

Periodical Sovereignty:
Native American Print Practices and Indigenous Modernity, 1880–1920s.

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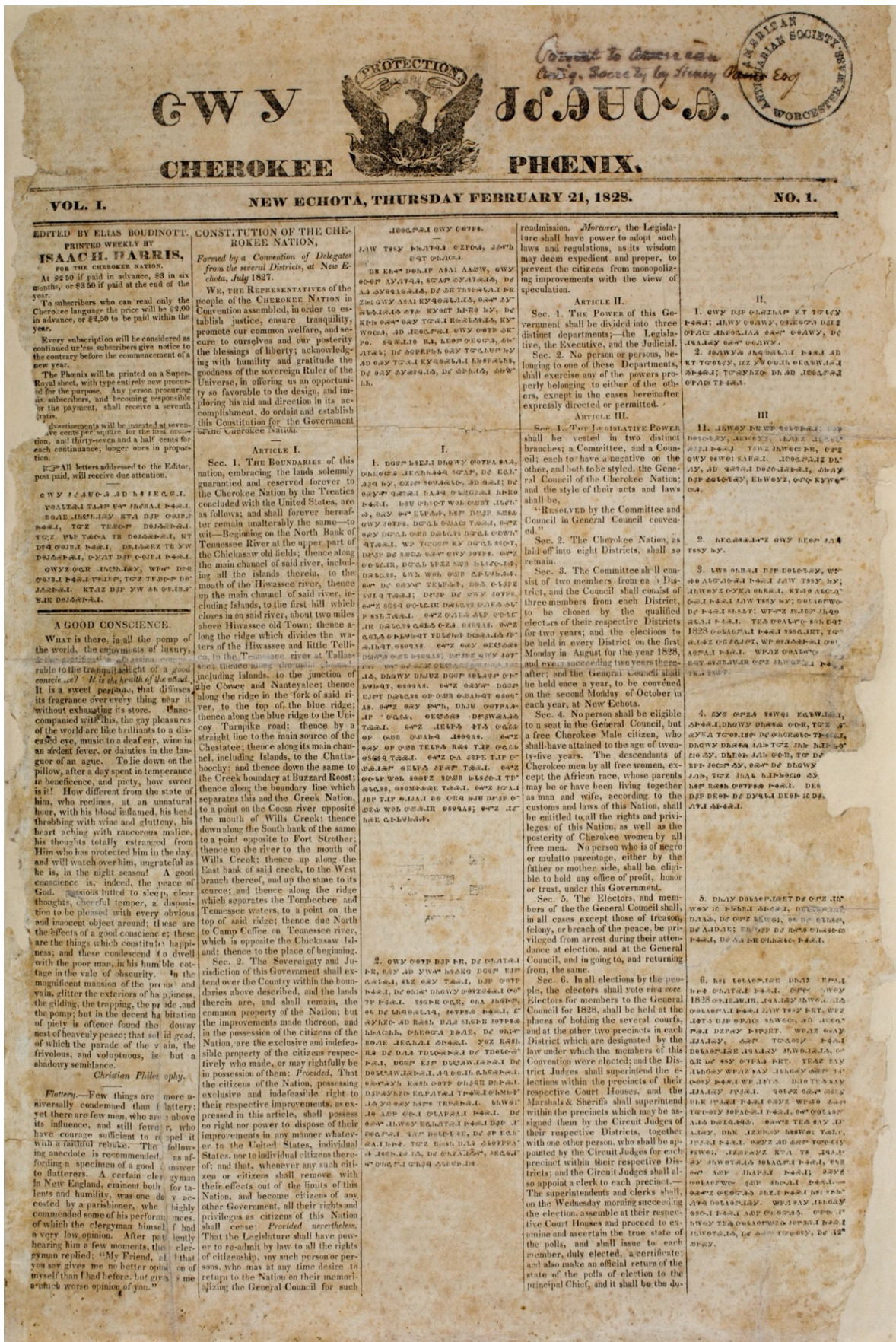


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Native American Periodicals and Indigenous Modernity

On Thursday, February 21, 1828, the first issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (later *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian's Advocate*), or *Tsalagi Tsu-le-hi-sa-nu-hi*, was published at New Echota, Cherokee Nation (now Georgia). For the Native peoples and tribes of North America,¹ more specifically those located in the geographical area of the United States, the year 1828 may serve as the starting point of a new era in media communication (see fig. 1). A remarkable feature of the *Phoenix* was its mention in Cherokee Nation law two years earlier, on October 18, 1826, making its publication mandatory and securing funding for the paper and its editor through the then governing body of the Cherokee Nation.² A bilingual periodical, the *Phoenix* was published in both Cherokee and English and aimed to reach as many citizens of the Cherokee Nation as possible. In light of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 under President Andrew Jackson (1767–1845, served from 1829–1837) and the following policies pushing Native Americans further and further west of the Mississippi River and displacing them from their ancestral lands, the establishment of a newspaper in the Cherokee Nation familiarized Cherokees with a communication medium in their own language. This occurred during a time in which they were quite literally losing ground to the United States and settler expansion. The *Phoenix* itself is referred to as “[a] first for American Indian media,”³ the “first newspaper published by Native Americans,”⁴ and the “organ of the [Cherokee] government,”⁵ with Cullen Joe Holland describing the publication of the premier issue as the birth of American Indian journalism.⁶ As Philipp Round points out, the syllabic written form introduced by Sequoyah and formally adopted in 1825, combined with the founding of the *Phoenix* in 1828, led to “the establishment of a very sophisticated indigenous scribal and print system.”⁷

As highlighted by Mark Rifkin, this print system and its integration into the medium of the periodical shapes “Native lifeworlds”⁸ and reveals a Native American affinity to technology and communication. In their broadest sense, periodicals include (but are not limited to) magazines, newspapers, journals, reviews, and newsletters. These forms of media, however different they may look, “all have in common that particular relationship to time which gives the form its name and its distinctiveness as a literary or publishing genre.”⁹ Periodicity and seriality are a periodical’s central features,¹⁰ and these features tend to be stable to the extent that a periodical genre has recognition value. One may think, for example, of the form of a magazine or a newspaper and how their size and format make them recognizable as such, or how an individual periodical uses a specific font that even casual

observers can easily recognize at a glance. The *Phoenix*, for example, would have been easily recognizable because it was printed in Cherokee and English, and its masthead was an additional visual marker with a high recognition value (see fig. 1).

Yet, as Powell points out, “[p]eriodicals are complicated beasts”,¹¹ and during a periodical’s runtime, this tendency towards stability stands in tension with a tendency towards change (of knowledge produced in individual issues). This tendency towards change can include editorial or publishing policies, often as a response to readers and the community the periodical addresses and engages with. Furthermore, periodicals are categorized depending on their subject matter, their readership, and the people involved in the production process. As an object of study, periodicals “work as the connective tissue in studies of modern societies, pulling together seemingly disparate communities and interests.”¹² When periodicals are grouped around an ethnic focus point, in this case Native American, questions of tribal association, use of language, targeted audience, and participation in the production process are also considered. However, if tribal government funding, Native participation in the production and/or publication process, and use of Native language in print were all necessary requirements to fit the categorization, one is left with an exclusionary sample of periodicals and an incomplete picture of the Native North American press.

Focusing solely on “pure” and/or “authentic” Native American periodicals, then, seems an unviable approach, because periodicals from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries considered to be Native American were rarely, if ever, Native-only. For example, the *Phoenix* was printed by Isaac Harris and John F. Wheeler, both white men,¹³ while the Native American boarding school presses (e.g., in Carlisle, Hampton, or Chilocco) were “often printed and sometimes edited and written by Indian students”,¹⁴ although in most cases heavily edited by the schools’ White superintendents. Littlefield/Parins argue that attempts to define Native American periodicals as a category “defy stereotyping” because they “include not only those published and edited by Indians or Alaska Natives but [also] those published by others, including the federal government, [that] focus on the contemporary American Indian or Alaska Native and his affairs.”¹⁵

The aversion to authenticity as a defining category in Native American periodicals research reflects the inherent contradiction between neat ethnic categorization and the function of the medium. And as Littlefield/Parins have argued, the rejection of stereotyping shows that the way Native American periodicals are perceived and thought of may contradict the available sources. This contradiction seems to require a reconsideration of not only how these Native American periodicals function, but also of what exactly they are. As such, part of

the reason why this study focuses on Native American periodicals is to show how a particular set of periodicals shaped an Indigenous printscape by changing and transforming content using a distinct mixture of textual and visual designs. In addition to a set of criteria defining Native American periodicals, this study argues it is this distinctiveness that characterizes modern modes of publishing, printing, designing, and community building by and for Native Americans. And while the periodicals in this study do have an ethnic focus point on Native Americans—indeed, the subject matter of this study is Native American periodicals—the nature of the medium itself (i.e., the periodical) is not that of a tool which gives its reader an insight into Native Americans.

Instead, this study aims to demonstrate how Native American periodicals took on modern forms of publishing, editing, printing, and community building on their own terms between the late 1880s and into the 1920s. It argues that Native Americans—despite the hardships they endured and continue to endure—did not simply copy or appropriate white periodical systems but instead developed distinct media practices on their own terms and made them their own. These periodicals demonstrate modern forms of publishing both outside and inside of the dominant US-settler society, and thus illustrate how late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century periodicals as a medium add to an understanding of modern Native American print practices.

Upon closer inspection, Native American periodicals show that they are an extension of an underlying periodical “blueprint” that made use of contemporary trends and state of the art technology, i.e., use of high-quality printing machinery. They combined these trends with Native American signs, symbols, and allusions both traditional and modern. This mode of production, marked by both technological implementation and simultaneous ethnic and cultural specificity, suggest that Native American periodicals were part of the genesis of a Native American modernity. Periodicals may help us trace this Native American modernity and its prolific print practices back to the late nineteenth century,¹⁶ instead of restricting it to an increase of literary production in the 1950s or the resurgence of the Red Power movement in the 1960s and 70s. The present study shows that these periodicals were not merely copying dominant trends in periodical culture, but that the editors understood the underlying mechanisms of contemporary trends well enough to produce their own variants of serialized media. Here, these own variants are not understood solely in opposition to the White press (i.e., not as binary forms of communication that express assimilation or resistance) but as print products from marginalized peoples engaged in ongoing, strategic exchange with the dominant society. Native American involvement with, establishment of, and use of White

media technologies occurs in direct contact with national and global technological advancements. The distinctly Native American characteristics of a Native American periodical emerge from a reciprocal synthesis of Native American knowledge production, interactions with the settler state, and the reciprocal formation of media practices.

For Native American communities today, this study hopes to offer an insight into the use of an understudied communication medium, an insight that aims to add to existing understandings of Native American communication and expression during the turn of the century. Understood here as a saddle period, the late 1800s and early 1900s are characterized by fundamental changes which transformed and re-ordered Native self-perception, showing not only a remarkable diversity of opinion but a complex process of development and continuous re-negotiation. A saddle period, a term coined by Reinhart Koselleck, describes the transition from the early modern to the modern period in Europe around 1800. In U.S. America, modernities emerged in the 1900s to reshape almost all levels of society. Considering the social, political, economic, legal, and technological changes Native tribes and peoples underwent during the turn of the century, this study demonstrates how Native American periodicals constituted a distinctive Indigenous modernity rooted in print practices and serial publications.

Given the importance of the medium as a carrier of information to reading publics and the technological advancements that allowed for increasingly fine prints and faster print production in both urban and rural areas, one can make the argument that Native American periodical print culture also adds to a process of redefining communication strategies during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This process defines itself through the large amount of publications circulating in local, national, and educational communities via newspapers, newsletters, journals, and magazines. Impactful events and decisions, such as the opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School at the end of 1879, *Elk v. Wilkins* in 1884, the General Allotment Act of 1887, the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* in 1903, and the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 show fundamental—at times brutal and violent—shifts in the way Native Americans were treated and perceived by U.S. society. The Native American periodical press reflects, traces, and shapes this period through a distinct mixture of visual and textual designs. Giving attention to a communication medium that reflects this process adds to an understanding of Native American media as communicative, creative, and strategically prolific productions that asserted Native presence and futurity.

Conceptual Framework: Periodicals, Space, and Assemblage

As to how to define Native American periodicals, this study favors the following definition: “Any serialized print published, edited, and/or produced by Native Americans; with Native Americans as their subject or targeted audience; or serially featuring Native American knowledge curated by tribal members and communities.”¹⁷ This definition, while by no means exhaustive or static, reflects “the medium’s specific form (i.e., a periodical’s periodicity, mediality, and miscellaneity), its content, the readers, and the people involved in its publication process.”¹⁸ That includes the medium’s function to inform readers and scholars how cultural encounters happen and whether the periodical is a newsletter, a newspaper, a journal, a magazine, or a serial chronicle. Additionally, a more flexible definition of what a Native American periodical is allows researchers to trace Indigenous North American genealogies, infrastructures, and networks. For example, nineteenth century “newspaper men” such as Augustus E. Ivey (1856–1906, Cherokee), Elias C. Boudinot (1835–1890, Cherokee), William P. Boudinot (1830–1898, Cherokee), William P. Ross (1820–1891, Cherokee), or John L. Adair (1826–1896, Cherokee) were involved in or published a variety of newspapers in different locations. Tracing their genealogical and geographical movements can give an insight into how different publications under the same editor or publisher affirm specific editorial policies and outlooks as well as a modern and up-to-date technical understanding of the way in which periodicals function within and outside (Native) communities. Oftentimes, these organizational concerns occur in conjunction with the dissemination of specific tribal histories and, beginning in the late 1800s, pan-Native American efforts. During the turn of the century, people such as Zitkala-Ša (1876–1938, Yankton-Dakota), Ora V. Eddleman Reed (1880–1968, Cherokee), or Carlos Montezuma (1866–1923, Yavapai) shaped the periodical printscape for a local and national audience, addressing both Natives and non-Natives alike. A similar logic applies to individuals involved on other levels of production. Artist and art teacher Angel De Cora (ca. 1871–1919), within the context of off-reservation boarding school periodicals, invites closer attention to the graphic-visual elements as an integral part of a periodical’s subject matter.

To further develop existing approaches to historical Native American literary and media production, and to highlight the benefits from centralizing the medium itself as the core element of study, this book proposes to examine how periodicals can be understood as a visual-graphic landscape which continuously (re-)negotiate Native American modernities. The study draws on the terminology as proposed by Deleuze/Guattari in *A Thousand*

Plateaus, viewing it as a viable territory or space to productively read the medium. Given that studies in print culture have effectively demonstrated the usefulness of a Deleuze/Guattari nomenclature,¹⁹ the current work uses their thinking in multiplicities and heterogeneous things to explore how Native American periodicals function. These periodicals serve as nomadic, material, and performative inlets for seeing and centering things otherwise, the production of difference, and the un- and remapping of settler power and Native American space. Terms such as assemblage, rhizome, territory, de- and re-territorialization, nomad space, smooth space, striated space, nodes, and plateau are cartographic and evoke images of space and habitation, and are therefore suited for understanding the dynamics of Native American periodicals as I have sketched them out thus far. What is more, Deleuzian terms such as “war machine,” when applied to Native periodicals, point towards Native American futures and are understood as possibilities of becoming rather than in the martial sense. As Hene writes, a war machine is an assemblage that brings forth conditions of possibilities and transformations through mutation.²⁰ Thinking Native American periodicals through cartographical/spatial metaphors gives rise to the possibility to think of Native American periodicals themselves as land, or, how the medium transforms pages into a visual-graphic space. This is not to be understood in the Western sense, which implies the existence of land-holding rights, occupation, and ownership. Rather, this work argues that the medium itself is inhabited and informed by Native American thoughts, stories, and ideas—a space in which a diverse set of ideas and self-understanding are expressed and constantly renegotiated and re-territorialized.

Approaching Native American literatures through spatial analytical metaphors expands literary-based approaches by further emphasizing media-centered analyses. As Cherokee Nation scholar Daniel Heath Justice points out in the context of the production of Cherokee literatures, “our literatures include a wide array of other kinds of texts, such as cane baskets, wampum belts, birchbark scrolls, gourd masks, sand paintings, rock art, carved and painted cedar poles, stones and whale bones, culturally modified trees, and so on.”²¹ These artifacts and things highlight not only the “cultural and ceremonial purposes” through which Indigenous knowledges are mediated, they invite scholars “to think of our literary traditions as being broadly inclusive of all the ways we embody our stories in the world.”²² This view is shared by Chadwick Allen, who highlights the broad spectrum of Native American conceptions of aesthetic power and communication by shining a light on the role of earthworks in Native communities. Their meaning for present and future conceptualizations of Indigenous environmental designs and crafts shows how land (as opposed to White

conceptions of territory) informs Native American knowledge production.²³ These diverse embodiments of stories re-territorialize places of Native American literary production: An object's material properties have an impact on how a story is communicated, and the territorialization of an object as a communication medium includes assembling information in a way that strengthens Native American expression. Native American literatures, then, express themselves not only as stories, but as media-centered assemblages that form genre-, tribe-, or content-specific plateaus. Additionally, Native American literary productions can mediate "complex citational practices" and "decolonial translations" which result in what Dakota scholar Christopher Pexa terms acts of "unheroic" decolonialism.²⁴ Opposing privileged settler-colonial worldviews, his work offers a central contribution to understanding nineteenth- and twentieth-century Dakota literary productions not as products of settler-fueled assimilation, but as continuous forms of resistance which underscore Native American (here: specifically, Dakota) definitions of kinship and relations.²⁵

Similarly, White Earth Anishinaabe scholar Adam Spry has demonstrated how the translation and re-mediation of sacred stories can "show the legitimacy of Anishinaabeg cultural practices while simultaneously undermining Euro-Americans' prejudices."²⁶ He conceptualizes writings published by Anishinaabe editor Theodore H. Beaulieu (1850–1923) of the *Progress* (1886–1889) as taking place in "Ojibwe spaces" that are "essential to the cultural meaning of the stories as they represent [...] important cosmological geographies."²⁷ As an assemblage, the newspaper re-territorializes the publication space and smooths the "sedentary [or state] space"²⁸ of Euro-American and settler colonial misconceptions by translating and republishing of sacred Anishinaabeg stories. This process is continuous, and "[m]odels are both in construction and collapse."²⁹ The space is striated, smoothed, and is striated and smoothed again by ongoing publications reiterating Euro-American misconceptions, while the Native American press continually publishes to counter these misconceptions. These examples of how periodicals create what Spry calls "Ojibwe spaces" demonstrate the value of thinking spatially and cartographically about Native American periodicals. If periodicals can smooth striated settler space through strategic republication and translation, then the medium itself becomes a site of continuous territorial negotiation. This spatial conceptualization leads directly to the framework that structures this study: viewing Native American periodicals as rhizomatic assemblages that form and reform plateaus of Indigenous knowledge production.

In this context, there is no neatly fixed genealogical, tree-diagram-esque conceptualization of literary formation in Native American periodicals. Rather, one can think

of them as a rhizome: A non-hierarchical “network of things brought into contact with one another”³⁰ with “any point of a rhizome [...] connected to anything other.”³¹ “There are no points or positions in a rhizome such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines.”³² When these lines connect, they form nodes from which new lines may be drawn and, in turn, new nodes form. Powell’s point, that “periodical work is a normal part of the *development* of authorship,”³³ exemplifies this in part: periodical work is not the starting point of authorship, but it adds to authorship a new node, or a line with a new connection. Similar to how an author writing for a periodical, a periodicalist, is not closed off within the confines of the publication they are writing for but instead can form a variety of new connections as a consequence of the development of authorship, a rhizome is composed of “directions in motion” with “neither beginning nor end, but always a middle.”³⁴ This middle is what Deleuze/Guattari refer to as plateaus: “[A]ny multiplicity [i.e., periodicals] connected to other multiplicities by superficial underground stems in such a way as to form or extend a rhizome.”³⁵ If Native American periodicals as a group are thought of as a rhizome/rhizomatic, then the plateaus they consist of are the publications (e.g., the *Cherokee Phoenix* is a plateau that connects to other plateaus such as the *Progress* which in turn make up the rhizome Native American periodicals).

What makes the terminology of Deleuze/Guattari compelling for periodical studies is that “[e]ach plateau can be read starting anywhere and can be related to any other plateau.”³⁶ That is, the terminology gives way to a highly selective approach that fits the complexity of the medium. It allows for a highly malleable framework without a fixed beginning or end that focuses on the connections emerging from its middle, i.e., its plateaus. What happens on these plateaus, then, is negotiated through the periodical’s function as a medium.

As mass media, Native American periodicals can be thought of as the product of what Frank Kelderman has termed “*indigenous publication projects*: Mediated forms of indigenous representation that are produced with non-Native collaborators, which take place in institutional and diplomatic networks but also intervene in them.”³⁷ These forms of Native American representation can be part of a Native American intellectual tradition born out of collaboration and help distinguish between the White imagination (i.e., stereotyped version of “the Indian”) and Native American self-conceptualizations. The continuous re-negotiation of Native American individual, tribal, and ethnic identities in serial publications can thus be seen as a synthesis of a periodical’s media properties and Native American epistemologies which occurs in direct contact with striated White publication strategies. The at times close relationship with non-Native collaborators stresses the media’s status as highly complex sites

of continuous re-territorialization, or what scholarship has shown to be complicated, ambiguous spaces which inform scholarship on Native American practices of endurance and settler-strategies of assimilation. This ambiguity becomes particularly acute during the turn of the century, when Native communities faced the convergence of multiple assimilationist pressures: the Dawes Allotment Act (1887) aimed to dissolve communal landholding and tribal sovereignty; the expansion of the boarding school system sought to separate children from their families and languages; and statehood movements (culminating in Oklahoma's admission in 1907) proved successful. Within this context of intensified dispossession and cultural assault, Native American periodicals served as crucial sites for negotiating survival, articulating sovereignty claims, and maintaining community connections—even as they often relied on non-Native printers, collaborated with missionaries, or adopted the forms of mainstream American journalism.

Native American Periodicals at the Turn of the Century

Native American periodicals emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, quickly growing into a vibrant field of publication.³⁸ However, it wasn't until the late nineteenth century that the Native American periodical press began to proliferate.³⁹ That is, from 1828 up until 1869, 33 publications are listed in Littlefield/Parins, while 97 periodicals emerged in the time period from 1870–1899.⁴⁰ The reason for this increase may be an amalgamation of socio-political, economic, technological, legal, and environmental changes and developments during the nineteenth century. Land restrictions and relocations after the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 (Indian Territory), and the Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 (reservation system) shaped the lived reality for Native American peoples, further exacerbated by the Major Crimes Act of 1885, the General Allotment Act of 1887, the Indian Appropriations Acts of 1871, 1885, and 1889, and the Oklahoma Organic Act of 1890. These acts of Congress showcase the Removal Era policies that pushed Native Americans west of the Mississippi River, the Reservation Era policies that restricted Native American tribes and their members to allocated reservations, and the Allotment and Assimilation Era that aimed to culturally educate and absorb Native Americans into U.S. society while diminishing land claims by allotting land to federally recognized Native American families instead of tribes. A slew of military operations, among others the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, and the Wounded Knee Massacre in late 1890, underscores the brutal expulsion of Native Americans from their homelands by the U.S. government.

The forceful relocation of Native American tribes to Indian Territory led to the establishment of new towns (e.g., Tulsa in 1836, Tahlequah in 1839, Atoka in the 1850s, Vinita in 1870, Eufaula in 1872, McAlester in 1872, or Ardmore in 1887), beginning as trading outposts, settlements, or even capital cities of Native American tribes that were relocated to the area. The towns developed into rural centers with growing industries (e.g., agriculture, mining, or timber), and with the developing communities came newspapers that aimed to inform local residents. These newspapers were published by individuals, publishing companies, or tribal governments and could cover local, national, and international happenings in English and/or a tribal language to reflect on legal and economic developments.

The dissolution of Indian Territory over the course of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century culminated November 16, 1907, when Indian Territory was officially admitted into the Union and the state of Oklahoma was formed. Additionally, advancements in print technology during the nineteenth century allowed for increasingly faster and cheaper production of prints. Cast iron, steam powered industrial printing presses in the early decades of the nineteenth century offered much faster production methods, and in 1885, the *American Printer* pointed out that this new technology had “rendered books and periodicals so cheap that the progress of knowledge was amazingly accelerated.”⁴¹ Richard M. Hoe introduced the Type-Revolving Printing Machine (or “Lightning Press”) in 1846, adding a rotary movement to the cylindrical mechanic of a press to further increase production output. In the late nineteenth century, the introduction of the commercial linotype machine made it possible “to cast lead type and do typesetting in one operation.”⁴² That is, newspaper businesses owning a linotype machine were able to produce daily issues much easier,⁴³ as opposed to the manual typesetting which consumed a considerable amount of time.

Production speed was not the only development, and the most popular printing presses in use during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were those made by Cottrell and Babcock. The Cottrell & Babcock Cylinder Press, for example, is described as “designed more especially for fine printing,”⁴⁴ and the *Scientific American* points out that the company’s presses are “designed particularly for illustrated periodicals of large circulation.”⁴⁵ The first issue of the *Inland Printer* features an advertisement for a printing press by C.B. Cottrell & Company on its first page and an advertisement for the Babcock Printing Press Manufacturing Company on the last page, attesting to their popularity.⁴⁶ A Babcock cylinder press was purchased for the printing department at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1904 and featured in an article in one of the school’s periodicals.⁴⁷

The off-reservation boarding school system was another important factor in the proliferation of the Native American periodical press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Formally opened in October 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School is considered the first off-reservation boarding school for Native Americans. Across the United States, many more would open in the following years, often publishing one or several periodicals. The mechanical work of these publications was often done by the Native American students attending the school's printing department. Their work was often advertised in the periodicals themselves in order to showcase the students' typesetting and printing abilities, in some cases even listing the students themselves as publishers.⁴⁸ Hence, the continuation of legal, environmental, technological, and institutional changes and developments for Native Americans during the nineteenth century led to an increase in periodical publications. The trend continued well into the early twentieth century, with another large increase in the number of periodicals published per decade from the 1960s onwards.⁴⁹

Despite the large amount of material, scholars tend to focus solely on "letter writing, autobiographies, historiography, political and legal documents, speeches, and poetry (...), [while] other forms of communication and public discourse like Native newspapers and magazine journalism are frequently mentioned only in passing."⁵⁰ Scholars have been keen to highlight individual publishers or groups rather than the publications themselves,⁵¹ but the relevant bibliographies⁵² point out that the number of periodicals emerging in the nineteenth century alone exceeded 200 publications. However, these publications have rarely been investigated. Although Littlefield/Parins in particular have published an impressive compendium of *American Indian and Alaskan Newspapers and Periodicals* in three volumes (covering the periods of 1826-1924, 1925-1970, and 1971-1985), scholarly analyses of the primary sources have focused mostly on the Native American boarding school press.⁵³ Publications on Native American periodicals in general have been scarce, focusing not necessarily on the periodicals themselves (be they magazines, newspapers, newsletters, or journals) but on questions of identity—i.e., conceptualizations of Native Americans by non-Natives reproduced in serialized prints.⁵⁴ These studies also address the representation of Native Americans in mass media publications and formats,⁵⁵ and particular aesthetics as representative examples of Native American-ness and Indigeneity—with a focus on literature.⁵⁶ And while newer publications develop a more differentiated approach and set a changing and developing Native American self-definition within the context of pluralistic societies, the focus has been on prominent individuals of the periodical world.⁵⁷ However, the

previous focus on Indigenous sovereignty and “survivance”⁵⁸ with its connection to specific literary forms of representation (i.e., novels, autobiographies, poetry) has undergone a slight shift towards what Native American critic Robert Warrior calls “intellectual trade routes.”⁵⁹ This shift traces particular practices of Indigenous productions of knowledge not only in the realm of fiction, but also—if not even more so—in Native American non-fiction publications.⁶⁰

One of the consequences of following Robert Warrior’s approach, then, is to shine a light on the hitherto idle Native American periodical print archive in general. Although the material has been catalogued extensively, a contemporary revisiting and systemization of the publications found and collected in various archives over the last four decades has yet to occur. The limited scholarly interest in the periodicals published by and/or for Native Americans has allowed an increasing number of subjects (i.e., the periodicals) to be collected but not systematized, let alone analyzed and integrated into the existing corpus and field of periodical studies. Understood as containers of genres and texts, they have been used for interpretations outside their original meaning and function. Considering the political changes for Native populations over the course of U.S. history since 1830, scholarly research has often focused on prominent genres in Native American journalism, such as leading articles, comments, or letters to the editor, as well as analyses of short prose and poetry published in periodicals.⁶¹ However, recent work by German scholars on periodicals in general has shown that a focus on the periodical itself reveals a far more complex and intricate picture of the publications, e.g., showing how periodicals can constitute *little archives*,⁶² why to integrate periodicals into media studies,⁶³ or adding to an alternative lens of interpretation to show how the study of a minority’s journalism can become a history of self-determination.⁶⁴ One can extend Robert D. Parker’s argument that “Native American literature wasn’t born with the recent writings that have made it newly and uneasily popular”⁶⁵ to include Native American periodicals, and a closer look at this specific form of Indigenous literature/writing around the turn of the century begins by taking into account its media-specific format.

In addition to the lack of systematic research in this time period, there has yet to be a reciprocal alignment of Native American Studies with current developments in the interdisciplinary field of periodical/magazine studies.⁶⁶ And while contributions to periodical studies have focused on the “little magazine” movement in the context of literary and artistic modernity of U.S. America,⁶⁷ Native American periodicals have not yet been included as a whole. This study connects Native American studies with periodical studies, identifying Native American periodicals as a key medium through which late nineteenth- and early

twentieth-century Native modernity was articulated and enacted. Trends in Native American Studies draw on settler colonial studies,⁶⁸ relate Native American to US-American populations and societies on a bio-political level,⁶⁹ or highlight Native American resistance to the dominant settler state.⁷⁰ This study, however, focuses on periodicals themselves as its primary objects of analysis, examining how their material forms, design codes, and mediality produce specific kinds of knowledge. The type of knowledge that is produced by Native American periodicals is diverse and deeply imbedded in the medium: From the way print is arranged on the page,⁷¹ the set of “codes” (material, social, economic, compositional) a periodical (re-)produces,⁷² community building and communication, to the categorization of Native American periodicals into easily accessible genres.⁷³ These non-exhaustive means of producing knowledge, however, raise important questions: How compatible is our current understanding of periodical studies with an ethnic focus (i.e., Native American periodicals), how practical are conceptualizations of periodicals in terms of ethnic groups (i.e., deciding factors of what constitutes a “Native American” periodical), and what are the consequences of focusing on the periodicals themselves?

The production of knowledge, the element of community building, the advancement of a Native American periodical culture, and the periodicals themselves are connected to forms of representation (self and other), and this thesis demonstrates how Native American periodicals from approximately 1880 into the 1920s enacted and shaped a specific Indigenous modernity. (Self-) representation in serialized media formats such as periodicals shifts the focus from *what* is being printed and *why* (e.g., arguments on sovereignty and “survivance”⁷⁴) to *how* it is printed. While the focus on individual publishers or collaborative groups is valuable and productive, the periodicals themselves take a secondary role and mainly serve as examples of different ethnic groups interacting with each other. The way in which information is displayed on the page, what kind of font is used, how content is reproduced or reprinted, illustrations, and language give a more balanced insight into specific forms of Native American periodical culture than the actual content production, the degrees of Indigeneity, or an emphasis on the marginalization and suppression of Native American voices.

Here, Native American periodicals are understood as media that “serve both as a mirror of and a catalyst for the tenor and tone of the sociocultural realities of their times,”⁷⁵ giving an insight into group-specific or internal narratives and means of (self-)representation. These narratives are, for the most part, yet to be researched⁷⁶ and they do not share the same talking points and often contradict each other (see, for example, narratives of assimilation as

opposed to narratives of preservation). Rather than centering questions of group identity through the lens of settler colonial studies, this study examines how periodicals as public institutions localized and articulated diverse Native American expressions—expressions that often contradicted each other and that cannot be reduced to a singular “Native American” position.⁷⁷ This also includes a recognition that the Native American periodical is a hybrid product which emerges from constant exchange between the settler state and Indigenous communities—be it on the level of mechanical printing, writing articles, editing, or publishing a Native American periodical. Viewing periodicals as distinctive carriers of information and archives of knowledge,⁷⁸ this thesis will examine how Native American periodicals operationalize Native American community building as an aesthetic endeavor or undertaking involving semiotic systems (e.g., language, visuality, design). In doing so, the study will pinpoint the characteristics of a Native American modernity specific to Native American periodicals as well as highlight distinct practices of Indigenous (self-)presentation and community building.

Prior Research and the Source Material

The first period of extensive Native American publishing is usually thought to range up until the 1880s, but almost completely excludes serialized prints.⁷⁹ In terms of the development of Native American periodicals, the focal point of the few studies that publish on this topic are limited to newspapers,⁸⁰ but there is little or no differentiation of Native American periodicals, the market, and the technological advancements used specifically by the Native American press. The development of a dynamically evolving Native American periodical culture has yet to be systematized and analyzed as a specific form of knowledge production. The period from 1880 into the 1920s is still under-researched, and the hitherto published studies focus either on prominent Native American intellectuals and authors who (for a limited time) acted as publishers,⁸¹ or on the periodicals published in boarding schools,⁸² or on the emergence of and literary productions by the Society of American Indians (1911–1923).⁸³

One of the very first studies dealing with serialized prints published by Native Americans is Cullen Joe Holland’s *Cherokee Newspapers, 1828-1906*, a dissertation written in 1956, but revised and edited by James P. Pate and subsequently published by the Cherokee Heritage Press in 2012.⁸⁴ The fact that it took over half a century for the manuscript to be revised and (re-)published attests to the marginalized role of the medium in the past. Meanwhile, the

recent interest in the medium in general points towards an understanding of periodicals not as mere containers of information, but as simultaneously autonomous and connected assemblages which play a vital role in the formation of communities, the production of knowledge, and the emergence of literature. In the case of Native American periodicals, these aspects established themselves and developed over the course of the nineteenth century, and they had firmly positioned themselves as connectors at the end of the nineteenth century.

Newspapers published on Indian Territory, such as the *Weekly Chieftain* (1882–1912; see the appendix for name changes), the *Indian Arrow* (1888–1894; see the appendix for name changes), the *Ardmore Daily Press* (1895?–19??), the *Indian Record* (1886–1887), the *Weekly Capital* (1887–1896; see the appendix for name changes), the *Muskogee Times-Democrat* (1896–1971), and the *Adair Citizen* (1915–1938) give an insight into daily (city/town) life and tribal histories, Native intellectual influences, the reception of US-political and legal effects on tribal sovereignty, as well as local and national happenings. Carlos Montezuma’s *Wassaja* (1916–1922) quite clearly addresses and criticizes political grievances from a Native American perspective which was not in favor of at-the-time reform movements, and its “successor” *Bureaucracy A La Mode* (1924–1925) continued the effort with a non-Native led publication. *Indian Home and Farm* (1910–191?), an intertribal newspaper printed in Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and English, may reveal less about pan-Native American efforts and more about print practices, i.e., typesetting the four different languages, and networks, i.e., the involvement of its first editor Augustus E. Ivey with the International Typographical Union. The emerging boarding school press, e.g., from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (*Eadle Keahtah Toh* (1880–1882; see the appendix for name changes), the *Indian Helper* (1885–1900), the *Arrow* (1904–1908; see the appendix for name changes)); South Hampton (*Talks and Thoughts of the Hampton Indian Students* (1886–1907)); Chilocco (*Chilocco Beacon* (1900–1902; see the appendix for name changes)); or Salem (the *Weekly Chemawa American* (1897–1912); see the appendix for name changes) would often advertise their publications as “printed (...) by the Indian printer boys,”⁸⁵ or, as was the case in South Hampton, highlight that the students were the editors. Missionary papers such as *Cherokee Gospel Tidings* (1898–1903), the *Eskimo Bulletin* (1893–1902?), *Messenger of the Holy Childhood Church and School* (1902; see the appendix for name changes), or the *Calumet* (1913–1958) did not only have Native Americans as their subject, but directly addressed them in their efforts to proselytize and thus assimilate them into US-society. For the most part, these types of Native American periodicals would be published in English. Some missionaries published them in tribal languages and these Native language missionary publications began appearing towards the mid-19th century (see *Siwinowe*

Kesibwi (or, *Shawnee Sun*, 1835–1844) or *Ne Jaguhnñigoǎgesǵwathah* (or, the *Mental Elevator*, 1841–1850)) and continued into the twentieth century (see *S'ina Sapa Wocekiye Taeyapaha* (or, the *Catholic Sioux Herald*, 1892–1923), *Cherokee Gospel Tidings*, the *Interpreter* (1916–1918), or *Anpao* (or, the *Daybreak*, 1878–1937)).

However, the majority of turn-of-the-century Native American periodicals available through archives (both digital repositories and institutions hosting hard copies or originals) were printed in English. As Harjo and Bird point out in *Reinventing the Enemy Language*, “[t]o write is often still suspect in our tribal communities, and understandably so,” given that “[i]t is through writing in the colonizer’s language that our lands have been stolen, children taken away.”⁸⁶ At the same time, many of the available sources were printed in English, and they have the capacity to go beyond the modernity-tradition binary and express what Robert Warrior refers to as a response to the “call for the creation of new forms in response to new conditions.”⁸⁷ As Simon Ortiz has argued, Native Americans “have taken the language of the colonialists and used them for their own purposes,” showing that they did not passively reproduce the English-language but rather “used [it] on their own terms.”⁸⁸ This study mostly limits itself to these English-language periodicals for several reasons: As a European author with no knowledge of any of the large amount of Native American languages, a close study of a Native language publication is severely limited. And given the amount of Native American periodicals published around the turn of the century, an in-depth look at English-language publications might add more to an understanding of the medium because English-language publications could be read across tribes and institutions. Additionally, the shift from the U.S. removal policies to assimilation led to an increase in the relevance of the English-language for Native communities and individuals towards the end of the nineteenth century. English had been—although forcefully—established as the *lingua franca*⁸⁹ for Native American peoples, and although this led to a devastating decrease in tribal language speakers, it also made intertribal communication easier and increased accessibility to print publications. And, even though highly speculative, it may be the case that some tribal newsletters or other serial print publications are kept within their respective communities and are not meant to be shared with people outside of the tribal group. A focus on English-language publications can hopefully encourage interested Native language speakers to consider historical Native-language periodicals themselves, and tribal roots offer additional insights into the way tribal, non-English-language publications shaped their communities and how they are understood today.

Those English-language publications that receive a large amount of scholarly attention are centered around Native American boarding schools, and these boarding schools have been

investigated particularly carefully due to the long-standing suffering and trauma generated by the institutions and their employees. Francis Paul Prucha's *the Great Father*, an encyclopedic study of the U.S. government and Native American relations from the American Revolution to 1980, states in regards to the failure of Native American education through White institutions that it "stemmed in part from the unwillingness of the educators to consider the Indians' cultural heritage and its persistence in spite of the efforts to eradicate it."⁹⁰ The complexity of boarding school practices, experiences, and impacts shaped later works and scholars began investigating the ambiguity of these institutions. Still one of the best known and impactful studies on government education policies and programs, school systems, and the boarding school experience of Native Americans around the turn of the century, David Wallace Adams' *Education for Extinction* lays out how the school systems developed, why and how new approaches to Native American education led to different kind of schools, how Native students reacted to the experience, and what kind of outcomes resulted from Native students' assimilation through education. Generally speaking, the schools were supposed to solve the "Indian problem" by erasing the students' Native American identity and replacing it with a White U.S. American culture (see Richard Henry Pratt's adherence to the "principle 'kill the Indian in him and save the man'"⁹¹). For the students, the environment was foreign, and the negative impact of unfamiliar foods along with diseases such as tuberculosis, measles, and influenza shaped the students' experience as much as the corporal punishment they had to endure.⁹² Adams also gives an insight into the multiple forms of resistance at boarding schools, from open resistance (i.e., running away or arson) over accommodation (i.e., behavior ranging from "grudging acceptance of the of the institutional pressure for compliance" to "actively cooperat[ing] with the institution that would transform [the students]"⁹³) to what he calls "passive resistance," a set of practices "designed to undermine the school's objectives" and most commonly expressed via "a general posture of nonresponsiveness."⁹⁴ Life in the boarding school system was, as Adams points out, far more complex than the reductive binary of tradition/assimilation or resistance/obedience would suggest.

At the same time, boarding school publications were used to advertise successful transformations of Native American students into "civilized" members of U.S. America, painting a black-and-white picture of Native Americans as a whole. In the case of Carlisle's periodicals, Amelia Katanski has shown how the school used the publications to highlight "representations of total transformation,"⁹⁵ effectively providing evidence to further substantiate prevailing notions on successful Native American education. Adding to this, Jessica Enoch's study includes a discussion on the communication of the school's

assimilationist views in its periodicals, pointing out that “these publications proudly informed” their readers of the success of Pratt’s model and how it “successfully ‘civiliz[ed]’ Indian ‘savages’ by transforming them into self-sufficient individuals.”⁹⁶ The prevailing idea among Native American policy makers at the time that “[o]nce taken from their reservation homes, Native American youths would be transformed from their supposed state of savagery into civilized American citizens,”⁹⁷ was countered by in-group loyalty at the schools which resulted in a reinforcement of Native American identity (both tribal and pan-Native American) through what scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Muscogee/Creek) has called “a complex web of support and mutual respect”⁹⁸ among students.

In her study of the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, Lomawaima puts an emphasis on oral histories, interviewing former Native American students at the school to shine a light on the student experiences. Other publications from the 1990s focusing on Native American student experiences through oral history include Sally Hyer’s *One House, One Voice, One Heart* on the off-reservation Santa Fe Indian School,⁹⁹ Devon A. Mihesuah’s (Cherokee) *Cultivating Rosebuds* on the Female Cherokee Seminary in Indian Territory,¹⁰⁰ and Michael C. Coleman’s *American Indian Children at School* centering on autobiographical accounts of students across schools.¹⁰¹ With his focus on the Rainy Mountain Boarding School at the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation, Clyde Ellis introduces the first study of an on-reservation boarding school, while Donal Lindsey’s later study on Native Americans and their experience at Hampton Institute adds to the emerging literature on boarding school experiences sections on the student experience at the schools.¹⁰² Later studies focusing on Native American voices from specific boarding schools highlight the “need for oral history projects (...) since the last generation of Indian boarding school graduates is rapidly aging and will in a few decades disappear;”¹⁰³ or the “regional and national pan-Indian ties that fostered better communication and understanding between the tribes” born from “shared individual and collective experiences.”¹⁰⁴ In her seminal study of previously unpublished student letters from boarding school students to their parents, Brenda Child (Red Lake Band of Ojibwe) mainly focuses on two federal institutions: the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas and the Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota. Writing from “an Ojibwe point of view” and adding to the “new Indian history,” Child privileges “Indian opinions, emotions, and experiences (...) with American Indian people at the core of the narrative.”¹⁰⁵ In contrast to the studies mentioned above, Child does not use oral histories and instead focuses on the letter correspondence between Native boarding school students and their parents. And in contrast to the at times edited and sanitized publications in school newspapers or magazines, these previously unpublished

letters “introduce a less censored opportunity to study Indian motivations, thoughts, and experiences.”¹⁰⁶

The rhetoric of Native American writings is central to the studies of Scott Richard Lyons and Malea Powell, both of whom illustrate the importance of a Native American perspective in the context of Native American communication and writing. Lyons termed the phrase “rhetorical sovereignty,” which he understands as “the inherent right and ability of *peoples* to determine their own communicative needs and desires.”¹⁰⁷ That is, an understanding that Native Americans choose what it is they want from a written source (including the “language of public discourse”) rather than passively absorbing and reproducing communication forms.¹⁰⁸ “Sovereignty,” as Lyons emphasizes, “is the guiding story in our pursuit of self-determination.”¹⁰⁹ Adding to this, Powell’s “rhetorics of survivance” focuses on how Native Americans used writing. She views Native American texts “as deliberately rhetorical, consciously and selectively interpretive with a specific audience’s needs in mind,”¹¹⁰ highlighting how Native American writers were fully aware of how to navigate a censorious printscape in order to address their communities. Both of their approaches relate to Hilary Wyss’ concepts of “readerly” and “writerly Indians.” Wyss, whose study focuses on Native American literacies in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England Missionary Schools, poses to distinguish between the “readerly Indian,” “a docile, passive Indian figure” and the “writerly Indian,” who “emerges as not only a speaker and actor fluent in the cultures and conventions of colonial society but also one fully committed to Native community as an ongoing political and cultural concern.”¹¹¹ In relation to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Native American prints produced at boarding schools, notions of sovereignty and Native American rhetorical strategies draw further attention to boarding schools as ambiguous spaces. “[*T*he *rhetoric of relations*,” a term introduced by Sarah Klotz “not only to emphasize the colonialist history of American writing education but also to demonstrate how students developed multimodal, embodied rhetorics to resist and repurpose alphabetic literacy” based on the students’ bodies, reveals “how these young people metabolized their assimilationist training and turned it into unexpected and unruly acts of survivance.”¹¹² Furthermore, the boarding school press, as Jaqueline Emery makes clear, is an “untapped archive” that constitutes “important sites for recovering Native American print histories.”¹¹³

Following Lyons, Amanda Zink describes female Carlisle student writings as “x-marks,” i.e., “a contaminated and coerced sign of consent made under conditions that are not of one’s making.”¹¹⁴ Having learnt how to read and write, Zink argues that “Indian women writers construct a syncretic literary sentimentalism that asserts an ideological domesticity and

melds Native traditions with European American rituals” in response to the “ideology of domesticity”¹¹⁵ they were taught at the school. Robert Warrior also highlights the importance of Native American boarding school writing, calling it “the backbone of Native American literature.” The students’ reflection on their education, he argues, makes “Native educational texts (...) a microcosm of Native literary history.”¹¹⁶ These trends stand in opposition to what Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls “crisis research”¹¹⁷ in response to Indigenous educational research. The emergence and development of Native American literacies within the confines of boarding schools does suggest—at the very least—that the print products mark places such as the Carlisle boarding school press as *ambiguous spaces*; spaces that, despite the horrific conditions the students had to endure, gave Native Americans the tools to express themselves “on their own terms.”¹¹⁸

If one were to follow current trends in NAIS, the focus would have to center around sovereignty. This study, however, understands itself neither solely nor firstly as a contribution situated in NAIS, but in the field of periodical studies. And while the ethnic focus point on Native Americans lends itself to further consolidate notions of sovereignty—in this case, print sovereignty—, this study aims to focus on the medium, not the messenger. Understanding periodicals as “complicated beasts,”¹¹⁹ this book aims to show how Native Americans used the medium’s characteristics to form meanings, distinct communities, and networks amongst each other and in connection to U.S. structures and institutions. This study thus contributes to both periodical studies and media studies by examining Native American periodicals’ formal and functional properties alongside their cultural and political significance. It expands arguments from previous studies which consider Native American periodicals, arguing that, in general, these periodicals “challenge the restrictive assimilationist-resistance binary,” that the medium itself produces “a narrative not only of suffering but of creative syntheses and adaptive actions,”¹²⁰ and that a combination of modern iterations of Native American graphic-visual signs and markers with contemporary print practices shaped the development of a diverse Native American printscape around the turn of the century. Rather than thinking of Native American periodicals as carriers of reductive binaries, here they are understood as print expressions for continuous (re-)negotiations of existence and perseverance—with themselves as much as with others.

This study aims to research and reconsider Native American periodicals from 1890 to the 1920s by offering an interdisciplinary, media-centered approach that converges Native American and Indigenous Studies with periodical studies. It will expand prior research in order to give an overview of the periodicals published in this time period, gaining new literary

and cultural impulses for American Studies from the proliferating Native American periodical culture by focusing on the periodical itself. Reexamining the Native American periodical market of the period reveals the presence of a diverse and dynamic Native American periodical culture that transcends the exclusive framing in the narrative of annihilation through education (see the dictum “kill the Indian, save the man”). And while this study does not gainsay the importance of this framing per se, it seeks to extend it by foregrounding the technological, editorial, and logistical sophistication of Native American print culture. Furthermore, this study aims to process and reorient Native American print practices in light of recent research. Considering these practices leads to a better understanding of Native American media efforts and, as the most powerful medium of mass communication around the turn of the century, these periodicals offer an insight into how print practices reflect communities. This study views periodicals as mass media infrastructures that simultaneously categorize readers into communities and materialize those communities through design codes and distribution networks of human-object categorizations. While newspapers primarily differentiate their readers along regional or political lines, magazines make use of a variety of different genres that address a multitude of target groups. Native American periodicals are part of a materialized system of signs which confirm various affiliations and produce imagined communities. With their specific design and illustrations, alongside network-building and genre distinctions, Native American periodicals act as media of an Indigenous production of knowledge, as visual material of Indigenous communities, and exhibit a specific Indigenous form of modernity in the time period from 1890 into the 1920s. One hypothesis of this study is that Native American periodicals form a co-constitution of human and object categorization; i.e., their design codes them as objects in terms of community building, while also creating specific visual-graphic markers to address their readers as seen in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828-1834).¹²¹

Native American periodicals are usually read in one of two ways; either as political-tribal sources or as focal points of Indigenous print material found in settler-state dominated institutions. Well-known publications such as Carlos Montezuma’s *Wassaja* (1916–1922) quite clearly address and criticize political grievances from an indigenous American point of view, and a paper like the *Indian Home and Farm* (1910–191?), with news printed in English, Cherokee, Choctaw and Creek, stated in its motto that it was “A Paper They All Can Read.”¹²² In contrast, the heavily edited and “sanitized” boarding school papers such as those published in Carlisle—e.g., *Eadle Keatah Toh*, later *Morning Star* (1880–1887) or *The Arrow* (1904–1908)—put an emphasis on the manual labor performed by the Native children: “(...)

only Indian Apprentices doing the type-setting and printing.”¹²³ The publishers and printers were mainly distinctly Christian, mixed race, or tribal elites. This raised questions of Indigeneity, the emphasis is usually either on the binary of assimilating the Native American populations into colonized North America or focus on the work to preserve and continue Native American lives, cultures, and traditions.¹²⁴

Archives, Digitization, and Method

Part of the research done for this study is grounded in field work. In order to research periodicals as the primary source material, visits to archives and historical societies with holdings of Native American periodicals were necessary. First and foremost, this is because the last large surveys of Native American periodicals were published in the mid 1980s. And while the work of both Littlefield/Parins and Danky/Hady can be described as nothing less than monumental, more information on the Native American periodical printscape has come to light since their publications. Next to the above-mentioned case studies on publications or institutions producing them, collections have expanded, more archived materials have been catalogued, and hitherto unknown publications have been discovered. Archival visits for this dissertation included the Archives and Special Collections at Dickinson College’s Waidner-Spahr Library, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; the Sequoyah National Research Center in Little Rock, Arkansas; the New York Public Library; the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul, Minnesota; and the University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives in Madison, Wisconsin.

In preparation for the archival visits, other institutions holding collections of Native American periodicals were also considered: The American Indian Archives at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; the American Indian Resource Center at Tulsa City-County Library, Tulsa; Native American Holdings at the Texas State Library Archives, Austin; the Connecticut State Library and the Newberry Library in Chicago; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., the New London County Court Native American collection from the New London Historical Society in Hartford; the Indian and Colonial Research Center in Old Mystic, Connecticut; the Archives and Special Collections at Amherst College in Massachusetts; the American Indian Newspapers and Journals in Print at Brown University Library, Providence, and American Indian History microforms at the University of Arizona, Tucson. Given that this study focuses on how Native American periodicals function as media, rather than providing a comprehensive census of all publications, the materials gathered from these five institutions provided sufficient evidence for sustained analysis. The COVID-19

pandemic's travel restrictions also necessitated strategic prioritization of archival visits, making digital resources increasingly important supplements to in-person research.

This last point highlights ongoing issues regarding the digitization of Indigenous materials: Availability for non-Native scholars and access for Indigenous communities. Hess, echoing others, stresses that “ethical digital mapping of Indigenous spaces conducted by a non-Indigenous individual or group must take account of the destructive history of Western intervention.”¹²⁵ The reality of settler-colonial practices and enforced de-Indigenization (i.e., settler-induced eradication and assimilation practices towards and within Native American communities) remains a source of intergenerational trauma. In terms of historical sources, “the violent erasures of alternative modes of mapping and geographic understanding”¹²⁶ have an impact on Indigenous digitization efforts who wish to recover and center these alternative modes. Given the fact that the U.S. government has inadequately and insufficiently put into practice legal changes to preserve Native American cultural objects and remains as stated by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 1990), or the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1996), Native archivists, scholars, and historians have stressed the need for “decolonizing methodologies” in order to create the best possible archival practices.¹²⁷

A popular digital platform used by Indigenous-led digital projects is Mukurtu. The open source platform at the Center for Digital Scholarship and Curation at Washington State University is designed to fulfill “the needs of diverse communities who want to manage and share their digital cultural heritage in their own way,” effectively offering an empowering tool for communities to “manage, share, narrate, and exchange their digital heritage in culturally relevant and ethically-minded ways.”¹²⁸ The platform offers a range of “cultural protocols” for digitized material, defining access levels “from completely open to strictly controlled” in order to meet individual communities’ needs.¹²⁹ And while it is an individual community’s right to restrict access to certain materials (especially when it comes to human remains, sacred objects, or cultural heritage), “moments of friction may arise”¹³⁰ when non-tribal scholars are asked not to engage in specific kinds of research. In contrast, the non-digital institutions visited for this project are open to the general public.

The New York Public Library (NYPL) holds a total of nine issues of Ora V. Eddleman Reed’s *Twin Territories* (1898–1904), an amount easily digitized during a brief stay. Other institutions hold a far larger amount of primary source material. The Waidner-Spahr Library at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, holds an enormous amount of original serial publications printed at Carlisle Indian Industrial School and the archivists are constantly

working to expand the online collection. Even though issues of some publications have been bound together into volumes, turning them into what Beetham calls “a kind of book,”¹³¹ the collection includes broadsheet newspapers, magazines, commencement exercises, letters, students’ files and notecards, and miscellanea including print templates, invitations, receptions, and anniversary exercises. The method here, as during visits at other institutions, was to digitize as much of the primary source material as possible while talking about the Native American periodical press with the staff in order to find cues about the medium itself. As such, the aim was not to gather all available sources, but to find representative examples of the publications themselves before making as many digital copies as time allowed. Having established an overview of the available prints before arrival, the initial selection of publications was extended to include as much of the primary source material during the stay as possible. At the same time, a first sighting of the material was conducted after opening hours of the library.

Two noteworthy points emerged from the initial visit: First, access to originals gives a vastly different picture and feeling for the medium than the digitizations do. The material properties of a periodical—its paper, weight, size, age, condition, the way it is held, and the risk of damaging or tearing the pages—heavily influences its reception when compared to publications with a different material layout. Unfolding the eight-page *Red Man* (1888–1900), for example, gives a renewed appreciation for the full size of the American broadsheet, while issues of the *Indian Helper* (1885–1900), bound together into books, suggest a different medium and a smaller scale. Second, the necessity of high-quality digital archives became very much apparent. Notwithstanding the differences between digital and print products, access to the source material via digital records is preferable to no access at all, and digital archives are an affordable alternative, especially for scholars outside of the United States. What Vitale IV et al. refer to as “eliminating the physical obstacles to accessing remote archives”¹³² proves to be a substantial alleviation for scholars as well as students; one can simply log back in to the database or download the files—and continue research independently from travel constraints.

Digital access to material from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School is provided by the Dickinson College’s Carlisle Indian School Digital Research Center.¹³³ The center focuses on the digital preservation of materials relating to the boarding school and, among other things, aims to generate student and scholarly engagement with the material by facilitating in-class pedagogical approaches as well as encouraging research-driven interactive user operation. Not only does the center provide high resolution images of the source material, search functions

also allow scholars to manage the content within and across the digitized sources. Projects emerging from the digital humanities complement archival efforts to not only store historical sources and make them available for scholars, but also to propose ways of organizing the data. Data- and text-mining tools have proven to be productive additions to scholarly research. The *Viral Texts* project by Ryan Cordell and David Smith, for example, maps out “viral” historical texts, i.e., frequently reprinted texts published in 19th-century periodical press across the nation.¹³⁴ Tracing clusters of texts, phrases, or words and converting the information into maps allows for a digestible graphic representation of available sources, and computational methods have aided research in the study of the German-American press to shine a light on the hitherto under-researched transregional quality of the immigrant press and the role women played in its proliferation.¹³⁵ Digital repositories, however, rest on data input, website management, continued financial support, and staff to manage the platform.

