Americans occupied the lower rungs of the evolutionary ladder, many SAI members approached non-Native society with caution—white attitudes and beliefs about Native Americans mattered a great deal to them. As Sherry Smith contends, many educated Native Americans "understood that they existed in a world which inevitably included European Americans and that their self-definition could not exist without some interaction with the latter" and that Native American identity could not exist apart from white society.[9] They often adopted a posture of defensiveness because of these concerns and hoped that with the proper education Indians and non-Indians could better understand and respect one another. The combination of these attitudes led many to view the SAI as an important part of "marking a new day in Indian affairs."[10]

These attitudes formed the basis of the SAI's political agenda. The 1912 founding statement of purpose and other similar official statements laid out the objectives of the SAI. Members wanted to promote policies that would advance Indian "enlightenment" and would allow Indians freedom "to develop according to the natural laws of social evolution"—a goal very much in keeping with the views of most white reformers. Like white reform groups, the SAI intended to provide an arena for discussion of important issues in Indian

affairs and pushed hard for full citizenship rights for Native peoples. Unlike many white reformers, however, the SAI sought "to promote in a just light the true history of the race, to preserve its records and to emulate its distinguishing virtues." This aspect of their agenda clearly demonstrates the hope that respect for Native cultures could lead to Indian equality and civil rights. Along with this facet of their agenda, the SAI sought to establish more Native control over Indian affairs. The SAI planned to create a legal department to investigate and resolve problems that Native Americans experienced on and off reservations. The society also intended to provide a "bureau of information" to help educate Indians and others through statistics and publicity, including the cultural performances at SAI functions.[11]

Cultural presentations that attracted non-Indian interest could fulfill the aims of the SAI. Members remained cognizant of the effect that their entertainments and exhibitions would have on white audiences. During the planning of the show for the fourth conference, associate member Robert Hall of the YMCA warned against using songs or dances that emulated the "typical Indian show."[12] Presentations that resembled Wild West shows might be what the audience wanted, but they should transcend the usual performance through the participation of authentic Indians and through the messages of Indians with the fate of "the race" at heart. A performance that accurately depicted reservation life might dispel negative myths about Native Americans by allowing whites to "see the true Indian nature" and the "real dignified, delicate life of the Indian."[13] The SAI did not always agree on what constituted "real" Indian culture, but most contended that their representations of Native cultures should focus on positive traits associated with Native Americans. Honesty, loyalty, serenity, a sense of beauty, ties to nature, and a heightened sense of spirituality should be stressed rather than the war whoops, gaudy costumes, and martial skills of the Wild West shows.

The development of a new image for Indians entailed challenging and correcting white misrepresentations of Native people and their societies. The SAI saw its presentation of Native culture as a corrective to white imagery both positive and negative. The group attacked negative stereotypes of the ignoble savage, which it viewed as the most damaging to the cause. Arthur Parker, a Seneca anthropologist and an instrumental figure in the founding and early years of the SAI, contended that because the SAI was in steady contact with non-Indian society its members could best enlighten non-Indians about Native culture. The SAI's education department aimed "to encourage the conservation of correct Indian history, art, and literature," to fight negative views of Native Americans, and to provide a basis for the members' presentations of their own versions of Indian culture.[14]

Because of the potential positive uses of Native American culture, most SAI

members supported to some degree attempts to use entertainment and expositions aimed at non-Indian audiences to advance their agenda. Not always able to agree on the proper balance between the ways of Indians' old and new lives, members debated the best means to advance the society's goals. Because Wild West shows were very popular with white audiences and provided one of the few arenas for whites to learn about Native Americans, SAI members often discussed these shows as they considered the proper form of entertainment to present. Some society members defended the shows by arguing that they reached a broad spectrum of American society and provided Native people with opportunities to travel and earn money. The shows also provided an education for both the audience and the participants.[15]

Many SAI reformers, however, questioned the educational value of Wild West shows. These members contended that the "degrading, demoralizing and degenerating" performances prevented Native Americans from achieving their goals of citizenship and civilization. One SAI member argued that "nothing beneficial to the Indians nor helpful to our people in any right appreciation of the Indians" came from these cultural demonstrations and asserted that Native participants and their communities experienced shame because of the performances. Another writer insisted that Native American actors in the shows only behaved as whites expected and argued that if members of the SAI and other educated Indians would express their disapproval, the erroneous representations of Native cultures would diminish.[16] The SAI offered counter images to Wild West shows that met the organization's standards and helped advance its agenda. Instead of allowing the "barbaric" dances to continue hurting Native American chances for acceptance into American society, SAI members intended to push forward the ideas that Indians could adapt to "civilized" life and could achieve great things. The society would accomplish this task by performing legitimate shows of its own. An article in the SAI's journal suggested that local plays and pageants that sought historical accuracy and "ethnological truth," performed under the direction of scholarly groups or historical societies would be appropriate. The SAI, seeing itself as the educated Indian elite, believed itself best able to decide which cultural representations befitted Native Americans and which would best serve the goals of their organization.[17]

