



MONASH University

***Memorialising Native American Civil War Involvement: Visibility,
Geography and Agency in 1920s and 1930s Civil War Monument
Culture***

*Elizabeth Anne Miller
Master of Arts (Research)*

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
Monash University in 2019
School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies

Copyright notice

© Elizabeth Anne Miller 2019

I certify that I have made all reasonable efforts to secure copyright permissions for third-party content included in this thesis and have not knowingly added copyright content to my work without the owner's permission.

Abstract

This thesis investigates Native-American memorialisation of the Civil War in the 1920s and 1930s. Using a cross-regional approach, this thesis compares Civil War monuments in three distinct regions, assessing the agency of Native Americans in each case study. This thesis examines three instances of Civil War commemoration; the Stand Watie monument unveiled in Oklahoma in 1921, the Battle Creek Marker installed at Bear River, Idaho and the Seneca biography, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* written and published in upstate New York in 1919. In each case study I evaluate the extent to which Native Americans proposed, conceptualised, endorsed, refuted, created and promoted their Civil War histories across the commemorative landscape. In doing so, I examine the planning, construction and introduction of these monuments to the commemorative landscape in order to analyse how Native American histories formed part of mainstream Civil War narratives in the first decades of the twentieth century.

This thesis ultimately finds that the diversity of Native American Civil War experiences yielded a variety of commemorative responses across monument culture and that these monuments were erected with the assistance of white heritage groups. I find that, at times, Native Americans worked in tension with white heritage workers as they strove to promote their Civil War histories. I argue that, as a result of this collaboration, Native American Civil War histories were incorporated within mainstream historical narratives. Overall, I contend that these monuments are evidence that Native American peoples wished to commemorate their Civil War histories and sought to contribute to the growing commemorative impulse of the 1920s and 1930s.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

Print Name:

Date:

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors: Clare Corbould, Joshua Specht and Timothy Verhoeven for their unwavering support throughout this project, and for investing a significant amount of their time to guide, educate, and mentor me through the challenges of the Masters by Research program.

I could not have completed this project without the love and support of my peers who read, edited and gave me valuable words of advice and encouragement. Meagan Pool, Kate Rivington, Mimi Petrakis, Georgie Rychner, Toby Nash, Sam Watts, David Longley, Lexi Rubenstein, Lana Stephens, Matt Topp, Kate Aldred, Hannah Skipworth, Jeremy Stops, Hannah Viney, Nick Ferns, Bernard Keo, Caleb Hamilton, Vicki Tsanaktsidas, Lauren Sanford, Ryna Ordynat, Tony Williams, Rachel and Hamish, and Stephanie Ruth. I also thank my colleagues at I-MED who covered my shifts when I got too busy and offered me endless words of encouragement and support.

Thank you to my family, Laura, Maddie, Kieren and Liv. Especially I thank my parents Helen and Greg who supported me throughout this project and my grandparents, Denise and Peter who taught me to love history and ask questions of the past.

Thank you to Library staff at the Monash University Matheson Library, especially Melanie Moon and Anne Holloway from the Matheson Library. Thank you to the archival staff in the US who made this project viable. I thank the Library Staff at Utah State University, the DUP Archivists and Museum Staff, Elizabeth Morris and Scott Christensen from the Church History Library in Salt Lake City, UDC Archivists who scanned countless documents for me. I also appreciate the generosity of Judith Bramwell who took me out to dinner and answered my many questions about her grandmother, Myrtle Goff.

A special thank you to the Tribal Chairman of the North-western Shoshone Nation, Darren Parry, who took the time to educate me about the Bear River Massacre, share information about his ancestors and who took me to the Bear River Massacre site in 2018.

This thesis was written with the support of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship and a Monash University Faculty of Arts Research Scholarship.

For Peter Robert William Hayes who inspired my love of history and stories.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	II
TABLE OF FIGURES.....	VIII
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: COMMEMORATING STAND WATIE AND THE LOST CAUSE IN FORMER INDIAN TERRITORY	19
CHAPTER TWO: MAKING THE BATTLE CREEK MARKER: PRESTON AND THE CIVIL WAR	59
CHAPTER THREE: INSERTING AN INDIAN IN NORTHERN CIVIL WAR NARRATIVES: GENERAL ELY S. PARKER AND CIVIL WAR COMMEMORATION	104
CONCLUSION	141
POST-SCRIPT.....	149
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	155

Table of Figures

Figure 1: A Photograph of Stand Watie from the Oklahoma Historical Society Photography Collection.....	4
Figure 2: The Ten Foot Historical Marker Unveiled in Capital Square at the Cherokee National Building in Tahlequah.....	30
Figure 3: Watie's headstone and an additional shaft dedicated at the Polson Cemetary in Delaware County, Oklahoma.....	31
Figure 4: The Cherokee Capitol Building in Tahlequah, Oklahoma	45
Figure 6: Two women lean against the Battle Creek Marker that had been cloaked in a white sheet in preparation for its unveiling on September 5, 1932	59
Figure 7: Men and women arrive on the side of highway 91, four miles north of Preston, Idaho to dedicate the Battle Creek Marker.....	60
Figure 8: An Image of the Battle Creek Marker taken by an unnamed photographer on the day of its unveiling in 1932	64
Figure 9: An Example of a Rock Dedication from the Young Ladies Board of the Franklin Stake where Ella M. Hull was President in 1932.....	79
Figure 10: A close up photograph of a fossilised rock on the Battle Creek Monument.....	85
Figure 11: American Boy Scout groups arrive on horse for the re-enactment of the "Battle at Bear River"	94
Figure 12: Unnamed Shoshone and Bannock Boy Scouts from the Fort Hall Reservation and the Church Farm, "Washakie," are pictured among the crowd at the unveiling of the Battle Creek Marker.....	95
Figure 13: The Surrender Meeting: A Gentlemen's Agreement.....	112
Figure 14: A photograph of prayer ties at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark.....	146

Introduction

In 1937, the Cherokee Judge, J. T Parks, told a Works Progress Administration interviewer that when the Civil War reached Indian Territory, a Union soldier entered his family home, piled everything into the middle of the floor, and set it on fire. He said the soldier picked up a slave girl, loaded her into a buggy and drove away. During the brief interview, Parks revealed that his father was a Captain in the Confederate Army, who had fought at the battle of Cabin Creek with the Cherokee Brigadier-General, Stand Watie. After his father enlisted, Parks fled to Texas with his mother, brothers and sisters and sought refuge on a sassafras farm. Returning to the Cherokee Nation several years later, Parks found the place so impoverished that even animals could not survive. This included wolves that he had found hairless and decaying in the winter's snow. Arriving back at the family home, Parks found that the Government had confiscated their property as punishment for their support of the Confederacy and had placed the house in the care of an elderly woman who would not give it back.¹

This story is taken from a collection of interviews that formed part of the Federal Writers Project, a New Deal public works project that attempted to chronicle American lives in the 1930s. The interview highlighted how Cherokee and other Native Americans navigated violence, dispossession and destruction during the American Civil War. It does not convey heroism or defeat; rather, it tells a story about the catastrophic outcomes of the Civil War in Indian Territory. Parks' recollection of the war, and others like it, do not fit neatly within dominant Civil War narratives. Yet in the 1920s and 1930s, some of these stories appeared in the Civil War commemorative landscape.

¹ "Judge J. T. Parks Interview," *Interview with Judge J.T. Parks: January 26, 1937*. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 7457, 266-268. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/1125>.

Between 1861 and 1865, the American Civil War displaced, dispossessed, destroyed, and provided new opportunities for Native American peoples.² According to the 1861 Census, at the time of the American Civil War there was an estimated 339,421 Native American “citizens” residing within the political borders of the United States. Whilst this estimate represents those who relinquished their tribal membership in favour of US citizenship, it indicates that, in fact, a far larger number of Native American peoples, represented across at least 562 tribes, were present at the time of the American Civil War.³ A variety of factors shaped their experiences of the Civil War, including where they lived, and the extent to which they advocated for the ideological visions that spawned the conflict. Although the United States denied Native Americans legal standing as citizens, somewhere between 26,000 - 28,000 fought on either side of the Mason-Dixon line. If Native Americans served in the military, their experience of the Civil War had the potential to connect Native interests to Northern and

² Clarissa Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Theda Perdue, *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); Bradley Clappitt, “Introduction: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory,” in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, ed. Bradley Clappitt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Amanda Cobb-Greetham, “Hearth and Home: Cherokee and Creek Women’s Memories of the Civil War in Indian Territory,” in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*; Mary Jane Warde, *When the Wolf Came: The Civil War and the Indian Territory* (Lincoln: University of Arkansas Press, 2013); Elliot West, *Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, & the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Benjamin Madley, *American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

For more on the Civil War in the West and Southwest and its consequences for the Native American peoples living there see Ari Kelman, “What’s in a Name: The Fight to Call Sand Creek a Battle of Massacre,” in *Battles and Massacres on the Southwestern Frontier: Historical and Archeological Perspectives*, ed. Ronald K. Wetherington and Frances Levin (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); Patricia Nelson Limerick, “Haunted America,” in *Sweet Medicine: Sites of Indian Massacres, Battlefields and Treaties/Photographs by Drex Brooks*, ed. Drex Brooks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) 119-163.

³ The first American census to clearly identify Native Americans took place during the 1861 Census. The census counted Indians that had renounced tribal rule and who exercised the rights of citizens. “Indians not taxed” otherwise known as Native Americans that remained in touch with their tribal heritage were not enumerated in the census. Thus, the figure of 339, 421 is a limited representation of the total number of Native Americans residing in the United States in 1861, as only Indians who were citizens were counted, suggesting far more Native Americans resided within the political borders of the United States. The figure also excludes Alaska. Native Americans in the census: 1860-1890. The figure of 562 comes from the total of Federally recognised tribes. This is a helpful point of reference for calculating a broad overview of how many tribes currently exist in the United States. This figure excludes non-Federally recognised tribes. There is no concrete figure of the number of non-Federally recognised tribes. A useful figure is 250 from http://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/indians_101.pdf. <https://www.manataka.org/page240.html>.

Southern agendas. Some saw the war as an opportunity to defend their livelihoods. Others used the conflict to fight for the proper recognition of treaties, as well as for political recognition.⁴

However, for the majority of Native Americans, the Civil War was a disastrous event.⁵ Scholars such as Clarissa Confer have explained how soldiers on both sides took a “scorched earth” approach in their encounters with villages and homes.⁶ When fighting spilled onto Native American land, the Civil War destroyed people, property, and animals, and contributed to the ongoing dispossession of land, culture and livelihoods. In Kansas, for example, a refugee crisis reached desperate proportions when hundreds of Five Nations peoples starved to death in the winter of 1861-1862.⁷ At present we still do not know the total number of Native men, women and children who perished as a result of the war. We do not know their names because their deaths were never officially recorded.⁸ For these unnamed Native Americans, the Civil War severed ancestral links to the past, and prevented the transmission of culture, heritage and knowledge.

In the West and other sparsely populated areas of the frontier, the Civil War intensified already deteriorating Native-settler relations. Rumours that both Northerners and Southerners planned to collude with Native Americans sparked violent episodes across the frontier. At

⁴ Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron have theorised that Native Americans used times of crisis to fight for the proper recognition of treaties and cultural sovereignty. Although they do not specifically interrogate the American Civil War, the theory of “borderlands” has been a useful tool that has informed some of the analysis in this thesis to understand how Native Americans viewed and reacted to the sectional crisis. See, Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-states, and the People In-between,” *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 3. (June 1999): 817; Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁵ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 7.

⁶ Amanda Cobb-Greetham, “Hearth and Home: Cherokee and Creek women’s memories of the Civil War in Indian Territory” in Bradley Clampitt (ed.) *The Civil War and reconstruction in Indian Territory*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2015) 153.

⁷ Though the extent of Native American refugees is not yet realised, in Indian Territory, there was a refugee crisis spawned from defeated Union loyalists who fled to Kansas. “Civil War Refugees,” OK History, <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CI013>.

⁸ In the course of my research I could not locate an official register that contained the names of Native American peoples during the war.

times, massacres appeared in the Official Record as “battles.” This reveals how the language of the war obscured fatal attacks and absolved soldiers from excessive violence that scholars such as Benjamin Madley have categorised as genocide.⁹ Whether Native Americans invested in the outcome of the Civil War or whether they were victims of its violence, they were certainly not estranged from the conflict.

Overview

This thesis explores 1920s and 1930s memorialisation of Native American involvement in the American Civil War. I examine three monuments that promoted distinct aspects of Cherokee, Shoshone and Seneca Civil War histories in conjunction with three mainstream narratives within Civil War monument culture. This thesis takes two approaches. Firstly, I analyse the visibility and invisibility of Cherokee, Shoshone and Iroquois peoples in the planning and construction of these three monuments. Secondly, I examine how their stories fit within Civil War commemorative landscapes in the North, South and West of the United States.

Taking a cross-regional approach allows this thesis to assess degrees of Native American agency across three examples of commemoration. In some cases, Native Americans were active participants in the conceptualisation of Civil War memorialisation. In other cases, they were far less involved. Although Native Americans were deeply implicated in the Civil War in various ways, the commemoration of their involvement is not well represented in scholarship about Civil War monument culture. As such, this thesis contributes to our understanding of Civil War monument culture, and how Native Americans formed part of the broader early twentieth century commemorative impulses.

⁹ Madley, *American Genocide*, 305.

Scholarly Contribution

This thesis contributes a new perspective to understandings of visibility and invisibility of Native Americans in Civil War memorialisation, and to the broader historical enquiry into Civil War monument culture. At present, there is a dynamic literature on the memorialisation of the American Civil War.¹⁰ As a pioneer of these debates, David Blight has characterised Civil War commemoration as a struggle over “whose understanding of the Civil War would determine the character of reconstruction but also, whose definition of regeneration would prevail in the emerging political culture of the post-war era.”¹¹ Scholars have examined the trajectory of Civil War commemoration, and have demonstrated how the discordant ideological visions that spawned the war produced rival modes of memorialisation in its aftermath. A popular approach within the historiography examines proponents of Civil War histories such as heritage groups, state funded organisations and individuals, as well as the racial, cultural and political dynamics that influenced their commemorative efforts. In doing so, the literature has analysed historical perspectives in magazines, biography, literature, statues, monuments, memorials and parades that venerate competing interpretations of the past during Reconstruction and into the twentieth century.

In the last ten years two scholars in particular have contributed new perspectives on the racial, cultural and political dynamics of Civil War memorial culture by questioning the extent to which Native Americans could have engaged with the commemorative landscape.¹² This is

¹⁰ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

¹¹ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 32.

The Southern Poverty Law Centre identified the period of 1890-1910 as the peak of Civil War commemoration, especially in the South. See “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy: A Report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” Southern Poverty Law Centre, 2016.

¹² Bradley Clampitt, “Introduction: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory” in *The Civil War and reconstruction in Indian Territory*. (Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press. 2015); Amanda Cobb-Greetham, “Hearth and Home: Cherokee and Creek women’s memories of the Civil War in Indian Territory” in Bradley

a small but significant historiography, with an analytic focus on Five Nations Civil War commemoration in Oklahoma. Jeff Fortney and Amanda Cobb-Greetham have argued that Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole perspectives were noticeably absent among symbols of the Confederacy.¹³ Analysing one of the few Cherokee Confederate monuments in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, Fortney has contended that white heritage workers reframed Native perspectives to adhere to the popularity of the Lost Cause remembrance. This approach, he argued, has historically excluded “not only white and black soldiers who fought in the west, but also the significant number of Indians who fought, resisted and supported their own unique causes during the Civil War.”¹⁴

Whilst Fortney and Cobb-Greetham have contributed valuable insights into the incorporation of Five Nations Civil War histories in Oklahoma’s commemorative landscape, there is still room to question whether similar commemoration occurred elsewhere. New insights in this debate demand a broader analysis of Civil War remembrance outside of the Southern landscape for two reasons. Firstly, Native Americans experienced the Civil War in a variety of ways. Therefore, there cannot be a single way to summarise and commemorate their involvement. Secondly, Civil War remembrance unfolded at different times, in a variety of places and thus, performed a range of cultural functions. Consequently, this thesis looks beyond the incorporation of Native American histories into symbols of the Confederacy and offers new insights into Native American Civil War commemoration within three vastly different commemorative landscapes: firstly, examining the South, secondly the West and thirdly the North.

Clampitt (ed.) *The Civil War and reconstruction in Indian Territory*. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press. 2015; Jeff Fortney. “Lest we remember: Civil War memory and commemoration among the Five Tribes.” *American Indian Quarterly*, 36:4 (Fall 2012): 525-575.

¹³ Fortney, “Lest we remember”, 525-575; Cobb-Greetham, “Hearth and Home.”

¹⁴ Fortney, “Lest we remember”, 526.

Further enquiry into the commemoration of Native American Civil War involvement is imperative to recover the voices of marginalised Native Americans who held a stake in the 1920s and 1930s memorial landscape. Although the historiography has begun to recover their voices from the archives, not enough is known about the extent to which Native Americans were active in heritage work at the time. Recognising this absence, Cobb-Greetham examined female Creek and Cherokee interviewees from the 1930s Federal Writer's Project and claimed that as a collection, the interviews could be viewed as broader Cherokee, Civil War remembrance. Her methodology has demonstrated that scholars of Indigenous history must consult a wide range of historic materials to recover Indigenous perspectives, as well as recognise the power of white archival practices to subvert, exclude and erase Native American voices from the archives.¹⁵ Building on her insights, this thesis looks beyond the physical monuments themselves to examine a range of historical materials where commemoration could have taken place. Such an approach can help to restore the voices of previously unrecognised Native Americans to the historical record.

Monuments that were conceptualised during the 1920s and 1930s have been of particular concern to scholars of Native American monument culture who assert that the medium bred a language of dispossession, stripping Native American perspectives from broader historical consciousness. Ari Kelman has demonstrated how the language of Civil War commemoration had the capacity to conceal atrocities, and legitimised John Chivington's massacre of Cheyenne peoples at Sand Creek in 1862. Such language, he argued, subverted the malicious intent of soldiers and crafted redemptive narratives about the Union in the American

¹⁵ Cobb-Greetham, "Hearth and Home," 159.

Southwest.¹⁶ Similarly, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Jean O'Brien, James Buss and Coll Thrush have shown how language has excluded, or rendered invisible, Native American peoples and their voices in the historical record.¹⁷ This thesis examines primary sources describing Native American engagement in commemorative projects with these insights in mind.

By engaging with this small, but valuable body of literature, this thesis advances our understanding of Civil War monument culture more broadly. Firstly, I build on Jeff Fortney's claims about Cherokee heritage work and consider how Cherokee women could have actively shaped Lost Cause remembrance. Secondly, I offer two new perspectives on Civil War commemoration. My discussion extends beyond the Five Nations, contributing analysis on two monuments from Buffalo, New York and Preston, Idaho. Overall, I examine the visibility and invisibility of Native American historical perspectives using a wide range of materials to evaluate Cherokee, Northern Shoshone and Seneca agency in the selected commemorative projects.

Consequently, this thesis contributes to the historiography a study of the memorialisation of Native American Civil War involvement, using a comparative lens to evaluate the involvement of Native Americans in Civil War commemoration in the South, West and North of the United States. In doing so, I evaluate the extent to which Native Americans actively contributed to the conceptualisation and propagation of their own historical

¹⁶ Ari Kelman, "What's in a name?: the fight to call Sand Creek a Battle or Massacre." In *Battles and Massacres on the Southwest Frontier: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Ronald K. Wetherington and Frances Levine. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013) 116.

¹⁷ For literature on representations and portrayal of Native American peoples in the historical record see James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: the Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988); Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

perspectives and demonstrate how these perspectives were invariably entangled within mainstream Civil War narratives.

Scope

This thesis examines the memorialisation of Native American Civil War involvement in the 1920s and 1930s. Whereas Civil War memorialisation occurred over a broad period time and reached its peak in the late 1890s, Native American Civil War monuments appeared during a resurgence of commemorative efforts after the First World War.¹⁸ Identifying that Native American Civil War histories were venerated after the height of the movement, I enquired whether the incorporation of Native American perspectives was connected to growing social and political changes.¹⁹ Michael Kammen has described the period of 1915-1945 as the “emotional discovery of America,” whereby Americans deployed historic events such as the American Revolution and Civil War in art, culture and memorialisation to construct a specific American aesthetic.²⁰ These changes were underpinned by two significant legislative changes that shaped how Americans defined United States citizenship. Firstly, the 1924 Immigration Act that applied strict immigration quotas to protect white American homogeneity.²¹ Secondly, the debate leading up to the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act that addressed the ambiguous social and political status of Native American peoples within the United States.²² Although I found the discussion of a relationship between these legislative changes and monument culture to be

¹⁸ David Blight, *Race and reunion: The Civil War in American memory*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2001); Drew Faust, *This republic of suffering: death and the Civil War*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

¹⁹ The Southern Poverty Law Centre identified the period of 1890-1910 as the peak of Civil War commemoration, especially in the South. See: Southern Poverty Law Centre, “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy: A report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy” 2016, 9.

²⁰ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991); Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

²¹ For detailed information about the 1924 Immigration Act see Ngai, *Impossible Subjects* and Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*.

²² For more information about the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act see Earl M. Maltz, “The Fourteenth Amendment and Native American Citizenship,” in *Constitutional Commentary* 17, No. 3 (Winter 2000): 555-573.

outside the scope of this thesis, there is an opportunity for future historical enquiry to examine whether Native American heritage workers used monument culture to publicly demand social and political representation.

Methodology

In this thesis, I use the term “monument” to describe tangible objects with a commemorative purpose.²³ These are objects such as historical markers, plaques, literature, biography, film and artwork that deploy historical narrative, folklore and ideology to build historical consciousness.²⁴ In the field of memory studies, scholars have theorised that monuments represent the “public” or collective experience of a group, otherwise known as “collective memory.” Proponents of this form of commemoration are usually public organisations such as heritage groups or historical societies, which signpost local history for public interest.²⁵ These groups, however, are not without an agenda. Alan Confino has argued that monuments expose the “system of beliefs and collective representations, myths, and images in which people in the past understood and gave meaning to their world.”²⁶ As primary sources, monuments can tell us a lot about their makers. Amanda Laugesen has argued that because historic markers helped shape historical consciousness, they can also tell us a lot about the “social, cultural and intellectual contexts in which they were created and presented.”²⁷ Therefore, monuments can reveal the “social nature of history, how it was created and produced and then communicated

²³ For literature on memory studies see James E. Young, *The Textures of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

²⁴ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1.

²⁵ Alon Confino, “History and Memory,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 5: Historical Writing Since 1945*, ed. Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Confino, “History and Memory,” 40.