The Sequoyah National Research Center (SNRC) in Little Rock, Arkansas, offers the “most comprehensive collection of American Indian, Alaska Native, and First Nation newspaper, periodicals, and other publications.”¹³⁶ Under the direction of Daniel Littlefield, Jr., the center includes a substantial amount of Native American periodicals which constitutes one of if not the largest archive of Native American periodicals held in a U.S. based institution. For the investigation period of 1880–1920, there are originals, copies, and microfilms/microfiche of Native American periodicals in the archive. A look through the center’s database has shown that there are a number of catalogued publications that are not mentioned in Littlefield/Parins or Danky/Hady (e.g., the *Muskogee Comet* (1904–190?), the *Pioneer* (1898-19??), the *Eskimo Bulletin* (1893–1902), or the *Boynton News* (1903–190?)), and surveying the existing primary sources would certainly enlarge the compendiums published in the 1980s. However, the archival situation is in a slow process of cataloguing their data.

After digitizing the SNRC’s hard copies of periodicals and turning to the center’s microfilm/microfiche holdings, it became clear that the amount of microform available at the SNRC far exceeded the online database entries. That is, there is a huge amount of microform that has yet to be catalogued, and the center’s holdings of turn of the century Native American periodicals could not be fully assessed because a large portion of microforms at the center had yet to be integrated into the digital search engine. Additionally, some of the uncatalogued microforms were mislabeled, showing different years, issues, or even entirely different publications than what their labeling would suggest. It must be pointed out that this is certainly not due to a lack of interest or enthusiasm. Littlefield, the SNRC’s director who

pioneered the survey of Native American periodicals together with James Parins, and Erin Fehr, the assistant director, are both highly productive, organized, and invested in the center and its holdings. With the growing amount of Native American expressions at the center, it is incredibly time-consuming to catalogue existing holdings with only two people. Volunteers from the community aid the center's ongoing efforts, but time constraints necessitate the prioritization of other Native American expressions, further highlighting the marginalized role of historical Native American periodicals. The archive works together with the Arkansas History Commission, which allows the use of its hardware to look through microfilm/microfiche holdings more efficiently. The material is accessible, however, and as Steindel-Cymer/Hess point out in the appendix to *Digital Mapping and Indigenous America*, "conducting research in person at archives where/when possible, is recommended."¹³⁷

The Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul (MHS) and the Wisconsin Historical Society Library in Madison (WHS) both hold substantial collections of original Native American periodicals. At the MHS, many original periodicals are bound together into volumes, and while binding issues together into volumes obfuscates the original format, it does help in preserving the original print products. Paper from over 100 years ago tends to disintegrate even if taken care of properly, and the collections at the MHS show that conserving the medium may force institutions to change its format. Another option to preserve historical papers such as periodicals is to put them in plastic sheets, effectively tearing up the folded pages in order to avoid more extensive damage to a historical source.

This stands in stark contrast to the comparatively small collection at the NYPL. Even though they are legible and not heavily damaged, the nine issues of *Twin Territories* in the library's collection are incredibly brittle. Merely opening an issue can result in paper shavings falling off an issue's edges, and careless handling of these issues would certainly result in large tears, or chunks of a page disintegrating in one's hands. This emphasizes the necessity of conservation practices for highly valuable print products. In the case of Eddleman's *Twin Territories*, an estimated value of a singular issue gives an idea of how rare, and consequently special, access to an original Native American periodical can be. Steve Lomazow, "who has been building a collection of important American periodicals (...) considered to be the most extensive in private hands"¹³⁸ and has volume 4, issues 2–12 of Eddleman's magazine in his collection, estimates their value at 800\$.¹³⁹ And while the financial worth of a historical Native American periodical may speak more to its rarity than anything else, a visit to the NYPL highlights the marginalized position of historical Native American periodicals at public institutions, which is further emphasized by the library's online collection.¹⁴⁰ Hence, this

study references periodicals made accessible via archival visits, as well as those publications accessible via online repositories.

Chapter Overview

To give an insight into how Native American periodicals functioned as a communication medium from about 1880 and into the 1920s, and to show how an Indigenous modernity was shaped through constant (re-)negotiations with Native interests, settler state ideologies, and technological advancements in print culture, this study consists of three analytical chapters and a concluding outlook. First, an analysis of local Native American newspapers in Indian Territory and later the State of Oklahoma will give an insight into how individual publications functioned in relation to each other around the turn of the century. The chapter will show how the city-centered local Native American periodical press functions in general; how individual publications integrate into communities on a local, regional, and national level; how the Native serial press connects to other publications in the late 19th century on Indian Territory; and how a focus on graphic-visual markers points to an osmosis between the Native Press and White union labor efforts before Oklahoma Statehood. Not only does a close examination of Indian Territory newspapers reveal a highly diverse set of publications and rivalries amongst publications, but the chapter connects parts of the Cherokee press to the Typographical Labor Union in the early twentieth century.

Second, the Carlisle boarding school publications will be analyzed in terms of how they communicate what the Native American children who attended the school learnt about printing and how these publications functioned as ambiguous spaces. The chapter focuses on how they made use of their training and how the publications themselves—although heavily edited and sanitized to display a highly industrious and positive picture of the life at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School—can be viewed as an *ambiguous space* which informs early twentieth century pan-Native American graphic-visual print culture based on the pedagogical approach of art instructor Angel De Cora. That is, the way that information on the students was communicated in the school's publications is visible not only through biographical entries or letters to the school which were then reprinted in its periodicals, but also through typesetting practices and visual-graphic markers.

Third, the study will concentrate on an individual publication, the *White Earth Tomahawk* (1903–1927). The chapter suggests that the *Tomahawk* is an example of syncretized Native American newspaper publishing, a practice that strategically combines

Native American community activities with deliberate engagement to foster participation with US legal and political institutions. As a result, the newspaper positions the Anishinaabe as rights-bearing participants in the US-American system. Rather than representing a compromise with assimilation, the chapter argues that the *Tomahawk*'s synthesis of Anishinaabe interests, pan-Native American efforts, and US legal frameworks reveals a sophisticated Native American print strategy; namely the use of language and institutions of the US to secure sovereignty and self-determination.

The final part provides an outlook to further areas of research. Although the previous parts show how Native American periodicals function as a communication medium, the selective nature of this work limits an understanding of the vast and proliferating serial printscape around the turn of the century. Therefore, the outlook will offer an outline of those publications that could not be discussed in this work, with a focus on what these rich publications have to offer for future research. These include religious publications, Native language publications, Alaska Native publications, and those published on the West Coast.

Taken together, the chapters give an insight into how Native American periodicals function as complex communication media that make use of state-of-the-art technologies and modern printing practices. The publications show how Native identities were communicated not mainly in opposition to White US society and culture, but that they functioned as print products from a marginalized people who put themselves in a state of constant exchange with the dominant society.

¹ This book mostly follows Mishuana Goeman's lead and uses the terms "'Native,' 'American Indian,' 'Native American,' and 'Indigenous' intermittently throughout depending on the context." That is, "Native" is used to reference people who are indigenous to North America; "Indigenous" is used to reference Indigenous people globally; the term "American Indian" refers to those Natives with a "tribal base in the geographical region currently known as the United States;" and "Native American" to indicate the connection to the field of Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) and "academia in general," see Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 213. Any misnomers, misattributions, mistakes, and subsequent mischaracterizations of Native communities or people are unintended and entirely the fault of the author.

² Cherokee Nation, *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 85.

³ Carstarphen, "To Sway Public Opinion," 56–70.

⁴ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 9. For an earlier, media-centered history of the *Phoenix*, see Trahant, *Pictures of Our Nobler Selves*, 2–12.

⁵ Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 227.

⁶ Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*, 13.

⁷ Round. *Removable Type*, 123. For an analysis of the *Phoenix* as "a profound tool of resistance against the Removal South," see Caisson, *Red States*, 120–32; for a study on the political importance and impact of Native American periodical print culture turn around the

turn of the century in Indian Territory/eastern Oklahoma, see Walkiewicz, “Pressing for Sequoyah,” 335–64.

⁸ Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, 15.

⁹ Beetham, “Open and Closed,” 96.

¹⁰ Scheiding, “Seriality and Order,” 27.

¹¹ Powell, “Afterword,” 446.

¹² Powell, “Afterword,” 448.

¹³ Perdue, *Cherokee*, 87.

¹⁴ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, xxix.

¹⁵ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, xii, xi.

¹⁶ See Brown/Ross/Sayers, “Introductory Conversation,” 1, who point out that “[b]y the periodic conventionally known as “modernist” (late 1890s through the mid-1940s) [Indigenous peoples] were full participants in the politics, aesthetics, and cultural productions of modernity as and where it manifested across the land.”

¹⁷ Scheiding/Newton, “Native American Periodicals,” 113.

¹⁸ Scheiding/Newton, “Native American Periodicals,” 113.

¹⁹ See Thoburn, *Anti-Book*, 241.

²⁰ See Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 229–30.

²¹ Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, 22.

²² Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, 22–23.

²³ See Allen, *Earth Works Rising*, 1–34.

²⁴ Pexa, *Translated Nation*, 9, 148.

²⁵ Pexa, *Translated Nation*, 147–48.

²⁶ Spry, *Our War Paint*, 61.

²⁷ Spry, *Our War Paint*, 61.

²⁸ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 474.

²⁹ Conley, “Rhizome + Technology,” 237.

³⁰ Coleman, “Rhizome,” 233.

³¹ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 7.

³² Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 11, 8.

³³ Powell, “Afterword,” 44. Emphasis added.

³⁴ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 21.

³⁵ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 22. See also Colman, “Rhizome,” 233.

³⁶ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 22.

³⁷ Kelderman, *Authorized Agents*, 12. Original emphasis.

³⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, xii.

³⁹ A significant desideratum in researching Native American periodicals concerns the Native Hawaiian and Caribbean archipelago periodical press. Due to language restrictions and a chosen focus on the geographical area of (U.S.) North America, this work is forced to omit all but the most general references to Hawaii and the Caribbean. For an insight into Native Hawaiian periodicals, see Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* and Chapin, *Shaping History*; for a discussion of Caribbean newspapers, see Seibert, *Early African Caribbean* and Lent, *Third World Mass Media*.

Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 425–8. In comparison, Danky/Hady, *Native American Periodicals*, 529, list just over a dozen periodicals from 1828–1869 and 67 from 1870–1899. Additionally, the scholars and archivists at the Sequoyah Research Center in Little Rock, Arkansas, have—under the supervision of Daniel Littlefield, Jr.—continued to expand their holdings, listing more than 100 additional periodicals not mentioned in Danky/Hady or Littlefield/Parins in the time period 1880–1920s.

⁴¹ MacKellar, *The American Printer*, 240.

⁴² Welch/Lamphier, *Technical Innovation*, 94–5.

- ⁴³ See the title page article “Chieftain’s New Linotype is Now in Operation. Mergenthaler Invention Installed Today is a Marvel of Mechanical Ingenuity,---With this Addition to the Office Equipment The Daily Chieftain at Once Enters the Ranks of Metropolital Newspapers,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.35 (February 12, 1909): 1.
- ⁴⁴ Park, *Appleton’s Cyclopædia*, 574.
- ⁴⁵ “Cottrell and Babcock’s Perfecting Press for Woodcut Printing–Firm’s Rotary Attachment,” *Scientific American* 33.17 (October 23, 1875): 259.
- ⁴⁶ See *The Inland Printer* 1.1 (October 1883): 1, 24. Cottrell bought out Babcock in July 1880 and continued the manufacture of printing presses, while Babcock reentered the business under his own name two years later.
- ⁴⁷ See “Our Printing Office,” *The Red Man and Helper* 18.28 (January 30, 1903): 3.
- ⁴⁸ See *The Native American* 4.42 (December 5, 1903): 362, which states that the paper was “[p]rinted weekly by pupils of the Phoenix Indian School;” *The Chemawa American* 1.1 (July 15, 1896): 2, which states the paper was “[p]ublished [s]emi-monthly by the [p]upils of the Chemawa Indian School,” or *The Indian Helper* 1.19 (December 18, 1885): 2, which states that “*The Indian Helper* is PRINTED by Indian boys, but EDITED by The-man-on-the-band-stand, a person of another race and color.”
- ⁴⁹ See Danky/Hady, *Native American Periodicals*, 529.
- ⁵⁰ Scheiding, “Nineteenth-Century,” 90.
- ⁵¹ See Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*; Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*; Carpenter/Kilcup, *Selected Works*; Carpenter/Kilcup, “What the Curious,” Web. June 7, 2024. <https://scholarlyediting.org/issues/39/what-the-curious-want-to-know/>; Gaul, “Editing as Indian Performance,” 281–307; Dean, *Unconventional Politics*; Zuck, ““Yours is the Cause,”” 72–93.
- ⁵² Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*; Danky/Hady, *Native American Periodicals*; Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*.
- ⁵³ Fear-Segal, “Eyes in the Text,” 123–45; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*; Emery, *Recovering Native American*. See also Lomawaima, *They Called It*. For analyses of a Native American magazine, see Morrison, “*Twin Territories*,” 136–66; Cox, ““Yours for the Indian Cause,”” 173–201; Carpenter/Kilcup “What the Curious;” Carpenter/Kilcup, *Selected Works*. On the boarding schools in general, see Trafzer/Keller/Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*.
- ⁵⁴ Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*.
- ⁵⁵ Carstarphen/Sanchez, *American Indians*.
- ⁵⁶ Calcaterra, *Literary Indians*.
- ⁵⁷ See Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*; LaPoe/LaPoe, *Indian Country*; Calcaterra, *Literary Indians*; and Scheiding, “Nineteenth-Century.”
- ⁵⁸ Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*.
- ⁵⁹ Warrior, *The People and the World*, 181–7.
- ⁶⁰ See also Peyer, *American Indian Nonfiction*.
- ⁶¹ Batker, *Reforming Fictions*; Gaul, “Editing as Indian Performance;” Stanciu, “That Is Why.”
- ⁶² See Podewski, “Kleine Archive.”
- ⁶³ Fröhlich/ Ruchatz, “Komplexität und Vielfalt.”
- ⁶⁴ Murphy/Murphy. *Let My People Know*.
- ⁶⁵ Parker, *The Invention of*, viii.
- ⁶⁶ See Haveman, *Magazines and the Making*; Frank, “Prolegomena zu einer integralen Zeitschriftenforschung;” Igl/Menzel, *Illustrierte Zeitschriften*; Fröhlich/Ruchatz, “Komplexität und Vielfalt;” Frank/Podewski, “The Object of Periodical Studies,” 29–53.
- ⁶⁷ Ernst, *Amerikanische Modernismen*.
- ⁶⁸ See Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*.

- ⁶⁹ See Dietrich *Disruptive Relationality*; Dietrich/Knopf, *Biopolitics, Geopolitics, Life*.
- ⁷⁰ See Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*; Goeman, *Mark My Words*; Ackley/Stanciu, *Laura Cornelius Kellogg*; Blackhawk, *The Rediscovery of America*; and Rifkin, *Speaking for the People*. Specific mention here goes to the insights drawn from and on Native American women, studies which have proven to be both fruitful and productive in regards to Native American ontologies, epistemologies, and literary production.
- ⁷¹ See Podewski, *Akkumulieren – Mischen – Abwechseln*.
- ⁷² See Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*.
- ⁷³ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian* and Danky/Hady *Native American Periodicals*.
- ⁷⁴ See Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*.
- ⁷⁵ Abrahamson/Prior-Miller, *The Routledge Handbook*, 1.
- ⁷⁶ See Emery, *Recovering Native American*, 5.
- ⁷⁷ See Liewehr, *Internationalisierungspotentiale im Zeitschriftenmarkt*.
- ⁷⁸ See Frank/Podewski/Scherer, “Kultur – Zeit – Schrift.”
- ⁷⁹ See Round, *Removable Type*, 224.
- ⁸⁰ See Coward, *Newspaper Indians* and Gaul, “Editing as Indian Performance.” The recent publications by Carpenter/Kilcup offer two novel contributions on Ora V. Eddleman Reed’s magazine *Twin Territories*. However, the reception of their work on Eddleman Reed has been highly critical, see Walkiewicz, “The Sentimentalist Terrain.” It should be noted that Trahant, *Pictures of Our* constitutes one of very few works dealing with Native American media contributions before the 1950s published in the 20th century.
- ⁸¹ Zuck, “Yours is the Cause;” Dean, *Unconventional Politics*; Senier, “The Continuing Circulations;” Carpenter/Kilcup, “What the Curious Want;” Carpenter/Kilcup, *Selected Works*.
- ⁸² Maureen Konkle, “Recovering Jane Schoolcraft’s Cultural Activism in the Nineteenth-Century,” in *Oxford Handbook of Indigenous Literature* ed. by James H. Cox and Daniel Heath Justice (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 81–101; Child, *Recovering*; Emery, *Recovering*; Stanciu, “That.”
- ⁸³ See Hertzberg, *The Search*; Cox, “Yours for the Indian Cause;” and Allen/Piatote, “The Society of American Indians.”
- ⁸⁴ See Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*.
- ⁸⁵ *Indian Helper* 5.29 (March 21, 1890): 2.
- ⁸⁶ Harjo/Bird, *Reinventing the Enemy’s Language*, 20.
- ⁸⁷ Warrior, *The People and the World*, 126.
- ⁸⁸ Ortiz, “Towards a National,” 10.
- ⁸⁹ See Walkiewicz. *Reading Territory*, 156; Justice, *Our Fire Survives*, 35–82; and Womack, “Alexander Posey’s Nature Journals,” 108–115.
- ⁹⁰ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 840. See Trennert, *Alternative to Extinction* for a treatise on the historical developments that led to the civilizing efforts of the late 19th century with a focus on the reservation system. For an account of Native American education policies post 1928, see Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*.
- ⁹¹ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 56, 315–20.
- ⁹² Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 121–25.
- ⁹³ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 240.
- ⁹⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 241; for an earlier study that included Native resistance at Native American boarding schools around the turn of the century, see Hoxie, *A Final Promise*; for a historical overview ranging from the colonial period until the twenty-first century, see Reyhner/Eder, *American Indian Education*.
- ⁹⁵ Katanski, *Learning to Write “Indian,”* 44.
- ⁹⁶ Enoch, *Refiguring Rhetorical Education*, 74.
- ⁹⁷ Mauro, *The Art of Americanization*, 2.

- ⁹⁸ Lomawaima, *They Called It*, 44.
- ⁹⁹ See Hyer, *One House*.
- ¹⁰⁰ See Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*. Mihesuah's study also draws from the seminary's bilingual newspaper, *Cherokee Rose Bud* (1848–1854). For the first study on boarding school students from Oklahoma between 1920 and 1960, see McBeth, *Ethnic*; for a study on Native American education and identity in the context of the Sherman Indian school, see Meyers Bahr, *The Students of*.
- ¹⁰¹ See Coleman, *American Indian Children*.
- ¹⁰² See Ellis, *To Change Them Forever* and Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*.
- ¹⁰³ Shillinger, *A Case*, 124.
- ¹⁰⁴ Landrum, *The Dakota Sioux*, 173.
- ¹⁰⁵ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, xiv, xiii.
- ¹⁰⁶ Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, xii.
- ¹⁰⁷ Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 449, (original emphasis).
- ¹⁰⁸ See also Vizenor/Doerfler, *The White Earth Reservation*.
- ¹⁰⁹ Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty," 449.
- ¹¹⁰ Powell, "Rhetorics of Survivance," 406.
- ¹¹¹ Wyss, *English Letters*, 6.
- ¹¹² Klotz, *Writing Their Bodies*, 5, 98.
- ¹¹³ Emery, *Recovering Native American*, 5, 6.
- ¹¹⁴ Lyons, *X-Marks*, 3.
- ¹¹⁵ Zink, "Carlisle's Writing Circle," 58, 38.
- ¹¹⁶ Warrior, *The People and the World*, 100.
- ¹¹⁷ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 174.
- ¹¹⁸ Ortiz, "Towards a National," 10.
- ¹¹⁹ Powell, "Afterword," 446.
- ¹²⁰ Krupat, *Boarding School Voices*, xvii.
- ¹²¹ Littlefield/Parins, 85; *American Indian*; Scheiding, "Nineteenth-Century," 90.
- ¹²² *Indian Home and Farm* 1.1 (March 1910): 1.
- ¹²³ *The Arrow* 3.15 (December 1906): 2.
- ¹²⁴ See Brooks, *The Common Pott*; Senier, *Sovereignty and Sustainability*; Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*; Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*; Calcaterra, *Literary Indians*; Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*; and Emery, *Recovering Native American*.
- ¹²⁵ Hess, "Introduction," 2. See also Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 3, 16, 19 and Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, ix.
- ¹²⁶ Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 2.
- ¹²⁷ See O'Neal, "Respect, Recognition, and Reciprocity;" Belcourt/ Swaney/Kelley, "Indigenous Methodologies;" Trope/Echo-Hawk, "The Native American Graves,;" Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Goeman, *Mark My Words*. For First Nation protocols, see Bell/Peterson, *Protection of First Nations*; and Aird/Fox, *Indigenous Living Heritage*.
- ¹²⁸ "About," <https://mukurtu.org/about/>. Accessed December 18, 2023.
- ¹²⁹ "About," <https://mukurtu.org/about/>. Accessed December 18, 2023.
- ¹³⁰ Hess, "Introduction," 3.
- ¹³¹ Beetham, "Open and Closed," 96.
- ¹³² Vitale IV/Rose/Gerencser, "Digitally Re-presenting," 20.
- ¹³³ See <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu>.
- ¹³⁴ See Cordell/Smith, *Viral Texts*, <https://viraltxts.org>. Accessed December 12, 2023; for the follow-up project see Cordell/Smith/Mullen/Fitzgerald, *Going the Rounds*, <https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/going-the-rounds>. Accessed December 12, 2023.
- ¹³⁵ See Keck, "The German-American Press Network."

¹³⁶ “Our Collections,” Archives, Sequoyah National Research Center.
<https://ualr.edu/sequoyah/our-collections/>. Accessed October 9, 2025.

¹³⁷ Steindel-Cymer/Hess, “Appendix,” 193. This appendix offers an overview of resources related to “Native American, First Nations Alaskan Native, and Indigenous Hawaiian Nations,” among other references including digital mapping resources, federal resources, tribal archives and institutions, organizations, and museums.

¹³⁸ “About,” <https://americanmagazinecollection.com/about/>. Accessed February 6, 2022.

¹³⁹ “Twin Territories,” <https://americanmagazinecollection.com/twin-territories-the-indian-magazine/>. Accessed February 6, 2022.

¹⁴⁰ See the New York Public Library Digital Collections, which includes three entries for the magazine. Instead of complete issues, however, the digital collection shows three pages; two instances of the magazine’s popular column “Types of Indian Women” and the first page of an article titled “Some Pretty Indian Costumes Donned for the Occasion.”
<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/twin-territories/>. Accessed November 15, 2024.

Chapter I

Urban Newspapers in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, 1880s to 1910s: Local Publications and Labor Union Emblems

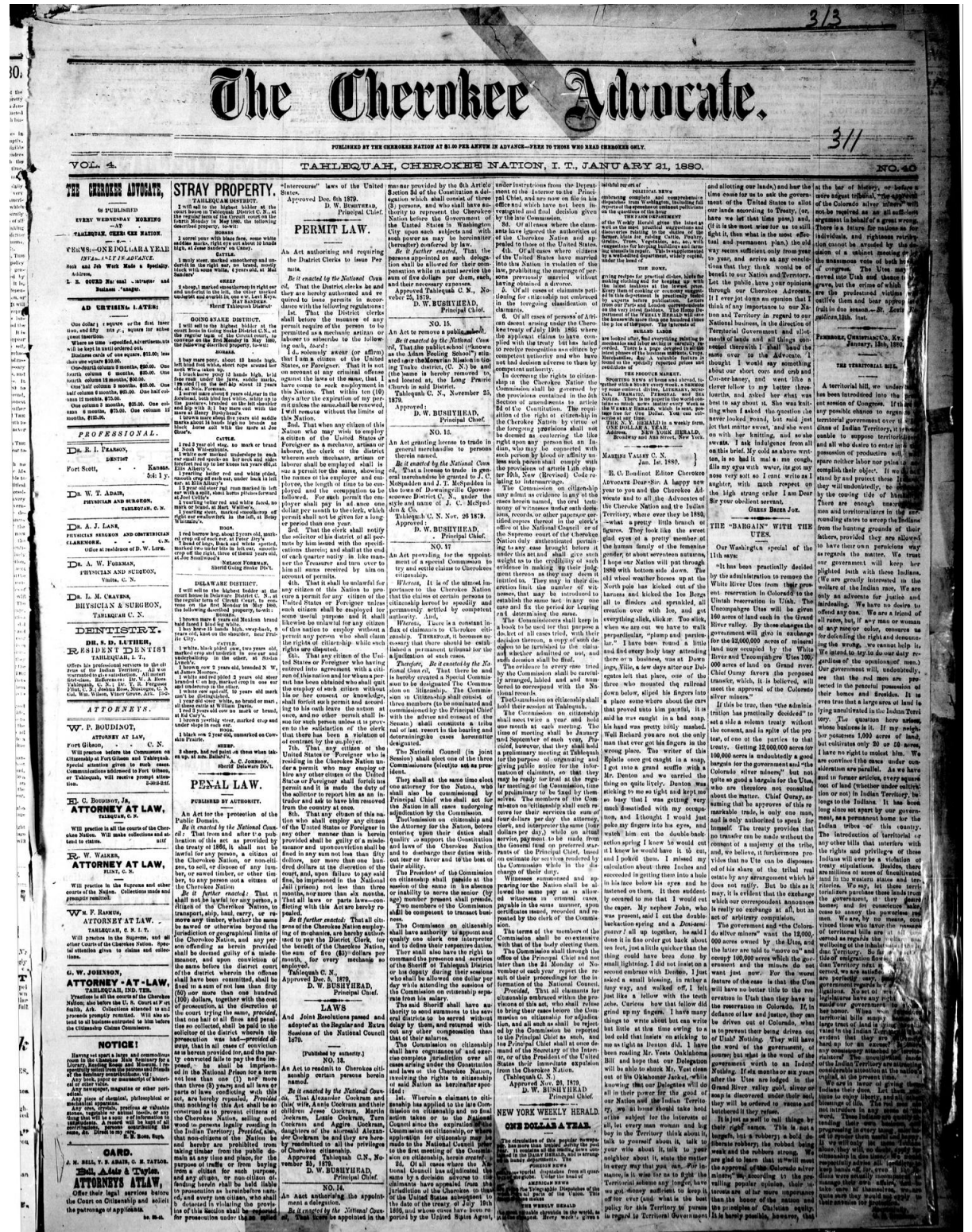


Figure 2: The Cherokee Advocate 4.40 (Jan. 21, 1880): 1.

Five years after the forced relocation of the Cherokees from their ancestral homelands, the *Cherokee Advocate* (1844–1906, see fig. 2) began its publication as the successor to the *Cherokee Phoenix* (later *Cherokee Phoenix, and Indians' Advocate* (1828–1834)) in Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation. Like its predecessor, the *Advocate* was—by law—to be published in both Cherokee and English. It was authorized by an act of council on October 25, 1843¹ and offered reduced rates for any Cherokee who could not read English. As “a vehicle for acculturating the Cherokee populace and for projecting the image of Cherokee society that Cherokee politicians wished to project,”² the newspaper not only offers an insight into tribe-specific media and print practices, but also how a tribal government publication functions in relation to other Cherokee publications in connection with the changes brought about by the U.S. government involving itself in Cherokee affairs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Frequently changing editors; a hiatus during the Civil War; the burning down of *The Advocate's* office in 1875; then editor Elias C. Boudinot, II (1854–1896) shooting B.H. Stone, editor of the *Telephone* (later *The Weekly Capital*³ (1887–1896)) over the contested results of the 1887 election for Principal Chief; and the last editor's final call urging full blood Cherokees not to sell their lands. Together, these episodes show that the periodical consistently reflected the viewpoints of “the political faction or party in power”⁴ at the time.⁵ As the “official newspaper of the Cherokee Nation,”⁶ the *Advocate* showcases Cherokee efforts to maintain their national sovereignty during the late nineteenth century, while also trying “to prepare the Cherokee people for the impending change in their government”⁷ before the dissolution of tribal governments in Indian Territory on March 4, 1906, and the establishment of Oklahoma as a new state on November 16, 1907.

Taken together, these developments show that Cherokee and other Native editors built urban newspaper networks that were not only tribal or ‘Native’ spaces but integral nodes in a broader and modern Native print economy. Hence, this chapter seeks to relate periodical publications to the towns they circulated in and thus aims to map out a city-centered serial discourse. Picking up on what Cherokee scholar Kathryn Walkiewicz has called “territorial hermeneutics”⁸ in relation to sovereign printscapes, the following analysis aims to think of Indian Territory periodical publications in terms of relationality (local, political, and communal). The dissolution of Indian Territory and the establishment of Oklahoma as a state in 1907 adds a further dimension which will include the emergence of a White labor union in the region. Bringing known publications in contact with understudied or unknown ones within and across cities introduces new and productive readings of how descriptive-relational analyses of the medium can give voice(/-s) to community(/-ies). Additionally, Frank

Kelderman coined the phrase “*indigenous publication projects*,” which describes the mediated forms of Indigenous representation produced with non-Native collaborators and pinpoints these projects within institutional and diplomatic networks.⁹ This study argues for a differentiated understanding of publication practices in the Native American press around the turn of the century, taking, as Kelderman points out, into account that “Native authors circulated their critiques by working closely (sometimes problematically so) with collaborators such as Indian agents, administrators, and missionaries, who often imposed their ideas and political goals onto these attempts to gain public notice.”¹⁰ Hence, the chapter focuses on the Native American press in Indian Territory (1880–1900s), the collaboration with non-Indigenous periodicalists, and the connecting White Union press (1900–1910s). The periodicals used in this chapter are understood as representative publications that, while by no means exhaustive, show how the city-centered local Native American periodical press functions in general; how individual publications integrate into communities on a local, regional, and national level; how the Native serial press connects to other publications in the late 19th century on Indian Territory; and how a focus on graphic-visual markers points to an osmosis between the Native Press and White union labor efforts in Indian Territory, later Oklahoma. A starting point, or node, is here set at the capital city of the Cherokee Nation: Tahlequah.

Most news outlets in Tahlequah began publication in the late 1880s. The *Telephone* (1887–1896), for example, was a four-page, five-column weekly newspaper founded by B.H. Stone on June 10, 1887. The editorship of Stone was quite literally short-lived: After an intense dispute with rival editor E.C. Boudinot, Jr. over contested election results, Boudinot shot Stone in October of the same year. However, while its first editor met a violent end, the weekly Downing Party newspaper did not fold. Stone’s wife, Emma Stone, a Cherokee, assumed ownership and edited the paper before she sold it to the Telephone Publishing Company, a stock company, in February of 1888. The editors continued to change in the coming years, including Augustus E. Ivey (1855–1932), a well-known journalist and controversial figure who had been appointed as the *Cherokee Advocate*’s publisher and first business manager in 1877.¹¹ Ivey, who will be discussed in detail later, was highly involved in the Native Press: He was the first editor of the Vinita *Indian Chieftain* from 1882–1883; he edited the *Telephone* for four years from 1890–1894; took on editorship of the *Stilwell Standard* (1898–1928) from 1901–1904 while also editing the *Sallisaw Star* (1895–1907) in the years 1902 and 1903 and the *Sallisaw Gazette* (1898–1907) in 1903; he was hired as an

associate editor for the *New Era* (1906) in Stilwell; and published the *Indian Home and Farm* (1910) at Muskogee.

The *Telephone*, however, would publish an interesting semi-regular column from May 16, 1888, until at least September 13, 1889. Under editor William A. Thompson, the newspaper introduced the “Woman’s Department” as a new column, naming “Miss Capitola Wyly” as the “Editress.”¹² The most striking element of this column is not centered around the representation of a female voice in a Cherokee newspaper, but that Capitola Wyly apparently did not want to edit the column.

In the first issue featuring the column, she explains that the editor offered her a “column in his paper, and not only so, but insists that I shall fill it with reading matter suitable to the tastes of ladies who read this paper.” She goes on to say that “I have with indifference and distrust of my ability, reluctantly consented to do so.” And although Wyly expresses no confidence in her ability to adequately address as diverse a group as female readers, “causing the individual to cultivate, more successfully the “small, sweet courtesies of life,[sic!] I shall feel fully compensated for the task reluctantly assumed in filling a column in the *Telephone*.”¹³ Hence, the first article featured in her column is entitled “Woman’s Work. Ladies’ Musical, Art and Culinary Exhibition,” featuring “the ladies[sic!] exhibition to be given at Muskogee, on 1st and 2nd of June.”¹⁴ The column appears again on August 30, 1888, September 6, 1888, and September 13, 1889, featuring articles entitled “Woman’s Love,” “Woman,”¹⁵ “Heroic Lives at Home,” “Educate the Girls,”¹⁶ “What Girls Should Read,” and “The Interesting Age for Women.”¹⁷

Her reluctance to fill the column may suggest the reason as to why it was not published regularly. She had pointed out that the editor at the time, W.A. Thompson, needed to persuade her, and after the editor changed to H.W.C. Shelton in July 1888, there are two subsequent publications of her column at the end of August and the beginning of September 1888, followed by a yearlong pause. However, there does seem to have been an attempt to represent women’s voices in the weekly paper in 1888 and 1889: Another short-lived column titled “Educational Department” appeared in late August and early September 1888. Edited by Helen R. Duncan, the section “carried articles on academic subjects, observations of nature, support for public education, and advice to women.”¹⁸ Just like Capitola Wyly, Helen R. Duncan is titled “Editress,”¹⁹ highlighting the female voice in a male-dominated trade. And while this column seems to have been published no more than twice, the two news sections underscore Parins’ point that this Tahlequah paper was “a source of information rather than a mere conduit of news.”²⁰ That is, the news was supplemented with additional entries and

columns, giving readers reading material relevant to their communities and the connecting identities (e.g., as Native Americans in general, as members of a specific tribe, as townsfolk, business owners, or in relation to gender). Furthermore, a look at the two editresses' familial relationships shows how interconnected the people were, and, as an extension, how periodicals can reflect the ties of the communities in which they were published.

Capitola Wyly was the Cherokee daughter of Robert Fletcher Wyly (1827–1903), a man who became a Cherokee citizen by intermarriage, “served four terms as judge of Delaware District (1877–1885)[,] and as attorney general of the Cherokee Nation in 1897.”²¹ R.F. Wyly also edited the *Cherokee Advocate* from 1889–1891, appointed around the time his daughter's column appeared to have ceased altogether. Given the fact that Capitola Wyly needed to be persuaded to edit a column in the *Telephone* and because she also openly expressed her reservations in her opening statement, it seems as if W.A. Thompson attempted to establish a newspaper section with a female focus which would carry additional meaning due to the Wyly family name. And although Thompson was only editor for a brief period of time, his successor, H.W.C. Shelton, “a grandson of the first Cherokee chief justice”²² and editor of the *Vinita Weekly Chieftain* in 1890, continued Thompson's practice.

The educational section of the *Telephone* was edited by Helen R. Duncan, the wife of DeWitt Clinton Duncan (1828–1909). Described as a “teacher, writer, (...) statesman, [and] translator for the Cherokee Nation,” he was also heavily involved in writing for the Cherokee press. Known under his pen name Too-Qua-Stee, he submitted dozens of letters to Cherokee publications. Beginning in 1876, his letters were regularly printed in the *Indian Chieftain* (1882–1912),²³ the *Cherokee Advocate*, and *Our Brother in Red*²⁴ (1882–1899), a Methodist news publication, marking him as a well-known Cherokee writer around the turn of the century.²⁵ Next to a substantial amount of locally written poetry and fiction, DeWitt C. Duncan also attempted to publish “An Analysis of the Cherokee Language,” a manuscript he compiled together with his wife Helen beginning in 1876. This manuscript was sent to the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1882, but it was published “in pamphlet form in Tahlequah in 1890.”²⁶ And although Helen R. Duncan did not appear to have done any translation for the newspaper, the *Telephone* did feature two well-known Cherokee family names and attempted to establish a regular female reading section during a time of Cherokee literary and non-fiction output.²⁷ The title “Editress” and Wyly's expressed reluctance also underscore that women's participation in the Cherokee press was both visible and circumscribed. Their columns are framed as distinctly feminine spaces—concerned with education, domesticity,

and moral cultivation—and underline the place of female authors in Native American periodical discourse.

It was not until November 1889 that the first daily newspaper was published in Tahlequah. Incidentally, it was “the only daily published at that time in the Indian Territory,”²⁸ with the *Vinita Daily Indian Chieftain* (1891–1913) issuing its first number two years later. However, the *Daily Telephone* (later *The Daily Capital* (1889–1896)) was only meant to cover the proceedings of the Cherokee National Council, an annual session, and the newspaper did not publish during the time between the proceedings. H.W.C. Shelton, who would continue to edit the *Telephone* until December 1889, is listed as the editor of the paper until the paper ceased publication in 1896. Shortly before Shelton began publishing his daily, the *Indian Arrow* (later *Cherokee County Democrat* (1888–1930)²⁹) moved from Fort Gibson to Tahlequah.

The *Indian Arrow* initially began publication in 1888 “as the official paper of the National Party of the Cherokee Nation.”³⁰ William Potter Ross (1820–1891) was the paper’s first editor and a decorated political figure in the Cherokee Nation. Ross served as a senator for the Cherokee Nation before the Civil War, but he was also elected principal chief of the Cherokees twice, from 1866–1867 and 1872–1875. Ross had a “glowing résumé” and “knew the government intimately. It was the family business.”³¹ His uncle, John Ross (1790–1866), was the longest serving Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation (1828–1866). Additionally, W.P. Ross had a lot of experience in the newspaper business, and was “recognized as one of the ablest journalists of his race.”³² That is, Ross edited the *Cherokee Advocate* during the first four years of its publication, except for two six-month periods during which he was appointed a delegate to Washington and his brother Daniel H. Ross substituted as editor for him.³³ William P. Ross also edited the *Indian Journal* (1876–) during its first year in Muskogee, and the *Indian Chieftain* in Vinita from 1883–1884.

The *Indian Arrow* moved first from Vinita to Fort Gibson, after which it again moved to Tahlequah. And while no issues during this period are available, *Our Brother in Red* informs its readers that “[t]he *Indian Arrow* formerly published at Fort Gibson will soon be published again at Tahlequah with Mr. John T. Drew as editor. The old Methodist church will be used as an office.”³⁴ Following up the next week, the paper is happy to announce: “The *Indian Arrow* has again made its appearance on our table. It comes from its new office in Tahlequah. The name of John T. Drew heads the Editorial Columns. This the first number under the new administration is bright, newsy, and interesting. We wish the *Arrow* great success and long life.”³⁵ Drew, who is described as “a member of the Nationals, and a man of

considerable ability and influence with his party,”³⁶ was elected attorney general in 1879 and became a supreme court judge in 1884. He served as chief justice three times,³⁷ attesting to his standing in the Cherokee Nation.

The *Arrow*’s manager at the time was Waddie Hudson (1865–1954), “an intermarried white man who had worked as a printer for other newspapers.”³⁸ After Drew took the position of secretary of the Cherokee treasury in 1891 and discontinued his editorship of the *Indian Arrow*, Hudson became the new editor until 1892, then again from 1894–1906. He was an experienced typesetter who had been the “foreman[printer] of the *Daily Tribune* at Fort Smith, Arkansas, before going to Tahlequah in 1887, where he became foreman of the *Telephone*.”³⁹ His wife, Norma Rasmus Hudson, “a capable typesetter herself, was listed as a co-publisher of the *Telephone*.”⁴⁰ Additionally, the paper was given the following description in a 1901 treatise of Indian Territory: “The *Arrow* is perhaps the best equipped newspaper plant in Tahlequah, having in addition a large office. Its owner and editor, Wadie[sic!] Hudson, has placed the *Arrow* in the front rank of Indian papers.”⁴¹

Hudson was the editor of both the *Indian Arrow* and the *Cherokee Advocate* from 1895–1897. He “editorialized against tribal dissolution,”⁴² and the previous year he co-published the *Arrow-Telephone* together with John Henry Dick for a brief three months in late 1894. Dick was a translator for the *Advocate* in 1891 who had also “served as interpreter for the lower house of the Cherokee National Council,”⁴³ and he bought the *Indian Arrow* from the Telephone Publishing Company in the summer of 1894. Half Creek and half Cherokee, Dick “had been educated at the Indian University,”⁴⁴ but his reception as a Tahlequah newspaper man was later tarnished by Hudson, who accused Dick of running the *Telephone* out of business and claimed “that Dick was simply a front man hired because he was a fullblood and was very effective in Cherokee politics.”⁴⁵ The politically-based rivalry between Hudson and Dick quickly led to the dissolution of the merger, and in January 1895, the publication was renamed the *Arrow Phone* under Hudson as the “official organ of the National party of the Cherokee Nation,”⁴⁶ while the *Telephone* was reestablished under Dick’s management as a “fearless advocate of the principles and tenets of the National party” that wishes to “speak against the unjust encroachments of aliens upon the rights of the Indian.”⁴⁷

The second daily newspaper in Tahlequah published its first issue on November 6, 1893. The *Morning Sun* (1893) was “a daily edition of the weekly *Indian Arrow*” and was edited by John Leaf Springston (1844–1929). It was a “small three-column, four-page newspaper,”⁴⁸ it contained at least one column of Cherokee print per issue and reported mainly on the annual convention of the Cherokee National Council. The daily may have

begun publication with the sole purpose of covering the National Council, seeing as its first issue coincides with the National Council and other dailies began publication for the same reason. Springston, who “spoke only Cherokee as a child,”⁴⁹ learnt to speak English at the Cherokee common schools and was active as a translator and associate editor for the *Cherokee Advocate* from 1875–1886.⁵⁰ Additionally, he briefly served as editor for the *Indian Arrow* in 1894 before Waddie Hudson took over the position. Another short-lived Tahlequah paper was the *Tahlequah Bazoo* (1893), edited by Frank J. Boudinot and William T. Canup. Son of William Penn Boudinot (1829–1896) and great-nephew of Stand Watie (1806–1871), Frank J. Boudinot (1866–1945) is related to the *Advocate* through his family, while William T. Canup became business manager of the *Weekly Capital* shortly before Shelton introduced the women’s department column to the *Telephone*. Roughly a year later, Canup moved to Webbers Falls to establish the *Indian Sentinel* (1890–1902(?)), he took the role of manager and local editor and Robert T. Hanks took the general editor’s role.

Canup, who was of Cherokee descent, “was a special correspondent for a number of newspapers including the *Dallas News*, the *Fort Worth Gazette*, the *Cincinnati Post*, the *New York Sun*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Kansas City Journal*.”⁵¹ His correspondence work shows how interconnected the periodical presses can be, and it situates Canup as a contributor to the turn-of-the-century serial press on a local, regional, and national level. The wide geographical spread of Canup’s contributions echo his mobility, and in 1891, Canup moved the *Sentinel* to Tahlequah and sold it to the Sentinel Printing Company. He himself moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he worked for the *Elevator* (1880–1891) during its last year of publication.

The *Indian Sentinel* changed editors several times over the following years. William Abbott Thompson, “a Cherokee schoolteacher,”⁵² took on the role of editor for a year until Hanks became editor again from 1892–93. Jeter Thompson Cunningham—a one sixteenth Cherokee who “had served in Watie’s Cherokee Regiment” during the Civil War, “served in the National Council and as associate and as chief justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court”⁵³—edited the paper in 1895. There was an ongoing rivalry between the *Sentinel* and the *Arrow* which can be exemplified by an article titled “Waddie, Call Him Home,” from May 9, 1895. The article opens with the rather rude characterization of a nighttime nuisance which is connected to the *Arrow*: “There’s a diminutive jackass with a gigantic voice that makes nights hideous in the northern part of town.”⁵⁴ The entry, which appears to be an editorial written by Cunningham, goes on to demonize the man and points out that the “bellowing of this vociferous goblin of Dante’s imagination” ought to be “muzzled.”⁵⁵ The writer reinforces

the man's connection to the *Arrow* by calling him "Arrow-gant," and closes the article by calling directly on the *Arrow*'s editor Waddie Hudson to intervene: "Waddie, call him home."

⁵⁶ And while there is no hard evidence to support the claim found in the *Sentinel*, the entry does speak to the competitive relationship between newspapers, as well as the both humorous and denigrating tone Cherokee papers could take towards each other. At the same time, entries such as this one highlight the peaceful inter-political discord in the local newspaper publishing business. And as shown with the shooting of Stone by Boudinot in 1887, the Tahlequah newspaper printscape was heterogenous to the point that open squabbles about how Cherokees ought to position themselves as a group could turn into deadly disputes. The connections between influential Cherokees involved in the newspaper business, however, remained not only complicated, but also fundamental for the proliferation of Native American periodicals around the turn of the century. By staging these quarrels in print, the *Sentinel* and the *Arrow* turned intra-Cherokee political rivalry into a serial, public performance, inviting readers to take positions and rehearse their own sense of party loyalty and communal belonging. In this way, the rivalry itself became part of a relational print network in which the everyday noise of banter helped define what it meant to be a Cherokee reader and citizen in a contested urban space.

Jefferson Thompson Parks edited the paper from about 1895(?)–1900, after which the *Sentinel* Publishing Company was sold to J.W. Patton and F.P. Shields when they came to Tahlequah from Stilwell, Cherokee Nation. Parks had "graduated from the Cherokee National Male Seminary June 26, 1884," and was "elected a member of the Board of Education in 1898. After having conducted a large merchantile[sic!] establishment at Tahlequah[,] he closed out the business and commenced practicing law. [...] [He] was elected judge of Cherokee County"⁵⁷ in what by that time had become Oklahoma. Parks is also connected to the *Arrow*—and with it, to Waddie Hudson—through his investment in the Arrow Publishing Company, marking him not only an influential Cherokee intellectual at the turn of the century, but also as another important Cherokee periodicalist during a time of transition.

Canup is mentioned by Parks in the only available issue from 1897, showing that the papers' rivalry was kept alive despite changing editors. The article "Who Was Right?" from September 10, 1897, signed by Sunday editor Homer Bassford, points out that the *Sentinel*, in its initial reporting and exposure of a fake named Ollie Heath in the *Fort Gibson Post*, was, indeed, correct. After Canup's earlier reply in the *Arrow*, Bassford goes on to state that he is personally acquainted with the editor from Fort Gibson and reached out to verify the facts. The short response in favor of the *Sentinel*'s reporting is printed in full, showing how

newspaper networks are used to verify stories once disputes emerged among publications' reporting.⁵⁸

The regular correspondence with other towns, most of them in Indian Territory, further highlights the close connections between newspaper publications, and it implies relationships between the papers' editors and readers from around and beyond the geographical region of Indian Territory. The *Sentinel* featured irregular or singular correspondence columns with at least five other places: Stilwell, I.T.; Webber Falls, I.T.; Rose, I.T.; Fort Gibson, I.T.; and Washington, D.C. Underneath headlines such as "From Stilwell;"⁵⁹ "Webbers Falls Items,"⁶⁰ "From Webbers Falls,"⁶¹ "Webbers Falls Locals,"⁶² or "Webber's Falls Notes,"⁶³ "Rose, I.T.,"⁶⁴ "Our Washington Letter;"⁶⁵ or summarized correspondence under the headline "News From Various Points. (From Our Regular Correspondents.)"⁶⁶ These correspondences were usually letters from one editor to another, while the Washington letters focused on legalities concerning Cherokees written as reports. The correspondence with Stilwell also underlines how interconnected towns and their respective newspapers can be. For example, Augustus E. Ivey edited the *Stilwell Standard* in 1901–1904, and was later hired as an associate editor to Stilwell's the *New Era* on June 23, 1906.

And while there appear to be no available issues from Stilwell newspapers prior to 1901, the *Stilwell Times* began publication in 1898 before it was succeeded by the *Stilwell Standard* in 1901, and it is probably this newspaper with which the *Sentinel* stood in correspondence with. The letters from Stilwell, simply signed "Scribbler," underline the close relationship between the two papers and, hence, the two Cherokee towns' relationship. A correspondence from Webbers Falls is signed "Te Ke Chef Las Kee," in a tone less friendly than the entries from Stilwell. Before signing the report, the Stilwell editor adds the following: "If you want any more news make it."⁶⁷ More news was indeed made by the *Sentinel*, especially with regard to the letters from Washington, D.C.

From January 21, 1898, up until April 14, 1900, the *Indian Sentinel* printed a "Washington Letter" a total of 24 times. The semi-regular column appeared in different places and page numbers depending on the issue, from the first page upper left-hand corner⁶⁸ to pages two,⁶⁹ three,⁷⁰ and four.⁷¹ The contents of these letters show the communication of information regarding territory legislation,⁷² discussions on the gold standard,⁷³ the impending Spanish-American War of 1898 as well as correspondence during the war⁷⁴ before switching to a different format—and correspondent. The beginning of the year also introduced a short-lived change to the paper's nameplate, in print from January 21 to October 20, 1898 (see fig. 3). There was an illustration added to the nameplate, marking not only a development in the

way the *Sentinel* communicates relevant news from outside Indian Territory, but also giving the newspaper's title page an additional recognizable marker. The illustration itself seems to depict a male Native American figure wearing traditional clothing; a feathered headdress, a necklace, a leather vest long enough to cover the knees with un-identifiable markings, as well as cloth covering the legs with what appears to be moccasin shoes. The figure is standing upright. His bow is grasped firmly enough with both hands to bend the bow string, and the figure appears to be lightly leaning on the bow. There is a quiver strapped to his back filled with arrows, and he appears to be standing on a stone plateau or a similar kind of lookout spot.



Figure 3: Nameplate, *The Indian Sentinel* 8.31 (Jan. 21, 1898): 1.

The reprinting of the “Washington Letters” from the *Fort Smith News-Record* (1893–1909) from the *Sentinel*, however, gives an insight into the relationship not only between Indian Territory and non-Indian Territory papers, but also sheds light on the complex relationships between the Cherokees in Indian Territory and the White intruders involving themselves in Cherokee affairs.

Col. William Jefferson Watts (1840–1904) is featured as the writer of the reprint from the *Fort Smith News Record*, and he appears to be the author of the subsequent articles from January to August 1898. Described as “king of intruders in the Cherokee Nation”⁷⁵ in the 1896 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* and as “Chief of Intruders” in his obituary from December 1904,⁷⁶ Watts was a highly controversial figure in the late nineteenth century Cherokee Nation. Based on the newspaper article from the *Fort Smith Times*, this is due to the fact that he was accused of faking his Cherokee descent in 1871, and in 1874, “seventy-seven families, the Watts included, were declared to be interlopers and the officers were called upon to evict them from the boundaries of the nation.” The situation threatened to develop into an “open conflict,” and by 1904 had still not been “entirely decided.”⁷⁷

Watts’—and his family’s—controversial reception is certainly an issue that highlights the exploitation of the Cherokees, and the Cherokee Indian Citizenship Association (also known as the Watts Association), apparently founded by Watts in 1884 in Vinita, Indian

Territory.⁷⁸ This highlights how White intruders organized themselves in order to legalize their claims to Cherokee lands. The association would later establish its own newspaper, the *Muldrow Register* (1890–1891(?)), in Muldrow, Indian Territory. Noteworthy here is not only that the town of Muldrow was founded by Watts himself in 1887,⁷⁹ but that he and his sister, Delila Watts Boyett, were evicted and had their property sold by order of Union Agent Robert L. Owen in September 1888. Owen (who co-edited the *Vinita Indian Chieftain* with William Hollingsworth in 1883, was a “Union Agent for the Five Civilized Tribes (1885–1889)” after his work for the *Indian Chieftain*, and organized the First National Bank of Muskogee in 1890 before he became a U.S. senator from Oklahoma from 1907–1925⁸⁰) had the Watts’ forcefully removed on December 15, 1888. Watts did not relent and re-established his claims in Washington and was re-recognized as having Cherokee blood the next year. In response, a Cherokee delegation asked to have the case reopened, and the following proceedings included a request to President Harris asking for the removal of Watts from the Cherokee Nation. At first granted by Secretary Villas, Watts was able to convince the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John H. Oberly, to reverse the decision again.⁸¹

The Watts Association “hired lobbyists in Washington,” and “[a]ll that any intruder had to do to join the association was to state that he or she was a Cherokee and pay a membership fee of five dollars.”⁸² The Cherokee press did report on Watts’ association, but it seems that not many Cherokees were aware of this association until two years after it was founded by Watts: *The Indian Journal* reports on a meeting held by the association in Vinita in May 1886, stating that “W. J. Watts, of Sequoyah District, and R. Chastine of Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, were unanimously elected as delegates to represent the association before the Interior department at Washington (...).”⁸³ The following week, the *Vinita Weekly Chieftain* printed a letter to the editor in response to the *Journal*’s report, impactfully signed “Cherokee by Blood.”⁸⁴

The letter is a scathing criticism of Watts, his entourage, and the association in general. Addressing the land-grabbing intruders at first, the letter states that “the boom spirit is like a pestilence, squelch it one place and it will break out in another.” The outrage, however, is directed at the association’s audacity upon “transfer[ring] their headquarters from Caldwell to the interior metropolis of the nation”—i.e., Vinita—and “only shows how determined and desperately fixed these fellows are in their purpose of rapine and plunder.” It is clear that the writer of this letter views the “fellows” as intruders who fake claims to Cherokee identity in a dishonest attempt to legally establish Cherokee citizenship and claim land within the Cherokee Nation. Watts, the letter goes on to say, is so successful in tricking

the government that he himself “has come to believe that he can manufacture citizens like himself at a handsome profit,” and that R. Chastine “belongs to the same class of bold and defiant intruders.” The trip to Washington is supposed “to enlist President Cleveland, Secretary Lamar and Commissioner Atkins in this lucrative business of making ‘Cherokee blood,’” although the author of the letter to the *Weekly Chieftain*’s editor is sure that “the appearance of this boomer delegation at the capital will only hasten the organization of that long hoped for commission court, which will bring Mr. Watts and Mr. Chastine to speedy trial for their great sins of intrusion and eject them and their pompous ‘Cherokee Indian Citizenship association’ from the limits of the nation.”⁸⁵

The *Vinita Weekly Chieftain* printed Watts’ response, written June 4 and published on June 10, 1886. In his response, Watts misattributes the article written by “Cherokee by Blood” to May 4, but goes on to state that the Cherokee Indian Citizenship association “has been organized for several years (...) and is in no way connected with the Oklahoma boomers.” It continues stating that he represents “a body of people who are honorable and above reproach; the most of whom are Cherokee [sic!] Indians (...) knowing that they were Cherokee Indians and had a right to live in our nation.” The truthfulness of his claims ought to be called into question, and his arguments seem sinister. The overall tone of Watts’ response is as defensive as one might expect, and he argues that the “bureau is the ruling power and will protect all Indians equally alike, no matter how they are manufactured.”⁸⁶ One may infer from this statement that the way to Cherokee citizenship may be bought through membership in Watts’ association and then made legally binding through lengthy court proceedings and continued legal efforts to grant Cherokee citizenship to White intruders in the Cherokee Nation. In this case, one may read Watts’ closing statement as “no matter how they have been procured by abusing the legal system.” Together with his attempt to discredit “Cherokee by Blood’s” legal status in the newspaper, this reflects the back-and-forth nature of Watts’ abuse of the legal system in the 1870s and 1880s. Read alongside the Cherokee editorials that reprinted and commented on Watt’s claims, the Washington Letters show how questions of intruder citizenship and land rights were communicated through ongoing newspaper correspondence. These serial exchanges connect Indian Territory and Washington, D.C., as a shared discursive space, where Cherokee leaders and white intruders struggled over who could speak as a Cherokee citizen and on what territorial terms.

The Relationality of Vinita Newspapers

As for Vinita itself, the city holds special significance in terms of periodical publishing in the Cherokee Nation during the turn of the century. It was the publishing place of the *Vinita Vidette* (1878), the *Indian Progress* (1875–1876), the *Weekly Chieftain*, the *Daily Indian Chieftain* (1891–1913), the *Vinita Globe* (1891–1895), and the *Vinita Leader* (1895–1929). The short-lived publications published in the late 1870s, while not giving an insight into the relationship between Whites and Cherokees (or Native Americans in general), are relevant due to their relation to the Native press at the end of the nineteenth century. The editor of the *Vinita Vidette*, George W. McFarlin, had been a typesetter for the *Cherokee Advocate* before moving from Tahlequah to Vinita, and he returned to work for the *Advocate* after the *Vidette* had failed in Vinita.⁸⁷ The connection to the *Advocate* is an important one, because it shows how business-minded individuals such as McFarlin tried to set up newspapers in order to add to the Native Press in developing towns, while also showcasing that efforts such as McFarlin's could fail. That is, the impact of the communication medium newspaper—or, more generally, periodicals—was well understood by those who worked in the industry, and the desire to establish an outlet connected to other Native serial publications at times preceded the demand required to keep the paper running.

