

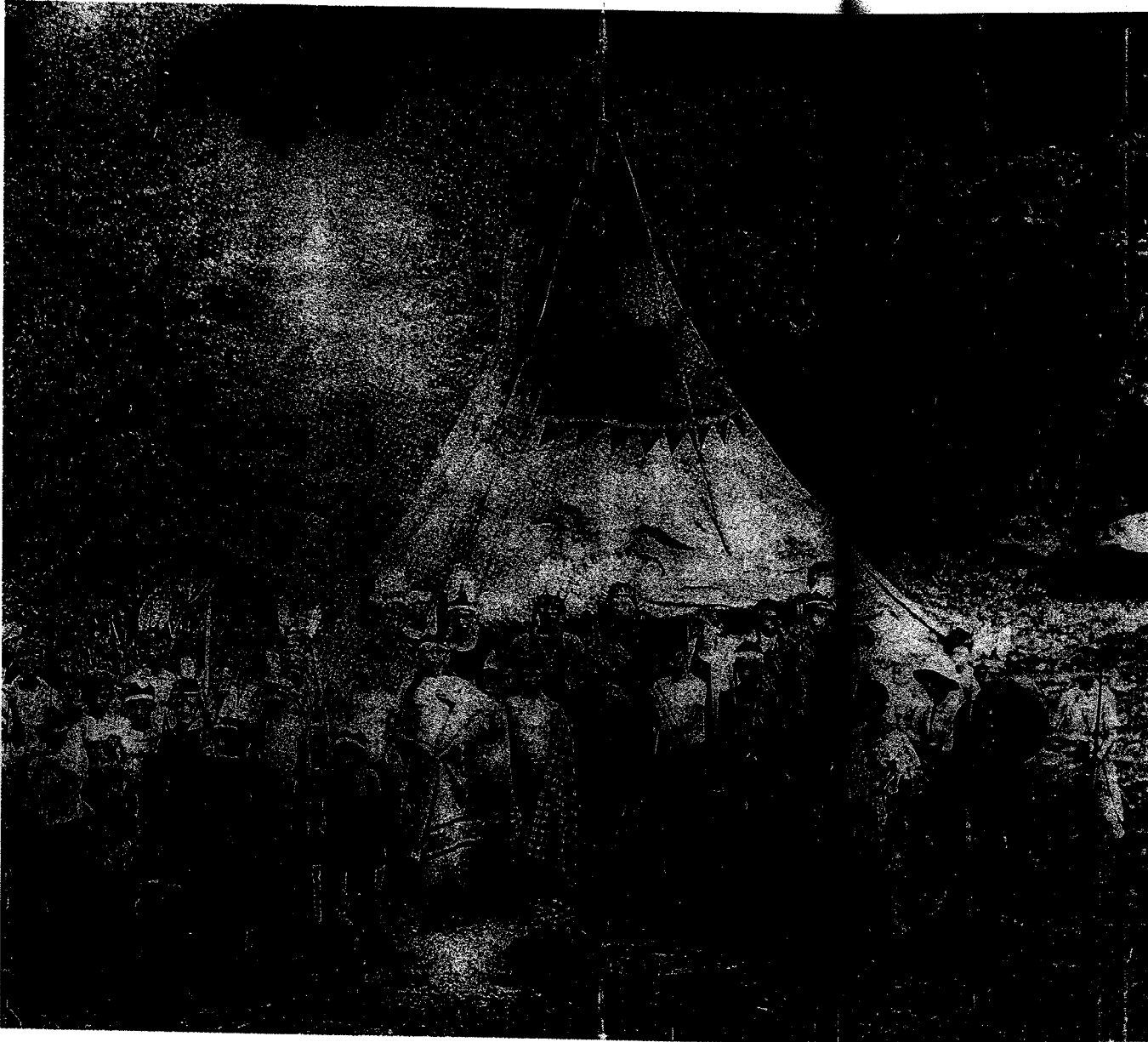
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS • NEW HAVEN & LONDON

1998

Playing

Indian

Philip J. Deloria



TWO

Fraternal Indians and Republican Identities

Here are men—pale faces in calico bags. Why do they run about, and dishonour the red-man by calling themselves Injins? They want the land of this young chief. . . . You hear my voice for the last time. I shall soon cease to speak. When I reach the happy hunting-grounds of the Onondagoes, I will tell the warriors I meet there of your visit. Your fathers will know that their sons still love justice.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

The Redskins: Indian and Injin (1846)

In 1846, James Fenimore Cooper published *The Redskins: Indian and Injin*, a lightly fictionalized apologia for Hudson River valley landlords plagued by Indian-disguised tormentors during the New York antirent conflicts of the 1840s. As the book opens, young Hugh Littlepage returns from a grand tour of Europe to find his ancestral estate threatened by bands of disgruntled tenants. While some renters propose legislation that would limit the terms of Littlepage's leases or even force him to give up his lands, others take a more direct course, donning

calico masks, speaking a gruff, pidgin "Injinspeak," and attacking buildings, fences, and the patroon residents of the Littlepage manor, Ravensnest. After a series of confrontations, Littlepage turns, ironically, to Ravensnest's aging resident Indian, Susquesus (the Upright), to instruct the antirent rioters in the importance of the law. A band of hardy Indian (as opposed to "injin") visitors from the West stands armed and ready to enforce the Littlepage title and quite literally pound home the moral of social stability embedded in what becomes Susquesus's death speech.

Like the Tea Party Mohawks, the Indian-disguised antirent protesters shared the ambiguous doubled identities of insider and outsider, citizen and traitor. The injins insisted upon the continued vitality of Revolution, thereby threatening the social order of the nation. In *The Redskins*, Cooper responded by characterizing them as unreasonable savages who had corrupted new national ideals of political stability and economic continuity. For Cooper and other members of the new order, the injins' rebellious proclivity for murder, arson, cowardice, and bad manners (especially in contrast to the wise Susquesus and his gracious comrades) placed them outside the borders of American society, "skulking from and shirking the duties of civilization." Yet even as Cooper excluded the antirenters, they remained white, part of a racially defined American us that retained its citizenship and would no doubt return to the fold. The injins' forced return to civil society marked, for Cooper, the victory of legal government over the rebellious politics of custom, a necessary shift of focus from Revolution to nationhood.¹

Indian disguise continued to evoke contradictory identities, but the meanings that clustered around it had shifted substantially since revolutionary times. As he refigured the rebellious injin savages, for example, Cooper also created new senses of the narrative's real Indian people. Susquesus and his friends did not fail to appear as exterior figures, far outside the lines being drawn around American society. But, in *The Redskins*, they were also quintessential Americans. Heirs of Tammany, they had smartly turned their backs on revolution and were now articulating ideas about law, honor, and justice that justified Cooper's conservative interpretation of post-Independence property rights.²

Cooper's most significant reimagining of the Indian, however, may have lain in his focus on the nostalgic past rather than the difficult present. By the end of *The Redskins*, the book's problematic characters—real Indians, real antirent rioters, and the conflicting images constructed around them—have all vanished into history. The Indian visitors, who had marched out of an archaic past, return to

their homes in the West. Like Tammany, the aged Susquesus willingly departs this world for the happy hunting grounds. The rioters throw away their calico bags and slink home to become simple farmers, leaving the field clear for the formalizing of the inevitable romantic connections among the elite Ravensnest crowd. The Littlepages will propagate, and their ownership will thus extend from the spatial to the temporal realm, from mere landholding to control of the future itself. Indian and injin, on the other hand, both retreat into a nostalgic, antiquarian tale about the region's curious history.

Cooper's novel reflects a cluster of transformations that postrevolutionary Americans worked on Indian Others during the first half of the nineteenth century. As the Revolution gave way to the Republic and, later, to Jacksonian democracy, many people played Indian as a way of imagining new American identities, meaningful in relation to the successful Revolution, the emerging market economy, and the new governments and political parties busy consolidating and distributing power across the landscape. At the same time, the United States began its own expansion into Indian territory, and Americans increasingly told themselves bloody stories of Indian savagery. Noble, interior Indians like Susquesus and Tammany still embodied crucial ideas about Americanness. But as the United States moved from Revolution to nation building, an identity that carried connotations of savagery and of the idea of rebellion—no matter its origins or its multiple meanings—was destined to receive an increasingly chilly welcome.

Citizens of the new United States inaugurated the Republic by struggling over the meanings of the Revolution. Many saw it as a past event, successful and wholly complete. Others could not understand why they did not feel free. The former groups thought it necessary to contain any leftover rebellious impulses, while the latter concluded that still more rebellion might in fact be required. Post-Independence uprisings came quickly, and they often maintained revolutionary traditions of Indian disguise. In October 1791, for example, Hudson valley tenant farmers chased the Columbia County sheriff, Cornelius Hogeboom, from a farm property being auctioned to pay rent that had fallen into arrears. A few days later, when Hogeboom made a second attempt to seize the land, "seventeen men painted and in Indian dress sallied forth from the barn, fired, and marched after them keeping up a constant firing." Sheriff Hogeboom assumed that the men only wished to frighten his party and so let one of the Indians ride up close. The masked man shot and killed him. Rebellion and riot

over rents and manorial holdings in the Hudson valley continued for the next fifty years, providing Cooper with literary grist for *The Redskins*.³

The Revolution had been the work of both educated elites and the often riot-prone groups of sailors, workers, and small farmers who had borne much of the military burden. In the rebellion's aftermath, intellectual and economic leaders tended to move easily from philosophizing and merchandising to practical governing. Artisans, mechanics, and farmers found the shift from oppositional rebel to sacrificing citizen more difficult. They had fought and died for a freedom largely defined by repetitive assertions that the British Empire had unfairly restricted their personal and societal liberty. Many had rallied around Tammany, using Indian costume to claim unconstrained freedom as an essential American quality, a customary right inherent in the land itself. In the Republic, however, the line between personal freedom and anarchy proved to be extremely fine. Lacking access to the corridors of nascent government power, many people continued to view attempts—like that of Cornelius Hogeboom—to organize society, generate revenue, and rearticulate pre- and post-Revolution property status as hostile encroachments on a personal freedom conceived to be almost boundless.⁴

The Revolution itself gave playing Indian even greater evocative power, for now the practice turned on an established history. In addition to its connotations of aboriginal freedom, Indianness might also evoke the Boston Tea Party, the Philadelphia patriots, and wartime military celebrations. When they donned their costumes, the injins who shot the sheriff sought legitimization in the collective memory of the Revolution while, at the same time, suggesting that the true revolution was yet to come.

This doubling of meaning appeared in Maine, for example, where landlord-tenant conflict produced a sometimes enormous tribe of white Indians. As in many instances of disguised riot, the local tradition predated the Revolution. As early as 1761, a charivari held by a group of angry backcountry settlers in Indian dress had driven one of the area's principal proprietors out the back door of his lodging. Although such activity ceased during the War for Independence, it commenced again in the late 1780s, intensified throughout the 1790s, and exploded in the early 1800s as land title became an increasingly important point of conflict between proprietors and tenants. The historian Alan Taylor has exhaustively catalogued these incidents, making clear that by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century Indian disguise had become a characteristic feature of backcountry harassments.⁵

A recruiting notice penned by Daniel Brackett, the Maine backcountry's White Indian King, referred to rebellious settlers as English subjects and used the monarchical images of kings and crowns to deny the significance of the Revolution as a liberating experience for the backcountry. In recreating the Revolution's opposition between a distant, royal enemy and aboriginal settlers, Brackett relied on the same interior sense of Indianness prominent in pre-Revolution Tammany celebrations: "And to bring [the settlers] under lordships and slaveourey and as we poor indians did see your situation and did see it was a plan of pollicy and rogurey in great men and unjust: we poor indians did pity you and was willin to spend our life for you because we all won brother."⁶ This layering of meaning—in which Indian costume could evoke the Revolution while denying its significance—testifies to the increasing difficulties that would confront Americans who imagined that they could simply transfer prewar patriotic festivities to the post-Independence Republic.