Society members understood white interest in Indian culture and its potential use as a means for spreading their own message. The SAI incorporated entertainment drawing from popular Indian-related themes into its annual conventions. The first conference, held in Columbus, Ohio, in the fall of 1911 attracted media attention because of a show featuring Native songs and dances and an arts and crafts exhibit. The SAI used the white media to sell both the political and cultural aspects of their agenda. A local newspaper interviewed Rosa LaFlesche, corresponding secretary and treasurer of the SAI, on the conference

in an article entitled, "Does Not Wear the Dress of Her Race." LaFlesche asserted that although SAI members did not normally dress in beaded clothing and moccasins "we all know what our tribal costume is, although we never wear it except for a show affair. But Columbus will have an opportunity to see some Indian costumes, for an Indian male quartet from the Carlisle School for Indians will appear, in costume, at our entertainment." She also invited the public to view exhibits of Navajo blankets and other Native crafts.[18]

The Columbus press covered the first and second annual SAI conferences and reported on both the aims of the organization and the highlights of the evening entertainments. Articles on the SAI's performances focused on the "authenticity" of these shows by pointing to the costumes, Native language usage, and Native American "peculiarities." One white writer noted that the entertainment consisted of Native "songs, dances and pantomimes taken from the real life of the red man" and was performed in "genuine Indian costumes" brought to Columbus especially for the performance. The Second Annual Conference witnessed "a crowd of 1500" enjoying the "Indian songs and dances, accompanied by Indian music" and performed in "full tribal dress." One article began with a discussion of the SAI's critique of the reservation system and concluded with a description of the evening's entertainment. This performance featured Chippewa war, death, and love songs, a selection by a female soloist, "in native costume," of Charles Cadman's "The Lover's Flute," and an encore by two Cherokees of a war whoop and dance. The latter was considered "the most favorited [sic], showing the planting corn ceremony, the ball dance and the bird song, all of them in the Indian language, and with the Indian peculiarities of singing and working."[19]

The SAI continued to offer cultural performances at later conventions and worked to attract attention from the local press. The Third Annual Conference in 1913, in Denver, featured noted Native musicians such as Dennison Wheelock and "Cherokee Princess" Tsianina Redfeather singing "classic Indian songs." The Denver newspapers reported that the SAI conference concluded with a "solemn discussion of the problems besetting the Indian race" and then a "joyous old-fashioned pow-wow reminiscent of the days of their ancestors." SAI members "transformed themselves into chieftains and squaws of the real old type by donning buckskin and blanket and braided hair and together they stomped and danced and talked." Although the media might have shown greater interest in the more colorful aspects of the SAI's meetings, the SAI still managed to get part of their political message across to a non-Indian audience.[20]

The Fourth Annual Conference, held in Madison, Wisconsin, in October 1914, revealed the connections SAI members hoped to forge between their use of cultural performances and their message of equality and civil rights for Na-

tive Americans. William Kershaw, a Menomonee serving as first vice president, suggested songs and dancing similar to those performed at the Denver conference the year before. An associate member, Robert Hall, recommended that one of the tribal delegates offer a Native language oration that "would be a very attractive thing and thoroughly appropriate." Members of the group believed that the audience would enjoy hearing an actual Indian speak, while at the same time the words of the interpreter would spark interest in reform of reservation policy. To strengthen this connection, Carlos Montezuma, an outspoken advocate of assimilation and critic of the government's Indian policy, suggested presenting a scene from reservation life with "an old Indian, the interpreter and the agent." An image of reservation life, one that many non-Indians found romantic and attractive, presented an underlying message of the abuses of the reservation system that worked against the picturesque quality of the thoroughly "authentic" old man standing before the audience.[21]

The entertainments themselves were designed to capture white interest by presenting Native culture in appealing ways. The performance for the 1920 convention in St. Louis began with an overture by a local high school orchestra. The Native American entertainment commenced with the singing of "My Country" by "American Indians." President Sloan then introduced the "leading American Indians of the night's performances" and presented four stages of Indian life: "the Original Indian, the Reservation Indian, the Educated Indian [and] the Soldier Indian." In honor of the last category Ida Maria Axness read a poem, "American Indian Service Flag" and the Indian chorus sang the "Star Spangled Banner." The second portion of the evening began with an "Old Chief" speaking through an interpreter, continued with addresses by Native ministers, a solo by Miss Anxess, now in Native costume, and concluded with an address, "The Real Story of the Reservation Indian" by Carlos Montezuma. The third part of the program featured singing by Redfeather. She sang compositions by Indianist composers Cadman and Thurlow Lieurance. Tsianina then showed and commented on a motion picture by the American Indian Film Company. The evening concluded with the performance of more compositions by Cadman, including "Ho! Ye Warriors," "Canoe Song," and "Moon Drops Low." An "Indian Dance in Costume" was the evening's finale.[22]