Simultaneously, the establishment of a publication such as the *Indian Progress* was a publication so vexing to the Creek Nation that it gave them cause to establish a counter-publication. First published in Muskogee, Creek Nation, on October 22, 1875, the *Indian Progress* promised to include “at least two columns each in the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole languages and some twenty in English.”⁸⁸ However, it “was ordered closed after its first numbers by the Creek Council, which sent the lighthorse police to enforce the order,” after which it moved to Vinita, Cherokee Nation.⁸⁹ Elias C. Boudinot, Jr. (1835–1890), son of Elias Boudinot (1802–1839), founded the paper together with E. Poe Harris, “a physician who came to Indian Territory after the Civil War” who “for many years persisted in a vain attempt to establish recognition as an intermarried Cherokee citizen.”⁹⁰ Not to be confused with his nephew Elias C. Boudinot II, who had edited the *Cherokee Advocate* and shot B.H. Stone, editor of the *Telephone* in 1887, Boudinot Jr. was involved in the Arkansas newspaper business. His experience as a newspaper editor was based on his editorship of “*The Arkansian* at Fayetteville and the *Arkansas True Democrat* at Little Rock”⁹¹ before the Civil War and afterwards, he would “strongly advocate[] the dissolution of the tribal governments and the allotment of lands.” Unsurprisingly, “he was not generally

liked in the Cherokee or Creek [N]ations” due to “his stand on these issues,”⁹² and the publication of the *Progress* “immediately anger[ed] the Creek government.”⁹³ So angered, in fact, that “before the publishers could print the first number, the Creek National Council passed a resolution banning the paper from the Nation.”⁹⁴ The Creek National Council listed “the fact that Harris was not an Indian, that Boudinot had put up the building that housed the press without permission, and, most importantly, that the paper intended to published articles supporting the Caddo resolutions.”⁹⁵

The promised columns in Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole languages were also “a ploy meant to imply a readership and thus support among traditional members of the Five Civilized Tribes, when in truth Boudinot’s policies never appealed to these groups.”⁹⁶ Similarly, “boast[ing] that it was owned, edited, and printed by ‘people of Indian blood,’ [the *Progress* again] appealed to white audiences unfamiliar with the real political situation in Indian Territory.”⁹⁷ Boudinot had “set out to establish a proselytizing organ for his ideas in the bosom of his enemies, deep in Indian Territory, intending to convert followers there.”⁹⁸ This ploy stands in stark contrast to Augustus E. Ivey’s *Indian Home and Farm*, considered one of the last attempts to create an intertribal publication in Muskogee.⁹⁹ The Muskogee *Progress* ultimately folded and the group of people around Boudinot failed to keep a pro-boomer publication running in Indian Territory. However, as Littlefield and Parins point out, the “*Indian Progress* had provided a catalyst, and *The Indian Journal* issued its first number at Muskogee in May, 1876.”¹⁰⁰ The *Indian Journal*, as the longest—and still running—Native American periodical, then, was established in response to attempts to dissolve tribal sovereignty and allot Native lands from within Indian Territory.

This development speaks to the highly complex relationships among Native American individuals, Native American tribes, the White settlers and/or intruders in Indian Territory, as well as the wider socio-political developments pushed by the U.S. government—e.g., Boudinot’s father was chosen to be the editor the *Cherokee Phoenix* from 1828–1832. As such, the Native American press is not to be understood in a Native American-U.S. binary, but instead as a highly differentiated printscape that reflects how intertwined interest groups could be—despite the fact that their viewpoints were fundamentally at odds with one another. Additionally, the establishment of the *Indian Journal* also led the Creek Council to grant “a charter to the Indian International Printing Company, a group made up of prominent citizens of the [so-called] Five Civilized Tribes” signed by Principal Chief Samuel Checote on October 16, 1875. The prominent citizens were: William Potter Ross (Cherokee), former editor of the *Indian Arrow* and the *Cherokee Advocate*, as president; Joseph P. Folsom

(Choctaw) as the secretary; Samuel Grayson (Creek) as treasurer. Additional noteworthy members were Lochar Harjo, Ward Coachman, and Samuel Checote (Creeks); Samuel Taylor (Cherokee); Coleman Cole (Choctaw); B.F. Overton (Chickasaw); as well as John Chupco and Jumper (Seminoles).¹⁰¹ For the turn-of-the-century Native American press, this shows how the periodical publishing business functioned; in relation to both outside and inside forces as well as per tribal Council (see also the establishment of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the *Cherokee Advocate* by law). Furthermore, important members of the Cherokee elite involved themselves in more than two of the Vinita-based newspaper publications, many of whom had been connected to the *Cherokee Advocate*.

For example, John Lynch Adair (1828–1896) had edited the *Advocate* from 1873–1875. He had been the editor of the paper up until a fire claimed the entire office of the *Advocate*—including the type and equipment—in February, 1875. Born in the Eastern Cherokee Nation and orphaned at a young age, Adair was raised by “relatives and[—after removal of the Cherokees to the West—] educated in Moravian mission schools [...] under the tutelage of the Reverend Cephas Washburn at Bentonville, Arkansas.”¹⁰² He had apparently “found classical languages a favorite study” and had become a “well-known local poet and writer”¹⁰³ by the 1880s, which characterizes Adair as an educated Cherokee and Christian writer who had also experienced the loss of his ancestral homelands. Additionally, he had “served as clerk of the Cherokee Senate in 1869–1870.” This may have informed his decision to emphasize frequent coverage of “territorial bills (called ‘Oklahoma’ bills), public schools, U.S. district courts, the Okmulgee constitution, and a new code of laws,”¹⁰⁴ using the wide reach of the *Cherokee Advocate* to consolidate broader political points. Ten years later, Adair edited the *Weekly Chieftain* from 1885–1889, and in 1891, he edited the *Vinita Globe* for a brief period of time.¹⁰⁵ The president of the *Vinita Globe*, however, was Robert D. Knight (1846–1909), a Vinita native and formative figure in Cherokee history: He had “built the Cherokee Female Seminary, the National Colored High School, and Haskell Institute,”¹⁰⁶ highlighting his role not only as a newspaper man in Indian Territory, but also his efforts in establishing educational facilities specifically for Native Americans, women, and Black people. Notwithstanding the critical reception of educational facilities for minorities and the horrific treatment students had to endure (especially the boarding school experience), his efforts nonetheless speak to an attempt to better the lives of the young people in and from Indian Territory. Similar to the Tahlequah *Arrow*, the *Vinita Globe* itself was a “[v]ery vocal politically, [meaning] the newspaper editorialized on tribal affairs” and had an outspoken partisanship in favor of the Downing Party and disfavored the National Party.¹⁰⁷ And while

the connection to Tahlequah becomes more apparent when considering that the *Globe* maintained its office in Tahlequah under Adair's editorship, its impact as a Vinita newspaper on the Indian Territory periodical press has yet to be studied in depth.

A relatively unknown figure in Native American Studies, Ira L. Reeves (1872–1939) was a decorated U.S. military officer;¹⁰⁸ a contributor to military science;¹⁰⁹ the “head of the Indian Territory national guard” and “at one time manager of the Muskogee Electric Traction company”¹¹⁰ while living in Indian Territory; he was also a short story writer;¹¹¹ a staunch enemy of U.S. prohibition;¹¹² and towards the end of his life, Reeves seems to have been corresponding with W.E.B. Du Bois.¹¹³ His involvement in Indian Territory, in particular the Native American newspaper business, however, is as scarce as it is brief, although his involvement in the Indian Territory press may be an excellent example of how the *Vinita Globe* functions as an “indigenous publication project.” For instance, he is mentioned in connection to Indian Territory only in Carolyn Thomas Foreman's *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907*. Here, Foreman cites the *Henryetta Free-Lance*, pointing out that Reeves was an associate of Alexander Posey (1873–1908), and that Reeves was working for the *Muskogee Evening Times* (1896–1971)¹¹⁴ in 1905.¹¹⁵ The source of Foreman's following quote cannot be determined due to lack of available primary sources. However, it appears as if Reeves and Posey bought the paper around 1905.¹¹⁶ If Reeves and Posey had bought the *Muskogee Times*, this would suggest an additional intersection of the Native American intellectual elite with ranking members of U.S. society that shaped the newspaper printscape in Indian Territory.¹¹⁷

During its final months of publication, from March 1895 until at least November 1895, the *Vinita Globe* was edited by William H. Tibbils, Jr. (1838–1901). He was born in New York as the second son of Henry W. Tibbils, and “[i]n 1889 when the Federal court was established in the Indian Territory, Mr. Tibbils was one of the first lawyers there admitted, having obtained the first judgement rendered, and having also taken out the first execution issued by that court.”¹¹⁸ He held “the office of judge of the probate court in Kansas,” “has been connected with several prominent newspapers, and has himself founded and edited three or four papers in the State of Kansas”¹¹⁹—firmly placing him within the ranks of the educated elite as well as within both the Indian Territory Press and U.S. society. His experience with the newspaper business, then, underlines the constantly changing format of the *Globe* during its final year.

Under the editorship of Tibbils, Jr., the *Globe* printed from four to eight pages, with varying numbers of columns. Mostly five columns per page,¹²⁰ one also finds six columns,¹²¹ seven columns,¹²² and eight columns per page.¹²³ An outlier here is 5.11, published May 31,

1895. It carries five columns on page one but continues to print on six columns for the other three pages. This might have been a typesetter's error, seeing as the issue is also mis-numbered as number twelve.¹²⁴ The size of the paper depended on the layout; eight columns per page were printed on a broadsheet paper, while issues with fewer columns appear to be printed on quartos.¹²⁵ Page numbers seem similarly inconsistent: mostly four pages per issue, the *Globe* also published eight pages per issue,¹²⁶ at times five pages.¹²⁷ Additionally, the *Globe* included a supplement, which apparently was of varying length.¹²⁸ The supplementary pages seem particularly noteworthy because it is here one finds the paper's caricatures. However, this information on the *Globe* is based on digital archives, and it is doubtful that there had only been five supplements in 1895 based on the fact that these supplementary pages carried a great—albeit varying—amount of information.¹²⁹

In 1895, the supplement to the *Globe* appears to have (re-)printed cartoons regularly, including a set of illustrations in relation to the currency question of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, one issue from April 5, 1895, and two issues from July 1895 draw attention to the debate between advocates for free/unlimited coinage of silver (also referred to as bimetallism) and adherents to the gold standard. An economic panic, beginning in the spring of 1893 and based on sharp reductions of the amount of gold in the U.S. treasury, fueled political debates and made the United States' money supply the primary concern for the 1896 presidential election. These political debates not only split Republican and Democratic voters along traditional party lines, but also led to a fractionalization within the Democratic party. Since the issue of the dollar's value as a currency impacted business inside Indian Territory as much as it did outside of it, the debate on how to best stabilize the dollar as a currency during a time of economic hardship gave readers of the *Vinita* paper an overview of the pro-Downing Party publication's stance towards the money question. Additionally, reprinting cartoons and/or caricatures from other newspapers outside of Indian Territory speaks to the layers of networks connecting individual Native American periodicals to the broader U.S. newspaper discourse on a national level.

The supplement to the *Vinita Globe*, approximately in May 1895,¹³⁰ reprinted a cartoon from the *Chicago Times-Herald*, a well-known newspaper at the time that had recently merged and is referred to as the “*facile princeps* of sound money newspapers.”¹³¹ Titled “Merely a Matter of Manual Labor,” the illustration shows a variety of silver products (including silver bullions, one-dollar coins, and pots titled “silver junk” and “old silver” (see fig. 4). A pair of well-groomed hands takes center stage, the forearms clothed in what appears to be a fine shirt and jacket. The left hand is grasping a silver bullion bearing the inscription

“silver bullion. 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver worth 54 Cents,” while the right hand firmly holds a stamp. The bottom of the illustration bears the exclamation: “How rich we will be when all the silver in the world bears our stamp!”



Figure 4: “Merely A Matter of Manual Labor,” *Supplement to the Globe* 5.4 (Apr. 5, 1895)(?): n.p.

This, however, is put into perspective with the closing comment from the *Chicago Times-Herald*: The paper calls for Southern leaders to “keep[] discussion of the money question in an open and non-partisan domain, where men shall not call themselves Democrats or Republicans, Northerners or Southerners, but honest-money men and men who do not dream they can make something money by merely putting a stamp on it.”¹³² The illustration is twice as wide as the other sketches (re-)printed in the supplement and covers two columns instead of one. Additionally, it sets the tone for the other articles in the same issue, as well as subsequent issues addressing the currency question. The entire page of the supplement is on the money question, with articles carrying titles such as “Small Change,” “Interest and Free Coinage,” “Dollars in Skunks,” or “Why Silver Has Fallen.” Notable here is that articles on the currency question appear to have only been printed in the supplement to the *Globe*.¹³³ That is, although the issue was one that had apparently “divided families and regions in the way slavery had split them a generation earlier,”¹³⁴ it seems as if the bulk of the articles relating to the currency question published by the *Globe* were not considered relevant enough for the main pages of the publication. Instead of featuring the articles in the main issue to underline the editor’s political stance, Tibbils included a different and brief regular column.

Beginning on July 12, 1895, the *Vinita Globe* began a month-long regular column titled “Men of the Week.” The short biographical sketches of the men featured in the newspaper were accompanied by an illustration, providing a visual to the biographical entries. The series ranged from one to two columns in print, featuring three entries per column.¹³⁵ An important factor of this series is that it did not include any Native American personalities of the time. The men featured in the column were exclusively White. They mostly depict U.S. Americans, among them men of different faiths,¹³⁶ politicians,¹³⁷ the president of the American Geographical Society,¹³⁸ meteorologists,¹³⁹ astronomers,¹⁴⁰ reporters,¹⁴¹ criminals,¹⁴² and businessmen¹⁴³. However, not all of them are U.S. Americans. The inclusion of Norwegian,¹⁴⁴ Swedish,¹⁴⁵ English,¹⁴⁶ and Peruvian¹⁴⁷ men points to an attempt to establish a regular biographical column informing readers of international news in relation to a person instead of an occurrence. That is, the column gives a short overview of a particular man and relates his work to a contemporary event such as an upcoming election, scientific progress, or religion. And while the illustrated regular column in the *Vinita Globe* may call to mind the regular portrait series titled “Types of Indian Girls” published in *Twin Territories* (1898–1904) by Ora V. Eddleman (1880–1968), its impact is far less than the carefully curated content of Eddleman’s nationally renowned high-brow literary magazine.¹⁴⁸ The establishment of such a column in a Vinita newspaper, however, does speak to the production

of knowledge (here: national and international news) through biographical reporting in a local newspaper. Next to its function as a pro-Downing Party political news outlet, the *Vinita Globe* then constitutes an example of how local newspapers in Indian Territory experimented with regular columns to keep readers both engaged in and informed on contemporary affairs. The articles on the currency question, alongside the regular column, additionally point to the intersection of Native American periodicals in Indian Territory with the White press. This becomes most clear after the dissolution of Indian Territory and when viewing the final years of the better-known *Weekly Chieftain* and its daily edition, the *Daily Indian Chieftain*.

Vinita Publishing Practices Moving Into Oklahoma Statehood

The *Vinita Weekly Chieftain* is described not only as a Cherokee publication, but as “one of the most influential newspapers edited by American Indians at a crucial stage of Indian history.”¹⁴⁹ Its inclusion of a history of its own publication in 1903 opens up a discussion on the *Weekly*’s understanding of itself as a Native American newspaper, and it speaks to the relevance of the paper as an integral part of Vinita’s history.¹⁵⁰ Following a contextualization of the *Weekly* and the *Daily Chieftain*, the focus of the final discussion is put on the years after Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory were dissolved to form the new state of Oklahoma on November 16, 1907, a period of time in the papers’ histories that has yet to be discussed but reveals how closely the Native Press can be related to U.S. labor union efforts through a survey of visual-graphic elements.

Vinita’s *Weekly Chieftain* was owned first by George W. Green, “a white Vinita merchant whose name never appeared on the publication,” from 1882–1884. In June 1884, M.E. Milford bought the newspaper from Green, under whose leadership “the newspaper increased in importance and prosperity.”¹⁵¹ He owned the paper for almost fifteen years, until Milford’s “name was removed from the masthead [after his] health had dictated that he give up the newspaper business” and he sold his interest in the *Weekly Chieftain* to David M. Marrs in 1900.¹⁵² Marrs himself, who “married Olivia Gunter, a Cherokee,”¹⁵³ had moved to Vinita in 1886.

The first editors of the *Weekly Chieftain* were, among others, the Cherokees Augustus E. Ivey, Robert L. Owen, and William P. Ross.¹⁵⁴ The tenure of Ivey—although his involvement with the Native Press was substantial during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—was brief.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, he did not seem to have done any of “the real work of writing the news and reading the proof.” Instead, this work might have been done by

a J.W. Scroggs, “whose title was local editor” and whose name, “for political reasons,” did not appear on the paper.¹⁵⁶ In January 1883, Robert L. Owen and William Hollingsworth had become the editors. Owen, who would later become a Union Agent for the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, was involved in the removal of the Watts family from the Cherokee Nation in 1888, and he became U.S. senator from Oklahoma (1907–1925, see above). On September 14, 1883, Owen published his “Valedictory,” and William P. Ross and J.W. Scroggs were listed as editors. In it, Owen expressed his hope that the *Weekly Chieftain* had been able to connect people across party lines, stating that “[i]f we have assisted in mitigating the evils of political hostility, in increasing public good feeling and in exciting a spirit of honest public discussion our time and labor has not been lost.” The humble tone of Owen becomes clear when reading his introduction of his successors: “The editorial columns will be conducted by Hon. Wm. P. Ross, a gentleman whose intellectual ability is too well known to need commendation at our feeble hands; the local columns will be in charge of J.W. Scroggs, the father of Worcester Academy; the business management in the hands of our reliable fellow citizen, Mr. G.W. Miller.” He closes his valedictory by appealing to the good nature of the publication, stating that “if we have said aught that justly wounded your feelings lay it to our weak head not to an unamiable heart.”¹⁵⁷ Despite the level of fame William P. Ross had achieved by the 1880s, it seems surprising that Owen would not mention Ross’s experience as an editor for the *Cherokee Advocate* and the *Indian Journal* when introducing him as the new editor. Ross continued his work in the newspaper business after editing the *Weekly Chieftain* in Vinita when he edited the *Indian Arrow* in Tahlequah from 1888–89 (see above).

At the end of Ross’s editorship for the *Weekly Chieftain*, Green sold the newspaper to Milford. A former editor of the *Daily Commonwealth* of Topeka, Kansas, Milford “worked on several newspapers before moving from Topeka to Vinita in 1884.”¹⁵⁸ His experience in the newspaper business aided him in Vinita, and “[h]is efforts (...) paid off as the newspaper increased in importance and prosperity under his leadership.” Milford continued to become “a leading citizen of Vinita, (...) a member of the Board of Trustees of Worcester Academy and a director of the First National Bank,”¹⁵⁹ which connects him to J.W. Scroggs and R.L. Owen beyond their involvement in the same newspaper. Together with S.J. Thompson, Milford edited the *Weekly Chieftain* until December 24, 1885, when John Lynch Adair became editor of the paper. Adair, who had edited the *Cherokee Advocate* from 1873–1875 and would later edit the *Vinita Globe* briefly in 1891, served four years as editor of the *Weekly Chieftain* from 1885–1889. Just like Ivey, Ross, and Owen, Adair was a well-known figure and writer in

Indian Territory (see above), and Adair continued to publish for the *Weekly Chieftain* as a special correspondent to Washington in 1890.¹⁶⁰

H.W.C. Shelton, who had introduced his readers to Helen R. Duncan's brief regular column "Educational Department" while he was editor of the Tahlequah *Telephone*, became the *Weekly Chieftain*'s editor in 1890, although his editorship was as short-lived as some of his Cherokee predecessors. M.E. Milford took charge again in late October 1890 and on May 14, 1891, David M. Marrs "took over" "[as] new editor." The pair "published one of the largest and most influential newspapers in the territory" "[f]or the next ten years." In the first years of the twentieth century, Marrs "became both editor and publisher, (...) Milford's name was removed from the masthead (...), [and] H. Lee Clotworthy became associate editor on September 19, 1901,"¹⁶¹ apparently until December 4, 1902.¹⁶²

On March 8, 1906, Robert M. McClintock assumed editorship of the *Weekly Chieftain*. In "A New Helmsman," a letter from the new editor to the readers of the newspaper, McClintock begins by giving "expression to the pleasure I feel in being permitted to remain in this city. I did not at all desire to leave, and the opportunity to continue a resident of Vinita as editor of this paper was one I most gladly embraced." He hopes to maintain the "territorial reputation as a fearlessly independent, Democratic newspaper" gained "[u]nder the able guidance of Mr. Marrs," after which he hopes to re-establish the newspaper's quality to a level comparable to other major outlets in the Cherokee Nation.¹⁶³ The promise to uphold a paper in the interest of Cherokees or Cherokee readers is absent from the entry announcing yet another change in editor. From April 11, 1907 onwards, E.E. Hull is listed as editor and general manager. The "Announcement" informs the reader that "R.M. McClintock has sold his interest in The Chieftain Publishing Co. to W. P. Farley, Morris F. Knight, C. S. Avery, E.E. Hull, C.C. Roberts and Seymour Riddle, and with this issue The Chieftain again becomes a Democratic paper." As such, "[t]hese gentleman are now the owners of more than four fifths of the capital stock of the company, and intend to make The Chieftain one of the leading Democratic newspapers of the new state." The new editor, E.E. Hull is described as "an old Georgia Democrat, and a newspaper man of long and successful experience."¹⁶⁴ He appears to have edited the *Weekly Chieftain* until at least Oct. 3, 1907. It is unclear if a single person (or someone with the help of an associate editor) edited the paper in the four issues dating October 10–31, 1907. The *Weekly Chieftain*'s nameplate does not give a name as it did in previous and subsequent issues, and instead names the Chieftain Publishing Company. In November, beginning with issue 25.22, W.J. Hutchinson is listed as editor and manager.¹⁶⁵

There is no announcement in the paper as were those published by the previous editors, and Hutchinson appeared to have been editor for a mere four months.

On Feb. 13, 1908, the *Weekly Chieftain* announced that W.W. Goodwin “purchased an interest in the Chieftain Publishing Company and assumed the management of the business.” The “Announcement” emphasizes that “[t]he Chieftain will continue as a democratic paper and the company expects to enlarge its field of usefulness as soon as local conditions justify” and that the new manager has “extensive experience with some of the largest papers in the west.”¹⁶⁶ Which publications Goodwin edited prior to his move to Vinita is uncertain. He is, however, mentioned in 1903 as the “editor of the El Dorado News at El Dorado, Mo.,” when he passed/visited McAlester, Indian Territory, on “prospecting tour.”¹⁶⁷

The “Announcement” was received by at least two other newspapers prior to the release of the *Weekly Chieftain*’s issue, and both papers published an issue on Feb. 13, 1908, dedicating space to the *Chieftain*’s new manager. The *Vinita Leader* published a short entry simply informing its readers that “W.W. Goodwin, lately of Springfield, Mo., succeeds W.J. Hutchinson as manager of the Chieftain.”¹⁶⁸ The *Welch Watchman* prints a longer entry on the new manager on its title page, paraphrasing the “Announcement” published in the *Chieftain*. It includes part of the sidenote on W.J. Hutchinson who “has not yet made up his mind as to his future course, and may remain in the employ of the Chieftain.”¹⁶⁹ What is interesting in this notice is that it is not the *Weekly Chieftain* that the *Welch Watchman* reports on, but the *Daily Chieftain*. The *Daily* was edited and managed by the same people as the *Weekly*, and, given the perceived importance of the *Vinita Chieftain*, it seems odd for another paper of the county to only reference the *Daily*. A month later, the *Ardmore Morning Democrat* reports on the *Chieftain*’s change in management. It prints the other part of the sidenote on Hutchinson, pointing out that he “will probably accept a position with a printers supply company of Kansas City that has been offered him,” but misspells his name as “C.F. Hutchinson” instead of W.J. Hutchinson.¹⁷⁰

Towards the end of Hutchinson’s management, the *Daily Chieftain* was advertised as a resoundingly successful Vinita daily paper. It apparently “increase[d] with each issue” and “a list of our sixty new names that were added to our list during December [1907]” was to be published the following week, giving high hopes for the year 1908.¹⁷¹ This is emphasized under Goodwin’s management in early March, 1908, when the *Weekly Chieftain* published an article titled “Going Some,” which states that the “Chieftain’s daily subscription has been increasing rapidly during the last three weeks, more than a hundred new names having been placed on the books.”¹⁷² In fact, business for the *Daily Chieftain* was so good that it was

discontinued two weeks later. On March 19, 1908, the *Weekly Chieftain* published an article entitled “DEAD. Last Issue of the Daily Chieftain Printed Yesterday. Weekly Chieftain Will be Continued.” The lengthy entry, covering almost two entire columns of the page, explains the decision as follows: the *Daily* cannot compete with “machine-set newspapers from Muskogee, Tulsa, Kansas City and Springfield” and it “has been a money loser” “[f]or something like two years.” It contrasts the—now admittedly—unsuccessful *Daily* with the *Weekly*, adding that “[t]he Daily was a mere incidental,” while “[t]he Weekly is good property.” The long history of the *Weekly Chieftain*, covering “a quarter of a century,” is an achievement underlined by “a large number of subscribers who have been taking the paper more than twenty years, and there are several readers who have taken the paper regularly since the date of the first issue.” As such, “[t]he Weekly Chieftain occupies a field of its own” and “has merely gotten rid of its hoodoo—it has dropped its burden.” The aim, now that the *Daily* was discontinued, was “to make the Weekly Chieftain a real old-fashioned country weekly—the kind that makes life cheerful on a warm summer afternoon when you’re sitting on the shady side of the house with your chair tipped back against the weather-boarding.”¹⁷³ Here, the reader is not only praised and given an image of how to best enjoy a warm afternoon, but the typeset of the entry is different to the other articles printed in the issue. The letters are printed farther apart than other entries, which underlines the importance of the message—indeed, the suspension of the *Daily Chieftain* was of particular significance to Vinita—, while giving the reader a highly legible article when compared to the rest of the paper.

The *Welch Watchman* published an article the following week, again implying that the *Daily Chieftain* and *Weekly Chieftain* were not published simultaneously by stating that “the daily would be discontinued and hereafter be issued weekly. (...). Mr. Goodwin, will, however, give Craig County a paper that will be strictly up to date, and fully alive to everything that will lead to the upbuilding of Vinita and Craig County.”¹⁷⁴ The *Watchman* seems to have no knowledge of the publication of the *Weekly Chieftain*. The suspicious phrasing of the entry may point to a misunderstanding, but the impact of a widely read and longstanding newspaper such as the *Weekly Chieftain* may also reflect the unfamiliarity with the region’s history, or the inexperience of the *Watchman*’s editor. The friendly tone in the *Watchman*, however, is not upheld throughout the *Chieftain*’s issue, published on the same day; on March 26, 1908. The *Chieftain* printed an article titled “United Family of Chieftain Readers,” in which the writer expresses his joy at receiving notice from *Daily Chieftain* readers who had wished to continue their subscription as readers of the *Weekly*. It also

harkens back to the time Marrs edited the paper. Under his tenure, he “made a success of it,” reminiscing on the time “[w]hen the *Daily Chieftain* was a good paper—when it made money.”¹⁷⁵ Now that the paper had not made enough money for a long period of time, it had to be discontinued.

Under a column titled “Bluejacket News,” published in the same issue, another reason for the suspension of the *Daily Chieftain* is given: “There is but one excuse for [the suspension], and that is, the citizens of Vinita failed to appreciate the daily as they should have done.”¹⁷⁶ One cannot help but notice the bitter tone, especially within the context of Vinita’s periodical press, although it does highlight an important fact of the newspaper business: If a publication is not financially viable, it will go out of business. The resentment of whoever wrote the untitled and short entry is understandable. Yet, blaming the Vinita citizens for not purchasing a subscription to the *Daily*—especially after the repeated praise the *Chieftain* heaped on itself not ten days prior—leaves an unpleasant aftertaste. This changed just three months later, when D.M. Marrs once again “return[ed] to the editorial desk of the *Chieftain*, perhaps not leaving so soon again.”¹⁷⁷

The “Salutatory” published by Marrs has a grand, high-spirited tone, emphasizing Marrs’ connection to Vinita as a town, the *Chieftain* in particular, as well as the importance of the press. The returning editor promises to “again [make the *Chieftain*] what the editor can make it,” and a section of the “Salutatory” is dedicated to the impressive printing plant. Not only is the mechanical department under the supervision of a Mr. R.L. Scott, “a printer whose reputation for good printing is well established in Vinita and adjacent towns,” but “[t]he excellent equipment of the *Chieftain* Publishing Co. will be merged with the fine new plant of the D.M. Marrs Printing Co. which will make the most complete printing plant in Northern Oklahoma.” With conditions as favorable as these, Marrs also aimed “to rehabilitate the Daily Edition of the *Chieftain* with Associated Press service and thus place Vinita in touch with the outside world.”¹⁷⁸ In the following issue, published June 26, 1908, Marrs printed “An Appreciation,” in which he expresses his gratitude for receiving “many kind expressions of encouragement of appreciation” since resuming his position as editor of the *Chieftain*. However, “none have been received that are more prized than one from Mrs. Narcissa Owen, of Washington, D.C., mother of Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma.” No direct reference is made to R.L. Owen’s editorship of the *Chieftain* in 1883. Instead, Marrs points to “a copy of [Narcissa Owen’s] memoirs, an exquisite little book of a little more than one hundred pages and dealing with early Cherokee history and legend with delightful stories and traditions.”¹⁷⁹ That a former editor is mentioned but not acknowledged may be due to Owen’s

rise to senator of Oklahoma.¹⁸⁰ Yet, a focus here on Owen's mother and her memoirs speaks to the *Chieftain's* function as an archive not only of Vinita's activities and print histories but broader Cherokee history as well—after the dissolution of Indian Territory.

It would take until August 3, 1908, for the *Daily Chieftain* to be rejuvenated by Marrs. The promise to reestablish the paper was a recurring theme from July 1908 onwards, and the *Weekly Chieftain* continuously published small entries on the upcoming (re-)publication. For example, the paper stated that “[t]he pressure on the Chieftain to start the daily is becoming so strong and so general that there is only one thing to do and that is begin the publication of the daily again soon;”¹⁸¹ that “[a]rrangements are about complete for again beginning the publication of the Daily Chieftain” and that they “met with an enthusiastic response from the business men[sic!] of Vinita;”¹⁸² or in a large advertisement titled “The Chieftain Job Dept.,” which closes with the promise that “A DAILY Edition of the Chieftain will be resumed soon.”¹⁸³ One year into Marrs' return to the *Chieftain*, another change in management was announced.

On November 26, 1909, the *Weekly Chieftain* announced that it had “closed a deal Tuesday with W.E. Verity of Shawnee, Oklahoma, for the purchase of the printing plant of the D.M. Marrs Printing Co. The purchase price is \$8,000 spot cash exclusive of the new No. 5 Mergenthaler linotype machine.” The announcement emphasized the value of the printing plant, noting that it “is modern in every particular and one of the best in the state.” The more noteworthy fact for the readers at the time was the following sentence: “It is understood the paper will be republican in politics and have the backing of the party in this part of the state.”¹⁸⁴ That is, the new owner of the paper would break with the newspaper's stance as a democratic paper, a political position the *Chieftain* had held since its inception. The transaction would not come to fruition, however, as the next issue published an article declaring that “the sale was mutually declared off last Friday on the arrival of W.E. Verity of Shawnee” due to “a misunderstanding with reference to the price to be paid for the Chieftain.” It appears as though the announcement was well received by Vinitans, since “[t]here was some quiet rejoicing around the Chieftain building when it was announced that the Chieftain had not and probably would not change owners. The telephone was busy with calls from friends throughout the city who desired to express their satisfaction at the turn matter had taken.”¹⁸⁵ That the matter was one of importance for the local readers underlines the (party) loyalty of the readers and, by extension, shows how a local, politically oriented newspaper positioned itself in relation to its standing as one of the most notable Native American publications around the turn of the century. There was, however, an unannounced yet

impactful change for the *Chieftain* (both *Daily* and *Weekly*) two years into Marrs' return as editor.

The Typographical Labor Union Label in the Native Press

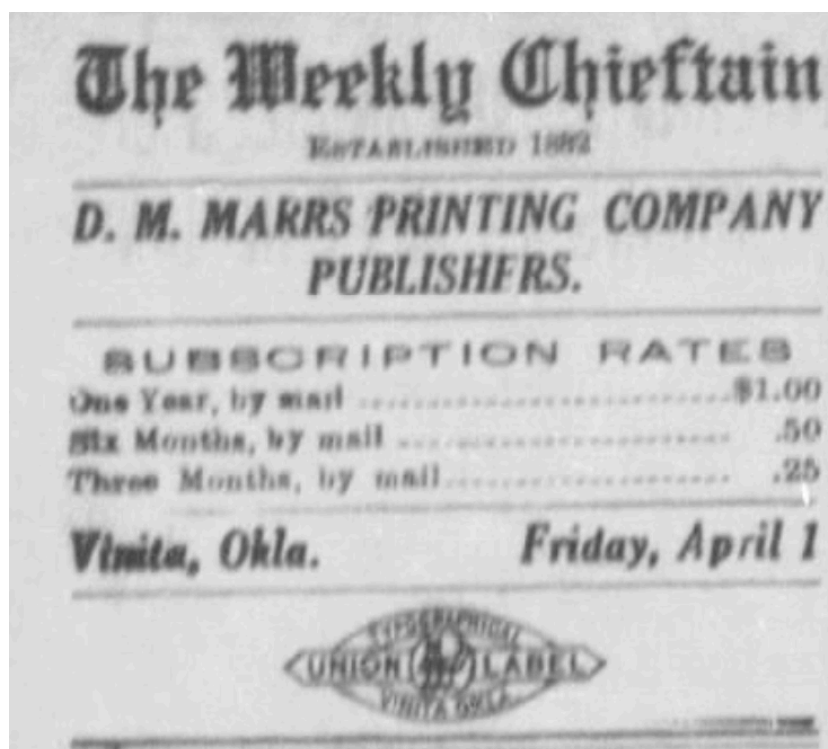


Figure 5: *The Weekly Chieftain* 27.42 (Apr. 1, 1910): 6.

From April 1, 1910, onwards, the *Weekly Chieftain* began printing the union label of the International Typographical Union, also known as the Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label (see fig. 5).¹⁸⁶ “America’s oldest trade-union—the International Typographical Union (A[merican]F[ederation of]L[abor])—” was officially founded on May 3, 1852 as the National Typographical Union and renamed the International Typographical Union “when Canadian organizations of printers were admitted in 1869.” It “participated in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (hence AFL),” maintaining ties with other AFL printing craft unions “through the International Allied Printing Trades Association, which governs the use of the Allied Printing Trades Label.”¹⁸⁷ One of the major achievements of the union efforts was the reduction of the 12-hour day to an 8-hour day for printers, a struggle spanning over half a century until it was passed in 1906.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, a charter was issued for Indian Territory in 1893,¹⁸⁹ emphasizing the union’s efforts to establish themselves in Indian Territory, and/or establishing their own publications to further expand their influence across the country. The label, then, marks a newspaper publication as part of the broader U.S. labor

union and “is apparently a small matter, but it is really one of significant importance; it is the imprimatur or ‘hall mark’ of trade genuineness.” As such, “[t]he main purpose which it serves is to stamp all goods entitled to its use as having been manufactured by members of a trade union in a shop where trade-union regulations have been complied with.”¹⁹⁰ And, as the Boston Typographical Union highlights, “[t]he most successful and far-reaching agency that has been employed in helping to secure reasonable hours and wages is the Union Label (...)” (see fig. 6).¹⁹¹



Figure 6: Boston Typographical Union, *Illustrated Historical Souvenir, Fiftieth Anniversary, 1848–1898, Boston. Typographical Union, No. 13, December 14, 1898* (Boston: Boston Typographical Union, 1898), 118, 125.

It is surprising, then, that there is no comment to be found on the inclusion of the label in the *Weekly Chieftain*. It simply appears from Apr. 1, 1910, onwards in the newspaper’s masthead on pages four or six of the newspaper. With the exception of a three-month period (July 29–October 28, 1910), Marrs printed the label continuously until the paper ceased publication, apparently at the end of the year 1912.¹⁹² Without speculating too much, one might think that the lack of the label during the three-month period in 1910 could be connected to an issue with Marrs’ membership or available typeset. It might have been the case that Marrs was not allowed to include the label for this period due to issues relating to membership fees, membership status (i.e., a brief suspension); or, that the typeset to print the label had been lost or broken and it took several months to acquire a new one. In any case, the inclusion of the Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label in the *Chieftain* shows how the Native Press connects to the White labor union efforts in the early twentieth century—especially since the paper is considered to be one of the most influential Cherokee newspapers around the turn of the century. That Marrs had previously edited the paper in the 1890s underlines the significance of him including the label during his second tenure from 1908 onwards. His experience with the newspaper business in general, and Vinita in particular, speaks to the

beneficial nature of a union membership for a local paper in the former Indian Territory. Instead of viewing these publications as “indigenous publication projects,” then, one may think of this intersection as an expansion of identity—not as Native American (e.g., Cherokee or Creek), but as newspaper men or periodicalists.

The union label appears on other Native American periodicals, and while not all of them were established before the dissolution of Indian Territory, the publications all emerged in Native American towns of either Indian Territory or the newly formed state of Oklahoma. That is, not only the Cherokee Press involved itself with the labor union, but publications from other notable tribes did the same. For example, Ardmore, established 1887 in the Chickasaw Nation and incorporated in 1899, published at least three newspapers carrying the Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label: *The Union Review* (1905–1908(?)), the *Farmer’s Advocate and the Union Review* (1908–?), and the *Ardmore Morning Star* (1911–?). The *Union Review* began including the label in early September 1905, shortly after its inception and two years before the dissolution of Indian Territory.¹⁹³ The paper merged with the *Farmer’s Advocate* in 1908 and continued as a new publication from Dec. 10, 1908, , carrying the label from its first issue onwards.¹⁹⁴ Another Ardmore publication, this one established in 1911, also bore the label early on.¹⁹⁵ The *Ardmore Morning Star* is particularly noteworthy because of its masthead. As do other publications, it bears the paper’s name. However, set behind the title is a sketch of towns close to or important in relation to Ardmore. Ardmore takes the center, depicted as a star (probably referencing the *Morning Star*’s title), and a good two dozen names are connected to it (see fig. 7).



Figure 7: *The Ardmore Morning Star* 1.44 (Aug. 20, 1911): Nameplate.

Among them are Oklahoma City, Chickasha, Purcell, Davis, Lawton, Denison, Ft. Worth, Dallas, and Weatherford. Additionally, the *Daily Ardmoreite* (1893–1962) introduced the union label on April 30, 1905 (see fig. 8). Unlike the other newspapers, the *Ardmoreite* includes a brief statement on the inclusion of the label by the editor. “The union label,” the entry states, “now adorns the figurehead of the Ardmoreite, and in this connection we can state that everything in this city is performed under the union label system.”¹⁹⁶ These four

publications seem to be union papers, which further substantiates the claim that the White labor unions began to appear (and influence) the Native Press in the early twentieth century.

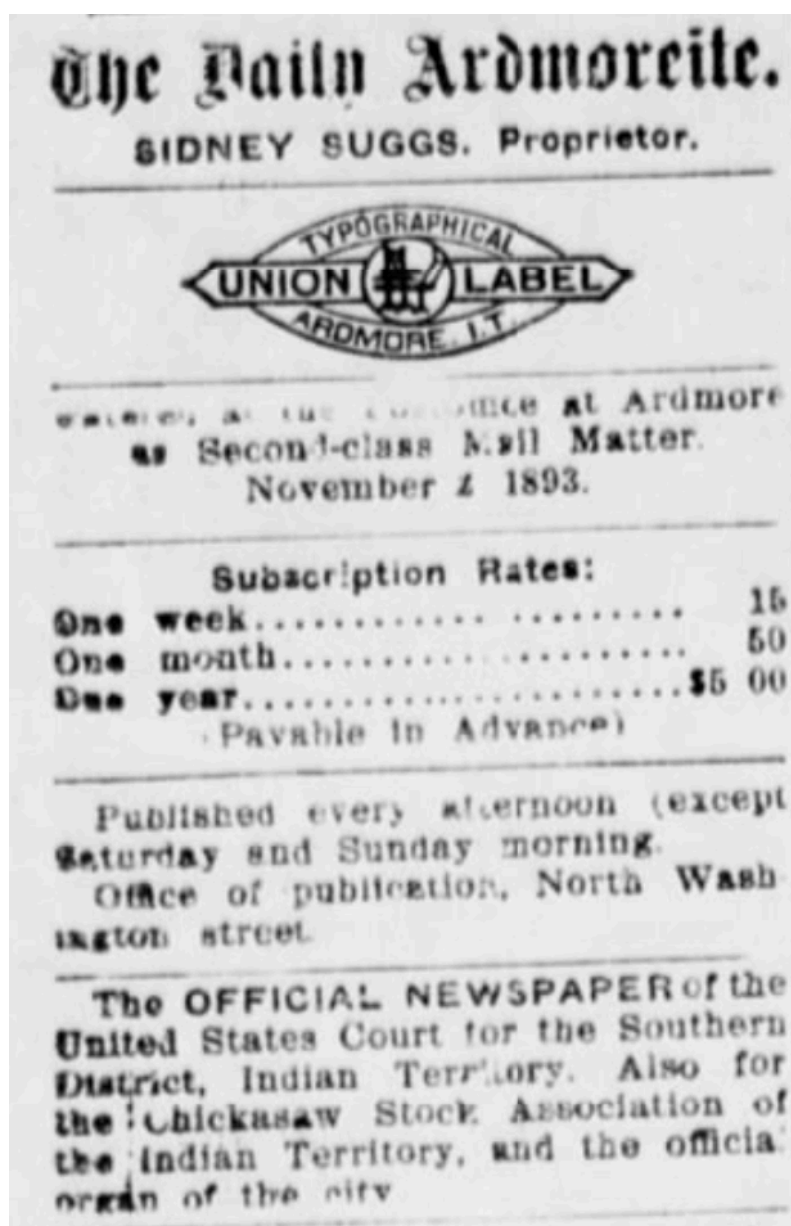


Figure 8: *The Daily Ardmoreite* 12.146 (Apr. 30, 1905): 4.

Other newspapers carrying the label appeared in Muskogee, Creek Nation, later Oklahoma. A more influential town of the Creek Nation, Muskogee was established in early 1872 and incorporated on March 19, 1898. Muskogee publications include the *New State Tribune* ([1894?]1906–1912), the *Labor Amalgamator* (the predecessor to the *Muskogee Unionist*¹⁹⁷ and the *Muskogee Ledger* (1903–1907(?))), the *Muskogee Democrat* (1904–190?), all of which carried the union label. Other local Creek newspapers bearing the label appeared in Henryetta (*Henryetta Free Lance* (1902–1919)) and Sapulpa (*Sapulpa Light* (1908–1909) and

the *Sapulpa Evening Light* (1909–?). The *Sapulpa Light* (1908–1909), which began publishing a daily edition in 1908, and turned into an evening edition (apparently in late December 1909) include the label,¹⁹⁸ as did the *Henryetta Free Lance* (1902–1919).¹⁹⁹ The sites of the two towns had been established in the Creek Nation in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Sapulpa incorporated on March 31, 1898, and Henryetta forming a city government in 1901.

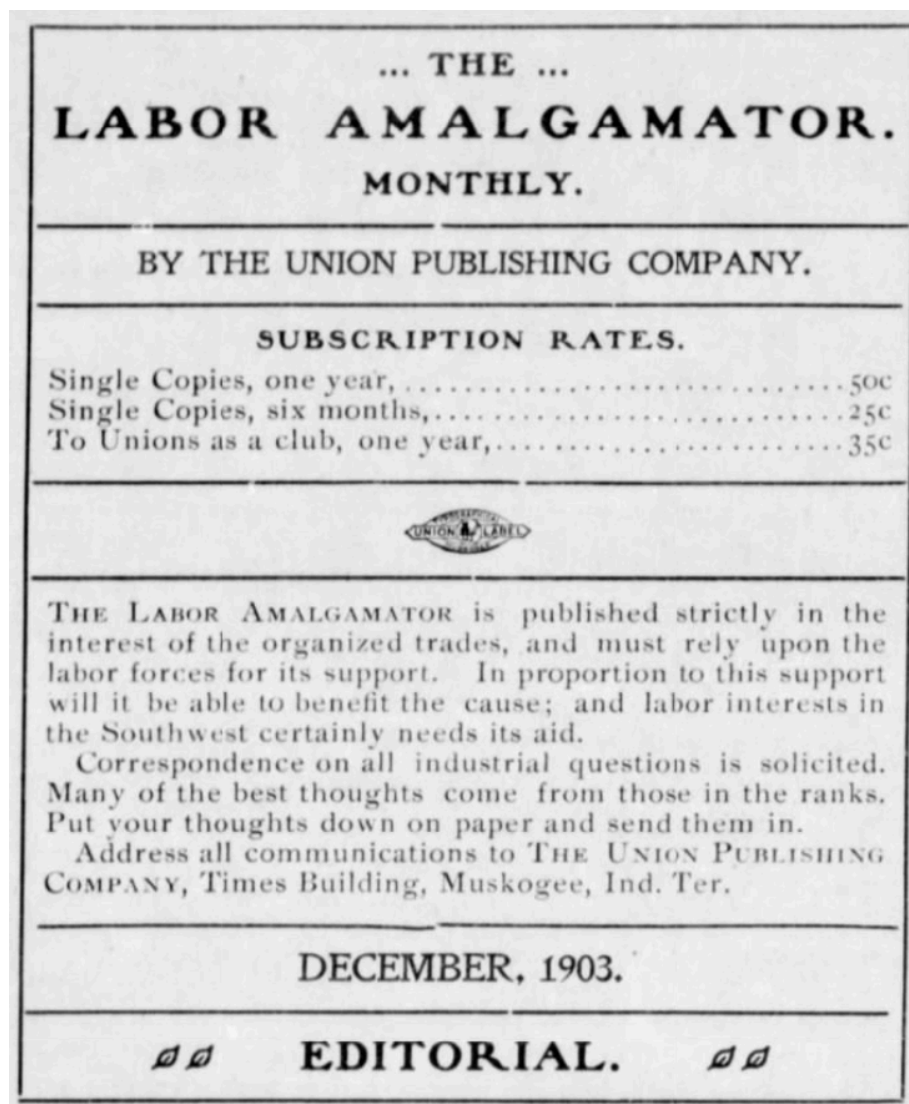


Figure 9: *The Labor Amalgamator* 1.1 (Dec. 1, 1903): 8.

Although difficult to spot, the *Labor Amalgamator*, a Muskogee newspaper that began publication in 1903, carried the union label from its first issue onwards (see fig. 9).²⁰⁰ That is, the International Typographical Union was a visible part of the local Muskogee press four years before Oklahoma Statehood. And although the publication was succeeded first by the *Muskogee Unionist* (1904–1905) and then the *Muskogee Ledger* (1905–1907(?)), the follow-

up publications continued to include the union label.²⁰¹ The publications are not only labor oriented, but, as the *Unionist* states, “published strictly in the interest of organized trades, and must rely on the labor forces for its support.”²⁰² However, a focus on graphic-visual elements specifically for Native Americans may be gleaned from the *New State Tribune* ([1894?]1906–1912). The “successor to the Muskogee Weekly Times and Musk ogee[sic!] Weekly Democrat”²⁰³ features the National Seals of Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations in its nameplate, clearly visible in the middle. The nameplate also includes the phrase “first settlers in Indian Territory,”²⁰⁴ perhaps pointing to efforts of White settlers to establish outposts in Indian Territory towns (see fig. 10; fig. 11).



Figure 10: *The New State Tribune* 12.21 (Mar. 15, 1906): Nameplate.

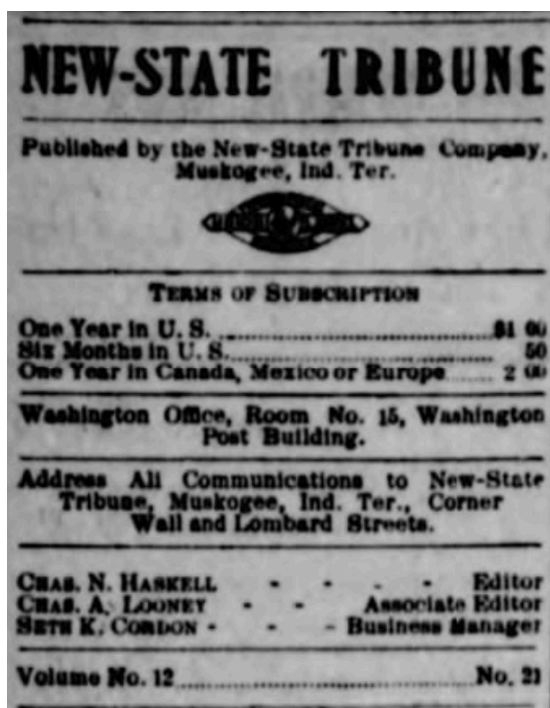


Figure 11: *The New State Tribune* 12.21 (Mar. 15, 1906): 4.

As a final example from Muskogee, Augustus E. Ivey’s *Indian Home and Farm* also carried the union label (see fig. 12). Ivey, a one-sixteenth Cherokee who had edited the *Cherokee*

Advocate, the *Tahlequah Telephone*, the *Stilwell Standard*, the *Sallisaw Star* and *Sallisaw Gazette*, the *Grove Sun*, and the *Stilwell New Era*, had extensive experience in the newspaper business before he launched the *Indian Home and Farm* in 1910. Ivey added the subtitle “Oo-wa-nuh-suh Ah-chee-la-ulti, A Paper They All Can Read,” and claimed that the paper “is successor to the *Cherokee Phoenix*, established in 1828; and to the *Cherokee Advocate*, established in 1844; and has 25,000 readers.”²⁰⁵ The truthfulness of these claims cannot be substantiated, and it appears as though Ivey added this information to arouse interest in purchasing the paper. “A Paper They All Can Read” means the paper was published in four languages: Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and English. “The Cherokee text appeared in the Cherokee syllabary, while the other [N]ative languages were transliterated using the Roman alphabet.”²⁰⁶ It was an intertribal publication, and as such is set apart from the local newspapers discussed above. As opposed to the newspapers for a local town, *Indian Home and Farm* was aimed at Native American readers throughout the country, not only informing its readers on national happenings but also claiming “to speak in behalf of the Indian when his rights are assailed or his toes are being stepped upon.”²⁰⁷ That is, the intertribal publication underlines Ivey’s aspiration to establish a pan-Native American identity during a time in which tribal sovereignty had been demolished. That the paper bore the union label, then, shows how interoperable Native publications and White organizations could be. This is not to say that these types of alliances represent any kind of sovereignty (or resistance) in the Native Press. They do, however, suggest that these newspapers formulated the emergence of Native identities as publishers, editors, printers, and typesetters, and that some may have understood themselves first and foremost as (newspaper) tradesman.

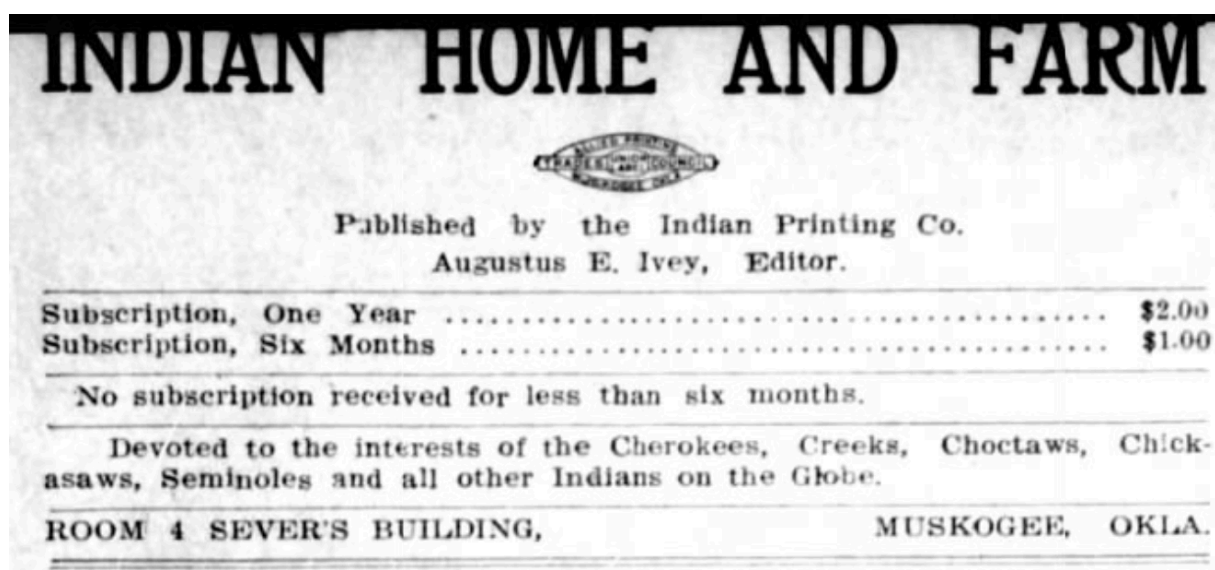


Figure 12: *Indian Home and Farm* 1.1 (Mar. 17, 1910): 4.

In this sense, the Native press does not simply mirror a Native/white binary but participates in a shared union culture in which editors, printers, and typesetters understand themselves as tradesmen as well as tribal citizens. On the one hand, this highlights the existence of union labor efforts for printers in Indian Territory. On the other hand, the appearance of the Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label before Oklahoma Statehood emphasizes White intrusion in Indian Territory through a labor union. And while the International Typographical Union successfully fought for the reduction of a twelve-hour workday to an eight-hour workday for its members,²⁰⁸ the establishment of a White (labor) institution in Indian Territory may point toward a self-understanding and self-perception of the editors not in terms of ethnic or racial identity—and, by extension, interests—but perhaps mainly as part of the newspaper business; as periodicalists. The establishment of labor unions in Indian Territory, then, highlights the function of the Indian Territory Press as a modern vehicle of communication in the opening years of the twentieth century, a vehicle that took on not only modern forms of publishing but also connected to modern forms of organization. Against the backdrop of the emerging local newspaper press in Indian Territory towns, this development also adds a further argument against the reductive binary of viewing the Native Press in opposition to the White Press. The Native Press, then, functions not parallel to, in opposition to, or as complementing the non-Native Press, but instead as a separate entity, which continuously intersected with the non-Native Press. The publications function as independent media which continuously interacted with each other, at times in opposition and at times in combination with other periodicals. Further expressions of modern publishing practices by Native Americans and/or in Indian Territory (later Oklahoma) may emerge for other tribes situated in this geographical area and beyond. This idea of modern publishing practices in the Native Press established itself throughout the late nineteenth century and continued to develop into the early twentieth century. It can be traced in another modern development in Native periodical printing: The pedagogical work of Angel De Cora at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School from 1906–1915.

¹ Cherokee Nation, *The Constitution and Laws*, 81.

² Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 63.

³ The paper began as the *Telephone*, before it was renamed as the *Cherokee Telephone* in 1890, *The Telephone* in 1894, and *The Weekly Capital* in 1896.

⁴ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 64.

⁵ See Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual*, 129–45.

⁶ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 63.

⁷ Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*, 402.

