his issue of the Quarto concentrates on Native American materials in the Library’s holdings. We’ll complement the magazine with an exhibit of Native American items that will open in the Main Room in February. My colleagues tell me this is the first time we’ve had a Native American focus in either our publications or our exhibits. I’m surprised by that, and it’s possible it’s not accurate; perhaps we looked at Native Americans earlier in the Library’s history than anyone on our current staff can recall. However, mindful as I am that on a university campus “a time-honored tradition” is as far back as the senior class can remember and that “forever” is anything that happened before the oldest faculty or staff members arrived, I think it’s certainly time for the Clements to give Native American history a close look, whether for the first time or again.

In fact, the Native American materials here are both broad and deep. In manuscripts, the major collections from the American Revolution era—the Gage, Clinton, Shelburne, Germain, and Lyttleton papers, to name a few—have wonderful sources on the Indian tribes of the eastern half of North America. Our graphics holdings have innumerable images of Native Americans in the De Bry, Catlin, Lewis, Bodmer, and Maximilian illustrations and in our growing photographic holdings. The printed sources in our books, pamphlets, newspapers, and maps include accounts of the cultural interactions of European Americans and Native Americans from Columbus through the nineteenth century and those intriguing blends of European-American fact and fiction that often tell us more about the captives than the captors. Drawing on his considerable expertise about eighteenth-century Detroit, Brian Dunnigan details the Indian nations of the region and the unrealized French hopes that the Native Americans “would serve as a check on the ambitions of the Iroquois and English of New York.” Curator of Graphic Images Clayton Lewis introduces The Aboriginal Port-Folio of James Otto Lewis, one of the great antebellum collections of Native American portraits and an Americana rarity of tremendous value. JJ Jacobson’s essay on Native American food and food ways simultaneously illuminates the subject and demonstrates the ways in which a culinary focus opens new doors on early American history.

My Clements Library colleagues and I realize that most of our primary sources on Native Americans are European American in origin, perspective, and insights. We do have some very good collections and items by Native Americans themselves, however, and Barbara DeWolfe’s essay discusses one of them. The 1899 Kiowa student drawings and letters in the Hilon A. Parker papers provide a window on the Rainy Mountain School on the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation in western Oklahoma and the ways the students viewed the two cultures and worlds in which they moved. At Clements we recognize...
that acquiring more of these first-hand materials on Native American, African American, ethnic, and gender studies is a high priority for our collection development efforts, and we’re enthusiastic about meeting that challenge. Any help or guidance members of the Clements Library Associates can provide for that good work will be most welcome.

2009 has been a very good year for the Library. We’ve acquired wonderful new collections and single items alike; we’ve raised our profile on the University of Michigan campus and beyond; we’ve hired new staff members with terrific potential to help take the Library forward; we’ve secured new funding for exciting initiatives like research fellowships on the Civil War; we’ve attracted more researchers from among the UM student and faculty constituencies; and we’ve started work on such important priorities as an addition to alleviate the space crunch that has filled the Kahn building to overflowing after eighty-six years of collections and staff growth. Credit for this good work goes to no individual, and future success on these and other fronts will be the result of collaboration with the Associates, the University, and all our other friends. My colleagues and I are excited about the opportunities available to the Library. We urge our supporters to get involved so we can bring all of them to fruition sooner rather than later.

— J. Kevin Graffagnino
Director

Funeral Scaffold of a Sioux Chief Near Fort Pierre. In addition to portraits, Karl Bodmer painted scenes of the country and of Native American life during the Missouri River expedition of 1832–34.

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperor of the Six Nations, in a mezzotint after a 1710 portrait by Jan Verelst. The subject was one of four Mohawk leaders taken to London that year by Peter Schuyler, an Albany fur trader. The “four kings” were presented to Queen Anne, had their portraits painted, and generally created a sensation in the British capital. Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row (1680–1755) posed in European attire, holding a belt of wampum, symbolically flanked by his clan animal, a wolf. Known to New Yorkers as King Hendrick, the warrior was killed while fighting as an ally of the British against the French.
The “Indian captivity narrative” is a distinctly American genre of writing that has flourished since the earliest encounters between Europeans and Native Americans. Broadly speaking, captivity narratives are stories of non-Indians captured by Native Americans. They often combine elements of autobiography, religious witness, history, ethnography, and fiction. These stories provided a narrative framework for European settlers to understand the troubled, sometimes violent encounters between cultures that occurred with westward expansion across North America.

The Clements Library possesses a rich collection of Indian captivity narratives, spanning a time period from the sixteenth century to the twentieth and containing many rare and early editions. The Newberry Library has issued two bibliographies of captivity narratives in their several editions listing a total of 482 publications, of which the Clements Library has over 200 plus more than 120 other editions and titles not listed. Among the highlights of the Clements Library’s collection are Mary Rowlandson’s True History (London, 1682), John Williams’s Redeemed Captive (Boston, 1707), Robert Eastburn’s Faithful Narrative (Philadelphia, 1758), James Smith’s Account of the Remarkable Occurrences (Lexington, 1799), and James Seaver’s Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison (Canandaigua, 1824). The vast majority of the works are written in English and depict the captivities of individuals of European origin. A notable exception is a later edition of John Marrant’s narrative (1815), one of only three accounts known to be written about the experiences of African American captives.