Presentations of Indian cultural imagery given by the SAI displayed increased showmanship and romanticism by the 1920s. Conventions featured arts and crafts exhibits, along with evening shows performed by Indians from the reservations in "traditional" settings. More Native language orations accompanied these entertainments as well. This shift towards showmanship likely reflected the white public's expectations for "real" Indian songs and dances that the SAI clung to in desperation as the organization struggled to maintain its political voice. Much of the increased theatricality of these cultural displays can also be

traced to the participation of better-known Native musicians, especially "Princess" Redfeather. The mezzo-soprano opera singer attracted a good deal of press attention by attaching herself to Indianist composer Cadman and his recent opera, "Shanewis." Redfeather performed Cadman's songs at many SAI functions. She capitalized on the popularity of her wartime tour of France to entertain American soldiers, which the SAI also hoped to exploit.[23] Besides this Cherokee "princess," the SAI brought in popular groups such as the Camp Fire Girls and other well-known Native figures such as Red Fox Skiuhushu (St. James), who had recently ridden his pony to state capitals across the nation to a meeting with President Woodrow Wilson to draw attention to Native concerns and to promote the SAI's American Indian Day.[24]

The SAI sponsored American Indian Day to spark white interest in all things "Indian" and as a way to forward its own agenda. This project was the brainchild of Arthur S. Parker who intended for this holiday to bring Native Americans and Euro-Americans together in common celebration. Parker described this event as

> a nation-wide holiday (official or otherwise), devoted to the study or recital of Indian lore. Picnics, parades, Indian games, music, ceremonies, dramas, speeches, orations, recitals of history, exercises by schools, clubs, societies, and out-door lovers—see the scheme? Every red-blooded American, whether just born or just imported from cradle to dotage, would yell long and loud for American Indian Day. The attention which the red man would command would help him immensely.[25]

Clearly Parker wanted to use this event to promote the SAI's cause by emphasizing those elements of Indian culture that would attract "red-blooded" Euro-Americans. One celebration included a performance by yet another Cherokee "princess," Atalie Unkalunt, along with a peace pipe ceremony and Indianist music. Parker even designed special exercises for school children to celebrate this new holiday. He suggested inserting "Land of the Red Man's Pride" in the song "America," reading parts of Longfellow's "Hiawatha," and presentations by teachers on "What we may learn from our friends the Indians."[26]

Parker's attempts to reach young people coincided with another SAI goal of encouraging cultural representations of Native Americans in the Indian school system. Several members of the society looked to education as a panacea for the "Indian problem." As products of the boarding school system themselves, SAI leaders recognized the important role they could play within Indian schools. They used educational programs to bring Native culture into the schooling process, and they hoped to use the schools as another tool for forwarding their goals. The SAI published an account of a visit of Princess Redfeather and Cadman to Chemewa Boarding School in Oregon in early 1917 in

their organizational journal. By publicizing events such as this visit, SAI leaders could stress the positive aspects of Indian culture to a white audience, but more importantly they could demonstrate that Native Americans deserved a larger voice in the education system. Many members of this group demanded that Indian schools end their policies of complete assimilation. Laura Cornelius Kellogg, an Oneida reformer, argued that "old Indian training is not to be despised" and insisted that schools help preserve the "noble qualities and traits" of Native cultures. Other members argued that schools needed to instruct students in anthropology so they could understand their cultures and past achievements. A positive understanding of Native life would help Indians advance as a group and would allow them to share their "noble qualities" with non-Indian society.[27]

Angel DeCora, a Winnebago artist and a strong proponent of reintroducing Native students to Indian cultures, proved the most adept at linking her goals for advancing Native cultures and civil rights to Euro-American interest in Indian arts and crafts. DeCora spoke in a language familiar to white antimodernists and others drawn to "primitive" cultures. Indians, she argued, did indeed exist in a natural state. This primitiveness, however, led to unique and beautiful artistic productions not found elsewhere in modern American society. Native Americans were natural artists and musicians who only required the skillful hand of a Native artist like herself to guide them. Indian schools could serve as a means for advancing knowledge of Native American art, which could in turn forge better relations with non-Indians as students produced authentic Indian crafts for white consumers. DeCora and her husband, and fellow artist, William Dietz, a Rosebud Sioux, worked at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the premier off-reservation boarding school in the nation. They labored together in the Leupp Art Studio teaching about Native cultures and encouraging students to incorporate Native elements into modern design. They also produced *Indian Craftsman,* a magazine that resembled the mainstream *The Craftsman,* an organ of the arts and crafts movement, so closely that they later changed the title to *The Red Man.* Their ties with the SAI remained strong, and they often publicized their efforts at SAI conferences and in the group's journal. Their work to advance Indian equality through art meshed nicely with the methods of the SAI.[28]

Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa) was another SAI member working outside of the official bounds of the organization who attempted to use cultural expressions of Indianness to advance the SAI agenda. Eastman, a Dakota medical doctor, author, and reformer, and his family were some of the better-known interpreters of Native American culture to a popular audience. An officer in the SAI, Eastman wrote several books and articles explaining Indian culture to his readers and in the process argued for greater respect and fair treatment for

American Indians. Eastman chose scouting and back-to-nature movements as a way to further his cause by offering "Indian" cultures as an antidote to modern American disenchantment. He argued that white American children lacked Indians' ties to nature and its spiritual properties. Because of Native people's natural generosity, they would lead American youth along the proper paths through imitation of Native ceremonies and crafts. Eastman also became involved in the Camp Fire Girls, promoting his goals of civil rights, fair treatment, and respect through their appropriation of Indian culture. He invited the group to perform at SAI conferences, and his daughter Irene performed "American Indian Melodies" at Camp Fire Girls ceremonies. These performances revealed the multifaceted nature of Eastman's method—appealing to non-Indian sensibilities through pseudo-Indian rituals but instilling in these rituals an "authenticity" brought on by a real Indian informer that then, Eastman hoped, would lead to increased respect and equality.[29]