- ⁸ Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*, 23–4.
- ⁹ Kelderman, *Authorized Agents*, 12; original emphasis.
- ¹⁰ Kelderman, *Authorized Agents*, 12.
- ¹¹ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 68, 70, 390. Ivey appeared to have taken on editorial work for the *Advocate* in 1878 and 1882.
- ¹² “Woman’s Department,” *The Telephone* 1.49 (May 16, 1888): 3.
- ¹³ “Woman’s Department,” *The Telephone* 1. 49 (May 16, 1888): 3.
- ¹⁴ “Woman’s Work,” *The Telephone* 1.49 (May 16, 1888): 3.
- ¹⁵ “Woman’s Love” and “Woman,” *The Telephone* 2.19 (August 30, 1888): 5.
- ¹⁶ “Heroic Lives at Home” and “Educate the Girls,” *The Telephone* 2.13 (September 6, 1888): 5.
- ¹⁷ “What Girls Should Read” and “The Interesting Age for Women,” *The Telephone* 3.17 (September 13, 1889): 7. It should be noted that many issues of this paper appear to be unavailable, suggesting more material. This includes issues from the years 1888, 1889, and 1890 in which Wyly’s column seems to have been published. However, the only mention of Capitola Wyly after 1889 appears in 1891, when *The Telephone* (renamed as *The Cherokee Telephone* in 1890) published the marriage announcement of Magnus A. McSpadden and Capitola Wyly (May 28, 1891).
- ¹⁸ Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 149.
- ¹⁹ “Educational Department. Mrs. Helen R. Duncan, Editress,” *The Telephone* 2.19 (August 30, 1888): 8.
- ²⁰ Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 149.
- ²¹ Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*, 520.
- ²² Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*, 515.
- ²³ See here Too-Qua-Stee, “The Story of Allotment,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 22.1 (September 3, 1903): 4, for a full-page article on allotment.
- ²⁴ See DeWitt Clinton Duncan, “Christian Perfection,” *Our Brother in Red* 6.30 (March 31, 1888): 1 and DeWitt Clinton Duncan, “Recollections of Rev. John Harell,” *Our Brother in Red* 6.49 (August 11, 1888): 6.
- ²⁵ For a list of writings published by Duncan, see Murray, “The Too-Qua-Stee Collection.”
- ²⁶ Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 120; 119–20. Additionally, Duncan apparently became the state dispensary agent at Vinta around the turn of the century. In July 1908, it is mentioned that “Mr. D.W.C. Duncan, the state dispensary agent at Vinita has sold five quarts of booze in a little over two months.” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.3 (July 3, 1908): 2. The entry is followed a few pages later by an article titled “The Whiskey Agency,” signed by Duncan, in which he outlines his work and criticisms thereof, and two months later, see “Too-Qua-Stee on Dispensary Law. Takes the Newspaper Severely to Task for Advocating Local OPTION[sic!] law Instead of Billups bill,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.13 (September 11, 1908): 1. His obituary, which includes a photograph of Duncan, also appears in the *Chieftain*: “Famous Cherokee Writer is Dead. DeWitt Clinton Duncan, Known as ‘Tooquastee,’ Died at His Home in This City,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 27.21 (November 5, 1909): 8, is followed up by a longer sketch of his life, see “In Memoriam,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 27.24 (November 26, 1909): 2.
- ²⁷ Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 145–51.
- ²⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 123.
- ²⁹ The paper went through multiple name changes over the course of its publication. Beginning as the *Indian Arrow* (1888–1894), it was renamed *The Arrow Phone* (1895), *The Arrow* (1895–1896), *The Tahlequah Arrow* (1896–1908), *Tahlequah Democratic Arrow* (1908), *The Tahlequah Arrow* (1908–1912), *The Tahlequah Herald* (1912), *Cherokee County Democrat* (1912–1916), *The Tahlequah Arrow* (1916), *Cherokee County Democrat* (1917–1920), *The Arrow-Democrat* (1920–1928), and the *Cherokee County Democrat* (1928–1930)

before it was absorbed by the *Republican Star* (1922–1930) and continued publication as the *Cherokee County Democrat-Star* until early October 1948.

³⁰ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 77.

³¹ Ramage, “Phoenix on Fire,” 8.

³² O’Beirne/O’Beirne, “Robert D. Knight,” 474.

³³ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 64.

³⁴ *Our Brother in Red* 7.43 (October 19, 1889): 4.

³⁵ *Our Brother in Red* 7.44 (October 26, 1889): 4.

³⁶ O’Beirne/O’Beirne, *Indian Territory*, 291.

³⁷ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 77; see also Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 148.

³⁸ Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 148.

³⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 77.

⁴⁰ Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers*, 391.

⁴¹ Gideon, *Indian Territory*, 173.

⁴² Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 139.

⁴³ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 70, 74.

⁴⁴ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 34.

⁴⁵ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 34.

⁴⁶ *The Arrow Phone* 7.17 (January 11, 1895): 2.

⁴⁷ “Proem [sic!],” *The Telephone* 8.1 (January 18, 1895): 4.

⁴⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 259.

⁴⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 259.

⁵⁰ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 70, 259.

⁵¹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 228.

⁵² Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian* 228.

⁵³ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 228.

⁵⁴ “Waddie, Call Him Home,” *The Indian Sentinel* 6.19 (May 9, 1895): 4.

⁵⁵ “Waddie, Call Him Home,” *The Indian Sentinel* 6.19 (May 9, 1895): 4.

⁵⁶ “Waddie, Call Him Home,” *The Indian Sentinel* 6.19 (May 9, 1895): 4.

⁵⁷ Starr, *History of the Cherokee*, 647.

⁵⁸ See Homer Bassford, “Who Was Right?” *The Indian Sentinel* 8.13 (September 10, 1897): 4.

⁵⁹ “From Stilwell,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.30 (January 14, 1898): 3.

⁶⁰ “Webbers Falls Items,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.30 (January 14, 1898): 3.

⁶¹ “From Webbers Falls,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.33 (February 4, 1898): 3.

⁶² “Webbers Falls Locals,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.34 (February 11, 1898): 3.

⁶³ “Webber’s Falls Notes,” *Indian Sentinel* 6.19 (May 9, 1895): 4.

⁶⁴ “Rose, I.T.,” *Indian Sentinel* 9.4 (July 8, 1895): 3.

⁶⁵ “Our Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.31 (January 21, 1898): 2.

⁶⁶ “News From Various Points,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.40 (March 25, 1898): 3.

⁶⁷ “Webber Falls,” *Indian Sentinel* 9, no. 4 (July 8, 1898): 3.

⁶⁸ See “Washington Letter. From Col. W. J. Watts to the News Record. Territory Legislation,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.32 (January 28, 1898): 1.

⁶⁹ See “Washington Letter. (From Our Regular Correspondent (sic!),” *Indian Sentinel* 8.39 (March 18, 1898): 2.

⁷⁰ See “Washington Letter. (From Our Regular Correspondent,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.34 (February 11, 1898): 3.

⁷¹ See “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 9.9 (July 29, 1898): 4.

⁷² See “Washington Letter. From Col. W. J. Watts to the News Record. Territory Legislation,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.32 (January 28, 1898): 1.

⁷³ See “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.34 (February 11, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.39 (March 15, 1898): 2.

- ⁷⁴ See “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.40 (March 25, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.43 (April 15, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.46 (May 6, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.47 (April 13, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 8.48 (April 20, 1898): 3; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 9.5 (July 15, 1898): 1; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 9.7 (July 29, 1898): 4; “Washington Letter,” *Indian Sentinel* 9.8 (August 5, 1898): 1.
- ⁷⁵ *Annual Report of the Commissioner*, 156.
- ⁷⁶ “Jeff Watts is Dead. He was Known to Fame as ‘Chief of Intruders.’ Story of His Long and Costly Contention With the Cherokee Nation Over Allotments,” *Fort Smith Times* 23.59 (December 7, 1904): 8.
- ⁷⁷ “Jeff Watts,” *Fort Smith*, 8. For a scholarly discussion on White intrusion on Cherokee lands, see Sober, *The Intruders*, 64–82.
- ⁷⁸ See William J. Watts, “From Muldrow,” *The Telephone* 4.14 (August 21, 1890): 2. The discrepancies of the accounts printed in the Cherokee press ought to be noted here. While Watts here claims to have founded the association in Vinita, an earlier article in *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* from May 20, 1886, makes it clear that the association had moved from Caldwell to Vinita.
- ⁷⁹ For a positive, highly embellished account of the establishment of Muldrow, see also May Daily, “History of Muldrow,” *The Muldrow Press* 16.39 (January 2, 1914): 2.
- ⁸⁰ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 395.
- ⁸¹ See Sober, *The Intruders*, 64–82.
- ⁸² Hagan, *Taking Indian Lands*, 151. See also Sober, *The Intruders*.
- ⁸³ “Indian Citizenship Association,” *The Indian Journal* 10.33 (May 13, 1886): 1.
- ⁸⁴ Cherokee by Blood, “That Citizenship Association,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 4.36 (May 20, 1886): 2.
- ⁸⁵ Cherokee by Blood, “That Citizenship Association,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 4.36 (May 20, 1886): 2.
- ⁸⁶ William J. Watts, “Mr. Watts Replies,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 4.39 (June 10, 1886): 2.
- ⁸⁷ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 378.
- ⁸⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 215. In contrast, see Augustus E. Ivey’s *Indian Home and Farm* (1910), an intertribal publication printed “in four languages: Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and English. The Cherokee text appeared in the Cherokee syllabary, while the other Native languages were transliterated using the Roman alphabet,” Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 187.
- ⁸⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 214. For a detailed discussion on Boudinot and the *Indian Progress*, see also Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 183–7.
- ⁹⁰ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 215. Furthermore, “the Creek National Council passed a resolution ejecting Harris, who claimed Cherokee citizenship, giving him ten days to remove his press from the Creek Nation or have it confiscated,” Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 190; Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 183–4.
- ⁹¹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 215.
- ⁹² Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 215.
- ⁹³ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 184.
- ⁹⁴ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 184.
- ⁹⁵ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 184; for an overview on the Caddo resolutions, see Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 175–6, which describes Boudinot as a “territorial missionary.” See also Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 211.
- ⁹⁶ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 184.
- ⁹⁷ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 184.
- ⁹⁸ Parins, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot*, 186.

- ⁹⁹ See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, xix.
- ¹⁰⁰ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 216.
- ¹⁰¹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 189.
- ¹⁰² Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 67, 374.
- ¹⁰³ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 392.
- ¹⁰⁴ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 67.
- ¹⁰⁵ See Parins, *Cherokee Literacy*, 234–40. For his poetry, see Parker, “John Lynch Adair,” 147; and Littlefield/Parins, *Native American Writing*, 14–17.
- ¹⁰⁶ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 374. On a brief sketch outlining the importance of Robert D. Knight, see also O’Beirne/O’Beirne, *Indian Territory*, 388.
- ¹⁰⁷ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 374.
- ¹⁰⁸ For a brief account of Reeves’ military career, see F. Trubee Davison to Hon. W. Frank James, Washington, March 29, 1929, in *Relief Bills*, 190.
- ¹⁰⁹ Reeves published *Bamboo Tales*, a novel compiling his experiences during the Philippine-American War of 1899–1902; *A Manual for Aspirants*; *Manual for the Instruction*; *The A B C of Rifle*; and *Military Education*.
- ¹¹⁰ “Col. Reeves, Formerly Muskogee Car Manager, Becomes Aid to Baker,” *Muskogee Times-Democrat* 24.103 (Apr. 30, 1918): 3. Although newspaper articles such as these do not necessarily give a truthful account, it does appear as if Reeves was a relatively well-known figure in Indian Territory.
- ¹¹¹ While not established as a short story writer, the title page of *Bamboo Tales* mentions Reeves as the “[a]uthor of ‘Twenty-fours[sic!] Hours on a Mountain,’ ‘Looking Forward,’ and other Short Stories” in the subtitle.
- ¹¹² See Reeves, *Ol’ Rum River* and Reeves, *Prohibition Menaces America*.
- ¹¹³ See Ira L. Reeves to W.E.B. Du Bois, Mar. 1, 1930, in *W.E.B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312)*. *Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries*, <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b187-i148>.
- ¹¹⁴ Established as the *Muskogee Morning Times* (1896–1897), it was renamed to the *Muskogee Evening Times* (1897–1906) before it was again renamed as the *Muskogee Times-Democrat* (1906–1971).
- ¹¹⁵ See “Posey Here,” *Henryetta Free-Lance* 3.50 (June 23, 1905): 2.
- ¹¹⁶ Foreman cites from the “*Muskogee Phoenix—Times Democrat*, October 17, 1918, p. 18,” an issue not available in online archives and not encountered during the author’s archival visits in the United States.
- ¹¹⁷ It should be noted here that *Muskogee Times* had previously been managed by Charles Daugherty and George Eddleman when the Times Publishing Company bought the paper in February 1897. George Eddleman was the father of Ora V. Eddleman, the famous editress of *Twin Territories* (1898–1904).
- ¹¹⁸ O’Beirne/O’Beirne, 449.
- ¹¹⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 449.
- ¹¹⁹ O’Beirne/O’Beirne, *Indian Territory*, 449.
- ¹²⁰ *The Vinita Globe* 5.3–4; 5.10, 5.12, 5.14–6, 5.18–25 (March 22 until November 1, 1895). 1895 issues not listed are not accessible.
- ¹²¹ *The Vinita Globe* 5.11 (May 31, 1895): 2–4; 5.26–34 (September 6 until October 25, 1895). 1895 issues not listed are not accessible.
- ¹²² *The Vinita Globe* 5.2 (March 22, 1895).
- ¹²³ *The Vinita Globe* 5.5–9 (April 12 until May 3, 1895).
- ¹²⁴ See *The Vinita Globe* 5.11 (June 7, 1895).
- ¹²⁵ The three column supplement for *The Vinita Globe* 5.8 (April 26, 1895), for example, is also printed on a smaller page than subsequent broad sheet supplements such as 5.18 (July 12, 1895) and 5.19 (July 19, 1895).

¹²⁶ *The Vinita Globe* 5.3–4 (March 29 and April 5, 1895).

¹²⁷ *The Vinita Globe* 5.9–10 (May 3 and 17, 1895).

¹²⁸ *The Vinita Globe* 5.4 (April 5, 1895), one page seven columns; 5.8 (April 26, 1895), one page three columns; 5.10 (May 17, 1895), one page, six columns; 5.18 (July 12, 1895) and 5.19 (July 19 1895), two pages six columns each.

¹²⁹ It may be the case that the issues available to study all had a supplement. The supplements are numbered according to the newspaper's volume and issue, and if the supplements had not been added to a collection before it was digitized, or if only incomplete versions of the paper are/were available in print, the information given here is also incomplete.

¹³⁰ The available online repository lists the supplement as part of *The Vinita Globe* 5.4 (April 5, 1895). However, the other reprinted article relating to the currency questions lists May 18, 1895, as the date of original publication. Since the available pages of the supplement to the *Globe* do not always include a number, the volume and issue number of these pages is to be viewed with utmost caution. See Introduction for a discussion of the obstacles encountered while working with digital repositories.

¹³¹ Blanchard, *Discovery and Conquest*, 243. For an overview of the newspaper, see Blanchard, *Discovery and Conquest*, 243–5.

¹³² “(From the Chicago Times-Herald.) Merely a Matter of Manual Labor.” *Supplement to The Vinita Globe* 5.? (approximately May 1895): n.p.

¹³³ For later issues containing articles and cartoons on the currency question, see the supplements to *The Vinita Globe* 5.18 (July 12, 1895) and 5.19 (July 19, 1895).

¹³⁴ Lasser, *Perspectives on American Government*, 195.

¹³⁵ See *The Vinita Globe* 5.18–21 (July 12 until August 2, 1895).

¹³⁶ “Francis E. Clark,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.18 (July 12, 1895): 5; “Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D.D.,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.20 (July 26, 1895): 2; “Hermann Warszawiak,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.20 (July 26, 1895): 2; “John H. Chapman,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.21 (August 2, 1895): 6.

¹³⁷ “P.W. Hardin,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.18 (July 12, 1895): 5; “James R. Garfield,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8; “Gen. Francis M. Drake,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.20 (July 26, 1895): 2.

¹³⁸ “Chas. P. Daly,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.18 (July 12, 1895): 5.

¹³⁹ “Willis T. Moore,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8.

¹⁴⁰ “Prof. E.E. Barnard,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8.

¹⁴¹ “James B. Eustis,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.20 (July 26, 1895): 2.

¹⁴² “H.H. Holmes,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.21 (Aug. 2, 1895): 6.

¹⁴³ “D.A. Stuart,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.21 (Aug. 2, 1895): 6.

¹⁴⁴ “Jacob Sverdrup,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8.

¹⁴⁵ “John E. Lawson,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8.

¹⁴⁶ “Sir Arthur Brigg,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.19 (July 19, 1895): 8; “Herbert Gladstone,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.21 (August 2, 1895): 6; “Herbert H. Asquith” and “Herbert Gladstone,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.21 (August 2, 1895): 6.

¹⁴⁷ “Nicolas Pierola,” *The Vinita Globe* 5.20 (July 26, 1895): 2.

¹⁴⁸ On Ora V. Eddleman and her magazine, see Carpenter/Kilcup, *The Selected Works*; Carpenter and Kilcup, “‘What the Curious,’” Scheiding/Newton, “Native American Periodicals,” and Morrison, “*Twin Territories*.” For a critique of Carpenter/Kilcup, see Walkiewicz, “The Sentimentalist Terrain.”

¹⁴⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 394.

¹⁵⁰ See “Twenty-One Years Old. Anniversary of an Active and Eventful Newspaper Enterprise—Its Birth and Growth,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 22.1 (September 3, 1903): 1. As Scheiding/Newton, “Native American,” 116, point out, the “images of the press house, the editorial room, the mechanical department, and a woodblock reprint of the press from the company catalogue” make up “one of the first press histories in Indian Territory.”

Additionally, the *Chieftain* published “Here is a Tale of Things That Happened In the Village of Vinita 25 Long Years Ago,” 25.41 (March 26, 1908): 1; “Learned to Love Them,” 25.42 (April 2, 1908): 1; and “A Vision of Vinita,” 25.42 (April 2, 1908): 4. The articles give an insight into the history and significance of the paper, the first reporting on the finding of the first 52 issues of the *Chieftain* as a significant part of Vinita’s early (village) history; the second giving an account of a person whose family on the banks of the Grand River and who had been reading the *Chieftain* and the *Cherokee Advocate* as “only sources of information;” and the third, a reprint from the Sedalia, Montana, *Daily Bazoo* from September 14, 1882 “reproduced in the *Chieftain* on Friday, Sept. 22, 1882,” covers a brief early history of Vinita before outlining short biographical sketches of important Vinita citizens in the early 1880s.

¹⁵¹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 390–1.

¹⁵² See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 393–4.

¹⁵³ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 393.

¹⁵⁴ Owen and Hollingsworth briefly edited the paper together for a period in 1883, after which Owen was listed as the sole editor until William P. Ross took on the editorship of the *Weekly*.

¹⁵⁵ An article titled “Gus Ivey for State Auditor,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.40 (April 11, 1907): 1 speaks in favor of Ivey as “a candidate for nomination of the Democratic ticket for state auditor for Greater Oklahoma.” At the same time, there is no mention of Ivey’s tenure as editor of the *Weekly Chieftain*, it is merely stated that Ivey “has been connected with the press in Indian Territory since 1877, a period of 30 years.”

¹⁵⁶ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 391.

¹⁵⁷ Robert Latham Owen, “Valedictory,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 1.52 (September 14, 1883): 2.

¹⁵⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 391.

¹⁵⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 391.

¹⁶⁰ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 392.

¹⁶¹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 393, 394.

¹⁶² *The Indian Chieftain* 21.6 (December 11, 1902): 2 no longer carries Clotworthy as an associate editor in its masthead. Instead, Marrs is listed alone as editor and publisher.

¹⁶³ Robert M. McClintock, “A New Helmsman,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 24.27 (March 8, 1906): 2. McClintock apparently continued his involvement in the newspaper business after his work in Vinita, a marriage notice stating “[h]e is now a business manager of the Daily News at Grand Junction, Colo.” “Vinitia Society Girl Weds Newspaper Man,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 27.33 (January 28, 1910): 2.

¹⁶⁴ “Announcement,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.40 (April 11, 1907): 4.

¹⁶⁵ See *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.22 (November 7, 1907): 4.

¹⁶⁶ “Announcement,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.35 (February 13, 1908): 2. There seems to have been an error when printing the volume number for the *Weekly Chieftain*. In both 1907 and 1908, the number given is 25. Hence, the issue quoted here was printed as 25.35, while the above “Announcement” from April the previous year is numbered 25.40.

¹⁶⁷ *The McAlester Daily News* 8.30 (December 31, 1903): 5.

¹⁶⁸ *The Vinita Leader* 13.51 (February 13, 1908): 5.

¹⁶⁹ *The Welch Watchman* 7.19 (February 13, 1908): 1.

¹⁷⁰ See *Ardmore Morning Democrat* 2.234 (March 15, 1908): 10.

¹⁷¹ *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.31 (January 16, 1908): 4.

¹⁷² “Going Some,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.38 (March 5, 1908): 6.

¹⁷³ “DEAD. Last Issue of The Daily Chieftain Printed Yesterday. Weekly Chieftain Will Be Continued,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 25.40 (March 19, 1908): 2.

¹⁷⁴ *The Welch Watchman* 7.25 (March 26, 1908): 2.

¹⁷⁵ “United Family of Chieftain Readers,” *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain*, 25.41 (March 26, 1908): 1.

¹⁷⁶ “Bluejacket News,” *The Vinita Weekly* 25.41 (March 26, 1908): 5.

- ¹⁷⁷ “Salutatory,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.1 (June 19, 1908): 2.
- ¹⁷⁸ Salutatory,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.1 (June 19, 1908): 2.
- ¹⁷⁹ “An Appreciation,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.2 (June 26, 1908): 1.
- ¹⁸⁰ Similarly, there is a portrait photograph of Robert L. Owen printed a month later, again making no note of his previous work for the newspaper. See “United States Senator Robert L. Owen, a Cherokee Indian by blood,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.6 (July 24, 1908): 1.
- ¹⁸¹ *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 26.5 (July 17, 1908): 6.
- ¹⁸² *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 26.6 (July 26, 1908): 2.
- ¹⁸³ *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 26.7 (July 31, 1908): 6; see also “Chieftain’s New Linotype is Now in Operation. Mergenthaler Invention Installed Today is a Marvel of Mechanical Ingenuity,---With this Addition to the Office Equipment The Daily Chieftain at Once Enters the Ranks of Metropolitan Newspapers,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 26.35 (February 12, 1909): 1.
- ¹⁸⁴ “The Chieftain Changes Hands,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 27.24 (November 26, 1909): 4.
- ¹⁸⁵ “Deal for Purchase of Chieftain Declared Off. Will Remain Under Present Control and Will Continue Democratic in Politics --- Misunderstanding as to Terms of Transfer---Forfeit is Returned and Chieftain is Withdrawn From Market,” *The Weekly Chieftain* 27.25 (December 3, 1909): 3.
- ¹⁸⁶ See *The Vinita Weekly Chieftain* 27.42 (April 1, 1910): 6. *The Daily Chieftain* added the label a month earlier, see *The Daily Indian Chieftain* 11.276 (March 7, 1910): 2; see also Boston Typographical Union, *Illustrated Historical Souvenir*, 118, 125.
- ¹⁸⁷ Paschell, “The International Typographical Union,” 493, 494.
- ¹⁸⁸ For a brief sketch, see Stern, “The International Typographical Union,” 5. The cost for the Nation-wide strike to establish the eight-hour workday for members of the ITU, according to Stern, exceeded \$2,876,000.00, and “[l]ocal unions spent much more. Even more bitter was the struggle for the 44-hour week, which began in 1922. The strike lasted for several years, at a total to the union of over \$16,000,000.” The reduction in working hours had been a staple of the union since its inception, and a strong argument given in favor of the reduction of working hours was the longer lifespan of the printers when working fewer hours.
- ¹⁸⁹ See *The Typographical Journal* 4.24 (July 1, 1893): 2.
- ¹⁹⁰ King, “The International Typographical Union,” 481–2.
- ¹⁹¹ Boston Typographical Union, *Illustrated Historical Souvenir*, 125.
- ¹⁹² The label is absent in issues 27.47 (May 6, 1910) and 29.42 (March 29, 1912). No indication is given in the newspaper as to why the label was not included in these issues.
- ¹⁹³ See *Union Review* 1.16 (September 8, 1905): 2.
- ¹⁹⁴ See *The Farmer’s Advocate and the Union Review* 1.1 (December 10, 1908): 4.
- ¹⁹⁵ See *Ardmore Morning Star* 1.44 (August 20, 1911): 2.
- ¹⁹⁶ “The Union Label,” *The Daily Ardmoreite* 12.146 (April 30, 1905): 4.
- ¹⁹⁷ See *The Unionist* 2.10 (July 24, 1904). It was apparently renamed *The Muskogee Unionist* in 1905 and by 1907 it carried the name *The Muskogee Ledger*. All three publications carry the label.
- ¹⁹⁸ See *The Sapulpa Light* 1.180 (May 23, 1908): 6; *Sapulpa Evening Light* 3.54 (December 30, 1909): 2.
- ¹⁹⁹ The first time the label can be seen in the *Henryetta Free Lance* is in late 1910. See *Henryetta Free Lance* 9.7 (December 9, 1910): 2.
- ²⁰⁰ See *The Labor Amalgamator* 1.1 (December 1, 1903): 8.
- ²⁰¹ See *The Muskogee Unionist* 3.5 (June 23, 1905): 2, *The Muskogee Ledger* 4.11 (May 15, 1907): 4.
- ²⁰² *The Muskogee Unionist* 3.5 (July 24, 1904): 2.
- ²⁰³ *New State Tribune* 12.20 (March 8, 1906): 1. It ought to be pointed out that Alexander Posey and Ira L. Reeves had bought the *Muskogee Evening Times* in 1905, placing the well-known Creek poet in the direct vicinity of a White union newspaper in Muskogee.

²⁰⁴ *New State Tribune* 12.20 (March 8, 1906): 1.

²⁰⁵ *Indian Home and Farm* 1.5 (April 16, 1910): 1.

²⁰⁶ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 187.

²⁰⁷ “Indian Home and Farm,” *Indian Home and Farm* 1.1 (March 17, 1910): 4.

²⁰⁸ For an overview of the efforts to introduce a 44-hour week and the incremental reduction of the twelve-hour workday to the eight-hour workday by the ITU, see United States, Congress, *Labor-Management Relations*, 360–9. Technological advancements aided the efforts of the union: “The introduction of typesetting machines brought the 8-hour day to the newspaper printing industry during the years 1893 to 1898, because that industry was geared to 7 or 8 hours per day of composition, the remainder of the 10-hour day having been spent on distribution,” 361.

Chapter II

Not-So-Hidden Expressions of a Trade. Printing, Native American Art Design, and the Carlisle Indian School's Flagship Magazine.¹



Figure 13: Cover Page. *The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man*, Outing Number 14.37 (June 7, 1918): n.p.

The publications of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School centered on communicating the supposed successful assimilation of the Native American students into US society. One of the twelve periodicals published at Carlisle was the *Indian Craftsman* (later renamed the *Red Man* (1910) before it merged with the *Carlisle Arrow* (1908–1917) and became the *Carlisle Arrow and Red Man*, 1909–1917). The title page of issue 14.37 from 7 June, 1918, titled “memories,” showcases what the school set out to achieve: Replacing Native American cultures with a Euro-American one (see fig. 13). The illustration shows a man in farming clothes—overalls, white shirt, and hat—standing in a field and occupying the center stage of the image. He holds a plow drawn by two horses; a low stone wall marks the foreground, and an orderly, idyllic farm lies in the background. The illustration is in color, except for the black and white image in the upper left-hand corner that blends with the white clouds in the sky. There, we see what appears to be a Great Plains scene: a mountainous landscape in the distance, two teepees and two horses in the center, and a river or grassy foreground where one horse grazes or drinks. No people are visible, and the lower right of this inset image appears to fade away. At the bottom of the title page, a quotation from Benjamin Franklin’s *The Way to Wealth* (1758) reads: “[p]low deep while others sleep [a]nd you’ll have corn to sell and keep.”² A note on the cover identifies William Harwood, “a student from the Blackfeet Reservation of Montana,” as the artist, and stresses that the “drawing is entirely original with William,” praising him for “originality and effort.”³

This title page is noteworthy not only because it is directly attributed to one of the school’s students, but also because it depicts an Americanized version of the *locus amoenus*. Traditionally an idealized landscape where labor appears unnecessary, here the pleasing rural scene is inseparable from agriculture and daily physical work. In the context of an off-reservation boarding school, this topos is further extended to express successful assimilation into the United States. The illustration suggests that the Native student can—and should—aspire to this tranquil, agrarian lifestyle. Having attended the school, the man in the image has supposedly shed his former identity and now tills the land as a farmer. The Franklin quotation reinforces this reading by celebrating hard work and fiscal responsibility. His former life, pictured in the clouds above him, becomes a mere memory on the verge of dissolving. However, the illustration can also be read differently. Rather than showing a past that has been successfully left behind, the image in the sky may depict what the man longs to return to: A life and community from which he was forcefully removed. In this reading, he does not wish to be domesticated like the horses that pull his plow but instead hopes to go back to his community as he remembers it. The dreamlike Plains scene in the clouds thus becomes the

student's goal, not his discarded past. This double reading captures the ambiguous character of Carlisle's print productions. On the one hand, the school's publications repeatedly announced their mission to assimilate Native students by erasing their language and cultures. On the other hand, the same publications contained visual-material traces of distinctly Native creativity. That is, although the students' printing work clearly reflects their expertise in state-of-the-art printing and typesetting technology, the school's periodicals did not only showcase their successful assimilation into US culture. A closer look at the role of student printers and student artists in the production of these publications periodicals reveals that they include expressions of a modern, pan-Native American art style. It is these expressions, embedded within an assimilationist medium, that mark Carlisle's periodicals ambiguous spaces. Following Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's nomenclature and the conceptual distinction between smooth and striated space, Carlisle's periodicals are understood here as territories continuously negotiated between colonial control (striated space) and Native creative work (smooth space). Striated space refers to the bounded, measured, state-controlled territory of the boarding school: its military regiment, its curriculum designed to 'kill the Indian,' and its periodicals' editorialized pro-assimilation rhetoric. Smooth space, by contrast, is the nomadic space of Indigenous cultural practices that evades colonial categorization—here manifested in students' design work, their memories of tribal artistic traditions, and the circulation of pan-Indigenous visual artworks. Crucially, these spaces are not separate domains but exist in perpetual tension: a single page can be striated by assimilationist text yet smoothed by a Winnebago-inspired initial letter. Carlisle's periodicals function as assemblages—heterogeneous combinations of elements (student labor, pedagogical control, tribal memories, modern print technologies) that reveal Indigenous spaces persisting within and despite the assimilationist project.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Student Printers, and School Publications

When the Carlisle Indian Industrial School formally opened its doors on October 6, 1879, its aim was to give Native Americans "education with the aim of cultural integration."⁴ The assimilationist approach set out to "erase Indian languages, religions, and cultures, and replace them with those of the dominant American society," or, as the principle at the time emphasized, to "[k]ill the Indian and save the man."⁵ Captain Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1923), who was the school's founder and first superintendent, wrote in his memoirs that he established the boarding school "to prove that Indians were like other people and could be as

easily educated and developed industrially to secure the general adoption of [his] views.”⁶ The school in Carlisle soon became the “flagship” of the federal off-reservation boarding schools, and recent scholarship characterizes it as “a major engine of colonial domination.”⁷ Pratt aimed to provide equal opportunities for Native Americans,⁸ but this treatment only applied within a White settler-colonial context. The way to accomplish assimilation was to lift Native Americans out of their perceived “savagery” and “civilize” them.

The discourse of civilization, as David Wallace Adams points out, “had always been an underlying assumption of the nation’s Indian policy.”⁹ And with the opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pratt was able to visually showcase the process of civilization “under white tutelage.”¹⁰ The well-known before-and-after portraits and photographs from Carlisle taken by John Nicholas Choate (1848–1902) gave the impression of a successful transformation, at least on the outside.¹¹ Students who came to Carlisle were photographed both upon arrival and later, “within a period of a few months or perhaps a year or so later.”¹² The first photograph showed the student(s) in their traditional attire to affirm racial stereotypes of Native Americans as savages, while the second photograph depicts them in the military style Carlisle uniform as successfully integrated into U.S. society. These photographs were for sale and advertised as such in one of the school’s weeklies, the *Indian Helper*, under a regular entry titled “Standing Offer” from 1886 onwards: In return for securing ten new subscribers for the *Helper*, one would receive “two photographs, one showing a group of Pueblos as they arrived in wild dress, and another of the same pupils three years after; or, for the same number of names we give two [p]hotographs showing a still more marked contrast between a Navajo as he arrived in [N]ative dress, and as he looks now.”¹³ Acquiring five new subscribers for the *Helper* would reward a “photographic group of the Carlisle Indian Printer boys,” and anyone acquiring fifteen new subscribers would be sent “a group of the whole school,” adding that “[f]aces show distinctly.”¹⁴ These photographs can be viewed as the “sedentary [or colonial] space” that is “striated”¹⁵ by Choate when he assembles the students to pose for the photographs within the “territory” of the periodical; their “intrinsic boundaries”¹⁶ are the Euro-American clothing which separates the Native children from their tribal roots.

Advertising the “more marked contrast” in the *Helper* would “entice white patrons to subscribe”¹⁷ and simultaneously epitomized the “ideal of American citizenship assumed by the school’s Anglo-American founders” who “valued Christianity over spiritualism, competition over tribalism, and physical hygiene and mental discipline over the supposed dirt and sloth of reservation life.”¹⁸ Here, the metaphorical sedentary space of the government

funded school is etched out explicitly, reenforcing the striated space of the school (i.e., the literal school grounds as a place of assimilation) and establishing the school's periodicals as an additional territory for this striated space (i.e., the pages showing "successful" assimilation). The pictures' description always included the students' tribal affiliation, although they appear to be anthropological (i.e., highlighting facial features and clothing), historical (i.e., archiving the "Vanishing Indian"), or used to advertise the school's success and popularity rather than a means of identifying and differentiating the students while they attended Carlisle. Another of the school's numerous periodicals, the *Carlisle Arrow* (1908–1917), for instance, occasionally stated: "Over Eighty Indian Tribes Represented Herein."¹⁹ Medium-specific entries, or points, such as these connect with each other across issues and publications at Carlisle, and while the publications would at times advertise the diversity of the Native American students, the students themselves were forcibly disconnected from their tribal identities and origins. Combined, the individual points in the periodicals, then, attach to and constitute the assimilationist visual-graphic language and connect with the striated space of the periodicals to constitute assemblages in general as "a set of points in space and time,"²⁰ always aiming to showcase how and that Native American children could be cultivated.

Education at Carlisle was based on a "half-and-half" model which made students spend "part of each day in a classroom and the rest of their time tending the fields or learning domestic skills, depending on their sex."²¹ Carlisle also spearheaded the "Outing program" as an additional measure to ensure "successful" assimilation: During the summer, children were sent to "live with white families, work the land, attend public school, and learn white customs."²² This "practical experience in civilization" was "probably the most successful and certainly the most famous feature of the Carlisle curriculum," earning "universal acclaim from experts on the Indian question."²³ The students' academic training focused on learning how to "speak, read, and write the English language" and classes would cover "the usual elementary and high school subjects of arithmetic, geography, and history."²⁴ It should be noted that the education received at Carlisle (as well as on the numerous other off-reservation boarding schools emerging in the late 19th century) did not offer higher education.²⁵ Rather, the curriculum aimed to produce workers and housewives who had a basic Euro-American education and would embody the trope of the American farmer. Training for male and female students reflected dominant trends of dividing people by gender at the time: Male students would learn an industrial trade – "blacksmithing, wagon making, carpentry, tailoring, farming," and others; while female students were "taught domestic skills of the homemaker,"²⁶ e.g., cooking, sewing, cleaning, and other skills relating to the domestic

sphere. As the very first issue of Carlisle's first periodical, *Eadle Keatah Toh* (1880–1882, later the *Morning Star* (1882–1887), then the *Red Man* (1888–1900), then the *Red Man and Helper* (1900–1904)), states: “When the pupils return to their people, the boys will be able to mend a plow or other tool; to make a chair, a table, a house; to explain when and in what kind of soil to plant, and how to cultivate the lands,” while the “girls will be able to sew, to cut and make clothes, to do all kinds of house-work and their part of the duties pertaining to farm life.”²⁷

The school published a total of twelve periodicals, both newspapers and magazines either as weeklies or monthlies, over the course of 39 years. And even though many off-reservation boarding schools had their own printing department and published periodicals (e.g., the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School (1884–1980), the Phoenix Indian Industrial School (1891–1990), or the Sherman Indian School (1892–)), the serial publications from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879–1918) are of particular relevance. A periodical as a whole can be thought of as an assemblage, and individual issues as territory. In general, their content was heavily editorialized to reflect the school's positive impact on the Native children's lives, the benefits of Euro-American education, and the success of assimilation at Carlisle. Other off-reservation boarding schools, all based on the Carlisle model, had a similar approach of sanitizing the content of their school, and it was usually the superintendents who were the editors. However, all publications at Carlisle stress that the manual labor, i.e., the typesetting and printing, was done by Native students. Probably the most well-known of the student printers at Carlisle was Samuel Townsend (Pawnee, 1865–1912),²⁸ who was one of the first students to attend Carlisle and who edited the only student-run paper at Carlisle, the *School News* (1880–1883). Townsend went on to be a printer for the *Chippeway Herald* (1902–1909), the boarding school at White Earth, Minnesota. His Carlisle student file lists Kansas City, Missouri as his address and “printer” as his occupation in 1910, and he appears to have died in Muskogee on January 23, 1912.²⁹ At Carlisle, Townsend also typeset *Eadle Keatah Toh*: The newspaper's second issue points out that “[a]bout half of the type for this edition of our paper was set up by Samuel Townsend, a Pawnee Indian boy, and student at the school, who never was inside of a printing office before.”³⁰ And while Carlisle periodicals during the school's early years would stress that the printing was done by “Indian boys,”³¹ the first issue of the *Red Man and Helper* would change “printer boys” to “apprentices” underneath its nameplate,³² while the *Arrow* (1904–1908, later the *Carlisle Arrow* (1908–1917), then the *Carlisle Arrow and Red Man* 1917–1918) stated that “only Indian Apprentices [are] doing the type-setting and printing.”³³ This development can be viewed as smoothing the

periodical space: Strict gender roles (e.g., an understanding that printing is a male profession) are amended, offering a set of assemblages (i.e., individual issues) in a state “both in construction and collapse.”³⁴ And while this in itself is no sign of resistance or decolonization, the work of Carlisle’s first “printer boy” echoes Christopher Pexa’s concept of “unheroic” decolonialism. The innocuousness of Townsend’s *School News* communicates that the students at Carlisle “seem utterly harmless to settler audiences [i.e., readers],” while “actually working to decolonize and rebuild Indigenous communities.”³⁵

For Carlisle itself, however, it was a way to advertise and communicate the “accomplishments” of the students (i.e., their journey towards a successful assimilation into U.S. society and their understanding of modern print technology). Not just the articles themselves were worth reading: Neat typesetting and printing, different fonts and layouts, photographs, graphic-visual designs, state of the art technology, and consistently high production value showcased the “Indian apprentices’” expertise. For example, the *Arrow* featured a photograph of the press department under the title “Press Department of the Carlisle Sloyd Printery, in which ‘The Arrow’ is printed, solely by Indian apprentices. We republish this plate by request” in its second issue (see fig. 14).³⁶ The same photograph was reprinted twice, once in July 1905 and then again the following year in March 1906. In contrast to the first appearance, its subtitle simply reads “Printing Department—Press Room” and it is featured on the front page of the *Carlisle Arrow*.³⁷

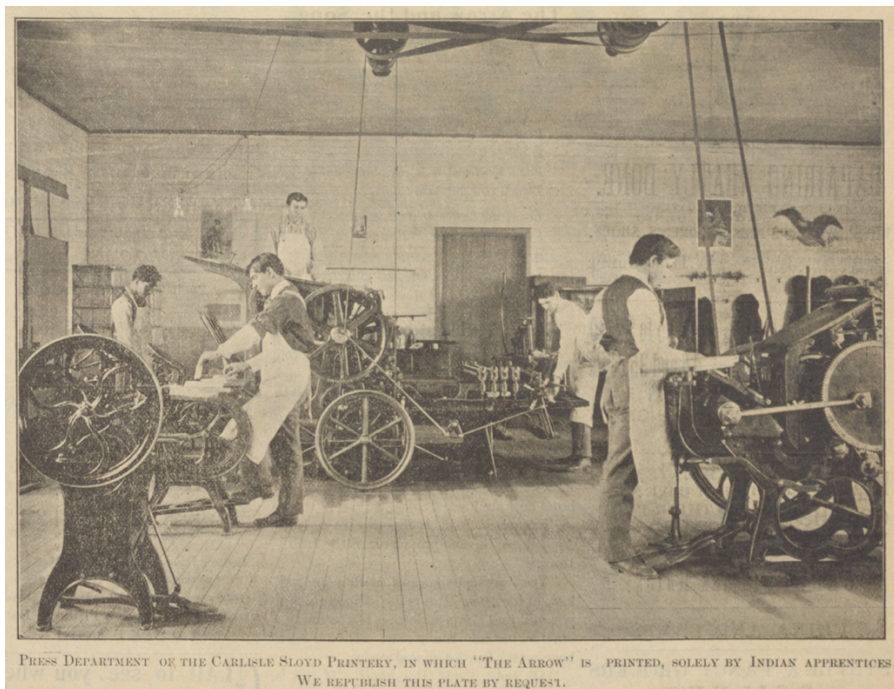


Figure 14: “Press Department of the Carlisle Sloyd Printery, in Which ‘The Arrow’ is Printed, Solely by Indian Apprentices. We Republish this Plate by Request.” *The Arrow* 1.2 (September 1, 1904): 3.

In late January 1903, the paper's "predecessor," the *Red Man and Helper*, published "several views of the printing-office, thinking it might be of interest to our readers to see what sort of a printery the REDMAN AND HELPER comes from."³⁸ The photograph of the press department, reprinted in the *Arrow* upon request, seems to have originated from here. The front page of the issue features a photograph of the printing office's interior, showing a bustling working space with a group of students operating a set of printing presses while another group of students is setting type (see fig. 14). The accompanying article goes on to highlight that the printing department has "one Babcock cylinder press, and four job presses, from eight to half-medium, and our power is electricity," as well as "scores of fonts of job-type besides hundreds of pounds of Brevier in which the RED MAN is set, and other faces of body type; then there are paper cutters, cabinets, imposing stones, and all that go to make up a fair country printing office."³⁹ Additionally, the issue includes a photograph of apprentices learning how to set type (see fig. 15). Printing and typesetting were skills considered both relevant and important, and they could help the students find employment: "If a printer can set a clean galley of type, he can be recommended to make an accurate copy of anything," and if "he can take hundreds of subscriptions and put them neatly and accurately upon cards, and place them in their proper routes on the galleys he is well fitted for clerical work in any kind of an office that requires speed and accuracy."⁴⁰ That is, the students who learned the printing trade at Carlisle had the appropriate tools with which to hone their skills, and the students understood that their printing office had developed because the school had invested in it: "We have grown to these proportions from a ten-dollar toy press, and one case of nonpareil type in 1879, and have given practical business training to hundreds of boys and girls."⁴¹ Carlisle had put an emphasis on printing from its early days onwards, and the school took great care to give the students not only a space in which to learn the trade, but it made sure that the machinery was up to date and encouraged variety in the print products. In its final issue, the *Red Man and Helper* points out the following about another upcoming change: "[*The Arrow*] will be dressed in new types and headings" and its layout will be "best adapted to one Babcock Cylinder Press."⁴²

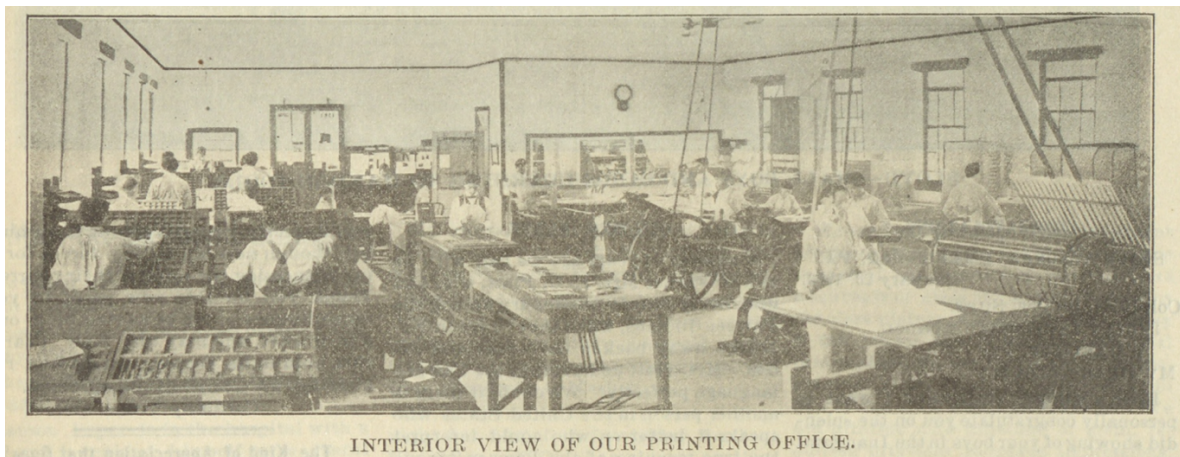


Figure 15: “Interior View of Our Printing Office.” *The Red Man and Helper* 18.28 (January 30, 1903): 1.

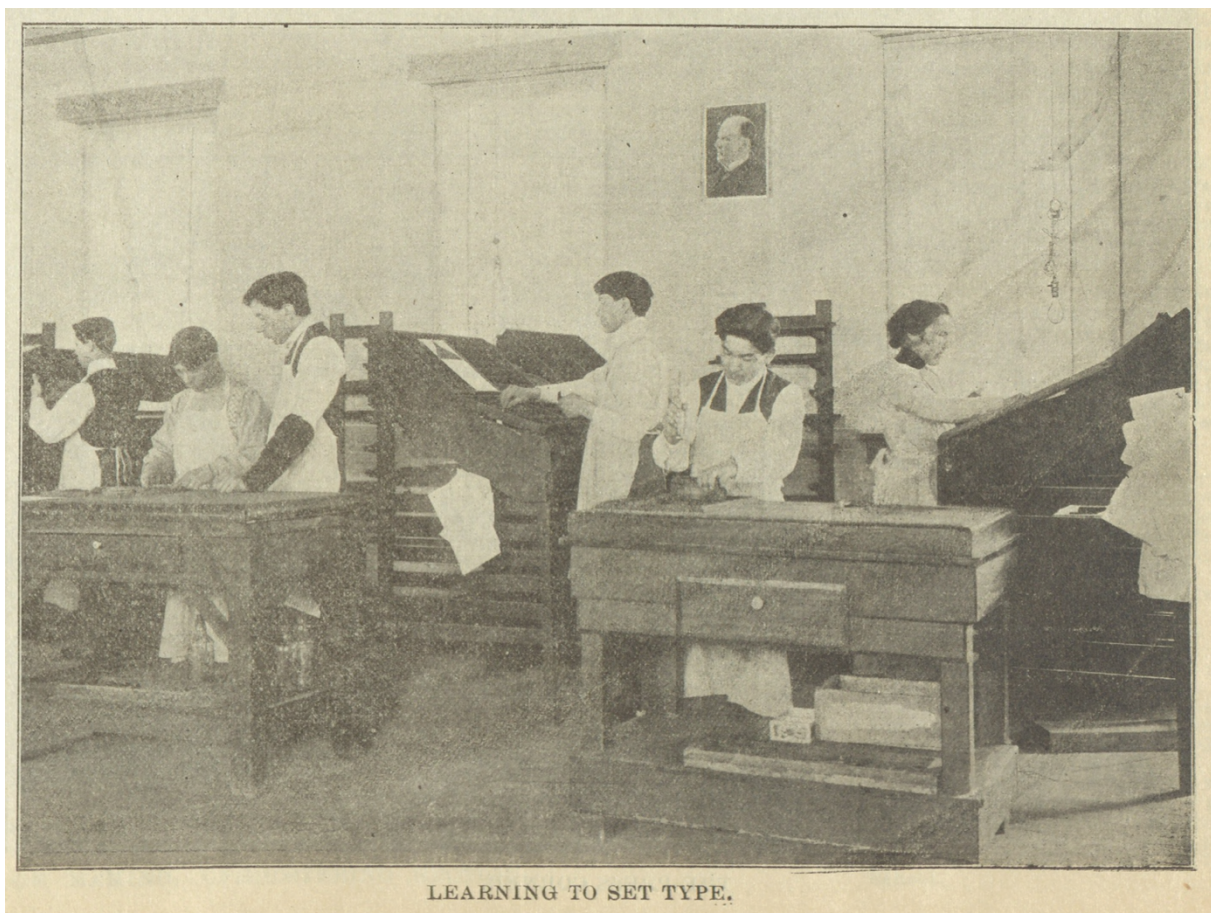


Figure 16: “Learning to Set Type.” *The Red Man and Helper* 18.28 (January 30, 1903): 3.

The use of state-of-the-art printing technology was an important feature of Carlisle’s printing department (see fig. 16). And even if the periodicals themselves did not necessarily feature regular columns on printing or printers per se, they did periodically publish information on printing equipment and printers alike. As points, these entries connect with each other and

produce knowledge in relation to the medium they are printed in. The acquisition of new presses to further improve the quality of the printing department communicates the continuation of improvements for the school's papers. In an issue from July 1905 the *Arrow* reveals that "[a] new Challenge-Gordon job press has been installed in our Office. This is one of the latest types of machinery used in up-to-date printing establishments,"⁴³ with a brief entry stating that the student Elias Charles was the first to use the new press for a printing job in the "Miscellaneous Items" section of the paper's following issue.⁴⁴ This entry was also in one of the *Arrow*'s issues reprinting the photograph of the school's press department. Later issues mention the acquisition of a Chandler and Price Gordon 14 x 20,⁴⁵ a follow up on the reception of the new equipment among the apprentice printers,⁴⁶ and a few years later, when the school purchased a second Chandler and Price Gordon, stating that "[w]ith this addition our equipment is an ideal one for this sized plant and we are enabled to handle more easily our growing volume of heavy form printing."⁴⁷

At times, the student printers are named in the publications, giving short snippets of the students' lives. The *Arrow* frequently printed updates on individuals who had attended Carlisle and had now found employment in the country, including printers. These updates were printed under the headings "Miscellaneous Items" or "School News" and could include follow-up entries in later issues. For example, John J. Webster (Oneida), a graduate of 1898, states in a letter to the school that "he is a printer at White Earth, Minn., and he is enjoying himself,"⁴⁸ Felix Iron Eagle Feather (Sioux), who "was working in the Government printing office until his eyes began to trouble him,"⁴⁹ or Joseph Sheehan (Alaska Nation), who is reported to work in Baltimore.⁵⁰ Addison Johnson (Eastern Band of Cherokee), one of the department's "typos," receives twelve updates in the *Arrow*. His first mention states: "We regret to see Addison Johnson one of our typos leave us. Addison is an excellent boy, and has many friends who regret to see him go. He goes to Harrisburg to join the State Printing Force. We wish him success."⁵¹ The following updates focus on his employment at Harrisburg,⁵² or his connection and visits to Carlisle.⁵³ Patrick Verney (Alaska Nation) and Joseph Porter (Navajo) are also given multiple follow-up entries. Verney, who graduated in 1909, is reported to work at a printing office in Ketchikan, Alaska,⁵⁴ and the follow-up entries report on his success as a printer in Alaska,⁵⁵ his marriage,⁵⁶ or his connection to Carlisle⁵⁷. He is also mentioned in an earlier issue before his graduation, when his article "The Printer's Valentine," set in the shape of a heart, was published in the *Arrow* (see fig. 17), which elicited a response from a reader in New York that was printed in the following issue.⁵⁸ An entry from an earlier issue, in a similarly creative vein, published a short call to remind some subscribers

to pay for their subscriptions. The entry replaced the “s”-letters with dollar signs, reading as follows: “A Matter of \$ \$. There i\$ a \$mall matter which \$ome of the \$ub\$cribers have \$eemingly forgotten. To u\$ it i\$ nece\$\$ary in our bui\$ine\$\$\$. We are mode\$t and do not wi\$h to \$peak of it.”⁵⁹

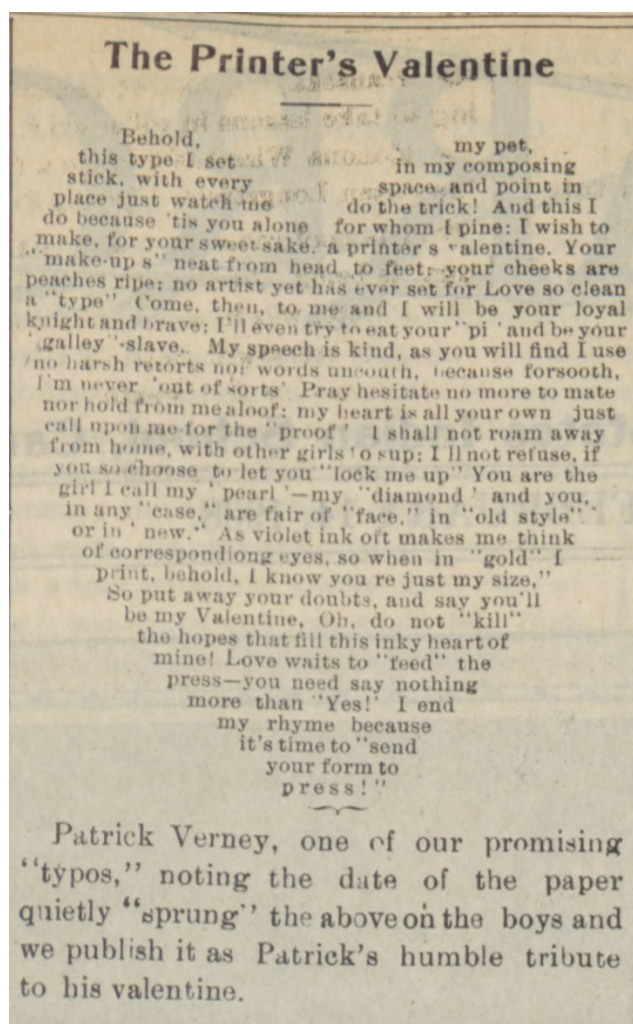


Figure 17: “The Printer’s Valentine.” *The Arrow* 4.24 (February 14, 1908): 2.

Issue 4.24 of the *Arrow* also features a photograph showing a group of what appear to be students in their Native dress upon arrival at Carlisle titled “Original First Party – The Hopis” (see fig. 18). Here, the reprint of one of Choate’s photographs constitutes a striated space, a space characterized by Euro-American and settler colonial misconceptions of what Sarah Humud terms the “reductive binary of assimilation/tradition.”⁶⁰ At the same time, however, this space is partially smoothed by the photograph’s framing. The geometrical pattern evokes Native American designs, and the way the pattern frames the photograph is reminiscent of what might have been considered a Native carpet design, implying Native weaving practices and thus a re-negotiation of Native American identities. This particular space is only partially

smoothed because it is set within the striated territory of an assimilationist periodical, but in conjunction with the assemblage's multiplicities, the settler space is again shown to be in a continuous state "both in construction and collapse."⁶¹ The assimilation/tradition binary is both striated and smoothed, a repeated process that occurs within a singular issue, a total volume, and across publications. Additionally, the re-mediation of patterns (evoking Native designs or typesetting forms) lends itself to the periodical format, thus allowing a continuous re-negotiation of the territory produced by the Native students at Carlisle. And the metaphorical territory these points inhabit and assemble can also include geographical movement which open new points, not only within the pages of a periodical but for specific persons.



Figure 18: "Original First Party-The Hopis." *The Arrow* 4.24 (February 14, 1908): 1.

Joseph Porter, on moving to Shawnee, Oklahoma to work as a printer together with Raymond Hitchcock (Klamath), appears in an entry titled "Starting Out in the Real World".⁶² The follow-up entries focus on their employment in Shawnee, until Porter moves to Riverside, California to work as a printer⁶³ before he is promoted to instructor of printing at Sherman Institute,⁶⁴ another off-reservation boarding school, where he "was listed as instructor of printing and managing editor"⁶⁵ of the school's *Sherman Bulletin* 1916–1918. These entries, although heavily selected and edited before publication to best reflect the success of the Carlisle school, can provide an insight into their social organization. From the school's perspective, this was centered around success in the printing trade, both during the students'

time at Carlisle and after they left. But students such as Addison Johnson, Patrick Verney, or Joseph Porter are mentioned multiple times not only because they had successfully secured employment, but also because they wrote to the school and provided material to compile entries.