Nowhere were the shifting and multiple meanings of Indianness as visible as in the Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebellion of the early 1790s. Homemade whiskey occupied a preeminent position in the Pennsylvania backcountry, both as beverage and as commodity. Made with rye, whiskey offered farmers a common currency in the backcountry's barter economy and an easily transported, non-perishable product for more distant markets. When the federal government levied an excise tax on whiskey in 1791, angry Pennsylvanians immediately hearkened back to the Revolution, pointing out the parallels between the whiskey excise and the various taxes levied by the British.⁷

The whiskey protest developed along two lines. A predominantly intellectual group pressed for change through petitions and public gatherings, while a more raucous faction turned to tar-and-feathers-style intimidation of federal officials. In the summer of 1792, twenty men arrayed in Indian warpaint appeared at the backcountry home of William Faulkner, who had rented space to a government tax collector, and began to break down the doors to the house. Let in by a sympathetic soldier, the Indians tore up the home, leaving bullets and shot in every ceiling. Faulkner told the tax collector to find other quarters.⁸

In 1794, the rebels assembled their demands and strategies in the form of a metaphorical "Indian Treaty" that appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. The treaty, a collection of speeches by the purported heads of the "Six United Nations of White Indians," drew on the old notion of aboriginal Indian custom, the popular memory of the Revolution, and the political strategy of actual Indian people. "Captain Whiskey, an Indian Chief" questioned the inequities of taxing whiskey

but not cider or beer and the economic sense of sending a large army to Pennsylvania to collect only three or four thousand dollars a year. "It is a common thing," he said, "for Indians to fight your best armies at the proportion of one to five. Our nations can produce twenty thousand warriors; you may then calculate what your army ought to be." "Captain Alliance" underscored the United States' precarious geopolitical situation and pondered the possibility of the western territories throwing their allegiance to either Spain or England. Finally, "Captain Pacificus" laid down the whiskey rebels' terms: remove the army and the excise tax. The treaty ended with a description of a wampum belt—the traditional method of discussing and ratifying agreements among the region's indigenous groups—inscribed "Plenty of whiskey without excise." The whiskey rebels used the Revolution and its rhetoric of liberty to assert that authority rested with the people, not as a representative state or federal government but in terms that were local and specific.⁹

The rebels turned to Indianness to construct a three-layered rhetoric of protest. The first layer evoked the same, largely imagined, aboriginal legitimization of custom drawn upon by revolutionary colonists. This layer, however, was overlaid by a historical layer, in which the rebels cited the Revolution itself, drawing parallels between the federal government and the English monarchy and between themselves and the Sons of Liberty organizations. Finally, playing Indian allowed the whiskey rebels to portray themselves in terms of the geopolitical strategies of the Indian peoples of the old Northwest. Native village coalitions had consistently sought political advantage by trading on their ability to alter the European balance of power. The Pennsylvanians, with their nods to Spain and England, threatened no less.¹⁰

Although the meanings of Indian Others depended on the changing social and political struggles of white Americans, they also relied upon the shifting circumstances of real Indians. Because Americans negotiated the import of the metaphor of being Indian through this mixture of real Indians and imagined and ideological ones, shifts either in American ideology or in perception of Indian people altered the significance of Indian dress. And by the late eighteenth century, many Americans had come to view resistant native people as national enemies.

The Seven Years War had been a turning point in the racializing of native people and the development of a full-blown ideology of Indian-hating. In the Pennsylvania backcountry, for example, the Paxton Boys and other Indian-haters demanded the extermination of native people—and they acted on their

beliefs, massacring peaceful Conestoga Indians in 1763. At the same time, of course, the citizens of urban Philadelphia were performing a more positive Indianness. Dressing like Tammany gave concrete form to the localized antipathy that Philadelphians sometimes felt for the wild settlers of the backcountry. It also pointed to the fact that, for them, the British, not the Indians, were the most important rival, both militarily and ideologically.¹¹

During the War for Independence, however, the backcountry's racialized, savage notion of Indianness began to find a larger audience. Most native people remained neutral, sided with the British, or fought Americans in the backcountry to protect their lands from settlers' incursions. General wartime brutality and complex customs of torture provided American propagandists with ample material for reimagining a negative, alien Indian. In 1777, for example, twenty-four-year-old Jane McCrae, who was being escorted by a party of Loyalist Indians, was killed and apparently scalped in a skirmish with another native group. The American general Horatio Gates spread the story widely in order to whip up sentiment against Indians and their British allies alike. Gory tales of white women murdered, raped, and scalped by Indian people helped shift the symbolic weight of Indianness from the familiar patriot Tammany toward a generic, inhuman, savage Other.¹²

After the Revolution's conclusion, backcountry Americans and speculators—often claiming that British defeat was a defeat of British Indian allies—moved into the Old Northwest. Native people did not see themselves as defeated, and they reacted violently against squatting Americans. Unable to staunch the flow of anarchic immigrants streaming into Kentucky and Ohio, the federal government often ended up reluctantly fighting on their behalf. Indian coalitions proved to be formidable enemies. In 1790, Indian people united to defeat Gen. Josiah Harmar, and they went on to rout Arthur St. Clair's army the following year. The United States spent a large portion of a tight federal budget on these campaigns, which had resulted only in the loss of much of the federal army. With the British weakened, Indians now seemed the most pressing threat to the Republic, and they bore the brunt of American cultural anxiety. At the same time, the stark differences between backcountry and seaboard diminished as the Pittsburgh-Philadelphia corridor, directly linked to the Ohio country, became a central axis for commerce, credit, and capital flows in the new Republic. It became far easier to find common ground between city and backcountry when Indians threatened the interests of both.¹³

After Independence, as the list of Indian problems grew, dressing native to

celebrate one's patriotism became a far more complicated endeavor. Indian opposition to American expansion posed a complex political, economic, and military problem, and Indianness was frequently reimagined in negative, racial terms. At the same time, though the Revolution had ended, Indian-garbed rebellions had not. As political and class factionalism became visible in the constitutional debates, economic elites and advocates of federalism confronted political rivals sympathetic to antigovernment injin rebels. The Philadelphia elites had defined themselves, in part, through an Indian patriotism firmly under their control. Now, however, the meanings attached to Tammany were up for grabs. The mythic chief signified real-life savages who threatened the nation, a hostile class that had taken democratic politics too far, and a privileged elite reluctant to share its power.

The disintegration and rapid reorganization of the Philadelphia Tammany society offer a particularly visible instance of the ways in which postrevolutionary Americans used Indian play to contest and organize the politics of the new Republic. Dormant through the war, the Philadelphia Tammany paraders revived their organization in 1783. They became the first in a series of societies—including the better-known New York-based Tammany as well as various orders of Red Men—that would become critical venues for Indian play in the early nineteenth century.

The elite Philadelphia celebrants had always had critics, and they now turned the increasingly popular idea of the savage Indian against the group. The monarchical threat had been subdued, they argued, and all that remained of the Tammany celebrations was a "stupid mummery"—and a dangerous one at that. In 1786, for example, the Seneca leader Cornplanter visited the Philadelphia Saint Tammany society and was feted in full costume by the members. A sarcastic letter to the journal *Watson's Annals*, ostensibly written by Cornplanter, appeared soon after. It reaffirmed the importance of societal distance between Indians and non-Indians:

You know kinsman how much pains our white brothers have taken to cause us to renounce our independent and happy mode of life and to exchange it for what they call the pleasures of civilization and religion; but they now think differently. As proof of this preference of our manners and principles to their own, a large body of the citizens of Philadelphia, assembled on the first day of May on the banks of the Schuylkill every year, and then in the dress of Sachems celebrate the name, character, and death of

old King Tammany. This entertainment ends as all such entertainments do with us, in drunkenness and disorder, which are afterward printed in their newspapers in the most agreeable colours, as constituting the utmost festivity and joy. But the principal end of this annual feast is to destroy the force of the Christian religion.¹⁴

A new focus on savage Indian drunkenness and paganism proved an effective counter to the Tammany groups' older claim to an aboriginal connection between Indians and Americans.

But the Philadelphia society also suffered from internal dissensions that mirrored the social and political shifts taking place in a larger American society. The celebrations of 1783, 1784, and 1785 featured an uneasy mingling of Federalists and anti-Federalists, elites and artisans, native-born and foreign immigrants. Patriotic opposition to Great Britain, a powerful point of unity during the war, could no longer hold such an assembly together in a fractious political climate. Indeed, at the last large celebration, in 1786, "native" Tammany members confronted a "rude" and "knavish" crowd that thought "Common Sense too common" and acted on the assumption by intruding on the festival (fig. 6).¹⁵ Many in the crowd were Irish immigrants (indeed, when a branch of the New York society reemerged in Philadelphia in the 1790s, its explicitly political membership would be contentious, controversial, and heavily Irish). By 1789, the gentlemen had retreated permanently to a small, quiet dinner at the Fish House of the State of Schuylkill, bringing the Tammany organization full circle in the most literal way. The Philadelphians had foundered on the differences between an Indianness conducive to patriotic rebellion and one reshaped to meet the internal and external challenges to the nation.¹⁶

The year 1789 also marks the rise of the New York Tammany society, an organization far more successful than the Pennsylvania order in remaking Indianess.¹⁷ The New York society came together in 1786 under the leadership of the businessman John Pintard, a New Jersey Tammany society alumnus, and William Mooney, a New York upholsterer who would become the organization's first grand sagem. Their initial Saint Tammany's day celebration in 1787 was a smallish affair. Within two years, however, it had blossomed into a major social event. The society erected marquees along the Hudson River, served dinner, and provided entertainment. With each of thirteen toasts, the guests enjoyed thirteen ordnance salutes in honor of the states. The society members walked in

Philadelphia, April 20th, 1786

BROTHER,

IF you wish to celebrate the anniversary of our Antient Grandfather, St. TAMMANY, on Monday, the 1st of May next, you will be furnished with a ticket, by applying to Brother Peter January, treasurer, at the north-west corner of Market and Second streets. and depositing *Ten Shillings*, by Friday, the 28th instant, after which day no tickets will be delivered to any person, on any terms whatever.

Provision will be made for none but those who do pay for their tickets by that day.

The celebration to close at seven o'clock.

☛ *A buck's tail and the ticket in your hat, a knife and fork in your pocket.*

To Brother *Peter A. January*

Nº 25

6. Philadelphia Sons of St. Tammany, Invitation to Tammany Day Dinner, April 20, 1786. The final year in which the Tammany Day celebration featured public parading, 1786 was marked by an invitation that set up a series of checks designed to prevent intrusions from the common crowd.

Despite such cautions, when the members took to the streets, they found themselves the subjects of ridicule rather than envy. From Francis Von A. Caben, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 26:4 (1902): 442.

Indian file, wore Indian costumes, painted and smeared their faces, and carried bows, arrows, and long smoking pipes, which they passed around after the twelfth toast as a sign of friendship and peace.¹⁸ Defining itself primarily as a patriotic fraternal order, Pintard's organization acquired almost five hundred new members between 1789 and 1794, the bulk of the membership drawn from the city's plebeian, artisan class with a sprinkling of politicians of the better sort and merchants of middling classes. Unlike the Philadelphia order, the New York society made specific provisions for keeping Irish immigrants powerless and marginalized. This new formula—fraternal, democratic, and nativist—proved popular, and the New York order established branches in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Ohio.¹⁹

Whereas the Philadelphia society had operated on an informal basis, the New York Tammany society was an early entry in the proliferation of highly organized, secret fraternal groups that attracted millions of nineteenth-century American men to weekly meetings and initiation ceremonies.²⁰ Historians have pointed to many important functions of these groups. Rituals, costumes, secret

handshakes, signs, and codes allowed fraternal members to construct unique insider identities that proved valuable amid the dislocations of a society rapidly embracing modern capitalism. As geographic communities and subsistence economies gave way to the mobile communities of the early industrial social order, fraternal groups, especially the often elite gatherings of Freemasonry, provided key points of unity for nascent class identities.²¹ At the same time, philosophies of fraternal brotherhood softened market competition and emphasized a genial human universalism. The organized benevolence systems of many fraternal groups eventually replaced the economic safety net previously offered by craft guilds. By broadening the base of benevolent support from one particular type of production—shoemaking or upholstery, for example—to a whole class of production, the societies created a less vulnerable and more reliable union.