Other SAI members expressed more caution about adopting Eastman's approach to cross-cultural interaction. Artist Angel DeCora also traced non-Indian interest in Indian music, arts, and crafts to a desire for real experiences that whites had lost as their perceptions grew "softened and perverted through artificial living." Because of this loss of perception, whites could only see Native cultures as crude and barbaric, as something to identify themselves against. Lack of understanding of the meanings behind the cultural elements they appropriated led non-Indians to misuse these elements and to miss the important lessons Native Americans found in their own culture.[30] William Dietz expanded on his wife's assessment of white misunderstandings of Indian art. He agreed that few non-Indians possessed an accurate knowledge of the meanings behind Native art and other cultural expressions. White artists, he argued, romanticized and dehumanized Indian subjects because they refused to study or learn from Native cultures. The "stage Indian is even further from the truth," Dietz continued. Their "costumes are generally even more ridiculous than the disorderly hopping and whooping." Made according to non-Native ideas of Indian design, these representations only hurt the cause that he shared with other members of the SAI. Hoping that their representations would lead to greater interest in their social and political agendas, the SAI attempted to embed their own messages within forms familiar to white audiences.[31]

SAI members walked a thin line in their negotiations of Indian cultural imagery. By catering to white interests and expectations of "the Indian," they risked becoming the "stage Indians" that Dietz and others decried. Many of their performances, such critics noted, reflected Indian life as whites imagined it—rooted in the past and rapidly disappearing. Performances often highlighted "traditional" costumes and "real" Indian songs and dances. The entertainments associated with SAI conferences presented "stages" of Native devel-

opment and drew heavily from images of the reservations. The entertainment at the Fourth Annual Conference, for example, featured an old man as the representative "authentic" Indian. The emphasis on reservation life did serve a purpose for the SAI because most viewed the reservation system with contempt, but at the same time it turned all Indians into a type. By setting forth the image of the reservation Indian as the "real" Indian, the SAI undercut its own philosophy. While it advanced a platform arguing that Native Americans deserved full rights as the nation's first citizens, SAI performances suggested that "real" Indians only lived on reservations, dressed in Indian costumes, sang "authentic" songs, made pottery and rugs, and performed colorful dances. This image of the "real" Indian did not truly represent the SAI's image of the acculturated modern Indian, and it obscured and confused the messages concerning modern Indians.[32]

Besides the hazard of losing their messages about achieving citizenship and equality within their cultural performances, the SAI also risked reinforcing the notion of Indians as savages, whether noble or ignoble. The appeal to many whites of Native cultures stemmed from their perception of these cultures as primitive. The primitiveness generated the allure of Native art and music, and by appealing to these notions of Native American life, SAI members often enforced stereotypical visions of themselves and other Indians. As a frequent entertainer at SAI events, Redfeather explained the purpose of her work to a non-Native journalist. When she began her singing career this opera talent "had all the traits common to my race, particularly to its women. I had the superstitions, the reticence, the feeling of being crushed by new conditions." Upon overcoming these typical Indian characteristics Redfeather devoted her work to the promotion of Native cultures and the positive traits of "our freedom, our straightforwardness, our feeling for all things in nature, the trees, the rocks, the stars" found within them. Another Native woman singer, Irene Eastman (Taluta), similarly stressed how her "hereditary background" prepared her for her work. The *American Indian Magazine* further emphasized the ways in which her singing "weaves a spell of song in which is [en]visioned the wild free life of the red men and women."[33]

By using racialized and stereotypical images of Native America to attract non-Indian crowds, the performances of the SAI actually gave support to white appropriation of their cultures. Some members deliberately encouraged appropriation, believing it had the potential to raise awareness of Native Americans and help their cause. They contended as well that the beauty and simplicity of their cultures could contribute to American society in a positive way. "No doubt the best bands of the world will include in their selections some of the peculiar, delightful music which is part of the Indian's history," a boarding school graduate wrote. Because the SAI encouraged these appropriations and

even emulated them in their own performances, their chances of spreading their own messages were diminished in the process.[34]

Charles Eastman's many activities demonstrate how some SAI members catered to romantic views of Indian life and risked obscuring the Native American voice intended to impact the audience's view of American Indians. Minneapolis, the "Paris of Indian life" according to Eastman, sponsored an Indian-themed pageant that featured "sun dances, barbecues, and frolicking in costume to the music of tomtoms" by white participants. Eastman praised the authenticity of the costumes and declared himself "delighted to help" plan future engagements such as this one. Eastman probably hoped that his support would raise the stature of Native Americans in the "Paris of Indian life," but his support of these pageants also gave credence to the notion that whites could define Native identity and culture by participating in their own presentations of Indian song and dance.[35]

Eastman's public representations of Native culture not only encouraged white appropriations but often drew from the same language to describe it. Although Eastman sincerely desired to improve the position of Native Americans through his work as an interpreter of cultures, his attempts often vacillated between appealing to white aesthetics and forwarding a message of Indian civil rights. The ways in which he described Indian music, for example, differed little from the words of Indianist composers. Eastman wrote that Native American chants were "simple, expressive and haunting in quality, and voice his inmost feeling, grave or gay, in every emotion and situation in life."[36] Compare his words to those of Natalie Curtis, an ardent white supporter of the Indianist movement. In *The Indians' Book,* Curtis described Native song as "the breath of the spirit that consecrates the acts of life. Not all songs are religious, but there is scarcely a task, light or grave, scarcely an event, great or small, but has its fitting song."[37] Because Eastman spoke such a similar language, his message of respect for modern Indians and the need to grant citizenship and its rights to them would not always have been clear to his audiences.