A general interest in the printers and print in general can be found throughout the *Arrow's* publication, with articles titled "The Story of Printing" on printing presses and when they were invented,⁶⁶ reprints from other newspapers such as "From Tree to Newspaper" taken from the *Glenn Mills Daily*,⁶⁷ the above-mentioned reprints of the press department, or the article "Two Kinds of Schools," a reprint from the *Arkansas City Traveler* in Kansas on the fine printing work done at Carlisle and how it "excels the white man's schools."⁶⁸

These entries demonstrate how individual issues function as assemblages: the inclusion of heterogeneous elements (here: photographs, typographical variety, biographical sketches, and technological specifications) assemble a periodical format that produces knowledge about print technology and Native mechanical labor. Following Deleuze/Guattari's understanding of assemblages to have the "tendency [...] to miniaturize, to become micro-assemblages," they also "have elements (or multiplicities) of several kinds: human, social, and technical machines [...]."⁶⁹ The miscellaneous assortment of graphic and visual elements embedded within non-sequential and non-hierarchical arrangements of content throughout the pages connects the points with each other within an issue, and the points in different issues connect the different issues of a periodical, forming an assemblage centered around periodical print publishing at Carlisle. And while these examples show how a periodical can act as a multiple, layered publishing model (i.e., elements of multiplicity within an assemblage), the connections born from the set of points mentioned above constitute assemblages that form the plateau of Carlisle periodicals that is continuously smoothed and striated.

This plateau consists of all print products produced at Carlisle, and it is to be understood as both a metaphorical cartographical space (e.g., a periodical) and as a development of said space during the time the school operated, i.e., "any multiplicity connected to other multiplicities."⁷⁰ And while the process is a continuous one, a certain development at Carlisle led to a specific shift in Native American design production and graphic-visual communication, marking a clear transition from the assimilation/tradition binary towards new, modern print products by Native American students Arnold Krupat termed "Carlisle Indians."⁷¹ But while Krupat focuses on the Native students and sees them as "a different kind of Indian," "neither unself-consciously 'traditional' nor self-consciously

‘modern,’”⁷² distinct and novel art designs appeared in Carlisle’s *Craftsman*, suggesting a newly emerging Native American art style which was not based on distinct tribal heritage or Euro-American misconceptions of Native art styles, but was instead pan-Indigenous in nature.

The new art style taught at Carlisle’s art department and subsequently printed in the school’s magazine connects to the Society of American Indians (1911–1923), as well as the periodicals connected to the organization, to form points across plateaus. The newly emerging art style in Carlisle also reflects the shift away from an emphasis on the production of Victorian works of art and consumption to instead focus on the activation of the perceived “latent artistic talent of Native Indians.”⁷³ This is a pivotal change from the earlier approach to commercialize relatively low-grade (mass-)productions of everyday objects (related to pottery, smithing, tailoring, and other trades taught at Carlisle) for U.S. citizens or those assimilating into U.S. culture. With the popularization of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States, the goal now was to create a “fus[ion] with the art of Native America”⁷⁴ that aimed to capitalize on the (re-)activation of the students’ knowledge of their tribal design patterns as well as produce a “contribution to American art”⁷⁵ at Carlisle. At Carlisle, the shift in the perception of Native American craftsmanship during the early years of the twentieth century, i.e., that a recognition of Native artistry began to supersede the belief that the Native Americans were “simple” crafts makers, was underlined by changes in regard to educational policies and leadership.

Instead of attending far away boarding schools, the trend was moving towards enrolling students at public schools. Public schools were seen “as the quintessential American institution,”⁷⁶ and an ever-increasing number of students at Carlisle “had attended day schools close to the reservation before heading east to boarding school.”⁷⁷ This was the result of allotment policies of the late nineteenth century (e.g., Dawes Act of 1887), and subsequent white settlements on lands originally inhabited by Native Americans brought the two communities into closer contact with each other. The closer proximity of the two then made public schools a “practical possibility.”⁷⁸ Additionally, the theory of a gradual assimilation of Native peoples into U.S. society gained increasing popularity among reformers. This stood in stark contrast to Pratt’s approach, who was firmly convinced that a fast assimilation process could only be achieved by students attending off-reservation boarding schools in white communities.⁷⁹ Pratt was ultimately relieved from his duty as Carlisle’s superintendent on June 15, 1904, after a particularly scathing speech against the Bureau of Indian Affairs. After his departure in 1904, Carlisle generally declined in relevance and enrollment numbers, although the conditions at the school were much improved under William A. Mercer (1904–

1908). Student treatment under his successor, Moses Friedman (1908–1914), however, resulted in almost 280 students signing a “petition requesting an official investigation of conditions at the school.”⁸⁰ It was during this shift and general decline at Carlisle that famed Ho-Chunk artist Angel De Cora (1868/69–1919) arrived to assume a teaching position as an art and drawing instructor at Carlisle in 1906. She had established herself as a noteworthy artist and became known as the “best-known native artist in the United States before World War I.”⁸¹ Her expertise in art, in connection to her above-mentioned comments on the “latent artistic talents” of Native North Americans, gave her both the ability and the mindset to activate her students’ talents and to foster it over the course of their studies.

Angel De Cora and Expressions of Latent Artistic Talents

In her speech for the 25th Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples in 1907, Angel De Cora spoke about the relation between Indigenous craftsmanship, the “apt pupil,” and the “general revival throughout the country of the old handicrafts.”⁸² With its belief in craftsmanship, a focus on utility and simplicity, and nature as a source of inspiration, the Arts and Crafts movement in America complemented not only De Cora’s understanding of Native American art and art production, but forms a point reinforcing the connection between Carlisle publications and the broader Native American periodical printscape at the turn of the century. Pottery, basket weaving, textiles, and beading work are understood as inherently Indigenous productions of art and utility, and modern versions of these crafts (e.g., adapting designs usually put on pottery to cloth, linen, or print) can be successfully commercialized for a non-Native consumer clientele to add to what Daniel Heath Justice terms “Indigenous writing.”⁸³ “The print shop,” De Cora goes on to say, “has already used many of our designs.”⁸⁴ The practice continued and the designs were featured in Carlisle’s newspapers and magazines under the tutelage of Angel de Cora during her nine-year tenure at the school (1906–1915). The Native American designs and products therefore form a distinct designspace within the striated space of the boarding school, smoothing the space the Native students printed on and originating from a synthesis between a talented Ho-Chunk artist, the training she received, and the opportunities she gave to her students.

Born in late spring of 1868 or 1869 on a Winnebago reservation (northeastern Nebraska), De Cora was raised on the reservation until she was nine years old before she attended the Hampton Institute in Virginia. After her graduation from the boarding school, she

studied art at Smith College, then at the Drexel Academy in Philadelphia, and finally in Boston.⁸⁵ While she attended Drexel, the well-known illustrator Howard Pyle was one of her teachers. He encouraged De Cora to write and illustrate two of her earlier stories, “The Sick Child” and “Gray Wolf’s Daughter,” published in *Harper’s Monthly* in February 1899. As Elizabeth Hutchinson points out, the publication of her stories in the well-known and widely read *Harper’s Monthly* are the start of her professional artistic career.⁸⁶ The publication of her stories also adds De Cora to the “rhizome” of Native art and artists, shaping it to actively include De Cora’s understanding of Indigenous communication systems through graphic-visual designs. By “using the visual as a means of obtaining and circulating knowledge,” De Cora aimed to give accurate representations of Native Americans while simultaneously picking up subjects “she felt had particular meaning for Indians.”⁸⁷ De Cora entered and won the competition to design the frontispiece for Susan La Flesche’s the *Middle Five* in 1900, an “arts-and-crafts style cover using abstract Indian motifs” and her most recognized work to date.⁸⁸ In 1905, Natalie Curtis asked De Cora to design the Winnebago title page of *The Indians’ Book* (1907), which she delivered alongside the legend “Lake Indians—Winnebago.”⁸⁹ Curtis’ publishers were so enthralled with De Cora’s design that they insisted all chapter headings be designed with this lettering, a request De Cora fulfilled. The style was perceived as both modern and distinctly Native American, and although the originality of her work may be difficult to discern, De Cora’s designs showcase how modern print, traditional Native American design, and Arts and Crafts influences could be brought together in a unique manner that created a self-supporting and empowering Native American artist.⁹⁰ This forms a distinct link to the influence exerted by the Arts and Crafts movement which draws heavily from nature (in relation to Native Americans, understood as “uncivilized” Native American designs) emphasizing craftsmanship and beauty born from both utility and simplicity. The influences from this are multilayered creating crossover points between names, people, and art in periodicals at this time.

The *Craftsman* (1901–1916), published by Gustav Stickley, is the most well-known Arts and Crafts magazine in the United States. It set out to “promote and extend the principles established by Morris [who founded the movement in England in 1860], in both the artistic and the socialistic sense.”⁹¹ And while the “socialistic sense” relates neither to the designs developed under De Cora nor to the emerging modern, pan-Native American art style, the *Craftsman* continues to emphasize: “In the interests of art, they [the United Crafts of Eastwood, New York] seek to substitute the luxury of taste for the luxury of costliness; to teach that beauty does not imply elaboration or ornament; to employ only those forms and

materials which make for simplicity, individuality and dignity of effect.”⁹² The *Craftsman*’s emphasis on simplicity, utility, and nature as inspiration resonates with De Cora’s understanding of Native American aesthetic principles. Yet the Arts and Crafts movement drew on romanticized, civilized interpretations of nature, reflecting settler-colonial desires rather than Indigenous realities. When De Cora encouraged her students to participate in the general revival throughout the country of the old handicrafts, she reframed this movement: students would draw on actual tribal memories and traditions, not Euro-American fantasies of primitive design. The resulting art—published in Carlisle’s *Indian Craftsman*—embodies the ambiguous space traced in this chapter: Native students’ designs appeared within an assimilationist publication, yet their very presence challenged the erasure Carlisle was designed to enforce. The designs simultaneously served the school’s commercial aims (advertising Carlisle’s civilizing success) and created artwork that would be reproduced in pan-Native American periodicals.

In a short autobiography published in the *Red Man*, De Cora points out that the designs produced by the Carlisle students would “become [their] contribution to American art,”⁹³ as opposed to a Native American art that exists in separation to the art produced by other racial groups in the United States. De Cora aimed to fuse her understanding of Native American design and art production to the broader territory of (U.S.) American art in general. As a result, the students’ designs are modern iterations of Native American designs in the sense that the Carlisle students created them from their own memories while also guided towards the production of a specific aestheticism by De Cora—an aestheticism that resonated with both non-Native and Native readers.⁹⁴ An intention to contribute to American art in general expresses Philip Deloria’s notion that the categories of Native American art and American art are “interlocking and dialogic, and to carve out distinctive spaces of the former is not to foreclose inclusion and openness on the part of the latter.” As a consequence, Deloria writes, “American Indian art is, necessarily, American art.”⁹⁵ That is, the rhizome of American art is interlinked with the rhizome of Native American art, continuously territorializing and reterritorializing (mis-)conceptions about Native Americans. What the designs express, then, is that they are modern expressions of early twentieth-century Native American art, specifically from a place that was founded with the intent of eliminating Native American cultures. And while the designs may suggest a specific tribal origin, they are more reflective of the broader pan-Native American movement emerging in the early twentieth century and advocating for the inclusion of Native peoples into broader U.S. society.

For non-Natives, any classification and interpretation according to tribal origin is challenging as well as prone to errors, thus running the risk of further striating a space while intending to lay out how the space is smoothed. At times, these errors even occurred when Native American organizations themselves classified Native designs. For example, the logo of the Society of American Indians was designed by De Cora and “chosen as the symbol most commonly respected by multiple Indian communities” to symbolize an organization that would “proceed with wisdom, courage, and foresight.”⁹⁶ However, as Hutchinson notes, the design was based on “a peregrine falcon—an image of intertribal warfare, not unity.”⁹⁷ Whether or not the members of the Society, consisting of the Native American intellectual elite of the early twentieth century, had an understanding of the designs origin is of less importance than the intention of repurposing the emblem: A modern synthesis aiming to unite Native American tribes under a pan-Native American movement. This is also reflective of De Cora’s teaching methods at Carlisle, where she encouraged students to produce art that was based on the students’ memories of their respective tribes but developed under the influence of a modern understanding of art, or, that the designs originated with the students who gave them their respective meaning.

The “interlocking and dialogic”⁹⁸ nature of American art and Native American art, within the context of Carlisle’s art design classes under the tutelage of Angel De Cora, creates a set of points which form an assemblage within and across publications. The space, intentionally created as a striated space, is then continuously smoothed, striated, and then smoothed and striated again by including the printed designs within the format of off reservation boarding school publications to renegotiate their purpose. The synthesis of traditional Native American art forms with modern art styles in Carlisle periodicals, itself a precursor to the pan-Native American efforts of the Society of American Indians, thus produces a fruitful interaction born out of the seemingly incommensurate relationship between the Americanization/assimilation of the Native students and conceptions of traditional Native American tribal ways of life. And while the incommensurate relationship of the assimilation/tradition binary constitutes a sedentary space of the periodical territory, the periodicals themselves can point to how this modern pan-Native American effort functions within a limited space, the smooth space or nomad space.

De Cora committed herself to engage her students in the (re-)activation of their knowledge of their tribal design patterns, a process she deemed vital in order to produce a “contribution to American art.”⁹⁹ At the same time, the goal to create self-supporting Native American individuals was rooted in an integration of Native American arts and designs into

the larger American artworld. For De Cora, her training enabled her to merge “the aesthetic values of dominant white culture with her own ideas about art”¹⁰⁰ and showcase them in Carlisle’s magazines.

In general, the school’s periodicals heavily featured pro-assimilationist rhetoric and curated entries based on the superintendent’s wish to promote the success of the school’s program of assimilating the Native children into Euro-American culture. They were addressed to local and national readers, among them “Friends of Carlisle sympathizers, fund-raisers, and powerful authorities in the state and private sectors as well as to students and former students.”¹⁰¹ News and reports on the students’ development would often focus on how well and quickly they adopted Euro-American Christian values, how the instructors viewed this progression, and the benefits of assimilation. The ornamentation in the papers was highly Westernized during Pratt’s superintendency, featuring among others Victorian designs and ornaments, modern and gothic fonts for some nameplates and initials to highlight the boy printers’ progress, group photographs of the students in their uniforms in- and outside of the classroom, and simple black lines to set apart both columns and individual articles. Some of the ornamentations and designs may be reminiscent of Native North American artwork, however, these were used solely to reinforce the idea, or myth, of the “Vanishing Indian” whose art and decorative style was presented in order to archive the past rather than illustrate the worth of Native art and design. When De Cora was appointed as the new art instructor by Commissioner Leupp in 1906, the gradualist approach to assimilate the school’s Native students led to an increased incorporation of Native designs in the school’s periodicals. The added value of the students’ art was based on two of De Cora’s main assumptions: First, that the Native children “are still gifted in the pictorial art” and second, that De Cora would “inspire her students to *remember* their own Indian past.”¹⁰²

This active process combines De Cora’s pedagogical approach (i.e., actively listening to her students and encouraging them to awaken their latent artistic abilities) towards the art students who engaged in their tribal arts, and the reproduction of the students’ art designs in Carlisle’s *Craftsman*. The art designs reflect traditional and tribe-specific art styles, but form an amalgamation of the traditional roots with modern forms of art design and printing. De Cora put an emphasis on the children’s heritage, encouraged them to remember and use their tribal designs for their artwork, and related their work to a decorative style affiliated with the Arts and Crafts movement. For De Cora, Native American art “could provide a model for American cultural development” and “make a unique contribution to it.”¹⁰³ The idea was not limited to the local area in and around Carlisle, and Native intellectuals recognized the

importance of De Cora's work, forming points that connect the seemingly closed-off space of the boarding school to prominent figures outside of Carlisle. Dakota physician and writer Charles Eastman (1858–1939), who published on Native American stories and education in Stickley's *Craftsman*, stressed how teaching art at Carlisle preserves the “distinctive and vitally American art form”¹⁰⁴ in an article from 1914, emphasizing the support among Native intellectuals for De Cora's work.

Ten years earlier, Irene Sargent (1852–1932), who edited the *Craftsman* from 1901–1905, “contributed over eighty articles to the magazine, edited its content, and designed its layout,”¹⁰⁵ published an article on Native American basketry. In it, she addresses the inherent fault of White copies of Native American art: “[T]hey [here: public school children and club-women] have too often failed to seize the meaning of the originals,” because “in the imitation, the spirit of the original composition will be lost,” and it can only be found if “[t]he designer [...] know[s] the reasons for the historical changes which have occurred in the elements of ornament with which he works; since these changes are, many times, the effort of the design to adapt itself to the material upon which it is wrought.”¹⁰⁶ And while Sargent writes about basketry, the final point she brings up here speaks to the remediation of Native American designs in the art design classes, which were then printed at Carlisle. She continues to prophesize that “North American Indians, so long despised save by a few specialists, will be proven to be designers obedient to sure artistic principles, working spontaneously, creating for pleasure, rather for display, as is too often the case with those who follow a similar calling in highly civilized communities.”¹⁰⁷ Sargent views Native Americans and their art as uncivilized, reiterating misconceptions of the “(ig-)noble savage,” through whose artwork one can “gain a retrograde vista into the times ‘when Adam delved and Eve span.’”¹⁰⁸ It is a striated view from within the sedentary space, a view which also reflects the “Myth of the Vanishing Indian” because the original elements which give the art its “spirit” are unrecognizable in their modern iterations. The art design classes De Cora taught at Carlisle smooth these misconceptions and instead form an assemblage which opens the possibility to Native American futures: By encouraging her students to draw on their memories from their tribal communities to create their own designs, De Cora gives her students the option to look to the future in relation to their past. And while this nomad space is very limited, it did exist in the art design classes and the periodicals published at Carlisle.

A report on her first few months at Carlisle shows how De Cora tried to smooth a striated space by (re-)instilling a nomad space in her students' minds. The report to superintendent Mercer then gives an insight into how a striated space is smoothed, and how

territorialization and reterritorialization occur continuously. De Cora begins the report on her first months in charge of the Native Arts Industry at Carlisle by stating that “the original work [the students] have produced, in quantity and quality, has been much beyond [her] hope and expectation,” but she initially “experienced a discouraging sensation that [she] was addressing the members of an alien race.”¹⁰⁹ That is, the sedentary space of Carlisle had striated the Native students’ perception of themselves as well as their knowledge about their origins. Now that De Cora had arrived to instruct the pupils, she first had to smooth the striated space by “appeal[ing] to their race pride, calling on them in mass and individually for Indian history, not as the White historian has pictured him in words but as some of us have heard it from the Indian storytellers by the light of the campfire.”¹¹⁰ Thus setting the stage for a nomad space, De Cora’s new pedagogical approach stood in stark contrast to the assimilationist dogmas formulated by Pratt.

A year before he was relieved from his duties as superintendent at Carlisle, Pratt had written a letter to Estelle Reel (1862–1959), then superintendent of Indian Schools. Without preamble, Pratt declares the school had “not undertaken any of the native industries and arts [...], and it is not [his] intention to do anything of that kind,” because the aim was “to teach the Indians the arts and industries of civilized life which will have some influence to lead them into those arts and industries and so away from Indianism.”¹¹¹ De Cora, who wanted to activate her students’ latent artistic abilities, had to first disengage her students from the assimilationist environment of the school, i.e., smooth the striated space of both the classroom and her students’ memories, and then encourage her students to engage in and add to the nomad space. As a “space of freedom,”¹¹² her classroom stands in opposition to the sedentary (or colonial) space of assimilation, renegotiating a space in which the Native students could reevaluate their heritage and the way they understand themselves.

However, this could only happen if the students had memories to draw from. De Cora notes that “there are those [students] who have lost all their Indian lore,”¹¹³ a direct result of the strict assimilationist environment at Carlisle. To awaken the latent artistic abilities of those students who no longer have any memory of their tribal stories, De Cora asked them to read the reports of the Bureau of Ethnology. In contradiction to her earlier statements to not draw upon settler-state accounts of Native American ways of life, she highlights how the reports “have served to call our minds back to old customs and lore and in this short time these Indians’ decorative instincts is greatly aroused.”¹¹⁴ She would later obtain more reports and other ethnographical material from the famous German American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942). Boas had reached out to De Cora January 1908 in search of “students for

his linguistic work,”¹¹⁵ and his interest in De Cora’s work at Carlisle made him come to the school and give a talk about Native American art the following month. De Cora’s language here reveals both her strategic positioning within Carlisle’s administrative structure and her unique pedagogical approach. By framing her pedagogy in terms of racial pride—a concept legible to reformers influenced by Social Darwinism and uplift ideology—she secured institutional support for practices that fundamentally undermined assimilationist goals. Her invocation of the light of the campfire directly counters the boarding school’s foundational metaphor: Whereas Pratt sought to extinguish Native fires and replace them with the light of Christian civilization, De Cora conceptualizes metaphorical campfires as sites of knowledge production and transmission. The students, disconnected to their past to the point they seemed alien to her, represented a pedagogical crisis for De Cora that required intervention through Native led studies of ethnological tracts. Paradoxically, De Cora turned the settler state’s ethnographic archive—itsself a technology of colonial knowledge production—into a tool that reactivated the students’ “latent artistic abilities.” That is, De Cora’s art classes at Carlisle give an example of how the sedentary space is perpetually smoothed, striated, and then smoothed and striated again by drawing on material from the sedentary space, allowing for a fruitful interaction to emerge between the Native students, their origins, and the environment (i.e., Carlisle as an off-reservation boarding school) they are in. And so do the designs printed at Carlisle once De Cora’s teaching methods took hold.

Native Student Art in the Carlisle’s *Craftsman*

Carlisle’s the *Indian Craftsman* took its name from Stickley’s *Craftsman*, in direct reference to the synthesis of Native American art designs and the Arts and Crafts movement. It was well-received from its first issue onwards: A local Harrisburg newspaper praised the magazine’s high-quality production value, the “interesting typographical features,” and the “excellent” “illustrations scattered through the magazine,”¹¹⁶ and the local *Carlisle Evening Herald* calls the magazine’s second issue an “exceedingly interesting number,” highlighting that the “mechanical work and all the art work of this unique magazine is executed by Indian students of the school.”¹¹⁷ The *Carlisle Evening Sentinel*, upon receiving the magazine’s third issue, notes that “each new number has been an improvement” and that the “new number is a work of art.”¹¹⁸ Off reservation boarding school publications, from Kansas, South Dakota, and Alaska, also refer to the magazine’s “excellent illustrations”¹¹⁹ or praise it as “a splendid specimen of the printer’s art.”¹²⁰ The *Carlisle Arrow* reprints the congratulations received

from the *Weekly Review*, the school paper for the Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, which praises the *Indian Craftsman* as an “excellent magazine” whose “workmanship is first-class in all respect.”¹²¹

The magazine was so successful that it was forced to rename itself to the *Red Man* in February 1910. The *Carlisle Sentinel* reports that Stickley “recognized it as a competitor and took legal steps to bring about a settlement.”¹²² While this recognition was understood as a “distinct compliment,” the main reason given for the name change, according to the *Sentinel*, is that readers thought of the two magazines as one and the same. To avoid confusion, the *Indian Craftsman* was thus renamed after it had established itself as an important publication with the “subsequent improvement in each succeeding number.”¹²³ On first glance, then, it would then appear as if everything about the *Indian Craftsman* smooths the striated space. However, despite the advertisement in the magazine itself and in other publications, not all the designs in the *Indian Craftsman* are Native American. That is, the “striated space” is not smoothed, but further striated by non-Native designs presented as Native American.

The cover pages of the magazine, for instance, were partly designed by William “Lone Star” Dietz (1884–1964), a designer and prominent athlete who enrolled at Carlisle in fall 1907. Dietz’s heritage is questionable at best, and at worst he pretended to be a Sioux in order to capitalize on his athletic prowess as a member of an off-reservation boarding school’s football team and as a Native American artist employed as an art instructor at Carlisle. And while Carlisle publications prominently featured Dietz as a Native American artist and designer¹²⁴ who “designed most”¹²⁵ of the covers for the *Indian Craftsman*, the discussions surrounding his ethnic background during and after his lifetime suggest that he probably faked his Native identity.¹²⁶ He married De Cora in 1907, and Waggoner points out that Dietz “chose his mate wisely,”¹²⁷ a statement which also rings true in relation to his self-proclaimed Native identity which De Cora apparently believed in. In relation to the nomad space found within the *Indian Craftsman*, Dietz’s contributions to the magazine striate the space and establish misconceptions about the originality of the student designs produced in De Cora’s classroom. The sedentary space at Carlisle, smoothed by the Native American students’ contributions in design and print, is striated by Dietz and his prominently featured designs (see fig. 19).

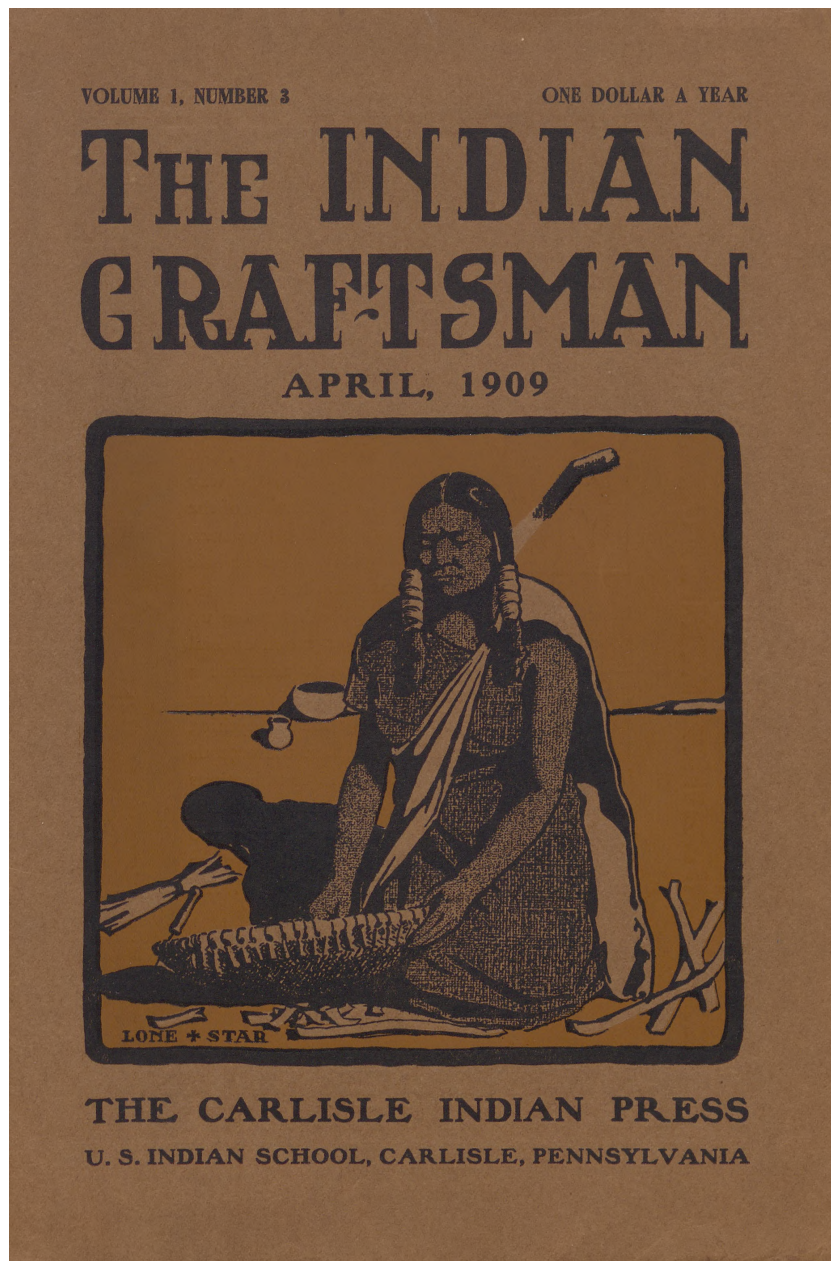


Figure 19: Cover Page. *The Indian Craftsman* 1.3 (April 1909): n.p.

On turning the page, however, one can see how the striated space is smoothed, and how the medium-specific format of the magazine allows for an interaction between the smooth and new Native American designs developed under De Cora's tutelage and the sedentary space of an off-reservation boarding school publication (see fig. 20).

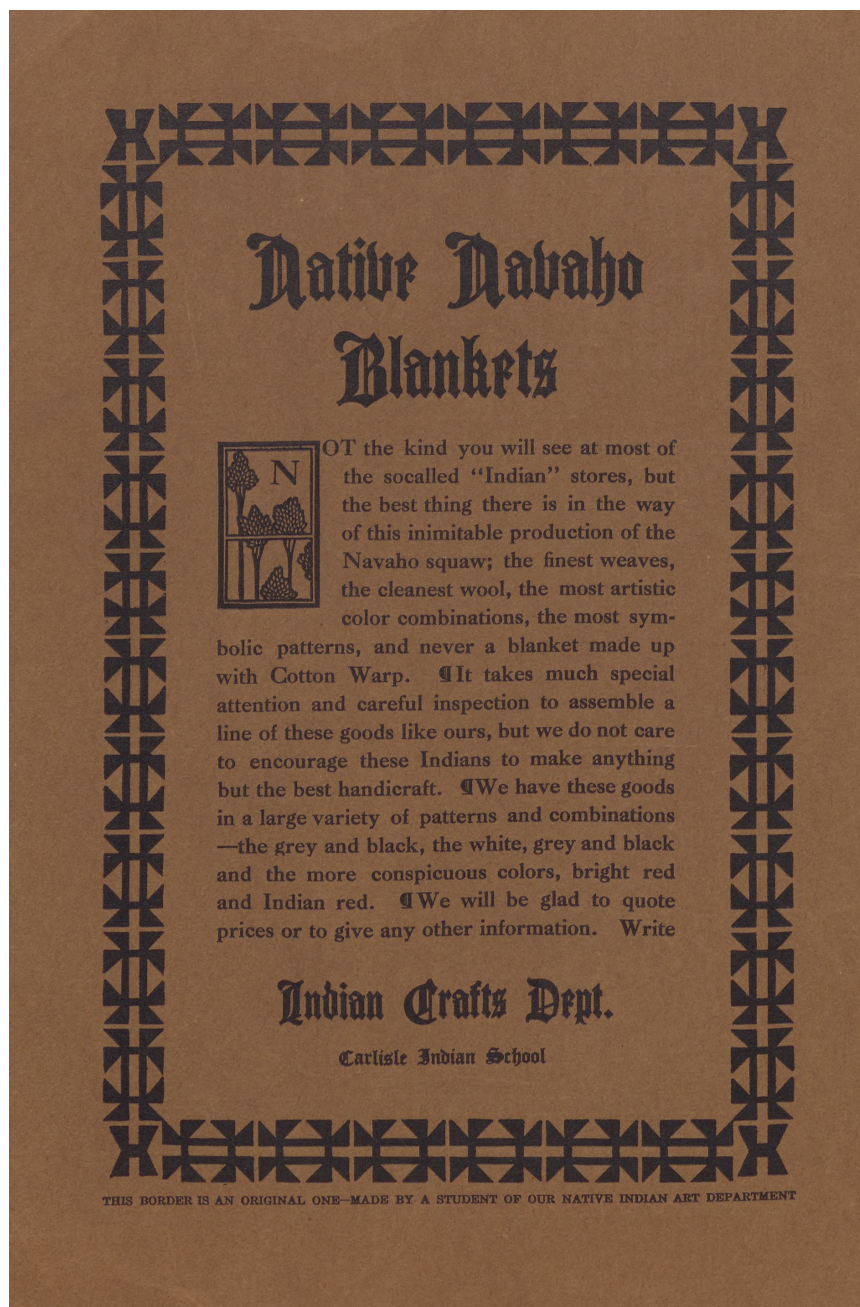


Figure 20: Front Matter. *The Indian Craftsman* 1.3 (April 1909): n.p.

Here, an advertisement for “Native Navaho Blankets” is set inside an ornamented border design that is described as “an original one—made by a student of our Native Indian Art Department.” The striated space of the paper is smoothed by the border design, while the space inside the border design is striated by the gothic-styled font of the title and ending of the text, as well as the illustrated initial “N,” reminiscent of the Art Nouveau style. The advertising text itself further striates, but also smooths the space. That is, the advertisement calls upon the commercial side of the sedentary (or colonial) space, while the items themselves were produced by the Native American students who have been trained by De

Cora, thus smoothing the space. This space is further smoothed by the statement that the publication is “[a] magazine not only *about* Indians, but mainly *by* Indians”¹²⁸ on the following page. The closing pages of Carlisle’s *Craftsman* present a similar space (see figs. 21 and 22).



Figure 21 and figure 22: Back Matter. *The Indian Craftsman* 1, no. 3 (April 1909): n.p.

Here, the border ornamentations are also accompanied by ornamentations inside the border, and the initials are designs taken from De Cora’s art classes which appear throughout the magazine’s runtime. Using the initials designed in De Cora’s classes smooths the space rather than striating it (see figs. 20, 21), and the back matter of the magazine shows how a periodical can further mediate a nomad space. Fig. 22 shows what a synthesis of modern Native American designs with modern print practices looks like, combining original designs and periodical print practices and setting them alongside settler symbols (in fig. 23: the book-like ornamentation and the quote from printer and politician Charles Murdock). As a frame within a frame (i.e., printed in the frame of the *Indian Craftsman* and framed within the borders of its pages), these prints constitute a nomad space which are constantly smoothed and striated.

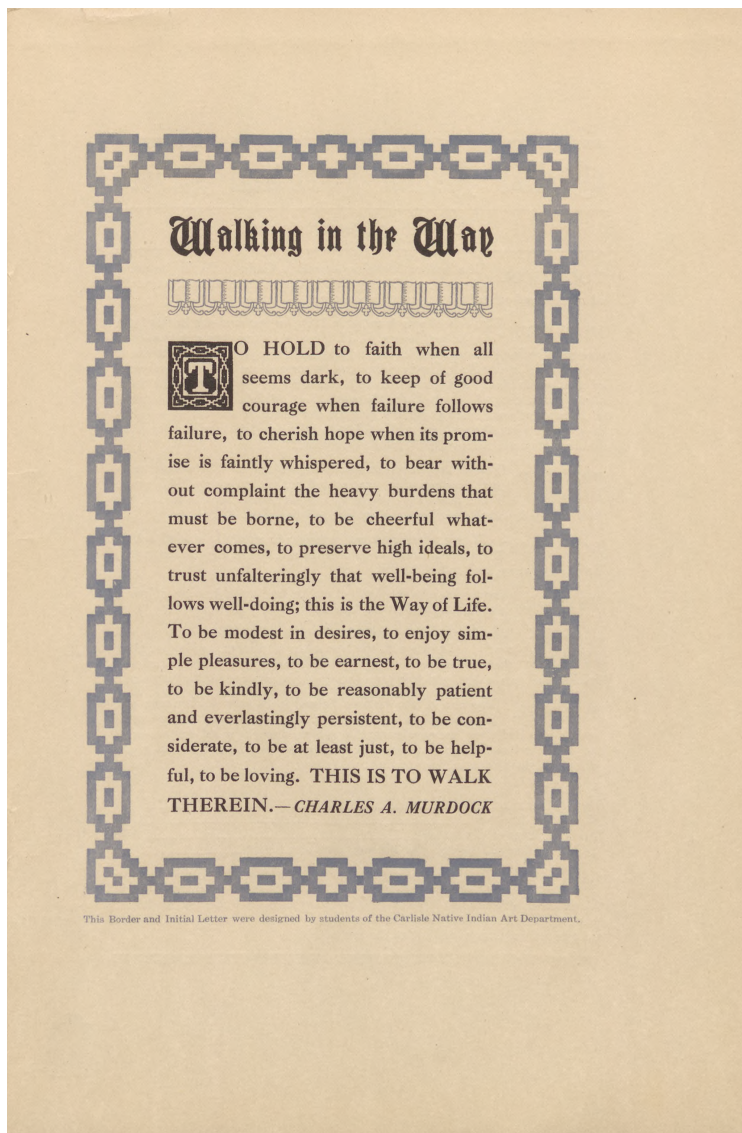


Figure 23: Back Matter. *The Indian Craftsman* 1.3 (April 1909): n.p.

As Wigginton points out, many of the initials designed by the students and printed in Carlisle's flagship magazine were "likely designed by De Cora for *Wigwam Stories* and then repurposed and redesigned for Carlisle." She goes on to say that "some initials employed at Carlisle appear to be exact replicas and others bear marked but inexact resemblance,"¹²⁹ pointing to a successful synthesis of old designs and modern iterations in print. As a smooth space, these initials, along with the other designs printed in the *Indian Craftsman*, reterritorialize the sedentary space. An example of this reterritorialization is the design for the uppercase "I" initial found in the magazine's very first issue (see fig. 24).



Figure 24: “The Improvements at Carlisle Indian School. By the Superintendent.” *The Indian Craftsman* 1.1 (February 1909): 3.

This detailed initial appears to synthesize the geometrical designs used by Native tribes; the artform of weaving as a Native American practice; historic weaponry associated with Native cultures; and the Latin alphabet via a combination of Native design and periodical publishing practices. This image can be interpreted as an amalgamation based on designs and artforms from the Native tribes of the Great Plains, with geometrical designs on what appears to be a wampum belt with three figures in between two concaved pentagon shapes and two crossed hatchets overlaying the letter “I.” The left-hand side of the belt includes three additional designs underneath the hatchet’s handle. One of the hatchets has a thunderbird design on its head, and while non-Native readers would have difficulties discerning the difference between a traditional design and its modern iteration, the initial here constitutes a “point” which smooths the sedentary space of the magazine by having the letter “I” interact with modern Native American designs. The bird design on one of the hatchets evokes connections to the Algonquian peoples in the Northeast, also recalling the thunderbird image. Alternatively, the image evokes an eagle, a sacred image for many Native tribes.¹³⁰ As with the later symbol of the Society of American Indians, the eagle communicates a sense of Native community beyond tribal lines, while the wampum belt covering the lower end of the two crossed hatchets’ grips may be interpreted as reinforcing unity across the tribes. The three figures on the wampum belt might tell a story of Native peoples and settlers coming together, the third figure either an offspring of both groups, or something else entirely. Thus, the design

represents the continuous back and forth between striated and smooth space, a process that is repeated every time the design is reprinted.

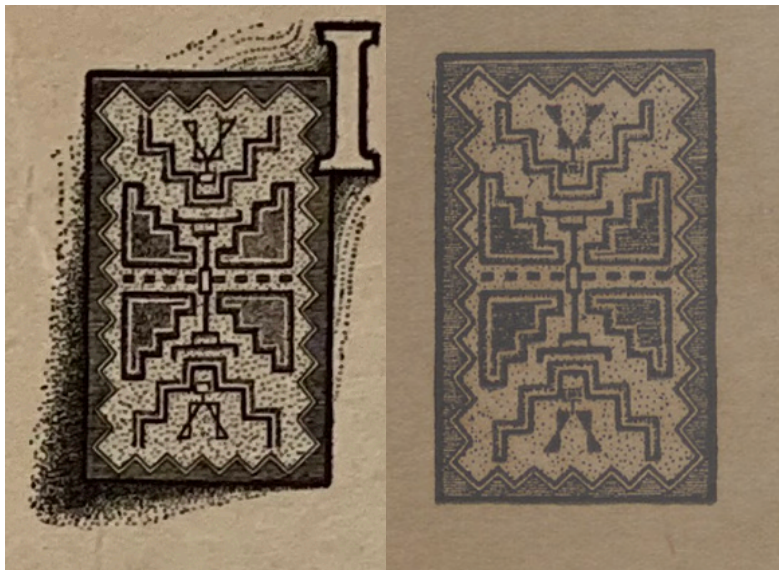


Figure 25: “How Shall we Aid the Navajo?” The *Indian Craftsman* 1.4 (May 1909): 29;
figure 26: Back Matter. “Arts and Handicrafts of the Indian” (Carlisle, c. 1910): n.p.

Another initial uppercase “I” (see fig. 25), printed in the same issue, shows a different design. The geometrical shapes seem to be on a woven carpet and evoke the classic geometric designs popular in the Winnebago tribe. In contrast to fig. 24, the “I” in fig. 25 is not set underneath the Native design but in its upper right corner. Rather than intersecting with each other, the Native carpet design and the letter “I” are separated from each other, barely connected and with the initial letter appearing on top of the edge of the design. The dotted lines towards the lower left corner of the design appear to be either a shadow cast by the motif or the dotted lines wandering towards the letter “I” in the upper right corner. This could be seen as a smoothing of the striated space, i.e., the Native design of a carpet decoration smooths the letter “I” to create a nomad space. This arrangement may be viewed as the rug-motif with the thunderbird design throwing a shadow, thus showing that these kinds of artworks are still present (i.e., design like this one might be found on an actual woven rug produced at Carlisle), while its meaning and symbolism are synthesized into the Euro-American version of the written word. The design is also featured on the back matter of a little pamphlet titled “Arts and Handicrafts of the Indian,” published around 1910 (see fig. 26). Here, the design lacks both the initial “I” and the dotted lines seen in fig. 26, and the “simplified” version of the design is also reprinted in the *Red Man*.¹³¹ The design, then, communicates an interaction

between Native American and Anglo-American cultures, and the high-quality production value of the magazine and its contents show how this interaction can be a fruitful one.

This interaction points towards the students' understanding of their traditional heritage and how to connect it to modern art, i.e., exactly what De Cora encouraged her students to do. Who exactly produced the design, however, remains elusive in most cases. As to who designed these two initials, the attribution is omitted both in the magazine and the pamphlet. Similar to earlier publications at Carlisle, the annotations to the magazine's table of contents point out that "the mechanical work and all the artwork is executed by Indian students of the school,"¹³² although in light of Dietz's contributions, this cannot be taken as fact. Yet, the magazine further emphasized this point from the third issue onwards: "The mechanical work is executed by apprentice-students under the direction of the instructor of printing. The borders, initial letters, sketches, headings, cover pages, etc. herein shown are the work of our Native Indian Art Department under the supervision of Angel Decora-Deitz [sic!]."¹³³ And while some of the initial designs were based on De Cora's earlier work and apparently redesigned by the students, they continuously "smooth" the "sedentary space" of the boarding school publication. This process is striated through Dietz's designs, who often signed "Lone Star," "L.S.," or "Sioux Indian." Other designs, however, are attributed to the students in general (see fig. 27) or to a singular, unnamed student (see fig. 28), some are signed by the students themselves (see fig. 29), their names are given underneath the design (see fig. 30), or as the result of students working together (see fig. 31).¹³⁴

Figure 29 is a rare example of a design signed by the student. The signature "M.S. Horse" can be seen in the lower right-hand side of the design, pointing perhaps to a Moses Stranger Horse (Sioux) who attended Carlisle from 1908–1911. The time he spent at Carlisle overlaps with the time his design was printed (1910), but this is not necessarily the case for all the designs presented here. Figure 30, for example, gives the student's last name and tribal affiliation, pointing towards Sallie Sundown (Seneca) who attended the school from 1902–1907, two years before the print was published.

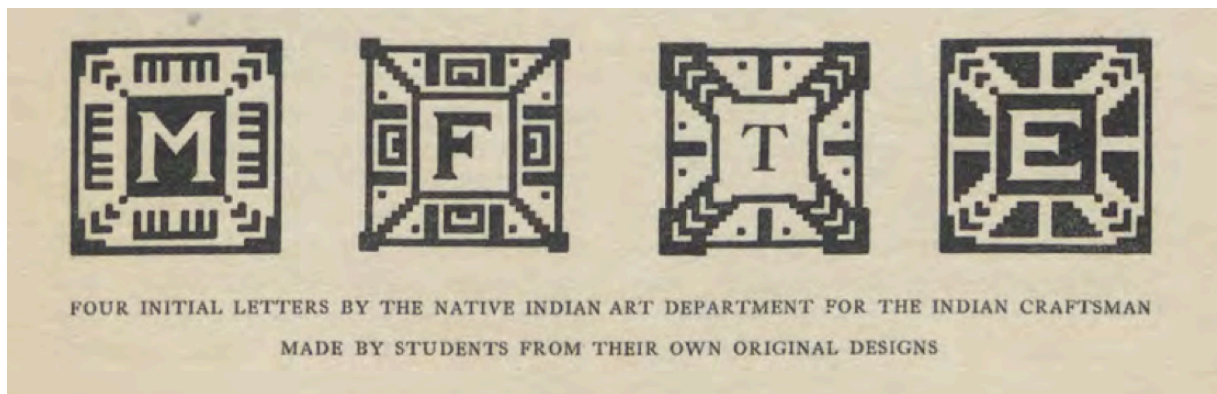


Figure 27: “Four Initial Letters by the Native Indian Art Department for the Indian Craftsman Made by Students from Their Own Original Designs.” The *Indian Craftsman* 2.2 (October 1909): 23.



Figure 28: “An Initial Letter of a Navajo Design by a Carlisle Student.” The *Indian Craftsman* 2.2 (October 1909): 42.



Figure 29: The *Red Man* 2.8 (April 1910): 31; signed by M.S. Horse.

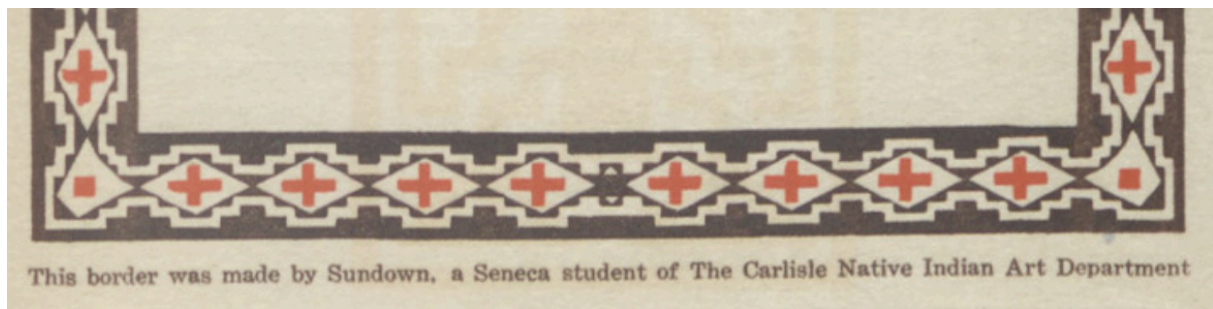


Figure 30: Showcase of the school's art and printing department, *The Indian Craftsman* 2.2 (October 1909): n.p.



Figure 31: “A Prairie Episode—Sketched by Carlisle Indians.” *The Indian Craftsman* 1.2 (March 1909): 38.

These designs form a micro-assemblage within the pages of Carlisle's *Craftsman*, and their miscellaneous assortment of graphic and visual elements connects them as points within and across issues. And since some of the designs appear outside of Carlisle, i.e., “Carlisle's Indigenous print design [was distributed] across multiple other publications and presses,”¹³⁵ they create new points and smooth the space they are reprinted in. Wigginton gives several examples from the *Winona Printer*, a magazine for printers and compositors published in Indianapolis, as well as the print department at the Oglala Indian Training School.¹³⁶ Additionally, the periodical of the Society of American Indians, the *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* (later the *American Indian Magazine* 1913–1920), reprinted some of the initials found in Carlisle's magazine (see figs. 25, 26, 32, and 33).¹³⁷ Hence, the designs produced at Carlisle “smooth” the early twentieth-century printscape by repurposing traditional Native American graphic-visual communication (i.e., the designs) within the sedentary space of Carlisle and distributing them among other publications in the country. This is not to say that these designs smoothed the entirety of the sedentary space, but the

designs did carve out what Deloria calls “distinctive spaces”¹³⁸ in relation to American art and periodical publishing practices in general, i.e., the nomad space assembles itself not in a singular space but through the points emerging across publications.

At the same time, female designers such as De Cora give an insight into the impact of female Native American design practices. In the above-mentioned speech at Lake Mohonk Conference, De Cora stresses that she “visited Indian tribes with the view of getting an insight into the Indian woman’s life and her natural tendencies in domestic life (...) to find out the kind of work she does in which she employs her native designs,”¹³⁹ pointing out that Indigenous designs found on tribal products originate from the tribe’s women. This suggests that De Cora’s lettering and cover designs are part of and an often-overlooked extension of female tradition of Indigenous designs, which in turn are taught at Carlisle and smooth the space in which they appear.¹⁴⁰ De Cora taught design motifs and letterings connecting her designs with the students’ designs. Native American editors, activists, and intellectuals at the time (here: the Society of American Indians) picked up on these designs and reprinted them to create a smooth space within the context of an early twentieth century modern and pan-Native American movement.

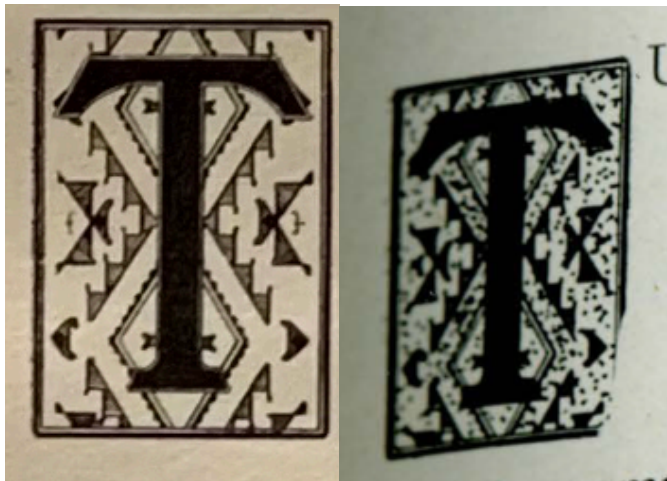


Figure 32: “Tradition of the Crows.” Lewis George. *The Red Man* 2.10 (June 1910): 42;
figure 33: “The Turtle’s War Party.” *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 5.3 (July-September 1917): 195.

The mobility and portability of these designs, or visual-graphic signs, tell us how they smooth the space in which they are printed. In the context of Carlisle’s periodicals, the examples shown here are understood as an additional component to a periodical’s content, extending an understanding of the medium beyond the textual level and incorporating the graphic-visual

elements not only as vital components of the medium, but as assemblages which can form a Carlisle plateau. Their mobility demonstrates that the newly developed or repurposed Native American designs occur within sedentary spaces and how they smooth these spaces against a continuous process of striation.

As a distinct synthesis of traditional and modern American art, De Cora and her students were thus able to create designs that connected to the broader American periodical publishing world, smoothing spaces and renegotiating the newly developed pan-Native American arts and designs. Due to the positive reception of the school's publications, in particular the *Indian Craftsman*, the designs connected to the dominant settler-colonial press as points that smoothed it. On a local level, i.e., in the classroom, showing the students Native American designs reminded some of them of their own tribe's art, and the instructions would also familiarize the students with other tribal designs from which they could draw further inspiration.¹⁴¹ This activation of the students "latent artistic abilities" could even extend to the national level, since former students who subscribed to publications from Carlisle often engaged with Carlisle's periodical press after graduation.

Reprints in the *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* (see figs. 32 and 33) reaffirm the design's potency to smooth striated spaces, communicating pan-Native American efforts through art design. Thought of as a plateau, the points and assemblages at Carlisle function as a formation ground for the modern pan-Native American art designs within a sedentary space. Carlisle's art and print classes then become an ambiguous space that helped "smooth" the settler space and also paved the way for a modern Native American visual language found in Native American periodicals. Developing from the fruitful interactions between De Cora, her teaching methods, and her "apt pupils" within the confines of the assimilationist Carlisle boarding school, the pan-Native American art style informed the newly emerging pan-Native American movement and its subsequent publications.

¹ This chapter draws on previously published articles; Newton, "'Away With Your White Man's Art,'" and Scheiding Newton, "Native American Periodicals."

² Cover Page. *The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man*, Outing Number 14.37 (June 7, 1918), n.p.

³ "The Cover Design—'Memories,'" *The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man*, Outing Number 14.37 (June 7, 1918): 21.

⁴ Mauro, *The Art of Americanization*, 38, 56.

⁵ Krupat, *Boarding School Voices*, xiv.

⁶ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 214.

⁷ Krupat, *From The Boarding Schools*, xvi.

⁸ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, xx.

⁹ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 13.

- ¹⁰ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 13.
- ¹¹ Other photographers at Carlisle include John Hiram Andrews (1860–1929), Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952), Albert Long Rogers (1853–1934), Albert Allen Line (1850–1928), Maynard J. Hoover (1877–1960), and student photographer John Leslie (Puyallup, 1871(?)–1956).
- ¹² Hirsch/Spitzer, *School Photos*, 82. For a contemporary reimagination of the Carlisle before-and-after photographs, see Ryan Singer’s artwork, which picks up on popular culture by painting the Ewoks from Star Wars in their aboriginal clothing and in an imperial garb. For a discussion on the popularity of photography at the turn of the century, see Dean, *Unconventional Politics*, 176–189.
- ¹³ *The Indian Helper* 1.44 (June 11, 1886): 2.
- ¹⁴ *The Indian Helper* 1.44 (June 11, 1886): 2.
- ¹⁵ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 474.
- ¹⁶ Roffe, *Deleuze Dictionary*, 191.
- ¹⁷ Tonkovich. *The Allotment Plot*, 327.
- ¹⁸ Mauro, *The Art of Americanization*, 2. On the transition from “savagery” to “civilization,” see Hearne, *Native Recognition*, 20–30; on the intersection between photography and colonization, see Rickard, “The Occupation of.”
- ¹⁹ *The Carlisle Arrow* 6, no. 1 (Sept. 10, 1909): 6.
- ²⁰ Lorraine, *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 152.
- ²¹ Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 71.
- ²² Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 46.
- ²³ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, xxi–xxii.
- ²⁴ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, xxi.
- ²⁵ For an overview of Native American higher education, see Reyhner/Eder, *American Indian Education*, 308–25; for the late 19th century see 308–13.
- ²⁶ Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom*, xxi.
- ²⁷ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1.1 (January 1880): 1.
- ²⁸ The date of birth and death of Samuel Townsend are unclear. Based on his student information card from Carlisle, he was 14 years old when he arrived at the school on September 22, 1879, placing his date of birth at around 1865. His death was announced in several newspapers in late January 1912, see “Death of Sam Townsend,” *The Pawnee Courier-Dispatch* 18.8 (January 25, 1912): 1 and “Sam Townsend’s Troubles Over,” *Muskogee Times-Democrat* 18.40 (January 23, 1912): 10.
- ²⁹ “Death of Sam Townsend,” *The Pawnee Courier-Dispatch* 18.8 (January 25, 1912): 1
- ³⁰ *Eadle Keatah Toh* 1.2 (April 1880): 3.
- ³¹ *The Indian Helper* 1.19 (December 18, 1885): 2; see also *The Morning Star* 8.2 (December 1887): 4; *The Red Man* 8.6 (April 1888): 4.
- ³² *The Red Man and Helper* 1.1 (July 13, 1900): 1.
- ³³ *The Arrow* 1.1 (August 25, 1904): 2.
- ³⁴ Parr, *The Deleuzian Dictionary*, 237.
- ³⁵ Pexa, *Translated Nation*, 148.
- ³⁶ *The Arrow* 1, no. 2 (September 1, 1904): 3.
- ³⁷ *The Arrow* 1.47 (July 27, 1905): 1 and *The Arrow* 2.29 (March 16, 1906): 1.
- ³⁸ “Our Printing Office,” *The Red Man and Helper* 3.24 (January 30, 1903): 3.
- ³⁹ “Our Printing Office,” *The Red Man and Helper* 3.24 (January 30, 1903): 3.
- ⁴⁰ “Our Printing Office,” *The Red Man and Helper* 3.24 (January 30, 1903): 3.
- ⁴¹ “Our Printing Office,” *The Red Man and Helper* 3.24 (January 30, 1903): 3.
- ⁴² “Good-bye Redman and Helper,” *The Red Man and Helper* 5.48 (Friday, July 29, 1904): 2.
- ⁴³ *The Arrow* 1.46 (July 20, 1905): 3.
- ⁴⁴ *The Arrow* 1.47 (July 27, 1905): 3.