The societies also tempered and channeled the impulsiveness of youth. Young men who might otherwise have been excluded from the political process experienced a measure of authority, both within the group and in its outside activities.²² Men came for social fellowship as well. New York's Tammany society was one of many groups known for postmeeting drinking and storytelling sessions that lasted until dawn. Fitz-Greene Halleck, one of the so-called bucktail bards, captured the society's sociality in verse:

There's a barrel of porter at Tammany Hall,
And the bucktails are swigging it all the night long;
In the time of my boyhood 'twas pleasant to call
For a seat and cigar, 'mid the jovial throng.²³

As gender distinctions came to rest firmly on separateness rather than mutuality, the societies helped define the clubby sociability thought to accompany a distinctly urban masculinity.

Unlike many other fraternal groups, however, the New York Tammany society connected its fraternal identity with a larger, American identity, the members imagining themselves as an *avant-garde* who had captured the egalitarian essence of American society. In order to have an Indian society that made sense to a broad public, however, Tammany had to deal with the negative emotions associated with images of the Indian savages and overly democratic injin rebels of the backcountry.

The order moved first to dilute the importance of Tammany by turning to Columbus as a crucial figure of American identity. In April 1791, cofounder

Pintard queried Jeremy Belknap about the workings of his Massachusetts Historical Society. Pintard contemplated using Tammany as the cornerstone for a similar organization, one that would feature manuscript collections and a museum. His inquiry left little doubt as to the changing balance between the society's figurehead patrons:

I wish to hear whether your Antiquarian Society is commencing, or its prospects. An account will be given in some future magazine of our Tammany Society (We have lately uncanonized him). . . . We have got a tolerable collection of Pamphlets, mostly modern, with some History, of which I will also send you some day an abstract. Our society proposes celebrating the completion of the third century of the discovery of America, on the 12th of October, 1792, with some peculiar mark of respect to the memory of Columbus, who is our patron.²⁴

One can see hints of Tammany's decanonizing as early as 1788 in a Philadelphia Fourth of July poem:

The savage tribes their jubilee proclaim,
And crown Saint Tammany with lasting fame.
E'en the poor Negro will awhile resign
His furrows, to adorn Saint Quaco's shrine;

While mimic Saints a transient joy impart,
That strikes the sense but reaches not the heart,
Arise Columbia!—nobler themes await
Th' auspicious day, that sealed thy glorious fate.²⁵

After having moved through the obligatory list of saints and their associated nations—Spain with James, France with Denis, Ireland with Patrick—the author separates Tammany from Americans in general, assigns him only to Indians, pairs natives and African slaves, questions the legitimacy of “mimic saints,” and finally calls forth Columbia for American sainthood.

In 1789, the New York society, which had initially featured Tammany as its sole namesake, adopted a dual name—the St. Tammany's Society or Independent Order of Liberty. By the end of the year, a formal constitution had shifted the name to Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order. In 1790, Columbus appeared in the group's pantheon of toasts as a “secondary patron.” The following year, as Pintard noted, the society changed to the more secular Tammany

Society or Columbian Order and began making plans to celebrate the Columbian tercentenary.²⁶

The society's rituals and customs reflected the shifting fortunes of its patrons. Philadelphians had made Tammany an American saint and celebrated the fertility of springtime and the future possibilities of a new republic. New Yorkers now decanonized him and turned to a commemorative, autumnal feast day that looked back to Columbus. As part of this legitimating backward glance, Americans began visualizing the Republic in the classical tradition of Greece and Rome. Lacking Parthenian columns and crumbling amphitheaters, however, American tastemakers turned to visible signs of time and history in the landscape: Indians and nature joined as important artifacts of contemplation and commemoration. Tammany went from a figure of possibility to one of history.²⁷

As Americans founded towns in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, they endeavored to classicize the landscape by adopting Greek and Roman city names—Troy, Utica, Ithaca, Sparta, Rome, Athens—thus transplanting rhetorically an ancient republican past. Indian names remained on the landscape as well, but their meanings were often transformed in a conflation of Indianness and classicism (Cooper, one might observe, blessed his native hero, Susquesus, with a latinate name, probably an adaptation of Susquehanna). "Indians and fauns and Arcadian shepherds were all essentially of the same breed, sharing the animal life of nature," observes the historian William Vance. John Galt's biography of the artist Benjamin West, published in 1816, is a representative example of this explicit intertwining of classic American and European pasts. At one point, Galt placed the painter in Rome, with a Vatican cardinal attempting to awe him with the ancient statue of Apollo Belvedere, well known in the world of eighteenth-century classicism. "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!" Galt had West exclaim. Pointing to the Apollo, West continued, "I have seen them often standing in that very attitude, and pursuing, with an intense eye, the arrow which they had just discharged from the bow."²⁸

If Indians cavorted with Roman gods, they also represented a particularly pastoral vision of America's historical landscape. In 1790, for example, Philip Freneau, another Tammany bucktail bard, wrote a poem entitled "The Indian Burying Ground," in which he linked departed Indians, rocks and trees, and the aesthetic and historical contemplation of ruins and the past:

Here still a lofty rock remains,
On which the curious eye may trace

(Now wasted, half, by wearing rains)
The fancies of a ruder race.

Here still an aged elm aspires,
Beneath whose far projecting shade
(And which the shepherd still admires)
The children of the forest played.²⁹

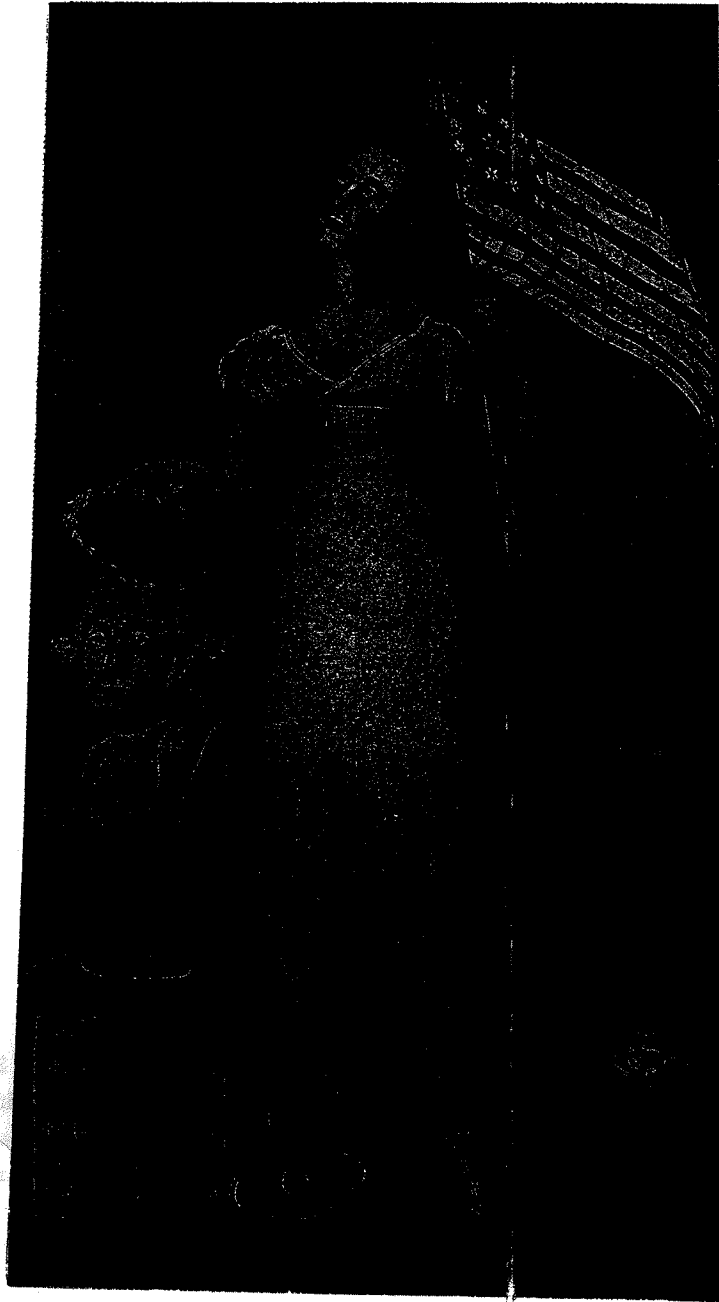
The use of Indian and nature to imagine a meaningful history followed the literary mythologizing that had swirled around the prerevolutionary Tammany. Now, however, this past was ancient and real rather than self-consciously mythic, and the stories were histories to be possessed rather than explicit definitions of Self.

Fraternal societies offered prominent venues for performing such usable classic pasts. English and American Freemasons, for example, had built a compelling (if imaginary) fraternal history centered on Solomon's Temple and the crusader Knights Templar. Young men could find Robin Hood reenactments at the Ancient Order of Foresters, "patriarchal encampments" at the Odd Fellows, hooded ritual sacrifices at the gatherings of the United Ancient Order of Druids, and a host of other inventive rituals that linked the present with a legitimating past.³⁰

In making Tammany a figure of America's ancient republican history, the society sought a position of authority in American cultural discourse. Sachem William Pitt Smith, for example, claimed a role as a national tastemaker with his suggestion that Indian costume should afford the basis for a distinctive American clothing style.³¹ At the same time, the order aimed to mute criticisms of its Indian celebrations by pointing to a historical Tammany rather than a recent token of rebellion or a reminder of actual Indians.

Even so, the society joined with other Americans in moving away from Indians and toward Columbus, a symbol of the nation's blossoming national culture. This larger shift is aptly illustrated by the rise of Columbia, Columbus's abstracted female counterpart (fig. 7).³² In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European empires glorified themselves through classicized female figures. Great Britain, for example, venerated Britannia, a Romanesque figure dressed in robes and cloaked with the symbols of British authority, the crown and the sword.³³

Colonial Americans had sometimes been represented by a female figure—the so-called Indian Princess, who served as a counterpart to Tammany and a sort of



primitive younger sister to Britannia. The Indian Princess may have been the correct gender to signify the transformation from crude colony to domesticated Arcadia, but, like Tammany, she carried too many negative associations to function effectively as a national icon. Unlike the chaste breast occasionally revealed by a fold in the asexual Britannia's robe, the Indian Princess's frequently naked body symbolized not only fertility and the natural state, but also *availability* (see fig. 3). The sense of availability applied both to the American landscape and to real Indian women, who were often represented as being sexually available to white men. In order to symbolize the colonies' maltreatment by Great Britain, revolutionary-era cartoonists repeatedly pictured the Indian Princess through images suggestive of sexual abuse and rape. The widely reprinted cartoon "The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught" (see fig. 4), for example, shows several Englishmen restraining the Indian Princess while one lifts her robe in order to expose her. In a colonial context, representing the continent as being available served useful purposes. The message of availability proved contradictory, however, when one wanted to demonstrate not colonial opportunity, but independent nationhood. The associations of primitivism, sexuality, and miscegenation that accompanied the Indian Princess were highly inappropriate to the magisterial figure required by European conventions.³⁴

Columbus and Columbia allowed Americans to proclaim their political independence through a non-British, non-Indian figure. Columbia signified the dignity and gentility of civilization in a way that the male Columbus could not, while, at the same time, retaining his history. Swathed in Greco-Roman robes and adorned with latinized mottoes, lines from the Declaration of Independence, and the badges of the Republic—flags, eagles, stars, and colors—the figure represented a new American past while asserting that the United States had taken its place among civilized nations. By 1815, Columbia had become the predominant formal symbol of the nation.