Cultural performances also risked losing the original meaning of many of these songs and dances. Taken out of its intended context, the music used by SAI members lost its spiritual meaning and its real importance for Native Americans. Music appropriated by white musicians and idealized to meet their own needs could no longer express the spiritual and emotional properties intended by the original singers of those songs. Music and dance meant to embody deep spiritual meaning and connections to nature, the land, and other Native people became little more than fancy propaganda in the hands of the SAI. Its use of art and music, their presentation of it as something inherent to their race, reinforced stereotypes, denied Native artists and musicians the hard

work they put into their creations, and served to separate the SAI from those Native people they sought to help.

The society intended to serve all Native Americans and advance its agenda to meet the needs of reservation and nonreservation Indians alike. Although often separated from reservation life by education and assimilation, members of the organization sought to maintain ties with more traditional communities. Even so, society members approached reservation Indians more as outside observers or missionaries of American civilization than as fellow tribal members and often saw reservation culture as a mere source for material for their cultural performances. Despite the gap between SAI members and reservation Indians, the SAI welcomed tribal delegates to its conventions and labored to help them deal with the many problems they faced locally. Part of this struggle stemmed from the SAI's inability to define its role in relation to Native Americans remaining on reservations or tribal lands. The views of tribal delegates did concern members of the SAI, but leaders could never figure out how to incorporate reservation Indians into their organization, except to occasionally use them in shows at conventions. Often members of the SAI only spoke English, which divided them even further from non-English speaking tribal leaders. SAI members, however, exploited this situation by asking tribal delegates to deliver speeches in their own tongues at their evening entertainments. These delegates probably hoped that their talks would help address problems in their own communities while SAI members seemed more concerned with the attractiveness and appropriateness of their presentations.

At the Fourth Annual Conference in 1914, a Menominee leader, speaking through an interpreter, asserted that, "My mission here, providing I get a chance to talk, which I am very glad to have, is to impress upon you people the treatment we are getting from our superintendent now." SAI officers approved of his talk but an associate member asked if he could perhaps tone down his criticisms of his superintendent in his speech before the mostly white audience. Another associate member agreed to the Menominee leader's talk because "these things could be elegantly translated and . . . I believe it would bring down the house."[38] Tribal leaders hoped that the society would listen to and act upon their requests; instead they became performers in a cultural production aimed at advancing the agenda of educated, acculturated American Indians who demanded citizenship and equality within white society. These were goals far removed from the daily struggles of many Native people on reservations and tribal lands.[39]

The debate over the place of tribal delegates in the SAI's performances and within the actual operations of the organization reflects larger divisions within the organization. The SAI split over a variety of other issues that drew from and contributed to its inability to effectively exploit white interest in their cultures.

Historians have noted that the SAI divided over the different goals of reservation and nonreservation Indians, over the use of peyote in the Native American Church, and over leadership of the organization. Members also bickered over the role Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) employees should play within the society. Because many members believed that the solution to the "Indian problem" lay in the abolition of the BIA, they viewed employees of the government agency with suspicion. Hertzberg argues that critics in the SAI who single-mindedly advocated the abolition of the BIA "adopted a simplistic solution to a complex problem" by advocating the end of the agency as the answer to the concerns and struggles of Native Americans. The divisions within the SAI contributed to the inability to agree on how to best attract white support through their cultural performances and the extent to which they should focus on past traditions as part of their outreach to non-Native audiences.[40]

Although most members of the SAI agreed that because of white interest in and appropriation of Native cultures their organization needed to present its own images to advance their goals, they disagreed over the place of traditional music and art in their organization. As advocates of citizenship and allotment of Indian lands, some SAI members advocated an assimilationist agenda that viewed Native lifestyles and beliefs as incompatible with modern American society. Many dismissed traditional music and art as quaint relics of an irretrievable past. Participants at the Second Annual Conference (October 1912) drafted "Our Belief":

> It asserts that any condition of living, habit of thought or racial characteristic that unfits the Indian for modern environment is detrimental and conducive only of individual and racial incompetence. While the Society and its founders most sincerely appreciate the splendid elements and achievements of the old-time Indian culture, it realizes most keenly the inefficacy of using ancient ways to meet modern requirements.