- ⁴⁵ *The Arrow* 4.41 (June 12, 1908): 3.
- ⁴⁶ *The Arrow* 4.42 (June 19, 1908): 3.
- ⁴⁷ *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.1 (September 9, 1910): 3.
- ⁴⁸ *The Arrow* 1.27 (March 2, 1905): 3.
- ⁴⁹ *The Arrow* 2.3 (September 8, 1905): 3.
- ⁵⁰ *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.34 (April 28, 1911): 4.
- ⁵¹ *The Arrow* 2.19 (January 5, 1906): 3.
- ⁵² *The Arrow* 2.20 (January 12, 1906): 3; *The Arrow* 2.27 (March 2, 1906): 3; *The Arrow* 3.40 (May 31, 1907): 3.
- ⁵³ "Encouraging," *The Arrow* 3.4 (September 21, 1906): 2; "Visiting 'Typo,'" *The Arrow* 3.12 (November 16, 1906): 4; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 5.3 (September 25, 1908): 3; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.38 (May 27, 1910): 3; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.39 (June 3, 1910): 4; *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.1 (September 10, 1909): 2, 7; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.12 (November 25, 1910): 2; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.30 (March 31, 1911): 3; "Notes of Returned Students," *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.27 (March 15, 1912): 1.
- ⁵⁴ "Another Carlisle Making Good," *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.1 (September 10, 1909): 6.
- ⁵⁵ "Patrick Verney Doing Well," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.1 (September 9, 1910): 6; "From an Alaskan," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.3 (September 23, 1910): 1; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.23 (February 10, 1911): 3.
- ⁵⁶ "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.4 (October 6, 1911): 2; "Marriage of Two Good Ex-Students," *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.8 (November 3, 1911): 4; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.17 (January 5, 1912): 1.
- ⁵⁷ "Notes of Ex-Students," *The Carlisle Arrow* 9.1 (September 6, 1912): 4.
- ⁵⁸ "The Printer's Valentine," *The Arrow* 4.24 (February 14, 1908): 2; "Local Miscellany," *The Arrow* 4.25 (February 21, 1908): 3.
- ⁵⁹ "A Matter of \$ \$," *The Arrow* 3.43 (June 21, 1907): 4.
- ⁶⁰ Humud, "The 'Authentic Indian,'" 59.
- ⁶¹ Parr, *The Deleuzian Dictionary*, 237.
- ⁶² "Starting Out in the Real World," *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.29 (March 25, 1910): 3.
- ⁶³ "Now Printer at Sherman," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.34 (April 28, 1911): 3; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.38 (May 26, 1911): 2; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 7.40 (June 9, 1911): 1; "General School News," *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.8 (November 3, 1911): 1.
- ⁶⁴ "Sherman Executes Fine Printing. A Former Carlisle Student is Instructor in this Trade," *The Carlisle Arrow* 10.18 (January 2, 1914): 3.
- ⁶⁵ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 342.
- ⁶⁶ "The Story of Printing," *The Arrow* 1.32 (April 6, 1905): 2.
- ⁶⁷ "From Tree to Newspaper," *The Arrow* 2.11 (November 3, 1905): 1; "From Tree to Newspaper," *The Arrow* 2.49 (August 3, 1906): 3.
- ⁶⁸ "Two Kinds of Schools," *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.30 (April 1, 1910): 1.
- ⁶⁹ Deleuze/Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 215; 36.
- ⁷⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 2.
- ⁷¹ Krupat, *Boarding School Voices*, xviii.
- ⁷² Krupat, *Boarding School Voices*, xviii.
- ⁷³ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 191.
- ⁷⁴ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, xxv.
- ⁷⁵ Angel De Cora, "Angel DeCora—An Autobiography," *The Red Man* 3.7 (March 1911): 285.
- ⁷⁶ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 319.
- ⁷⁷ Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 90.
- ⁷⁸ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 319.

- ⁷⁹ See Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 319.
- ⁸⁰ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 323; see also Eittreim, *Teaching Empire*, 113–4.
- ⁸¹ Hutchinson, “Modern Native American Art,” 745.
- ⁸² De Cora, “Native Indian Art,” 18.
- ⁸³ Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*.
- ⁸⁴ De Cora, “Native Art,” 18.
- ⁸⁵ See Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 3, 60, 69 and Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 174.
- ⁸⁶ Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 176–7.
- ⁸⁷ Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 185, 182.
- ⁸⁸ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 98.
- ⁸⁹ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 129; De Cora’s designs are still relevant today, as seen in a recent exhibition titled “‘My People Are a Race of Designers:’ Winnebago Artist Hinook-Mahiwi-Kalinaka (Angel De Cora)” from the Delaware Art Museum in November 2021, highlighting De Cora’s lettering and cover design, <https://delart.org/angel-de-cora/>.
- ⁹⁰ See Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 129, 139.
- ⁹¹ “Foreword,” *The Craftsman* 1.1 (October 1901): ii.
- ⁹² “Foreword,” *The Craftsman* 1.1 (October 1901): ii.
- ⁹³ Angel De Cora, “Angel DeCora—An Autobiography,” *The Red Man* 3.7 (March 1911): 285.
- ⁹⁴ De Cora, “Native Art,” 18.
- ⁹⁵ Deloria, *Becoming Mary Sully*, 22.
- ⁹⁶ Porter, *Native American Freemasonry*, 140; Maroukis, *We Are Not*, 58.
- ⁹⁷ Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 258.
- ⁹⁸ Deloria, *Becoming Mary Sully*, 22.
- ⁹⁹ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, xxv; De Cora, “Angel De Cora,” 285.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sutton, *Angel De Cora*, 43.
- ¹⁰¹ Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated*, 36.
- ¹⁰² Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 134, original emphasis.
- ¹⁰³ Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 217.
- ¹⁰⁴ Charles Eastman, “‘My People:’ The Indians’ Contribution to the Art of America,” *The Craftsman* 27.2 (November 1914): 181.
- ¹⁰⁵ Zipf, *Professional Pursuits*, 143.
- ¹⁰⁶ Irene Sargent, “Indian Basketry. Its Structure and Decoration,” *The Craftsman* 7.3 (1904): 321.
- ¹⁰⁷ Sargent, “Indian Basketry,” 330.
- ¹⁰⁸ Sargent, “Indian Basketry,” 321.
- ¹⁰⁹ Angel De Cora, “Angel DeCora, Mechanical Drawing Teacher. Reports on Progress of Pupils in Indian Art” (Carlisle: Indian Industrial School, July 5, 1906): n.p.
- ¹¹⁰ De Cora, “Mechanical Drawing,” n.p.
- ¹¹¹ Richard Henry Pratt to Estelle Reel, January 15, 1903.
- ¹¹² Roffe, *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 299.
- ¹¹³ De Cora, “Mechanical Drawing,” n.p.
- ¹¹⁴ De Cora, “Mechanical Drawing,” n.p.
- ¹¹⁵ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 157.
- ¹¹⁶ “Artistic and Interesting Organ Of the Carlisle Indian School,” *The Patriot News* 65.186 (February 16, 1909): 4.
- ¹¹⁷ “The Indian Craftsman,” *Carlisle Evening Herald* 23.152 (March 17, 1909): 1.
- ¹¹⁸ “The Indian Craftsman,” *The Carlisle Evening Sentinel* 28.11 (April 23, 1909): 2.
- ¹¹⁹ *The Indian Leader* 13.9 (February 19, 1909): 1.
- ¹²⁰ *The Thlinget* 1.10 (May 1909): 4.
- ¹²¹ “An Excellent Magazine,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 5.25 (February 26, 1909): 2.

- ¹²² “Changed Name of Indian Magazine. The ‘Indian Craftsman’ now ‘The Red Man Again,” *The Carlisle Sentinel* 29.30 (January 31, 1910): 2.
- ¹²³ “Changed Name,” *The Carlisle Sentinel* 29.30 (January 31, 1910): 2.
- ¹²⁴ See *The Carlisle Arrow* 5.7 (October 23, 1908): 3; “Indians Doing Excellent Work,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 6.4 (October 1, 1909): 1; “National Indian Association,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 8.26 (March 8, 1912): 1; “Mr. Dietz Instructs in Mechanical Drawing,” *The Carlisle Arrow* 10.4 (September 26, 1913): 2.
- ¹²⁵ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 167.
- ¹²⁶ See Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 253–6.
- ¹²⁷ Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 187.
- ¹²⁸ *The Indian Craftsman* 1.3 (April 1909), n.p.
- ¹²⁹ Wigginton, *Indigenuity*, 172.
- ¹³⁰ Porter, *Native American*, 140.
- ¹³¹ See *The Red Man* 2.7 (March 1910): 50.
- ¹³² *The Indian Craftsman* 1.1 (February 1909): 2.
- ¹³³ *The Indian Craftsman* 1.3 (April 1909): 2.
- ¹³⁴ For a discussion on the attribution of the designs, see Wigginton, *Indigenuity* 180–188.
- ¹³⁵ Wigginton, *Indigenuity*, 184.
- ¹³⁶ Wigginton, *Indigenuity*, 184.
- ¹³⁷ The initial seen in fig. 25 was printed in the Society’s *Journal* under the title “A Short Story of My Life” in vol. 5.1 (January–March 1917): 29.
- ¹³⁸ Deloria, *Becoming Mary Sully*, 22.
- ¹³⁹ De Cora, “Native Indian Art,” 17.
- ¹⁴⁰ See also Martha Scotford’s work on women designers in the mid-twentieth-century, pointing out that women’s struggle for recognition as designers is often connected to their husbands. “The Tenth Pioneer,” *Eye* 18.5 (Autumn 1995), n.p. (<https://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/the-tenth-pioneer>). Similarly, De Cora’s marriage to William Dietz undermined her impact in Carlisle’s *Craftsman*. For example, Dietz designed most of the magazine’s cover pages and named as the illustrator of a variety of designs, while De Cora is relegated to a footnote in the *Craftsman*’s table of content.
- ¹⁴¹ Wigginton, *Indigenuity*, 160, 188.

Chapter III

A White Earth Newspaper Relaunched: Native American Periodical Syncretism in the *Tomahawk* (1903-1927)

THE TOMAHAWK.

"Truth before Favor."

VOL. 1.
WHITE EARTH, BECKER COUNTY, MINNESOTA, THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1903.
NO. 2.

The TOMAHAWK.

OLIV. H. BEAULIEU . . . Publisher.

White Earth Agency, Minn.

A WEEKLY Newspaper devoted to the interests of the White Earth Reservation and general Northwestern News. Published and managed by members of the Reservation.

Subscription rates: \$1.50 per annum. For the convenience of those who may feel unable to pay for the paper yearly or who wish to take it on trial, subscription may be sent us for six and three months at the yearly rates. All sums sent to us should be forwarded by registered letter to insure safety. Address all communications to.

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BEAULIEU . . . MINN.

UNJUSTIFIABLE DELAY.

TOO MUCH RED-TAPE DEFEATS THE OBJECT OF A LAW.

The Indian appropriation act of May 27th, last, contains the following: "That the adult heirs of any deceased Indian to whom a trust or other patent containing restrictions upon alienation has been or shall be issued or lands allotted to him may sell and convey the lands inherited from such decedent, but all such conveyances shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, and when so approved shall convey a full title to the purchaser, the same as if a final patent without restriction upon alienation had been issued to the allottee. All allotted land so alienated by the heirs of an Indian allottee and all land so patented to a white allottee shall thereupon be subject to taxation under the laws of the State or Territory where the same is situated: Provided, That the sale herein provided for shall not apply to the homestead during the life of the father, mother or the minority of any child or children."

Although over ten months have elapsed since the passage of the act, and fifteen or twenty thousand acres of land on this reservation have been conveyed by the heirs of dead allottees, not one transfer has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior who, as is informed, has refused to act in the matter although a great many of these conveyances have been made strictly in accordance with the rules which were promulgated by him relative to the sale of the class of land to which the act applies.

Several sets of these rules have been issued by the Interior department, and under each set a number of would be purchasers of lands have endeavored to operate. In doing this they have incurred considerable expense only to find their time and money wasted by the obstructive methods of the officials of the Interior department, and this has caused them to withdraw from the reservation, and now the lands cannot be sold at any price. In the meantime Indian families that have land for sale are suffering for the want of the bare necessities of life.

The manner in which the officials of the department have attempted to secure entire control over the sale of the inherited Indian lands illustrates the injustice of too much supervisory care over the Indians. If the latter were permitted to sell these lands, as we believe the law intends, without unreasonable restrictions by the secretary they would secure better prices and not be so likely to contend with combinations which are always the result of too much departmentism.

It is time that the expressed policy of the President should be placed into effect by raising department restrictions and giving them all the rights to which they are entitled.

A RANK INJUSTICE.

SUCH IS THE MORRIS AMENDMENTS TO THE ACT 1889.

The Morris amendments to the act of 1889, have made a bad law worse. Under the act it would have been possible to do justice to the Indian interest if the law had been properly carried out, but under the amendments this is impossible.

The act as amended provides that all the pine timber on the Chippewa reservation shall be sold to the highest bidder, and measured by scalers as soon as it is cut and saved into logs. After all this timber is cut and removed from the reservation the land becomes subject to homestead entry at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. For this reason there is no necessity for classifying the land, and the employment of twenty-four land examiners at eight dollars per day each is an outrage on the Indians from whose funds this expense is paid. The only apparent object for the classification is to expedite the opening of the reservations. This is not an urgent matter so far as the interests of the Indians are concerned, and as they are not in the least benefited by the expenditure of over seventy thousand dollars a year to pay the land examiners, this can be put down as a big steal from them.

When the amendments referred to were formulated the forestry advocates and other interests compromised by having set aside one hundred and twenty-five thousand acres of land of a fixed value of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre exclusive of five per cent of the pine timber thereon which will not be cut and removed. This was done without the consent or knowledge of the Chippewas of Minnesota from whom concession were secured under the act of 1889 which did not have this provision.

We will venture to predict that the Indians will be heart from when the law is put into effect.

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCALERS.

Under the provisions of the Morris amendments to the act of 1889 commonly called the "Nelson Act" innumerable positions are created, among which are the land examining corps, superintendent of logging and assistants, scalers, markers, etc. The most important of these positions is that of the superintendent of scalers, for he will hold the key to an honest administration of the act if this is possible. He will necessarily have a large force of scalers to look after, and these he will have to watch closely in order to prevent them from pandering to the greed of the purchasers of Indian pine timber. There are strong objections to the appointment of any professional scaler of logs from this state as the superintendent of scalers, for, without exception, they are either now controlled by large lumber syndicates or are in sympathy with them. It would be better for the interests of the Indians if a superintendent of scalers should be appointed who has not spent a life time either in the employ of these syndicates or under their control, and for this reason a practical business man whose integrity cannot be questioned, and who is a nonresident of this State, should be selected for the position.

There is no doubt that the lumber men will endeavor to secure the appointment of their men as scalers and thus secure control of the scaling of reservation timber, but this the Indians should oppose as strongly as possible.

RESERVATION LANDS.

UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITIES TO GET RICH.

There is probably no place in this state where the conditions and opportunities are more favorable to get rich than right here on this reservation, if a person wishes to do so by farming. Any young man who has the energy and push necessary to conduct a farm can come upon the reservation and lease, for five years, as much land as he may wish to cultivate at a very reasonable figure, with the privilege of renewing the same at the expiration of the lease.

The land on this reservation is within the famous Red River Valley belt, and the fertility of the soil and its productive qualities are far above the average of the rich lands of this belt. All kinds of grain can be raised in quantities and in quality that cannot be excelled, and wild buffalo, blue joint and other grasses grow in abundance, and this with its other advantages, such as numerous lakes and groves—makes this reservation the garden spot of this state.

The engineers of two railroads that will be built through the reservation the coming summer are now locating the lines of the roads, and these roads will bring the markets to the very thresholds of the reservation farmers.

A great many allotments, which belong to the old and very young Indians are lying in idleness which, if leased, would be of great benefit not only to them but to some of the experienced young farmers who are now working for small wages on the farms in some of the counties of Minnesota.

One farmer who came upon this reservation and leased a tract of land seven years ago, and who had only a couple of old teams when he arrived here, left the reservation last winter to go to a farm which he purchased from the proceeds of his operations here, and besides this he is credited with having a fair bank account and a reasonably large stock of cattle. There are chances for several thousand young men to come here and do likewise.

ter should not only be clearly and carefully considered but be submitted to them for an expression of their views, especially as to whether or not their circumstances will permit them to properly support their children and meet the demands of the day schools.

The excuse may be given out that the boarding schools are too expensive and that the results do not justify the expenditure, but we venture the suggestion that, considering surrounding circumstances, the neglected condition of the buildings and schools in question, the prime results, intellectual and morally, to the pupils and the reservation people in general, the money expended has been many folds greater than could have been accomplished with a like amount if the same had been expended in the day school system.

We are not entirely antagonistic to the day school system, but we are opposed from our knowledge of existing conditions, to having it superseded the boarding school system. Among the full-bloods the day school system has, in the past, been a complete failure, and from our point of view we are opposed to the proposed abolishment of any of the Indian boarding or other schools either on this or any of the other Chippewa reservation in this state.

If the commissioner of Indian affairs contemplates economy in Chippewa matters we would suggest that he should practice this in branches other than the school service, and where this could be done with great advantage to their interests.

LO LOOKING FOR TROUBLE.

Unless the Lumbermen Settle with Kim Ping-dee's Cows He will Burn the Rice Lake Dam.

Chief, Pin-dee-gay-geshing of Gull Lake Settlement is at the agency today making his annual complaint relative to the Rice Lake Dam. He says that unless a settlement of the damages to his rice field caused by the lumber companies is made immediately, the Indians at Twin Lakes and vicinity are going to take the matter into their own hands, and will hold the logs now in Rice Lake and break the dam immediately.

Some of the Indians have been very reasonable in this matter, and while the Wild Rice Lumber Company has not only taken steps to comply with the demand of the Indians but also paid some of them for damages sustained by the loss of their rice crops, there are grounds criticism against both sides.

In the first place the company had no right to convert to its own use, and to the damage of the Indians, their Wild Rice Lake for reservoir purposes; it should have first obtained their consent.

On the other hand, by their acceptance of provisions from the company some of the Indian acquiesced in the use of the lake, especially as it was distinctly understood that these provisions were at least in part payment for the damage they had sustained.

The people on this reservation are undoubtedly opposed to the project which the lumber company, striving to establish of taking what it wants on this reservation first and settling for the same afterwards. We believe it would be better however, for all interests concerned to try and come together and settle the question involved in the Rice Lake matter and not use force collection of any damages the people on this reservation think they are entitled to.

But in making this settlement the lumber company must be made to distinctly understand that the streams on this reservation are not public highways, and that the consent of the Indians must be obtained before they can be used as such hereafter.

Figure 34: The *Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1.

On July 1889, the *Progress* (1886–1889) suspended its publication with an announcement: “Pending the coming negotiations, between the U. S. Commission and our people, circumstances will of necessity make it an imper[a]tive impos[s]ibility for us to publish The Progress during that time.” It continues to “beg our friends and patrons to please be patient with us until such time as we are again enabled to avail ourselves of your kind attention and generous[s] courtesy.”¹ This day would come fourteen years later, on April 9, 1903, when Augustus (also Gustave or Gus) Hudon Beaulieu launched the *Tomahawk* (1903–1927) at White Earth, Minnesota. The paper’s layout is quite similar to its predecessor, consisting of four or eight pages, with the first and last pages containing editorials, articles, reprints, announcements, and some advertisements, while the two or four inside pages consisted solely of syndicated columns purchased from the Western Newspaper Union, the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, the Daily Story Publishing Company, or the Short Story Publishing Company, or other, unnamed, companies. The relationship between the syndicated content—or what Littlefield and Parins have described as “filler”²—and the newspaper’s editorial focus on all matters regarding the Anishinaabe³ is complex. When read across the over fourteen accessible volumes containing issues from 1903–05 and 1915–26, this relationship reveals not simply a cost-effective tactic for sustaining publication, but rather a deliberate and syncretic strategy: The *Tomahawk* not only advocated for Anishinaabe interests, issues concerning Native Americans in general, and the injustices of the Indian Bureau as did the *Progress*,⁴ but also continuously provided its subscribers with reading material from the perspective of the United States. The syndicated material—those sections of a newspaper that were printed using plates bought from large newspaper agencies and contained reading matter aimed at a general U.S.-American readership—makes up a substantial and regular amount of the White Earth publication’s content. Yet, this synthesis of local Anishinaabe advocacy and federal as well as national US news coverage was not incidental but intentional.

A closer examination of the news stories, serial contributors, reprints, and the continuous reporting on legal matters on the first and last pages of the *Tomahawk* reveals a more complex, syncretized practice of Native American newspaper publishing. It demonstrates how a fiery tribal-political North American newspaper functions as a medium that brings together local, national, and even international Indigenous and non-Indigenous affairs; tracks the involvement in and development of legislative matters as they relate to the Anishinaabe in particular and Native Americans in general; and connects to Native American writers and movements of the 1910s and 1920s through extensive reprints. A closer examination of these features reveals a broader significance for Native print culture. That is,

this chapter argues that the *Tomahawk* is an example of syncretized Native American newspaper publishing; a practice that strategically combines Native American community activities with deliberate engagement to foster participation with US legal and political institutions, thereby positioning the Anishinaabe as rights-bearing participants in the US-American system. Rather than representing a compromise with assimilation, the *Tomahawk*'s synthesis of Anishinaabe interests, pan-Native American efforts, and US legal frameworks reveals a sophisticated Native American print strategy: using the language and institutions of the US to secure sovereignty and self-determination.

The *Tomahawk*'s Early Years. Picking Up Where the *Progress* Left Off.

Much of the layout, circumstances, and content of the *Tomahawk*'s early years mirror those of the *Progress*. First, both papers were established by two brothers of the Beaulieu family: Augustus (Gus) H. Beaulieu (1852–1917) and Theodore H. Beaulieu (1850–1923). T.H. Beaulieu was editor and Gus Beaulieu was the publisher of the *Progress*, and vice versa for the *Tomahawk*. Both papers began as four-page, six-column weeklies with the first and last pages consisting of news items (re-)produced and assembled by the editor, while the inner pages contained syndicated matter. The newspapers' self-descriptions, visible under the nameplate on the upper left-hand corner of the first issues, are identical. Both describe themselves as “[a] weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the White Earth Reservation and general Northwestern Indians. Published and managed by members of the reservation.”⁵ the *Tomahawk* took up “Truth before Favor” as its motto,⁶ and both papers had run-ins with U.S. officials who attempted to silence the White Earth publications. The *Progress* was accused of “incendiary and revolutionary sentiments at various times” by Indian Agent T.J. Sheehan after publishing just one issue. Sheehan responded by seizing the printing press with “a posse of the Indian Police,” effectively disabling the paper's continuation until a court “asserted and defended the right of any member of a tribe to print and publish a newspaper upon his reservation just as he might engage in any other lawful occupation, and without surveillance and restrictions.”⁷ Likewise, the *Tomahawk* drew the ire of Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock when it began its publication in the early twentieth century.

Hitchcock believed that Beaulieu's new paper was “largely responsible for the excitement and unrest among the red men” in regards to Morris Act, and a reprint from the *Minneapolis Times* echoes earlier reviews of the *Progress* when it describes Beaulieu's earlier editorials as “rather hot in tone.”⁸ In an editorial directly following the reprint, the *Tomahawk*

points out that “a similar attempt was made in 1886”⁹ to silence publication efforts on the White Earth reservation. The statement is followed by two more reprints from local Minnesota papers defending Beaulieu’s paper. One of them goes so far as to admit that they “have not re[a]d the ‘hot stuff’ that Gus has been putting out,” but also points out that “[w]e are living in the United States—not in Czar ridden Russia.”¹⁰ That is, government officials attempted to suppress the two publications on the White Earth reservation due to the editor’s unfavorable stance towards them, with responses from the press emphasizing the rights enshrined by the U.S. Constitution. And while the *Progress* won in court in 1887, Hitchcock dropped his suit against the *Tomahawk* in early 1904 after a lawsuit was brought against him.¹¹ The repeated emphasis on the constitutionally enshrined legality of the publication enterprise—evident in the court case against the *Progress* and the failed suppression of the *Tomahawk*—shows an emphasis on the legislative branch of the U.S. which would be continued throughout the *Tomahawk*’s runtime on the White Earth reservation. The two legal challenges also connect to the use of ornamentations in Beaulieu’s second paper.

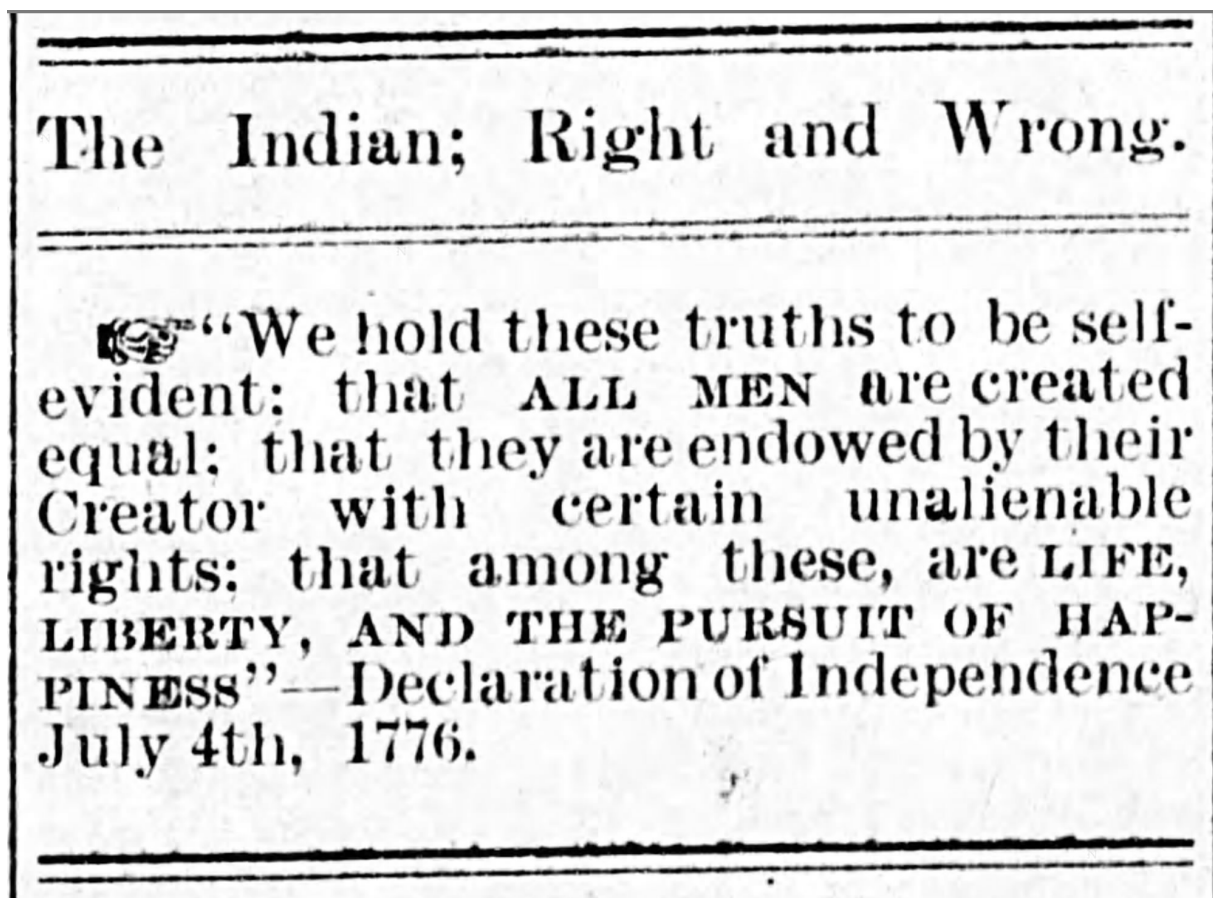


Figure 35: The *Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1; ornamentation.

From its second issue onwards, up until at least May 25, 1905, the *Tomahawk* included the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence on its first and/or last pages (see fig. 35). Often superseded by the slogan “The Indian; Right and Wrong,” the Preamble is usually set underneath articles or editorials which relate to injustices towards Native Americans (mostly relating to Anishinaabe matters and the Indian Office)¹² and includes a hand pointing with its index finger as seen in the self-description of the paper to emphasize the ornamentation. By placing the Preamble directly beneath articles on legal injustices, the paper publicly holds the United States to its own professed principles. At first glance, this type of ornamentation seems to be a heavy counter to the “the active sense of presence, the continuation of native stories,”¹³ i.e. what Gerald Vizenor has termed “survivance” and what has become an integral key term of Native American studies and research. After all, the *Tomahawk* is an independent reservation newspaper that “begins its career as the organ of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota,”¹⁴ Official Organ of the Minnesota Chippewas¹⁵ and dedicated itself to be “[p]ublished in behalf of, and to secure the welfare of the Indians of the United States” with a focus on “[j]ustice and [f]air [d]ealing for every Indian who desires to become a good [c]itizen.”¹⁶ Thus, it is an archive of tribal, intertribal, and general Native American resistance against attempts by the US to diminish, or outright get rid of, Indigenous identities. ““We the People,”” as Vizenor points out in the context of the new Constitution of the White Earth Nation ratified in 2009, “was an exclusive association that would never form a perfect union or establish justice for Natives and for others on the margins of the surety of liberty.”¹⁷ However, one can read the *Tomahawk* as a means of expressing Indigenous (here: Anishinaabe) identities and interests with an expressed willingness to engage with the wider US society with the intent to fight for the enforcement of the nation’s constitutionally enshrined rights. That is, the White Earth weekly is an example of how Native American print practices connected not only to their own communities and adjacent Native and US publications, but also how independent local reservation newspapers communicated an understanding of US legislation and legal practices in connection to Native Americans.

It is important to note that, during its early years, the *Tomahawk* continued the practice of including the Preamble of the US Constitution as an ornament from the *Progress*. The placement of the Preamble, too, underlines the importance of the articles preceding the ornamentation. The *Progress* is mostly known for its “original accounts of Chippewa legends and early regional history,” with a special focus on “a legendary history of the Chippewas”¹⁸ titled “The Ojibwas. Their Customs and Traditions, As Handed Down for Centuries From Father to Son, etc. etc. By The Sages, Also from Grand Sachem and Medicine Seer of the

White Earth Ojibwas,” an at least eleven entries long series on the Anishinaabe creation story and traditional customs.¹⁹ Many installments of “The Ojibwas” have the slogan “The Indian; Right and Wrong” as well as the Preamble to the US Constitution directly after the serialized oral history,²⁰ which reads in stark contrast to the Ojibwa folklore.

The two Beaulieu’s continued this print practice in the *Tomahawk* and printed an eight-part series under the same title in 1903. The first three installments are signed by Theo. H. Beaulieu,²¹ while the other five are not directly attributed to an author. The available evidence suggests, however, that T.H. Beaulieu compiled the stories and prepared them to be published in first the *Progress* and then reprinted them in the *Tomahawk*. Noticeable here is not only that the *Tomahawk* continued the practice of including a slogan and the Preamble to the US Constitution in some installments, but that at least two of the unsigned installments in the *Progress* were reprinted in the *Tomahawk* and signed by T.H. Beaulieu,²² further substantiating him as the compiler of the oral Anishinaabe folklore in both publications.

T.H. Beaulieu authored another series in the early years of the *Tomahawk*, albeit a short-lived one. On March 10 and 17, 1903, the *Tomahawk* printed “White Cloud—Wah-Bon-Ah-Quod” and “May-Zhuck-Ke-Ge-Shig,” two biographies of Anishinaabe chieftains. The series is uncommon in terms of its layout; the headlines are boxed and span two columns, emphasizing the relevance the editor placed on the articles. They also feature photographs, the first one a portrait of White Cloud and the second depicting May-Zhuck-Ke-Ge-Shig (or Chief Mesha Kegeshig) in front of a teepee holding a rifle.²³ The short-lived series was discontinued after the next issue and the last entry is not related to Anishinaabe chieftains, but to “Maple Sugar Making.” The author is not T.H. Beaulieu, but Dr. A.C. True and lacks a photograph in comparison to the earlier issues. The layout of the entry, however, is similar to the earlier two installments and point to an unsuccessful attempt to establish a new regular reading column in the newspaper. The two installments do not critique the US and do not stress the injustices suffered by the tribal community at the hands of the government. On the contrary, White Cloud is hailed as a “progressive and wise administrator of tribal and other affairs of his people,” whose popularity began in the spring of 1868 as a chief who “put forward all his influence in persuading his people toward the guiding star of civilization and the consoling [C]hristian comfort of the white man’s religion.”²⁴ That is, the *Tomahawk* printed both Ojibwa oral histories that emphasized Indigenous knowledges and short biographies of important Anishinaabe chieftains that emphasized assimilation. This juxtaposition indicates that the *Tomahawk* communicates contemporary notions of ‘progress’

that include both sovereignty and a selective embrace of Euro-American educational and religious models.

In connection with this dual nature of the newspaper, the *Tomahawk* advertised and reported on the yearly anniversary celebration at White Earth, in 1903 held on June 15–6.²⁵ Described as “a peculiar mix of Anishinaabe feast and county fair”²⁶ by Michael D. McNally, a focus on the yearly celebration shines a light on the complicated relationships the Anishinaabe had to other Native peoples, the United States, and their own past. The “Grand Celebration,” as the headline for the 1903 festivities reads, is accompanied by a photograph apparently showing “Chippewas and Sioux Dancing Together,” and it advertises a “Grand Aboriginal Parade by Indian warriors (...) representing the Indians of the past.” Among the orators are high ranking US and tribal representatives: S.R. Van Sant, Governor of Minnesota, Ray W. Jones, Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota, Chiefs Mesha-ke-geshig and Joseph Charrette, as well as the managing editor of the *Pioneer-Press*.²⁷ The diversity of the attendees—high ranking state officials, other Native nations, and local press representatives—emphasizes the significance the newspaper attached to the celebration. Particularly striking is an entry titled “The Governor of Minnesota,” in which the *Tomahawk* emphasizes the importance of hosting the “O-dah-kay-o-gimah (Pilot chief) of a state,” and suggests that “we should follow the customs of our forefathers who, whenever a man of rank, visited them either adopted him or gave him a name. We should do one or both.” The governor “is now a Red-Man” who “certainly would not object to having an[] Indian name by which the Chippewas would always know him.”²⁸ Furthermore, the 35th annual celebration is written about in a second article on the final page of the same issue, stating that “we term [the annual celebration] the national holiday of our tribe.” The article goes on to report on the “hundreds of our white neighbors in the towns and farms surrounding this reservation” who “have been coming here for several years past, and have not only aided us in making the occasion more pleasant by their presence, but have also donated liberally towards helping us feed the large number of visiting Sioux and Anishinaabe from other reservations (...).”²⁹ The highly positive tone about the upcoming celebration in the *Tomahawk*, alongside the diverse attendees and speakers, highlights the complex and syncretized relationship between the White Earth Chippewas, other Native nations, and the US.

The *Tomahawk* continues this tone in the following issue in which it reviews the successful annual celebration. Alongside a reprint of the photograph of Chief Kegeshig found in an issue of early March of the same year,³⁰ the paper’s report includes a photograph of “[p]rominent Indians who took part in the celebration here, on June, 13 and 14, 1902,” the

previous year. The article's title, "The Governor's Party," notes that among the group of high-ranking government officials were "Mr. Best, representative of the *Minneapolis Times* and George Van Smith, representative of the *St. Paul Globe*."³¹ That state officials were invited alongside Native chieftains and newspaper representatives is noteworthy, not only because they emphasize the importance of newspapers during the early 1900s and show that the White Earth reservation celebrated its establishment together with other Native nations, surrounding white farmers and townsfolk, as well as high-ranking state officials; it is noteworthy because the *Tomahawk* frames the celebration as an event that the White Earth Chippewas in Minnesota ought to be proud of, despite its history being one of forced relocation from their ancestral homelands. That is, the *Tomahawk* positioned itself as an early twentieth century publication for White Earth Chippewas that actively engaged with assimilative discourses, fought for the enforcement and extension of Native American and Anishinaabe rights, and understood the rights reserved for US citizens as a substantial benefit for Anishinaabe individuals, bands, and the nation.

This is not to suggest that the *Tomahawk* advocated for the abolition of tribal rights, submission to the United States and its institutions, or the diminishment of tribal histories, knowledges, and language. Quite the contrary, the *Tomahawk* "start[ed] out on the war-path with a paper tomahawk," believing itself "to do more effective and satisfactory work towards protecting and securing the rights of the Chippewa Indians than our red brethren did at Sugar Point with their tomahawks and Winchester rifles." Criticism of the administration of Chippewa affairs, according to the first issue, "we will do in in the plainest terms and without respect to parties or persons." A particular focus is set on highlighting fraud "in relation to Chippewa pine timber interests,"³² which was reported on by the newspaper throughout its runtime. This is in connection to the land allotment under the Dawes Act in 1887 and the subsequent sale of tribal lands to White settlers, which the newspaper heavily criticized.³³ The fight for Anishinaabe rights and self-determination through a communication of legal developments, then, is as much a part of the newspaper as is its inclusion of pro-assimilationist voices such as the biography of White Cloud. Education, too, plays a role in this assemblage of voices in the *Tomahawk*.

During its first years of publication, the White Earth newspaper focused on schools (both on- and off-reservation), highlighting their necessity and benefit for the younger generations. For example, the newspaper reacts to a rumor that "Mr. House Supervisor of Indian schools in Minnesota (...) has recommended the abolishment of the Wild Rice River and Pine Point boarding schools," and, if true, "we must admit our surprise at what seems to

us a retrogressive proposition.” The article then proceeds to explain that the two schools are “attended mainly by full-blooded pupils whose parents are, for the most part, very poor, and who are, at best, unable to properly provide for their children.” The focus here is not mainly on the education of the children (although the entry does point out the better education in comparison to day schools), but on the schools as institutions that help alleviate dismal living conditions “especially during the long, cold, dreary winter months.”³⁴ That is, the *Tomahawk* understood boarding schools as a huge boon for Native reservations, both in terms of providing care and providing education for the children. “The betterment of the Indian people it seems to us,” the newspaper writes two weeks later, “demands education on broad lines, and methods should proceed on vari[a]nt lines.” It continues to underline the necessity of both on- and off-reservation boarding schools and states that “a school at that of the highest class is the need of the hour.”³⁵ The focus of the education in the schools is on basic literacy and industrial training, meaning that “the highest class” does not refer to higher education but rather to (hopefully) fine institutions.

A week later, on May 14, 1903, the *Tomahawk* published an article praising one of the newspapers from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the *Red Man and Helper*. Not only is the Carlisle publication “one of the most valuable adjuncts of the school,” but “it has turned out many good printers who are now employed in various parts of the country both in[-] and outside Indian reservations.” Two of these students are employed by the *Tomahawk*: “William Lufkins, who graduated from Carlisle in 1895, has exclusive charge of the mechanical work of the *Tomahawk*. His assistant, John Webster, a member of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin, is also a graduate of the Carlisle school and served his apprenticeship in the Red Man and Helper’s office.” Here, the White Earth weekly echoes the self-description of the Carlisle publication, which highlights that it is “printed every Friday by apprentices at the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.”³⁶ A third Carlisle graduate, Samuel Townsend, worked for the *Chippeway Herald* (1902–1909) at the government school at White Earth.³⁷ This positive assessment of Native American boarding schools stands in stark contrast to their highly negative reception as assimilative institutions that attempted to replace Native American identities with US-American ones, and it seems to ignore the devastating effects of this system on Native communities. From a contemporary standpoint, this position sits uneasily with the now well-documented harms of the boarding school system, yet it illustrates how Native newspapers communicated practical advantages from within the system.

Instead, the *Tomahawk* praises Richard Henry Pratt, the founder and first superintendent of the Carlisle boarding school, for his remarks against the Indian Bureau,

stating that his “[e]very word (...) meets with a responsive chord among all the civilized Indians of the country.”³⁸ A reprint from Hearst’s *Chicago Examiner*, appearing on the same page, reports on the same event Pratt spoke at, further underlining the relevance of Pratt’s words for the White Earth publication.³⁹ After Pratt was relieved of his duties as superintendent of the boarding school and was replaced by William A. Mercer in June 1904,⁴⁰ the *Tomahawk* reprints an article from the *Red Man and Helper* outlining the purpose of the boarding school focusing on “the kind of education that will end the Indian problem.”⁴¹ The White Earth weekly, then, circulated a fundamentally positive understanding of Native American boarding schools, be they on- or off-reservation.

There is criticism leveled at the Carlisle school. However, it is not in connection to the conditions of the school, but in regards to the new superintendent. From its first issue onwards, the *Tomahawk* had made its stance on Mercer clear: “The Chippewas have had enough of him, but if the government cannot dispense with his service in the Indian country[,] we would suggest that he be sent to some reservation where there is no pine timber.”⁴² The follow-up, an article entitled “Don’t Want Mercer,” underlines the bad standing of Mercer among the Anishinaabe in light of his work aiding the exploit of their lands and timber resources.⁴³ In a mocking tone, the *Tomahawk* states that “[t]he Chippewas can congratulate themselves in the knowledge that Mercer’s opportunities to teach their children how to conduct lumbering operations on reservations (...), will be very limited since there is no pine timber in Carlisle.”⁴⁴ And in a similarly mocking manner, the *Tomahawk* offers an alternative version of an article written by soon-to-be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis E. Leupp. After reprinting the article from the *Indian’s Friend*, the White Earth newspaper adds the following: “If Mr. Leupp had taken the trouble to familiarize himself with Capt. Mercer’s records as Indian agent among the Chippewas, his article would have probably appeared in this wise.” What follows is a brief account of Mercer’s exploitation of Chippewa pine timber, i.e., that timber from the Fond du Lac reservation was cut down for “railroad tie purposes” by order of Mercer. The *Tomahawk* repeats its earlier statements, branding Mercer as corrupt and pointing out he was “sent away to the Uintah and Ouray reservations where there was not pine timber to be stolen from the Indians.” The editorial concludes with the question: “Is this man Mercer then the proper person to train the young Indian mind?”⁴⁵ This makes it clear that the *Tomahawk* thought of Native American boarding schools as a net benefit for the Anishinaabe, with the added caveat that these schools needed people in charge that were dedicated to helping Native Americans, not looking for an opportunity to further exploit them. That is, the *Tomahawk* communicated the necessity of being able to engage with US institutions based on

education provided by US institutions for Native Americans (here: Anishinaabe). The knowledge of US political and legal institutions and their organization, as well as the ability to engage with them, was one of the core features of the White Earth *Tomahawk* throughout its runtime.⁴⁶

Syndicated Content, Anishinaabe Interests, and Pan-Native American Organizations from 1915 to late 1917.

From at least 1915 onwards, the *Tomahawk* began to publish on pan-Native American associations or reprinted their members' writings;⁴⁷ continuously reprinted from other publications;⁴⁸ addressed the "Indian question" (i.e., intratribal⁴⁹ and intertribal⁵⁰ developments, and heavy criticism against the Indian Bureau⁵¹) from their point of view; and featured Native writers and knowledges through serial installments.⁵² Instead of a focus on mainly Anishinaabe interests as seen in the early years of the *Tomahawk*, the local newspaper now assembled a diverse set of Native American voices which represented Native interests on local, federal, and national levels, while it continued to advocate for the enforcement of existing laws and the extension of Native American rights as eligible and deserving members of the United States. At the same time, the newspaper doubled in size, carrying eight pages instead of four until about mid-June 1920s. The added space, however, was not dedicated to news prepared by the Beaulieus. The format remained as the earlier issues, i.e., the first and last pages were set and printed by the *Tomahawk*, while the inside pages are filled with syndicated columns purchased from large newspaper syndicates or national news bureaus that provided reading material for a cheap price. The materials include state, national, and global news; serial installments of novels; seasonal stories; war correspondence (during World War I); agricultural and farming news; home keeping; fashion; humor; travel reports embellishing and romanticizing foreign cities; big city news; serial biographies; and advertisements. This syndicated content constitutes a massive break with the content on the first and last pages. It shifts the perspective from news prepared and curated by the local Anishinaabe publisher and editor to that of large newspaper and printing businesses such as the McClure Newspaper Syndicate,⁵³ Bobbs-Merrill Company,⁵⁴ the Western Newspaper Union,⁵⁵ the International Press Bureau,⁵⁶ and the Short Story Publishing Company.⁵⁷ In addition, one finds photographic studios such as Underwood & Underwood or Harris & Ewing⁵⁸ marking portraits with their copyright.

The syndicated news content in particular offers reading material for “busy readers,”⁵⁹ “busy folks,”⁶⁰ and “hasty perusal,”⁶¹ or reports “cut to last analysis.”⁶² Titles such as “World’s Events in Short Form,”⁶³ “Happenings in the World Tersely Told,”⁶⁴ or “Important News of Events of the World Summarized”⁶⁵ give brief reports on both a national and a global scale; while columns such as “State Brevities,”⁶⁶ “State News in Brief,”⁶⁷ “What’s Doing in Minnesota,”⁶⁸ “Gopher State Happenings,”⁶⁹ or “Happenings in Gopher State”⁷⁰ give an insight into state level news. As part of the newspaper’s syndicated content, these news sections appeared in every issue of the *Tomahawk*. The White Earth weekly, then, assembled not only local and national Anishinaabe and Native American interests but provided an insight into reading material from US news and printing companies. This regular provision of condensed national and global news positioned the *Tomahawk* as a participant in a broader American serial print discourse, granting access to the same information circulating among white newspapers readers across the country. That is, the syndicated content adds a further layer of discursive plurality to the publication that—taken together with the Native American content—highlights a syncretism of Native and non-Native print practices. The sections are separate from one another, but the decision to include large amounts of syndicated reading material makes the newspaper function as a medium that simultaneously communicates the exploitation of Native Americans by existing US structures and institutions. The plurality is visible throughout the paper’s runtime, and the period from November 1915 until July 1916 offers an example of the intersection of Anishinaabe interests as Indigenous people and as part of the US.

The November 25, 1915, issue of the *Tomahawk* introduced two new serials; one of “brief biographies of the members of the Indian committees of Congress who have the destinies of the Indians in their hands,”⁷¹ and the other dealing “with the Indian question from the viewpoint of the Indians.”⁷² With these two serials, the newspaper emphasizes its plurality as a medium that communicates two types of knowledges. First, about US politicians who have the means to change existing mistreatments of Native Americans. Second, it emphasizes Indigenous knowledges about the treatment of Native Americans in the past. By publishing these series simultaneously, the newspaper creates a deliberate dialogue between historical grievance and contemporary political possibility, positioning itself as the medium between current indignities and mechanism for redress.

There are eleven “members of the Indian committees”⁷³ featured in the *Tomahawk*, all but one alongside a portrait photograph.⁷⁴ The portraits are an important feature meant “to familiarize the Indian readers of The *Tomahawk* with the features of the members of the

committees,” giving the serial installments a visual layer on top of the written text. This visual strategy underscores the newspaper’s pedagogical mission: educating Anishinaabe voters about the specific politicians who controlled their legislative fate. The missing portrait of “Senator [Harry] Lane of Oregon,” then, is unusual and addressed by the newspaper. The editor shares a humorous communication with the “very prominent attorney” Mr. A.C. Shaw of Portland, Oregon, who was unsuccessful in procuring a portrait of Senator Lane. Despite a “malicious Republican lie” branding the senator as too ugly to have his picture taken, Shaw suggests reaching out to Harris & Ewing—whose portraits are featured in the *Tomahawk*’s syndicated pages⁷⁵—as they may “have a negative of his photograph.” The editor states that “the Indians throughout the country regard [Senator Lane] as one of their best friends in Congress,” further lauding him as “carrying under his shirt bosom one of the biggest hearts that ever beat in a man’s body.”⁷⁶ Notwithstanding the seemingly mocking style in which the *Tomahawk* describes the senator and does not mention any particulars, Lane’s pro-Native American policy goals can indeed be summarized as “nearly complete control over Indian affairs by Indians.”⁷⁷ That is, the series of politicians featured in the newspaper brings together advocates for Native American rights in general and Anishinaabe rights in particular.

One politician featured in the series on “members of the Indian committees” appears in the titles of many articles featured by the *Tomahawk*. Minnesota Senator Moses E. Clapp (1851–1929) is introduced on the same page as Senator Lane, the only installment of the series to include two people. As someone who “needs no introduction to the readers of The *Tomahawk* and especially to the Chippewa citizens of this state,”⁷⁸ the senator is mentioned favorably in subsequent issues. “The Chippewas of Minnesota,” the *Tomahawk* writes in a later issue, “(...) will stand by him to a man at the next election, not only for his past services in their behalf but on account of his works in their behalf now.”⁷⁹ The support from the newspaper is underlined through extensive reprints of a call to vote for his renomination at the primary election in late June 1916.⁸⁰ Furthermore, a two-and-a-half column article laying out his political achievements as a senator emphasizes his importance from the perspective of the *White Earth* newspaper.⁸¹ Three years prior, the Seventeenth Amendment established that US senators are directly elected in each state, meaning more direct participation in the political process. For the Anishinaabe, this constitutional change transformed senatorial elections from an indirect process controlled by state legislators into a direct electoral contest in which Native voters could exercise meaningful influence. Noteworthy here is how the upcoming renomination of Clapp frames the Anishinaabe as both a distinct Native American people and as members of the state of Minnesota, i.e., US citizens. Similarly, the entire series

communicates how Native knowledge about the US political system and their participation in it—although not always successful⁸²—may lead to a betterment of their conditions as both Native peoples and US citizens.

What can be read as assimilative tendencies in the *Tomahawk* are instead avenues of participation in a political system that have the potential to enforce equal protection and rights as guaranteed by US law. The newspaper communicates an understanding of US legislation, legal practices, and political developments as they relate to the Anishinaabe (and Native Americans in general) by circulating locally and nationally known supportive political figures. On this level, it functions as an expression of Anishinaabe identity that consolidates Anishinaabe rights as Native Americans by advocating for and tracing the enforcement of their rights as US citizens. At the same time, the newspaper printed highly critical accounts of their past interactions with the US.

Yet the newspaper's advocacy for electoral participation was tempered by a keen historical awareness of repeated U.S. betrayals. The five-part series "The Indian Question From an Indian's Point of View" was published from late October through December of 1915, the first installment appearing on the same page as the "members of Indian committees" series and offers a cautionary tale in regards to agreements with the United States, be they legal provisions or political actors. "The purpose of this discussion," so the first installment reads, "is to cover large territory for it in[]volves points of history, politics and the academic." The perspective is that of the Anishinaabe, "because with Chippewa conditions we are most familiar." It gives an account of the multitude of treaties between them and the US, pointing out that they had all been made with heavily unfavorable conditions towards the Anishinaabe. Additionally, even these tiniest concessions promised by the US had not been given in full, "and from this arises the claims of the Chippewas in part at least. And right here we may say began the 'Indian Question.'"⁸³

The next three installments continue to give an account of the treaties and agreements between the US and the Anishinaabe, from the Treaty of Spring Wells on September 8, 1815, up until the Nelson Act of 1889. The United States "failed to fulfill any one of these [earlier treaties]," and those of the nineteenth century gave "no credit."⁸⁴ And it is from the Treaty with the Potawatomi Nation of 1846, in which "a large tract of country, occupied by the Chippewa nation, was ceded to the United States" without the consent of the Anishinaabe, that "one of the vexed 'Indian questions' among the Chippewas" arose.⁸⁵ This "preliminary to a better discussion of the Chippewa Indian question" emphasizes that "the United States had made treaties with individuals in the past who claimed to be chiefs, and who claimed also to

be acting under the authority vested in them as chiefs.”⁸⁶ Additionally, “one of the most important Indian questions” relates to the defamation of Native Americans by US officials. “Indian tribes being charged with offenses to destroy their standing if they have any with members of Congress[] is not confined to the Chippewas,” which in turn does not inspire confidence to put trust into present members of Congress. The combination of past division and current defamation by the US and its representatives, the series shows, is one the *Tomahawk* is acutely aware of. And although treaties were “ruthlessly broken and cast[] aside as being unworthy of the consideration of subsequent administrations,”⁸⁷ the series was intentionally published in relation to the “members of Indian committees of Congress.” This juxtaposition reveals the newspaper’s strategic calculation: despite past betrayals, selective trust in progressive politicians like Clapp offered a viable path toward enforcing Anishinaabe rights within the American legal order.

This underlines not only a highly deliberative examination of past and current events, but an attempt to provide possible avenues of reconciliation with progressive politicians who have proven that they fight for the rights of Native Americans. Especially with Moses E. Clapp, the *Tomahawk* provides a recurring example of a late Progressive Era Minnesota senator whose work has directly benefited the Anishinaabe. The newspaper encourages participation in the political process because it communicates unity among Native people through the ballot box.⁸⁸ It also functions as an intersection, bringing together local White Earth reservation reporting and non-Indigenous points of view by providing information through syndicated pages. At the same time, the *Tomahawk* connects to current pan-Native American organizations and individuals by reprinting their writings, a practice it continues into the 1920s.

In January 1916, the newspaper printed “Let My People Go,” a speech held by Dr. Carlos Montezuma (c. 1866-1923, Yavapai Apache⁸⁹) at the conference of the Society of American Indians (hence SAI) held at Lawrence, Kansas a few months prior. The SAI (1911–1923), founded by a group of Native American intellectuals⁹⁰ called the Red Progressives, aimed to legally establish “the opportunity to function in a changing nation with the full panoply of rights and responsibilities.”⁹¹ Internal disagreements, however, led to falling outs among the members, including with founding member Montezuma. The noted Native American rights activist of the early twentieth century began publishing his own periodical titled *Wassaja: Freedom’s Signal for the Indian* (1916–1922)⁹² known for its fiery tone and fierce criticisms of the Indian Bureau. The *Tomahawk* shared this sentiment against the Indian Bureau and continued printing articles from *Wassaja* or other texts written by Montezuma,

establishing a connection between Montezuma and his publication with the White Earth newspaper.

Montezuma's speech itself is a scathing criticism of the SAI, denouncing its yearly gathering as "the mere routine of shaking hands, appointing committees, listening to papers, hearing discussions, passing a few resolutions, electing officers, then re-organizing—and that has been the extent of our outlook and usefulness of our race." Who does deserve more recognition, according to Montezuma's speech, is R.H. Pratt, "now our most beloved and honored benefactor." Pratt, too, is depicted as an enemy of the Indian Bureau who believed that, without it, "the self-preservation would have led the individual Indian to find his true place, and his real emancipation would have been speedily consum[m]ated." Regarding another of Montezuma's criticism of the Indian Bureau, that its motto appears to be "[e]ighth grade and no more" and it thus "does not want the Indian educated;" he does not seem to take into account that Pratt's Carlisle boarding school did not offer education beyond the eighth grade either.⁹³ This inconsistency—praising Pratt while condemning the Indian Bureau for the same educational limitation—reveals that Montezuma's critique, like the *Tomahawk's* earlier praise of Pratt, was less about pedagogical content than about administrative control and ideological allegiance. Both Montezuma and the *Tomahawk* distinguished between institutions they saw as genuinely advocating for Native Americans (i.e., Pratt) and those they viewed as incompetent and exploitative (i.e., Mercer and the Indian Bureau).

In relation to the two series, one of "brief biographies of the members of Indian committees of Congress who have the destiny of the Indians in their hands"⁹⁴ and the other on "the Indian question from the viewpoint of Indians,"⁹⁵ the newspaper brings together a diverse set of voices on the so-called "Indian question." The *Tomahawk* balances the past and present exploitation of Native Americans (and Anishinaabe in particular) by both the US and those Native Americans who claimed to be representatives of their people. Accountability, although selective, then connects the efforts of Native Americans with those non-Natives in the US government the newspaper considers "friends." The publication's criticisms "without respect to parties or persons,"⁹⁶ then, is not limited to the US government, but also—if necessary—to pan-Native American organizations.

In a subsequent entry, the *Tomahawk* criticizes an article from the SAI's publication, the *American Indian Magazine* (1913–1920).⁹⁷ The "editorial," so the newspaper writes, "advocates the proposition to empower the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by an act of Congress to make a study of Indian claims and report what may seem equitable." The review of the article goes on to state that "it is not ridiculous but preposterous to place into the hands

of a representative of the defendant the claims of all Indian tribes to wit.”⁹⁸ That is, the review picks up on the “Indian question” of the earlier serial and gives an insight into how the newspaper addresses current iterations of this question. It also does so by continuing to report on the criticisms of Carlos Montezuma towards the SAI.