Americans built postrevolutionary identities around such symbols of political distinctiveness and authority. The New York Tammany society, already tied to

7. Artist unknown, Liberty and Washington, ca. 1800–10. By the early nineteenth century, the Indian princess had given way to Liberty or Columbia, magisterial figures more appropriate to European conventions of national iconography. She is surrounded by the critical emblems of the new nation: stars and stripes, an eagle, the liberty cap and pole, and a laurel-wreathed George Washington. The British crown lies trampled under her foot. Courtesy of the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown.

the historical Columbus and the ancient Tammany, made government itself into a third key symbol of identity. The society staked yet another claim to authority by playing up its connections with American political institutions. New York, the nation's capital from 1788 to 1790, anchored the country's political life, and the Tammany society hovered close at hand. By using its constitution of 1789 (rather than the dinner in 1787) as an origin point, the society connected its birth with that of the new nation, symbolized by the inauguration of George Washington in 1789. The society made its claims temporally, noting that its constitution had been written within a fortnight of Washington's swearing in, and spatially, asserting that the document had been signed within a few blocks of the spot where the inauguration had taken place. The members initiated a threefold calendar system, referencing dates to the Columbian 1492, the 1776 of Independence, and the 1789 founding of the order itself. In a Tammany document, for example, July 1800 would appear as "Season of Fruits, Seventh Moon, Year of Discovery three hundred and eighth; of Independence twenty fourth, and of the Institution the twelfth."³⁵

The elements that defined the society—archaic Indianness, Columbian history, pseudo-governmental status—came into clear focus at a meeting between the society and a group of Creek leaders in 1790. Attempting to avert war with the Creeks and to reassert federal power over the state of Georgia, Marinus Willett, a member of the New York Tammany society, had been sent to ask the Creek leader Alexander McGillivray to journey to New York and make a peace treaty with the federal government.³⁶

When Willett and the Creek leaders arrived, the Tammany members met them in full costume and flanked the Indians as the two groups marched together through the streets of New York, waving and shouting the society's "Et-Hoh" song at bystanders. They passed Congress, exchanged mutual salutes, and moved on to the Tammany wigwam.³⁷ That evening the society held a formal welcoming in which they used the figures of Tammany and Columbus to signify Indian-white concord and to lay the groundwork for the treaty negotiations to come. Grand Sachem Dr. William Pitt Smith delivered the welcoming address:

Although the hand of death is cold upon their bodies, yet the spirits of two great Chiefs are supposed to walk backwards and forwards in this great wigwam and to direct us in all our proceeding—Tammany and Columbus. Tradition has brought to us the memory of the first. He was a great and good Indian chief, a strong warrior, a swift hunter, but what is greater than

all, he loved his country. We call ourselves his sons. Columbus was a famous traveller and discoverer; [he] was the first white man that ever visited this western world. But history makes it known that because he wished to treat the Indians with kindness, friendship, and justice, he was cruelly used. Brothers—Tammany and Columbus live together in the world of spirits in great harmony, and they teach us to cultivate like friendship and reciprocal good offices with you and all Indians.³⁸

The sachem portrayed a new Tammany, constructed not around patriotic rebellion, but around an unquestioning love of the nation. Smith then turned to Columbus, painting him as a kind man victimized by those who would mistreat Indian people. By claiming the Indian Tammany as his father, Smith, in effect, offered up Columbus—a figure of supposed integrity in Indian-white dealings—as a patron to the Creeks. This exchange then moved to the level of government, the two groups trading titles. The Creek leaders (upon whom the society bestowed the monarchical title king) gave Smith the name Tuliva Mico, Chief of the White Town. Smith turned next to McGillivray himself, representing the Creek leader, who was half Scots, as a perfect expression of the concord that came with peaceable Indian-white exchange; not to be left out, the Sons of Saint Andrew held a similar ordination in honor of McGillivray's Scottish ancestry a few nights later.³⁹

Even as they claimed ties to real Indian people, the society experienced them as Others, falling easily into the same contradictory doublings of identity that had characterized the Tea Party Mohawks' attempts to negotiate Americanness. Through face paint and costumes, the society claimed aboriginal American identity. The members and the Creeks exchanged names, titles, and patrons; they sang, danced, and drank together as if both groups were part of the same social whole. As would-be treaty negotiators, however, the Tammany members never forgot the societal lines between Creek and white American.

The Tammany society seemed to be feting the Creeks—and they were. But equally important were the messages that William Pitt Smith was sending through the Creeks to members of the government and American society as a whole. The speeches, made to real Creek people who were, in a sense, transparent, informed other Americans of the society's patriotism, love of country, and authority as mediators. Ironically, the society's distance from real Indians was matched by a similar distance from the government. The actual treaty negotiations were yet to come, and they would not include the Tammany society.

Yet even if Tammany did not participate in the treaty, the society nonetheless felt it had staked a claim to paragon status and authority. Tammany continued to link its governing structure with that of the nation, naming the United States president the honorary Kitchi Okemaw, or great grand sachem, of the society. The doubled identities of figures like Marinus Willett—Tammany chieftain and presidential envoy—and the occasional presence of government officials at its festivities—including the secretaries of War and State (Henry Knox and Thomas Jefferson), the chief justice of the Supreme Court (John Jay), and the governor of New York (George Clinton), among others—only reaffirmed the connection. Prior to meeting the Creeks, the Tammany society had also hosted the Oneidas, with whom they held a similar faux treaty meeting, and the Cayugas, who danced with the members at their celebration of May 1790.⁴⁰ For the Tammany society, claiming congruence with both the federal government and with Indian people, the powerful legitimating role of political and cultural mediator was tailor-made and eagerly accepted. In the process, Tammany aimed to redefine the public practice of dressing Indian. Faced with the reemergence of exterior savage Others and the shifting of once-favored revolutionary Indian play to the far side of American societal boundaries, Tammany remade interior Indianness. Indian costume now signified an American identity based upon republican order rather than revolutionary potential. Parading down Fifth Avenue in paint and fur and feathers demonstrated a peculiar, but useful and powerful form of patriotism.

The society's desire to play a role in government, however, compromised the political neutrality it had created around fraternal fellowship. The group soon found itself the site of impassioned disputes between Federalists and anti-Federalists. By the mid-1790s, many Federalist members, dubious of the society's support of a now-tumultuous French Revolution, had withdrawn.⁴¹ When, in the wake of the Whiskey Rebellion, Washington attacked "self-created societies" in 1794 and again in 1796, membership plummeted still further. According to the Tammany historian/mythmaker Judah Hammond, the Tammany Day festival of 1797 drew only three people. The society's numbers began to rise again soon after this holiday debacle, but the organization's government-linked patriotism had been transformed into a more purely partisan Republican activism.⁴²

As the society shifted from patriotism to partisanship, it continued to deemphasize Indianness. And as public opinion turned increasingly negative toward both real Indian people and the politicized Tammany society itself, society

leaders intensified this process. In the parades of the early nineteenth century, for example, the society sponsored two floats—one of Tammany, one of Columbus—which they treated as equivalent.⁴³ As the society became a partisan stronghold, however, its Indian image became a point of attack for Federalist enemies, and Columbus proved an ineffective counterweight. After the July fourth parade of 1809, the *American Citizen and General Advertiser* scolded,

It is painful to observe the ridicule which is annually thrown upon this glorious event by some semi-barbarians calling themselves the Tammany Society. Instead of commemorating the birth of the nation with that manliness and dignity which the occasion calls for and inspires, we see them with pain and disgust daubing their faces with paint, crowding their heavy heads with feather, making savages in appearance more savage; representing, as they term it, the genius of the nation in the person of some one who has no genius.⁴⁴

Other critics went beyond a purely Indian version of racial savagery, using satirical black dialect to link Indians with uncivilized slaves and to further invert the notion of Tammany as a noble, wise American. The *New York Evening Post* carried accounts of an "African Tammany celebration" in 1809, and the following year the *Rhode Island American* reported, "Las April Fool Day we light de council fire at de wigwam in my house. Well, dan we chuse officer. Toby we make him Gran Sachem. Cudjo we make him farrer in council; Yellow Sam he set up for Sagemall be he no brack enough. Dem we chuse Whish-em-Stirky." The "celebrants" then toasted "Broder Tomm Jefferson, de lass gran sachem of dis country," "Black Sal, his squaw," and "Our broders, de white Indians."⁴⁵

In 1813, angered by reports of Indian border "atrocities" during the War of 1812, other societies refused to parade with the Tammany society, and the members publicly renounced their Indian costumes, ceremonials, and titles and walked in plain clothes. After the war ended, they reintroduced Indian themes in a scaled-down form, but it was a rebirth that mattered little, for the society was in the midst of more significant changes. By 1822, when the New York constitution eliminated property requirements for suffrage, the Tammany society had recognized the increasing power of the Irish Catholic voting bloc and had courted, won over, and been swallowed up by immigrant Irishmen (ironically, the Philadelphia society had become an Irish-based political machine almost immediately, becoming entrenched in that city's politics by the late 1790s). As the New York society's Irish membership focused on acquiring and

manipulating political capital, they unofficially replaced both Tammany and Columbus with St. Patrick. In 1825, having gained a form of political authority that no longer required public display, the Tammany society stopped marching in parades. In 1831 they ceased to observe Tammany Day altogether.⁴⁶

The figure of Tammany had come a long way since serving as the festival patron for a Schuylkill River hunting and fishing society. When John Pintard displayed Indian objects in his Tammany Museum and Philip Freneau characterized Indians as "shades" in "endless sleep," they were defining Indian difference around boundaries of time rather than racial or societal difference (although these were, of course, critical aspects in the temporal definition). Ancient, classical Indians reproduced the ambiguous contradictions of the Indians that symbolized Americanness during the Revolution. The society continued to appropriate the interior, aboriginal identity of the Indian—now fused to a Greco-Roman history. As an artifact vanished forever in the ancient past, however, Indianness was also exterior, far removed from the American society of the present. Tammany members could visualize Indian contemporaries—the challenging savages on the border—as simply predead Indians who, upon dying, would become historical, locked in a grand narrative of inevitable American progress.

The New York Tammany society lost much of its interest in Indian impersonation as a new ethnic membership garnered an institutional form of political power. Tammany, however, represented only one branch in the Indian society family tree. Other groups—among them the Society of Red Men and its lineal descendant, the Improved Order of Red Men—also remade Indianness to create American identities that resonated more deeply with the cultural anxieties of the new Republic.⁴⁷

Even as the Indian atrocities of the War of 1812 caused New York Tammany to recoil, an older logic simultaneously pointed the Society of Red Men to reprise the Indian as an anti-British figure. These contradictory figurings of Indianness should come as no surprise, for, as we have seen, different social groups used Indian play to advance different agendas and materialize a complex range of identities. During the Revolutionary War, many of the old Saint Tammany societies had stopped meeting, as members scattered and celebratory gatherings seemed unjustified or even dangerous. Many military units took up the springtime celebration, however, and it functioned as an informal military holiday until shortly before the War of 1812, when Secretary of War Henry Dearborn canceled it as overly debauched.⁴⁸

The holiday did not stay submerged for long. When the United States became

involved in the War of 1812, a group of Philadelphia men under the command of Capt. James N. Barker rebuilt and occupied Fort Mifflin, located four miles below the city on the Delaware River. Barker was the son of John Barker, a prominent member of the Philadelphia Sons of Saint Tammany. Confined at the fort, Barker, who had written a play about Pocahontas, and a group of young volunteers founded a fraternal order modeled on the first Tammany societies, the early New York organization, and the military associations. The Society of Red Men sprang to life during a two-week period during which its members focused entirely on an immediate British threat to their home. But the Red Men reflected more than opposition to the British. Its members also eschewed the political activism of the still-powerful Philadelphia Tammany society, and they pledged themselves to sociality, patriotism, military comradeship, and, most especially, benevolence. Faced with the uncertainty of wartime, the Society members vowed "to relieve each other in sickness or distress."⁴⁹

In 1816, after the war was over and the negative feelings about Indians had begun to subside, the group reorganized as a full-blown benevolent society, offering relief to members in distress and to orphans and widows of deceased Red Men. Sending recruiters as far south as Charleston and as far north as Albany, they quickly created a chain of organizations that rivaled the New York Tammany group, which had started to lose tribes as its partisan activities generated widespread hostility. Throughout the 1820s, Red Men's lodges prospered across the country. The Philadelphia wigwam boasted almost six hundred members, and missionary Red Men traveled as far as New Orleans to consecrate new groups.⁵⁰

Like the New York society, the Red Men adapted older formulas to meet changing social conditions. Whereas New York Tammany used Indian dress to perform a public, political identity, however, the Red Men found import and identity in private, highly secret "Indian mysteries." Indeed, secrecy helped them avoid the weight of anti-Indian sentiments that plagued the Philadelphia and New York Tammany societies. The members modeled the society after Freemasonry, duplicating its plethora of secret ceremonies, costumes, and hierarchies and adding coded Indian identities. Inductees received Indian names after surviving an initiation ritual that marked the passage from paleface to Red Man. The society's first leader, an engraver, Fort Mifflin volunteer, and former Mason named Francis Shallus, boasted the name Yeougheowanewago, or Split Log. Other names were more imaginative (and less Indian) in nature: Peruvian Bark, Hospitality, Long Pen, Fair Play's Brother.⁵¹


Indianness, for the Red Men, reflected a doubled identity well suited to the

anxieties of the 1820s, when mechanics and artisans began to realize the degree to which wage labor and industrialization threatened their autonomy and competency. Real Indians may well have been the last thing on their collective mind. Play Indians, however, offered reaffirmation. On the one hand, they represented the kind of unfathomable secrets that could make a man feel valuable and important. Fraternal organizations commonly claimed to possess mysterious archaic knowledge, encoded to elude complete human comprehension. The Red Men represented this unknowable knowledge with an enigmatic Indian—a figure from the ancient past that lay traced on the national landscape in the form of thousands of mysterious burial mounds. Even as Indianness was imagined as being temporally and intellectually outside national boundaries, it remained essentially American in nature.