This statement reflects the view that to participate fully in modern life Indians needed to do away with most aspects of their heritage. Playing Indian on occasion might be permissible, but the society needed to focus on more important matters. "The time has come for the Indian to look forward," an official statement declared, "the time of looking backward and mourning has ceased."[41]

Other SAI members argued that educated Indians did not have to limit themselves to simply forgetting their heritage as they "progressed" but could preserve elements of Native cultures as reminders of the positive accomplishments of Native Americans. Non-Indian interest in preserving elements of the "vanishing race" certainly influenced members of the SAI. A good deal of attraction to their cultural performances stemmed from this impulse to pre-

serve the art, music, and literature of a "dying race." The SAI could exploit non-Native interest in Indian culture because it already drew an audience. SAI members, however, did not see this merely as a ploy to attract support for their cause; many sincerely believed in the rhetoric of the "vanishing race." Calls for preserving the history and culture of Native Americans continually found their way into the official agenda of the society, demonstrating that certain individuals valued traditional cultures even as they sought to assimilate into American society.

Individual members, working outside of the official boundaries of the SAI, struggled to preserve elements of Indian culture for future generations. Charles Eastman, in an article describing Native contributions to American art, stressed the dangers of allowing traditional methods and ideas to die out with the passing of the older generations.[42] Other Native Americans with some education and fluency in English assisted anthropologists as they conducted field research and collected cultural artifacts. Many of these collaborators shared the notion of some SAI reformers that certain cultural elements needed preserving for Indians to survive as a people. Some Native people, such as Eastman and Francis LaFlesche, took this notion even further by participating in anthropological research themselves. LaFlesche's motivation stemmed in part from his conviction that tribal societies should be seen as sophisticated, complex worlds, and not the "world of simple 'children of nature'" that many non-Native viewers believed them to be.[43]

Other SAI members went even further than these preservationists did by arguing that Native Americans should not fully assimilate into American society but should fight to coexist as distinct people within it. At the 1913 Denver convention Oliver Lamere, a Winnebago peyote leader from Nebraska, argued that American Indians should not give up every traditional aspect of their lives. "We are committed to the idea of absorption, or better, *union with the civic life of America,*" he contended. Certainly, United States' society offered much to Native Americans—energy, courage, willingness to work, ethical ideals—that they should adopt. But Indians, Lamere suggested, also had a good deal to offer America. He argued that "there can be a union of parts and still a separate individual existence of these parts." He asked the society,

> Shall we permit ourselves to be entirely absorbed, admitting in this manner, that we have nothing worth while preserving, or shall we insist upon bringing to the larger culture of which we will in the future form a portion, all that was good and noble and beautiful in our own distinctive life, but which changing conditions no longer permit us to live?[44]

Other SAI members shared Lamere's desire to contribute to American society rather than simply absorbing it. Washington Gladden, the Congregationalist

minister and Social Gospel advocate, posited in his 1912 conference sermon, "The Race Awakening" that "their [the Indian] RACE has a contribution to make to the universal welfare" of American society, and that society members "must be ready to take the task that no other race can perform and the service that no other race can render."[45] Part of this service included sharing cultural elements with other Americans, such as music and art, a service as beneficial to the giver as to the receiver.

The members of the organization who contended that all Indians should take pride in their heritage tied their arguments about Native culture to the political aims of the organization. Pride in their cultural heritage, these advocates argued, would lead to the fulfillment of SAI goals of citizenship and racial progress. Instead of enduring the "secret pangs that the educated Indian must suffer" if they embraced Native cultures, Native Americans should view their past and their future with confidence and pride. An author writing in the *American Indian Magazine* argued that no human being could function as a citizen if he or she believed their ancestors to be worthless savages. By promoting art and music as a distinctive Indian contribution to American society, these SAI members hoped to fulfill multiple goals. They wanted to assure educated Indians that respect for Native cultures did not preclude participation in modern American society, and they intended to promote Native cultures to a white audience to reinforce this message to them as well.[46]

Even if the SAI could have presented a version of Native culture that captured its objectives and represented a mutually acceptable vision of Indian life, members still faced deeply entrenched views about their cultures from non-Indians. Part of their problem resulted from the greater number of non-Native "experts" on Indian culture, who because of their more readily accepted claims to authority on all matters "Indian," received more attention from non-Indian audiences. No matter how strenuously the SAI worked to present counter images to these white "experts" they still had to contend with white messages and images of Native culture. Trying to capitalize on white interest in Indian music, for instance, meant that SAI members used Indianist compositions as part of their performances. The ideas associated with this musical movement—that the primitive nature of Indian music made a unique American expression, for example—were transmitted alongside contradictory SAI messages that Native Americans possessed the capacity to adapt to modern America.[47]

Even when SAI members tried independently to exert themselves they soon became frustrated by non-Indians' inability to see Native Americans without their headdresses, feathers, and buckskin. Some SAI members approached white audiences and patrons with apprehension. Carlos Montezuma complained that "as an Indian, they have used me more than once" to raise money by exploiting his Native heritage. Artists producing for primarily non-Indian

patrons and consumers also voiced their frustrations about the limits placed on their work by white expectations of primitiveness. Angel DeCora asserted that while interest in Native American art had grown, "nothing has ever been done to encourage or further [its] progress." American Indians, especially those like herself who lived primarily among non-Indians, faced new circumstances that influenced and changed their art. Could new forms of artistic expression, ones that embodied the ideals of educated pan-Indians, share a place with older expressions of Native culture in American society she asked? The frustration society members experienced suggests that few patrons or audiences agreed with DeCora's plea for the development of new Indian art and music.[48]