Montezuma took issue with Arthur C. Parker (1881–1955, Seneca) because the SAI’s secretary took a “more conciliatory posture”⁹⁹ towards the Indian Bureau. Parker, who was also the editor of the SAI’s *Magazine*,¹⁰⁰ “advocated a gradualist approach to reforming federal Indian policy” that included long-term “lobby[ing in] Congress and the Indian Office, educat[ion of] the public, and encourage[ment of] American Indians to become active in their own liberation.”¹⁰¹ His gradualist approach was not enough for Montezuma, who advocated for an immediate abolishment of the Indian Bureau. Hence, Parker “frequently bore the brunt of severe editorial retaliation[] in the pages of *Wassaja*,”¹⁰² but the harsh attacks on the SAI and Parker were also addressed in the SAI’s *Magazine*. That is, these disputes were communicated in print and circulated among an overlapping readership of subscribers to the two pan-Native American periodicals. By reporting on them, the *Tomahawk* positioned itself within a broader national conversation about the future of Native American political strategy. In the April–June issue of 1916, Parker published an editorial on Montezuma and his publication, referring to *Wassaja* as “an interesting monthly periodical (...) which takes up the work of Father Gordon’s suspended ‘War Whoop.’”¹⁰³ Gordon, a member of the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa in Wisconsin, was the first Native American to be ordained in the United States and became an influential figure within the SAI.¹⁰⁴ His short-lived publication was an “inspiration”¹⁰⁵ for Montezuma’s *Wassaja*, and they “corresponded regularly and sent one another editorial advice and newspaper clippings of interest.”¹⁰⁶ That is, the *Tomahawk* connects to the wider network of pan-Native American associations and individuals by reprinting their texts and circulating them locally in the White Earth reservation.

The *Tomahawk* reprinted another well-known text from Montezuma against the Indian Bureau,¹⁰⁷ but until mid-1917, it focused on reports on the SAI and reprinting articles from its *Magazine*. These include reports on the annual meeting at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and the *Tomahawk* reprints in full the newly adopted resolutions of the society. Both articles highlight that not many people attended the meeting because it is held “not as near to Indian reservations as might induce a large attendance of Indians,” resulting in the “very light” attendance of “only fifteen to twenty Indians present.” “[T]he officers of the society,” the newspaper concludes, “have invariably selected places too far away from Indian reservations

to have any representation from Indian reservations at its meetings.”¹⁰⁸ The SAI’s meeting did not just lack representation, it was also characterized by intense arguments. In a reprint from the *Duluth News Tribune*, the *Tomahawk* circulates the viewpoint of a White newspaper. The Duluth paper’s headline sensationalizes the disagreements at the annual meeting in Cedar Rapids and focuses on an argument between Carlos Montezuma and Sherman Coolidge. In stereotypical fashion, the publication from Duluth states that “an Apache challenged an Arapahoe to combat,” but it does correctly assess that “[i]nternal dissensions are threatening to disrupt the organization.” The argument was “over a resolution proposing the abolishment of the Federal Indian bureau,” underlining factionalism within the society. In order to keep the society from breaking apart, “passionate appeals for harmony to continue the society’s existence were made” which echoed earlier sentiments from the White Earth publication.¹⁰⁹ The debate between Montezuma and Coolidge was printed in the SAI’s *Magazine* in its July–September issue of 1916,¹¹⁰ and this entry in turn was reviewed in the *Tomahawk*. With this entry, the White Earth newspaper positions itself in regards to the Indian Bureau: “It would be far better to have the Indian office thoroughly reorganized than to have it abolished at this time.”¹¹¹ This statement is significant: despite years of fierce criticism against the Indian Bureau, the *Tomahawk* ultimately favored strategic reform over radical abolition—aligning with Parker’s gradualism rather than Montezuma’s uncompromising stance and preferring to work “within the system, a procedure [also] advocated by Parker.”¹¹²

Throughout the next half year, the *Tomahawk* continued to feature articles from the SAI’s *Magazine*, seemingly distancing itself from Montezuma’s inflammatory rhetoric and instead focusing on more moderate voices from the pan-Native American society. A series of seven reprints from January until end of May, 1917, addressing citizenship for Native Americans,¹¹³ the Indian Bureau,¹¹⁴ Congress,¹¹⁵ consequences of segregation,¹¹⁶ membership in the SAI,¹¹⁷ and Native American participation in World War I,¹¹⁸ substantiates the *Tomahawk*’s agreement with the society’s gradualist approach. The efforts put forward by the society, i.e., slow but persistent change within existing US structures, are underlined by continuous reporting by the *Tomahawk*. Issues such as the Carter Resolution,¹¹⁹ the Right of Nomination Bill,¹²⁰ the Indian Appropriation Bill,¹²¹ Anishinaabe delegations sent to Washington, D.C.,¹²² the Indian Bureau,¹²³ the Nelson Act,¹²⁴ the Curtis Bill,¹²⁵ a local agency,¹²⁶ and the treatment of Native Americans in the US and their representation in government¹²⁷ speak to this continuous engagement with current injustices towards Native Americans in general and Anishinaabe in particular, partly offering solutions. While the *Tomahawk* continued to engage with the SAI and its internal debates, the newspaper also

highlighted alternative pan-Native American organizations—demonstrating that the White Earth publication was not exclusively aligned with any single society and emphasizing a variety of platforms and points of contact of Native Americans amongst each other and with the US.

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THE TOMAHAWK.

Published in behalf of, and to secure the welfare of the Indians of the United States.

"Truth before Favor."

Vol. XIV.

White Earth, Becker County, Minnesota, Thursday, March 1, 1917.

No. 45.

THE GRAND COUNCIL OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

Indians of the United States Organize.

JOHN W. CARL THE PRESIDENT.

For several weeks the numerous delegates of different tribes of Indians throughout the United States have held meetings at the National Hotel in the City of Washington, D. C., with the view to organizing an Indian association to look after and protect Indian interests generally. Committees were appointed by law for the organization, and at a meeting held on the 17th of last month at Washington the constitution and by-laws were adopted, and officers of the organization were elected.

The officers who were elected are as follows: John W. Carl, president; Doctor Charles Eastman, vice president; George E. Tinker, secretary; Alfred Smith, assistant secretary; Frank Bodineau, treasurer.

Everybody on this reservation, and the reservations of this state, know John Carl so that he needs no introduction to the local readers of THE TOMAHAWK, but for the information of those on other reservations throughout the country

Congressman VanDyke's Great Chance.

Heretofore national committee-man Lynch has controlled exclusively the patronage of the national administration in this state, but under present conditions Congressman VanDyke will now no doubt have more to say about this than the former if the administration hopes to keep his support involving important legislation.

The House of Representatives is so close politically that one vote cast either way would carry or defeat an important bill, and for this reason the Wilson administration cannot afford to antagonize Mr. VanDyke and favor Mr. Lynch who cannot be of any assistance to the administration in congress.

For this reason the democrats in this state who wish for favor from the national democratic administration should pin their faith to Mr. VanDyke and unite upon him to do for them what the national committee-man has failed to do during the past four years.

By-laws of the Grand Council of American Indians.

1. That the Secretary of the Grand Council is hereby authorized and directed to keep a full and complete record of all the proceedings of the Council and of its Executive Committee in a suitable book or books which shall be provided for that purpose. He shall also conduct such correspondence as he may be directed to do by the officers of the Grand Council and by the Executive Committee of the Council, and also such other duties as he may be directed to do by the said officers and the Executive Committee.
2. That the Treasurer of the Grand Council shall have placed in his hands all the funds which may come to the Council and keep an accurate and detailed account of the same, and pay them out only upon the approval of the President, in writing, with said approval countersigned by the Secretary except when directed to do so by a resolution of the Grand Council. Said Treasurer shall furnish a suitable bond to be approved by the President aforesaid and the Executive Committee before assuming his office.
3. That the fee for admission as a member of the Grand Council shall be \$2.00 each, and the said amount of \$2.00 shall be paid annually thereafter at the beginning of each year. Until a member of the Grand Council withdraws from it by a notification to the Secretary thereof in writing he shall be required to pay his annual dues.
4. The Grand Council shall meet in extra session upon the call of the President and the Executive Committee, but a call shall not be made except upon the petition of at least one-third of the members of the Council which petition shall set forth the time and place of meeting of the extra session. And the Executive Committee shall meet on the call of the President and a majority of the members of the said Executive Committee, and transact such business of the Council as may require immediate attention between the annual meetings of the Council as provided in the Constitution. The Executive Committee may also by a majority vote call an extra session or meeting of the Grand Council upon a notice of sixty days or more.
5. The basis of representation at the meetings of the Grand Council shall be one to each five hundred members of a tribe or a major portion thereof, and such delegates shall be elected by their respective tribes after a thirty days notice or more has been posted in public places among the said Indians, and the persons so elected shall file proper certificates of their election with the Secretary of the Grand Council before they are seated.
6. That the Secretary and Executive Committee of the Grand Council shall assist all tribes or bands of Indians that may wish to

Constitution of the Grand Council of the Indians of the United States of America.

We, the delegates of the delegates of the several tribes of Indians of the United States of America, in Council assembled, at the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, in order to form a union and have a central body which shall be the means of securing for ourselves and our posterity the full measure of justice and freedom, do ordain and establish the following constitution:

Article 1. The name of this organization shall be the Grand Council of the Indians of the United States of America, and the principal place of business shall be the City of Washington in the District of Columbia.

Article 2. The officers of the organization of the said Grand Council shall be a president, a first vice president, and a vice president for each State where a tribe of Indians resides, a secretary and an assistant secretary, and a treasurer. There shall be an executive committee of the Grand Council which shall consist of the said vice presidents, and the president shall be a member of said executive committee ex officio.

Article 3. The President, first vice president, the Secretary, Assistant Secretary and the Treasurer of the Grand Council shall be elected at the meeting of the Grand Council at the time of the adoption of this constitution; that the vice presidents, exclusive of the first Vice President, shall be elected for each State by the tribe or tribes of American Indians within its boundaries. Provided, That said tribes, or one of them, has joined the Grand Council.

The said officers, except the vice presidents, shall be elected at the annual meetings of the Grand Council at the City of Washington in the District of Columbia on the fifteenth day of January of each year, and shall hold their terms of office for the period of one year after being elected, or until their successors are duly elected and qualified. And any vacancies which may occur between annual elections of officers of the Grand Council shall be filled by the Executive Committee by a majority

First row—JOHN W. CARL, ALFRED SMITH, G.H. BEAULIEU, CHIEF, Chippewa. Second row—GEO. E. TINKER, DR. CHAS. EASTMAN, E. WHEELER, Chippewa. Third row—WESLEY M. DIAZ, Ojibwa. Man on extreme left in first row is a member of the Shoshone tribe, name not given.

we will briefly refer to him, so that they may know upon whom they may rely in the presentation of their matters whenever he is called upon to do so.

Mr. Carl was born upon this reservation in a wigwam, and while he is only half Indian he knows Indian characteristics, Indian wrongs and Indian failings as well as any man living. Further more he knows what has been the actual policy of the Indian office towards Indians and he is not in the least backward in expressing his condemnation of it very frequently.

Mr. Carl was educated in government Indian schools although he took a one year course in the Minnesota State University circumstances forced him to abandon the law course he commenced there.

When Mahanomen county was organized Mr. Carl was appointed county auditor by the county commissioners. After serving one term he was defeated for an election to the office. He made another run but was again defeated for the same office, but when he ran two years ago he was overwhelmingly elected. After serving two years he resigned the office last fall as he had other things in view, although he could

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Figure 36: The Tomahawk 14.45 (March 1, 1917): 1.

On March 1, 1917, the *Tomahawk* reported on the foundation of the Grand Council of American Indians and reprinted both its Constitution and its by-laws alongside a photograph of its founding members (see fig. 36). A biography of President John W. Carl (Chippewa) is supplemented by brief overviews of vice president Charles Eastman (Sioux), secretary George E. Tinker (Osage), assistant secretary Alfred Smith (Sioux), and treasurer Frank Bodineau (Cherokee). Bodineau may be a misspelling of Boudinot, which would establish a connection to the *Tahlequah Bazoo* (1893) in Tahlequah. His work as a newspaper editor in the late nineteenth century is difficult to ascertain, but if this identification is correct, it would situate the Grand Council of American Indians within a broader network of Native print professionals with experience in tribal journalism. As the son of William Penn Boudinot and great-nephew of Stand Watie, Frank J. Boudinot belonged to a line of influential Cherokees that were heavily involved in the local Cherokee press around the turn of the century.



Figure 37: “Grand Council of American Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 16.44 (February 20, 1919): 8.

Furthermore, Gus H. Beaulieu was a founding member, establishing a close connection to the White Earth Reservation. John W. Carl was also involved in the SAI as “vice-president on membership”¹²⁸ and “among those who presided during the denouement of the Society for the American Indian.”¹²⁹ The White Earth newspaper, referencing a tribute to Carl through a resolution by SAI in late 1920, describes him as “a member of this reservation and [] well

known and highly esteemed by all who knew him.”¹³⁰ Meyer names him in connection to the “hired métis cultural brokers Gus Beaulieu [and] B.L. Fairbanks,” establishing a further connection to the *Tomahawk*. Fairbanks would become the owner of the White Earth newspaper in late September 1920,¹³¹ pointing to a wider connection of local and national newspaper publications with pan-Native American societies across the US.

That is, the *Tomahawk* not only picks up on another pan-Native American association, but it establishes links to other Native publications and highlights the advantages that educated Native Americans in the early twentieth century can offer Native peoples in the US. It is, however, an association that only accepted males as members: “No person shall be eligible as a member of the Grand Council who is not a male adult member of an Indian tribe of the United States of America.” This stands in stark contrast to the SAI, three of whose founding members were female (Laura Cornelius Kellogg, Zitkala-Ša, and Marie Louise Baldwin) and one was non-Indigenous (sociologist Fayette McKenzie). The Grand Council’s male-only membership requirement thus represents a more conservative organizational model, even as it pursued similar goals of pan-Native American advocacy. And while it is unclear how long this Grand Council was active, the *Tomahawk* advertised the Grand Council of American Indians semi-regularly until late February 1919 (see fig. 37). In addition to the information on pan-Native American societies, the White Earth newspaper continued to publish serial writings, three of them by Rev. C.H. Beaulieu (1840–1926). Alongside its coverage of pan-Native American organizations and legislative developments, the White Earth newspaper also continued to publish serial writings—three of them by Rev. C.H. Beaulieu (1840-1926)—that emphasized local and family history, reinforcing the *Tomahawk*’s dual function as both a political organ and a repository of Anishinaabe memory.

The first, titled “A Trip to La Pointe, Wisconsin,” was published in five installments from late October through November 1916. As the title suggests, it is an account of his visit to La Pointe, which was written because “[i]t has been suggested to me that many readers of The *Tomahawk* would be interested in a description of my visit (...) because of ancestral association with that place.”¹³² The second, titled “Les Roys,” are published because C.H. Beaulieu simply wished “to introduce to the readers of The *Tomahawk* two gentleman somewhat conspicuous in Chippewa history in Minnesota and Wisconsin.” A third serial, titled “Incidents of Old Crow Wing and Northern Minnesota. Major James Whitehead,” was published in two installments. It details the life of Whitehead, a pioneer from New Brunswick and Indian agent at Leech Lake, whom “[t]he writer hereof knew (...) intimately.”¹³³ The accounts give an insight into local US and Anishinaabe history as well as a section of

Beaulieu family history, with the author positioning himself as a “biographer.”¹³⁴ These serials serve a dual function: they preserve local and family memory while also asserting the Beaulieus’ longstanding presence and authority in and around White Earth—an expression of editorial self-credentialing through historical narrative. Additionally, they underline the *Tomahawk*’s character as a well-connected family business whose editor prominently featured his brothers’ writings. The death of Gus H. Beaulieu in August 1917, however, signaled a slight shift in the *Tomahawk*’s editorial policy.

Other Pan-Native American Societies and James I. Coffey, 1917–1926

On August 16, 1917, the *Tomahawk* published the announcement of Gus Beaulieu’s sudden death. The impact of the publisher’s “sudden” death is underlined by the layout of the article, which is distinct from other entries in the newspaper. First, the headline spans two columns, instead of the usual one column per title printing practice. Second, the headline is printed in a different font than other articles, drawing further attention to the entry. The typical sans-serif font of the *Tomahawk*’s headlines is here replaced by a serif font, and the usual bold typeface is replaced with cursive. The subtitle, however, remains in the usual layout of the newspaper, visually highlighting the significance of the news through a contrast of the fonts set across two columns. There is no photograph accompanying this or subsequent articles on Gus Beaulieu’s death “at his old home in Crow Wing County,” a significant detail considering the earlier focus on photography. Despite the heavy blow, however, “[t]he *Tomahawk* will continue to be published and will carry out the policies of the late publisher.”¹³⁵

In “a statement,” Rev. C.H. Beaulieu agrees “to take the position of editorial writer.” He does so not necessarily out of his own volition, but by request of those “whose wish is that the policies of the past should continue to be voiced in *The Tomahawk*.” And although “[t]here is no living man who possesses the information upon Chippewa matters as did the late Gus H. Beaulieu,” C.H. Beaulieu promises that “the editorials in the future be as nearly alike to those of the past as the present writer can effect according to his ability, and knowledge of Chippewa history, political and tribal.” The wish to continue the newspaper also reflects the need to fight against the Indian Bureau, which “*The Tomahawk* will continue to criticize as long as reason for criticism shall demand.” The main challenge for the new publisher, however, is of a financial nature. C.H. Beaulieu points out that the newspaper “has never been a financial success”—giving an indirect explanation for the large amount of syndicated reading matter in the White Earth publication—, but now that the “personal means

of the late publisher is not so readily attainable the writer asks that subscribers be prompt and willing in the payment of subscriptions.”¹³⁶ Given the earlier features of the new editor, C.H. Beaulieu would have been a more than familiar name to subscribers and because the newspaper was continued by a brother of Gus Beaulieu, a close family relationship gives credence to C.H. Beaulieu’s promise to continue the *Tomahawk*’s publication practices. And he did so with only the slightest of shifts in editorial policy.

At first, it seemed that the new editor would continue to foreground writings from the SAI’s *Magazine* while sidelining Montezuma and *Wassaja*. The first reprint from the *American Indian Magazine* under the editorship of C.H. Beaulieu is an article from Father Gordon and his assistance at St. Benedict’s Catholic Mission.¹³⁷ It appears to add an emphasis on religion in the newspaper (perhaps unsurprising given that he was an episcopal clergyman), but the brotherly connection remained the stronger factor in his decision to take up the editorship of the newspaper. For instance, the *Tomahawk* published a scathing article on “a very specious form of reasoning upon the late editor’s views upon the ‘immediate abolition of the Indian Bureau’” from *Wassaja*. It goes on to state that Gus Beaulieu had died, “and the rather insidious attack upon his character, and his motive in objecting to the immediate abolition of the Indian bureau, must be taken up by the present editor of The *Tomahawk*.” The criticism against Montezuma’s publication is outspoken and the opposition in the article’s title, “*Wassaja* vs *Tomahawk*,” is unique.¹³⁸ The article continues to criticize Montezuma’s efforts to completely abolish the Indian Bureau, focusing on the fact that *Wassaja* “provide[s] no substitute,” an approach that would “create anarchy.” In conclusion, the *Tomahawk* tells “[d]octor Montezuma[] get into Senator Curtis’ canoe.” Here, the White Earth newspaper positions itself as broadly pro-assimilationist through its publishing practices, aligning with the gradualists of the SAI. Especially in this response to the uncompromising Montezuma, the *Tomahawk* functions as a moderate, but firm voice.¹³⁹

The legacy of Gus H. Beaulieu is included in the newspaper’s nameplate from Sept. 20, 1917, onwards. It lists Gus. H. Beaulieu as the founder and C.H. Beaulieu as the editor, cementing not only the legacy of Gus as the newspaper’s originator but also the family connection of the two brothers. And despite the strong critique of Montezuma in the earlier issue, the *Tomahawk* began reprinting many articles from Montezuma, either taken from *Wassaja* or Montezuma’s other writings. The cordial tone in “A Noted Indian’s Tribute To the Late Publisher” stands in stark contrast to the critique of Gus Beaulieu that had caused the *Tomahawk*’s admonition of Montezuma, and the reconciliatory tone with which Montezuma ends the obituary in *Wassaja* underlines his sense of solidarity towards what he considered

true and honest advocates of Native American rights.¹⁴⁰ Montezuma's public recognition of Gus Beaulieu appears to have smoothed the tense relationship between the two editors, and over the next five years up until Montezuma's death in January 1923, the *Tomahawk* reprinted 25 articles published in *Wassaja*.¹⁴¹

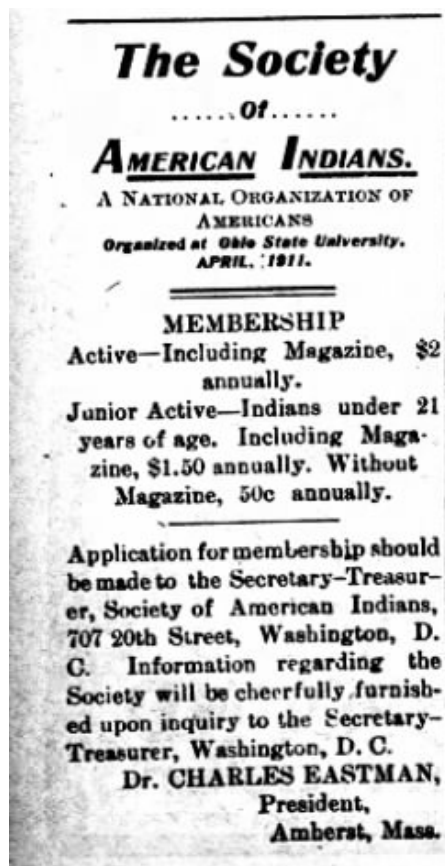


Figure 38: “The Society of American Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 16.48 (March 20, 1919): 8.

The SAI and its *Magazine*, too, received more attention in the *Tomahawk*. Apart from frequent reporting on the SAI's conferences,¹⁴² reprinting articles from the *American Indian Magazine*,¹⁴³ and writings from their prominent members,¹⁴⁴ The *Tomahawk* regularly printed an advertisement for the SAI from late March 1919 until about late 1921 (see fig. 38). The advertisement for the SAI replaced the one for the Grand Council of American Indians (see fig. 37), and the newspaper even published an article about the introduction of the advertisement for the SAI. The publisher refrained from advertising the SAI before because it was “too much influenced by the Indian Office and mushy sentimentalists.” However, now that the leadership of the society has changed, “the willing tools [of the Indian Office] are no longer in official standing within the Society of American Indians.” The article goes on to emphasize that “sturdy men like Dr. Eastman, Dr. Montezuma and Father Gordon have come

to the front,” but it also highlights the role of female participation. The progressive character of the newspaper shines through when it states that “in these days woman’s influence is recognized, [and] The *Tomahawk* will not omit making reference of Mrs. Gertrude Bonnin, secretary and now editor of the magazine.” The *Tomahawk* glosses over the fact that woman took leading positions in the SAI from its inception onwards, but the reference to the female editorship of the SAI’s publication connects the two publications and stands in stark contrast to the Grand Council of American Indian’s male-only membership policy. As an additional contrast to earlier statements in the newspaper, the article focuses on the SAI’s goal to abolish the Indian Office, stating that the society’s new leadership is “bitterly opposed to the Indian Office and heartily wish that its existence would cease. They one and all would see the Indian Office dead and buried.” The reason for the regular inclusion of an advertisement for the SAI, then, is that “its new leadership wishes to accomplish a moral surgical act, and it can but do this by the financial aid which would follow a large membership in the Society.”¹⁴⁵ In a follow up article, the *Tomahawk* reports on the “second meeting of the local chapter of the Society of American Indians,” and names De Forest Davis as the elected president.¹⁴⁶ The influence of the national organization for local Anishinaabe interests becomes visible when the *Tomahawk* advertises a meeting to organize a local SAI chapter in Minneapolis, pointing to community led efforts to broaden the influence of the society. It also speaks to the success of the White Earth newspaper, which “note[s] with much pleasure that both the Detroit and Mahnomen newspapers are now supporting the very things that The *Tomahawk* has been advocating for the past sixteen years.”¹⁴⁷ That is, the *Tomahawk*’s efforts paid off two-fold: not only are other local newspapers now in favor of Native self-determination, but the popularity of Native rights organizations on this local level underlines the efficacy of circulating information on Native American efforts to organize.

The *Tomahawk* reported on and advertised other pan-Native American societies and/or their publications: The Northwestern Federation of American Indians,¹⁴⁸ The Aborigines of America,¹⁴⁹ the Grand Council Fire of American Indians,¹⁵⁰ the American Indian Arts and Crafts Foundation,¹⁵¹ the American Indian Club (an “[a]uxiliary to [the] American Indian Tipi Order and American Indian Association”),¹⁵² and the *Indian Teepee Magazine* (1920–1928).¹⁵³ Additionally, the *Tomahawk* reported—both favorably and unfavorably—on White societies who advocated on behalf of Native Americans, such as the Indian Fellowship League of Chicago,¹⁵⁴ the Society of Indian Ancestry,¹⁵⁵ the Friends of the Indian,¹⁵⁶ the *Indian’s Friend* (1888–1951),¹⁵⁷ and the Indian Rights Association¹⁵⁸. In the vein of German research on magazines, the *Tomahawk* (although a newspaper), can be understood as a “little archive” of

pan-Native American societies and non-Native associations of the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁹ The critical reception of these organizations in the *Tomahawk* reflects the newspaper's motto "truth before favor," and this holds true for intratribal relationships in and around White Earth.

From 1916 up until at least April 1926, the White Earth publication repeatedly foregrounded a serious issue that plagued the Anishinaabe: exploitation from within, by their own people. This connects to the earlier discussion of the "Indian questions," namely that "the United States had made treaties with individuals in the past who claimed to be chiefs, and who claimed also to be acting under the authority vested in them as chiefs."¹⁶⁰ In the early twentieth century, it is individuals who claim to be Native representatives and advocate against Anishinaabe interests in Congress. Over the course of a decade, the *Tomahawk* pilloried James I. Coffey, a member of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa for his continued role in working against the Anishinaabe.

In a lengthy article covering most of the front and back page of the newspaper, the *Tomahawk* published a letter correspondence between its publisher, Gus H. Beaulieu, and James I. Coffey. Based on a rejected resolution, Coffey wrote a lengthy letter to Gus Beaulieu, the chairman of the resolutions committee. The tone of Coffey's letter reveals a manipulative character, foreshadowing later events. Throughout the letter, Coffey addresses the chairman and publisher as Gus, creating a sense of closeness and goodwill. The phrase "you know Gus" appears frequently in the letter and positions Coffey as a benevolent figure who presents himself as interested only in providing a "measure of precaution, and to secure a uniform rule in the disbursement of Chippewa funds." Coffey flatters Gus Beaulieu by repeatedly stating that he "commend[s]" him for his loyalty and in his function as "committeeman," noting that he "had never heard a word against you Gus." In the same breath, however, Coffey accuses him of "wil[l]ful violation of public trust," adding this is not a personal attack but "taken from a public duty point of view only and no further." Additionally, Coffey invokes God to underline his innocent intentions, stylizing himself as an honest man. His rhetoric throughout the letter shows a writer who is not only familiar with casting himself in the best possible light, but one who is able to sow self-doubt.

In his response, quoted in part because "this reply would take up too much space," Gus Beaulieu's view remains clear, and he repudiates every point made by Coffey. Instead of engaging in the manipulative rhetoric of Coffey, the *Tomahawk*'s publisher points out that "Mr. Coffey" lied in his letter and provides examples for Coffey's attempted manipulation of the facts as the publisher sees them.¹⁶¹ Still, together with C.H. Beaulieu, they were appointed

delegates to go to Washington.¹⁶² In a later article, however, the *Tomahawk* points out that Coffey “went before the senate committee one day when the publisher was absent” and submitted an item concerning the reimbursement of the expenses of the delegation, which he claims was “submitted to the General Council of the Chippewas of Minnesota last July by Mr. Beaulieu.” “Every person who was a delegate at the General Council of Bemidji,” the article continues, “knows that Jim Coffey did not tell the Senate Indian Commission the truth.” In conclusion, the *Tomahawk* asks that “[Chippewa] delegates should be compelled to keep within the bound of truth, and to send as delegates only those who will do so.”¹⁶³ That is, Coffey was exploiting tribal funds to gain financial benefits. In fact, as the newspaper points out, “the only legislation which Jim Coffey accomplished last winter during his two months visit at Washington, was an amendment to the [Indian appropriation] act to pay his expenses and those of his brother-in-law from tribal funds for their trip there.”¹⁶⁴ And because Coffey’s dishonest actions relate to both the General Council and Congress, the *Tomahawk* continued to report on the matter. “The publisher has been informed,” the *Tomahawk* states in a later “Explanatory,” “that Jim Coffey stated he had discovered a scheme on the part of the publisher which the latter was trying to push through Congress secretly.” Not only was Coffey accusing Gus Beaulieu of what Coffey himself had apparently done, but “Coffey’s tarnished reputation for truth is being sustained by him not only before the Indian committee of the United States, as quoted in The *Tomahawk* recently, but before the General Council.” As a result, “those who sought retirement from Indian matters” now feel obliged to stay involved and take not only a counter-position to Coffey but regain “control of the Council.”¹⁶⁵ It appears that, after his brother’s death, C.H. Beaulieu, had intended to withdraw from politics. The continued dishonest actions of James Coffey, however, make it necessary to stay involved. The response to disunion and discord caused by the “Judas” Coffey,¹⁶⁶ the *Tomahawk* emphasizes, is one of continuous engagement and steadfastness not confined to newspaper publishing practices.

In February 1918, the *Tomahawk* published another rare headline spanning two columns and two pages. The lengthy title calls out Coffey’s “Perfidy” in regards to the Anishinaabe and his efforts to stifle legislation to aide them. The article begins by stating that “James I. Coffey is again playing the rol[e] of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde” and highlights that he “is opposing at Washington everything that the Chippewa Indians one and all desire.” The *Tomahawk* reprints a letter from Members of the Legislative Committee of the Chippewa General Council in Minnesota to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and asks readers to “immediately write John W. Carl, B.L. Fairbanks and Henry Warren, National Hotel,

Washington, D.C., and advise them whether they approve or disapprove of the course being pursued by James I. Coffey and whether Coffey is correctly representing their views.” Here, the *Tomahawk* shows that the role of John W. Carl as the founder of a pan-Native American association is supplemented by his function in the General Council. He is clearly angered by Coffey’s lies, who accuses the executive committee of violating the by-laws. In response to this allegation, Carl took up a fiery tone similar to the *Tomahawk*. Carl states that “[a] mere examination of our constitution and by-laws discloses how silly this objection is and indicates the utter incapacity of Mr. Coffey to read or understand the English language,” and quotes directly from the General Council’s by-laws to prove Coffey wrong.¹⁶⁷

A follow up in the next issue also features a lengthy headline spanning two columns. The “special to The Tomahawk” describes Coffey as “the ‘Old Man of the Sea, (...) doing everything in his power to prevent the delegation from accomplishing anything for the Indians.” The negative exoticization of Coffey not only underlines his reception as a burden to the fruition of Anishinaabe interests, but also casts him as a foreign body within Anishinaabe politics. The Legislative Committee, however, shook off Coffey’s attempts and instead “will save the Chippewa Indians this winter at least \$185,000 of their trust funds.” Furthermore, this “break[s] up the practice of using these funds in the future, thereby preserving the trust fund of \$6,000,000, which if encroached year after year as it has been in the past would soon be exhausted.”¹⁶⁸ And while the *Tomahawk* is reporting on its own behalf, subsequent articles vindicate its heavy criticisms of Coffey. He was convicted of “publishing libelous communications attacking the character of B.L. Fairbanks, as a member of the Legislative Committee of the General Council of Minnesota” and “the court imposed a fine of \$25.00 and costs, amounting to \$135.00 or a sentence of 60 days in the county jail.” The article goes on to state that the jury’s verdict “has branded Coffey in his true light—untruthful and unreliable, and ever sustaining his past reputation which others unhesitatingly declare has always been questionable.”¹⁶⁹ Additionally, Coffey was arrested later that year, this time “on the charge of criminal libel for circulating false and malicious communications concerning the personal character as well as the official acts of the said John J. Morrison.”¹⁷⁰ The trial was held at Bemidji, starting on August 22, 1918 “for slanderous statements made in letters written by Coffey while in Washington”¹⁷¹ and lasted five days. Coffey was found not guilty, but the *Tomahawk* did not report on this verdict. Instead, the information appears one month later in the syndicated columns of the paper.¹⁷² This shows that the *Tomahawk*’s editor was not happy with the verdict, yet the inclusion of the news in the syndicated pages of the newspaper points to a larger-than-local significance of Coffey, however short the entry on his trial.

In April 1919, however, the newspaper reported on Coffey's "overwhelming" repudiation by the Fond du Lac Band of Chippewas. After indulging "in his usual line of infamous doctrine," and "believing that he had convinced a sufficient number of Indians of Fond du Lac Band," he called for a general council at the Fond du Lac reservation "for the purpose of reorganizing said local council" according to his wishes. The plan backfired spectacularly when "John W. Carl, John Arten, Charles Jackson, and Frank Beaulieu arose in orderly manner and rep[lied] to the charges and statements of Coffey." A vote was called for, with thirty-one "favoring to stand by the General Council" and four "favoring to stand by James I. Coffey." The article repeats the result of the vote in bold numbers, stressing the overwhelming defeat which "now proves conclusively how the members of the Fond du Lac Band of Chippewas look upon this man Coffey." In a self-satisfied manner, the article ends by pointing out that of the four votes for Coffey, "one was his brother and the other his brotherinlaw[sic!]." ¹⁷³ Coffey and his supporters continued to antagonize local general councils, and the *Tomahawk* reported on the organized disruption at the Pinehurst council ¹⁷⁴ and Cass Lake. It is in the article on the general council at Cass Lake, a reprint from the *Bemidji Sentinel*, that the nature of the conflict is directly named in the *Tomahawk*. The year prior, "the disagreements arose between the full and mixed blood Indians, and the two factions were formed." This year, "the faction known as the 'full bloods,' or the Indians who are not part white, 'bolted' the meeting and started a rump convention in another hall, headed by James I. Coffey." ¹⁷⁵ Progressive Anishinaabe interests were spearheaded by the mixed bloods and their White Earth newspaper, while Coffey (a mixed blood) had apparently managed to rally the support of full blooded Anishinaabe behind the banner of the interests of conservatives. Over the next few years, the *Tomahawk* repeatedly refers to Coffey as a "bolshewic[sic!]," a term the newspaper used synonymously with conservative to describe Coffey and his faction. It also described the full bloods as "self-styled." ¹⁷⁶ The White Earth newspaper also points out that Coffey was involved with, and had the support of, the Indian Bureau, branding him and his supporters as agents of a system the *Tomahawk* (and many pan-Native American societies) wished to see abolished.

Coffey's attempts were unsuccessful, and the newspaper continued to feature reports on him in 1924. Here, he is "again up to his old tricks of sending out circular letters denouncing attorney Ballinger, the mixed bloods and, we are sorry to say, The Tomahawk has not escaped the rigor of his wrath." The article also identifies another actor behind Coffey's writers, stating that "while it bears the signature of Mr. Coffey, [it] has every ear mark of having originated in the Indian Bureau." It also points out another new connection that Coffey

made in the two years since he moved to Washington, D.C.; Representative Harold Knudson.¹⁷⁷ Knudson is described as “the Sixth District’s misrepresentative in Congress” and as someone “who has always been the mouthpiece of the Bureau” in that body. That is, all legislation passed through their efforts originated from the Bureau and stood in stark contrast to the interests of the majority of the Anishinaabe.¹⁷⁸ The next episode in connection with Coffey warranted another two-column headline in the *Tomahawk*. Coffey had managed to “formally make Congressman Knu[t]son a member of the tribe of Chippewas of Minnesota.” In response, the *Tomahawk* states that they “are on the war path, not with the old-time tomahawk, nor with the bow and arrow, but with the white man’s more powerful weapon—public opinion.” The power of the press, i.e., being able to mobilize change by informing public opinion and funneling this opinion into action, is well understood and instrumentalized by the then editor and publisher of the newspaper, L. Logan.¹⁷⁹ Before reporting on the events that led up to Knutson’s adoption, the article provides an overview of Coffey’s earlier schemes and firmly positions its stance against Knutson. The newspaper’s stance on the matter echoes the earlier “Indian question,” this time that “but a few representatives of the Cass Lake, Leech Lake and White Oak Point Bands” spoke for “more than ten bands, with a population exceeding thirteen thousand.”¹⁸⁰ The final public repudiation of Coffey’s schemes was published in 1926, when Coffey, together with Knutson and “ex-congressman Halvor Steenerson,” again intervened in Anishinaabe legislation. The lengthy headline, again stretching two columns, states that the three “ask postponement of hearing until March 15,” delaying the passage of the Chippewa jurisdictional bill in the senate. The bill, which would pass with additional hurdles,¹⁸¹ authorized “the Chippewa Indians to prosecute all their claims arising under or growing out of the [Nelson] Act of 1889” and constituted a significant milestone for the Anishinaabe to take legal action against the damages incurred by the act. That opposition from within the Native community, and from Coffey in particular, serves as a concrete example of a modern “Indian question,” but it also tells the story of how the Anishinaabe overcame internal strife and managed to bring about meaningful change from “within the system.”

Literary and Political Contributors, 1920–1923

Even as the *Tomahawk* pursued change from “within the system,” it also continuously published from “outside the system,” and three contributors from the early 1920s are here singled out for their wider contributions to Native American literature and poetry. Sunhair,

Broken Wing Bird, and Leta V. Meyers (Smart) have previously been identified by Robert Dale Parker in *Change Is Not Vanishing*,¹⁸² and the White Earth newspaper published not only their poetry,¹⁸³ but also their political writings and literary productions. That is, Native American writers did indeed have access to networks of publication and publicity, and one reason they “rarely sought a wide audience”¹⁸⁴ is that their writings are scattered across archives and private collections, some incomplete and others yet to be made accessible. However, studies on individual Native American periodicals reveal both unknown authors¹⁸⁵ and add to the literary output of known ones.

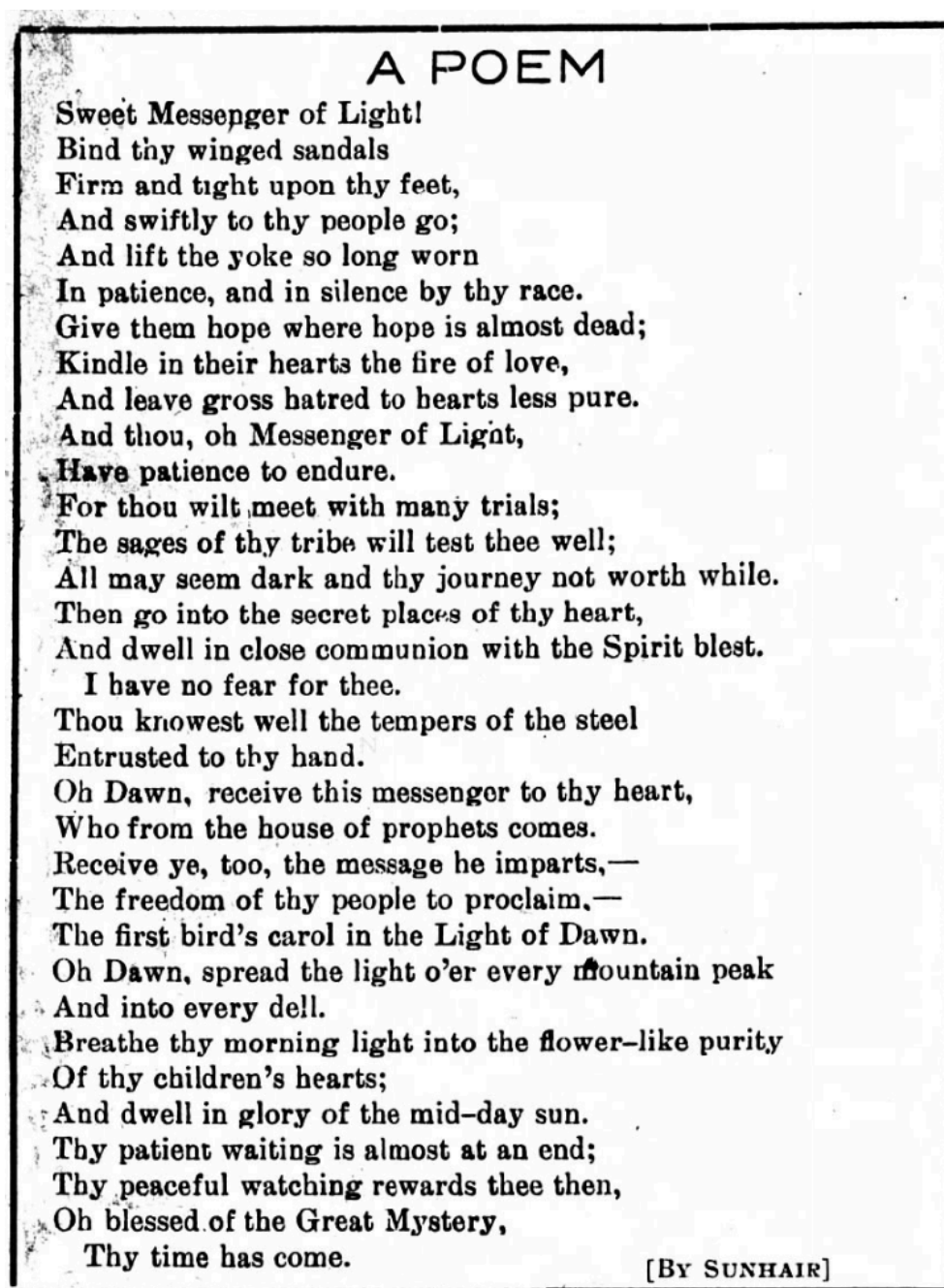


Figure 39: “A Poem,” *The Tomahawk* 18.25 (October 14, 1920): 1.

Sunhair's writing was featured in the *Tomahawk* from September to December 1921. Four poems (two short¹⁸⁶ and two long¹⁸⁷) are supplemented by a letter to the newspaper titled "The Indian—Not Understood." The article may further substantiate the claim that the author behind the pseudonym is non-Native because Sunhair writes from the perspective of the first-person plural "we" and refers to Native Americans as "them."¹⁸⁸ The layout of the two longer poems published in the White Earth newspaper, however, suggests a significant relationship between Sunhair and L. Logan, at the time editor of the *Tomahawk*. Both poems are set across two columns and the black frame sets them apart from the rest of the entries on the page (see fig. 39). As a significant break with regular printing practices in the newspaper, the layout and placement speak to what George Bornstein call "politics of the page" similar to how the more significant headlines about Coffey covered two columns to underline their importance.¹⁸⁹

Another (apparently) local writer is Broken Wing Bird, whose writings were printed in the *Tomahawk* from October 1921 to May 1922. Next to a poem,¹⁹⁰ the White Earth newspaper published highly critical opinion pieces that addressed the SAI,¹⁹¹ the condition of "the Indian,"¹⁹² the local readership,¹⁹³ Native Americans in general,¹⁹⁴ and the Indian Bureau.¹⁹⁵ The writing style of Broken Wing Bird was at times polemical and seems to echo the rhetoric of other fiery Native authors of the early twentieth century. The visible distaste for government institutions exploiting Native Americans suggests that the author was not only aware of current and past criticisms of the Indian Bureau, but that he or she may have taken queues from Carlos Montezuma and his *Wassaja*. Less speculative are indications that Broken Wing Bird was a Native person. The first-person plural "we" is used as a collective for Native Americans, and in contrast to Sunhair (whose writing is from the opposite point of view), Broken Wing Bird seems to be a local Native contributor to the *Tomahawk*. The inclusion of Native and non-Native voices using a pseudonym to advocate for Anishinaabe and Native American interests points to the newspaper's active engagement with local literary voices and emphasizes the addition of literary output to the "dramatically changed picture of American poetry" Parker recovered through his work.¹⁹⁶

As a third voice, contributions by Leta V. Meyers (Smart, Omaha, 1894–1981) are featured as early as December 1920 up to May 1923. Her writings, at times highly charged and polemical, include addresses to Native Americans,¹⁹⁷ interest in them by non-Natives,¹⁹⁸ reports from Washington, D.C.,¹⁹⁹ the poems "On A Nickle"²⁰⁰ and "A Picture,"²⁰¹ criticism of the Indian Bureau,²⁰² as well as a free verse story (see fig. 40).²⁰³

A YOUNG INDIAN'S ADVENTURE WITH OPPORTUNITY.

(By Leta Myers Smart.)

(In writing the following the author had in mind a certain young Indian man from the Bad (River) Reservation, the name of which place she doesn't think is the least bit misapplied and where the situation is the best example she knows of what there OUGHT NOT TO BE.

One day not long ago a young Indian man
Jumped down from the fence where he had been sitting
With a lot of his fellows
Who, like himself, had been waiting
For the evening train to come in,—
(Most important event of the day),
For sometimes, and indeed quite often,
It meant the coming of moonshine and "good" time;
Sometimes, however, just the coming of gossip,—
As had been their wont to spend their evenings
In no more meaningful way
Than this worse than idle habit of theirs!
But this one young man on this particular evening
Got tired of it all and walked away.
Alone he went, with his hands in his pockets,
Walking slowly and mediating,
In the direction of the setting sun.
Until he finally found himself
Quite some distance from the Indian village.
As he continued on his way he approached a lowland,
On the other side of which rose a hill, high and stately,
That the sun was setting behind.
Bright and beautiful lights were all around its summit,
And in the sky there was more glory!
The young man looked up, beheld, and enjoyed it,
But wondered a moment at the figure he saw against the skyline.
A stranger, it seemed, not known in these parts.
Like one froth afar returning home after long absence,
And resting himself on his journey and viewing again some old familiar spots,
And wondering if there wasn't some one he could meet e'er he went
on his way again.
Finally the young man, in a voice full of courage and friendship,
Called, "Ho! there, my friend!"
Vnd "Ho!" came back again, and more, if it pleases you to know;
"Come on up, young man.
I am surprised you do not know me,
For I am Opportunity;
With other names applied, of course, such as:
'Death to the Indians,' or,
'Reason for Putting the Indian Office Out,'—
But meaning more, I take it, of the latter than the former.
But come up, just the same;
I would like to meet you.
Surely you must have heard of me, though perhaps it was long ago,
In your grandfather's time, and before you were
Placed on your prairie reservation."
And the young Indian man DID remember that long ago he HAD heard
His grandfather speak of Opportunity,
Who was so willing to come and be a friend for half a chance.
So he started up to meet him.
When lo! as if from the underworld there suddenly sprang a fence,
So high and unsurmountable,
That the young Indian man was dazed and awe-struck!
But the cheery voice of Opportunity still rang in his ears.
And when his amazement had left him he started to climb one of the
posts of this dreadful fence.
But lo! again—it became alive,
With hands stretched out defiantly,
And a voice that fairly screamed:
"Go back, young Indian, to your prairie reservation.
I am the Commissioner, and I am paid to keep you fastened to your
reservation.
Go back, I say, and stay there!"
But the young Indian man, still wanting to meet Opportunity,
Ran on to the next post that he would have climbed had not the same
thing happened, only in a smaller way,
And a voice that whined and hypnotised, like a sickly woman's
Bound to make you do her bidding,
And with hands just as defiant and eager to stay his ascent (some
think more so):
"I am the Assistant Commissioner, and I, too.
Must make believe that you are no good,
Or worthy enough to meet so great a personage as Opportunity.
You will have to go back!"
And all the other posts that made up the fence repeated the cry:
"Go back to your reservation!
The outside world is much too big and far too fine for you!
For the debt we owed your people we have LET YOU HAVE (NOT GIVEN),
Your prairie reservation!
And although we bargained for your full dress suit we you back for it
Merely the price of a pair of sheepskin moccasins."
And the poor young Indian, only one voice against so many,
Fell back into the darkness,
With an ache in his throbbing bosom,
And a sigh in his stifled cry
All on account of this terrible fence
That must have sprung from hell!

Figure 40: "A Young Indian's Adventure With Opportunity," *The Tomahawk* 20.20
(September 28, 1922): 1.

The free verse story is another example of significant printing practices in the *Tomahawk*. Similar to the poems by Sunhair, this story by Meyers is set across two columns and featured on the issue's title page. Additionally, it features an explanation by the author: "In writing the following the author had in mind a certain young Indian man from Bad (River) Reservation, the name of which place she doesn't think the least misapplied and where the situation is the best example she knows of what there OUGHT NOT TO BE." The story tells the tale of a young Native American who "got tired" of the monotony in his "Indian village" and decided to walk away from it. The man, after some travel, then encounters a figure introducing itself as "Opportunity; with other names applied, of course, such as: 'Death to the Indians,' or, 'Reason for Putting the Indian Office Out.'" The figure adds that the young man might be familiar with it, perhaps from stories told by his grandfather. The young man, recalling that "long ago he had heard his grandfather speak of Opportunity," and he agreed to meet with the figure as his forefathers did. Suddenly, "as if from the underworld there suddenly sprang a fence," and when the young man attempted to climb it, the fence came to life "with hands stretched out defiantly, and a voice that fairly screamed" at the young man to return to his "prairie reservation." The figure now identifies itself as "the Commissioner [of Indian Affairs], and I am paid to keep you fastened to you reservation." A repeated attempt to climb the fence is met with "the Assistant Commissioner," who also commands the young man to return to his reservation. Finally, the young man breaks down and falls "back into the darkness, with an ache in his throbbing bosom, and a sigh in his stifled cry, all on account of this terrible fence that must have sprung from hell."²⁰⁴ The story connects to the "Indian question" of earlier installments, in particular the one that deals with the exploitation of Native Americans by settlers and US-Americans. That is, the *Tomahawk* laid out its publication practices and then continued to reiterate them by referencing either current events or printing contemporary authors.

The longer period over which Meyers' writings were published (compared to Sunhair and Broken Wing Bird) points to either a long-termed commitment²⁰⁵ or continued correspondence with the publisher. Meyers was quite young at the time, and she had not reached the age of twenty when her writings were printed in the *Tomahawk*. She can be understood as part of a young Native American intellectual elite that began making their opinions heard in newspaper publications prior to their more direct engagement in Native American organizations in the following decades. That connections to later movements are visible in periodical publications underlines the significance of Native print practices in the

early twentieth century, showing how Native periodicals function as archives of literary production and political advocacy, even as they also incorporate assimilationist practices.

¹ *The Progress* 2.31 (July 13, 1889): 4; for an overview of the *Progress*, see Vizenor, *A Brief Historical Study*.

² Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 50.

³ While the term Chippewa is used exclusively by *The Tomahawk*, legal institutions, and individuals during the period covered in this chapter, the term Anishinaabe is preferred when not directly quoting from primary sources or referencing particular legislative bills and acts.

⁴ Littlefield/Parins, *American*, 50–1; Vizenor/Doerfler, *The White Earth Nation*, 40–2; Vizenor, “Empire Treasons,” 22; Vigil, *Indigenous Intellectuals*, 134; Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy*, 88.

⁵ *The Progress* 1.1 (March 25, 1886): 1; *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903): 1. The self-description appears consecutively in *The Progress* up until 1.49 (October 13, 1889) and for at least the first three volumes in *The Tomahawk*. 3.7 (May 25, 1905) is the last accessible issue from the paper’s early years, followed by a ten-year gap of available source material. Hence, how long exactly *The Tomahawk* continued to display its self-description is unclear.

⁶ *The Progress*’ motto was “A higher Civilization: The Maintenance of Law and Order.”

⁷ “Arrogant Suppression of the Press,” *The Progress* 1.1 (October 8, 1887): 1.; see also Vizenor/Doerfler, *White Earth Nation*, 40–1 and Vizenor, *The People Named the Chippewa*, 78–80.

⁸ “After Beaulieu’s Paper,” *The Tomahawk* 1.35 (November 27, 1903): 1.

⁹ “Secretary Hitchcock’s Ire,” *The Tomahawk* 1.35 (November 27, 1903): 1.

¹⁰ *The Tomahawk* 1.35 (November 27, 1903): 1. Both the *Annandale Advocate-Post* and the *Detroit Record* emphasize free speech and freedom of the press.

¹¹ “The Czar Denies,” *The Tomahawk* 1.41 (January 8, 1904): 1; “Secretary Hitchcock Sued by the Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 1.36 (December 4, 1903): 1.

¹² Examples of the Preamble of the Declaration of Independence following an article relating to legislative concerns include “The Superintendent of Scalpers,” *The Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1; “The Legalized Theft,” *The Tomahawk* 1.7 (May 1, 1903): 1; “Unsatisfactory Allotments,” *The Tomahawk* 1.13 (June 25, 1903): 1; “Our Washington Correspondence,” *The Tomahawk* 1.18 (July 30, 1903): 1; “New Red Lake Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 1.33 (Nov. 13, 1903): 4; “Why Indians Don’t Pay Taxes on Their Land,” *The Tomahawk* 2.1 (March 31, 1904): 1; and “Regulations,” *The Tomahawk* 2.17 (Aug. 4, 1904): 1.

¹³ Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*, vii.

¹⁴ *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903). 1; from issue 14.11 (July 4, 1918) onwards, the paper’s nameplate advertised the publication as the “Official Organ of the Minnesota Chippewas.”

¹⁵ *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903): 1.

¹⁶ At the latest, the two slogans appeared as part of the paper’s masthead from issue 13.3 (May 13, 1915) onwards.

¹⁷ Vizenor, *The White Earth Nation*, 33.

¹⁸ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 302.

¹⁹ The history is printed in at least eleven parts, from issue 1.11 (December 17, 1887) until 1.31 (May 12, 1888). The last available entry ends with the promise that “Wainahboozho and his journey to the land of Nee-bah-gee-zis (sleeping-sun) and his encounter with the great spirit gambler (destiny) will be continued in our next” (*The Progress* 1.31 (May 12, 1888): 1).

²⁰ *The Progress* 1.11 (December 17, 1887): 1; 1.16 (January 21, 1888): 1; 1.17 (January 28, 1888): 1; and 1.18 (February 4, 1888): 1.

²¹ *The Tomahawk* 1.5 (May 7, 1905): 1; 1.6 (May 14, 1903): 1; 1.7 (May 21, 1903): 1.

- ²² See *The Progress* 1.25 (March 24, 1888): 1 and 1.29 (April 21, 1888): 1; *The Tomahawk* 1.6 (May 14, 1904): 1 and 1.7 (May 21, 1903).
- ²³ See *The Tomahawk* 1.50 (March 10, 1904): 1 and 1.51 (March 17, 1904): 1.
- ²⁴ “White Cloud—Wah-Bon-Ah-Quod,” *The Tomahawk* 1.50 (March, 1904): 1.
- ²⁵ The yearly celebration was advertised and commented on in each year of the available issues of *The Tomahawk*.
- ²⁶ McNally, *Ojibwe Singers*, 135.
- ²⁷ “Grand Celebration,” *The Tomahawk* 1.10 (June 11, 1903): 1.
- ²⁸ “The Governor of Minnesota,” *The Tomahawk* 1.10 (June 11, 1903): 1.
- ²⁹ “The National Holiday of the Chippewas of Minnesota,” *The Tomahawk* 1.10 (June 11, 1903): 1.
- ³⁰ See *The Tomahawk* 1.50 (March 10, 1904): 1.
- ³¹ “The Governor’s Party,” *The Tomahawk* 1.11 (June 15, 1903): 1.
- ³² “Begins Its Career as the Organ of the Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903): 1.
- ³³ E.g., see “A Rank Injustice,” *The Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1; “Unsatisfactory Allotment,” *The Tomahawk* 1.13 (June 25, 1903): 1; “Indian Lands. Magnitude of Steals,” *The Tomahawk* 1.26 (Sept. 24, 1903): 1; “Indians Want Cash. Sell Their Land to Settlers. White Earth Allotments Will Soon All Belong to White Men,” *The Tomahawk* 1.48 (February 29, 1904): 4; “How Chippewas are Robbed,” *The Tomahawk* 2.15 (July 21, 1904): 1.
- ³⁴ “Hold the Schools,” *The Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1.
- ³⁵ “The Indian Boarding Schools,” *The Tomahawk* 1.4 (April 30, 1903): 1.
- ³⁶ E.g., see *The Red Man and Helper* 18.4 (August 8, 1902): 1. Similarly, *The Indian Craftsman*, from its second issue onwards, advertises that “the mechanical work and all the artwork is executed by Indian students of the school.”
- ³⁷ “A Valuable Adjunct,” *The Tomahawk* 1.6 (May 14, 1903): 1.
- ³⁸ “Truths by Col. Pratt,” *The Tomahawk* 2.8 (May 19, 1904): 1.
- ³⁹ See “Army Officers[sic!] Assails the Indian Bureau,” *The Tomahawk* 2.8 (May 19, 1904): 1.
- ⁴⁰ See “General Pratt Relieved,” *The Tomahawk* 2.13 (June 30, 1904): 1.
- ⁴¹ “Col. Pratt’s Platform from the Beginning,” *The Tomahawk* 2.14 (July 7, 1904): 1.
- ⁴² “A Fearless Indian Agent,” *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903): 1.
- ⁴³ See “Don’t Want Mercer,” *The Tomahawk* 1.2 (April 16, 1903): 1.
- ⁴⁴ “General Pratt Relieved,” *The Tomahawk* 2.13 (June 30, 1904): 1.
- ⁴⁵ “Carlisle’s New Principal,” *The Tomahawk* 2.19 (August 18, 1904): 1.
- ⁴⁶ An exception must here be made for the ten inaccessible/missing volumes from 1905–1915. Due to lack of access to these volumes, no information about or reference to them can be made in this reading of *The Tomahawk*.
- ⁴⁷ E.g., the Grand Council of the American Indian, the Society of American Indians, and the Northwestern Federation of American Indians.
- ⁴⁸ *The Tomahawk* reprinted articles from all across the country, be it from local papers in Minnesota (e.g., the *Minneapolis Journal* or the *Detroit Standard*), from other states (e.g., the *San Francisco Argonaut*, the *New York Sun*, or the Wisconsin *Jackson County Journal*), off-reservation boarding schools (e.g., the *Carlisle Arrow* and *Red Man* or the *Chilocco Indian School Journal*), pan-Native American publications (e.g., *Wassaja* or the Society of American Indian’s *American Indian Magazine*), as well as so-called “friends of the Indian” (e.g., *Bureaucracy a la Mode* or the *Indian’s Friend*).
- ⁴⁹ E.g., see the scathing articles on James E. Coffey and Thomas G. Bishop in the late 1910s and early 1920s, as well as entries on the Sioux and the Blackfeet nation.
- ⁵⁰ E.g., see entries on the Sioux and the Blackfeet nations.
- ⁵¹ See the continuous entries against the Indian Bureau throughout the runtime of the publication.