Indian captivity narratives can be difficult to identify and catalog as such, since they have taken many different forms. They have appeared as books, as stories contained within longer works, and as short pieces in magazines, newspapers, or almanacs. Some narratives appear in multiple forms, republished several times under different titles. For example, the first account of Captain John Smith’s famous captivity among the Powhatan Confederacy and his rescue by Pocahontas appeared in his Generall Historie of Virginia (1624). He later elaborated and expanded upon his account in other writings. Whether this incident actually occurred is still the subject of historical debate. While many captivity narratives were written by survivors and based on real events, they frequently contain fictitious elements as well. Later tales of the nineteenth century are often entirely fictional, despite their claims to be a “true narrative” or “founded on fact.” One of the more famous of these in the Clements collection is the “Panther captivity,” an account by the pseudonymous Abraham Panther titled A Very Surprising Narrative of a Young Woman Discovered in a Rocky Cave After Having Been Taken by the Savage Indians of the Wilderness in the Year 1777 (1800). It was first published in 1787 as a six-page letter and subsequently reprinted and pirated several dozen times. Authorship of a narrative, although usually attributed to the captive, may in fact be shared among multiple writers and editors, making it difficult to distinguish historically verifiable first-person accounts from fictionalized ones. Given these factors, it is sometimes impossible to establish the authenticity of a particular account. Where possible, the Clements Library has cataloged such narratives as “fictitious” or “probably fictitious.” These partly or wholly fictional narratives, although not historically accurate, constitute an important dimension of the literary tradition of the captivity narrative.

While blurring the line between fact and fiction, the tradition of captivity narratives is based on some historical foundation. Tens of thousands of captives were taken by different tribes, from the earliest encounters with Europeans until well into the nineteenth century. Indians’ purposes for taking captives—revenge, ransom, adoption, and slave labor—varied greatly across cultures and during different periods of history. Some captives might be held for only a few days, while others were adopted into a tribe and remained there for the rest of their lives. On the frontiers of America, capture by Indians was an omnipresent threat, a source of both fear and curiosity. Captivity narratives thus served to educate readers about the experiences of captives and the cultures of the Indian tribes that took them. However, the narrative conventions of the genre also obscured the historical facts of captivity, suppressing the complex reality in favor of telling a more sensational story.

To place Indian captivity narratives...
in context, it is important to understand the circumstances under which they were produced and consumed. The earliest examples were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by explorers and missionaries. Such accounts offered European readers firsthand (if inaccurate) information about Indian cultures and also bolstered the colonial ambitions of the nation that produced them. By contrast, colonial captivity narratives were shaped by the traditions of religious sermons and conversion stories. Puritan narratives, in particular, tended to cast the experience as a spiritual trial that brought the soul closer to God. Mary Rowlandson’s account (1682), the earliest full-length Indian captivity narrative published as a separate book, was originally titled The Soveraignty and Goodness of God to emphasize the religious dimensions of her sufferings. The title of John Williams’s Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion (1707) conveys a similar message.

While Americans continued to move westward, stories such as Fanny Kelly’s Narrative of my Captivity by the Sioux Indians (1871) offered readers a glimpse of the frontier experience. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the increasing secularization of American society and popularization of fiction contributed to the development of captivity narratives as entertainment. As the frontier vanished and Indians were increasingly confined to reserva-
tions, Americans began to romanticize that which they had previously feared. Fictitious narratives, such as Edwin Eastman’s Seven and Nine Years Among the Comanches and Apaches (1873), capitalized on this popularity, in this particular case to advertise Dr. Clark Johnson’s Indian Blood Syrup, a “remarkable purifier of the blood.”

Stories about Indians, whether based in fact or fiction, have always captured the imagination of American readers. Captivity narratives fascinated and thrilled audiences with a combination of true confession, adventure story, and exotic scenery. Four narratives (Mary Rowlandson, John Williams, Jonathan Dickinson, and Mary Jemison) are among the great best sellers of American publishing. At the time of its publication in 1682, Rowlandson’s narrative was second only to the Bible in popularity among American readers. Recognizing their enduring significance in American culture, the Clements Library possesses multiple editions of all four of these famous works. Their immense popularity has contributed to their rarity for collectors; first editions are seldom found because they were “quite literally read to pieces,” according to scholar Richard VanDerBeets. Of the first American edition of Mary Rowlandson’s narrative, only eight pages used as lining papers in another book have survived.

Early Indian captivity narratives may have been particularly popular because they were a form of escape literature for colonial American readers. Since the Puritans frowned upon reading novels, they turned to true tales of adventure, shipwreck, piracy, and Indian captivity to fill that need. As James Seaver wrote in the introduction to the Life of Mary Jemison, “These horrid tales required not the aid of fiction, or the persuasive powers of rhetoric, to heighten their colorings, or gain credence to their shocking truths.”

Describing both the real and imaginary experiences of captives, this genre of writing expressed European Americans’ anxiety over the uncertain boundaries of ethnicity and gender on the frontier and in American society. In retelling the captivity experience, victi- ms were transformed into heroes and heroines, contrasted against fictionalized Indians who were marked by their barbarism. Through these stories, European Americans came to see their interactions with Native Americans as archetypes for a larger symbolic struggle between civilization and savagery in North America. As such, Indian captivity narratives reflect the biases and cultural prejudices of the times in which they were written. One of the most overtly racist works in the Clements collection is a pamphlet titled Indian Anecdotes and Barbarities: Being a Description of Their Customs and Deeds of Cruelty, With an Account of the Captivity, Sufferings and Heroic Conduct of Many Who Have Fallen Into Their Hands, or Who Have Defended Themselves from Savage Vengeance; All Illustrating the General Traits of Indian Character (1837). This antholo-

Mary Rowlandson’s story was the first separately published captivity narrative when it appeared in 1682. The title page illustration of the 1805 edition shows Mary defending herself at the cabin door.
Detroit has long been known as a diverse and ever-changing population center. Throughout the nineteenth century and until the last quarter of the twentieth, the city swelled with immigrants from other countries and migrants from around the United States. The industries that blossomed along the Detroit River drew on these new arrivals as the city grew to its economic zenith in the first half of the last century. The different ethnic groups brought their own distinctive cultures, religions, social institutions, and, sometimes, conflicts. All contributed to and shared in the prosperity that once marked the “automobile capital of the world.”