²⁷ Amanda Laugesen, *The Making of Public Historical Culture in the American West, 1880-1910: The Role of Historical Societies* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 197.

within a living community.”²⁸ In this thesis, I use monuments to understand more about how Native Americans navigated the commemorative landscapes of the 1920s and 1930s.

The viability of historic markers as a primary source relies on the quality and quantity of archival materials, and the extent to which these materials highlight the social and political dynamics evident in its planning and dedication. Heritage groups that contributed to Civil War monument culture of the 1920s and 1930s often kept detailed records of their commemorative projects. Materials such as minutes from committee meetings, ledgers, newspapers clippings, proposed designs, membership records and other evidence of planning, both for construction and dedication, make it possible to examine how heritage organisations systematically included, excluded, emphasised and diminished Native Civil War histories within mainstream Civil War narratives. In my research I have been fortunate enough to have at my disposal, archives with comprehensive information about monument projects and their dedications. From these materials I have been able to interrogate how ordinary Americans – albeit typically white, middle class heritage workers – conceptualised and connected Native war involvement to broader myths about the Civil War.²⁹

To select the historic markers for this thesis, I surveyed newspapers that advertised monument dedications in order to evaluate the popularity of Native American Civil War monuments within the broader commemorative impulse of the 1920s and 1930s. As I strove for a cross-regional approach, I surveyed a wide range of newspapers. As part of this process,

²⁸ Laugesen, *The Making of Public Historical Culture*, 197.

As Sherlock has theorised, monuments are historical sources that “can be analysed, dissected and contextualised” and as the “self-proclaimed voice of the past...[monuments] actively [demand] our attention.” See Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 1.

²⁹ For literature on heritage workers see Laugesen, *The Making of Public Historical Culture*; Bodnar, *Remaking America*; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*.

I used dedication notices as an important measure of visibility. I considered those that were advertised to have had significant community appeal. In general, dedication notices demonstrated how heritage groups used language to connect Native Americans to their local Civil War history. Furthermore, repeat announcements, especially across different newspapers, were also an indicator of a monument's popularity. In my initial survey, I located 450 newspapers articles that mentioned the commemoration of Native American histories. In this collection, I identified only six dedications related to the American Civil War. I also noticed that these examples were situated in different geographic locations. My search results revealed the rarity of this specific type of memorialisation, but also confirmed the existence of monuments across the United States that incorporated Native American Civil War histories into the commemoration landscape.

I utilised notices regarding dedications as a helpful starting point in my research, and as evidence that additional historical materials could be available in archival collections. Dedications were usually the final step in the commemorative process. Working backwards, I undertook archival research to obtain more evidence of monument planning. The collections revealed that not everyone placed value on monument making and thus there were often significant gaps in the archival materials. Overall, I found the expected documents- meeting minutes, proposals, letters, funding requests, designs; and the unexpected – shopping lists, gossip, high quality photographs and collective responses. When combined, these materials provided important details about how heritage workers conceptualised and signposted the American Civil War, but more importantly, how they incorporated Native American histories into their monument culture.

In an effort to locate Native American agency in the commemorative landscape, I analyse a Seneca authored, historic biography as a form of monument. I have chosen the biography of General Ely S. Parker as I believe it is a clear example of a Native American author contributing a unique perspective to commemorative landscape. I have also found that the text provides in explicit detail a comprehensive narrative demonstrating how the General was incorporated into mainstream Civil War narratives. While it may appear strange to examine a biography as a form of Civil War monument, the genre permits an intimate look at the conceptualisation of a particular individual and conveys their historical significance. Scholars such as David Blight have theorised that biography, literature and memoir can have a commemorative purpose.³⁰ Blight has contended that biography helped foster sentimentalism that promoted both reconciliation, explaining that the wide circulation of Ulysses S. Grant's personal memoirs shaped perceptions of heroism and masculinity in the post-war period.³¹ Similarly, the literary theorist and biographer Park Honan claimed that the genre of modern biography also contributed to the accumulation of historical knowledge, and by venerating a historical subject the author attempted to "humanise" and inspire empathy for historical actors.³² As such, Civil War biographies can be a helpful tool for examining the language of historical remembrance.

Although the aim of this research is to evaluate the agency of Native American peoples in 1920s and 1930s through the source material, there are a significantly limited amount of unmediated Indigenous voices in this project. This thesis works with archives that have historically excluded Native American perspectives from the production of cultural knowledge.

³⁰ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 112.

³¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 112.

³² Park Honan, "The Theory of Biography," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 13, No. 1 (Autumn 1979): 111. See also Carl Rollyson, "Biography Theory and Method: The Case of Samuel Johnson," in *Biography* 25, No. 2 (Spring 2002): 363.

Whilst these archives highlight the social and political dynamics of early twentieth century monument culture, they lack crucial, first person perspectives from the Cherokee, Shoshone and Iroquois peoples, and thus limit how this thesis can assess degrees of agency. To evaluate agency, I had to examine historical materials with great care, and acknowledge that the archives I had chosen to consult were influenced by an ethnographic and anthropological drive to collect and catalogue artefacts, artwork and human remains to fetishize Native authenticity and perpetuate the trope that Native Americans were doomed for extinction.

To look for Native American perspectives, I took names that appeared fleetingly in archival materials and cross examined them with tribal rolls, newspaper clippings, photographs and in one case, consulted a Shoshone Elder in an effort to recover a more detailed picture of the people I had encountered. In some instances, I was successful. Thus, this thesis a snapshot into the lives of previously unknown Native American peoples. In other cases, it was almost impossible to locate information about these subjects, leaving open the possibility of further research on the topic of Native American heritage workers.

After constructing a more detailed picture of the Native American actors in this thesis, I then had to evaluate whether the Cherokee, Shoshone and Iroquois were active or passive participants in these commemorative projects. In doing so, I followed Audra Simpson's work on "refusal," which she has broadly defined as a set of boundaries that protected and limited the transmission of tribal knowledge, sovereignty and culture to people outside a specific tribe or clan.³³ Without their first-hand accounts to help, I had to ask myself, "to what extent did these people comply or refuse to comply with these monument projects?" "what could it look like?" and, most importantly, "what did it mean to be complicit at all?" I classified active

³³ For a complete definition of ethnographic refusal see Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal."

participants as those who conceptualised or helped heritage workers with commemorative projects. This included Native Americans who were members of historical societies, as well as organisations that relied on cultural informants for information.

I classified passive participants as those who were involved in some capacity, but whose voices were noticeably absent in the primary sources. In this category I included Native Americans who appeared in photographs or whose names were mentioned throughout the archives. When deciding what to call this form of participation I was suspicious of the word “passive” because I viewed the term to imply that Native Americans were not agents or did not have agency at all in these situations. To be clear, although the Cherokee, Shoshone and Iroquois people contributed to these commemorative projects in different ways, they still made the decision to construct monuments, address an audience either with praise or criticism, perform in pageants, write to newspapers and attend monument unveilings.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One analyses the Stand Watie Monument that was unveiled in the Cherokee Capital of Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 1921, utilising a range of Cherokee histories of the Civil War. Firstly, I examine how a Cherokee woman called Mabel Anderson, who belonged to the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), used her membership to build not one, but two monuments celebrating her great uncle; the Cherokee Confederate Brigadier-General, Stand Watie. Chapter One assesses the UDC’s narrative of Cherokee Confederate history and builds on existing scholarly debates about the organisation’s use of minority histories. In doing so, I analyse Cherokee interviews from the “Indian Pioneer Papers” to examine a wider sample of Cherokee perspectives on Watie’s historic legacy.

Chapter Two analyses the construction and dedication of the “Battle Creek Marker” in Preston, Idaho in 1932; the only Civil War monument in the region. My discussion focuses on the making of the 1932 marker that commemorated the 1863 “battle” between the Union Army and North-western Shoshone people during the Civil War. This chapter exposes how the Battle Creek Marker promoted a specific, settler interpretation of the slaughter where the Mormon community commemorated the event as a “battle” – a term that obscured the extent of the Civil War’s violence on the frontier. In my analysis, I reveal how the planning, construction and dedication deployed white settler perspectives. A core focus of this discussion is the “rock gathering” project, which I claim diminished Shoshone voices in the historical record.

Chapter Three examines the 1919 biography of the Iroquois General, Ely S. Parker, and how it contributed an Iroquois perspective to the body of Northern Civil War literature that chronicled the lives of prominent Union military figures. In my discussion, I examine how the Iroquois author - who was also the General’s nephew – incorporated the General into mainstream Northern narratives by revisiting some of the Civil War’s most important moments from the General’s point of view. I demonstrate how the biography raised the General’s visibility in Northern commemorative culture, but also forged its own specific Seneca remembrance of the war. In doing so, I examine how the biography supported existing cultural claims about the integrity of the Union Army, but simultaneously exposed the challenges several Senecas faced as they served.

Ultimately, this thesis contributes to our understanding of Civil War monument culture by analysing the visibility and invisibility of Cherokee, Shoshone and Seneca peoples as agents in the conceptualisation and dissemination of Native Civil War histories. I assess the degree of

Native agency by deploying a cross-regional approach to compare how Cherokee, Shoshone and Seneca involvement differed in 1920s and 1930s commemorative landscape.

Chapter One: Commemorating Stand Watie and the Lost Cause in Former Indian Territory

On June 7, 1921 a large crowd gathered at Capitol Square in Tahlequah, Oklahoma to unveil a monument to Stand Watie; the only Native American Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army.¹ The day was one of historical significance because the crowd had gathered on the exact spot where, sixty-years earlier, the Indian superintendent Albert Pike urged the Cherokee Indians to join the Confederate Army in 1861. It had taken eight years for the Tahlequah branch of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) to accumulate the funds for the rough-hewn monument made from Georgian marble. According to *The Morning Tulsa Daily World*, a Cherokee heritage worker called Mabel Washbourne Anderson had erected the marker in remembrance of her great uncle and had organised an elaborate unveiling ceremony on the steps of the Cherokee Capital building. The reporter, Lillian Perkins, fascinated by the day's events, commented on the peculiar mix of Cherokee and Confederate culture. This included the presence of a "full blooded" choir who, singing in Cherokee, stood out from musicians who performed Southern airs such as "Dixie" and "America."² The attendance of other Cherokees did not go unnoticed; many had chosen to attend in their old Confederate uniforms. Some wore plain clothes, especially the UDC Cherokee women who had organised the celebration. Perkins acknowledged that the Cherokees and Southerners in attendance had once led separate lives. However, by ways of their shared experience of the American Civil War, the two had become deeply entangled.³

¹ Lillian C. Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie," *The Morning Tulsa Daily World*, June 7, 1921.

² Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie."

³ Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie."

The 1921 monument to the Cherokee General Stand Watie, and the dedication that followed, complicates the idea that Southern monument culture was a white cultural practice.⁴ Today, Stand Watie is one of the most commonly studied Cherokee Confederates, but scholars are yet to explain how the General came to fit into Southern Civil War narratives.⁵ As a result, the General has been the subject of Southern folklore, literature and scholarly work, which has shaped his reputation as an unrelenting, stoic defender of the Confederacy, and one of the last Confederates to surrender after Appomattox.⁶

The Stand Watie marker provides a rare opportunity to interrogate how heritage workers incorporated Cherokee history into public symbols of the Confederacy. As one of the few existing Cherokee Confederate monuments, the marker raises questions about how Oklahomans placed value on Cherokee histories and sought to infuse Confederate history with Cherokee perspectives on the Civil War. The scarcity of this type of memorialisation leads me to question to what extent the Stand Watie marker accurately reflected the views of white Southerners. How accurately did the marker represent Cherokee Civil War experiences? Moreover, if the production of Southern Civil War knowledge was predominantly a white enterprise, then how was a self-identified Cherokee woman able to successfully commemorate the Civil War?

⁴ David Brundage, *The Southern Past: A clash of race and culture*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 106-107.

⁵ For specific works on Stand Watie and his role in Indian Removal see Theda Perdue, "Stand Watie's War: Forced to choose between North and South, the Cherokee Nation was nearly destroyed by the Civil War - and the consequences still resonate today," *American History* 50, April 2015; Jeff Fortney "Lest We Remember: Civil War Memory and Commemoration Among the Five Tribes," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, No. 4 (Fall 2012): 525-575.

⁶ For literature on Stand Watie see Jeff Fortney "Lest We Remember: Civil War Memory and Commemoration Among the Five Tribes," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, No. 4 (Fall 2012): 525-575; Brad Agnew, "Our Doom as a Nation is Sealed: The Five Nations in the Civil War," in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, 63-85; Confer, *The Cherokee Nation and the Civil War*; Confer, "Shifting Borders: Indian Territory in Crisis," in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*.

This chapter examines the visibility of Cherokee Civil War involvement within Southern monument culture by analysing how Cherokee heritage workers incorporated Stand Watie into Confederate narratives during the 1910s and 1920s. Firstly, I examine Stand Watie's involvement in the Civil War. In doing so, I argue that because Watie played a pivotal role in Cherokee Removal, he was not held in good standing by the Cherokee nation. Thus, it was quite unusual for his monument to be erected at a site which symbolised the sanctity of the Cherokee legislative and judicial system. Secondly, I examine Cherokee membership within the UDC. I find that these women obtained membership to an organisation renowned for its racial exclusivity because they were the descendants of Confederate Cherokees.

I demonstrate how, as descendants of Confederate Cherokees who had supported Watie during the removal period, Anderson and her peers were inspired to improve the Brigadier-General's visibility in Southern monument culture. Examining a wide range of UDC documents, I show how the monument improved Watie's visibility because it adhered to a specific narrative about Confederate Cherokees and the South during the Civil War. The third feature of my discussion involves an examination of interviews with Cherokees in the 1930s who reflected on the American Civil War. Finding commentary about Stand Watie that emphasised his role in Cherokee removal, but also noting that he contributed to violence in Indian Territory during the war, I find that the UDC marker significantly limited the extent that Cherokee Civil War involvement was represented in Southern monument culture.

Arguing that some Cherokee women celebrated the significance of the Brigadier-General in not one, but two monuments, this chapter responds to scholarly insights into the absence of Cherokee historical perspectives in Southern Civil War commemoration. In this chapter I refute Jeff Fortney's claim that members of the Cherokee Nation did not produce

Civil War monuments in the 1920s. In doing so, I contend that the Stand Watie monuments, as well as a collection of Cherokee Oral testimony known as the “Indian Pioneer Papers”, reveal a decision to promote Cherokee Confederate history.

Stand Watie

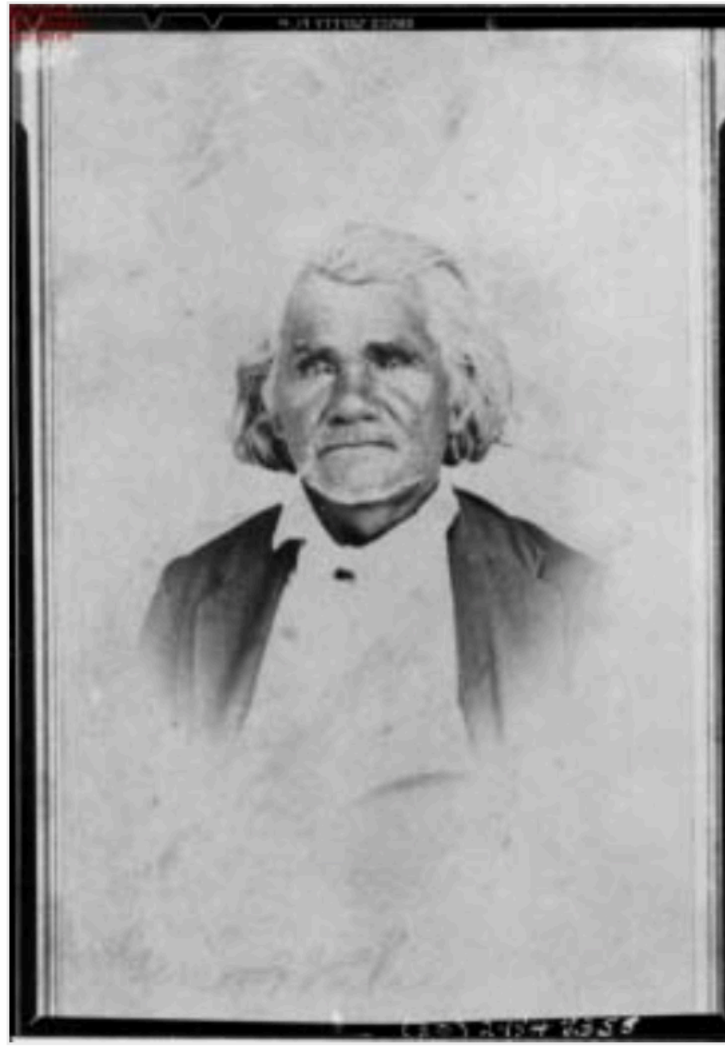


Figure 2: A Photograph of Stand Watie from the Oklahoma Historical Society Photography Collection⁷

Stand Watie (Figure 1) is a controversial figure best known for signing the Treaty of New Echota, which brought about Indian Removal, and for his service in the Federal Indian Brigade during the American Civil War. Watie was born in the Cherokee Nation near Rome,

⁷ “Stand Watie,” from Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS no. 7358 from “Stand Watie (1806-1871) <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WA040>.

Georgia to Cherokee parents, Uwatie and Susan Rees, in 1806. Unlike other Cherokee children, Watie grew up in exceptional circumstances. He was a descendant of the elite Cherokee family line known as the Ridge-Boudinots and his father ran a profitable plantation. Most of the scholarship on Stand Watie has highlighted his notoriety as a member of the controversial Cherokee faction known as the “Treaty Party.”⁸ Scholars such as Clarissa Confer and Theda Perdue have argued that it was Watie’s radical political views that contributed to an internal crisis in the Nation at the time of removal.⁹ As such, Watie is typically depicted in competition with the elected Cherokee Chief, John Ross.

Watie’s relationship with the Cherokee Nation deteriorated in 1835 when he, his brother John Ridge and his cousin Elias Boudinot signed the “Treaty of New Echota” with the United States Government. The illegitimate treaty ceded traditional lands in Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee to the United States without the permission of the Cherokee government.¹⁰ Tragically, the treaty facilitated the removal of Cherokee people to “Indian Territory,” now Oklahoma, but also parts of Kansas, Arkansas and Texas and, spawned decades of displacement, poverty and death known as the “Trail of Tears.” Watie’s betrayal of the Cherokee legislative and judicial system made him the target of a witch hunt. As a result, violent attacks later claimed the lives of both Boudinot and Ridge, and Watie became alienated from the wider Cherokee community.

Once in Indian Territory, Watie’s life differed significantly to the majority of Cherokees who were forced to relocate. For example, he enjoyed financial success as a slave

⁸ “Stand Watie,” in *DIScovering Multicultural America: African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans* (Detroit: Gale, 2003).

For more information about Watie’s family tree see Edward Everett Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

⁹ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 129; Perdue, “Stand Watie’s War,” 33.

¹⁰ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 129; Perdue, “Stand Watie’s War,” 33.

owner and, like his father, operated a lucrative plantation in Spanivaw Creek. Such an enterprise connected Watie to the Southern economy in the years before the Civil War, and scholars such as Theda Perdue have suggested that it gave the General a financial incentive to enlist in the Confederate Army to protect chattel slavery.¹¹ In comparison to the majority of Cherokees in Indian Territory, less-than three percent of the total Cherokee population were slave holders. Thus, Watie was comparatively privileged.¹²

This privilege was also evident in 1861 when, at the beginning of the Civil War, Watie was appointed commander of the 1st Indian Brigade of the Confederate Army of the Trans-Mississippi. This regiment consisted of both Cherokee and white soldiers, and included Watie's son Saladin Ridge Watie. At first, the regiment was formed to protect Indian Territory from Union-allied Osages, as well as other Union soldiers stationed nearby in Kansas.¹³ Such threats were characteristic of Indian Territory's precarious location during the Civil War. Situated on the fringes of the frontier, half-way between Northern and Southern states and occupied by displaced Five Nations peoples, Indian Territory was a host to numerous domestic and inter-tribal conflicts. As part of the military, Watie's experience of the Civil War differed significantly to other Cherokees who suffered enormous losses on the home front at the hands of Native American, Union and Confederate regiments alike.

As a commander, Watie earned the support of a small, but loyal following, and was held in high esteem as a resilient leader with a magnetic personality. During the war, he oversaw battles at Wilson's Creek (1861), Chustenahlah (1861), Pea Ridge (1862) and the

¹¹ "Stand Watie," in *DIScovering Multicultural America*.

¹² For information about Stand Watie and Cherokee slaveholding see Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 1-9; Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 35; Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

¹³ Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 35; Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 8-9.

Second Battle of Cabin Creek (1862).¹⁴ In 1864, Watie earned the title of Brigadier-General, a title that further set him apart from the majority of Cherokees who served during the war.¹⁵ On 23 June 1865, Watie famously conceded in Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation. Yielding three months after Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Watie's concession established his legacy as an unrelenting supporter of the Confederacy.¹⁶ Scholars such as Theda Perdue, Bradley Clampitt and Clarissa Confer have paid great attention both to Watie's career as a Confederate Soldier, as well as to his controversial role in the Treaty of New Echota and Indian Removal. As such, these scholars have demonstrated how the General represented the economic, social and political interests of a Cherokee minority known as the "Treaty Party." Watie's involvement in the war differed significantly to the majority of the Cherokee Nation who refused to participate, and who thus endured displacement, poverty and destruction.¹⁷

Current scholarly enquiry into Indian Territory during the Civil War has emphasised the devastation brought upon non-combatant Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole peoples. Clarissa Confer has argued that the Civil War was an unavoidable conflict that contributed to a "devastating upheaval" of life and culture in the Five Nations.¹⁸ Pointing to the displacement, poverty and attempted destruction of Cherokee tradition, Confer has argued that the war was an unwelcome struggle in the aftermath of Indian Removal.¹⁹ Confer

¹⁴ For a full list of Stand Watie's notable battles see "Monument to General Stand Watie, Tahlequah, Oklahoma," in Mabel Washbourne Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie: The Only Indian Brigadier General of the Confederate Army and the Last General to Surrender* (Pryor: 1931).

¹⁵ Confer, *The Civil War in the Cherokee Nation*, 106-107; Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 32-35.

For full biographic information about Stand Watie see Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*.

¹⁶ "Stand Watie," in *DIScovering Multicultural America*; Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 35; Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 8-9.

For more information about Watie's family tree see Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers*.

¹⁷ For information about the Cherokee Nation during the Civil War see Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*; Confer, "Shifting Borders: Indian Territory in Crisis," in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*.

Other scholars have looked specifically at the Creek Crisis, namely Bradley Clampitt in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*.

¹⁸ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 5-6.