When they gave human form to this imagined Indian in their costumed meetings, the Red Men asserted their uniqueness and importance. Like Tammany, they wished to see themselves as an elite, especially in relation to the often-dangerous transformations occurring in the modernizing republic. On the other hand, the society also promised a stable, reliable community with benevolent structures in place for those whose American dreams came to nought. Interior Indians served as markers of communal bonding, of what Alexis de Tocqueville saw as the American impulse to associate in order to address economic, political, and moral issues.⁵² Like the Tammany society, the Red Men found deep meaning in the connections between politics and fraternal and national identity. In the darkened meeting rooms of the Society of Red Men there existed a “second society” in which ordinary men mirrored the country’s political and military struggles. The mechanics and artisans who made up the Red Men were finding it increasingly difficult to participate in the formal governing mechanisms of state and nation. They might parade in the streets, but they rarely got elected to office (fig. 8).⁵³

Politics remained critical to the Red Men, but it was a politics that mimicked and echoed that of the nation. As the society’s leader, for example, Shallus held the title *generalissimo*, and he was assisted by first and second captain generals, six lieutenant-generals, twenty major-generals, forty brigadier-generals, and so on through an ever-expanding hierarchy of various grades of subordinate commissioned officers. In addition to the military titles, the society offered a wholly different set of Indian ranks: kings, half-kings, sachems, chiefs, old men in council, squaw sachems, and warriors. With literally hundreds of roles to be filled, members quickly acquired a formal rank and a role in the society’s gov-

HEAD-QUARTERS.



GENERAL ORDERS!

Attention
Red Men.

YOU will assemble in Grand Council Fire, at the Wigwag of Brother
MICHAEL SAMPSON, (Sign of General Jackson) Room near High Street,
on **THURSDAY** next, the 19th Inst., at 10 o'clock, noon. In due order, with
the full insignia of your Tribe, and badge of your Rank, fully prepared to take
up the line of march to Celebrate the

Anniversary of Tammany,

The Father Spirit of Red Men

By A Report and other Entertainments will be provided by Brother *PINE*
GROVE, of the Wigwag, Harmony Hall Hotel, Nash-Hill, suitable for the occa-
sion. Tickets can be had of the Committee of Arrangements, and R Pine Grove's
Wigwag.

N. B. The Generals are requested to report themselves on this day, in case
of urgent they will be succeeded by new appointments.

BY ORDER,

Lappopetung, OF
BLACK WAMPUM,
GENERALISSIMO.

Published at Red Oak,
24 Lind. Ave. Grand Building Berlin, N. M. P.
Fifth Month, 1825. No. 4. Prop. 25.

8. Society of Red Men Meeting Poster, May 9, 1825. Founded during the War of 1812, the society observed military protocols, with headquarters, marching orders, and abundant hierarchies of rank and authority. Members claimed multiple identities, and one might present oneself as the mysterious *Lappopetung*, the more accessible *Black Wampum*, a powerful *generalissimo*, or the rather regular *George Knorr*. From Charles H. Litchman, George W. Lindsay, and Charles C. Conley, *Official History of the Improved Order of Red Men* (Boston: Fraternal Publishing Co., 1893), 234.

ernance. And these authorities did indeed govern: constitutions, amendments, bylaws, ritual practices, communiqués were all proposed, debated, voted upon, and proclaimed to the membership.⁵⁴

By acting out the rituals of governance, members gained an emotional stake in the nation’s rule and a sense of American political identity. In fact, the group allowed members to claim multiple identities, each of which offered reassurance in the new Republic. Now, in addition to being both a shoemaker and an Indian who signified the patriotism of the past, the Red Man could also be a legislator, a military man, and a judge—important roles in the American polity.

Mutualism and benevolence helped members escape the increasingly dangerous market economy which, notwithstanding its rhetoric of egalitarian opportunity, left many in the dust. At the same time, however, one might also enjoy climbing to the top of the Red Man bureaucracy. Young men experienced ritual rites of passage, as their own rebellious inclinations were defused and contained by a structure that reproduced and reinforced the larger political system. Finally, through limited public appearances on Washington's Birthday and Saint Tammany's day, one could demonstrate a special identity as a Red Man in relation to the outside world, celebrating one's secret, privileged rites and one's patriotic Americanness at the same time.

Like the Tammany organizations, the Red Men used Indian play to act out a story about their identity as Americans—in this case, a tale of convivial egalitarian brotherhood mixed with the guardianship of unknowable national mysteries. In the end, the stories all circled back to similar meanings. It was important, especially in a young republic seeking collectivity and self-definition, to see oneself as both an egalitarian patriot and a member of a special extra-American elite—to have one's cake—as Crèvecoeur and Lawrence had observed—and to eat it too.

In the early 1830s, the Philadelphia chapter of the Red Men dissolved, taking with it a large part of the organizational structure that had held the national society together. Richard Loudenslager (Old Warrior), the last generalissimo, blamed the society's decay on members of "a certain class, who were so clanish and offensively aggressive that they disgusted the better class of members, who withdrew." Like the earlier societies, the Red Men confronted class and ethnic differences introduced by new immigrants. Unlike the New Yorkers and their Philadelphia offspring, the Red Men quarreled, splintered, and eventually disintegrated. Immigrants, however, accounted for only part of the Red Men's troubles. Throughout the 1820s, clergymen and women working their way into the public sphere attacked fraternal groups for the immorality of a convivial life marked by excessive drinking.⁵⁵ Secret societies also suffered in the anti-Masonic persecutions of the late 1820s. And, as a crowning blow, in 1832 America experienced a widespread cholera epidemic. All types of associations suffered as people, unsure of the cause of the disease but hoping to avoid contagion, stayed home or moved away from the cities.⁵⁶

As the "better class of members" fled the disintegrating Society of Red Men, one of the Baltimore tribes initiated a middle-class revival—the Improved Order of

Red Men (IORM), improved by the addition of temperance to their creed and a rededicated interest in patriotism and American history. The new founders preserved much of the basic structure of Red Man organization and ritual. Members continued to use the order as a place to work out compensatory political identities par excellence. In 1835, with but two tribes in place, the order set up a statewide governing council, thus creating several additional positions of power. After adding a few more tribes in Washington, D.C., in 1845, the order founded a national grand council in 1847 to supervise the affairs of only two localities. With the addition of each bureaucratic level, more IORM members were able to engage in heady debates over the legalities of jurisdiction and the nature of the uniform and the ritual.

Like the other Indian fraternities, the IORM intended to legitimate itself through patriotic connection to the American state. Unlike Tammany, which opted for direct political involvement, or the Red Men, who set up a shadow government, the Improved Order chose, interestingly enough, to trumpet its historical roots in the revolutionary Tammany societies. This proved no easy task. Playing Indian had allowed rebellious Americans to cross and confound boundaries of national identity, and Indian costume would forever maintain that connection. Antirent and tax rebels, although largely confined by the 1830s to the Hudson valley, continued to testify to the powerful revolutionary impulses that persisted in Indian dress. For the IORM, maintaining the link between revolutionary patriotism and Indian costume meant containing this potentially dangerous legacy of rebellion and once again refocusing the interior Indianness that, in various ways, meant America.

The members of the IORM confronted the symbolic legacy of Indianness and the Revolution in ways that mirrored broader patterns of American cultural change and new strategies for dealing with Indian people. By the 1830s, American imaginings of the Indian had coalesced on a common theme: the past. The ongoing physical removal of Indian people from the eastern landscape proved to be the key prerequisite for this particular rethinking. For just as the Indian resistance of the 1790s had been accompanied by an emphasis on savagery, so actual Indian removal led to a friendlier, more nostalgic image, such as that proffered by Cooper in *The Redskins*.

Federal Indian policy was meant to clear eastern territory by forcing Indian people to move to the west side of the Mississippi. From 1813, when the final defeat of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames marked the end of Indian attempts to offer a unified, interregional resistance, until the 1830s, when

President Andrew Jackson defied his own Supreme Court and forced the Cherokees to take to what became known as the Trail of Tears, Americans waged war, signed treaties, and used guile and force to relocate hundreds of thousands of Indian people. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most native people had indeed been made to disappear from the eastern landscape.⁵⁷

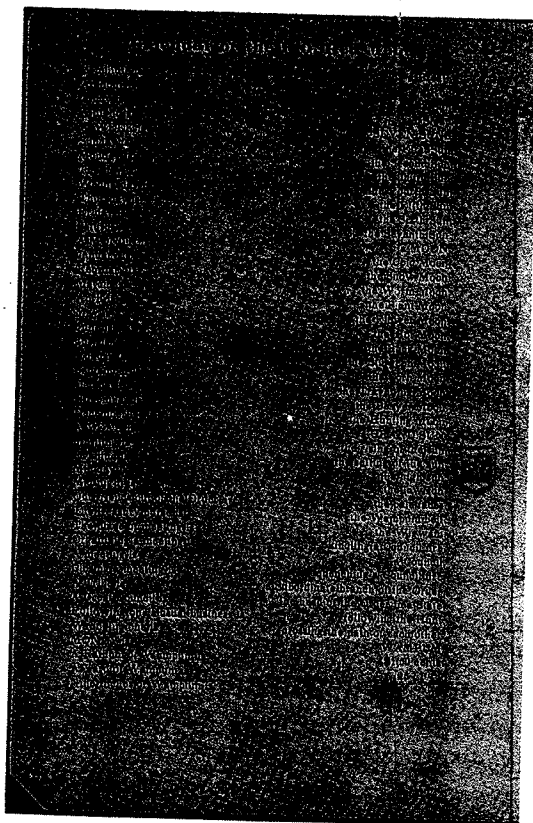
In conjunction with Indian removal, popular American imagery began to play on earlier symbolic linkages between Indians and the past, and these images eventually produced the full-blown ideology of the vanishing Indian, which proclaimed it foreordained that less advanced societies should disappear in the presence of those more advanced. Propagandists shifted the cause-and-effect of Indian disappearance from Jacksonian policy to Indians themselves, who were simply living out their destiny. "By a law of nature," claimed the Supreme Court justice Joseph Story in 1828, "they seem destined to a slow, but sure extinction. Everywhere, at the approach of the white man, they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone for ever. They pass mournfully by us, and they return no more."⁵⁸ These vanishing Indians were more highly developed forms of the classic, ruin/rock formation Indians that Freneau had envisioned forty years earlier. But Indians and Indian Others now appeared in a past that was wistful and commemorative rather than mythic and aged. Whereas Freneau placed Indians safely in ancient history, Story positioned them in a past so recent that one could yet hear their rustling footsteps and find their still-warm campfires. The two images mark the distinction between archaism and nostalgia, very different (but equally useful) narratives of the past.