The very elements of Native culture that allowed SAI members to exploit white interest in their art and music ironically also limited their ability to act independently. The attempts by the SAI and its individual members to control cultural representations marked a sincere effort to make the best of the situation they confronted as educated Native Americans in a society still intent on seeing Indians as savage primitives useful only as material for non-Native music and art. In 1923 society members and other Native Americans converged in Chicago for SAI-sponsored meetings but more significantly for exhibitions of Native song and dance. The local media touted the event and enthusiastically described plans for Native rites and war dances, promising its readers a "glimpse of the past." SAI spokespeople labored to use these dances and exhibitions to transmit their agenda to a large audience as they had in the past. William Madison, a Chippewa leader and SAI officer, explained to a Chicago reporter his regrets that non-Indians only expressed interest in Native Americans when they performed war dances. He further complained that most Indians lamented the "fact that neither they nor any of their descendants are citizens of the U.S., nor can they become citizens without denying their own people and becoming beggars and roamers on the face of the land of their fathers."[49] Another Indian leader shared Madison's frustration and expressed the dilemma many SAI members experienced. Whites were only too happy to watch Indian dances, to listen to Indian music, or to purchase Native crafts, "but when we ask for the rights of citizenship and of franchise, everyone is silent."[50]

The inability, or at least difficulty, to negotiate successfully the process of cultural representation only partially explains the failure of the SAI and other Native reformers to fulfill their goals and to establish a national political voice in the early twentieth century. An understanding of the importance of cultural imagery and its connection to the broader American society reveals, however, an important and overlooked dimension of the development of Indian ac-

tivism in this period. This strategy of gaining civil rights through the manipulation of racialized images served as a tool for Native Americans in the 1910s as it did for African Americans in the 1920s. Although these attempts to express their own message within a medium designed to appeal to white aesthetic and cultural needs did not always succeed, their efforts retain their importance and reveal new insights into the struggles of these Native American reformers.

NOTES

1. In *The Papers of the Society of American Indians,* ed. John W. Larner (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986), reel 10 (hereafter cited as SAI Papers).

2. Jon Michael Spencer, *The New Negroes and Their Music. The Success of the Harlem Renaissance* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1997), 11.

3. Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for a Modern Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971). For an example of the continued treatment of the SAI as solely a pan-Indian group or as a way to understand Indian identity see Jeffrey Hanson, "Ethnicity and the Looking Glass: The Dialectics of National Indian Identity," *American Indian Quarterly* 21 (1997): 195–208.

4. Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American. White Attitudes and United States Indian Policy* (Middleton CT: Weslyan University Press, 1982). For more on the "vanishing race," see Thomas Holm, "Indians and Progressives, From Vanishing Policy to the Indian New Deal," (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1978); and Duane Matz, "Images of Indians in American Popular Culture Since 1865," (Ph.D. diss., Illinois State University, 1988).

5. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

6. Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest. Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1996); Sherry L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians. Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

7. For more on antimodernist disenchantment, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace. Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). See Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1998) for a discussion of white appropriations of Native cultures.

8. Alnoba Waubunaki, "With the Passing of Puritanism the Red Man Comes," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 2 (April–July 1914): 120–23.

9. Smith, *Reimagining Indians,* 11.

10. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 73–75.

11. "Statement of Purpose, 1912" in SAI Papers, reel 3. See also: 1912 constitution and 1911 statement of purpose, SAI Papers, reel 9.

12. Associate members were non-Indians who were interested in the cause. Generally they could not vote or hold office within the SAI but could contribute their opinions in most meetings.

13. Minutes from the Fourth Annual Conference, SAI Papers, reel 10.

14. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 82, 91.

15. Charles Eastman, "My People: The Indians' Contribution to the Arts of America," *The Craftsman* 27 (November 1914): 184–85.

16. Chauncey Yellow Rose, "The Indian and the Wild West Show," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* (January–March 1914): 39–40; untitled speech, in SAI papers, reel 8; "The Menace of the Fraudulent Wild West Show," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* (August–September 1914): 174. For more on the history of Wild West shows, see L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

17. Yellow Rose, "The Indian and the Wild West Show," 40; E. H. Gohl, "The Effect of Wild Westing," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 2 (July–September 1914): 226–27.

18. "Does Not Wear the Dress of Her Race," in SAI Papers, reel 10.

19. "Indians Hope Show Tonight Will Pay All Their Expenses," *The Columbus (Ohio) Citizen,* 13 October 1911, p. 12; "Indians Receive Great Reception in Circleville," "Concert Pays the Indians Expenses," "No Good Can Come from the Reservations," in SAI Papers, reel 10.

20. "Lo! Now Cometh the New Indians!" *The Rocky Mountain (Colorado) News* 13 October 1913, p. 5; "Indians in Full Dress Mingle with Braves in Feathers and Paint as Convention Closes," SAI Papers, reel 10.

21. Minutes from the Fourth Annual Conference, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

22. Program for the Ninth Annual Conference, November 15–19, 1920, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

23. For more on Redfeather and her efforts to use Native culture to promote reform, see Carter Jones Meyer, "Edgar Hewett, Tsianina Redfeather, and Early-Twentieth-Century Indian Reform," *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (April 2000): 194–220.