¹⁹ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 5-6.

suggests that this destruction was compounded by the fact that the Cherokees were not American citizens at the time of the war and thus existed independently from the Union or the Confederacy as “domestic dependent nations.”²⁰ Pointing to the Supreme Court Justice John Marshall’s definition of self-governance, as well as the existing Cherokee judicial and legal system, Confer has highlighted that the Nation found themselves increasingly without the support and protection of the United States government during the Civil War.²¹

Similarly, scholars such as Bradley Clampitt have revealed how the Civil War split the Cherokee Nation further apart, and alienated families and communities who found themselves embroiled in the conflict either as combatants or refugees. This was evidenced by Cherokees who enlisted in either Union and Confederate states; a decision that highlighted how the United States sectional crisis manifested among communities viewed to be politically distinct. In total, an estimated 3530 Cherokee served in the Federal Indians’ Brigade, consisting approximately half of a total 7000 Five Nations peoples who also enlisted.²² With the scholarship pointing to a wide range of Cherokee experiences of the Civil War, it is clear that the Stand Watie represents only one small aspect of the Nation’s broader encounter with the conflict. Responding to the literature, in this chapter I enquire how Watie came to be a symbol of the Cherokee Nation’s encounter with the Civil War. Moreover, I discuss why the monument divorced the disastrous reality of Civil War violence in the Cherokee Nation from Southern commemorative landscapes.

Recently, Jeff Fortney has questioned the legitimacy of Cherokee Civil War monuments in Tahlequah. Fortney claimed the UDC marker presented a “white washed” view

²⁰ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 5-6

²¹ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 5-6

²² Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 5-6; Fortney, “Lest We Remember,” 525.

of Cherokee Civil War history that excluded Cherokee people from the process of monument construction.²³ Fortney claimed Oklahoma's commemorative landscape silenced the voices of Cherokee participants who made "critical sacrifices" for the Confederacy, and instead venerated one of the Nation's most controversial exponents because Watie easily fitted within Lost Cause culture.²⁴ Consequently, Fortney's criticism of the UDC did not account for the organisation's support of Cherokee historical perspectives in Tahlequah. Although Fortney was correct to accuse the UDC of infusing the Watie marker with mainstream Southern narratives, without a broader examination of the Cherokee women who comprised the monument committee, we are yet to fully appreciate the agency of Cherokee heritage workers who invested time and effort into raising their own symbols of Confederacy. This chapter further responds to the literature by offering a fresh perspective on the Cherokee Confederate monuments, showing how some Cherokee women were, in fact, the proponents of Confederate history.

The Monuments

In June 1921, the United Daughters of the Confederacy dedicated two historic markers in Stand Watie's memory.²⁵ The first monument (Figure 2), and the focus of this chapter, was an eleven-foot granite shaft they unveiled at Capitol Square at Tahlequah, Cherokee County (formerly the Cherokee Nation). A second, slightly smaller tombstone was placed on Watie's grave site at the Polson Cemetery in Delaware County on 25 May 1921. The larger marker carries the following inscription (Figure 3):²⁶

²³ Fortney, "Lest We Remember," 525.

²⁴ Fortney, "Lest We Remember," 526.

²⁵ The name of the Stand Watie Elementary School was changed in May, 2018. See Tim Willert, "OKC board votes to change school names," newsok.com, accessed 9 October 2018.

<https://newsok.com/article/5594657/okc-board-votes-to-change-school-names>

²⁶ Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie," June 7, 1921.

In honor of Gen. Stand Watie. Only full blood Indian Brig. General in the Confederate Army. This brave Cherokee with his heroic regiment rendered services to the Confederate cause of Indian Territory. Born in GA, Dec 12, 1806. Died in Cherokee Nation, September 1871. By Oklahoma Division. United Daughters of the Confederacy. "Lest We Forget."²⁷

As the inscription suggests, the UDC viewed Watie as an exponent of the Confederacy who risked his life to defend the vision of a slaveholding South.²⁸ The rhetoric was also symptomatic of Lost Cause remembrance that has been known to celebrate the patriotism and heroism of individuals during the Civil War.

Scholars of Southern Civil War memorial culture have argued that heritage groups chose to tell stories about the Civil War through the veneration of individuals in the hope that Confederate leaders would serve as role models for future generations of Americans.²⁹ As the marker's inscription suggests, Stand Watie was not immune from the UDC's venerating mission. In 1921 the former UDC Historian Elizabeth King Cowgill remarked that the organisation considered Watie "one of the great leaders" of the Confederate Army.³⁰ She explained that the UDC would "[purpose] his memory" and use it to "[instil] a deeper pride and reverence in the hearts of our people."³¹ For Cowgill, it seemed that Watie embodied the qualities of other great Southern leaders who displayed a "devotion to duty" and "sincerity and

²⁷ "Monument to General Stand Watie, Tahlequah, Oklahoma in Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 53.

²⁸ For detailed information about the Lost Cause see Brundage, *The Southern Past*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*; Yuhl, *The Making of Historic Charleston*; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1.

²⁹ For information about the Lost Cause see Brundage, *The Southern Past*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*; Yuhl, *The Making of Historic Charleston*; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 1.

³⁰ Elizabeth King Cowgill, "State women erect Stand Watie Stone to preserve great example of history," *The Daily Oklahoman*, June 5, 1921, 1.

³¹ Cowgill, "State women erect Stand Watie stone."

steadfastness of purpose.”³² The Marker, she hoped, would transmit Watie’s “priceless legacy to our children.”³³ As the Cherokee General emerged as the target of the UDC’s commemorative activities in Oklahoma, his support of the Confederacy became its central focus.

³² Cowgill, “State women erect Stand Watie stone.”

³³ Cowgill, “State women erect Stand Watie stone.”



Figure 3: The Ten Foot Historical Marker Unveiled in Capital Square at the Cherokee National Building in Tahlequah³⁴

³⁴ Photograph of Stand Watie Monument, civilwaralbum.com, accessed December 19, 2018.
<http://www.civilwaralbum.com/indian/tahlequah1c.htm>.



Figure 4: Watie's headstone and an addition shaft dedicated at the Polson Cemetery in Delaware County, Oklahoma³⁵

The Stand Watie marker was conceptualised by a Cherokee UDC heritage worker named Mabel Washbourne Anderson. Anderson was Watie's great niece and a member of the Oklahoma Division of the UDC.³⁶ She was born in 1863 in the Cherokee Nation in Arkansas during the Civil War, to her white missionary father, Josiah Woodward Washbourne and Cherokee mother, Susan Catherine.³⁷ Both of her parents were descended from two prominent families, indicating that she received a privileged upbringing in comparison to other Cherokee children. Her paternal grandfather was Cephus Washburn, a missionary and founder of the Dwight Mission in Sequoyia County, which no doubt connected Anderson with prominent

³⁵ "General Stand Watie Grave Site, Polson Cemetery, Grove OK," travelok.org, accessed June 28, 2018. https://www.travelok.com/listings/view.profile/id.2995?CMP=pinterest_nativeamerican&UTM=pinterest_nativeamerican.

³⁶ Otherwise known as Watie's first cousin's granddaughter; Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers*; Illustration of Ridge-Boudinot genealogy, xxxii.

³⁷ Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers*, xxxii.

white Oklahomans throughout her life.³⁸ Her maternal grandfather was John Rollin Ridge, first cousin to Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie. Such ancestry made Anderson the descendant of three Treaty Party adherents. Thus, connected to both elite, white Southerners and Treaty Party Cherokees, Anderson self-identified as both a Cherokee and an Oklahoman.³⁹

During the Civil War, Anderson's family had served within Confederate regiments, which likely influenced her decision to enrol as a member of the UDC. Anderson's father had been a Major in the Confederate Army, and had served first in Arkansas, and later in Watie's brigade towards the end of the war.⁴⁰ Her uncle, Henry Washbourne, had joined Watie's brigade and served as a First Lieutenant in the Company "B" Battalion Seminole Mounted Volunteers, and died in action in the Seminole Nation.⁴¹ With such a strong connection to the Civil War, Anderson was likely exposed to the rhetoric, values and history of the Confederacy as a child and consequently, inherited a specific view of Cherokee and Confederate history.

Moreover, Anderson was also well accustomed to the development of the commemorative landscape and the role that education played in the dissemination of public memory in the South. She had attended school in the Cherokee public-school system, and later graduated from the Cherokee National Female Seminary where she earned a teaching degree in 1883.⁴² Once a qualified teacher, Anderson moved to Vinita, Oklahoma, where she took up

³⁸ Josiah later changed the name to "Washbourne."

See also "Mabel Washbourne Anderson" in *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Gretchen M. Bataille and Laurie Lisa (New York: Routledge, 2001).

³⁹ "Selected Works of Mabel Washbourne Anderson," in *Sequoyah Research Centre, American Native Press Archives*, ualrexhibits, accessed October 10, 2018.

https://ualrexhibits.org/tribalwriters/artifacts/Anderson_selected-works.html

⁴⁰ Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 73.

⁴¹ Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 73.

⁴² For other biographies of Mabel Washbourne Anderson see Robert Dale Parker, *Changing Is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press); Dawes Roles Card 3330 "Mabel W. Anderson" in "Dawes Final Rolls," at www.okhistory.org, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.okhistory.org/research/dawesresults.php?fname=Mabel&lname=Anderson&tribe=Cherokee&rollnum=&cardnum=&action=Search> ;

a teaching position. Throughout her life, Anderson celebrated her Cherokee Confederate heritage and was diligent in educating the community, as well her students, on the topic. This was especially the case during Anderson's time as a member of the Sequoyia heritage society where she frequently ran classes on the subject of Cherokee history.⁴³ In addition to teaching, Anderson was also a published writer, and often contributed articles, poetry and biographic pieces to local newspapers and magazines. Such writing could be found in the popular Oklahoma periodical *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, which circulated an estimated 10,000 copies per edition.⁴⁴ Although Anderson has an impressive number of publications to her name, she is best known as the author of Stand Watie's biography entitled *The Life of General Stand Watie, the Only Indian Brigadier-General and the Last to Surrender*. In comparison to her short stories, the biography made a significant impact, and was re-published three times by the time she died in 1944.⁴⁵

Given Anderson's interest in promoting her Cherokee history and her family's connection to the Confederate Army, it is relatively unsurprising that, as a heritage worker, she sought to venerate her great uncle alongside other significant Confederate leaders. This was evident in the November of 1914, when she wrote to *The Daily Ardmoreite* asking for donations for the monument. In her letter, she explained her project would restore the General to Southern Civil War narratives, where his contribution had previously gone unrecognised.⁴⁶ The reason for the General's absence was, she believed, due to the fact that his gravesite had remained

Anderson is listed as an alumni of the Cherokee National Female Seminary in "An Illustrated Souvenir Catalogue of the Cherokee National Female Seminary: Tahlequah, Indian Territory 1950 to 1906." (Chilocco: Indian Print Shop), 242.

⁴³ Daniel F. Littlefield Jr., "Mabel Washbourne Anderson," in *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Gretchen M. Bataille and Laurie Lisa (New York: Routledge, 2001), 14.

⁴⁴ "Selected Works of Mabel Washbourne Anderson"

<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=ST058>. [Accessed 10, October, 2018].

⁴⁵ Daniel L. Littlefield, *Native American Writing in the Southeast: An Anthology, 1875-1935* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 48.

⁴⁶ Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Stand Watie is Proposed," *The Daily Ardmoreite*, November 25, 1914, 3.

unmarked since his death. Without a fitting tribute, Anderson feared the “great Oklahoma hero” was “scarcely known outside of his own immediate people.”⁴⁷ Hoping to promote Watie’s significance, Anderson urged readers to help her “pay this long-neglected tribute to this great Confederate hero of Oklahoma” and encouraged Oklahomans to donate funds to construct a worthy memorial.⁴⁸ In doing so, Anderson’s article highlighted how she viewed the General as part of both Cherokee and Oklahoma’s Civil War narrative. To Anderson, Watie was a Confederate who “belonged to Oklahoma,” but as a Cherokee, it was imperative that the monument would be erected on Cherokee soil to honor his heritage.⁴⁹ It seemed, that embracing Watie’s duality, both as a Cherokee and as a supporter of the Confederacy, was central to incorporating the General into the commemorative landscape.

Anderson’s plans for the Watie marker unfolded during a period where the UDC’s influence grew significantly across the Southern commemorative landscape, demonstrating how Stand Watie’s marker formed part of the growing Civil War monument culture of the time.⁵⁰ Karen Cox has argued that the period between 1894 and 1918 witnessed the rapid rise of the UDC and their commitment to preserve and disseminate Confederate culture and history. Founded in 1894, the UDC focused on the preservation of the Confederate past for future generations, as well as social work, veteran care and childhood education.⁵¹ Members had to be seen as pursuing the organisation’s objectives of benevolence, education, memorialisation, the production of historical knowledge and social work through their projects. As a result, UDC members were a cohort of dynamic and well-connected white Southern women.⁵² As a self-identified Cherokee, Anderson stood out from her peers and her membership raises questions

⁴⁷ Anderson, “Monument to Gen. Stand Watie is Proposed.”

⁴⁸ Anderson, “Monument to Gen. Stand Watie is Proposed.”

⁴⁹ Anderson, “Monument to Gen. Stand Watie is Proposed.”

⁵⁰ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 16.

⁵¹ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 16.

⁵² Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 19.

about how the UDC came to accept Cherokee members and incorporate Civil War involvement within Oklahoma's commemorative landscape.

According to UDC records, the first time the Oklahoma Division announced their plans to build the Watie marker was in 1913, during the September UDC convention in Muskogee. There, the Oklahoma Division president, Bertie E. Davis, explained that a committee had been formed to commence planning a monument to Stand Watie.⁵³ She announced:

The [Oklahoma] division hopes to erect a monument to the memory of this noble Indian soldier in the near future. The [monument committee] is composed of three Cherokee Indian women, Mrs Anderson, Mrs Culbertson and Mrs Pendleton, General Stand Watie himself having been a Cherokee. Already the committee is at work and plans are underway for the raising of the necessary funds.⁵⁴

As this quote suggests, the Oklahoma Division viewed their Cherokee members as valuable heritage workers. The Stand Watie marker suggested that the division celebrated their connection with Cherokee aspects of their Civil War history. As these women were core members of the monument committee, it was likely expected that Anderson, Culbertson and Pendleton would contribute a certain degree of Cherokee historical authenticity to the project.

Whilst there is not a great deal of information about what kind of responsibility these women had within the UDC, in the course of my research I was able to recover some basic information about Mrs [Ida] W.T. Culbertson. Culbertson, whose maiden name was most likely

⁵³ *The Confederate Veteran Magazine*, September 1921, XXIX, No.9, 428. From the Archives of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

⁵⁴ *The Confederate Veteran Magazine*, September 1921, XXIX, No.9, 428. From the Archives of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1913 (New Orleans, Louisiana. November 12-13); 1914 (Savannah, Georgia, November 11-14, 1914); 1915 (San Francisco, California, October 20-24).

Harris, was the daughter of Dr E. Poe Harris, a doctor working in Indian Territory and 1/8 Cherokee woman.⁵⁵ She was also the granddaughter of Thomas Wold, a prominent Cherokee who fought with Watie during the Civil War. As a UDC member, Culbertson had served as both the President of the Indian Territory UDC division and the Oklahoma Division between 1903 and 1911. Elizabeth King Cowgill described Culbertson as a “very interesting woman...of Cherokee extraction,” indicating that the UDC was well aware that some of its members were self-identified Cherokees.⁵⁶ As division president, Culbertson presumably had a great deal of authority over the dissemination of public history projects and helped to establish a Confederate Veteran home in Ardmore. Culbertson’s involvement in the Watie marker project suggests that she continued to undertake heritage work in the years following her presidency.⁵⁷ As such, Culbertson could be viewed as an extremely active Cherokee heritage worker with an interest in promoting Southern Civil War history. This was evidenced by Culbertson’s work as the chair of the Educational Committee at the Karr Burdette College of Sherman, Texas.⁵⁸ Less is known about Sallie Pendleton, although in order to qualify for membership within the UDC she had to be descended from a Confederate soldier.

The presence of Cherokee heritage workers complicates our understanding of the UDC as a predominately white, female enterprise. Scholars such as Stephanie Yuhl, W. Fitzhugh Brundage and Caroline Janney have noted how Southern commemoration was predominantly a white initiative, propelled by white middle class women.⁵⁹ A closer look at the formation of

⁵⁵ “Ida H. Culbertson,” Dawes Final Rolls card 14. Roll Number 50. okhistory.org.

Culbertson is listed as the daughter of Dr E. Poe Harris in “Dr E Poe Harris” in *Sedalia Weekly Democrat*, July 22, 1898, 10.

⁵⁶ Culbertson is listed as the President of the UDC Oklahoma division, “Ida H. Culbertson” cpksudc.org, accessed October 19, 2017. <http://www.cpkssudc.org/history/2611Archive/Division/history/conventionList.htm>. “Ida H. Culbertson” married William T. Culbertson a Cherokee man from Savannah.

⁵⁷ *The Daily Ardmoreite*, September 21, 1909, 2.

⁵⁸ *The Confederate Veteran Magazine*, September 1921, XXIX, No. 9, 428. From the Archives of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

⁵⁹ For general information about the role of women in Southern heritage groups see Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*; Laugesen, *The Making of Public Historical Culture*; Yuhl, *The Making of Historic Charleston*.

the Oklahoma division reveals how the UDC maintained a surprising connection with Cherokee history, and can help explain how the Watie marker became a major project for the organisation between 1913 and 1921.

Although there is little scholarly debate about the existence of Cherokee heritage workers, the UDC State Historian did address Oklahoma's relationship with the Cherokee in September 1918. Writing to *The Daily Oklahoman*, Cowgill explained that the Oklahoma division had an "unusual page" in their history; one that differed in comparison to other chapters within the organisation.⁶⁰ She explained that the UDC had formed a branch in the former Indian Territory and two years after Oklahoma statehood, the 1908 merger of the Indian Territory branch with the Oklahoma division ensured Cherokee women could continue their heritage work. As part of the merger, the Indian Territory division brought with them a membership double that of the Oklahoma division, which Cowgill estimated was "several hundred members."⁶¹ Whether or not this group consisted of solely Five Nations members is unclear. However, the group presumably consisted of a number of Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole women, as well as white Oklahomans.⁶² Based on 1913 membership estimates, the number of Oklahoma heritage workers involved in the merger likely exceeded 1,561; suggesting that several other Cherokee women could have influenced the creation of Confederate symbols as they developed around the state.⁶³

Whereas the merger of the two branches can explain how the Oklahoma chapter embraced Cherokee history, it was not uncommon for UDC branches to infuse monuments

⁶⁰ Cowgill, "Oklahoma Division, U.D.C is an amalgamation of territorial organisations," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 22, 1918.

⁶¹ Cowgill, "Oklahoma Division, U.D.C is an amalgamation of territorial organisations."

⁶² Cowgill, "Oklahoma Division, U.D.C is an amalgamation of territorial organisations."

⁶³ Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention, 1913.

with local character. Karen Cox has claimed that, whilst the UDC's overall goal was to transmit white Confederate history to white Southern communities, individual branches often looked to local and state heroes to shape community identity within a broader narrative of the Civil War in the South.⁶⁴ In doing so, the UDC improved the social function of the monuments they made. Southerners could view themselves, their ancestors and towns as integral to Civil War histories. In Oklahoma, Stand Watie was deployed as a symbol of Cherokee Confederate history. As Oklahoma was not a state during the Civil War but Indian Territory, Stand Watie was an appropriate figure that displayed the region's duality. Venerating Watie as one of the last Confederates to surrender the UDC connected Oklahoma to symbols of the Confederacy that spoke to the Civil War lexicon of resilience and defeat.

The presence of Cherokee heritage workers complicates the image of the white Southern heritage worker. It is also evidence that Cherokee women were given new public roles as the custodians of local history. W. Fitzhugh Brundage has asserted that in the South, white middle class women became the "self-proclaimed custodians" of Southern Confederate culture that propelled Southern women into the heritage profession.⁶⁵ Brundage has argued that although women were given new public roles, heritage work was seen to be a natural extension of Southern femininity that did not upset existing structures of Southern patriarchy. However, we should not disregard their influence on the conceptualisation and dissemination of public history. As UDC members, Cherokee women presumably obtained greater access to the public sphere as well as resources including funding, libraries, archives and social networks that helped them complete their projects. Sadly, I was unable to uncover more information that illustrates how Cherokee women promoted or suppressed their identity. The UDC records are also limited in the amount of information they can provide. However, it is clear that Cherokee

⁶⁴ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 19.

⁶⁵ Brundage, *A Southern Past*, 4.

women who made their status known within their branches, such as Culbertson and Anderson, obtained new public roles in the South. Such roles gave these women greater responsibility and creative control over their memorialisation projects.

Progress on the Watie marker was announced again at the 1914 UDC Convention in Savannah when the new division president, Lutie Hailey Walcott announced that the Watie marker continued to be a priority, claiming it was central to the division's efforts to develop a commemorative landscape. In her speech she noted Oklahoma "has within her limits few Confederate monuments."⁶⁶ As Walcott's speech suggests, the Watie marker was an important aspect of the growing impulse in Oklahoma to signpost Civil War history.⁶⁷ She explained that the division "hope soon to erect a fitting monument to our only Indian General Stand Watie, a Cherokee, at his old home in Tahlequah. The committee in charge is headed by a niece of this brave man."⁶⁸ Walcott claimed the division decided to commemorate the General "not only as a native Oklahoman and a great Confederate soldier, but a man who stood for all that was noble and honourable, and we show to the world that Oklahoma daughters do not forget."⁶⁹ This quote reveals that Walcott and the UDC linked Watie to the rhetoric and commemorative tradition of the Lost Cause, and borrowed from the remembrance of white Confederate soldiers to infer his significance in the region.

The UDC emphasised Watie's support of the Confederacy, a move that exposed Oklahoma's link to Indian Territory and incorporated Watie in the Southern history of the Civil War.⁷⁰ Most importantly, Watie was a good symbol of Confederate heroism that underwrote

⁶⁶ Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention, 1914.

⁶⁷ Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention, 1914.

⁶⁸ Lutie Walcott, U.D.C. Convention Report, Oklahoma Division (Savannah, November 11-14, 1914); Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 74.

⁶⁹ Walcott, U.D.C. Convention Report, 1914.

⁷⁰ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 3.

the Lost Cause myth. The UDC and earlier heritage organisations, such as the Ladies' Memorial Association, had helped shaped and disseminate the myth of the "Lost Cause."⁷¹ Caroline Janney defined the Lost Cause as the "rhetoric and traditions... developed in the post-war climate of economic, racial, and gender uncertainty...to cultivate a public memory of the Confederacy that sought to present the war and its outcome in the best possible terms."⁷² In other words, the UDC sought to venerate the "Old South" as a period of "benevolent masters...supported by genteel women, both of whom were rewarded by the faithfulness of slaves."⁷³ In this imagining of the "Old South," the South ceded from the Union to preserve slavery, but also to protect "states' rights."⁷⁴ Portrayed as an proponent of the "Old South," the UDC shaped Watie's legacy to perpetuate this narrative.