Less well known, perhaps, is the fact that this tradition of diversity was a part of Detroit’s culture from its very beginning in 1701. When Antoine Laumet (who styled himself “de Lamothe Cadillac”) proposed a new establishment on the banks of the strait connecting Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair, he hoped to attract trading partners, and their proximity to French officials, missionaries, and settlers would strengthen their alliance, accelerate their economic growth, and build their own villages. The Huron and Ottawa moved from Michilimackinac, while the Huron of the Detroit River. By the following summer, three Native American groups had joined him and built their own villages. The Huron and Ottawa moved from Michilimackinac, while the Huron or Wyandot and the Ottawa decamped in favor of a new site on the south or Ontario shore of the Detroit River. Five years later, a people called the Renards or Foxes arrived from Wisconsin to take up lands on the north shore near the modern site of the Ambassador Bridge. The Foxes had difficulty fitting in from the start, and they soon antagonized the other Indian nations as well as the French. In the spring of 1712 they established a fortified village within gunshot of the “French fort” and commenced a siege in which they were ultimately defeated and driven from Detroit. The Foxes were soon replaced by the Potawatomi, who had at least two town sites before eventually settling at that of the original Fox village of 1711. In 1738 the Huron clashed with the other nations and, over the next three years, they moved to Sandusky on Lake Erie and to another site on the Ontario shore opposite Bois Blanc Island. The Huron or Wyandot did not return to Detroit until 1749, at which time they built a new town on the south shore of the river opposite the Potawatomi village.

Detroit’s Indian villages remained static for the next fourteen years, but the arrival of the British in 1760 set the stage for the final movement of Native American residents from the settlement. The Ottawa were central to Pontiac’s War of 1763 and the siege of Detroit. By the fall of that year it was apparent that the Indians could not drive the British from their fort, so the Ottawa moved to northern Ohio.
The following year the Potawatomi began to relocate to new village sites deeper in the lower peninsula of Michigan, and by 1772 they had abandoned their town at Detroit. Most of their lands along the river had been sold by 1776. The Huron had largely remained out of the 1763 uprising but by 1778 most had moved from the immediate locale of Detroit to establish new villages down the river at Brownstown and Monguagon and on the Ontario shore. Thereafter, while the presence of Indians remained a daily feature of life in Detroit, they were visitors, and their villages were at a distance from the colonial town.

Detroit’s early eighteenth-century Indian villages were substantial affairs, rivaling the French fort in size and complexity and exceeding it in population. The Huron or Wyandot village even included a church and a house for their Jesuit missionary. These were permanent establishments, associated with extensive cornfields and occupied most intensively during the growing and harvest seasons. During the cold weather, many of the residents moved to temporary camps in distant winter hunting grounds.

The houses that made up the Indian villages were all of distinctly Native American style, though specifics of their design are difficult to come by. It might be expected that the towns of the Ottawa and Potawatomi would be composed of single-family hats or cabins while that of the Huron would have Iroquoian-style longhouses. Unfortunately, detailed plans of the Indian villages are virtually nonexistent, and written descriptions of their houses are vague. One set of plans of Detroit’s Indian villages does survive to shed some light on the subject, however. In 1732 the French commandant, Captain Henri-Louis Deschamps de Boishébert, drafted carefully scaled plans of the French Fort Pontchartrain and each of the three nearby Indian villages. The French town is clearly composed of Canadian-style log houses, but the Indian villages all incorporate the Iroquoian-style longhouse. It would appear that the Ottawa and Potawatomi had accepted the usefulness of the multi-family longhouse, at least for their permanent villages at Detroit, an example of cross-cultural exchange stimulated by the close proximity in which the three Native American groups were living. The longhouses of 1732 were laid out with almost military precision, providing ground plans even more regular than that of the French fort. Each town included twenty-eight to thirty longhouses, each suited for six family groups. Small sketches on maps of the 1730s suggest that the longhouse continued in use by the Detroit Indians. Charles Stuart, a prisoner carried to Detroit in 1756, described only “houses or Indian cabins” in the villages there. Other witnesses are equally vague.

Fortifications were sometimes a part of the Detroit villages. The Iroquois were still a potential threat at the time of the founding of the settlement, and Cadillac’s 1702 map of the Detroit River clearly shows circular stockades around the original towns of the Huron, Ottawa, and Loups. The Fox villages of 1711 and 1712 were described as forts. By 1732, however, only the Huron town was enclosed by a stockade, and that was clearly of European style in a rectangular trace with a bastion at each corner. Like the adoption of the Iroquoian longhouse by the Ottawa and Potawatomi, the French-style fortification of the Huron village shows that a community such as Detroit was a place where cross-cultural adaptations were sure to occur.

From 1702 until the late 1770s, Detroit was the site of an extraordinarily large concentration of Indian villages. At least seven different nations lived within sight of the French fort at one time or another during those years. Cadillac’s grand experiment was only partially successful, but he had, at least, brought a considerable number of Indian nations together under the influence of the fort of Detroit.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and Head of Research & Publications

This detail from Lieutenant John Montrésor’s 1764 plan of Detroit shows the Potawatomi and Huron villages as they were during Pontiac’s siege of 1763. Both were located downstream from the fort and town of Detroit, roughly at opposite ends of today’s Ambassador Bridge.