24. "Program for the Ninth Annual Conference"; "At the First International and Tenth Convention of the SAI, Detroit, Michigan, November 25, 1921," *The American Indian Teepee;* "Indian Opera Star is Soloist at Entertainment," *The St. Louis Star,* 19 November 1920, p. 11 in SAI Papers, reel 10.

25. Quoted in Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 83.

26. "American Indian Day Program," "American Indian Day School Exercises," in SAI Papers, reel 10.

27. "Chemewa Honored," *American Indian Magazine* 5 (January–March 1917): 61; Laura Cornelius Kellogg, "Some Facts and Figures of Indian Education," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 2 (January–March 1913): 36–46; J. N. B. Hewitt, "The Teaching of Ethnology in Indian Schools," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 2 (January–March 1913): 30–35.

28. Angel DeCora, "Native Indian Art," *Southern Workman* 36 (October 1907): 527–28; Sarah McNulty, "Angel DeCora: American Artist and Educator," *Nebraska History* 57 (2): 143–99.

29. Raymond Wilson, *Ohiyesa. Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Charles Eastman, *Indian Scout Craft and Lore* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974); Marguerite Norris Davis, "An Indian Princess Comes into Her Own," *St. Nicholas* 50 (July 1923): 939; "Men and Women Whose Lives Count for the Red Man's Cause: Irene Eastman, Taluta, Soprano," *American Indian Magazine* 5 (October–December 1917): 263–64; "American Indian Melodies" (a program for Irene Eastman) in SAI Papers, reel 3.

30. Angel DeCora, "An Effort to Encourage Indian Art," *Proceedings. International Congress of Americanists* (1907): 205–9; Angel DeCora, "Native Indian Art," address delivered at First Annual Conference of the American Indian Association (later SAI), October 1911, in SAI Papers, reel 9.

31. William Dietz, "The Indian in Art," *The Indian's Friend* 24 (February 1912): 2.

32. "Indian Operatic Star," in SAI Papers, reel 10; Minutes from the Fourth Annual Conference, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

33. Eva Chappell, "Artist and Idealist," *Sunset* 42 (January 1919): 48; "Men and Women Whose Lives Count for the Red Man's Cause: Irene Eastman," 263–64.

34. Ayatola Whitman, "Indian Music," *Native American* 6 (June 3, 1905): 224–25.

35. "Annual Celebration Built on Indian Lore and Settings Planned for City," *Minneapolis Morning Tribune,* 5 October 1919, sec. 1, p. 3, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

36. Eastman, "My People," 179–86.

37. Natalie Curtis, *The Indians' Book. An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of their Race* (1923; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1968), xxiv.

38. SAI Papers, reel 10.

39. Minutes from the Fourth Annual Conference, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

40. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 134, 177–78.

41. "Our Belief," in SAI Papers, reel 9; "The Society of American Indians," 3, in SAI Papers, reel 10.

42. Eastman, "My People," 181–82; Charles Eastman, "Life and Handicrafts of the Northern Ojibwas," *Southern Workman* 40 (May 1911): 273–78.

43. For more on Native collaborators see, Mick Gidley, "The Cultural Brokers in the Context of Edward S. Curtis' *The North American Indian,*" in *Between Indian and White Worlds: the Cultural Broker,* ed. Margaret Szasz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 198–215; Francis LaFlesche, *The Osage and the Invisible World. From the works of Francis LaFlesche,* ed. Garrick A. Bailey (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 3–26. For more on LaFlesche see, Margot Liberty, "Francis LaFlesche," in *American Indian Intellectuals,* in *Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, 1976,* ed. Margot Liberty (St. Paul MN:West Publishing Co., 1978).

44. Oliver Lamere, "The Indian Culture of the Future," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI,* 1 (October–December 1913): 361–63.

45. Washington Gladden, "The Race Awakening," Conference Sermon, 2 October 1912, in SAI Papers, reel 9.

46. Angel DeCora, "Native Indian Art," Proceeding of the Lake Mohonk Conference, (1908): 16–17; "Blotting Out the Indian," *American Indian Magazine* 5 (April–June 1917): 73–74.

47. For an SAI view of the Indianists, see Mary Frost Evans, "Charles Wakefield Cadman. An Interpreter of Indian Music," *Quarterly Journal of the SAI* 3 (July–September 1915): 218–19.

48. Minutes for the Fourth Annual Conference, 58–59, SAI Papers, reel 10; DeCora, "An Effort to Encourage Indian Art," 205–9.

49. Many Native Americans were already citizens in 1923. Legislation, such as the Dawes Act and the Burke Act, and blanket grants of citizenship to many tribes granted citizenship to many individuals and groups. In 1924 the Snyder Act made all Native Americans United States' citizens.

50. "Indians to Give Cook County a Glimpse of the Past," *Chicago Sunday Tribune,* 23 September 1923, sec. 1, p. 14; "American Indian Alien in Own Land," *The Chicago Daily News,* 28 September 1923, p. 4; Louise James Bargelt, "Indians Thrill with Dances at Palatine Park," *Chicago Sunday Tribune,* 30 September 1923, sec. 1, p. 18. All articles found in SAI Papers, reel 10.