Borrowing from the veneration of other Southern soldiers, the monument committee drew on a lexicon of remembrance that emphasised their patriotism, heroism and resilience. For example, in the days leading up to the marker's unveiling, Elizabeth Cowgill confirmed Watie's exceptionalism both as a Confederate soldier and as a Cherokee. Her statement highlighted how the organisation had borrowed from the veneration of other white Southern soldiers. Cowgill described the General's heroism and patriotism, claiming the monument honoured his "devotion to duty as he saw it" and well as his "sincerity and steadfastness of purpose whose generosity of soul and boundless sympathy we would perpetuate as a priceless legacy to our children."⁷⁵ Using Watie as an example of Southern character demonstrates how the UDC connected the General to their broader charter for remembrance, and deployed Confederate veterans as examples of Southern model citizens.

⁷¹ Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 3.

⁷² Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 3.

⁷³ Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, 3.

⁷⁴ Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 12.

⁷⁵ Cowgill, "State women erect Stand Watie Stone to preserve great example of history," *The Daily Oklahoman*, June 5, 1921, 5.

To raise money for the marker, Walcott explained that Anderson had compiled a biography of Watie's life entitled "Life of Stand Watie," which she would sell for fifty cents per copy.⁷⁶ By the end of 1914, the Oklahoma Division had printed one hundred copies of Anderson's Watie biography.⁷⁷ Although we do not know how many copies were actually sold, Anderson advertised the project and the biography in several Oklahoma-based newspapers such as *The Daily Ardmoreite*, *The Indian Journal*, *The Star Gazette* and *The Standard-Sentinel*.⁷⁸ Anderson requested a "generous response from all over the state and from friends of Watie in Arkansas and Missouri."⁷⁹ She hoped that interest in her marker would raise awareness of Watie's story and also obtain the financial support required for its construction.⁸⁰ The frequency with which the advertisement appeared in these newspapers suggested that the project was well known throughout Oklahoma. This was confirmed in 1918 where the *Daily Oklahoman* commented that Anderson's pamphlet had attracted attention from all over the state and beyond.⁸¹ What the pamphlet circulation suggests is that, in the years leading up to the dedication, the UDC had already heightened Watie's visibility outside of the region.

This was certainly the case by 1918, when *The Daily Oklahoman* reported that Anderson's pamphlet had raised a reported amount of \$1,650, an impressive total for the time, and enough to create the memorial the UDC desired.⁸² Unfortunately, the timing of the UDC's fundraising intersected with the deployment of American soldiers in the First World War. As a result, Anderson donated the funds she had raised to the United States Army and instead

⁷⁶ According to the 1914 U.D.C. Convention Report, the pamphlet was originally priced at 25 cents, but then raised to 50 cents, as per Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Watie is proposed."

⁷⁷ "Active War Relief," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 22, 1918. 5.

⁷⁸ "Monument to Stand Watie," *The Standard-Sentinel*, December 24, 1914, 2; "Need more funds for the Watie memorial," *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, November 12, 1914, 1.

⁷⁹ Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Watie is proposed."

⁸⁰ Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Watie is proposed."

⁸¹ "Active War Relief," *The Daily Oklahoman*, September 22, 1918. 5

⁸² "Active War Relief."

obtained a Liberty Bond; which delayed the project for another three years. However, the sale of her pamphlet in the years leading up to 1918 suggests that Oklahomans were becoming increasingly aware of the General's historical significance during this time. Those who purchased a copy of the pamphlet were provided with a detailed explanation as to why the UDC had decided to erect a marker that stressed the General's significance to the region's Civil War history.⁸³ As a result, the biography helped to restore Watie's visibility within Oklahoma's historical consciousness.

Overall, the circulation of Anderson's pamphlet highlights a broader interest across the UDC to heighten the visibility of the General within their commemorative landscape. This is evident in 1914 when Anderson published a list of donors to the marker fund in *The Daily Ardmoreite*. As most of these donors were, in fact, UDC chapters within Oklahoma, the donations reveal how interest in Stand Watie's career had spread well beyond the Oklahoma Division, with other regional chapters already contributing funds towards the marker. The Muskogee and McAlester chapters both contributed ten dollars each, whilst the Atoker Chapter gave five dollars; both substantial donations for the time. Moreover, a further seven UDC chapters pledged considerable amounts of money, including the Stand Watie Chapter in Pryor, who pledged a significant twenty dollars, as well as donations from branches in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Ardmore and Kiowa.⁸⁴ By 1921, over forty Oklahoma-based UDC chapters, consisting of an estimated 1200 members had contributed, suggesting that by the time the UDC installed the marker, Watie was well-known throughout the region.⁸⁵

⁸³ Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Watie is proposed."

⁸⁴ Anderson, "Monument to Gen. Watie is proposed."

⁸⁵ "United Daughters of Confederacy Unveil Stand Watie Monument Monday on Old Capitol Square at Tahlequah," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 5 June, 1921, 45.

Although I was unable to obtain a first edition copy of the pamphlet, a third edition that was published in 1931 does illustrate how some Oklahomans shared Anderson's desire to raise Watie's visibility within their Civil War histories.⁸⁶ In the appendix of the 1931 biography, Anderson included a selection of tributes she had received from Confederate Veterans who had written to her upon hearing that she planned to create Watie's monument. These tributes provide a rare glimpse into how some Oklahomans incorporated Watie into their Civil War narratives, and how Confederate Veterans supported the UDC project. For example, a veteran known as Reverend J.S. Murrow wrote to Anderson stressing the need to raise Watie's visibility within Oklahoma's Civil War narrative. He bemoaned:

"American history has done the Indian race, in America, scant justice by inscribing upon its pages tributes of testimony" and as such how he was "very glad that Mrs Mabel Anderson, a Cherokee woman, has determined to rescue one of her nation's great men from the shades of forgetfulness."⁸⁷

Similarly, Robert T. Hanks from Webber Falls, who wrote to Anderson in January 1915, also exclaimed that "no soldier...is more deserving of a fit monument to perpetuate his memory than our brave and beloved Stand Watie."⁸⁸ Both Murrow and Hanks agreed that the Southern commemorative landscape had failed to incorporate Watie into its Civil War narratives. As Murrow's letter suggested, he believed Watie featured not only within his own experience of the Civil War but within Oklahoma's Civil War narrative.

The Veteran letters further emphasise how Watie had, for some, become a role model who could instil in future generations of Oklahomans a message of courage and devotion to

⁸⁶ Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*.

⁸⁷ Rev. J. S. Murrow to M. Anderson, undated. In Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 57-85.

⁸⁸ Robert T. Hanks to M. Anderson, January 5, 1915. In Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 68-69.

duty. Murrow testified to Watie's "merits and excellence of life and character in every relation of life. During the war he was brave and fearless, a just and wise officer, a tactful commander."⁸⁹ Similarly, in April of 1915, George W. Grayson, who had served as Captain in the Second Creek Regiment, wrote to Anderson patriotically supporting the marker:

[L]et his memory and fame stand forth proud monuments to the virtues of patriotism and devotion to duty.... Let our young people, in the generations to come, read his life, emulate his virtues, and be proud to publish to the world...that they too are North American Indians of the Southland.⁹⁰

Not only did Grayson share the UDC's belief that memorialising Confederate heroes would help transmit the character of Southern society to future generations, he also showed how Watie, a Cherokee, was an important part of the region's Civil War history. Whilst these tributes highlight how some Oklahomans viewed Watie as a historically significant individual, they are also limited in their insight. What they do demonstrate, however, is that some Confederate Veterans considered the General to be a central figure in Southern Civil War narratives.

When the UDC chose a location for the Watie marker in 1921, they decided to install it outside the Cherokee National courthouse in Tahlequah, where it would be highly visible at one of Oklahoma's historic sites (Figure 4). The prominent location of the larger marker helped incorporate the General within Oklahoma's commemorative landscape. This was the opinion of *The Daily Oklahoman* upon publishing the program for the unveiling on 5 June 1921. The paper described the marker as an "imposing structure of granite and bronze" that would honor

⁸⁹ Murrow to Anderson, undated, 57-85.

⁹⁰ Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 68.

the General's contribution to the Confederacy in a ceremony that was long overdue.⁹¹ Anderson decided to place the marker at the courthouse, which she also referred to as the "Capitol Building." She explained that the committee had chosen the site because they believed Watie's "power in the Confederate cause, and in the destiny of his people [had once been] potently felt" in the Old Cherokee capital, and would thus stand as a lasting legacy to his influence in the region.⁹² Although the courthouse was transferred to Cherokee County following Oklahoma statehood in 1907, the building had become a symbol of the Cherokee sovereignty and legal system. As such, the location extended Southern Civil War commemoration into a distinctively Cherokee space.⁹³



Figure 5: The Cherokee Capitol Building in Tahlequah, Oklahoma⁹⁴

⁹¹ "United Daughter of the Confederacy Unveil Stand Watie Monument Monday on Old Capitol Square at Tahlequah," *The Daily Oklahoman*, 5 June, 1921, 45.

⁹² Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 54.

⁹³ The Cherokee National building served as the location of the tribal government until Oklahoma statehood in 1907 when it became part of Cherokee County, Oklahoma. A subsequent act of Congress disbanded the Cherokee Government at that time. Later, the Capitol building became a National Historic Landmark in 1961 and later served as the headquarters for the Cherokee Judicial branch; "United Daughter of the Confederacy Unveil Stand Watie Monument Monday on Old Capitol Square at Tahlequah."

⁹⁴ "Cherokee National Capitol" in *Visit Cherokee Nation*, accessed February 4, 2019. <http://visitcherokeemission.com/ATTRACTIVECTIONS/Pages/cherokee-national-capitol.aspx> [Accessed 4, February 2019].

In addition to Veteran perspectives, the UDC unveiling further highlights the incorporation and participation of Native Americans within Southern commemorative landscapes. Newspapers that reported on the dedication revealed how the UDC planned a celebration that further reinforced Watie's Cherokee heritage. One example was a performance by a Cherokee Choir, which Anderson later remarked as consisting of "full blood" Cherokees, who "sang the hymns in their native tongue."⁹⁵ The event was also attended by Cherokee Confederate Veterans, as well as other Native Americans from the region, who were presumably invited by the monument committee. Their attendance attracted a great deal of attention, particularly from the reporter, Lillian Perkins, from *The Morning Tulsa Daily World*, who was captivated by the presence of several Cherokee Confederate Veterans and other Native participants.⁹⁶ In her report, Perkins described the Cherokee features of the UDC program as an exciting addition to the day's festivities, suggesting that she considered them an oddity in comparison to other UDC celebrations that were typically centred around the histories of white Southerners. Perkins described the event:

Stolid Indians of full blood either of Cherokee or of other Indian blood. They spoke with the language of the white man and they wore the same clothes as he, but in the lineaments of face and outline of stalwart figure.⁹⁷

As this quote suggests, although the Watie marker demonstrated that Cherokees could fit within dominant Southern narratives, some Oklahomans still viewed Native Americans as distinctly separate to their local communities. Perkins likely shared the view of many Americans that

⁹⁵ Anderson, *The Life of General Stand Watie*, 54.

⁹⁶ Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie."

⁹⁷ Perkins, "Unveil Marble to Stand Watie."

considered Native Americans an antiquity of colonial settlement and expansion, which would either acculturate or vanish from existence.⁹⁸

Overall, the dedication highlighted how Cherokee and white Southerners collaborated to venerate a unique aspect of their shared Civil War history. The event certainly attracted the attention of Oklahomans from all over the state, as well as Confederate Veterans from Oklahoma, Arkansas and Missouri. Numerous reports of such a large attendance suggest that by 1921, Watie was well-known to white Oklahomans, many of whom felt compelled to travel great distances to attend the unveiling. Whilst Cherokees who attended the celebration had a connection to the General, Watie's association with the Treaty Party suggests that the marker represented the Civil War involvement of a small number of Cherokees. Without the historical evidence available to enquire which Cherokees attended and why, it is difficult to analyse how accurately the Watie marker conveyed the Civil War experiences of the Cherokee nation.

The Indian Pioneer Papers

Although the dedication revealed how some Cherokee people engaged with the Southern commemorative landscape, it is difficult to evaluate whether Cherokee people more broadly felt that the monument accurately represented their experiences of the Civil War. To further explore how the Cherokee placed historical significance on Stand Watie, I have chosen to look for a broader range of perspectives in the Indian Pioneer Papers. The Indian Pioneer Papers are

⁹⁸ The term "Vanishing Race" is taken from the 1913 book by Joseph K. Dixon and Rodman Wanamaker, that is used to describe the belief that Native American peoples would "Vanish" from the American landscape, either due to death, intermarriage or through assimilation.

See Joseph K. Dixon and Rodman Wanamaker, *The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913); Scholars such as David Brundage, Michael Kammen and Philip Deloria have contended that the development of public historical culture in the 1920s and 1930s helped influence public opinion about the place of Native American peoples in modern society. Specifically, they reference Museum and ethnographic literature that cast Native American peoples as belonging in the "old world." See, for example: Phillip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*; Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*; Brundage, *The Southern Past*.

a collection of oral history interviews that recorded the lives of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole peoples in the 1930s. The interviews were obtained as part of the Federal Writers Project, a New Deal era relief program that employed out of work writers to document the diverse lives of Americans across the United States.⁹⁹ These interviews provide a rare insight into the lives of Five Nations peoples and give voice to their life stories. As such, scholars such as Amanda Cobb-Greetham have looked to the Indian Pioneer Papers to recover individual reflections on the Civil War. Cobb-Greetham has noted that these interviews are a valuable resource for recovering marginalised voices and restoring them to broader Civil War narratives.¹⁰⁰

In a collection spanning almost 80,000 entries, only seventy-six Indian interviews mention Stand Watie. In my analysis, I identified a variety of responses where Watie featured to various degrees as the subject or as part of each Civil War history. The responses generally ranged from interviewees who were proud to associate themselves with Stand Watie, to others that criticised the General for his role in Indian removal. However, those that served with the General were more likely to portray him in a positive light. This suggested that for some Cherokees, Watie was viewed as a pillar within their community and a fierce defender of the Nation's interests. One such example was C. B. Harris, a full-blooded Cherokee from Muskogee, Oklahoma who inherited stories about Watie and the Federal Indian brigade from his family who served in the Confederate army. In his brief interview, Harris explained that while "the Cherokees did not particularly care about the war and were slow to take part..." but that his "folks were all confederates."¹⁰¹ He proudly explained that his father had served in

⁹⁹ Jarrod Hirsch, *Portrait of America: A Cultural history of the Federal Writers' Project* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2.

¹⁰⁰ Cobb-Greetham, "Hearth and Home," 153

¹⁰¹ C.B Harris, Interview. Oklahoma Federation of Labor Collection, M452, Box 5, Folder 2. Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 3.
<https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/356> [Accessed 10, October, 2018].

Watie's regiment at Prairie Grove, Arkansas and had also worked with Watie when his regiment captured a supply wagon trail of 350 wagons headed for Fort Gibson in 1864.¹⁰² Although Harris' interview was short, it did indicate how Stand Watie formed part of his family's Civil War story.

Another example was an interview with a Cherokee woman called Lydia Taylor Keys. Keys was descended from a slave-owning Cherokee family at the time of the Civil War and during her interview expressed her pride that her father, Munroe Calvin Keys and three of her uncles had served in Watie's Regiment at the Battle of Cabin Creek and Pea Ridge. Speaking directly of her own experience of the Civil War, Keys described how the conflict had contributed to a growing sectional crisis within the Cherokee Nation that she had witnessed firsthand. In her interview, she told the Journalist James Carseloway that her family and some of their slaves were forced to relocate to the Choctaw Nation to protect their livelihood. Furthermore, she explained that tensions between Confederate and Union-allied Cherokees had become so fraught that when they returned home, a group of "Pin Indians" - a derogatory term that referred to Union-allied Cherokees - had tried to murder her father. In her testimony, Keys stressed that the sectional crisis had put her Confederate-allied family, and others such as Watie in immediate danger after the war, when she claimed that "Pin Indians were so bad...they came to our house one Sunday to kill [her] father" because he was a Southern soldier.¹⁰³ Overall, a testimony such as Keys' highlights how some Cherokees placed Stand Watie at the centre of their narratives about the Civil War's devastating influence on the Nation's internal conflicts. For Cherokees like Keys and Harris, Watie was central to the stories they told about the Civil War, especially if their families had joined the Indian regiments of the Confederate Army. The

¹⁰² C.B Harris, *Interview*, 3.

¹⁰³ Lydia Keys Taylor, *Interview with Lydia Taylor Keys, November 10, 1937*. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 12079, 2-4. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/2573>

frequency with which Watie's name appeared in these kinds of testimony, suggests that Cherokees were proud to associate themselves and their families with the General.

In addition to celebrating Watie's centrality to Cherokee Confederate history, many interviews also stressed the General's exceptionalism in comparison to other Cherokee soldiers. Having served alongside Stand Watie in the Federal Indian Brigade, Judge Michial Ghormley from Tahlequah told the field worker Frank Still that Watie was a notable soldier in the Confederate Army. Ghormley described Watie as "large and powerful...strongly built and though 58 years of age in 1864, was active and strong, and a notable horseman" who refused to surrender.¹⁰⁴ He further explained that Watie was one of only a few other distinguished Native Americans such as "Tecumseh and Red Jacket [and]... Ely Stephen Parker, a Seneca Indian" to hold the title of Brigadier-General, casting him as exceptional.¹⁰⁵ Another interviewee, J. F. Weaver, emphasised how Watie's physical appearance set him apart from other soldiers. Weaver described Watie's as a "dark visazed horseman" suggesting that the colour of Watie's skin made him easily recognisable.

Other interviews complicated the redemptive and heroic narrative imbued within the UDC's marker when they characterised the General as violent and aggressive. Ed Hicks, Shorey and Blake Ross told the field worker, Hattie Turner, that Stand Watie and other Confederate Indians had "ravaged" the Cherokee Nation.¹⁰⁶ In this particular instance, Watie had taken a "large portion of the iron fence" to make bullets, and had also removed lead from

¹⁰⁴ Michial Ghormley, *The Historical Story of M.O Ghormley, January 2, 1927*. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 2073, 368-371. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*, 2. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/4285>. [Accessed December 18, 2018].

¹⁰⁵ Ghormley, *The Historical Story of M. O Ghormley*, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Ed Hicks, et al, Interview, April 9, 1938. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 13886, 131. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/1482> [Accessed December 18, 2018].

the ground.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, Alfred Pickens Seabolt from the Cherokee Nation told his interviewer, Gomer Gower, that the “wily Stand Watie” had tormented his father, Henry Seabolt, when he was a soldier in the Third Indian Regiment. Seabolt explained his father had joined the army to protect the Cherokee Nation from the ravages of Watie’s Army and had frequently encountered the General during the War. On one occasion Watie allegedly attacked his father’s regiment with sabres and on a separate occasion, the General had once burned a bridge to escape a mob who had set out to kill him.¹⁰⁸ As a result of these repeated, violent encounters, Seabolt’s father had viewed Watie as an “audacious,” “redoubtable” and destructive Confederate who consistently outsmarted his captors and terrorised the Cherokee Nation. Such descriptions of the Civil War highlighted how Watie’s violence contributed to the growing sectional crisis within the Cherokee Nation.

Similarly, R.R. Meigs told the investigator Elizabeth Ross that Stand Watie had burned down the Cherokee Chief John Ross’ cottage in November 1863, highlighting how Watie was viewed by some Cherokees as having exacerbated the already fraught tensions within the Cherokee nation. These narratives were vastly different from the tales of heroism that Cherokee Heritage workers promoted as they unveiled the General’s marker in 1921.¹⁰⁹ In his interview, Meigs stressed how the burning down of “Rose Cottage” erased a significant piece of Cherokee history. Meigs explained that whilst the cottage was still standing, Ross had entertained several important guests, including the Michigan artist John Mix Stanley and the writer John Howard Payne. As such, Meigs highlighted the importance of the cottage to the history of the Cherokee Nation and John Ross’ role within it. Since Indian removal, the cottage had served as an

¹⁰⁷ Ed Hicks, *Interview*, 131.

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Pickens Seabolt, Interview, February 1, 1938. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 12846, 243. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/1957> [Accessed 10, December, 2018].

¹⁰⁹ R.R. Meigs, Interview – “Rose Cottage,” January 26, 1938. PDF. Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma. 12925, 117-121. Oklahoma Libraries: The University of Oklahoma, *Indian Pioneer History S-149*. <https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/555> [Accessed 10, December, 2018].

important symbol of Ross' authority as Principal Chief and as such, was often beautifully decorated by roses that had earned the cottage its name. Claiming that Watie had admitted to burning down Rose Cottage in 1863 demonstrates that Meigs linked the General to the centre of a Civil War narrative where Watie was seen to undermine Ross' authority as the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Excerpts such as these complicate how the General was cast as an honourable member of the Confederate Army and illustrate how Cherokee women within the UDC promoted a specific interpretation of the General that satisfied the redemptive narratives of the Lost Cause. They also highlight how Mabel Anderson, Ida Culbertson and Sally Pendleton were agents in the dissemination of a specific Cherokee narrative of the Civil War that was not representative of all Cherokees. As these interviews suggest, narratives about Watie's heroism, strength of character and violence advanced the Confederate commemorative agendas in the South, whereas stories about Cherokee violence, poverty, dislocation, dispossession and "Pin Indians" could have been seen to undermine the message the UDC hoped to promote in the marker.

In comparison to the Watie marker, the Cherokee interviews in the Pioneer Papers are a far more accurate example of how the Cherokee reflected on the Civil War. These interviews highlight how Cherokee Civil War reminiscences centred Watie's role in Cherokee removal, and the internal crisis that followed, in and around narratives of Civil War violence. As such, these interviews demonstrate the limitations of Cherokee agency within Civil War remembrance. Whilst a broader group of Cherokees were able to share their Civil War stories within the Pioneer Paper project, the Watie marker has left a lasting, tangible impression of Cherokee Civil War involvement on the Southern monument landscape. Overall, the Pioneer Papers and the Watie marker reveal the limitations of Cherokee inclusion within Southern

monument culture. These vastly different projects highlight how Cherokee heritage workers could engage within Lost Cause memorialisation, but this was contingent on their celebration of Stand Watie and the values he represented.