Sometime around 1930, C.E. Hickman drew a copy for the Clements Library of Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry’s 1749 plan of the Detroit settlement. This detail shows the relationship of the French fort to the three nearby Indian villages as they were between 1749 and 1763. Narrow ribbon farms mark the Michigan shore of the river.
The Quarto

The railway company was a present from Hilon. The trip was planned for them. The trip to the Anadarko Island Railway to Anadarko, where a special day was planned for them. The trip was a present from Hilon Parker, general manager of the railway company.

The previous month, the track line for the Rock Island had been lengthened to a point about fifty miles west of Chickasha, Oklahoma, up to the reservation. On March 28, Parker had ridden the train to the end of the line and then made his way to the Kiowa reservation boarding school, called the Rainy Mountain School, to give a talk. As a good will gesture for the students and staff, he arranged a train ride to Anadarko for the following May 4.

On the appointed day, the children arose at 4:30 to prepare for the long ride to the depot, where they waited patiently for the train. The strangeness of this new machine made many of them so scared that they thought they would fall off the cars, and some even kept their eyes closed. Upon their arrival at the station in Anadarko, Mrs. Cora Dunn, their superintendent, gave them permission to go to the store, where they wandered around, looking for something to buy. At mealtime, three or four wagons took them to the Catholic Mission School (St. Patrick’s), where they ate and visited fellow Indian students. When they returned to the Anadarko station, the Methvin Mission boarding school children, many of them friends and relatives of the Rainy Mountain students, were waiting to visit with them until the train arrived at 3:30. By 7:00, the students were back in their dormitories after a happy but tiring day.

The information about this school trip comes from a set of fifty-two ledger drawings and thirteen letters the students sent to Parker to thank him for the train ride. Though most of the Hilon A. Parker collection pertains to his career, a small part concerns his interest in Native Americans, especially in their education. His motivation for visiting the Rainy Mountain School seemed sincere, given his concern about their schooling, but, no doubt, he also wanted to smooth the way for the intrusive rail line, which would eventually extend through the reservation.

The boarding school was considered the most important educational assimilator of Native American children, in that it allowed them to be totally immersed in white culture. The primary purpose for educating the Indians was to eradicate their cultural traditions and to force them to adopt the Anglo-American way of life. One reason for this was to keep the Indians from being “backward” and “disgraced.” To this end, English was mandatory, and use of the Kiowa language was strictly prohibited. The students had to wear uniforms and shoes and sometimes received new names. Runaways were chased down and severely punished.

The success of the Agency’s goal was mixed. Although parents supported the education of their children, and the children dutifully learned their subjects and the English language, they continued to prefer their own culture and to speak Kiowa to each other, when no school official could hear them.

One particularly troubling custom, which Superintendent Dunn mentioned in her 1899 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was that of early Kiowa female marriage. Before they turned sixteen, the girls were sold by their parents, often to a married man, whether they agreed to the arrangement or not. “In the case of plural marriages,” Dunn wrote, “if the first wife proves tamely submissive, she is permitted to remain in the home doing the burden of the work, but if rebellious and disposed to resent the coming of the new wife, she is driven away with her children to find a refuge wherever she may. The new wife in turn is likely to experience the fate of her predecessor, and it frequently happens that a girl of twenty has been the wife of three or four men.”

Four Rainy Mountain girls, two sixteen-year-olds and two fourteen-year-olds, were married during the summer vacation. Dunn reported that early marriages such as these would result in the “moral degeneracy of the race.” Three of the newly married girls were “bright and promising,” on which account they had been given special musical instruction. Dunn despaired of their futures, and so perhaps did the other female students. In her thank-you note to Hilon Parker, Mamie Tarraysohay reported that “some of the girls has been marriage last summer and I hope they are remember the lesson they learn.”

However, the indoctrination did work to a point. The students learned to speak and write English, as the letters show. When Mamie wrote that she hoped the four married girls would not forget the lessons they learned at Rainy Mountain, she added, “for when the time comes when this county [country] will be open we will not trouble ourself.” Florence Assim wrote that the students were all well in the school and they were “trying very hard to talk good English and to try to be good children.” These are, perhaps, rote expressions of assimilation, but they are also evidence of children trying to make sense of and to cooperate with their changing world.

**Expressions of Assimilation?**

U.S. cavalrymen hotly pursue a pair of mounted warriors. Foot prints and horses coming from off the page are traditional Native American techniques for giving the impression of motion.
In lieu of letters, some children sent colored drawings as “thank-you” notes to Parker. Traditionally, Plains Indians created drawings on rocks, hides, and tepees that were visual narratives of events in their lives, such as war, ceremonies, and hunting. Increased contact with European Americans gave the Indians access to writing paper, pencils, colored pencils, and pens. During the Indian Wars of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Native Americans discovered the accounting ledgers left behind by white soldiers and settlers, and found them useful for drawing by turning them horizontally—hence the name “ledger drawings.” This term was later used broadly to refer to Native American drawings on any kind of paper. The most famous of these were created by Plains warriors imprisoned at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. After the Southern Plains Indian Wars ended in 1875, the most influential chiefs and warriors were taken to Fort Marion to keep them from fomenting further hostilities. There, they were given drawing implements and note-books, in which they created images reflecting their past and present, including the names of events in their lives, such as weddings, births, battles, and buffalo hunts.

For their pictures, the students at Rainy Mountain used lesson papers, on which they were supposed to follow precise printed instructions but instead illustrated their tribal life. These drawings reveal a great deal more about the students’ perspectives than the letters do. They juxtapose elements from the two cultures, in some cases showing the tension between traditional life ways and the encroachment of American society. The boys tended to draw images of Indian warriors and white soldiers or buffalo hunts. The girls chose subjects of domesticity, such as food preparation and life around the tepee. Most of the pictures have elements of both worlds: Indian women dressed in American clothing cooking outdoors; Native American males in ceremonial garb holding rifles; Indian warriors shooting arrows at US soldiers, who shoot back with rifles; a warrior wearing an American jacket and chaps, riding his horse, and hunting buffalo; and American houses next to tepees on the same page.