Some of the best examples of the ideological force of the vanishing Indian appeared in the series of Indian plays that gained special popularity in the decade 1828–38. The dying chief Menawa, for example, offered a typical dramatic trope in *The Indian Prophecy* (1828), extending his blessings to the new nation (in the form of George Washington) before departing for the happy hunting grounds: "The Great Spirit protects that man [Washington], and guides his destiny. He will become the Chief of nations, and a people yet unborn, hail him as the Founder of a mighty Empire! Fathers! Menawa comes. (*Menawa sinks slowly into the arms of his attendants, strain of music, curtain falls.*)"⁵⁹ Some of the most popular dying Indian figures included *Metamora* (1829), *Pocahontas* (1808, 1830), and *Logan*, whose famous speech—really the founding statement of the "last of the . . ." genre—appeared in everything from popular newspapers and

schoolbooks to Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) to Joseph Doddridge's play *Logan: The Last of the Race of Shikellimus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation* (1823): "There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."⁶⁰

The Indian death speech brings us full circle to *The Redskins* and the justice-minded Susquesus, who, after reprimanding the antirent injins, declares, "You hear my voice for the last time. I shall soon cease to speak."⁶¹ Susquesus and other vanishing Indians represented sophisticated refigurings of Tammany, who voluntarily climbed on to his own funeral pyre. In their dying moments, these Indian figures offered up their lands, their blessings, their traditions, and their republican history to those who were, in real life, violent, conquering interlopers. Not coincidentally, the first lodges of the Improved Order of Red Men were named Logan No. 1, *Metamora* No. 2, *Pocahontas* No. 3, and *Metamora* No. 4. Tribes named for Powhatan, Pocahontas's father, and Uncas, Cooper's penultimate Mohican, followed shortly after. By insisting that real Indians were disappearing or had already vanished, the Improved Order was able to narrate and perform a fraternal Indian history without having to account for the actions of real Indian people. This history was possible only when Indian removal policy was widespread and advanced.

The IORM dropped the Red Men's abundant military titles and expanded the possible Indian-named ranks and metaphoric Indian nomenclature (fig. 9). Years became great suns, months became moons, minutes became breaths, money became fathoms, feet, and inches of wampum; the meetings were marked by the kindling and quenching of the council fire; a disbarred member was tomahawked; and so on.⁶² At meetings, Indian talk prevailed, creating the same metaphoric atmosphere that the revolutionaries had used to help them become Indian. The meaning of such metaphoric transformation, however, had taken on connotations of preservation and commemoration. Now, when the Red Men donned their florally decorated canvas costumes and met for arcane rituals in shadowy rooms, their practice of being Indian had little to do with revolution and crossing boundaries of national identity (fig. 10). It had little to do with the politics that attracted Tammany members and Red Men. Instead, the ritual had everything to do with custodial history—the preservation of a vital part of America's past. The Improved Order painted itself as a gathering of historians, the worthy keepers of the nation's aboriginal roots. "The value of the ceremonies of our Order," one Red Man later observed,



9. Hammonasset Tribe, Improved Order of Red Men, Nomenclature, 1848. The Improved Order turned away from the Society of Red Men's military structure and focused instead on easily accessible Indian metaphors like "sun," "moon," and "wampum." Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

is their historical accuracy. They seek not merely to imitate, but to preserve. When the time comes that the Indian race is extinct, our Order will occupy a place original and unique, growing more interesting as years pass on, and becoming at once, the interpreter of Indian customs and the repository of Indian traditions. Could a higher destiny await any Organization?⁶³

The commemorative renditions of vanished native people extended to the revolutionary Indians at the Boston Tea Party. Making Native Americans historical



10. Improved Order of Red Men Costume, late nineteenth century. The heavy canvas costume, with floral decorations, an American flag motif on the collar, and bucktails hanging in the rear, was an impressive vestment for fraternal ritual. Courtesy of the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

went hand in hand with a reverential remembering of the Revolution. Jefferson's and Adams's deaths on July 4, 1826, brought home the passing of the revolutionary generation, and the resulting campaign of nostalgia, remembrance, and reenactment faded in and out of public consciousness until midcentury. With this heightened consciousness of the passing of time, the idea of Indian-garbed rebellion—especially as it was being practiced by the New York antirenters—could be locked, along with the Founders and the Revolution itself, in a revered, commemorative past tense. The May Tammany celebration died out in the mid-1840s and was replaced, not only by the familiar commemorations of Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July, but by celebrations of the Boston Tea Party. In making this shift, Americans replaced carnivalesque, revolution-tinged Indian celebrations with sanctioned holidays in which Indian play transformed the wildness of the Revolution into an obedient patriotism.⁶⁴

The Improved Order found its identity in this turn toward history, seeking connections to both the nostalgic haze of the Revolution and the so-called American traditions of now-departed Indian people. Through commemoration and institutional genealogy, members linked their order with the early Saint Tammany societies. They became antiquarian detectives, tracing documents back through the Society of Red Men to vague reports of military Tammany groups that they could connect to the prerevolutionary Sons of Liberty. At the same time, they turned to the protoethnographic works of Lewis Henry Morgan, Peter DuPonceau, and John Heckewelder in order to capture for themselves the vanished customs they claimed to be preserving in their rituals. In the mid-1850s, Past Grand Sachem Morris Gorham began writing the first of several IORM histories, most of which aimed to make the order a direct descendant of both Indian people and the Tea Party Mohawks.

After the Revolution, different groups of Americans remade Indian Others, creating national and group identities that had meaning in the social and political contexts of the early Republic. In urban areas, fraternal societies placed the interior Indian-as-American into a commemorative past that legitimated governmental authority and downplayed the possibilities of rebellion. At the same time, fraternalists dressed up as exterior Indians to signify their own exotic difference as possessors of secret knowledge, super-patriotism, and the culture of vanished Indians. A very different collection of people in costume—both Indian and non-Indian—made these doubled identities even more contradictory. Across rural America, from Maine to New York to western Pennsylvania,

agrarian protesters adapted the Indianness of the Revolution to proclaim their desire for independence from landlords and government. And actual Indian people fought fiercely to hold on to their land.

In *The Redskins*, Cooper's "Indian and Injin" subtitle promises to separate real Indians from the fakes in calico-hooded costume. Instead, Cooper followed the historicizing inclinations of the Tammany society and the IORM—he suggested that both real Indians and agrarian injins who challenged governmental power were illusory and illegitimate. Susquesus and his Indian visitors, who represent actual Indians and a nostalgic construction of the Indian Other, prove to be vanishing relics of the past. The antirent protesters appear as cheap imitations of real Indians and revolutionary patriots, figures with a slightly deviant grip on reality. After humiliating the protesters and force-feeding them Indian instruction, Cooper made them vanish, transmuting riot-prone injins back into subservient tenant farmers. With actual Indians and antirenters gone, Cooper enshrined the images that he had arrayed around them in a safe, consensual past, while the elite Littlepages moved forward into a future.

Yet, the Indians and the injins were, in fact, the figures least amenable to literary vanishing acts. Real Indian people continued to challenge American expansion and steadfastly refused to vanish. Antirenters still turned to the revolutionary meanings that the nation's Founders had implanted in Indian dress in order to challenge the configuration of social and political authority in the Republic. Throughout the 1840s, the injin descendants of the painted farmer who shot Sheriff Cornelius Hogeboom gathered in headdresses and calico to challenge their landlords. The New York manorial system that Cooper defended was, in fact, the institution that eventually disappeared.

While actual Indian people struggled against removal and land loss and calico-hooded farmers plotted resistance, the imaginative urbanites of the Indian fraternities gathered in dark halls to don Indian dress and initiate palefaces into the historical mysteries of Indianness and patriotism. More than a half century before, Bostonians had dressed as Indians to leave their colonial status behind and to define and then become Americans. Now, when the Red Men met in the wigwam in full paint and costume, they journeyed back in time, celebrating not an identity of revolution, but a historical moment—the revered instant in which the Bostonians had dressed Indian to signify a revolutionary identity. And this commemorative act itself created a distinctive patriotic American identity, one changed and contained to meet the requirements of the new Republic.⁶⁵ Despite the various manipulations of Indianness, however, these forms

of American identity continued to carry with them the threads of doubt, ambiguity, doubledness, and contradiction that had been sewn from the very beginning into the fabric of the nation. Indians (and Indian Others) were not going away, and white American identity quests based on Indianness would confront the inevitable consequences of that fact.

three

Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects

The moon is dancing in the heavens and the stars are wandering through space, the courthouse of the sky. The silvery waters of the Oneida sleep in the distance and the light is frozen upon the icy beach. Beside this quiet and beauteous inland lake the Tekarihogea has this day stood and in silent meditation recalled the days when the forest cast its shade far over its horizon; and the Indian with his bow and arrow pursued his game to the waters edge and along its winding banks; when that stillness of the wood unknown to us was unbroken even by the Indian hunter, save now and then by the twang of a bow string and whizzing of an arrow or the whoop indicating victory in the chase. But now how changed! Alas Soshawah, in these very places the Yankees are boiling salt. How bad I feel!

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN TO GEORGE S. RILEY

"At the Great Salt Lick," December 12, 1845

62. See Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977); and "Notes and Conclusions," in Babcock, *The Reversible World*. See also Norton, *Reflections on Political Identity*, 53-55, 81-84.

63. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater*, 30.

64. See Turner, "Variations on a Theme," 43-46, and "Notes and Conclusions," 281.

65. For the rite of passage element in the Revolution, see Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 198-211.

66. *Ibid.*, 3-32, 246-256.

67. For three-way, see Helen Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of American Literary Traditions, 1789-1936* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 34.

Chapter 2. Fraternal Indians and Republican Identities

1. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Redskins: Indian and Injin: Being the Conclusion of the Littlepage Manuscripts* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), 272. The book was first published in 1846 by Burgess and Stringer of New York. See Robert E. Spiller and Philip C. Blackburn, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1934), 145. For post-Revolution ambiguity surrounding the idea of revolution, see Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 1978).

2. For Cooper, see Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 406-27; Charles Hansford Adams, "The Guardian of the Law": Authority and Identity in James Fenimore Cooper (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); William P. Kelly, *Plotting America's Past: Fenimore Cooper and the Leatherstocking Tales* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 1-44; Albert Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (New York: Oxford, 1933), 112-17. For Cooper's reimagining of noble Indians, see *Redskins*, 272-74.

3. Franklin Ellis, *History of Columbia County, New York* (Philadelphia: Everts and Ensign, 1878), as quoted in Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 205. The farmers, who had fled to Connecticut before being apprehended, were later acquitted by a jury. See also Martin Bruegel, "Unrest: Manorial Society and the Market in the Hudson Valley, 1780-1850," *Journal of American History* 82 (March 1996): 1393-1424; J. Reeve Huston, "Land and Freedom: The Anti-rent Wars, Jacksonian Politics, and the Contest over Free Labor in New York, 1785-1865" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994); Alan Taylor, "Agrarian Independence: Northern Land Rioters after the Revolution," in *Beyond the American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. Alfred F. Young (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993), 221-45; David Maldwyn Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946); Henry Christman, *Tin Horns and Calico: A Decisive Episode in the Emergence of Democracy* (New York: Holt, 1945); Jeremy Mumford, "Indian Country: The Construction of a Masquerade Identity in the Hudson River Valley Anti-Rent Movement," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1996.

4. Young, *Democratic Republicans*, 103-22, 187-94, 534-38. See also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786-1789," *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 841-73.

5. Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1990), 264-79.

6. *Ibid.*, 186-87.

7. Unlike the Maine tenants, the whiskey rebels acknowledged the success of the Revolution, arguing that liberty had been betrayed by a power-hungry federal government. My account of the Whiskey Rebellion is based on Thomas Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford, 1986), and on the essays found in *The Whiskey Rebellion: Past and Present Perspectives*, ed. Steven R. Boyd (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).

8. Other groups blacked their faces and donned women's clothes—a common practice in Europe. Crossing the boundary of gender rather than Indianness suggested the changing dynamics of race. In the post-Revolution backcountry, racial difference was both more monolithic and far more negative. As an Other, a generic woman was more interior than the now-exteriorized figure of the Indian. The use of gendered dress may also have signified the rebels' more recent European origins. Tom the Tinker—a prominent English figure of agrarian rebellion—played a significant role in the uprising's rhetoric. Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 113-15, 184.