Complicating the Narrative

The Watie marker and the Indian Pioneer Papers highlight how Cherokee Civil War involvement formed part of Southern commemorative landscapes in both overt and subtle ways. The increased visibility of specific Cherokee histories was also suggestive of an increasing inclusion of Cherokee peoples in social and political groups in Oklahoma. This inclusion was perhaps best highlighted by a Central Democratic Committee debate at the Lee Hotel in Oklahoma City in 1906 when, during heated campaign for Oklahoma statehood, members of the Democratic Party debated the danger of mixed schooling.¹¹⁰ In his keynote address, a prominent Oklahoman and judge, Jesse Dunn, announced that the coming campaign for Oklahoma statehood would pit “the white man and the Indian against the republicans and niggers.”¹¹¹

The quote became the dynamic slogan of the *Ada Evening News* for several weeks and indicated that that Oklahoma’s connection to the Five Nations resonated with many people in the region. Dunn hinted at the development of a racial hierarchy, whereby Oklahoma’s predominantly white population could happily co-exist with Native Americans but exclude African Americans from social and political representation. This proposal of this co-existence likely informed how Oklahomans conceptualised Native Americans both as part of their regional history, but also as allied to conservative Southern Democrats going forward into the

¹¹⁰ “Their sole appeal to men’s prejudices,” *Vinita Daily Chieftain*, August 17, 1906.

¹¹¹ “Their sole appeal to men’s prejudices.”

The slogan can be seen across the *Ada Evening News* from July 26, 1906 onwards.

twentieth century. Even Oklahoma's seal depicted this relationship (Figure 5).¹¹² Although this co-existence was invariably underwritten by the popular assumption that Native Americans would eventually assimilate or disappear, in the first decades of the twentieth century, Oklahomans had begun to identify the Five Nations as part of their social fabric.



Figure 6: The 1890 Seal for the new territory of Oklahoma depicting the supposed co-operation of white and Indian residents¹¹³

Whilst the Stand Watie marker demonstrates how Cherokee women engaged with and incorporated Cherokee Civil War histories in Southern commemorative landscapes, it complicates our understanding of Lost Cause remembrance as primarily the work of white Americans. Like other heritage organisations of the time, the UDC erected monuments that yearned for the Old South and lamented the defeat of the Confederate Army. Such a narrative suggested that there was little room for alternative perspectives on the Civil War by groups such as formerly enslaved African Americans and Native Americans. This has certainly been

¹¹² "Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma," <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=ok085>. [Accessed 29 June, 2017]

¹¹³ "Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma." Oklahoma Historical Society and Photograph Collection, OHS, [okhistory.org](https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OK085), accessed January 18, 2018, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OK085>.

a view maintained in the historiography, which has contended that Southern memorial culture was overwhelmingly white. Within this classification, depictions of “non-white” features of Southern society, especially slavery, have been shaped by a cultural paternalism that yearned for antebellum plantation slaveholding and the perceived loyalty of black slaves.¹¹⁴

Such claims are echoed by scholars such as W. Fitzhugh Brundage, Caroline Janney, David Blight and Stephanie Yuhl, who have argued that Southern Civil War remembrance was a cultural privilege assigned to white Americans, that justified racial hierarchies in the South and sustained Southern norms.¹¹⁵ As such, the term “Southern” came to refer to white Americans who shared a collective experience of defending the Confederacy both in battle but also on the home-front during the war. More recently, the Southern Poverty Law Centre concluded that monuments that appeared between 1900 until the mid 1920s promoted the racial discourse of the Jim Crow Laws and the reprise of the Ku Klux Klan.¹¹⁶ As a product of a Southern heritage organisation, the Stand Watie marker exemplified how some monuments could deviate from the racial aspects of Southern Civil War commemoration. Thus, the monument illustrates how Cherokee stories form part of Southern Civil War stories, but only to the degree to which they adhered to criteria of Lost Cause remembrance. As I have shown, Cherokee heritage workers borrowed from Southern commemoration, the veneration of heroic soldiers who did not relent in the face of Confederate defeat. The cost of promoting this message, however, meant that Cherokees outside of the UDC could not have their stories of destruction, dislocation and poverty told in the same way.

¹¹⁴ For more research on Southern historical memory of the Civil War see Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*; Yuhl, *The Making of Historic Charleston*; Brundage, *The Southern Past*; Blight, *Race and Reunion*. For the use of Native Americans in the Southern Commemorative landscape more broadly see Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the American Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).

¹¹⁵ Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 6.

¹¹⁶ For more information about symbols of the Confederacy see the “Executive Summary” in the Southern Poverty Law Centre study, “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy: A report on Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” 2016, 9.

The inclusion of a Native American within Southern Civil War narratives was not, however, a total anomaly, as other Oklahoma UDC branches also incorporated Native Americans into Lost Cause remembrance elsewhere in the United States. One such example was a monument dedicated to Catawba Confederate Soldiers in the Confederate Monument Park in Fort Mill, South Carolina. This marker celebrated in its inscription, the loyalty of the Catawba Nation as they “aided and fought with the Americans in the Revolution and the Confederates in the Civil War.”¹¹⁷ Another example is the UDC Adair branch in Oklahoma, that was named after the Cherokee Confederate Colonel William Penn Adair. In 1914, Adair’s niece had reportedly served on the committee to unveil a drinking fountain containing the Colonel’s namesake.¹¹⁸ The marker was unveiled at the Cherokee Capitol seven years prior to the Watie marker and indicated that the UDC had engaged with Cherokee Confederate history in the past. Overall, monuments such as these highlight how other Native American heritage workers contributed local character to Southern monument culture, providing, of course, that their narratives adhere to the UDC’s license on historical remembrance.

Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has examined the incorporation of the Cherokee Brigadier-General, Stand Watie into Southern Civil War commemoration in Oklahoma. In this discussion I have highlighted how Mabel Anderson’s heritage work challenges our understanding of how the UDC adapted, deployed and conceptualised Civil War history in the former Indian Territory. Anderson’s heritage work, and to a lesser extent the William Adair Chapter of the UDC, demonstrates how Cherokee Confederate history could form part of the mainstream

¹¹⁷ “Memory of friendly Indians and faithful slaves honoured,” *The Greenville News*, March 6, 1927.

¹¹⁸ 1914 Confederate Veteran Report; where you can find information about Adair; “Watie Biography,” 74.

commemorative landscape, with Cherokee figures supporting existing legacies about Southern defeat and the Lost Cause.

Responding to the historiography, I concur with Fortney and Cobb-Greetham's assertion that the UDC's Cherokee monuments limit the representation of Cherokee Civil War experiences. In my discussion of Cherokee interviews, I highlighted how Cherokee conceptualised the Civil War in broader terms, often pointing to Watie's controversial legacy in the Nation's history and how the conflict shaped Cherokee lives in the aftermath. As such, Cherokee history was far more comprehensive and divisive than the UDC's representation of the conflict in Indian Territory. However, I think it is important not to discount Anderson's contribution to the commemorative landscape and her attempt to incorporate new perspectives into Southern Civil War history. Overall, this chapter has provided a fresh perspective on the significance of the Watie marker and how it illustrates Cherokee agency in 1920s Southern commemoration.

Chapter Two: Making the Battle Creek Marker: Preston and the Civil War

There's a monument down at Battle Creek with an Indian Tee-pee atop its peak.¹



Figure 7: Two women lean against the Battle Creek Marker that had been cloaked in a white sheet in preparation for its unveiling on September 5, 1932.

On Monday September 5, 1932, four miles north of a small town called Preston, Idaho, a large crowd of Latter-day Saints (LDS) gathered at a roadside field to unveil the “Battle Creek Marker.”² The eleven-foot marker commemorated the “Battle of Bear River,” which occurred on January 29, 1863, during the American Civil War, and was reported to have saved the Mormon settlement of Franklin from frightening numbers of Shoshone men, women and

¹ Edna H. Day, “A Tribute,” March 14, 1941. The Minutes of the Franklin County Chapter of the United Daughters of Pioneers. The archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah.

² According to the late Idaho based historian Newell Hart, approximately 3000 people were in attendance. For more information see: Newell Hart, *The Bear River Massacre: being a complete sourcebook and storybook of the genocidal action against the Shoshones in 1863 and of Gen. P.E. Conner and how he related to and dealt with the Indians and Mormons on the Western Frontier* (Preston: Cache Valley Publishing, Second Edition, 1983), 10-11.

children, who had been displaced, impoverished and outraged by westward expansion. The unveiling was a cause to be celebrated. This was due to the battle's significance to the town's survival, but also because it had taken fifteen years, three monument committees and countless heritage workers to see the project through to fruition. However, the LDS had one more reason to be excited about the marker's unveiling; over the summer, they had gathered rocks from the region's historic landscape and turned over what they found to a committee of eager heritage workers for the marker's construction.



Figure 8: Men and women arrive on the side of highway 91, four miles north of Preston, Idaho to dedicate the Battle Creek Marker

The LDS considered the “Battle of Bear River” to be the last major conflict during the expansion of Church settlements outside of Utah Territory. However the violence unfolded as part of a Union-led, volunteer campaign in the Pacific North-west during the Civil War.³ On

³ “D.U.P. Camps Plan Marker,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 22, 1932.

To left of the photograph you can see an Indian “tee-pee” erected by the Boy Scouts of America as part of a tent building competition. The bluffs behind the photograph were part of the embankment that surrounded the Bear River at the time of the massacre.

January 29, 1863, at dawn, Colonel Patrick E. Connor ordered the Third California Volunteers, an infantry regiment of the United States Army, to launch a devastating attack on the Shoshone winter village Boa Ogoi, on the outskirts of Franklin in Washington Territory – present day Idaho.⁴ It was at Boa Ogoi, a grassy depression situated on the banks of the Bear River, that Connor believed he would find the Shoshone men responsible for the murder of several miners who had met an untimely death travelling overland to the Beaver Head mines and the Rocky Mountains.⁵

Arriving at daylight, the California volunteers stopped short of the Shoshone camp and paused on a grassy embankment to survey the village.⁶ On Connor's orders, the Cavalry, followed by infantry, advanced down the ridge and met a group of Shoshone men who, Connor later claimed, "had sallied out of their hiding places on foot and horseback" waving "the scalps of white women and challenged the troops to battle."⁷ Describing the battle's "desperate character," Connor bemoaned that the Shoshone had attacked the volunteers "with the ferocity of demons."⁸ Shocked, he watched as his volunteers fell "fast and thick around me," groggy after four consecutive nights marching through heavy snow and ice.⁹ This shock, however, wore off quickly and, ordering his men into a flank position, the volunteers closed in around the winter village. Swiftly, the California Volunteers raided the village killing men, women and children still asleep in their homes, and those cowering in the dense willow thicket that

⁴ For full histories of the Bear River Massacre see the following Scott R. Christiansen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 1980); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995); Kass Fleisher, *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History* (Albany: State of New York Press, 2004); Rod Miller, *Massacre at Bear River: First, Worst, Forgotten* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 2008); Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*.

⁵ Official Record of the War of the Rebellion: Pacific Coast Theatre. Serial 105. Chapter LXII, 185-187.

"Engagement on Bear River, Utah Ter," ehistory.osu.edu, accessed February 4, 2019, <https://ehistory.osu.edu/books/official-records/105/0185>.

⁶ OR 185.

⁷ OR 186.

⁸ OR 186.

⁹ OR 186.

lined the riverbank. Those who tried to swim away into the icy ravine froze or were met with ferocious gun fire. Four hours later, somewhere between 250 and 500 Shoshone men, women and children, including their Chief, Bear Hunter, lay dead at their winter home.¹⁰

The Bear River Massacre was once referred to as a “battle,” but over time American and Shoshone historians alike have demonstrated that the event was, in fact, a massacre.¹¹ One only has to look at the number of casualties from each side to gain a sense of the violence. Connor lost 24 men, whilst conservative estimates put Shoshone casualties at 250. The Northwestern Shoshone Band of the Shoshone Nation estimate that 500, approximately one third of their population, perished during and after the massacre. Based on the lowest of estimates, the Bear River Massacre is currently considered to be the deadliest Indian massacre in modern American history, outnumbering both the Sand Creek Massacre (1864) and the Wounded Knee Massacre (1890) by almost one hundred casualties.¹²

Whereas Civil War commemorative landscapes have magnified tales of heroism, stories such as the “Bear River Massacre” do not fit neatly into the redemptive charter of

¹⁰ Scholars of the Bear River Massacre have since challenged Connor’s testimony claiming that the California Volunteers has confirmed that the fighting quickly descended into a massacre. They also reveal the massacres more violent details. They argue that most of the 224 casualties were Shoshone men, including Bear Hunter whose scalp was hung as a trophy at Camp Douglas, signifying the volunteer’s achievement. Whereas Connor claimed Sagwitch met his death at Bear River, scholars have detailed how he escaped by horse. Ninety women and children, rather than the 160 originally quoted were taken prisoner. Scholars among Tribal Elders are divided over the claim that California Volunteers raped Shoshone women in the aftermath. All agree that in four hours of California Volunteers had perpetrated the largest massacres of Indigenous peoples in United States history, yet the Official Record explicitly conceals the extent of the violence.

¹¹ Scott Christiansen Madsen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822-1887* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 1980); Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995); Kass Fleisher, *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History* (Albany: State of New York Press, 2004); Rod Miller, *Massacre at Bear River: First, Worst, Forgotten* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 2008); Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*.

¹² For a general overview of the public representation of Sand Creek Massacre and the Wounded Knee Massacre in public history see Kelman, *A Misplaced massacre*; Dee Brown, *Bury my heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

remembrance. Rather, they occupy an unsettled place in public history.¹³ Scholars such as Drew Faust, Ari Kelman and Clarissa Confer have argued that stories which highlight the ravages of war have threatened to destabilise redeeming narratives of victory and the nostalgia of the triumphant North and the Southern cause.¹⁴ As such, stories of destruction, death, disease and the demise of innocent men, women and children rarely appear in Civil War monument culture. In the West, heritage workers have also grappled with how best to signpost events such as the Bear River Massacre in places that were significantly detached from the Civil War's main theatres. During the war, Native Americans simultaneously attacked, and were met with violence, from volunteer infantry regiments on the Overland Trail and mail routes.¹⁵ These clashes symbolised the collision of soldiers, emigrants and Native Americans, who continued to push West, as the United States was simultaneously torn apart by war. Rather than form part of a broader narrative of the Civil War in the West, massacres such as Bear River are noticeably absent from the war's public narrative.

Massacres have received ambiguous and uneven historical treatment. Erased, divorced, or viewed as separate from the Civil War's history, violence, especially on the frontier, has typically been construed as part of the broader civilising project rooted in Westward expansion. As such, monuments like the Battle Creek Marker have repurposed Civil War massacres to serve a broader culture of remembrance that celebrated pioneering, settlement and community that have kept redemptive narratives intact.¹⁶ Thus, the unveiling of the Battle Creek marker in 1932 raises questions about how the LDS made a place for the Bear River Massacre in their commemorative landscape.

¹³ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 6; Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xviii.

¹⁴ For writing on complicating Civil War narratives see Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, i-xviii; Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 1-43; Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 1-10.

¹⁵ Madley, *American Genocide*, 290-317.

¹⁶ Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni*, 35.



Figure 9: An Image of the Battle Creek Marker taken by an unnamed photographer on the day of its unveiling in 1932

This chapter analyses the construction of the Battle Creek Marker between 1916 and 1932 in order to illustrate how LDS heritage workers repurposed a Civil War massacre to celebrate the expansion of Mormon settlements on the frontier. In response to the previous chapter where I demonstrated how Cherokee heritage workers actively promoted their Civil War histories, the following discussion demonstrates that the visibility of Shoshone Civil War experiences and Shoshone involvement in monument construction was comparatively limited. I argue that the LDS did not maintain a connection to the Civil War and, as such, were not compelled to commemorate it.

In repurposing the Bear River narrative to focus on the expansion of Mormon settlements, the LDS limited the visibility of Shoshone historical perspectives in the commemoration of the event. I analyse three features of the construction process to illustrate how Shoshone participation was limited. Firstly, I discuss the initial plans to construct a marker at Bear River in 1916. I analyse how the Franklin County Historical Society and Monument Committee excluded Shoshone people from initial discussions about the significance of the massacre in the region's history. Secondly, I consider how the rock-gathering project, used to create the marker in 1932, diminished the visibility of Shoshone historical perspectives of the event in Idaho. In my analysis I highlight how the stories that accompanied the rocks revealed the ways in which the LDS conceptualised the Bear River Massacre as part of their pioneer narrative. Lastly, I discuss the circumstances of the unveiling and dedication where Shoshone men, women and children were invited to take part and perform.

The Battle of Bear River occurred at the intersection of Indian violence on the frontier and the arrival of volunteer Civil War soldiers in Utah Territory. The California volunteers (CAV) were raised as part of broader volunteer movement to replace existing military regiments previously assigned to frontier duty that were ordered east for the war.¹⁷ Unlike state militia, the volunteers could enlist on an ongoing basis, and frequently attended to operations outside of their own states and territories. Of all the volunteer regiments raised, the CAV were the largest, totalling nine regiments consisting mostly of local and foreign-born men from Oregon and California. Monitoring Native activity on the frontier formed a large part of their

¹⁷ Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 9.

See also Alvin M. Josephy Jr. *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 272; Brigham Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 1990).

Other western states and territories also raised their own volunteer regiments such as Colorado, Arizona and Oregon.

operations in the West, and, as such, the Federal government allocated funding to state militia operations. Offered attractive salaries, the volunteers were paid to conduct anti-Indian operations that transformed Indian policy from a frontier issue to a wartime issue.¹⁸

Volunteer regiments in California had carried out anti-Indian operations before the Civil War, but the efficiency of their campaigns and the violent nature of their pursuit to subdue Indian threats intensified after the commencement of the crisis in 1861.¹⁹ Gregory Michno has estimated that the California volunteers killed more Native Americans during the five years of the Civil War than in the forty years before the war.²⁰ He also notes that the 2nd California Cavalry, who executed the attack on Bear River alongside Connor and the 3rd Volunteers, engaged in the largest number of anti-Indian engagements that yielded the highest number of casualties. In fact, when Connor had petitioned the Headquarters in San Francisco to order the 3rd Volunteers east, he bemoaned that his men had been expected to “[shoot] traitors instead of eating rations and freezing to death around sage brush fires, which two are the only military duties to be performed hereabouts.”²¹ Claiming Connor sought to fight “glorious” battles on the “sacred soil of Virginia” like his peers, scholars such as Brigham Madsen and Alvin M. Josephy Jr. have claimed that Connor’s assault on the Shoshone was an attractive alternative to monitoring vacant outposts during the war.²²

¹⁸ Madley, *American Genocide*, 316.

¹⁹ For literature on the California Volunteers see the overview of the Bear River Massacre in the 1997 National Parks Service report in The United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, *Final Special Resource Study Environmental Assessment: Bear River Massacre Site, Idaho*, 1997.

More recently, Benjamin Madley’s *American Genocide* provides a closer look at the California Volunteer’s violence in the American West and Southwest. Also, Masich’s *The Civil War in Arizona* provides a good overview of what volunteer campaigns were like.

²⁰ Gregory Michno, *Battle at Sand Creek: The Military Perspective* (El Segundo: Upton and Sons, 2004).

²¹ “California Volunteers,” *Deseret News*, October 1862.

²² Both Brigham Madsen and Alvin M. Josephy have made this claim and used the *Deseret News* claims.

Prior to the installation of the Battle Creek Marker, the LDS had already dedicated a monument commemorating the CAV for their contribution to the region. Such a monument suggested that the LDS already viewed the CAV as integral to their pioneering narrative.²³ In 1930 the LDS heritage group, the Utah Historical Landmarks Association and Patriotic Citizens of the West, celebrated Connor as the “Father of Utah Mining” who had brought economic prosperity to the region – albeit for a limited time. In reality, Connor had stayed in Utah to capitalise on a short-lived mining boom that he hoped would help break up the LDS stronghold on settlements out West. The monument also contained a bronze plaque that celebrated Connor’s military career, noting that he had “participated in the Battles of Buena Vista, Bear River and Tongue River,” which further pointed to the role he played in bringing stability to the region. Brigham Madsen has pointed to the irony of LDS support of Connor who, at one time, claimed he “found [the Mormons] to be a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores.”²⁴ Despite Connor’s criticism of the LDS, the 1930s monument suggests that heritage workers in Utah had already begun to re-shape the legacy that non-LDS figures, such as Connor, and events, such as the Bear River Massacre, held in their commemorative landscape.

Making the Battle Creek Marker

The founding of the Franklin County Historical Society and Monument Committee in 1916 was the first step in the construction of the Battle Creek Marker. The committee consisted of twenty-seven men, who had assembled with the goal to construct a fitting memorial to the Battle they believed had saved the town of Franklin. Lacking the required funding, the

²³ Kass Fleisher, *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004) 134; Brittany Carter, “Utah Historical Markers: Making Utah History One Marker at a Time,” May 13, 2017. http://utahhistoricalmarkers.org/category/cat/na/#_ftn9 [Accessed June 18, 2018].

²⁴ Patrick E. Connor to Major R. C. Drum, September 14, 1862. This quote also appears in Brigham Madsen, *Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 1990) 65.

committee planned to raise funds through the sale of a pamphlet that promoted a story about Franklin's founding and the gradual disappearance of the Shoshone in the region. The pamphlet, "The Passing of the Redman: being a succinct account of the last battle that wrested Idaho from the bondage of the Indian," was sold for ten cents a copy, raising a total of \$48.50.²⁵ The grand total implies that the committee sold 485 pamphlets, suggesting the pamphlet was received by a wide, presumably LDS audience.

The pamphlet is a clear example of how the committee raised the visibility of the Battle of Bear River as a turning point in their pioneering history. It argued that Church President Brigham Young's strategy to provide the Shoshone with food, rather than drive them off the land, had left white settlers fearing for their safety.²⁶ The committee promoted the belief that their pioneering ancestors had found themselves so outnumbered that they "felt at any moment the Indians might sweep down upon them and drive them from their homes and kill many of them."²⁷ As these excerpts suggest, the committee portrayed the Shoshone as a serious threat to the stability of the new white settlements. Praising the efforts of the CAV, the pamphlet linked their bravery and heroism to broader myths about the honourable duty of Civil War soldiers, and further marginalised the Shoshone from the centre of these narratives.

When the United States entered the First World War in 1917, the committee disbanded and put their plans on hold until stability returned to the region.²⁸ However, before disbanding,

²⁵ "The Passing of the Redman: being a succinct account of the last battle that wrested Idaho from the bondage of the Indians," 1916. Franklin County Historical Society and Monument Committee. Reprinted by facsimile publisher, Pragati Market. India, 2016; Mary Chandler, Historian of the Franklin County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, manuscript entitled, "Monuments," from archival collection of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah. 32; "Minutes from DUP Meeting" File number 127 in *Myrtle Goff Scrapbook*, 1926-1932; This document notes that the committee inherited in 1932 the total amount \$48.50 with the permission of H.R Merrill.

²⁶ "The Passing of the Redman," 3.

²⁷ "The Passing of the Redman," 3.