What was meant as a simple thank you note is now an important historical artifact for understanding late-nineteenth century Kiowa society. The reservation art of the children did not represent their life at the school; they did not sketch the farms or the fenced cattle, the school buildings, teachers, tribal police, or uniforms. Rather, they mimicked the home life, the exploits of older male relatives, and the chores of their mothers. Even their style of drawing had been used by native elders for centuries. The Native Americans drew horizontally across the entire page, right to left, so that they could create action scenes that depicted larger distances: hoof prints going off the page and the front half of a horse entering from the right.

The assimilation of the Kiowa, hoped for by the Indian Agency, did not happen, nor were the Native Americans prepared for what was to come in two short years—the opening for settlement of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Indian Reservation on August 6, 1901. The Kiowa desperately fought this action, but in a Supreme Court decision of 1903, Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, Congress’s right to distribute Indian lands was confirmed. The anticipation of this decision was what prompted the Rock Island Railway to apply for permission, in the late 1890s, for right of way through the Indian Reservation, a proposal that was received, of course, with favor.

The inexorable forces of land-hungry European Americans and the profit-seeking railroad companies beat out the deliberate assimilation process planned for the Native Americans through government-sponsored schools. The guarded approval of the latter by Kiowa parents gave way to outright hostility toward the former. In the few weeks prior to the August opening, 165,000 people registered for 13,000 homesteads. On August 6, the lottery winners rushed into the reservation, renamed the KCA Jurisdiction, to claim their homesteads. Overnight, the Indians, who were allotted 160-acre homesteads and forced to sell the rest of their lands, had to accept the dissolution of their homelands.

The Kiowa children appreciated their train ride as a fun new adventure but were oblivious to the imminent changes that “progress” would bring when thousands of new settlers charged westward. Though the children’s visual and literary expressions captured the white people’s efforts to assimilate the Kiowa and, perhaps, the fragile hold that Native Americans had on their culture, the students were not prepared for what was soon to come. We, looking back and knowing the outcome, see these artifacts as tragic symbols of a rapidly changing way of life.

— Barbara DeWolfe
Curator of Manuscripts
James Otto Lewis (1799–1858) was an American engraver and painter best known for his striking portraits of Native American leaders created during treaty councils in western territories. From 1823 to 1834 Lewis was official portraitist for the United States at signings in Wisconsin and Indiana. Looking to profit from his work, he published *The Aboriginal Port-Folio*, a series of lithographs mostly based on his painted works. Although criticized for artistic crudeness, Lewis’s portraits are admirable for his direct, honestly observed approach. The strong facial features, dress, and body paint of his subjects are brought forth with attention to descriptive details and careful hand coloring.

The Lewis portfolio was the first published collection of portraits of Native Americans. It was offered to subscribers in ten volumes of eight prints each, at two dollars per volume. The portfolio was produced from 1835 to 1836 in Philadelphia and republished in London in 1838. Later competition from the more accomplished scenes by George Catlin and the well-known work of McKenney and Hall made it difficult for Lewis to complete his series. Full ten-volume sets in original wrappers are a great rarity, and the Clements Library is very fortunate to have one.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

Lewis executed most of his portraits at formal treaty negotiations between the United States and Native American groups of the Great Lakes region. In September 1825 the artist captured the scene at the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Five thousand warriors gathered there under the blockhouses of Fort Crawford.
J.O. Lewis depicted the Fox chief Cut-taa-tas-tia at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1825. This is one of a number of full-length portraits in the portfolio.

The Sac chief known to Americans as Black Hawk posed in a US military coat at Detroit in 1833 soon after the end of the Black Hawk War.

Shing-gaa-ba-w’osin, an Ojibwa chief from Sault Ste. Marie, was painted at the 1826 Treaty of Fond du Lac on Lake Superior. He wears armbands of trade silver and an American peace medal that appears to bear the likeness of Andrew Jackson. Since Jackson’s presidency did not begin until 1829, the medal was likely updated when the lithograph was made.

Some Native American leaders chose American attire for their portrait sittings. Waa-ba-shaw, a prominent Sioux, did so at Prairie du Chien in 1825.

Tens-qua-ta-wa or the Shawnee Prophet was the brother of Tecumseh and, aside from Black Hawk, probably the most famous Indian painted by Lewis. This portrait was made at Detroit in 1823 for Michigan Territory Governor Lewis Cass.

Kee-me-one was brightly painted at Fond du Lac in 1827. Lewis identified him as an Ojibwa chief, but he might have actually been an Ottawa and was described as such when Anna B. Jameson (1794–1860) sketched him at Mackinac Island in 1837.

Lewis portrayed a number of women in his portfolio. This is Ta-ma-kake-toke, who was in mourning for her child at Fond du Lac in 1827.
The Columbian Exchange—the transfer of plants, animals, and people between the Eastern and Western hemispheres initiated by Columbus in 1492—changed the world dramatically and irrevocably. The transplantation of food crops between continents and the transmission of food ways between their inhabitants are two related but distinct components of this process. Europeans brought new commodity crops. Sugar, arguably, had the most far-reaching effects, but they also transplanted cotton, wheat, rice, cattle, and sheep. New World foodstuffs had a significant impact on the lives of people in the Old World, both as sustenance and as items of delectation, to the point where many Old World cuisines would today be inconceivable without ingredients of New World origin. The best known of these are maize, potatoes, tomatoes, chilies, and cacao, but the list also includes such items as avocados and vanilla.