9. For treaty, see *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 23, 1794, as quoted in Hugh Henry Brackenridge, *Incidents of the Insurrection in the Western Parts of Pennsylvania, in the year 1794* (Philadelphia: John McCulloch, 1795), 6. That the Whiskey Rebellion was a contest over the location of authority became clear in 1794, when a horseman brandishing a tomahawk rode through the streets of Pittsburgh proclaiming, "This is not all that I want: it is not the excise law only that must go down; your district and associate judges must go down; your high offices and salaries. A great deal more is to be done; I am but beginning yet." See Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 186-87.

10. For parallels, see Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 115.

11. Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 157-61.

12. For a complex reading of the revolutionary situation as it pertained to Indian people, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 366-412. For Jane McCrae, see Alfred Young and Terry J. Fife, with Mary E. Janzen, *We the People: Voices and Images of the New Nation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 95.

13. Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires*, 226-45. See also Reginald Horsman, *The Frontier in the Formative Years, 1783-1815* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970).

14. As quoted in Francis Von A. Cabeen, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 26:4 (1902): 443-47.

15. *Independent*, May 6, 1786. "Common Sense" is one of many italicized words implying intentional double meanings. See also Von A. Cabeen, *ibid.*, 26:3 (1902): 446, 453; 27:1 (1903): 37, 40.

16. Philadelphia had a reconstituted (and long-lived) Tammany Society as early as 1793.

The origins of this group, however, should properly be located in New York. In newspaper accounts of the new group's annual celebrations, one finds references to the New Yorkers as "elder brothers" and the subsidiary name "Columbian Order," which clearly originated in New York. The Philadelphia Tammany group seems to have shared the New Yorkers' later affinity for Democratic-Republican politics. See, for example, *The General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), May 13, 1793; *The Timepiece*, May 1797. For other New York references, see *Philadelphia Aurora*, May 15, 1806, May 15, 1807, and May 14, 1808. Kilroe Papers, box 28, folder of clippings, 1750-1800, and folder of clippings, 1800-1850.

17. For the Tammany society in this time period, see Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine 1789-1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971). See also Edwin P. Kilroe, *Saint Tammany and the Origins of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York* (New York: Edwin P. Kilroe, 1913), and Von A. Cabeen, "The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 25:4 (1901): 433-51, and subsequent installments in vol. 26, nos. 1-4 and vol. 27, no. 1. Also useful are M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York: Doubleday, 1928), and Gustavus Myers, *The History of Tammany Hall* (New York: Gustavus Myers, 1901). Less useful are Euphemia Vale Blake, *History of the Tammany Society from its Organization to the Present Time, 1901* (New York: Souvenir Publishing, 1901), and Rufus Home, "The Story of Tammany," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 44:263 (April 1872): 685-96.

18. For the founding, see Kilroe, *Tammany*, 118-22. For Tammany dinners, see *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 14, 1789; *New York Daily Gazette*, May 14, 1789; and *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 14, 1789, as quoted in Kilroe, 123-25. For holiday parading, see Werner, *Tammany Hall*, 12; Mushkat, *Tammany*, 9; Kilroe, *Tammany*, 178-92. For the Louisiana Purchase parade in 1804, see *The American Citizen*, May 12 and May 14, 1804; Kilroe, *Tammany*, 182. For celebrations of the French Revolution, see Kilroe, *ibid.*, 192. Among these might be placed the first American opera, *Tammany, or the Indian Chief*, by Ann Julia Hatton, first performed in March 1794. See Kilroe Papers, box 22, Tammany Opera folder.

19. *New York Daily Gazette*, May 12, 1790, provides the rules for Tammany eligibility. See Kilroe, *Tammany*, n. 62, 161. Anti-Irish nativism seemed most rooted in the New York chapter. The Philadelphia branch (of the New York group) rapidly became largely Irish-Catholic. See William M. Meigs, "Pennsylvania Politics Early in This Century," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 17 (1893): 462-80. The Washington chapter, organized in 1807, split apart almost immediately on the question of Irish-Catholic exclusion. See Kilroe, *Tammany*, 142-45. The Kentucky branch (Lexington), the Rhode Island branch (Providence), and eight different Ohio groups (Chillicothe, Cincinnati, etc.) faded by the 1820s, leaving only the New York order. Kilroe, *Tammany*, 149; Myers, *History*, 7. Samuel W. Williams, "The Tammany Society in Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 22 (1913): 349-69, esp. 364-65. Werner, *Tammany Hall*, 16, 20-22; Young, *Republicans*, 202-03, and Mushkat, *Tammany*, 12-14, characterize the society as "middle class" and "open-ended." In 1791, John Pintard called Tammany "a political institution founded on a strong republican basis whose democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of our city." By a 2:1 ratio, most new members joining between 1797 and 1801 were artisans. See Mushkat, *Tammany*, 25; Peter Paulson, "The Tammany Society and the Jeffersonian Movement in New York City, 1795-1800," *New York History* 34 (1953): 50.

20. For fraternalism, see Dorothy Ann Lipson, *Freemasonry in Federalist Connecticut, 1789-*

1835 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826-1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 12-16. For economic transitions affecting artisans, see Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 3-144. For artisanal performative traditions, see Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 34-36; and for the role of labor consciousness, *ibid.*, 113-53.

21. Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 21-89, has shown the connections between European Abbeys of Misrule, craft and artisan guilds, and the many fraternal variants springing from Freemasonry. She argues against a simple equating of the fraternal system with working-class solidarity, pointing out the existence of more complex symbolic and institutional factors.

22. *Ibid.*, 29-38, 45-52. For semiritious celebrations, see Werner, *Tammany Hall*, 13; Davis, *Parades and Power*, 103-09. For exclusion from politics, see Mushkat, *Tammany*, 5; Myers, *History*, 4-21. In New York, the state constitution of 1777 restricted voting for governor, lieutenant-governor, and state senators to those owning property worth one hundred pounds. Citizens who paid forty shillings per year in rent or who owned freeholds worth twenty pounds were allowed to vote for assemblymen. The activities of Tammany politicians have been reported in disproportion to those of middle- and lower-class members. Myers claims that Tammany's hostility to "aristocracy" spread throughout the group: middle-class members who had prospered were still denied admittance to the upper class, and the remainder of the society opposed wealth on principle. An essentially middle-class operation, Tammany established its power base by catering to the rich and acting in the name of the poor. Myers, *History*, 15-21.

23. Fitz-Greene Halleck, "Song," *The Poetical Writings of Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New York: Appleton, 1869), 124.

24. John Pintard to Jeremy Belknap, April 6, 1791. Belknap Papers, III:490 as quoted in Kilroe, *Tammany*, 136. See also Kilroe Papers, box 28, American Museum file.

25. As quoted in Von A. Cabeen, "Tammany," 27:1 (1903): 36.

26. *The New York Directory and Register*, published yearly by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, came out near the end of May. Kilroe suggests that, after the successful St. Tammany's day celebration of 1789, the group met to formalize its name in order to place it in the directory. For name changes, see Kilroe, *Tammany*, 126-28, 148-49, also n. 13, 151.

27. Eric Hobsbawm, "The Invention of Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1-14; Davis, *Parades and Power*, 9-13; Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

28. William L. Vance, *America's Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 9-20, 302-16; Roger G. Kennedy, *Greek Revival America* (New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang, 1989); John Eadie, ed. *Classical Traditions in Early America* (Ann Arbor: Center for Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies, 1976); Edwin A. Miles, "Young American Nation and the

Classical World," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (April-June 1974): 259-74; George Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945), 181-88. For limitations on America as an Augustan age, see Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970). For West, see John Galt, *The Life and Studies of Benjamin West, Esq.*, as cited in *The Rising Glory of America 1600-1820*, ed. Gordon S. Wood (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 283. See also Ann Uhry Abrams, *The Valiant Hero: Benjamin West and Grand-Style History Painting* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 31-94, esp. 76-80, for an analysis that links West's *Savage Chief*, or *The Indian Family* (ca. 1764) with Apollo Belvedere.

29. Philip Freneau, *The Poems of Philip Freneau, Poet of the American Revolution*, ed. Fred Lewis Pattee, 3 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1903) 2:369. See also Emory Elliot, *Revolutionary Writers: Literature and Authority in the New Republic 1725-1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 128-70, esp. 150-52; Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 8-77, 189. A clear expression of this use of the classical Indian Other to construct an American past could be found in New York's old City Hall building, where John Pintard had located his Tammany Museum. Founded in 1790 as the second museum in America, the Tammany collection included not only pamphlets and manuscripts of the colonial past, but also artifacts and curiosities of Indian people. See also Roger G. Kennedy, *Hidden Cities: The Discovery and Loss of Ancient North American Civilization* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 117-18.

30. For nineteenth-century fraternal orders, see Albert C. Stevens, *Cyclopedia of Fraternities* (New York: E. B. Treat and Co., 1907); Alvin J. Schmidt, *Fraternal Organizations* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980). Many orders appeared after the Civil War, as fraternalism provided a powerful venue for remaking disrupted national family ties. The Odd Fellows (1802), Freemasons (mid-1700s), Foresters (1832), and Druids (1839), however, were all English imports that existed in America in the antebellum Republic.

31. William Pitt Smith, "An Oration, delivered by Dr. William P. Smith, before the Society of St. Tammany, or Columbian Order, at their Anniversary Meeting on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1790," *New York Magazine or Literary Repository* 1:5 (May 1790): 290-95.

32. See Thomas J. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," *Journal of American History* 79:3 (December 1992): 937-68; William C. Spengemann, *A New World of Words: Redefining Early American Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 118-77; David C. Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia, 1746 to 1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 270-72.

33. Madge Dresser, "Britannia," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity III, National Fictions*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), 26-49; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). For Columbia and Indian images of America, see E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765-1783," and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783-1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965): 65-81 and 3 (1967): 37-66; John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100:1 (1990): 45-79.

34. For sexual predation, see William Byrd, *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and*

North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), 57, 115, and Richard Slotkin's analysis in *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 222-26. For political cartoons, see Lester C. Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

35. For Tammany's "para-government" argument, see Jabez Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York* (Albany, 1842) 1:340; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 3d ed. (New York, 1901) 2:379; Home, "The Story of Tammany," 636. For calculation of calendar date, see Myers, *History*, 6. That the "year of institution" appears as the twelfth rather than the eleventh in the example signifies that the society was using a date before July to mark its origin.

36. After the Revolution, Georgia officials engineered a fraudulent treaty opening Creek territory to settlement. Speculating companies claimed title to huge tracts of land, some of which included the entire Creek homeland. Creek soldiers attacked settlement parties coming upriver and the Georgians responded. The federal government, which had claimed all the land west of established British boundaries, intervened, in part to rein in the Georgians, who argued that western land belonged to the states rather than the nation, and in part to prevent a war with the still-powerful Creeks. See David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 288-325; Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 37-55.

37. *New York Daily Advertiser*, July 23, 1790.

38. *New York Journal and Patriotic Register* vol. 44, no. 46, August 10, 1790. See also Kilroe, *Tammany*, 138.

39. For other examples of this kind of diplomatic exchange, see *Weekly Museum*, February 20, 1790, p. 1. In a meeting with the Oneidas, the society suggested exchanging ornaments, blood, and names. See also Eric Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of Empire in 18th-Century Britain," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 53 (1996): 487-526. For McGillivray, see *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, vol. 44, no. 48, August 17, 1790.

40. For presidential title, see Myers, *History*, 5. For Oneidas, *New York Weekly Museum*, Feb. 20, 1790, in Kilroe, *Tammany*, n. 47, 156. For Cayugas, see *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 14, 1790, in Kilroe, *ibid.*, 168, n. 4, 199. With the removal of the capital to Philadelphia in 1790, the society lost the opportunity to interject itself directly into Indian diplomacy. As tribes occasionally traveled through the city, however, Tammany continued to court them. In 1811, for example, they entertained the Ottawas (Kilroe, *ibid.*, 173).