²⁸ "The Passing of the Redman," 3.

they selected a spot for the marker with the help of a battle survivor called Frank Warner. Committee member, Harrison R Merrill, explained the significance of the chosen location in a Preston-area newspaper, claiming they had chosen a spot in the depression of the battlefield where Warner believed the Shoshone Chief, Bear Hunter's tipi had been situated at the time of the battle.²⁹ According to Warner, the chosen location was said to have been the place where the thickest of the fighting had occurred, and it was said to have been "possible to walk on dead Indians for some time."³⁰ Choosing a location that evoked the violent nature of the battle suggests that the committee did not shy away from the reality that several hundred Shoshone had died as a result. Unperturbed, the committee believed proximity to the popular tourist route number 91 would make the perfect space for a picnic ground.³¹ The location suggested that they viewed the battle as part of a broader belief that expansion physically cleared Native Americans to make way for white civilisation.³²

Whilst the committee members did not contain any Shoshone members, Frank Warner's involvement highlights how the group sought to incorporate a Shoshone perspective into their planning. Frank [Beshup] Warner was a well-known, acculturated Shoshone man who, at the young age of two, overcame several gunshot wounds to survive the Bear River Massacre. Beshup was the son of the Shoshone chief Sagwitch, who had survived the massacre and later assumed leadership of the survivors, moved them across the landscape and later arranged their baptism into the LDS church.³³ Unable to care for Beshup, Sagwitch arranged for his son's adoption. Eventually Amos Warner, an LDS member, adopted Beshup, renamed

²⁹ HR Merrill to an undated newspaper in *Myrtle Goff Scrapbook*, 1926-1932, File Number 36.

³⁰ "The Passing of the Red Man," 3. Published 1916. Scanned copy from "Myrtle Goff Papers" in the Church History Library File number 43.

³¹ "The Passing of the Redman" 11.

³² For literature of "clearing" see James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Thrush, *Native Seattle*; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983); O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*.

³³ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 54.

the boy Frank, raised him and later sent him to Brigham Young College in Logan. Whilst the committee claimed Warner willingly assisted them in their planning, in reality Warner had challenged the construction of the proposed monument.³⁴

Writing to *The Franklin County Citizen* in 1916, Warner claimed that the Battle Creek Marker would serve as nothing more than a “monument to cruelty.”³⁵ Having survived the massacre himself, he criticised the committee for celebrating the volunteers, who he accused of having taken “little infants by the heels and beating their brains out on any hard surface they could find.”³⁶ Scott Christensen has argued that, by 1916, Warner understood the heritage group to have a political agenda that would obscure the full scale of violence against his ancestors.³⁷ As such, Warner claimed: “I can’t help but reflect how some men can make distinction between a battle royal and a massacre.”³⁸ It is unclear to what extent Warner assisted the committee, and whether he did so to protest their plans by highlighting the site’s most violent areas.

When plans for the Battle Creek marker resumed in 1930, the project became the first major monument for the newly-formed Franklin County chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP).³⁹ The Franklin County chapter belonged to the wider Daughters of Utah Pioneers organisation, a white women’s heritage organisation that identified, collected and preserved the history of LDS pioneering history.⁴⁰ In Franklin, the group focused specifically on commemorating pioneer history relative to their small corner of South-eastern Idaho. As

³⁴ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 200.

³⁵ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 200.

³⁶ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 200.

³⁷ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 200.

³⁸ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 200.

³⁹ Mary Chandler, “Monuments,” 11.

⁴⁰ Beatrice B. Malouf, “Daughters of Utah Pioneers Marker Directory Supplement,” 1994. Church History Library, Salt Lake City Utah. Call Number M273D238.

such, members were the descendants of white, LDS pioneers, and as far as their membership records have indicated, the organisation did not have any Shoshone members.⁴¹ This was evidenced in 1926, when committee member Myrtle Goff wrote to Harrison R. Merrill hoping to transfer the project to the Franklin County Chapter. In her letter, she explained how her committee intended to build on the work from the previous group. Goff claimed that the DUP would raise the marker to “leave for future generations a remembrance of the [struggles] of the worthy Pioneers in [making] this beautiful valley a safe place to live.”⁴² Drawing on a narrative of Shoshone disappearance in the face of expansion, the renewed interest in the project further undercut the representation of frontier violence, and reinforced the Battle’s link to LDS pioneer history.

The project gained momentum when Goff took over the committee in 1930. Within the organisation she was known as a steadfast and passionate woman, renowned for “carrying things off,” and she certainly lived up to her reputation when she oversaw the project through to completion in 1932.⁴³ In comparison to her predecessors, Goff collaborated with a range of heritage organisations, a decision that suggested she sought to include a wide range of historical perspectives on the “Battle” of Bear River. However, such an approach was contained by the DUP charter which stipulated that Goff’s marker would serve as a monument to violence in LDS frontier experience. Crucially absent was the direct input of the Northern Shoshone and, as such, the massacre would be labelled as a “battle.” Such collaborative efforts were made public in May 1932, when the Franklin County chapter collaborated with other Utah-based heritage groups. Whilst this collaboration indicated a growing interest in commemorating the

⁴¹ For specific information about Daughters of Utah Pioneers monuments in Utah and Idaho from the 1920s and 1930s see the 2015 Marker directory, International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Marker Directory 201*, Church History Library. M273D238. Number: 23580226.

⁴² Mary Myrtle R. Goff to Mr. H.R. Merrill, November 16, 1926. In *Myrtle Goff Papers* File number 73.

⁴³ Edna H. Day, “A Tribute,” in Minutes of the Meeting of the Daughters of Utah Pioneer. Syringa Camp, Franklin, Idaho. March 14, 1941 in the Archives of the International Society of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah. No call number/Unfiled.

“Battle,” it also signified that the project was influenced by several groups that were interested in preserving pioneering history. One of these groups was the newly formed Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association (UPTLA), led a high-ranking Church member, John D. Giles. The previous summer, Giles had undertaken a signposting “blitz” of significant LDS sites monopolising the historical landscape with pioneer signage.⁴⁴ As such, when the UPTLA joined the DUP, Giles was significantly influential in promoting a narrative about LDS pioneering.

The marker became a symbol of pioneer history in the summer of 1932 when Giles, concerned about the cost of granite and marble, suggested that the committees could build the marker with rocks that had historic value that could be collected throughout the region. Shortly thereafter, Goff’s husband, Charles, circulated an advertisement that stated:

Any person or organisation wishing to have a rock placed in this monument may do so by furnishing the rock and giving a written statement as to where the rock came from, the name of the [donor] and any other history there may be to it. This will be recorded on a scroll and placed in the monument at the time of erection.⁴⁵

Although the rock collecting project was a creative way to fund the DUP project it also presented the LDS with an opportunity to engage with their historical landscape and reflect on

⁴⁴ Charter and Marking: Pioneer Trails and Landmarks: Outline of Campaign, July 1931. Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association in co-operation with affiliated organisations in Church History Library Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. M273.41U883. The pamphlet explains that 31 monuments were erected by the organisation during 1931.

⁴⁵ Charles I Goff to Scouters, entitled “Notice to Public” in *Myrtle Goff Papers*, File number 101. Some estimates range from 3000 in *Myrtle Goff Papers* and 10,000 in Newell Hart’s recollection in Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 10-11.

Goff also compiled a copy of every rock received up until 9:30 am on September 2, 1932, with the names of every person who donated and the relating history. She enclosed this in a glass container that was sealed inside the monument, distributing copies to the Daughters of Utah Pioneers “Relic Hall” in City Park and the Syberia Public Library.

the historical significance of their region. However, in doing so, the project encouraged participants to link the Battle to a narrative about land clearing and “vanishing Indians.”⁴⁶

Between June and September, hundreds of Latter-day Saints responded to the announcement and set about collecting rocks. In many ways, the project was ideal for the LDS who, by the summer of 1932, suffered an unemployment rate of 35.9%.⁴⁷ In comparison to the national average of 23.53%, one in three LDS was out of work. As such, activities such as historical signposting and relief work were a welcome distraction and gave anxious and unemployed LDS something to do, albeit for a brief period of time. With an objective to connect with their local history, the LDS mobilised. Families planned picnics and road-trips to historic places; others searched their properties, towns and parks for rocks and other items of historic value. Many youth groups also responded, such as the Boy Scouts of America, Beehive Girls, various DUP chapters and relief organisations, who added the project to their agendas.⁴⁸ Overall, the committee received over 450 rocks.⁴⁹ Such a large response suggests that a significant percentage of the LDS population in Utah and Idaho either participated or were aware of the project.⁵⁰

The written statements provide a valuable insight into how the LDS repurposed the loss of Shoshone life at the Bear River into a redemptive tale of LDS pioneering on the frontier. The statements varied from short, scrawled descriptions of the rock’s origin and the donor’s name, to longer stories about the frontier, family and town histories. At a broad level, the

⁴⁶ For writing on the myth of the Vanishing Race see William Cronon, “Foreword,” in Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. 2007).

⁴⁷ “Lesson 39: Church during the Great Depression,” lds.org, accessed October 6, 2017.

<https://www.lds.org/manual/church-history-in-the-fulness-of-times-teacher-manual/lesson-39?lang=eng>

⁴⁸ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had several youth organisations. The Beehive Girls and Boy Scouts of America both fell under the jurisdiction of the Church.

⁴⁹ Myrtle Goff, “Notes from the lead up to the Battle Creek Marker unveiling,” in *Myrtle Goff Papers*, 27.

⁵⁰ In the course of my research I was unable to obtain an accurate population figure.

statements tell a story about LDS pioneering, and place the massacre as a significant turning point in Church history, where pioneer settlements could grow without fear of attack. They are also emblematic of the reality of violence of the Western frontier and reveal a deliberate repurposing of the massacre to convey the nobility of the Church's pioneering experiment. However, when examined more closely, the statements also disclose how the LDS reckoned with the role of Native Americans in their pioneer histories and drew heavily on aspects of the myth of the vanishing race and popular tropes that described Native peoples as antiquated, savage and menacing symbols of frontier life. Thus, the collection can explain, in part, how the Battle Creek Marker came to subvert Shoshone agency in the LDS commemorative landscape, and render invisible the attempted destruction of their culture and identity.

My examination of these written statements is ultimately an enquiry into how the LDS used words that historicised, dispossessed and conflated Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi agency and interests in pioneering narratives. Analysed in conjunction with the Battle Creek Marker's unveiling, the collection highlights how the LDS utilised a common vocabulary to describe the massacre, and give it meaning in their regional history. Scholars have examined how words, narration and historical interpretation remove the agency of Indigenous peoples and advance colonial projects. Patricia Nelson Limerick has revealed how linguistic forms of domination, which she described as the "shiftiness of language," held the capacity to further subjugate Native Americans.⁵¹ She has claimed that words could "justify, promote, sell, entice, cover up, evade, defend, deny, congratulate, persuade, and reassure" Americans of their colonising projects.⁵² Although Limerick claimed, in some cases, Native Americans could have profited

⁵¹ Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Making the Most of Words." In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*. ed. Cronon, Miles and Gitlin, (New York: W.W. Norton) 168-169. See also, James J. Buss *Winning the West with Words*, 4. See also Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), xiv.

⁵² Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988);

from this language of dispossession, in the case of the written statements, Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi peoples were significantly disempowered.

A helpful way to examine the statements and to highlight how they further subverted the violent outcome of the massacre and repurposed the story into a redemptive narrative about the LDS frontier is Jean O'Brien's theory of "firsting."⁵³ O'Brien argued that words could actively exclude Native Americans as active participants in frontier life.⁵⁴ He conceived the term "firsting" to highlight how historical narration that recorded a place's "first things" actively divorced Native Americans from the "social, cultural, or political practices" of colonial settlement and later westward expansion.⁵⁵ Thus, the written statements referred to settlement as a transformative moment. In this moment, LDS settlers "transformed" the wilderness, and in part, the Shoshone people who called that land their home into a self-sustaining system of civilisation. According to the historian James Buss, Scholars have long demonstrated how historical narration could operate as "weapons of domination" that have "real consequences for real people."⁵⁶ The written statements certainly held consequences for the Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi peoples who, without a voice in the LDS commemorative landscape, struggled to share their interpretation of the past.

Today, there is nothing at the historic site to indicate the LDS collected rocks for the marker's construction. Once the majority of the rocks had been received, the committee compiled a manuscript with the names of the donors and the location of the rock, sealed the manuscript into a glass jar and gave it to the stone mason to be placed inside the monument.⁵⁷

⁵³ O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 6.

⁵⁴ O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 6.

⁵⁵ O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 6.

⁵⁶ Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 6.

⁵⁷ Myrtle Goff, "Notes from the lead up to the Battle Creek Marker unveiling," in *Myrtle Goff Papers*, 27.

As such, the stories included in the written dedications are suspended in a type of time capsule that signified the importance of the collection and testified to the collaborative nature of the Battle Creek Marker's construction. However, without any plaques or contextualising signposting, the perspectives of LDS participants are not conveyed to visitors to the site.

Some people chose to submit rocks that symbolised the establishment of LDS pioneer settlements, which highlights how participants placed value on a history of pioneering, rather than give voice to a deeper history of Shoshone inhabitation in the region prior to Brigham Young's arrival in 1847.⁵⁸ These submissions celebrated the region's "first things" such as houses and farms, Church buildings, shops, banks and schools, that appeared as the Mormons "cleared" and made safe the seemingly uninhabited and treacherous territories of the West. Suggesting that LDS pioneers had cleared the wilderness, these statements spun narratives of progress that erased Shoshone agency from narratives of expansion. One example from the collection was a rock that commemorated one of the "first" pioneer homes built on the Mink Creek - a small, meandering brook that runs off the Bear River close to the massacre site.⁵⁹

The rock was found by a Church scouting group called the "Vanguard Troops," who believed early LDS pioneers would have obtained similar rocks from the creek bed to build the original pioneer home on Mink Creek.⁶⁰ Although, in 1932, there were barely any remnants of the original house on the creek bed, by collecting the rock, the Vanguard Troops celebrated how their pioneer predecessors had transformed the wilderness from unruly and uninhabited

⁵⁸ For comprehensive studies of LDS pioneering see Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Eric A. Eliason, "Celebrating Zion: Pioneers in Mormon Popular Historical Expression." (Doctoral Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1998); Steven L. Olsen, "Celebrating Cultural Identity: Pioneer Day in Nineteenth Century Mormonism." *BYU Studies*, 36, No.1 (1996-1997); Stanley J. Thayne, "The Blood of Father Lehi: Indigenous Americans and the Book of Mormon." (Doctoral Thesis, University of North Carolina, 2016).

⁵⁹ "Rock Dedication," Number 234 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶⁰ "Rock Dedication," Number 234 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

into a pioneer dwelling. In reality, for many years, Shoshone men, women and children had called the area surrounding Mink Creek “home” during winter. Mink Creek intersected with the Bear River, a few hundred metres from the heart of Shoshone winter settlements. The area was known widely by the Shoshone for its proximity to local, bubbling hot springs, which provided the ideal location for their winter home. However, Shoshone seasonal mobility had seldom formed permanent structures and boundaries by the Bear River, leading early pioneers to view their way of life as distinctively and irreconcilably different to their own.

Other written statements further emphasised how LDS pioneers viewed the land as uninhabited and, in doing so, dismissed the legitimacy of Shoshone practices and customs that existed well before pioneer settlement. One example was from a man called Russell Bollwinkel, who had taken a “lava rock” from the pier of “the old bridge across the Bear River” that had made “it safe for those early pioneers who took chances crossing at the ford.”⁶¹ Whilst Bollwinkel’s rock tells a story about the development of pioneer infrastructure and the taming of the wild river, it suggests that previous to the bridge, crossing the Bear River was a treacherous task. In reality, Shoshone men, women and children who camped by the Bear River during the winter had likely been accustomed for generations to crossing the stream, often made dangerous by snow and ice.

Some written statements demonstrate how, in placing the massacre within the LDS pioneer narrative, the Saints drew heavily from the myth that Native Americans were predestined to vanish from rapidly urbanising areas. One such example came from the Franklin branch of an LDS youth organisation called the “Young Ladies Board,” who found a rock from the lava beds by the Bear River. In their statement, the group described the Bear River as the

⁶¹ “Rock Dedication,” Number 341 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

“happy hunting ground of the Indians prior to the settlement of the white men.”⁶² In their written statement, the group specifically mentioned the year 1863, likely in direct reference to the Bear River Massacre.⁶³ As such, this statement emphasised how some people may have viewed the massacre at Bear River as a crucial turning point in the region’s pioneering story, but also the moment that propelled the Shoshone towards their prophesised “extinction.”

This was likely the case as the Young Ladies Board referred to Bear River as the “happy hunting ground,” suggesting it was once inhabited by the Shoshone, but not anymore.⁶⁴ Similarly, a Professor from the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan submitted a rock he believed had, at one time, been an “Indian corn grinder” located at the “head of Bear River.”⁶⁵ The rock was presumably taken from the university’s archives, and symbolised a broader impulse to collect Native American artefacts for scientific enquiry.⁶⁶ This was also the case for a number of arrow and hatchet heads that were sent to the committee.⁶⁷ W. Fitzhugh Brundage has argued that these collections presented Native American cultures “outside of any traditional historical understanding” and, rather, plotted Native Americans “on the scale of social development.”⁶⁸ As such, written statements revealed how the LDS removed Native agency from narratives of Western civilisation and rather viewed Shoshone, Lemhi and Bannock peoples as an attribute of the land they had set out to develop.⁶⁹ Moreover, vanishing myths as

⁶² “Rock Dedication,” Number 162 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶³ “Rock Dedication,” Number 162 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶⁴ “Rock Dedication,” Number 159 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶⁵ “Rock Dedication,” Number 544 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶⁶ Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 6.

⁶⁷ “Rock Dedication,” Number 240 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*; “Rock Dedication,” Number 343 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁶⁸ Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 6.

⁶⁹ Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 6.

William Cronon has argued, have also served as an apologetic, literary device to help “forgive invaders of their invasion.”⁷⁰

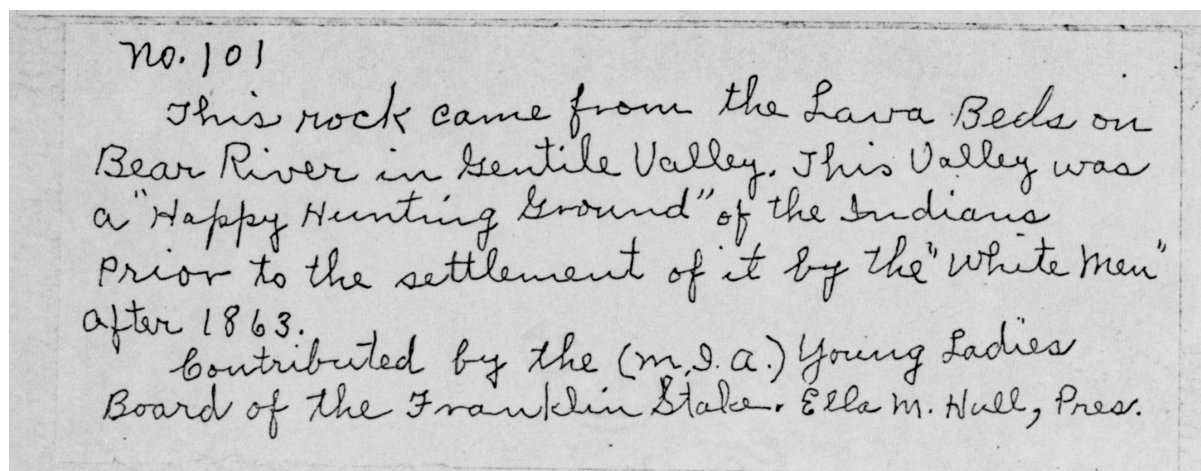


Figure 10: An Example of a Rock Dedication from the Young Ladies Board of the Franklin Stake where Ella M. Hull was President in 1932

Other submissions linked the Battle to the physical destruction of Shoshone bodies when they submitted skeletal remains to the committee. For example, Mr J. N. Larson from Preston submitted a “petrified pelvis bone covered with petrified shells” that he had found at the Bear River Narrows in Franklin County.⁷¹ In the absence of physical evidence, it is difficult to verify whether Larson had, in fact, found human remains. However, the submission of perceived human remains does suggest that some contributors recognised the Bear River Massacre was a violent and destructive event. Moreover, Larson’s contribution spoke to a broader disregard of Shoshone burial practices and repatriation of remains. Such disregard was unsurprising as it was widely known to Idaho locals that the bodies of the Shoshone were never buried and left in their final resting places. One only has to look to an 1868 report in *The Deseret News* that claimed a local, James Hill, had seen “bleached skeletons of scores of noble red men” scattered around the old Shoshone winter camp at Bear River.⁷² Overall, Larson’s

⁷⁰ William Cronon, “Foreword,” in *Native Seattle*, ed. Thrush, i.

⁷¹ “Rock Dedication,” Number 340 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁷² Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni*, 35.

contribution illustrates how some Preston locals looked to popular myths about the physical clearing of Shoshone land and bodies to make way for LDS settlements when crafting their stories of the frontier.⁷³

As the LDS continued to reckon with the place of the Shoshone inhabitants in their pioneer narratives, they further undercut Shoshone agency when their written statements depicted Native American peoples as suspicious, frequently violent and authentic symbols of the frontiers. This was certainly the case in a submission from the daughter of LDS high-priest John Price Clifford, who submitted a rock in remembrance of her father's experiences on the frontier. Clifford was born to LDS pioneers in a settlement that later became Brigham City and had died earlier in July 1932.⁷⁴ Whilst the rock was a testament to his pioneer origins and likely a memorial in light of his recent death, it also spoke to his legacy as "an Indian interpreter and [peace] maker."⁷⁵ As a "peace-maker," Clifford exemplified the noble enterprise of LDS settlement where pioneers purportedly negotiated with frontier "Indians" to obtain land and knowledge of local food sources. Stories such as Clifford's do not reveal the reality of Native dispossession, such as Brigham Young's deployment of LDS militia in 1857 to subdue the Shoshone who, impoverished, had come to rely on the Church for food and had turned increasingly violent.⁷⁶ Instead, these statements legitimised or obscured violence between the settlers and the Shoshone.

Other contributions legitimised frontier violence by writing explicitly about how Indians threatened the lives of LDS pioneers. A heritage group called the Native Daughters of

⁷³ Upon inspection I could not locate any human remains on the face of the marker.

⁷⁴ "Death Summons John Price Clifford," *The Ogden Standard Examiner*, July 4, 1932.