Europeans learned the uses of American foodstuffs from native peoples through observation or instruction. As explorers gave way to colonists and as colonists became, themselves, Americans, they adopted the new foods and both adapted and transformed their uses. To do this, they needed to accept them into their idea of what people eat, incorporating them into evolving European and American food ways. It is worth noting that this modification and creolization of diet meant both finding uses for the foods and acquiring a taste for them. In some cases (notably with chocolate) this involved Europeans finding ways to understand them in terms of the humoral model and incorporating them into the contemporary materia medica. This long and intricate process is exemplified in William Hughes’s *American Physitian*, especially by the adoption of cacao in the form of chocolate.

Food is far more than just sustenance. Barbara Wheaton observes, in *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789*, that “precisely because food is a part of everyone’s lives, it is available in every society for use as a carrier of meaning, as a social marker, and as a medium of exchange.” For explorers, colonists, and the new Americans, to encounter the foodstuffs used by Native Americans also meant coming into contact with the significance of food ways and how they fit into Native American culture. In *The American Physitian* we see the result of a century and a half of colonial, creole, and European experience with chocolate, and the understanding of it that had evolved. In Henry Rowe Schoolcraft’s writings, and especially in his relation of Native American myths and legends, we see a parallel process with Native American food ways observed in situ.

The American Physitian, or, A Treatise of the Roots, Plants, Trees, Shrubs, Fruit, Herbs, &c.: Growing in the English Plantations in America: Describing the Place, Time, Names, Kindes, Temperature, Vertues and Uses of Them, Either for Diet, Physick, &c.: Whereunto is Added a Discourse of the Cacao-nut-tree, and the Use of its Fruit; With all the Ways of Making the Chocolate . . . By W. Hughes, was published in 1672. Not much is known about William Hughes, beyond his authorship of two other horticultural works: *The Compleat Vineyard* (1665) and *The Flower-Garden* (1671). In the address to the reader that begins the book, he emphasizes that his work was not done “in closet or study, in the corner of a house, amongst many books; but . . . rather in travelling the woods, and other parts.”

One of the earliest English works on New World horticulture, the book was written not long after England’s 1655 acquisition of Jamaica, a time when there was great European curiosity—medical, scientific, and commercial—about New World products. It contains early descriptions of produce native to the Americas, chiefly as found on Jamaica but also other Caribbean islands, including the avocado (which Hughes calls the Spanish pear), manioc (cassava), maize, potatoes, chilies, and cacao.

Besides describing each plant’s appearance, Hughes divides his discussion into “Place” (where the plant grows in the West Indies), “Time” (when planted and harvested), “Name,” and “Use” or “Vertues” (including the humoral properties of the produce—hot or cold, wet or dry). He says of potatoes, “they are easie of digestion, agreeing well with all bodies, especially with our hot stomacks when we come here;” comments that the avocado “nourisheth and strengtheneth the body, corroborating the vital spirits;” and recommends eating it with vinegar and pepper; compares the “bite” and fragrance of three kinds of chilies; and gives a detailed description of manioc, including the device used to grate the root to prepare cassava.

Hughes’s longest commentary, however, is reserved for cacao and chocolate. Of 159 pages, 57 are devoted to the cocoa tree and its fruits, and to what he variously calls “the deservedly-esteem’d Drink,” “the so-much-fam’d Chocolate,” and “the American Nectar” (during this period chocolate was invariably a beverage—it would not be eaten in solid form for another century or more). Along with information about how the tree grows (shaded by “mother trees” such as the banana) and which parts of the cacao fruit were used, he says much on the preparation and manner of drinking chocolate. Hughes is particularly concerned with what additional ingredients are added to the chocolate drink, distinguishing West Indian practice from that used in Europe. For the West Indies he notes mostly New World additions: “Chile, or red Pepper, Achiote, sweet-scented Pepper, Orejuelas, Banilas, Pocoll or aanso, Atolle or Maiz-Flower . . . .” His list for European chocolate drinking is considerably longer, including, besides those given above, an array of Old World ingredients: “Aniseeds, Fennel-seeds, Sweet-Almonds, Nutmegs, Cloves, black, white and long Pepper, Cinnamon, Saffron, Musk, Amber-
grecce, Orange-Flower-water, Lemmon and Citron-pill, Cardamome, Oyl of Nutmeggies, Cinamon, and many other ingredients . . .”

He participates in the seventeenth-century debate about the nature and use of chocolate by his disapproval of these additions, remarking, “thus the Spanish Physitians especially endeavour to make a Composition, or alter their Chocolate according to every distemper, making it both the Physick and Vehicle for all sorts which ought rather but to be used as Aliment.”

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was a nineteenth-century official, writer, and ethnographer of Native American communities, perhaps best remembered for relating in print the legend on which Longfellow based his poem, Hiawatha. Nineteen years as a federal Indian agent and marriage to a woman from a prominent Ojibwa family gave him ample entree to, and opportunity to observe, Native American lives and ways of his day.

Schoolcraft doesn’t set out to write about food: in his 1848 *The Indian in His Wigwam, or Characters of the Red Race of America from Original Notes and Manuscripts* and his far better known *Algic Researches* of 1839, he never describes the full course of preparation or consumption of a meal. However, there are many references to food ways throughout—and these turn out to be more than incidental to the matter at hand.