41. After initial recruiting success between 1789 and 1794, an increasingly politicized Tammany society spent three whole years without inducting a single member. Young, *Democratic Republicans*, 398-99. Tammany was often portrayed as a bulwark against the aristocratic ambitions of the Society of the Cincinnati, a hereditary organization limited to former officers of the Continental Army. See, for example, Judah Hammond's history in Hammond, *History of the Political Parties of the State of New York*, 340. This seems to be mostly political mythmaking. In the late eighteenth century, the two groups shared members, toasted each other, and occasionally paraded together. See Kilroe, *Tammany*, 130-31, 140-41. Mushkat, *Tammany*, 19-20, argues that Citizen Genet's visit in 1793 helped crystallize Tammany's transformation from patriotic fraternity to political group. That year, for exam-

ple, "An Oneida Chief" suggested to his rivals that "Mohawks, Oneidas, and Senekas" might attack the Belvidere Club House, where "enemies to liberty" allegedly toasted the destruction of the rights of man. *New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 15, 1793.

42. Washington suggested that "self-created societies" advocated political activity (parades, demonstrations, extrainstitutional vigilantism) that looked more like rebellion than the republican discourse of enlightened citizens. His attack was aimed at groups like the Democratic Society of New York, which had been founded in 1794. While Tammany's involvement in governing was initially confined to the symbolic level, other Democratic-Republican clubs sought to participate in the constitution of authority. Advocating power in the hands of the people, they supported groups like the whiskey rebels. Although the membership of the two groups overlapped to some degree, Tammany leadership sometimes inclined to the Federalists, and the two societies were not close. Yet many Tammany members approved of a more direct approach to politics. The result was increased factionalism, the eventual distinction (tenuous as it was) between the society and the political machine later known as Tammany Hall, and the society's drift into a more defined Democratic-Republican orbit. See James Roger Sharp, "The Whiskey Rebellion and the Question of Representation" in *Slaughter, Whiskey Rebellion*. For shifts in Tammany's political and fraternal activities, see Mushkat, *Tammany*, 12-21; Kilroe, *Tammany*, 195-97; Myers, *History*, 13-23. For "self-created societies," see Young, *Democratic Republicans*, 392-419. Judah Hammond's narrative of the sparsely attended celebration is quoted in Jabez Hammond, *History of the Political Parties of the State of New York*, 340-42. For Philadelphia Tammany's earlier transformation, see Meigs, "Pennsylvania Politics"; James Peeling, "Governor McKean and the Pennsylvania Jacobins (1799-1808)," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 54 (1930): 320.

43. For Columbus, see Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), 579. In *Parades and Power*, Davis argues that public performance establishes and delineates power relations by dramatizing both hierarchical rankings and the presence or absence of representative groups.

44. James Cheetham, *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 6, 1809, as quoted in Kilroe, *Tammany*, 182.

45. *New York Evening Post*, July 29, 1809. "Toast to 'Old Massa Tom' [Jefferson] himself: His spirits be no ashamed to be wid us a de council fire which be lighted today—better be here wid a poor honest negur African, wan way out younder wid de deblish democrat." Kilroe Papers, box 28, Newspaper Clippings 1800-1850. For Rhode Island American, April 20, 1810, see Kilroe Papers, box 22, African Tammany Society folder.

46. For renunciation of Indian costume, see Kilroe, *Tammany*, 184. For Irish attacks on Tammany nativism, as late as 1817, see Myers, *History*, 55. See also Kilroe, *Tammany*, 145; Werner, *Hall*, 29-30. Mushkat, *Tammany*, 59-66, provides context for Tammany's transition from discrimination to partial acceptance to the use of Irish immigrants as a political base. For end of parade tradition, see Kilroe, *Tammany*, 178.

47. See George Lindsay, Charles Conley, and Charles Litchman, *Official History of the Improved Order of Red Men*, ed. Carl R. Lemke (Waco: Davis Brothers, 1964), 187, for an account of "the Kickapoo Amicable Association, which existed in the city of Washington D.C., in the year 1804, and which not only adopted the usages, forms, ceremonies, and costumes of the Indian race, but also gave to its members Indian names." *A History of the Black Hawk War* by

"An Old Resident of the Military Tract," published at Fort Armstrong, Iowa, in 1832, contains the ciphered or mnemonic ritual of still another "Indian society." The text may be found in the Rare Books room at the Library of Congress.

48. For military Tammany celebrations, see Kilroe Papers, box 22, "Copy of Memo from Anthony Wayne's Orderly Book" folder, which contains a memo from April 30, 1795, stating, "The first day of May being the anniversary of St. Tammany the tutelar saint of America all the troops fit for duty on this ground are due to receive one gill of whiskey per man." For lapse in celebration during war, see Von A. Cabeen, "Tammany," 26:1 (1902): 17-21. For cancellation of holiday, 26:4 (1902): 458.

49. For founding, see Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 199-201; Robert E. Davis, *History of the Improved Order of Red Men and Degree of Pocohontas 1765-1988* (Waco: Davis Brothers, 1990), 73-101. Barker, a tailor by trade, kept an inn at "the Sign of Saint Tammany," from which he led the Saint Tammany Fire Company. Although a solid member of the artisan class, Barker had risen to civic prominence as well. A major general in the Philadelphia militia, he also served as city sheriff, alderman, and mayor. The younger Barker was regular army and seems to have lost touch with the volunteers who made up the key membership of the Society of Red Men. See *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 12:276; Von A. Cabeen, "Tammany," 26:2 (1902): 223. For Barker as Tammany sachem, see *Philadelphia Aurora*, May 14, 1800, Kilroe Papers, box 28, Newspaper Clippings 1800-1850.

50. Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 201-16.

51. *Ibid.*, 211.

52. Secrecy also changed the way that non-Red Men perceived the group. When Tammany members paraded through New York in costume, they forced the city to confront their potentially revolutionary identities and thus their political position. Making fewer public appearances, the Society of Red Men could be categorized under the less threatening rubric "fraternalism" and filed away with men sporting Masonic aprons or Druid capes. For self-association, see Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence, ed. J. P. Mayer (New York: Harper Perennial, 1969), 513-17.

53. See Davis, *History of the IORM*, 140, for an occupational breakdown (ten physicians, six accountants, and four attorneys versus sixty-seven cordwainers, sixty-four hatters, fifty carpenters, and sixty-seven innkeepers; only one city council member shows up on his abbreviated list). Compare this with the Philadelphia Tammany society, which was dominated by William Duane, the radical democratic editor of *The Aurora*, and Dr. Michael Leib, controversial congressman and senator. See also Davis, *ibid.*, 107, 115-20, for the society's explicit rejection of political action on behalf of a member.

54. Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 206. There may be an element of burlesque in the Italianate titles and florid hierarchy, most likely directed at the Masons. At the same time, one should also keep in mind that voluntary societies were critical sites for the consolidation and deployment of social power in the Republic.

55. For Loudenslager, see Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 245; Davis, *History of the IORM*, 153-64. After the Revolution, the men who (re)assembled structures of power denied women a role in political life and positioned them instead—by virtue of female control over the domestic sphere—as the moral guardians of civic virtue. Broader concerns that could be defined as familial—most notably drinking—fell within the domestic sphere and thus offered some women the opportunity to participate in public discourse. Although

some societies (such as the Improved Order) were able to offer an image of religiosity and temperance, others (such as the Society of Red Men) came under attack. Throughout the nineteenth century, fraternal societies continually reformulated their organizations, adding women's auxiliaries, and repeatedly justifying their exclusion of women and their lodge practices. See Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Kerber, "I have Done . . . much to Carrey on the Warr: Women and the Shaping of Republican Ideology after the American Revolution," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, ed. Harriet Applegate and Darline G. Levy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 227-58; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975); Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood*; Linda K. Kerber, Nancy F. Cott, Robert Gross, Lynn Hunt, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Christine M. Stansell, "Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser. 46 (July 1989): 565-85.

56. For anti-Masonry, see Lorman Ratner, *Antimasonry: The Crusade and the Party* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 7-12. William Preston Vaughn, *The Antimasonic Party in the United States, 1826-1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 14-19, and esp. chap. 8 on Pennsylvania, which experienced anti-Masonic agitation in the early 1830s, slightly later than New York and New England; David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47 (September 1960): 205-24; and Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic*, 13-14 and passim. For cholera, see Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). See Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 207, for the disintegration of the Charleston tribe in 1820: "Local disease proved fatal and carried off my chief aids, 'Peruvian Bark' and 'Mainspring,' which caused a great chasm in the Council. The plague continued, which caused the Tribe to scatter all over the wilderness, taking with them their squaws and papooses, and since then have never been reunited."

57. Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Knopf, 1975); Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974); Reginald Horsman, *The Origins of Indian Removal, 1815-1824* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press for the Historical Society of Michigan, 1970).

58. Joseph Story, "Discourse Pronounced at the Request of the Essex Historical Society, Sept. 18, 1828, in Commemoration of the First Settlement of Salem, Mass.," quoted in Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 1.

59. George Washington Custis, *The Indian Prophecy, a National Drama in Two Acts* (Georgetown: J. Thomas, 1828). For Indian plays, see Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 104-21; Keiser, *Indian in American Literature*, 65-100.

60. *Metamora, or The Last of the Wampanoags* by John Augustus Stone, 1829; *The Indian Princess; or La Belle Sauvage* by James Nelson Barker and Raynor Taylor, 1808. Barker would later go on to command the Red Man volunteers at Fort Mifflin. See also *Pocahontas; or, The Settlers of Virginia* by George Washington Custis (1830), Joseph Doddridge, *Logan: The Last of the Race of Shikellimus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation* (Buffalo Creek, Va.: S. Sala, 1823). See also Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*,

122; Sally L. Jones, "The First but Not the Last of the 'Vanishing Indians': Edwin Forrest and Mythic Re-creations of the Native Population," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 13-27.

61. Cooper, *The Redskins*, 464.

62. Litchman, *History of the IORM*, 251.

63. *Ibid.*, 797. The practice of denying Indian existence continued, despite a rash of protests by Indian people in the early twentieth century, until 1977, when the order finally recognized Indians as potential members. Philip Deloria, "White Sachems and Indian Masons," *Democratic Vistas* 1 (Autumn 1993): 27-43.

64. For celebrations, see David Waldstreicher, "The Making of American Nationalism: Celebrations and Political Culture, 1776-1820" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994). For "traditionalizing" the Revolution, see Kammen, *A Season of Youth*, esp. 15-32, 43-58, 154-61.

65. This remaking drained Indianness of much of its overt rebellious content. After the antirent conflicts, white Americans tended to use Indians to reflect an institutionalized nationalism rather than to challenge power and authority. It was not until the late nineteenth century that a more rebellious Indianness took shape in the form of African-American Mardi Gras parading and the cultural struggles of the antimodernists.

Chapter 3. Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects

1. For Riley letter, see Lewis Henry Morgan Papers, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, box 1, folder 6. Unless otherwise noted, all of the Morgan material used in this chapter will be found in these papers. Hereafter, Morgan Papers. I have drawn on the following works for the details of Morgan's life and his association with the New Confederacy: Carl Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan: American Scholar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Bernhard J. Stern, *Lewis Henry Morgan, Social Evolutionist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Leslie White, ed., "How Morgan Came to Write *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 42 (1957): 257-68; Robert E. Bieder, "The Grand Order of the Iroquois: Influences on Lewis Henry Morgan's Ethnology," *Ethnohistory* 27:4 (Fall 1980): 349-61; Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 194-246; Elisabeth Tooker, "The Structure of the Iroquois League: Lewis H. Morgan's Research and Observations," *Ethnohistory* 30:3 (1983): 141-54; Tooker, Foreword to Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), xv-xxvii. Volume 2 of the Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series (ed. Edward Foreman, Rochester, 1923) is dedicated to Morgan and includes several essays of varying usefulness. These include Joshua McIlvaine's funeral oration and Algernon Crapsey's "Lewis Henry Morgan: Scientist, Philosopher, Humanist." For the literary mission of the group, see "Report of the Committee of Literary and Social Exercises, October 30, 1846," Morgan Papers, box 23, folder 81. Trautmann, *Kinship*, 40, observes that Morgan was "an inveterate organizer and leader of literary societies." While at Cayuga Lake Academy, he had helped found the Erodephecin Society (see folder 52, box 22, Morgan Papers) and would later found The Club, a group of Rochester intellectuals (see folder 43, box 22,

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