⁷⁵ "Rock Dedication," Number 286 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁷⁶ For more information about Brigham Young's feeding rather than fighting approach see Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

Idaho Pioneers submitted a rock from the “old Peck House,” belonging to Henry Peck, whom they considered to be the first person to settle in Malad, Idaho in 1864.⁷⁷ They linked the rock directly to the Bear River Massacre when they explained that Peck’s wife, Martina Biddlecomb, who was living in Franklin in January 1863, had watched as a group of Indians entered her farm and butchered one of her steers. In their written statement, the group made a direct reference to the Battle, explaining Biddlecomb had watched as an Indian scout notified the group that the California Volunteers were approaching the Bear River encampment.⁷⁸

This statement further legitimised the violence at Bear River, depicting the Shoshone as thieves who stole valuable food supplies from LDS settlers. Other statements highlighted the increasing need for forts to protect pioneers from “troublesome” Indians. For example, the Franklin County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers submitted a rock that they had taken from the wall of the Franklin Fort, which the pioneers had built in 1863 to protect themselves and their animals from Indian raids.⁷⁹ This was also the case in a submission from the Scouts of Troop number 56 from Richmond, Idaho, whose written statement explained their chosen rock had been taken from the foundation of the “first Fort in Richmond, Idaho,” where fourteen pioneer families had lived inside.⁸⁰ These submissions highlight how the scouts perceived violent Indians as a major feature of LDS pioneering stories and, as such, recognised the need to legitimise frontier violence that secured the protection of early settlers.

In a similar written statement, James Packer emphasised the role that soldier and Indian violence played, so that it could form part of positive, pioneering narratives that conveyed how many viewed it necessary to protect LDS settlements from Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi on

⁷⁷ “Rock Dedication,” Number 143 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁷⁸ “Personal Notes,” in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*, File Number 143.

⁷⁹ “Rock Dedication,” Number 134 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁸⁰ “Rock Dedication,” Number 255 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

“warpaths.” Packer was one of the first children to be born in the LDS settlement of Logan, Utah and, in later years, went on to become Franklin’s mayor.⁸¹ Working as a railroad contractor under Captain Edward L. Berthoud in Montana in 1876-1877, Packer had taken a rock as a souvenir from Ryan’s Canyon when he had been sent to locate a band of Indians said to be on a warpath.⁸² In his statement he explained that a few days into the mission, he had heard a “white man killed an Indian.”⁸³ With tensions heightened, Packer and a fellow volunteer called Elie Wells had encountered nine Indians with their guns drawn. The men reacted, also drawing their guns.

Although Packer explained that neither group fired their weapons, his statement speaks to stereotypical narratives that cast Native Americans as “warlike” and dangerous to unarmed settlers. Nettie [Mendenhall] Handy, a DUP member and relief worker from Preston, also legitimised soldier and Indian violence in her written statement. Handy had donated a rock in remembrance of her father and grandfather, who had served as “minute men” on the frontier at Little Mountain to protect LDS settlers from “Indian Troubles.”⁸⁴ Statements such as these sought to absolve LDS of frontier violence by appealing to tropes such as the “savage Indian.” In doing so, they generalised Native behaviour and subverted Native agency, rendering the Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi as passive participants on the frontier.

Whereas the written statements reckoned with the role of soldier and Indian violence in LDS pioneering stories, some contributions began to mythologise the battle and the pioneers’ role in the battle. One example was the role the infamous Shoshone Chief Bear Hunter would take in Franklin’s history. Bear Hunter was known to Franklin’s settlers as a fierce and violent

⁸¹ “James Packer,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 8, 1938.

⁸² “James Packer,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 8, 1938.

⁸³ “Rock Dedication,” Number 515 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁸⁴ “Rock Dedication,” Number 286 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Chief who led numerous attacks along emigrant trails, murdering families, miners and postal workers. During the Bear River Massacre, the California Volunteers had murdered Bear Hunter by inserting a red-hot poker through his ears.⁸⁵ In the years since the massacre, stories about Bear Hunter and the Shoshone had become popularised in folklore, especially as campfire stories.⁸⁶

For example, the Boy Scout Troop number 35 from the Preston 6th Church Ward submitted a rock with a story that described how Bear Hunter received his name. The scouts had collected the rock from the Bear Lake Divide where, according to legend, Bear Hunter was said to have fought a Bear, and emerged from the fight with a clawed face. Whether or not this story was accurate to Shoshone folklore, the written statement revealed how youth organisations had begun to make sense of the massacre. Linking Bear Hunter to the Battle Creek Marker, the scouts explained that they believed the DUP had erected the marker on the exact spot where the volunteers had murdered Bear Hunter. Thus, they hoped that the Battle Creek Marker would “stand with [Bear Hunter’s] dust scattered around and among the shrubs.”⁸⁷

Some written statements demonstrate how the massacre could be repurposed to commemorate ancestors who had assisted those wounded in battle, highlighting how the marker came to propagate a redemptive, pioneer story. Fred Lamoreaux from Preston told the committee that his father, Dr Lamoreaux, was the main physician in the area, and after the “Battle Creek War” had taken “care of the wounded soldiers at the old rock building on the hill

⁸⁵ For more information about the Shoshone Chief, Bear Hunter, see Aaron Crawford, “The People of Bear Hunter Speak: Oral Histories of the Cache Valley Shoshone Regarding the Bear River Massacre.” (Masters Thesis, Utah State University, 2007).

⁸⁶ Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 9.

⁸⁷ Troop 35, Preston 6th Ward, “Rock Dedication,” in *Myrtle Goff Scrapbook*, File Number 236.

at Franklin.”⁸⁸ Similarly, twelve year old Blain Webster submitted a rock to commemorate his grandmother, Louisa Mendenhall, who, he explained, had “carried food to the wounded soldiers at Franklin” after the battle.⁸⁹ Preston Chamber of Commerce donated a rock from a house that once belonged to Captain Haslam situated in Fort Maughan, Wellsville where soldiers were said to have stopped on the way to the Bear River.⁹⁰

These submissions conveyed the helpfulness of their pioneer ancestors who, thrifty and resourceful from decades on the frontier, were readily prepared to render assistance to the tired and wounded before and after the battle. This was a widely shared belief that was later reinforced in 1953 when the DUP installed a second plaque onto the face of the Battle Creek Marker that celebrated female first responders. The plaque commemorated “Pioneer Women” who had cared for wounded soldiers, as well as “two Indian women and three children found alive after the encounter.”⁹¹ Using the Bear River Massacre to emphasise the compassionate nature of LDS pioneers further undercut Native agency in the commemorative landscape. These contributions reveal how attention could be redirected from the large loss of Shoshone lives to focus on the more redemptive aspects of pioneer narratives and can thus explain how the marker came to obscure the massacre’s context from the Civil War.

Other statements that reflected on the growth of LDS settlements in Idaho following the massacre further demonstrate how the Battle Creek Marker became a testament to the pioneer history. Carle H. Carlson and his son Richard submitted a piece of marble from Preston’s first bank.⁹² Other entities such as mills, farming and the expansion of the railroad

⁸⁸ “Rock Dedication,” Number 533 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁸⁹ “Rock Dedication,” Number 465 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁹⁰ “Rock Dedication,” Number 157 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁹¹ For more information about the 1953 Pioneer woman plaque see marker No. 186, Erected July 1953 in 2015 Marker directory, International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Marker Directory 201*, Church History Library. M273D238. Number: 23580226.

⁹² “Rock Dedication,” Number 550 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

suggested how far the region had developed in the aftermath of the Battle. Carleson's contribution highlighted how some locals viewed the massacre as a moment that brought about stability on the frontier. This was a sentiment certainly shared by other contributors, who also linked the massacre to the expansion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These submissions included rocks that had been taken from temples, schools, town halls and brought back from LDS missions. One such example was rocks donated by Cove Ward Scout Master David Sullivan, who had taken two rocks, one each from the first church and school in the Richmond Ward from 1877.⁹³

Sullivan's written statement exemplifies how Richmond's prosperity in 1877 could be linked back to the Bear River Massacre in 1863, even though it was founded fourteen years later. Similarly, Mr and Mrs Howard J. Maughan submitted a pumice stone they collected when they were on mission at the Maori Agricultural College in New Zealand in 1920. Statements that spoke to the growth and stability of LDS settlements show how the Bear River Massacre became embedded within a story of LDS pioneering both at home and abroad. When rocks celebrated Church Elders and Bishops, as well as religious sites, the submissions celebrated the expansion and survival of the LDS Church across the United States and overseas. As a result, the Maughan family linked the Battle to the survival of LDS Church, and also highlighted how Mormon pioneers and descendants continued their missions to Indigenous peoples in the years following the massacre.⁹⁴

⁹³ "Rock Dedication," Number 258 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*; "Rock Dedication," Number 260 in *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁹⁴ Latter-Day Saints first arrived in New Zealand in 1854, for more information about this mission see "New Zealand Mission: Founded 1898," lds.org, accessed January 16, 2019. <https://history.lds.org/missionary/mission/new-zealand?lang=eng>



Figure 11: A close up photograph of a fossilised rock on the Battle Creek Monument.⁹⁵

The written statements highlight how the Battle Creek Marker came to be a symbol of LDS pioneering, rather than a Civil War massacre in the West. These narratives of LDS pioneering emphasise the growth of settlements and the diminishing presence of Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi peoples on the frontier. These written statements reveal how language can further disempower and dispossess Native Americans of agency in the history of the American West, and how the LDS connected the massacre to their pioneering history more broadly.

⁹⁵ Elizabeth Miller, Photograph of monument rocks taken at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark, May 2018.

The Dedication

Whilst the rocks demonstrate how the LDS incorporated the Bear River massacre into their pioneer history, the ceremonies that included Shoshone participants further highlight how DUP subverted Shoshone agency within the LDS commemorative landscape. The project to include the Shoshone in the celebrations occurred in the late July 1932 when the Battle Creek monument committee sent a delegation to an arid and isolated LDS farm called Washakie. They went to Washakie presumably because they knew that some Shoshone were living there, and that they could invite those living there to the upcoming dedication. However, the committee also knew that it would be easier to convince the Washakie Shoshone to participate because the bands living there had joined the Church a few decades before.⁹⁶

A local area newspaper reported that upon arriving at Washakie, the delegates had been met by some “interesting characters,” some of which included the well-established Timbimboo family.⁹⁷ The Timbimboo family consisted of living survivors of the Bear River Massacre and descendants of the Battle’s surviving Chief named Sagwitch. After years of poverty and displacement following the massacre, Sagwitch had brought his group to the Church for baptism, hoping it would bring about stability.⁹⁸ As a result, the majority of Shoshone living at Washakie were Sagwitch’s descendants, and maintained a strong connection to their Shoshone roots, but they were also active participants in the Church.⁹⁹ This included a man named Joseph Parry and his relative Moroni, who were two of the first Shoshone Bishops in the Church.¹⁰⁰ Reporting back from their trip, the committee announced their visit to Washakie had been successful, and that the Shoshone had agreed to participate. Speaking to a local newspaper, the

⁹⁶ Stanley J. Thayne, “The Blood of Father Lehi: Indigenous Americans and the Book of Mormon.” (Doctoral Thesis, University of North Carolina, 2016), 60.

⁹⁷ “Much activity being shown on Battle Creek Monument,” August 3, 1932. Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00107. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

⁹⁸ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 22.

⁹⁹ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, xii; Thayne, “The Blood of Father Lehi,” 40-42.

¹⁰⁰ Thayne, “The Blood of Father Lehi,” 61.

committee explained that the Shoshone had “expressed their pleasure at being asked [to attend]” and assured they would “take part in the celebration...dressed in Indian costumes and prepared to take part in Indian ceremonies and dances.”¹⁰¹

The decision to extend an invitation was likely an attempt to control how the Shoshone would be represented in the commemorative landscape. As the newspaper report indicated, the Shoshone would play a performative role in the celebrations, and suggested that the committee wished to recreate, through performance, the lives of LDS pioneers and the authentic, Shoshone peoples they had encountered on the frontier. In performative narratives of pioneering, the emphasis on traditional costumes and play-acting suggested that the Shoshone represented the redemptive and authentic features of an older world that was rapidly disappearing in the face of urbanisation.¹⁰² Moreover, that the performers would predominantly be living survivors and their descendants who had converted to the LDS Church after the massacre was also a good example of the transformation from the frontier to modern day life in 1930, as well as a testament to the role the massacre had played in the expansion and development of LDS settlements.

The incorporation of the Washakie Shoshone at the marker unveiling can also be explained by the LDS doctrines that claimed the Shoshone played a special role in ancient Church history. The LDS believed that Shoshone, among other Native Americans, were the remnants of an ancient civilisation of Lamanites, a tribe of Israelites who had migrated to the United States in 600 BCE. According to the Book of Mormon, the Lamenites were descended

¹⁰¹ “Much activity being shown on Battle Creek Monument.”

¹⁰² For more comprehensive discussion about the relationship between race and society in the early twentieth century see Phillip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Press of Kansas, 2004); Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

from Laman, the brother of Nephi and son to Massan, who had led the Israelites to the United States and built a vast civilisation. After some time had passed, a bitter conflict developed between the two tribes. At the height of the conflict, the Lamenites massacred all but a few of the Nephites and, as such, the LDS believed that God had punished the Lamenites by darkening their skin and banishing the tribe into a life of savagery. Believing themselves to be the descendants of the Nephites, the LDS had set about converting Native Americans in an effort to bring them back to the Church. To do so, the LDS had actively had fostered a civil relationship with the Shoshone, believing that benevolence, rather than violence, would aid their redemptive mission.¹⁰³

As a result, the LDS frequently sought to incorporate the Shoshone in a variety of Church-based activities, especially events that celebrated pioneering. The incorporation of Shoshone during the July 24 celebration of “Pioneer Day” is one example. In the first half of the twentieth century, the annual holiday, “Pioneer Day,” was an extensive, public celebration of LDS “freedoms, fundamental values, social roles and heritage” that reinforced a collective, social identity within the Church.¹⁰⁴ As part of the celebration, the LDS routinely invited the Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi to participate to illustrate the progress of civilising missions and charity work that had sustained struggling communities with food, shelter and clothing.¹⁰⁵ Those who were invited were usually treated as guests of honour, and featured in parades, pageants, sporting events, dances and excursions to historic sites, where stories of freedom, independence, expansion were celebrated.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the performative aspects of Pioneer Day, Native Americans were most frequently invited to public banquets. These banquets

¹⁰³ For a more comprehensive explanation of the relationship between the Latter-day Saints and “Lamenites” see Mauss, *All Abraham’s Children*.

¹⁰⁴ Steven L. Olsen, “Celebrating Cultural Identity: Pioneer Day in Nineteenth Century Mormonism,” *BYU Studies*, 36, No. 1 (1996-1997): 159-160.

¹⁰⁵ Olsen, “Celebrating Cultural Identity,” 159; Brigham G. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni*, 34.

¹⁰⁶ Olsen, “Celebrating Cultural Identity,” 159.

reconciled past and present, and almost always staged the Native participants as “thankful” that they had been baptised and introduced to white culture. Consequently, Shoshone participation showcased to a wide audience the success of proselytising missions that had taken place in the years since the massacre. Moreover, the committee’s visit to Washakie was likely a continuation of the LDS’ attempt to foster a civil relationship with the Shoshone.

The Battle Creek Marker was unveiled eleven days after Pioneer Day in 1932 and was likely an extension of existing commemorative activities across the region that celebrated LDS pioneer heritage. The monument committee planned a two-day dedication ceremony; the first day for the unveiling, pageants, musical performances and speeches, and the second day for the Cache Valley Boy Scouts to undertake a tent-raising practice. The program for the unveiling tied the Battle Creek Marker to the tradition of publicly commemorating the region’s pioneer origins. For example, as part of the program, a man named Harry Hull delivered a speech about life on the frontier. Born in 1860, Hull was one of the first children to be born in Idaho. In addition to Hull, other prominent Church members also delivered speeches about pioneer history. These included Harrison Merrill from the original Franklin Monument Committee, the LDS Church president, Taylor Nelson, the president of the Oregon Trails Association, Dr Howard R. Driggs, and the president of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Kate Snow. Whilst there are no known available copies of the speeches, the presence of these elite members of the LDS community suggests that the dedication further connected the Bear River Massacre to pioneer history.¹⁰⁷

Whilst there is only a minimal amount of historical evidence that provide details about how the Shoshone participated in the dedication, the available materials do highlight the extent

¹⁰⁷ “Program for the Battle Creek encampment and memorial ceremony to be held at Battle Creek, five miles north of Preston, Idaho,” *Myrtle Goff Papers*, Church History Library, File number 33.

to which the committee linked the Shoshone to the wider celebration of pioneer heritage. For example, one photograph depicts Yeager Timbimboo and his son, the LDS Bishop Moroni, unveiling the marker. Yeager was another son of Chief Sagwitch and much like Beshup, Yeager was two years old at the time of the massacre and miraculously survived. By 1932, Yeager had become the tribal historian at Washakie. In the photograph, Yeager and Moroni stood before the cobbled obelisk in white shirts, black pants and a black tie. According to the Idaho-based historian, Newell Hart, who attended the dedication, Yeager spoke at length about the importance of the battle. Although Hart did not provide any more details about the nature of Yeager's speech, it was probable that he spoke of his experience of the massacre.¹⁰⁸ Yeager's speech was also unexpected because it was not listed on Goff's running sheet.¹⁰⁹ As such, the speech suggests that Yeager attempted to reassert Shoshone agency in the public celebration of the Bear River Massacre story.

In his account, Hart also explained the dedication was a staged "reconciliation" between the LDS and the Shoshone in a performative format.¹¹⁰ He explained that the reconciliation unfolded during a re-enactment of the massacre that was performed by Shoshone Boy Scouts from Fort Hall and Washakie, as well as American Boy Scouts from the Cache Valley. According to Goff's itinerary, the title of the re-enactment was "a gesture of friendship and goodwill (a pageant)," which suggested that the DUP wished to emphasise that the massacre had contributed to the peaceful co-existence of the Church and their Shoshone neighbours in the years following.¹¹¹ Describing the re-enactment, Hart explained that the performance drew inspiration from "great western [movies]" and was deliberately set to a musical score that conveyed the drama of the frontier, which included "lively war songs, booming drums and

¹⁰⁸ Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ "Program for the Battle Creek encampment and memorial ceremony."

¹¹⁰ Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 11.

¹¹¹ "Program for the Battle Creek encampment and memorial ceremony."

tense thunder.”¹¹² Additionally, Shoshone performers wore costumes that consisted of war “bonnets, feathers, regalia,” which conveyed the historical authenticity of the performance.¹¹³ Thus, under the committee’s direction, the Shoshone actors mimicked the familiar trope of the “savage Indian” that was used to justify the destruction of Native life.¹¹⁴ In doing so, the pageant stripped the Shoshone of any historical agency and, borrowing from popular stereotypes, generalised their cultural identity to legitimise the massacre’s role in ending violence on the frontier.

Moreover, Hart later argued that the pageant’s story of the massacre had been “watered down,” to omit the scale of the California Volunteers’ violence, especially against Shoshone women and children. As such, he claimed that the actors did not re-enact the violence, but, rather, fired “blank shots” to evoke a sense of the battle.¹¹⁵ In doing so, the pageant played down the scale of the massacre’s atrocities, suggesting that the California Volunteers had been met with a Shoshone offensive of equal force. The details of massacred Shoshone children, women and the elderly were noticeably absent. At the conclusion of the performance, a symbolic reconciliation took place. Although there are no further details, the title of the play, “a gesture of friendship,” further highlights how the pageant put forward a highly idealised story of the massacre. Glossing over the decades of displacement and impoverishment that followed, the gesture suggested that the Shoshone had willingly relinquished their land, bodies and cultures to the Church and now lived harmoniously nearby.

Without further details of the reconciliation pageant it is difficult to make any more conclusions about its purpose. However, the involvement of Boy Scouts suggests the pageant

¹¹² Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 11.

¹¹³ “Program for the Battle Creek encampment and memorial ceremony.”

¹¹⁴ “Program for the Battle Creek encampment and memorial ceremony.”

¹¹⁵ Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 11.

was also an exercise that connected the youth with the region's history. Philip Deloria has argued that organisations such as the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) taught children how to be "American" from "recreating the lives of pioneer scouts who had tamed the wild frontier."¹¹⁶ As the BSA in Utah and Idaho formed part of Church youth initiatives to teach LDS boys Church values, the re-enactment of the Bear River "Battle" helped reinforce their social identity. The BSA's involvement also suggested that stories about clearing the Shoshone, Bannock and Lemhi peoples from the frontier was tied to the Church's founding narrative that was promoted within the organisation. Deloria explains that this form of play-acting was typically a "self-conscious attempt to salvage what was increasingly pointed to as an older, better, but unfortunately disappearing America."¹¹⁷ In Utah, as the Church encountered an unprecedented economic downturn, reconnecting and re-enacting scenes from the frontier that promoted the self-sufficiency and resilience of LDS pioneers was a way to boost morale amongst the community as the Church faced an uncertain future.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 100.

¹¹⁷ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 100.

¹¹⁸ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 100.



Figure 12: American Boy Scout groups arrive on horse for the re-enactment of the "Battle at Bear River"



Figure 13: Unnamed Shoshone and Bannock Boy Scouts from the Fort Hall Reservation and the Church Farm, "Washakie," are pictured among the crowd at the unveiling of the Battle Creek Marker.

According to Goff's itinerary, the Indian Scout Troop from the Fort Hall reservation performed a fire building ceremony at sundown and encouraged guests to sing campfire songs. With the exception of the Fort Hall Indian Scouts, the majority of Shoshone participants were from the Washakie community. As such, Shoshone historical perspectives at the dedication were significantly limited. In comparison to other groups of Northern Shoshone and their Bannock neighbours who had fled the region after the massacre, the Washakie Shoshone were significantly involved with LDS communities at the time. Stanley Thayne has argued that at Washakie, the Shoshone living there had developed a distinctive, dual identity that connected them to the Church of Latter-day Saints, but with their own cultural heritage.¹¹⁹ Consequently, when the Washakie Shoshone attended, performed and spoke at the dedication, they represented just one perspective of the massacre while several others were absent. Specifically,

¹¹⁹ Thayne, "The Blood of Father Lehi," 60.

that of Bear Hunter's descendants, whose massacre narrative lamented the loss of their Chieftain.¹²⁰

The limited representation of Civil War violence in the West was further supported by the presence of a small bronze plaque that gave a brief account of the "Battle of Bear River." Whilst the written statements and the dedication spoke more explicitly about violence on the frontier as a necessary evil, the plaque, cloaked in ambiguous, passive language, highlighted the challenge to put forward an enduring, redemptive narrative about LDS pioneering and the struggle to confront the Civil War's violence in the West. In 103 words, the plaque justified the volunteer's guerrilla tactics by naming the massacre a "battle."¹²¹ The word "battle" implied that the California Volunteers were met by equally forceful group of Shoshone and, as such, absolved them of their surprise attack on the sleeping village.¹²² In doing so, the redemptive legacies of LDS pioneering, and, to a lesser extent, the Civil War, remained intact. This obfuscation of the Civil War's extreme violence was not limited to the Bear River Massacre.