Mention of food is notable in the many Native American legends related by Schoolcraft. Representing a character as an able hunter and (therefore) a good provider in the first few sentences of the tale is a common way of identifying personal excellence and introducing a hero. Gorging on the fat of the spoils of a hunt is a sign of greed and lack of social competence and functions as a symptom of something amiss in an interaction. Tales tell how the first man was given bow and arrow and taught to use it to keep from starving, or how fish came to be abundant in certain waters. In numerous tales an undertaking is preceded by a feast to mark its importance, or the way a fast is conducted testifies to an individual’s strength of will or stubbornness. An uncanny character such as a manito (or sorcerer) has a curious way of cooking, or a peculiar cooking device. In the *Algic Researches* there is scarcely a tale where food does not appear with some ritual or narrative significance: signs of magic, signs of feeling or personality, or signs of socially important relationships. Food ways are used to characterize actors or action and set the scene or the tone, even when they don’t move the story forward, which of course they often do. Schoolcraft shows us the significance of foodstuffs, especially their social meaning in Native American communities.

The Clements Library has sundry other resources for studying Native American culinary practices, including the use of food as medicine. Three of these are especially worthy of mention.

A paper by anthropologist Franz Boas entitled “Ethnology of the Kwakiutl Based on Data Collected by George Hunt,” published in *The Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913–1914*, details the lives of the Kwakiutl, the Fort Rupert band of the “kwakwaka’wakw” linguistic group of British Columbia. The paper discusses at some length hunting, fishing, food gathering, and preservation and contains three hundred pages of recipes, transcribed from oral relation and translated into English. A section on beliefs and customs includes those related to food gathering and fishing and also discusses hunting taboos. Another on social customs covers those relating to eating and feasts.

The *Badanus Manuscript* of 1552, which we have in a 1940 facsimile, is a medical text, created at the college of Santa Cruz in Mexico City, which was founded by the Franciscans in 1536 to educate the sons of the Aztec nobility. It was compiled at the request of Don Francisco de Mendoza, son of the first Viceroy of Mexico, as a gift to King Charles V. Written first in Nahuatl, the Aztec language, by Martinus de la Cruz, an Indian physician attached to the college (the Franciscans believed Indian remedies better than European for New World diseases) and translated into Latin by Juannes Badianus, “a reader in Latin” there, the manuscript shows, in striking detail, the state of Aztec medical knowledge soon after conquest. It is considered to be an accurate depiction of pre-conquest tradition. This is particularly important because most of the other writings on Aztec *materia medica* have come down to us as seen through European eyes. The work is divided into thirteen chapters, each treating a set of afflictions for some part of the body. Medical remedies among the Aztecs were based on plant extracts, and the illustrations of the manuscript show native plants in the context of the Aztec understanding of their natures and uses.

The Library also has a new searchable database of source material in the manuscript collections, which includes much material relating to Native Americans. Phil Zaret, a dedicated volunteer working on behalf of the Manuscripts Division and in cooperation with the Culinary Archive, is culling material on American food and related topics. Approximately twenty-five percent of the 2,500 manuscript collections have been extensively tagged for food and culinary-related research, resulting in an index of about 57,000 records. The database is still under construction, but we plan to make it available to researchers on computers in the Reading Room.

Documentation on Native American food and food ways can be found throughout the Clements Library collection. This information may be used in many ways to illustrate culinary history and the social history of food.

— JJ Jacobson
Curator for American Culinary History

A plate from the Clements Library copy of the 1940 facsimile of the Badianus manuscript of 1552 illustrates medicinal plants familiar to the Aztecs.

ONLINE, YOU CAN NOW READ ABOUT THE CLEMENTS ON OUR BLOG, “CLEMENTS LIBRARY CHRONICLES” (http://theclementslibrary.blogspot.com). WRITTEN BY CURATOR OF BOOKS EMIKO HASTINGS, “CLEMENTS LIBRARY CHRONICLES” HAS HIGHLIGHTED EXHIBITS AND SYMPOSIA AT THE LIBRARY AND PRESENTED LIVELY ARTICLES ON SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO LOVERS OF BOOKS AND OF HISTORY.

THE CLEMENTS REMAINED OPEN DURING THE ANNUAL ANN ARBOR ART FAIR, WITH MORE THAN 250 NEW VISITORS COMING TO ADMIRE THE LIBRARY AND LEARN ABOUT ITS COLLECTIONS.

THE CURATORS HAVE ALSO BEEN TAKING THE CLEMENTS TO A WIDER AUDIENCE. IN JUNE, DIRECTOR KEVIN GRAFFAGNINO GAVE AN ENGAGING TALK TITLED “I CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT BOOKS: CONFESSIONS OF AN UNRE PenTANT BIBLIOPHILE” TO MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED PEOPLE AT THE LIBRARY. THE CULINARY ARCHIVES WERE FEATURED IN THE UNIVERSITY’S LS&A MAGAZINE, AND JAN LONGONE SPOKE ABOUT THE COLLECTION AT THE MICHIGAN ARCHIVES ASSOCIATION SUMMER MEETING. THE CLEMENTS RETURNED TO THE KERRYTOWN BOOKFEST THIS SUMMER WITH A TABLE PUBLICIZING THE LIBRARY.


IN CLOSING, I AM HONORED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE FREDERICK S. UPTON FOUNDATION AND THE EARHART FOUNDATION HAVE RECENTLY SUPPORTED THE LIBRARY FINANCIALLY IN TWO MEANINGFUL WAYS. THE UPTON FOUNDATION HAS MADE TWO GIFTS: ONE FOR UPDATING OUR WEBSITE AND THE OTHER TO CREATE THE HARRIET AND DAVID UPTON FELLOWSHIPS FOR CIVIL WAR RESEARCH. SIMILARLY, THE EARHART FOUNDATION WILL ALSO BE FUNDING CIVIL WAR RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS. BOTH INITIATIVES WILL ENHANCE OUR PRESENCE IN THE NATIONAL ACADEMIC COMMUNITY, AND BOTH ILLUSTRATE OUR AMBITION TO INCREASE THE ACCESSIBILITY OF THE LIBRARY’S COLLECTIONS FOR INNOVATIVE RESEARCH.