⁵² *The Tomahawk* featured writers such as Zitkala-Ša, Carlos Montezuma, Leta V. Meyers (later Smart), Broken Wing Bird, C.J. Bellecourt, and Sunhair.

⁵³ Content from the McClure Newspaper Syndicate includes many short fiction pieces, most notably Jack London's "His Brother's Keeper," *The Tomahawk* 15.8 (June 14, 1917): 4. London's short stories would appear five more times in January and February of 1918, with the copyright attributed to him instead of the syndicate.

⁵⁴ E.g., "Average Jones. By Samuel Hopkins Adams" appeared in the second quarter of 1916 with some interruptions. The McClure Newspaper Syndicate appears regularly up until 1924.

⁵⁵ The Western Newspaper Union appeared as the originator of short stories from early 1918 until about mid-1926.

⁵⁶ The owner of the International Press Bureau, William Gerard Chapman, has the copyright for a series of short stories published from 1915 to 1917 attributed to him.

⁵⁷ The Short Story Publishing Company appears towards the end of the newspaper's runtime, from 1925 to 1926.

⁵⁸ Both Underwood & Underwood and Harris & Ewing provided portrait photographs for the syndicated regular series "In the Limelight." The column was also titled "Who's Who in the World," "In the Public Eye," or "Who is Who Now" up until 1919, introducing three to four personalities.

⁵⁹ E.g., "News of the Week Cut Down for Busy Readers," *The Tomahawk* 13.38 (January 13, 1916): 2.

⁶⁰ E.g., "News of the State. Condensed for Busy Folks," *The Tomahawk* 15.36 (December 27, 1917): 6.

⁶¹ E.g., "State News in Brief. Doings of the Last Few Days Throughout Minnesota Condensed for Hasty Perusal," *The Tomahawk* 13.32 (December 2, 1915): 2.

⁶² E.g., "Most Important News of World. Big Happening of the Week Cut to Last Analysis," *The Tomahawk* 14.20 (Sept. 7, 1916): 6. Other variations include "World's Events in Short Form. Best of the News Boiled Down to Limit. Arranged For Busy People," *The Tomahawk* 14.23 (September 28, 1916): 6.

⁶³ "World's Events in Short Form," *The Tomahawk* 13.41 (February 3, 1916): 2.

⁶⁴ "Happenings in the World Tersely Told," *The Tomahawk* 13.44 (February 24, 1916): 2.

⁶⁵ "Important News Events of the World Summarized," *The Tomahawk* 13.50 (April 16, 1916): 6.

⁶⁶ "State Brevities," *The Tomahawk* 13.47 (March 16, 1916): 6.

⁶⁷ "State News in Brief. Doings of the Last Few Days Throughout Minnesota Condensed for Hasty Perusal," *The Tomahawk* 13.52 (April 20, 1916): 6.

⁶⁸ "What's Doing in Minnesota," *The Tomahawk* 14.8 (June 15, 1916): 3.

⁶⁹ "Gopher State Happenings. Important Events of Various Sections of the state reported during the last few days," *The Tomahawk* 14.32 (November 23, 1916): 6.

⁷⁰ "Happenings in Gopher State. News From All Parts of Minnesota Given in Condensed Form. Events Briefly Told. Where Busy Readers Will Find News From All Parts of State Tersely Chronicled for Their Benefit," *The Tomahawk* 17.32 (November 27, 1919): 7.

⁷¹ "Indian Destiny In Their Hands," *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁷² "The Indian Question From An Indian's Point of View," *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁷³ "Indian Destiny In Their Hands," *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁷⁴ The members of Congress are Senator Henry F. Ashurst, John H. Stevens, Senator Lane, Senator Moses E. Clapp, Senator Robert L. Owen, Senator Charles E. Townsend, Senator Carrol S. Page, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Senator A.J. Gronna, Senator Robert M. LaFollette, and Senator James A. Reed.

⁷⁵ See the biographical sketches of "In The Limelight."

⁷⁶ "Very True, Very True," *The Tomahawk* 13.33 (December 9, 1915): 1.

⁷⁷ Johnston, *The Radical Middle Class*, 38. For an overview of Lane, see chapter three, “Harry Lane and the Radicalism of Middle-Class Reform,” 29–45.

⁷⁸ “Senator Moses E. Clapp,” *The Tomahawk* 13.33 (December 9, 1915): 1.

⁷⁹ “Will Stand Behind Senator Clapp,” *The Tomahawk* 13.45 (March 2, 1916): 1.

⁸⁰ From April to mid-June 1916, *The Tomahawk* reprinted “For United States Senator, Moses E. Clapp” in almost every issue.

⁸¹ See “Senator Moses E. Clapp In Accord With The People of Minnesota,” *The Tomahawk* 14.3 (May 11, 1916): 1.

⁸² See “Defeat of Senator Clapp Keen Disappointment to the Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 14.10 (June 19, 1916): 1. Moses E. Clapp lost the renomination for Republican candidate to Frank B. Kellogg, who would then win the seat for senator in the state of Minnesota in the 1916 elections.

⁸³ “The Indian Question From An Indian’s View Point,” *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁸⁴ “The Indian Question from an Indian’s View Point,” *The Tomahawk* 13.32 (December 2, 1915): 1.

⁸⁵ “The Indian Question. From an Indian’s View Point,” *The Tomahawk* 13.33 (December 9, 1915): 8.

⁸⁶ “The Indian Question. From an Indian’s View Point,” *The Tomahawk* 13.34 (December 16, 1915): 1.

⁸⁷ “The Indian Question. From an Indian’s View Point,” *The Tomahawk* 13.35 (December 23, 1915): 1.

⁸⁸ See “Will Stand Behind Senator Clapp,” *The Tomahawk* 13.45 (March 2, 1916): 1; “All on the Side of Senator Clapp,” *The Tomahawk* 14.9 (June 22, 1916): 1; “Defeat of Senator Clapp Keen Disappointment to The Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 14.10 (June 29, 1916): 1; and “Indian Vote Refutes Newspaper Criticisms of Senator Clapp,” *The Tomahawk* 14.11 (July 6, 1916): 1.

⁸⁹ In contrast to the many instances in which Montezuma refers to himself as an Apache, he is of Yavapai heritage. The Yavapai are also referred to as Mohave-Apaches, thus the misleading name gave birth to the misnomer.

⁹⁰ For a criticism of the term “intellectual” in the context of Native Americans, see David Martínez, “Neither Chief.”

⁹¹ Maroukis, *We Are Not*, 4.

⁹² Wassaja translates to “Signaling” or “Beckoning.” It is also Carlos Montezuma’s original name, see Hertzberg, *The Search for*, 44. For the most recent work on Montezuma, see Martinez, *My Heart is Bound*.

⁹³ Carlos Montezuma, “‘Let My People Go.’ ‘Has the Indian no Rights?’” *The Tomahawk* 13.40 (January 27, 1916): 1.

⁹⁴ “Indian Destiny In Their Hands,” *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁹⁵ “The Indian Question From An Indian’s Point of View,” *The Tomahawk* 13.31 (November 25, 1915): 1.

⁹⁶ “Begins Its Career as the Organ of the Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 1.1 (April 9, 1903): 1.

⁹⁷ The SAI’s publication began in 1913 as *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* and was renamed *American Indian Magazine: A Journal of Race Ideals* in 1915.

⁹⁸ “What it Means to Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 13.51 (April 13, 1916): 8.

⁹⁹ Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 102.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur C. Parker gave up his position as the editor of the society’s publication in autumn of 1918, after which Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) took on the role of the editor.

¹⁰¹ Martinez, *My Heart is*, 178, 7.

¹⁰² Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and*, 178.

- ¹⁰³ “Dr. Montezuma’s “Wassaja,” *The American Indian Magazine* 4.2 (April–June 1916): 170.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Lewandowski, *Ojibwe, Activist, Priest*, 14, 34–44, 57–66. Gordon was elected president of the SAI in 1924 when it had become all but “defunct,” see Maroukis, *We Are Not*, 202.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lewandowski, *Ojibwe, Activist, Priest*, 7.
- ¹⁰⁶ Zuck, ““Yours is the Cause,”” 77; see also Maroukis, *We Are Not*, 128–9.
- ¹⁰⁷ See “The Repression of the Indians. By Carlos Montezuma,” *The Tomahawk* 14.5 (May 25, 1916): 1.
- ¹⁰⁸ “Society of American Indians to Meet at Cedar Rapids, Iowa,” *The Tomahawk* 14.21 (September 14, 1916): 1 and “The Society of American Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 14.25 (October 12, 1916): 1.
- ¹⁰⁹ “Tribal War Averted At Indian Meeting,” *The Tomahawk* 14.24 (October 5, 1916): 1.
- ¹¹⁰ “Open Debate on the Loyalty of Indian Employees in the Indian Service,” *American Indian Magazine* 4.3 (July–September 1916): 252–56.
- ¹¹¹ “The Society of American Indians and the Indian Bureau,” *The Tomahawk* 14.36 (December 28, 1916): 1.
- ¹¹² Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma*, 102.
- ¹¹³ “Indian Citizenship. By Col. Roosevelt, in American Indian Magazine,” *The Tomahawk* 14.40 (January 25, 1917): 1.
- ¹¹⁴ “The Ending of Bureau Control,” *The Tomahawk* 14.42 (February 8, 1917): 1, 8.
- ¹¹⁵ “A Message to Congress. (From the American Ind. Magazine),” *The Tomahawk* 14.46 (March 8, 1917): 1, 8.
- ¹¹⁶ “The Results of Segregation,” *The Tomahawk* 14.47 (March 15, 1917): 1.
- ¹¹⁷ “Start Right Now—You Can Do It,” *The Tomahawk* 14.48 (March 22, 1917): 8 and “Challenge of the Society of American Indians to the Returned Student,” *The Tomahawk* 15.6 (May 31, 1917): 1, 8.
- ¹¹⁸ “The American Army’s Debt to the Indian,” *The Tomahawk* 15.3 (May 10, 1917): 1. *The Tomahawk* published extensively on World War I, especially in relation to Native Americans. The draft was addressed, as were the contributions by Native American soldiers and their reward for fighting in the war (i.e., citizenship). The White Earth newspaper also reprinted articles from SAI intellectuals, giving the effects of the war and its aftermath continued attention. The passing of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 received scant attention in the newspaper, the entry from June 5, 1924 allotting barely over half a column to the news. The issue was apparently not too important to *The Tomahawk*, and reporting instead reveals a close connection to one of Montezuma’s friends, Joseph W. Latimer. See “Bill Makes All Indians Citizens” and “Full Citizenship for all Indians Under New Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 22.4 (June 5, 1924): 1, 4. For an analysis of Native periodical discourse centering World War I and the Indian Citizenship Act, see Newton, “I Look the Part.”
- ¹¹⁹ See “The Carter Resolution. Aims to Prevent Tribal Funds From Being Squandered,” *The Tomahawk* 13.40 (January 27, 1916): 8.
- ¹²⁰ See “The Right of Nomination Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 13.41 (February 3, 1916): 1; “Chippewa Right of Nomination Act,” *The Tomahawk* 14.7 (June 8, 1916): 1; “The Right of Nomination Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 14.9 (June 22, 1916): 1; “The Opposition To The Right of Nomination Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 14.20 (September 7, 1916): 1;
- ¹²¹ See “Chippewa Amendments on Indian Appropriation Bill,” *The Tomahawk* 13.47–49 (March 16–30, 1916): 1; “Minnesota Chippewa Indian Appropriations,” *The Tomahawk* 14.35 (December 21, 1916): 1.
- ¹²² See “Chippewa Matters Passed Over,” *The Tomahawk* 13.44 (February 24, 1916): 8; “Chippewa Delegates Indignant Over Daniels’ Interview,” *The Tomahawk* 13.47 (March 16, 1916): 1; “Who Will Go to Washington,” *The Tomahawk* 14.26 (October 19, 1916): 1; “Making Efforts to Have Laws Enforced,” *The Tomahawk* 14.29 (November 9, 1916): 1; “The

Chippewa Delegation at Washington," *The Tomahawk* 14.35 (December 21, 1916): 1; "Address the Senate Indian Committee," *The Tomahawk* 14.37 (January 4, 1917): 1; "Congress Only Salvation For Indians," *The Tomahawk* 14.39 (January 18, 1917): 1; "Indian Delegates At Washington Visit The Secretary of the Interior," *The Tomahawk* 14.41 (February 1, 1917): 1; "To Test Civil Service Laws As Applied to the Chippewa Service," *The Tomahawk* 14.47 (March 15, 1917): 1; "Chippewa Matters Being Considered," *The Tomahawk* 15.11 (July 5, 1917): 1.

¹²³ See "A Change of Policy in the Indian Office," *The Tomahawk* 14.3 (May 11, 1916): 1; "Indian Service Should be Reorganized," *The Tomahawk* 14.5 (May 25, 1916): 1; "To Abolish the Indian Office," *The Tomahawk* 14.42 (February 8, 1917): 1; "Will the Indian Office Be Reorganized?" *The Tomahawk* 14.49 (March 29, 1917): 1.

¹²⁴ See "The Nelson Jurisdictional Bill," *The Tomahawk* 14.16 (August 10, 1916): 1.

¹²⁵ See "Curtis' Reorganization Bill," *The Tomahawk* 15.1 (April 26, 1917): 1.

¹²⁶ See "Minnesota Should Have an Indian Agency," *The Tomahawk* 14.22 (September 21, 1916): 1; "One Indian Agent For Minnesota Chippewas," *The Tomahawk* 14.35 (December 21, 1916): 1; "Give Us An Indian Agent," *The Tomahawk* 14.43 (February 15, 1917): 1.

¹²⁷ See "Chippewas May Have Attorneys," *The Tomahawk* 14.1 (April 27, 1916): 1; "Chippewas of Wisconsin and Minnesota Should Consolidate," *The Tomahawk* 14.12 (July 13, 1916): 1; "Menomonee Indians Worse Than Slaves," *The Tomahawk* 14.25 (October 12, 1916): 1; "Failure of Indians to Get Positions Continues," *The Tomahawk* 14.26 (October 19, 1916): 1; "Russia A Free Country As Compared With Crow Reservation," *The Tomahawk* 14.39 (January 18, 1917): 1; "Four Oklahoma Indians Now Members of Congress," *The Tomahawk* 14.40 (January 25, 1917): 1; "The Wrongs of the Menominee Indians," *The Tomahawk* 14.44 (February 22, 1917): 1; "Crows Should Assert Their Rights," *The Tomahawk* 15.5 (May 24, 1917): 1.

¹²⁸ Hertzberg, *The Search for*, 188.

¹²⁹ Meyer, *White Earth Tragedy*, 202.

¹³⁰ "Adopt Resolution in Memorial of John W. Carl," *The Tomahawk* 18.36 (December 30, 1920): 1.

¹³¹ See the nameplate in *The Tomahawk* 18.23 (September 30, 1920): 1, which lists B.L. Fairbanks as the owner and L. Logan as the editor and publisher.

¹³² "A Trip to La Pointe, Wisconsin. By Rev. C.H. Beaulieu," *The Tomahawk* 14.27 (October 26, 1916): 1.

¹³³ "Incidents of Old Crow Wing and Northern Minnesota. Major James Whitehead. (By Rev. C.H. Beaulieu," *The Tomahawk* 14.37 (January 4, 1917): 1.

¹³⁴ "Les Roys. By Rev. C.H. Beaulieu," *The Tomahawk* 14.33 (December 7, 1916): 1.

¹³⁵ "Gus H. Beaulieu Dies At Barrows," *The Tomahawk* 15.17 (August 16, 1917): 1.

¹³⁶ "A Statement," *The Tomahawk* 15.18 (August 23, 1917): 1. See also later calls for subscribers to pay their subscriptions, "Subscriptions Must Be Paid in Advance," *The Tomahawk* 16.21 (September 12, 1918): 8.

¹³⁷ "An Ojibway Indian Who Is a Priest," *The Tomahawk* 15.18 (August 23, 1917): 8.

¹³⁸ Other articles in *The Tomahawk* using a "vs." are rare, but only this particular article positions *The Tomahawk* itself against an issue.

¹³⁹ "Wassaja vs. Tomahawk," *The Tomahawk* 15.20 (September 6, 1917): 8.

¹⁴⁰ "A Noted Indian's Tribute To the Late Publisher," *The Tomahawk* 15.22 (September 20, 1917): 1.

¹⁴¹ See "Dr. Montezuma Dies in Arizona," *The Tomahawk* 20.39 (February 8, 1923): 1; "Dr. Carlos Montezuma," *The Tomahawk* 20.40 (February 15, 1923): 1; and "From the Society of American Indians. (To the Memory of Dr. Carlos Montezuma)," *The Tomahawk* 20.41 (February 22, 1923): 4. The reprints from *Wassaja* address a multitude of issues and are, with one exception, all written by Carlos Montezuma. "The Indian's First Bank," *The Tomahawk*

18.7 (June 3, 1920): 1 was written by B.B. (Buffalo Ben) Olney, see also Zuck, "Yours is the," 81. Montezuma apparently also corresponded with *The Tomahawk*, see "A Communication," *The Tomahawk* 16.5 (May 23, 1918): 1.

¹⁴² Untitled, *The Tomahawk* 17.11 (July 3, 1919): 1; "Society of American Indians," *The Tomahawk* 17.23 (September 25, 1919): 8; "Society of American Indians Hold Successful Conference at Minneapolis," *The Tomahawk* 17.25 (October 9, 1919): 1.

¹⁴³ E.g., "What a Superintendent Can Do," *The Tomahawk* 15.46 (March 7, 1918): 1; "Who Foots the Indian Bill," *The Tomahawk* 15.47 (March 14, 1918): 1; "Beware of Chief I-mean-my," *The Tomahawk* 15.50 (April 4, 1918): 8; "Citizen Indians," *The Tomahawk* 16.14 (July 25, 1918): 1; "Give the Indian a Fair Chance," *The Tomahawk* 17.11 (July 3, 1919): 8; or "The United States Versus the American Indian," *The Tomahawk* 18.23 (September 30, 1920): 1.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., "[C]harges Indians Fleeced. Dr. Charles A. Eastman Asserts Federal Bureau Must Go," *The Tomahawk* 17.6 (May 29, 1919): 1; "Indian Gifts to Civilized Men. (By Gertrude Bonnin)," *The Tomahawk* 17.13 (July 17, 1919): 1.; "Items of Interest to all Indians. (Indian news from the National Capital, contributed by Thomas G. Bishop, Secretary, Society of American Indians," *The Tomahawk* 19.10 (June 30, 1921): 1.

¹⁴⁵ "The Society of American Indians," *The Tomahawk* 16.51 (April 10, 1919): 1.

¹⁴⁶ "Minneapolis Red Men Hold Meeting," *The Tomahawk* 17.30 (November 13, 1919): 8. Oscar De Forest Davis was also a graduate from Carlisle. He graduated in 1903 and became a dentist, with a brief biography and portrait photograph printed in one of Carlisle's periodicals. See "Carlisle Graduate Successful in His Profession," *The Red Man. An Illustrated Magazine Printed by Indians* 7.3 (November 1914): n.p., 111.

¹⁴⁷ "Indians Hold Meeting," *The Tomahawk* 17.28 (October 30, 1919): 8.

¹⁴⁸ "No Exception To The Rule," *The Tomahawk* 14.2 (May 4, 1916): 1; see also "Thomas G. Bishop Dies in Washington," *The Tomahawk* 21.2 (May 24, 1923): 1.

¹⁴⁹ "The Aborigines of America," *The Tomahawk* 19.5 (May 26, 1921): 1.

¹⁵⁰ "Omaha Indians Adopt Chicago Girl," *The Tomahawk* 21.8 (July 5, 1923): 1.

¹⁵¹ "Items of Interest to Indians, From the National Capital," *The Tomahawk* 19.34 (December 15, 1921): 1.

¹⁵² "American Indian Club," *The Tomahawk* 21.13 (August 9, 1923): 4.

¹⁵³ "A Woman Fights for the Indians," *The Tomahawk* 19.40 (January 26, 1922): 1; see also an earlier reference in "What Our First Step Should Be," *The Tomahawk* 18.40 (January 27, 1921): 1, 4.

¹⁵⁴ E.g., see "Chicago American Indian Day," *The Tomahawk* 18.25 (October 14, 1920): 1 and "Indian Fellowship League of Chicago Holds Meeting," *The Tomahawk* 18.32 (December 2, 1920): 1.

¹⁵⁵ "Society of Indian Ancestry Adopt Resolutions," *The Tomahawk* 18.38 (January 13, 1921):

¹⁵⁶ "Would Stop Indians From Dancing Modern Dances," *The Tomahawk* 18.42 (February 10, 1921): 1 and "Indian Conference Adopts Resolutions," *The Tomahawk* 19.10 (June 30, 1921): 1.

¹⁵⁷ E.g., see "Hiawatha Dramatized," *The Tomahawk* 2.3 (April 4, 1914): 1; "Something to Think About," *The Tomahawk* 21.14 (August 16, 1923): 1; "The Red Man in the United States," *The Tomahawk* 21.6 (June 21, 1923): 4, and "Title to Executive Order Indian Lands," *The Tomahawk* 22.14 (August 14, 1924): 1.

¹⁵⁸ E.g., see "Opposition to Rosebud Bill. Indian Rights Association Sharpens Tomahawk," *The Tomahawk* 1.48 (February 25, 1904): 1; "Sen. Johnson's Right of Nomination Bill," *The Tomahawk* 14.37 (January 4, 1917): 1; "Legislative Committee is Victorious," *The Tomahawk* 16.47 (March 13, 1919): 1; and "Indian Conference Adopts Resolutions," *The Tomahawk* 19.10 (June 30, 1921): 1.

¹⁵⁹ See Frank/Podewski/Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift" and Frank/Podewski, "The Object of Periodical Studies."

- ¹⁶⁰ “The Indian Question,” *The Tomahawk* 13.34 (December 16, 1915): 1.
- ¹⁶¹ “Finds Fault Because Resolutions Committee Did Not Favor Him,” *The Tomahawk* 14.18 (August 24, 1916): 1, 8.
- ¹⁶² “To Test Civil Service Law As Applied to the Chippewa Service,” *The Tomahawk* 14.47 (March 15, 1917): 1.
- ¹⁶³ “Judge For Yourselves,” *The Tomahawk* 15.9 (June 21, 1917): 1.
- ¹⁶⁴ “Ten Dollars Per Day Each and Expenses,” *The Tomahawk* 15.14 (July 26, 1917): 1.
- ¹⁶⁵ “Explanatory,” *The Tomahawk* 15.16 (August 9, 1917): 1.
- ¹⁶⁶ “A Judas in Camp,” *The Tomahawk* 15.41 (January 31, 1918): 1.
- ¹⁶⁷ “James I. Coffey’s Perfidy to the Chippewa Indians and his Mendacious Attacks upon the Legislative Committee in Washington Endeavoring to Secure Relief to the Chippewas From the Oppressive persecution of the Indian Bureau, and to Recover for them Their Property Unlawfully Confiscated or Maladministered by the Indian Bureau Officials,” *The Tomahawk* 15.42 (February 7, 1918): 1, 8.
- ¹⁶⁸ “Legislative Committee of the General Council Accomplished Splendid Results at Washington. James I. Coffey Continuing His Opposition To All Legislation For The Benefit Of The Chippewa Indians,” *the Tomahawk* 15.43 (February 14, 1918): 1.
- ¹⁶⁹ “James I. Coffey’s Trial. His Conviction Proves his Actions Were Purely Malicious and his Motives Solely Selfish,” *The Tomahawk* 16.5 (May 23, 1918): 1.
- ¹⁷⁰ “James I. Coffey Arrested,” *The Tomahawk* 16.17 (August 15, 1918): 8.
- ¹⁷¹ “James I. Coffey on Trial in Bemidji Today,” *The Tomahawk* 16.18 (August 22, 1918): 8.
- ¹⁷² See “Brief Items of State News,” *The Tomahawk* 16.21 (September 12, 1918): 3.
- ¹⁷³ James I. Coffey Overwhelmingly Repudiated by his Band of Fond du Lac Chippewas,” *The Tomahawk* 16.52 (April 17, 1919): 1.
- ¹⁷⁴ See “Their Minds Poisoned,” *The Tomahawk* 17.10 (June 26, 1919): 1.
- ¹⁷⁵ See “Coffey ‘Bolts’ Again. Man Who Started Rump Meeting at Indian Convention Here Last Year Repeats Trick at Cass Lake,” *The Tomahawk* 17.15 (July 31, 1919): 1.
- ¹⁷⁶ See “Coffey ‘Bolts’ Again,” *The Tomahawk* 17.15 (July 31, 1919): 1; “What Will They Do Now?” *The Tomahawk* 18.23 (September 30, 1920): 1; and “Chippewa Indians Hold Pow-wow,” *The Tomahawk* 19.4 (May 19, 1921): 4.
- ¹⁷⁷ “James I. Coffey Up To His Old Tricks,” *The Tomahawk* 22.8 (July 3, 1924): 1.
- ¹⁷⁸ “James I. Coffey and Harold Knudson,” *The Tomahawk* 22.24 (October 23, 1924): 1, see also “Chippewa Judas Busy,” *The Tomahawk* 22.45 (March 19, 1925): 4.
- ¹⁷⁹ From *The Tomahawk* 18.23 (September 30, 1920) onwards, B.L. Fairbanks is listed as the owner and L. Logan as the editor and publisher. Logan remained editor until the September 30, 1926, when the newspaper was bought by L.A. Weston. In 1927, it was moved “to Calloway, Minnesota” and renamed the *Calloway Tomahawk* and ceased publication later that year. See Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, 51.
- ¹⁸⁰ “Chippewa Indians Protest Against Adoption of Harold Knutson. Claim Adoption of Sixth District Congressman is Conspiracy Against Chippewas an Insult to the Chippewa Nation,” *The Tomahawk* 23.16 (August 27, 1925): 1.
- ¹⁸¹ See “Chippewa Matters at Washington. Classification Bill is Practically Agreed Upon. Passage of Jurisdictional Bill is Again Delayed,” *The Tomahawk* 24.2 (April 8, 1926): 1; “Chippewa Matters Moving Slowly But Surely,” *The Tomahawk* 24.4 (April 22, 1926): 1; “Chippewa Matters at Washington,” *The Tomahawk* 24.8 (May 20, 1926): 1; and “Chippewa Matters at Washington,” *The Tomahawk* 24.9 (May 27, 1926): 1.
- ¹⁸² See Parker, *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 302–3, 305–9, 330. Parker recovers a “legacy [that] was almost lost,” and his recovery project is a significant extension to Native American poetry to 1930.

- ¹⁸³ Scholarship on the three is rare, and Parker seems to be the only one who has written on one them. See Parker, *Changing Is Not* 302–3, 305–9, 330 and Parker, *The Cambridge History*, 119–134.
- ¹⁸⁴ Parker, *Changing Is Not*, 3.
- ¹⁸⁵ In early 1918, *The Tomahawk* published a poem by “[a] lady friend of the editor, living in Buffalo, N.Y.” There is no other reference to the female author in the newspaper and it remains unknown whether she was Native American.
- ¹⁸⁶ “The Indian,” *The Tomahawk* 18.19 (September 2, 1920): 4 and “One Spirit—One Race,” *The Tomahawk* 18.28 (November 4, 1920): 4.
- ¹⁸⁷ “A Poem,” *The Tomahawk* 18.25 (October 14, 1920): 4 and “A Song of Hope,” *The Tomahawk* 18.36 (December 30, 1920): 1.
- ¹⁸⁸ “The Indian—Not Understood,” *The Tomahawk* 18.25 (October 14, 1920): 4.
- ¹⁸⁹ Bornstein, *Material Modernism*.
- ¹⁹⁰ “Come Back, Indians of Yesterday,” *The Tomahawk* 19.30 (November 17, 1921): 4.
- ¹⁹¹ “On the Next Conference,” *The Tomahawk* 19.26 (October 20, 1921): 1.
- ¹⁹² “When His Father Died,” *The Tomahawk* 19.27 (October 27, 1921): 1; “Isn’t This True?” *The Tomahawk* 18.28 (November 3, 1921): 1, 4; and “Broken Wing Bird Says,” *The Tomahawk* 19.31 (November 24, 1921): 1.
- ¹⁹³ “Broken Wing Bird Says,” *The Tomahawk* 19.31 (November 21, 1921): 1 and “Broken Wing Bird Asks a Few Questions,” *The Tomahawk* 19.39 (January 19, 1922): 1.
- ¹⁹⁴ “Broken Wing Bird Offers Some Advice for Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 19.38 (January 12, 1922): 1 and “What’s in an Indian’s Name?” *The Tomahawk* 18.39 (January 19, 1922): 1, 4.
- ¹⁹⁵ “The Greatest Reason Why Indians Have Never been Able to Get Anywhere—They Can’t,” *The Tomahawk* 20.1 (May 18, 1922): 1, 4.
- ¹⁹⁶ Parker, *Change Is Not*, 3.
- ¹⁹⁷ “Pause a While and Consider,” *The Tomahawk* 18.32 (December 2, 1920): 4; “Be Cautious, Be Careful,” *The Tomahawk* 18.39 (January 20, 1921): 1; “What Our First Step Should Be,” *The Tomahawk* 18.40 (January 27, 1921): 1, “Indians Take Heed,” *The Tomahawk* 20.11 (July 27, 1922): 1; “The Blue Indians and the Red Indians,” *The Tomahawk* 20.13 (August 10, 1922): 1; “A Little More on the Indian and his Problem,” *The Tomahawk* 20.16 (August 31, 1922): 4, and “Abolishment of the Indian Bureau is Sought By Prominent Woman,” *The Tomahawk* 20.51 (May 3, 1923): 1.
- ¹⁹⁸ “Why Is It,” *The Tomahawk* 18.33 (December 9, 1920): 1.
- ¹⁹⁹ “Edward L. Rogers Addresses Meeting of Indian Delegations at Washington, D.C.,” *The Tomahawk* 18.44 (February 24, 1921): 1.
- ²⁰⁰ “On A Nickle,” *The Tomahawk* 18.46 (March 10, 1921): 4.
- ²⁰¹ “A Picture,” *The Tomahawk* 18.47 (March 17, 1921): 4.
- ²⁰² “The Man And His Barn That Came to Harm,” *The Tomahawk* 20.3 (June 1, 1922): 1; “How the Indian Office was Started and What has Happened Ever Since,” *The Tomahawk* 20.8 (July 6, 1922): 1.
- ²⁰³ “A Young Indian’s Adventure With Opportunity,” *The Tomahawk* 20.20 (September 28, 1922): 1.
- ²⁰⁴ “A Young Indian’s,” *The Tomahawk* 20.20 (September 28, 1922): 1.
- ²⁰⁵ Meyers Smart later took a prominent role in Native American rights organizations of the mid-twentieth century. E.g., she was a founding member of the National Congress of American Indians established in 1944.

Conclusion and Outlook

This study has demonstrated how Native American periodicals function as sophisticated communication media, productively connecting Native American Studies and periodical studies. By foregrounding the periodicals themselves—their visual-graphic elements, print practices, and material conditions—this analysis reinterprets these media as sites of knowledge production, community building, and continuous negotiation between Native expressions and settler institutions. Rather than treating periodicals as simple carriers of political resistance or assimilationist ideology, this study reveals them as ambiguous spaces of syncretic knowledge production central to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Native American modernity. As textual sources, these media are usually read in one of two ways, either as political-tribal sources or as focal points of Indigenous print material found in settler-state dominated institutions. And while there is ample evidence to underline this binary, it does not reflect the ambiguity of the medium's composition. Rather than thinking of Native American periodicals as carriers of reductive binaries, here they are understood as print expressions for continuous (re-)negotiations of existence and perseverance—with themselves as much as with others.

Rather than emphasizing group identity through the lens of colonial studies, the chapters localize Native American expressions while recognizing periodicals as public institutions.¹ This analysis revealed a complex assemblage of publications, individual writers, and editorial print practices that characterize the Native American periodical press in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Here, the aim was to show how a particular set of periodicals shaped a Native American printscape by changing and transforming content using a distinct mixture of textual and visual designs. This required a reconsideration of how Native American periodicals are defined, and the following definition was used throughout the study: “Any serialized print published, edited, and/or produced by Native Americans; with Native Americans as their subject or targeted audience; or serially featuring Native American knowledge curated by tribal members and communities.”² This definition, while by no means exhaustive or static, reflects “the medium's specific form (i.e., a periodical's periodicity, mediality, and miscellaneity), its content, the readers, and the people involved in its publication process.”³ Additionally, a more flexible definition of what a Native American periodical is gives an insight into Indigenous North American genealogies, infrastructures, and networks.

The local Cherokee Press in Tahlequah and Vinita, for instance, highlights connections between local publications; traces town and publication histories; and facilitated the emergence of regular columns that reflect a multiplicity of voices in the area. While these newspapers offer many insights into binary political developments and continuously communicate self-determination in relation to the US, they also show how intratribal political disputes could lead to feisty public exchanges in print and that rivalries amongst local editors—in extremely rare cases—could lead to deadly encounters. But the relationality of these Indian Territory periodical publications also shows how city-centered serial discourse functioned as a diverse and community-oriented practice. The two editresses who were featured in the Tahlequah *Telephone*, Capitola Wyly and Helen R. Duncan, are examples of both the representation of female literary voices in newspaper publications and their family relations to well-known literary and political figures. Frequent reprints from nearby towns underline a vital culture of exchange and journalistic engagement, foregrounding the function of newspapers as public communication media. In addition, these competitive communications could take on a humorous tone, as seen in the *Indian Sentinel's* characterization of a nighttime nuisance as “a diminutive jackass with a gigantic voice that makes nights hideous in the northern part of town.”⁴ Such an exchange highlights the peaceful inter-political discord in the local newspaper publishing business and speaks to the heterogeneity of the local Indian Territory press. Similarly, the longest (and still running) Native American periodical, the *Indian Journal*, was established by the Creek Nation in direct response to the Muskogee *Indian Progress's* attempts to dissolve tribal sovereignty and allot Native lands from within Indian Territory. After the dissolution of Indian Territory and the establishment of Oklahoma Statehood in 1907, however, some of these Native newspapers began carrying the union label of the International Typographical Union, showing how the Native Press in Oklahoma connects to White labor union efforts in the early twentieth century. This interoperability of Native publications and White organizations suggests that the inclusion of the union label formulated the emergence of Native identities as publishers, editors, printers, and typesetters, and that some may have understood themselves first and foremost as (newspaper) tradesmen. The Native Press, then, functions not parallel to, in opposition to, or as complementing the non-Native Press, but instead as a separate entity, which continuously intersected with the non-Native Press. The publications function as independent media which continuously interacted with each other, at times in opposition and at times in combination with other periodicals.

Off-reservation boarding schools published a large amount of Native American periodicals, and a close study of the development of the printing trade at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School reveals the students' individual print expertise as well as the emergence of a pan-Native American art style in the early twentieth century. And even though Carlisle constitutes a comparatively well-researched institution and archive, this study traces new strategies of the Native students' print expressions and practices that highlight their practical knowledge and creative skills. Student printers such as Patrick Verney or Joseph Porter were not only featured as blossoming professionals while they attended the boarding school, but the Carlisle publications also printed multiple follow-ups on their lives and successful careers in the newspaper business. Extending Emery's argument on the boarding school press as an "untapped archive" that constitutes "important sites for recovering Native American print histories,"⁵ the analysis of Native student print practices at Carlisle also shows how the school's publications function as Native print expressions. This is underlined by the efforts of art instructor Angel De Cora. Her new pedagogical approach aimed to (re-)activate the students' knowledge of tribal designs and patterns and adapt them to the early twentieth century. These designs were reprinted in the boarding school's periodicals, and while many of them remain anonymous, Moses Stranger Horse (Sioux) could be identified as an additional artist at the school. The findings extend Krupat's argument that Native writings "challenge the restrictive assimilationist-resistance binary (...) of the boarding school narrative"⁶ by including print expressions of Native art. In doing so, the study echoes Deloria's point that Native American art and American art are "interlocking and dialogic, and to carve out distinctive spaces of the former is not to foreclose inclusion and openness on the part of the latter." As a consequence, "American Indian art is, necessarily, American art,"⁷ a line of thought that reflects a more nuanced picture of boarding school print practices despite the hardships that the Native students had to endure while attending Carlisle and the censorship of the publications by the editor. Furthermore, the distinct synthesis of traditional and modern American art as taught by De Cora was partly reproduced by pan-Native American publications. This points to the emergence of an early twentieth century art style that did not necessarily highlight tribal roots but emphasized a common Native American identity and connects to activist publications in the later years of the twentieth century. That is, the publications at Carlisle can be understood as ambiguous spaces that, while within the confines of an assimilationist institution, had an impact far beyond the boarding school.

And while these analyses cover groups of publications, this study also provides a close reading of an individual publication and its print practices. A focus on the White Earth

Tomahawk provides an insight into the complex syncretic publishing practices of a local and dedicatedly political Native newspaper. Reading across fourteen available volumes, the study traces how the *Tomahawk* strategically combines local and national Native American community activities with deliberate engagement to foster participation with US legal and political institutions. The syncretic element emerges from, first, a consideration of the newspaper's syndicated content. Making up half to three quarters of the publication, these syndicated pages were provided by large newspaper agencies and contained reading matter aimed at a general U.S.-American readership. That is, a substantial amount of the publication consisted of alternative news sources that provided an insight into White publishing practices. Second, local reporting is supplemented by printing and reprinting the words of influential Native American elites of the early twentieth century. This includes pan-Native American societies, and the *Tomahawk* reveals itself to also be an archive of these societies' activities that reprinted, for example, the Constitution and the by-laws of the Grand Council of American Indians. The information gleaned from this hitherto unexplored archive connects widespread attempts to organize Native American interests with influential Native figures that had ties to the newspaper publishing business. For example, the founder of the Grand Council of American Indians, John W. Carl, was also the SAI's vice president of membership, and the treasurer, Frank J. Boudinot, used to edit the *Tahlequah Bazoo* and comes from a family heavily involved in the Cherokee Press. This situates early twentieth century pan-Native American periodical discourse in a developing communication network that has its roots in tribal journalism of the nineteenth century. The representation of young literary voices in the *Tomahawk* also connects to important figures in Native American rights organizations of the mid twentieth century, showing how close readings of local publications trace connections between twentieth century Native American rights movements. At the same time, the White Earth newspaper focused on the misdeeds of James I. Coffey, repeatedly accusing him of being a fraud and a "Judas" to their community. The textual markers highlighting the *Tomahawk*'s articles on him in later years underline the newspaper's "politics of the page," with highly rare two-column headlines heavily criticizing Coffey's efforts in front of Congress and the treatment of his people. With a focus on legal matters and developments, the *Tomahawk* provided insight from within and outside the US system, ultimately advocating for the benefits of a united people. The newspaper thus brings together a diverse set of knowledges that are articulated not only in the reading material provided by the editor and the contributors, but also by the inclusion of substantial amounts of syndicated material and reprints from local and national Native authors and publications.

In general, this study approached the subject of Native American periodicals from the perspective of the medium itself. This required the analyses to go beyond the textual level and to include surveys of individual printing practices and their development, connections between publications across time, and a focus on visual-graphic elements as integral to periodical publishing. This unraveled not only highly sophisticated Native print practices at the turn of the century but brought attention to multi-layered connections that situate this highly productive Native periodical printscape as part of a continuously developing tradition of emerging Native American rights movements. However, it also highlights the ambiguity of Native periodicals. This ambiguity expresses itself not only in the assimilationist boarding school publications that show strong perseverance in print and even the opportunity to express Native identities through art. It also expresses itself through connections to White labor union efforts and the inclusion of large amounts of syndicated content. What this suggests is that these newspapers formulated the emergence of Native identities as publishers, editors, printers, and typesetters, and that some may have understood themselves first and foremost as (newspaper) tradesman. And, as Powell points out, periodicals are indeed “complicated beasts.”⁸ Their complexity is characterized not only by their thematic focus, i.e., the diverse range of articles they contain, but mainly by the interlocking connections that a publication’s print practices reveal. The engagement with White labor unions and publishing practices echoes Deloria’s conclusion on art and points to further points of studies on turn of the century Native American periodicals. The notion that Native American periodicals are, necessarily, American periodicals, was perhaps what many publishers had in mind and helps explain why the publications themselves “defy stereotyping.”⁹ What this dissertation did, then, is that it connected existing scholarship to close readings of Native periodicals while centering the medium itself, showing a heterogenous Native printscape at the turn of the century. Print practices (i.e., how a periodical was produced) are an informative part of publishing practices (i.e., what a periodical published), and they reveal a heterogenous, sophisticated, and highly productive, yet under-researched part of the Native American periodical archive. At the same time, the limitations and selectivity of this study point toward several promising directions for future research on Native American periodicals.

The selective readings this work offers grew out of an attempt to gauge the breadth of the Native American periodical press at the turn of the century. The research trips to archival institutions in Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and New York allowed for extensive field work and compiled a large collection of digital material, much of it left untouched in the preceding chapters. This is due to the fact that an in-depth discussion of the

complexity of Native American periodicals takes the form of highly dense prose, and the description of the state of affairs of a single publication showcases how the amount of relevant information quickly exceeds what can be addressed within a single chapter. And while the preceding chapters aim to be representative rather than comprehensive, they also wish to provide impulses and raise questions for future research. These constraints inevitably left many publications and connections untouched, and they underscore how much work remains to be done on the Native periodical archive. For example, religious periodicals published across the US point to a rich and diverse set of Native and non-English language publications. Native language periodicals such as *S'ina Sapa Wocekiye Taeyapaha* (or, *The Catholic Sioux Herald*, 1892–1923) and *Iapi oaye* (1871–1939), or bilingual papers such as *Anpao* (or, *The Daybreak*, 1878–1937), *Cherokee Gospel Tidings* (1898–1903), or *The Interpreter* (1916–1918) invite Native-led initiatives to conduct research on them, such as the Dakota Language Project which is translating *Iapi oaye*.¹⁰ Together with *Anpao*, its recent inclusion in the digital periodical collection of the American Antiquarian Society (Clarence database) further establishes their role as a significant part of historical North American newspapers. They could contribute to broader language revitalization projects and tie into contemporary efforts at Native language preservation.¹¹ In this sense, historical work on these titles could directly support present-day projects of linguistic and cultural sovereignty. Other non-English language publications include the German language *Indianer-Wache* (1903–1918) which was published by Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions alongside the *Indian Sentinel* (1902–1962) until the end of World War I. This publication shows that non-English Native American periodicals did not necessarily have to be Native language and invites comparative readings from European scholars.

Furthermore, this work's focus on publications from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School raises the question of how print and publishing practices functioned in other off-reservation boarding school publications. *Talks and Thoughts of the Hampton Indian Students* (1886–1907) published at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, the *Chilocco Beacon* (1900–1902) from the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma, the *Weekly Chemawa American* (1897–1912) published at the Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon, belong to what Emery terms “untapped archive[s]” that constitute “important sites for recovering Native American print histories.”¹² In particular, the print and publication practices in the *Native American* (1900–) from the Indian Vocational School in Phoenix, Arizona, give an insight into the use of visual-graphic elements in the early twentieth century and could trace the teaching approach of Edgar K. Miller, who was active as a printing instructor in both Carlisle

and Phoenix. The *Messenger of the Holy Childhood Church and School* (1898–1912), published at the Holy Childhood School, Harbor Springs, Michigan, combines Native language missionary publications with boarding school publications. As a supplement to the Anishinaabe language *Anishinabe Enamiad* (1896–1912) it also invites comparative readings by Native scholars (here: Ojibwe) of periodical discourse. Comparative analyses of such publications would refine an understanding of how denominational rivalries, language politics, and local schooling practices shaped Indigenous print cultures across the US. The English language sections of the publication's early years also communicate an intense rivalry between Catholic and Protestant approaches to Native American education, and the frequent mention of R.H. Pratt invites analyses of the superintendents' relationship.

Another question raised by this dissertation is the proliferation of pan-Native American societies and their publications. Although it could show how artwork from the Carlisle boarding school emerged in the SAI's well-known periodical, it stops short of a closer look at the follow-up publication of the society's *American Indian Magazine* and its continued use of visual-graphic elements. The *Indian Tepee* (1920–1928) reused designs that appeared in the *Magazine*,¹³ and a closer look at the use of visuals in Native American periodicals published from the early twentieth century into the Red Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s can provide insights into the development of a tradition of Native American print activism. Scholarship on other Native societies, such as the Aborigines of America, the Grand Council Fire of American Indians, or the American Indian Arts and Crafts Foundation remains scarce, and work with periodicals can unearth further connections and writings published during a key period of the formation of a general Native American identity. Additionally, the study of Native periodicals gives insights into the proceedings of local chapters of pan-Native American movements, such as the American Indian Club or the local Minnesota chapters of the SAI. Analyses of publications from White societies who advocated on behalf of Native Americans, such as the *Indian's Friend* (1888–1951) invite contrasting readings between Native and White led organizations advocating for Native American rights in the early twentieth century. Extending this work across societies and decades would clarify how periodicals helped articulate and consolidate a broader twentieth-century Native American political identity.

The West Coast was only briefly mentioned, but the San Francisco *California Indian Herald* (1923–1924) constitutes a largely unexplored archive that includes high-quality cover photographs of Native Americans and reports on interactions with the California legal system on behalf of California Natives, showing contrasting notions of the myth of the “Vanishing

Indian” with modernization. The ethnological angle, i.e., preserving expressions of what some considered a vanishing race, is reflected more strongly in *Quivera Legends* (1898–1900), published at Roca, Nebraska, by E.E. Blackman. Here, tracing the origins of the stories printed in the magazine can clarify whether they draw on Nebraska Native origin stories or whether Blackman compiled and repackaged a set of tales as a marketable collection of local Native myths. A later magazine publication from Minneapolis, *Re-America* (1939–1941(?)), is an assemblage of diverse print practices that makes extensive use of photography and ornamentation and constitutes an unknown node of Native publications that can connect the use of ornamentations in early twentieth century periodicals to the mid-twentieth century. Bringing such periodicals into focus would expand the geography and media aesthetics of Native American print modernity beyond the regions and titles most frequently cited in scholarship.

The close readings in the preceding chapters had to omit further connections revealed by the periodicals. For instance, the local Indian Territory press also focused its reports on the proceedings of local councils, and the printing instructor Edgar K. Miller had a significant impact on the printing training at Carlisle and Phoenix. The frequent reprints of Joseph W. Latimer in the *Tomahawk* speak to the recognition of his work as an independent publisher in the local Native publications, and his *Bureaucracy a la Mode* (1924–1925) and *Our Captives, or “Wards”– The American Indian* (later *The American Indian: Captive or Citizen* 1927–1932) offer further starting points for research on turn of the century Native American periodicals. This study does, however, invite readers to engage with these publications as primary source material with unexpected potential. By treating Native American periodicals as complex media assemblages, this dissertation not only reframes a heterogeneous printscape at the turn of the century but also invites further research into an unfolding field of research in which periodicals remain central to an understanding of Indigenous modernities, Native rights movements, and Native media ecologies.

¹ See Liewehr, *Internationalisierungspotentiale im Zeitschriftenmarkt*.

² Scheiding/Newton, “Native American Periodicals. The Art and Politics of Early Twentieth-Century Indigenous Printscales,” *Amerikastudien/AmSt* 69, no. 22 (2024): 113.

³ Scheiding/Newton, “Native,” 113.

⁴ “Waddie, Call Him Home,” *The Indian Sentinel* 6.19 (May 9, 1895): 4.

⁵ Emery, *Recovering Native*, 5, 6.

⁶ Krupat, *Boarding School Voices*, xvii.

⁷ Deloria, *Becoming Mary Sully*, 22.

⁸ Powell, “Afterword,” 446.

⁹ Littlefield/Parins, *American Indian*, xii.

¹⁰ See *Dakota Language Project*, amherst.edu. Iapi oaye. Web January 6, 2026.

¹¹ See Newton, “Preserving Possible Futures.”

¹² Emery, *Recovering Native American*, 5, 6.

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The Ardmore Morning Star (1911)
Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians (1913–1915); later *The American Indian Magazine: A Journal of Race Ideals* (1915–1920)
The Adair Citizen (1915–1938)
The Interpreter (1916–1918)
The War-Whoop (1916)
Wassaja (1916–1922)
American Indian Tepee (1920–1921); later *American Indian Advocate* (1922); later *American Indian Tipi* (1923); later *Indian Tepee* (1924); later *Indian Teepee* (1925–1927); later *Indian Teepee Magazine* (1927–1928)
California Indian Herald (1923–1924)
Bureaucracy A La Mode (1924–1925)
Our Captives, or “Wards”– The American Indian (1927–1928); later *The American Indian: Captive or Citizen* (1929–1932)
Re-America (1939–1941(?))

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Dissertation befasst sich mit indigenen nordamerikanischen Periodika des späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Hauptziel der Arbeit war es zu zeigen, wie diese Periodika gewinnbringend als Kommunikationsmedien gelesen werden können und wie indigene serielle Publikationen als Schlüsselmedien um die Jahrhundertwende herum funktionieren. Der Fokus auf das Medium selbst, d.h., auf die Druckeigenschaften und visuell-graphischen Elemente der jeweiligen Publikationen, konnte neue Interpretationen von indigenen nordamerikanischen Periodika als Orte der Wissensproduktion und Gemeinschaftsbildung aufzeigen. Dabei wurden diese Publikationen nicht als reduktive Träger binärer Identitäten verstanden, sondern als distinktive Druckerzeugnisse die, sowohl mit sich selbst als auch mit anderen, eine fortlaufende (Neu-)Verhandlung von Identitätsverständnissen und Beharrlichkeit offenbaren. Die Kapitel der Arbeit stellen daher nicht, wie in (post-)kolonialen Studien üblich, die Gruppenidentitäten in den Vordergrund, sondern sie konzentrieren sich stattdessen auf die Art und Weise in die indigenen nordamerikanischen Druckerzeugnisse erstellt wurden und in welchem Verhältnis sie zueinanderstehen. Die Analysen charakterisieren die Drucklandschaft indigener nordamerikanischer Periodika als eine komplexe Assemblage von Publikationen, Beitragenden und Herausgeberpraktiken, wobei unterschiedliche Druckstrategien die Medienform als komplexes, mehrschichtiges und kulturhistorisches Quellenmaterial aufzeigen.

Dabei teilt sich die Arbeit in drei Hauptkapitel, die mit einer Einleitung und einem zusammenfassenden Ausblick abgerundet werden. Zunächst wird die lokale Zeitungspressen in Tahlequah und Vinita behandelt, mit einem Fokus auf die Zeit vor und nachdem Oklahoma 1907 als ein Bundestaat in Vereinigten Staaten aufgenommen wurde. Dabei wurden Herausgeberpraktiken ebenso beleuchtet wie das Verhältnis der Publikationen untereinander, und es konnte zunächst gezeigt werden, dass städtische Periodika im sogenannten „Indian Territory“ diverse und gemeinschaftsorientierte Praktiken kommunizierten. Darüber hinaus enthüllte ein Blick auf die visuell-graphischen Elemente der Publikationen, dass indigene nordamerikanische Periodika im frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert Beziehungen zu weißen Gewerkschaften aufweisen. Das Emblem der Internationalen Typographen-Union erschien in mehreren indigenen Zeitungen in Oklahoma und schafft ein Bewusstsein für ein Selbstverständnis der Herausgeber als Zeitungsmacher.

Das zweite Kapitel bezieht sich auf die Publikationen von indigenen Internatsschulen. Hier greift die Arbeit das bereits bekannte Archiv der Carlisle Indian Industrial School auf, allerdings erweitert es frühere Studien auf zwei Ebenen: Erstens unterstreicht eine Analyse der Druckpraktiken und -erzeugnisse der indigenen Schülerinnen und Schüler nicht nur deren Expertise im Produktionsbereich der Internatpublikationen, sie arbeitet heraus, wie die Darstellung der indigenen Printpraktiken die Kinder als kreativ-produktive Wissensvermittler agieren. Darüber hinaus erfasst die Analyse den pädagogischen Ansatz der Kunstlehrerin Angel De Cora, die im Unterricht an der Internatsschule in Carlisle einen Fokus auf die Reaktivierung der indigenen Wurzeln ihrer Schülerinnen und Schüler legte. Im Verlauf des Kapitels stellt sich heraus, dass die Gestaltung indigener Kunstformen weniger Wert auf distinktive tribale Eigenheiten legte und stattdessen Ausdrücke von pan-indigenen Identitäten widerspiegeln. Dies wird durch die Reproduktion in späteren indigenen Periodika unterstrichen, die im Widerspruch zum assimilativen Internat stehen.

Im dritten Kapitel erfolgt die Auswertung einer lokalen indigenen Zeitung, namentlich des *White Earth Tomahawk*. Eine umfassende Lektüre der Publikation macht deutlich, dass es sich bei der Zeitung um ein komplexes synkretistisches Medium handelt, dass neben lokalen und nationalen indigenen Interessen auch einen Einblick in weiße Formen serieller Massenkommunikation gibt. Darüber hinaus erfasst der *Tomahawk* pan-indigene Vereinigungen im frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert und gibt z.B. Einblicke in die Verfassung und Satzung des Grand Council of American Indians. Die Beziehungen der indigenen Intellektuellen, die das Kapitel aufzeigt, gliedern sich nicht nur in bereits vorhanden Arbeiten ein, sondern erweitern Einblicke in komplexe lokale und nationale Beziehungen indigener und nicht-indigener Bewegungen. Darüber hinaus erhält die Berichterstattung über James I. Coffey besondere Aufmerksamkeit, da sie nicht nur Einblicke in die Kommunikationsstrategien einer lokalen indigenen Zeitung gibt, sondern durch die Nutzung visuell-graphischer Elemente auch das Verhältnis zu US-Institutionen aufzeigt.

Die Arbeit versteht sich demnach als Beitrag zur Erforschung von indigenen Druckpraktiken um die Jahrhundertwende. Sie erweitert vorhandene Forschung durch eigene Analysen und gibt Einblicke in die Eigenschaften serieller indigener Kommunikationsmedien. Dabei zeigt sich, dass es sich bei diesen Periodika keineswegs um binäre Medien handelt, die sich als Ausdruck oder im Gegensatz zu weißen Publikationsstrukturen verstehen. Stattdessen verstehen sich indigene nordamerikanische Periodika als Teil eines US-amerikanischen Publikationsmarkts, die sich nicht durch ihre Gegensätzlichkeit, sondern durch ihre Ausgewogenheit auszeichnen.

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