LOOKING BACK AT ALL THAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN RECENT MONTHS AND ALL OF THE ANTICIPATED ACTIVITIES IN 2010, I HOPE YOU WILL FIND TIME TO VISIT AND ATTEND OUR PROGRAMS. PLEASE CONTACT ME AT 734-358-9770 OR ANNROCK@UMICH.EDU IF YOU HAVE IDEAS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMS. AS THE NEW YEAR BEGINS, I ALSO HOPE YOU WILL CONSIDER MAKING A GIFT TO THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY. YOUR SUPPORT HELPS MAKE OUR PROGRAMS POSSIBLE, ENRICHING THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THOSE WHO ENJOY OUR COLLECTIONS.

— ANN ROCK
DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENTS
ANNOUNCEMENTS

EXTENDED LIBRARY HOURS
Recent changes in the Clements Library’s hours of operation have made our collections a bit more accessible. Since September 2009, the reading room has remained open through the lunch hour. Although no new material can be ordered from noon until 1:00 p.m., readers may work on what has already been paged for them.

The reading room will also be open each Thursday evening until 8:00 p.m. for the duration of the 2009–10 academic year. We expect that these evening hours will be convenient for students whose work requires Clements Library collections.

STAFF NEWS

It is a pleasure to introduce five new Clements Library employees, who have joined the staff since last spring. JJ Jacobson is our very first full-time, paid associate curator for American culinary history and, we believe, the first to fill such a position in a major culinary history collection anywhere in the world.

Diana Runge and Terese Austin are our new information resources assistants, and both will be found assisting patrons in the reading room or at the reception desk. Diana and Terese replace Bethany Anderson, who came to the Library in 2007, and Laura Daniel, who had been a member of the Clements staff since 1994.

Shannon Wait and Philip Heslip are now a part of the Manuscripts Division staff. They have come to us as manuscript processors thanks to funding for two different projects from the Avenir Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Shannon and Phil are processing and describing some of the Library’s most important manuscript collections to provide better catalog access.

A Picturesque Situation: Mackinac Before Photography, 1615–1860, written by Curator of Maps Brian Leigh Dunnigan was named one of the twenty Michigan Notable Books of 2009. Wayne State University Press published this heavily illustrated, iconographic history of the Straits of Mackinac region.

MANUSCRIPTS GRANTS
The Manuscripts Division is pleased to announce the receipt of two major grants, which will allow the division to process over four hundred collections of particular importance for the study of early American history. These grants have come through the generosity of the Avenir Foundation of Wheatridge, Colorado, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Avenir Foundation has provided us with funding to hire a manuscripts processor as well as our staff conservator, Julie Fremuth, to catalog and preserve the Norton Strange Townsend family papers. These papers document the political, educational, agricultural, and social activities of Norton S. Townsend (1815–95) and several generations of related families in Lorain County, Ohio, and elsewhere.

As a Congressman in the Ohio General Assembly and the U.S. House of Representatives, Norton S. Townsend denounced slavery, secured the repeal of Ohio’s oppressive Black Laws, and advocated woman and African American suffrage as early as 1851. After leaving politics, he taught scientific agriculture in Ohio and Iowa, served as a member and president of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, and helped found and shape Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College. His efforts to promote scientific agriculture as an essential field of study earned him the designation, “the father of agricultural education in the United States.” In addition, Townsend served as a medical inspector in the Union Army during the Civil War and was involved in numerous civic causes. Among the collection’s important components are letters from Townsend’s friend, Salmon P. Chase, and extraordinary daguerreotypes made by Townsend’s brother in-law, Thomas M. Easterly.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has funded “Landmark Events in the Early American Republic: A Project to Provide Access to Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library.” This support has enabled us to hire two processors to create standardized finding aids for 426 of our most significant manuscript collections. Each of these collections is relevant to one or more of the Manuscript Division’s strengths: the French and Indian War era, the Revolutionary War era, the War of 1812, African American history (including slavery and the abolition movement), social and religious reform, Native American history, the Northwest Territory, westward expansion, the California Gold Rush, and the Civil War. Examples of collections to be processed include: the papers of Sir Henry Clinton and Thomas Gage, the Anne-Louis de Tousard papers, the papers of War of 1812 commodores John Rodgers and Isaac Chauncey, the George Washington and Washingtoniana collections, an orderly book of Sir William Howe, the papers of U.S. Secretary of War and Michigan Governor Russell A. Alger, and a collection of Jefferson Davis papers.

Both of these projects serve the important purpose of providing access. As awareness of the magnificent holdings of the William L. Clements Library continues to grow, we will need the help of ourProcessing Team to ensure that these papers are properly cataloged and made available electronically.

A Project to Provide Access to Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library

Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library.

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grows, through the cataloguing facilitated by these grants, we anticipate a larger volume of readers, who will make use of collections currently unknown to the research community. We are grateful to both the Avenir Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose support is especially significant in these economically challenging times.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS


February 2, 2010: Workshop: “Teaching Undergraduates in the Archives: The Future of the Past.” 2:00–4:00 p.m. Registration required. Go to www.crlt.umich.edu for details.


March 1, 2010–June 4, 2010: Exhibit: “Native Americans.” Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

March 25, 2010: Lecture by William Cronon, environmentalist, historian, and author on the relationship between history and the environment. 4:00-6:00 p.m.

April 1, 2010: Founder’s Day lecture by renowned author Nicholas Basbanes on the joys of antiquarian book collecting. 4:00–6:00 p.m.

May 4, 2010: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors Meeting.