Ari Kelman has argued that commemorating the slaughter of Cheyenne men, women and children at Sand Creek as a Civil War "battle" in Denver, Colorado was linked to a nationwide, commemorative impulse that demonstrated how the war had "swept the nation [as a whole]."¹²³ This was certainly the case in 1909, when a marker was installed at the foot of the Colorado state capital building that listed Sand Creek among the list of the region's Civil War "battles." Colorado, much like Utah and Washington Territories, were significantly detached from the Civil War main theatre. Thus, the plaque is another example of how Americans have

¹²⁰ For more information on Bear Hunter see Aaron Crawford, "The People of Bear Hunter Speak: Oral Histories of the Cache Valley Shoshone Regarding the Bear River Massacre." (Masters Thesis, Utah State University, 2007).

¹²¹ For a more comprehensive discussion on naming, specifically "Battles", see Kelman, "What's in a Name?"

¹²² The plaque incorrectly states that Chief Sagwitch perished.

¹²³ Kelman, "What's in a name?" 126.

grappled with the uncertain legacy of the War in the West which, Kelman has claimed, led heritage workers to “[smooth] away the massacre’s rough edges” so that narratives of violence could become a usable, redeeming narrative about the Civil War in Colorado.¹²⁴

In the early 1970s, the late North-western Shoshone historian, Mae Timbimboo Parry, criticised the wording of the bronze plaque and refuted the sanitised description of the massacre as a “battle.” Parry claimed that the marker and the plaque had significantly failed to account for the scale of the Volunteers’ violence, especially in regard to women and children. In *Massacre at Boa Ogoi*, Parry explained that, according to Shoshone history, women, children and the elderly were the most vulnerable and, without a chance to escape, cowered in tipis, “played dead” or buried themselves in the banks of the Bear River.¹²⁵ She referred to a specific claim by the monument committee that labelled Shoshone women and children as “combatant[s],” rather than victims. The phrase “combatant women and children” suggests the committee carefully selected words that forgave the California Volunteers of any unwarranted violence and kept the redemptive narrative of the LDS pioneering intact. Offering an alternative plaque wording at the end of her book, Parry recognised that the Battle Creek Marker had limited the extent that her ancestors could have voiced their own accounts of the massacre.

Parry was not alone in her criticism of the marker. According to Scott Christensen, one Shoshone man who attended the 1932 dedication claimed that “Mormon leaders at Washakie forced the Indians to attend the “degrading” service in full costumed regalia.”¹²⁶ As such Parry, Christensen and other specialists on the topic of the Bear River Massacre, have described the

¹²⁴ Kelman, “What’s in a Name?” 126.

¹²⁵ Mae Timbimboo Parry, “Massacre at Boa Ogoi” in *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, ed. Brigham Madsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

¹²⁶ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 201.

plaque's interpretation of the massacre as seriously "flawed."¹²⁷ However, as the gravity of the written statements and dedication faded with time, the plaque was the only piece of information that marked the significance of the site. Still affixed to the face of the marker today, the plaque can explain how the massacre of Shoshone men, women and children was rendered invisible for decades.

Conclusion

On 22 September 1932, a local newspaper remarked that the Battle Creek Marker had become such a popular tourist destination that visitors had begun to break off parts of the marker as souvenirs.¹²⁸ Whilst the monument committee clearly succeeded in transforming the site of the Battle Creek marker into an attractive destination for tourists, Bear River's story and its significance to the region's history has undergone significant revision. Since 1932, heritage workers in Utah and Idaho have reckoned with the story of the Bear River Massacre and have attempted to restore the full narrative of the atrocity to the historical record as well as the commemorative landscape. This unfolded in the 1960s and 1970s, when Mae Timbimboo Parry and Newell Hart worked together and published *The Bear River Massacre*, and later in 1990 when the National Parks Service declared the Battle Creek Marker and the landscape the "Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark."¹²⁹ Subsequent literature has revealed more of the Civil War's history in the West, and has further pointed to the Battle Creek Marker's inability to accurately incorporate the historical perspectives of Shoshone men, women and children.

¹²⁷ Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 201; Mae Timbimboo Parry, *Massacre at Boa Ogoi* in Brigham Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

¹²⁸ "Officers attempting to stop vandalism," *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*. 22 September, 1932, 3.

¹²⁹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Draft Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment: Bear River Massacre Site* (Denver: Denver Service Centre, 1995).

Together, the Stand Watie and Battle Creek Markers highlight the role that geography played in shaping expressions of Civil War remembrance in the United States, and the extent to which Native American encounters could be rendered visible and invisible within the commemorative landscape. In contrast to the thriving industry of Civil War remembrance in the South, which influenced how heritage workers identified and promoted narratives of Confederate heroism and defeat, Civil War commemoration in the West was comparatively limited. As such, the Civil War's ill-defined legacy in the West, as well as the growing desire to publicly signpost pioneer history, can help to explain how LDS heritage workers incorporated the Bear River Massacre into tales of expansion where the war was not seen to have played a significant role. The heroic individualism that underwrote Watie's commemoration suggests that Native Civil War involvement could be incorporated in commemorative culture if the subject was seen to support the dominant themes of Civil War remembrance. On the contrary, the Bear River massacre was difficult to legitimise, purportedly because the Civil War was not seen to have unfolded in the Western territories, but also because the massacre threatened to undermine the image of the moral, American soldiers. Consequently, the difference between Southern and Western Civil War commemoration can, in part, explain how the full extent of the massacre was rendered invisible for decades.

In comparison to the surprising degree of Cherokee agency within the Oklahoma UDC, the passive participation of Shoshone men, women and children at the dedication highlights the disparity of Native American agency within the broader Civil War commemorative landscapes. In Chapter One, I demonstrated how Oklahoma's social and political history with the Five Nations, as well as Cherokee support of the Confederacy, facilitated the extent to which Mabel Anderson and her Cherokee peers could commemorate their Cherokee ancestors within the UDC. The absence of Shoshone heritage workers in Utah and Idaho suggests that

the Church-led historic preservation initiative was restricted to the white descendants of the region's pioneers.

This was especially true of the DUP, who required members to prove their connection to at least one pioneer ancestor to qualify for membership and can thus explain why there are no known Shoshone members. Although Yeager's address at the unveiling suggests that the Shoshone did seek to convey their historical perspectives, the likelihood that the Northern Shoshone could further publicly promote their tribal histories was limited by the growth of Church-sponsored reservations that separated Shoshone communities from urban centres, and, by implication, growing commemorative impulses. Thus, the monument committee visit to Washakie also exposed the separation between LDS and Shoshone communities. Moreover, this disconnect reveals the difference between Shoshone and Mormon commemorative practices that influenced the transmission of Cherokee and Southern histories in the Watie marker. At Washakie and Fort Hall, remembrance of the Bear River Massacre and the violence brought by the Civil War was practiced through oral history, rather than through monuments or textual format. This would later change in the 1960s with Mae Parry's *Massacre at Boa Ogoi*, which highlights the separation of the Northern Shoshone from involvement in the commemorative landscape in the 1930s.

This chapter has argued that making the Battle Creek Marker project shaped the Bear River Massacre to fit within the broader memory of the expansion of Mormon pioneer settlements. The consolidation of the "Battle of Bear River" in Mormon cultural history has rendered invisible the Shoshone historical perspectives on the massacre's catastrophic role in contributing to the destruction of the Shoshone culture, people and nation. In this chapter I have demonstrated how the Battle Creek Marker came to represent something other than a

“massacre” and how its construction, by rock collection and public unveiling, excluded a significant portion of Shoshone historical perspectives. In doing so, I have demonstrated how Americans have been challenged to make sense of the uneasy overlap of LDS pioneering and the Civil War in the West, and the role of violence in these predominantly redeeming stories. Moreover, the Battle Creek Marker reveals how Shoshone history became deeply and painfully intertwined within LDS cultural history.

I close this chapter with two competing narratives of what occurred on January 29, 1863.

Daughters of Utah Pioneer’s Plaque, 1932

The Battle of Bear River was fought in this vicinity January, 29, 1863. Col. Patrick E. Connor leading 300 California volunteers from Camp Douglas, Utah, to the Bannock and Shoshone Indians guilty of hostile attacks on emigrants and settlers, engaged about 500 Indians of whom 250 to 300 were killed or incapacitated, including about 90 combatant women and children. 14 soldiers were killed, 4 officers and 49 men wounded, of whom 1 Officer and 7 men died later. 79 were severely frozen. Chiefs Bear Hunter, Sagwitch and Lehi were reportedly killed. 175 horses and much stolen property were recovered. 70 lodges were burned.” – Franklin County Chapter Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Cache Valley Council, Boy Scouts of America and Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Description transcribed from image of the 1932 Plaque; “1863 Bear River Massacre,” digitalatlas.cose.isu.edu, accessed March 6, 2019. <https://digitalatlas.cose.isu.edu/geog/rrt/part4/chp14/96.htm>

Mae Timbimboo Parry's alternative plaque wording from *Massacre at Boa Ogoi* 1972

The Massacre of Bear River was fought in this vicinity January 29, 1863. Colonel P.E and his California Volunteers from Camp Douglas, Utah, all but annihilated the Northwestern Shoshone Tribe. Chief Sagwitch Timbimboo escaped the massacre. Chief Bear Hunter was tortured to death. No Bannocks were present, only Northwestern Shoshone of the Great Shoshone Nation.¹³¹

¹³¹ Mae Parry, "Indian version of what should appear on a Battle Creek Marker" in *Massacre at Boa Ogoi*; Hart, *The Bear River Massacre*, 154.

Chapter Three: Inserting an Indian in Northern Civil War Narratives: General Ely S. Parker and Civil War Commemoration

General Ely S. Parker often told his nephew Arthur about the day the American Civil War ended. Parker was in the McLean farmhouse at Appomattox on 9 April 1865 and looked on as Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant drew up the terms of surrender for the Confederate Army. Parker, military secretary to Ulysses S. Grant, was the only Native American in the room and was instructed to make copies of the surrender documents. After the terms of surrender were finalised, Lieutenant Colonel Horace Porter transported the document to General Parker along with a small, boxwood inkstand so that copies could be made. Parker carefully transcribed the documents and returned them for signing. Years later, when Arthur wrote the General's biography, he stressed just how remarkable it was that his uncle had been at Appomattox when he claimed that once the General had finished his work, Lee approached his desk, extended a hand and said, "I'm glad to see one real American here," to which the General replied, "We are all Americans."¹

Such a tale makes for a great narrative and a fitting conclusion to the Civil War, but we do not know for certain if such a conversation between Lee and Parker actually took place.² The conversation was featured in *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, in which the author, the General's Seneca nephew, Arthur Caswell Parker, inserted his ancestor into the centre of Northern Civil War narratives. The Appomattox story appeared in a chapter entitled "The Indian in the Drama of Appomattox," an interpretation of the Civil War's conclusion that

¹ Arthur Caswell Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1919), 129-141.

See also Laurence Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1995), 182.

² Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 32.

emphasised the General's centrality to Grant's victory and Lee's dignified defeat.³ This chapter among others commemorated the Seneca General's military career and consequently rendered the General visible in some of the Civil War's most historic moments, in conversation with some familiar historical figures, and engaged in combat. As Native Americans are not typically featured as the subject of Civil War monuments, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* provokes questions about how the General came to appear in Northern Civil War narratives. How did the biography make Ely S. Parker "fit" within the commemorative landscape? Why put the General in conversation with Lee at Appomattox? And why was it important to have an "Indian" perspective of the Civil War at all?

This chapter analyses Arthur Caswell Parker's *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* to evaluate the extent to which the Seneca General was venerated in Northern commemorative culture. In this chapter I argue that Arthur Caswell Parker raised his uncle's visibility within Northern Civil War commemoration because he placed the General at the centre of mainstream historical narratives of Union triumph, heroism, leadership, and the pivotal events of Vicksburg (1863) and Appomattox (1865). As the General emerged in these narratives I question how Ely S. Parker complicated commonly-held conceptions about the Civil War as an American war, highlighting that Senecas and other members of the Iroquois Confederacy too entered the war to protect their own interests. I find that the biography simplified the complexities of the Civil War for the Seneca Nation, and obscured the careers of other Seneca men who served in the Union Army. Consequently, the General's prominence in the commemorative landscape prevented wider representation of Seneca military service. Evaluating the agency across the three distinct commemorative traditions that I have put forward in my previous two chapters,

³ Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 32; Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*.

I contend that Northern Civil War commemoration facilitated greater Native participation than Southern and Western commemoration.

In the field of public history, scholars do not always examine Civil War biographies as a form of commemoration, although, as primary sources, biographies can be considered as a form of public remembrance. This chapter uses *The Life of Ely S. Parker* to further explore how Native Americans were incorporated into 1920s and 1930s monument culture. Thus far, I have demonstrated how monuments are valuable primary sources that reveal how Native groups engaged with Civil War commemorative landscapes. In my discussion I have also pointed to the limitations of monument form, specifically the wording of contextualising plaques and engravings placed on the monument face. In the conclusion of the previous chapter, I demonstrated how plaques can provide visitors with limited information about historic events. Such a limitation raises questions about the use of historical narrative in Civil War commemoration and demands further examination of archival materials that are not always available to the researcher. As a primary source, historic biography provides more written material for analysis than contextualising plaques and signposts and thus can elucidate more specifically how Native Americans appeared in the Civil War commemorative landscape. As such, I analyse the Civil War narrative in the biography as a monument to Ely S. Parker's remarkable career in the Union Army and, similarly to the previous two chapters, demonstrate how the monument engaged with a growing commemorative discourse about the war to incorporate a Seneca Brigadier-General into Northern commemorative landscapes.

This chapter has three sections that analyse *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* as a monument to the General's Civil War career. Firstly, I argue that the General's absence from commemorative culture had rendered him an oddity and spurred his nephew to restore the

legacy of his remarkable career. Secondly, I consider the chapters that focus on the General's military career and examine how Arthur Parker improved the General's visibility within mainstream Civil War narratives. I analyse how the General emerged in the biography as a heroic soldier who served alongside Ulysses S. Grant, first at Vicksburg and later as the scribe of the surrender documents at Appomattox; impressive achievements that emphasised his exceptionalism. I conclude my discussion with a brief evaluation of the extent to which the biography contributed a distinct, Seneca perspective to Northern Civil War remembrance in comparison to my previous case studies. Finding the Northern commemorative landscape to be more inclusive of diverse perspectives of the past, I argue that the biography was also a strong example of Seneca agency within commemorative culture.

General Ely S. Parker

Although several Seneca men enlisted and served in the Union army during the Civil War, Ely S. Parker is one of the most commonly examined Native American soldiers in the historiography.⁴ He was born in 1828, near the Buffalo Seneca Reservation in the state of New York, to William and Elizabeth Parker, who were part of a prominent Seneca family descended from Handsome Lake, Cornplanter and Red Jacket. The General grew up on a property consisting of over 1,000 acres that was frequented by overland travellers. These travellers included scientists and anthropologists, such as John Wesley Powell, Lewis Henry Morgan and Henry Schoolcraft, as well as Chiefs and Senecas from neighbouring areas. William Armstrong has claimed that these cross-cultural encounters shaped the General as a communicator and

⁴ For more comprehensive information, specifically biographic information on Ely S. Parker, see Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after The Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); William Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978).

mediator, skills that allowed him to successfully advocate for Iroquois political representation during periods in which the United States Government regularly undercut tribal sovereignty.⁵

To date, the scholarship has largely characterised the General as a cultural broker.⁶ The title of Armstrong's work on Ely S. Parker, *Warrior in Two Camps*, is a prime example of this. Whereas Armstrong has portrayed the General as the Civil War's unsung hero and a "broker" between two worlds, other scholars have celebrated General Parker for his gumption in Washington, where he pushed for Seneca sovereignty. Dee Brown has described the General as "battling racial prejudice, sometimes winning, sometimes losing" for almost half a century by the time he enlisted in the Civil War.⁷ Whilst the historiography has primarily used the biography as a reference point to the General's remarkable career, scholars are yet to examine the biography's influence in shaping the General's legacy as a Civil War soldier.

The biography attributes the General's success as a soldier and Seneca advocate to his upbringing in both white and Seneca cultures, and uses this duality to legitimise the General's place within broader Civil War remembrance. Parker provides a detailed account of the General's early years, which stressed his Christian upbringing and white education. Emphasising that, as a young man, the General studied law and then engineering, Parker crafted a subtle explanation for the General's exceptionalism that led him to obtain positions both inside and outside the Seneca Nation. Such appointments suggested the making of a skilled

⁵ Arthur Caswell Parker wrote widely on Iroquois history and culture between 1900-1959. These works were largely ethnographic and anthropological. A full list of his work can be found in at the University of Rochester, <https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/175>.

⁶ For studies on Ely S. Parker as a broker see William Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978); Audra Simpson, "Constructing Kahnawake as an 'Out of the way place'," in *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 67-80.

⁷ Dee Brown, *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), 178.

negotiator, and included positions such as translator, diplomat, advisor, soldier and secretary, and, in 1869, as the first Native American commissioner of Indian affairs.⁸

In addition to the General's education, the biography also illustrated his prominence within the Seneca Nation, and shaped his legacy as a patient and loyal Union soldier who never abandoned his allegiance to his people. On his twenty-first birthday he was awarded the title of "Sachem" of the Iroquois Confederacy, a title that earned him the reputation as the "Keeper of the Western Door," which inferred that the General reinforced the social, cultural and political boundaries between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States.⁹ The General's legal education and acute knowledge of politics further legitimised his attendance at the important proceedings at Appomattox and conversation with Robert E. Lee about identity politics.¹⁰

The General was a close personal friend of Ulysses S. Grant, having met him at a Freemasons meeting in Galena, Illinois in 1857. William Armstrong has argued that it was the General's acquaintance with Grant that led him to enlist in the Union Army in 1862.¹¹ According to the biography, the General enlisted as an engineer in 1862, hoping his education and experience working as a superintendent of construction in Galena would make him a suitable candidate for service.¹² To his dismay, the War Department rejected his application on two separate occasions, claiming the Government had no obligation to accept Seneca volunteers.¹³

⁸ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 7-11.

Ely S. Parker was appointed to the position of Indian Commissioner in 1869 until 1871 by Ulysses S. Grant during his time as President.

⁹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 7-11.

¹⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 91.

¹¹ Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 74-76.

¹² Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps*, 74-76.

¹³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 99-104.

Whereas scholars such as Lawrence Hauptmann have shown that other Seneca men did not experience the same discrimination when they enlisted in the early years of the War, the biography does not provide significant details about other Seneca soldiers.¹⁴ In 1863, the General received his formal war orders and he entered the 7th Division at Vicksburg, holding the rank of Captain.¹⁵ During his career, the General served in Grant's regiment at Vicksburg, Virginia; Bridgeport, Alabama and Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, Tennessee. Following these campaigns, the General fell ill and temporarily acquitted himself and returned home to Tonawanda. In 1864, the General was appointed as Grant's military secretary until the end of the Civil War in 1865.

In short, the biography presents a selective account of the General's life, but despite its detail and subsequent reprintings, the General continued to exist as an obscurity within Civil War, and American history more broadly. Parker's depiction of Appomattox has received the most historical attention.¹⁶ Testimony from the *Official Record of the War of the Rebellion* places the General at Appomattox, where he diligently transcribed copies of the surrender documents. However, there is no record of this conversation with Lee, begging the question as to how and why the biography came to include the dialogue.

Outside of the Civil War, the General's post-war life is less explored, and the biography makes no mention of the General's tumultuous final years. Scholars such as Joseph Bruchac have illustrated how the General's career as Indian commissioner ended abruptly after a

¹⁴ For more comprehensive information about the Iroquois during the Civil War see Laurence M. Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1995).

¹⁵ According to Arthur C. Parker and his biography of his uncle, when Ely S. Parker first enlisted in the Union Army he was offered the role of "Captain." After the war he continued his service in the Union Army, eventually earning the title of Brigadier-General. In popular memory he is typically remembered as "General" because this was the rank he obtained during the American Civil War. This is regardless of other positions he held, including Commissioner of Indian affairs.

¹⁶ Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 32.

scandal involving the deployment of aid to impoverished Indians in the West, and after he lost his entire fortune on Wall Street.¹⁷ Despite holding an impressive list of distinguished positions, by the time of his death in 1895, the General, as David Williams has described, was an “out of place oddity to all but his close friends” and someone who did not yet “fit” within American historical consciousness, and especially within Civil War remembrance.¹⁸

Arthur C. Parker wrote *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* to recover the General from this historical obscurity in 1919. In the preface, Parker identified that Americans had failed to properly account for the General’s contribution to the Nation’s development. Parker explained that the biography would promote a “narrative of Indian life...to do justice to his memory, and through him to his [Seneca] people.”¹⁹ He explained how he hoped his research would reinstate the General into historical consciousness and raise the visibility of a man “whose life is so strange in many of its phases as to be almost tragic. With ambitions constantly balked he rebelled not, but philosophically rose above his obstacles. No defeat was accepted as a blow, but as a lesson from which to profit.”²⁰ As this quote suggests, Parker recognised the significance of the General’s achievements, and how this Seneca could be a role model for white and Native Americans alike. This opinion was certainly shared by the editors of the *Indian’s Friend* magazine, who exclaimed in 1905 that Ely S. Parker exemplified “what one Indian has done others can do!”²¹

¹⁷ Joseph Bruchac, “A Name to Remember: Ha-sa-no-an-da. ‘Leading Name’” *Voices: The Journal of New York Folklore*, 38.

¹⁸ David Williams, *A People’s History of the Civil War: Struggles for the Meaning of Freedom* (New York: New Press, 2006), 391-392.

¹⁹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, vii.

²⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 6.

²¹ “On Decoration Day a monument was unveiled at Buffalo, N. Y., to the memory of a very distinguished Indians, Brig. Gen. Ely S. Parker,” *The Indian’s Friend* XVII, No. 11 (1905): 3. Gale Indigenous Peoples of North American Database, <https://www.gale.com/c/indigenous-peoples-north-america>.

Arthur Parker brought to his writing a varied career in the humanities that underwrote the biography as expression of Seneca history that intersected with the American story. He was born on the Cattaraugus reservation in Western New York and grew up learning Iroquoian languages as well as English. Although he held several professional positions over the course of his career, Parker was known to his peers primarily as an archaeologist, a skill that led to his appointment as the president of the Society for American Archaeology in 1935.²² He also worked as an ethnographer, anthropologist, historian and journalist, and undertook a significant amount of fieldwork within the Seneca Nation that earned him a reputation as an expert on Iroquois culture.²³

In 1911, Parker founded the Society of American Indians, where he served as the editor of the publication, *American Indian Magazine*, between 1915 and 1920. As editor, Parker contributed to debates that were occurring about the acculturation of Native American peoples within the United States. Just one year after the publication of the biography, he published a pamphlet entitled “The New York Indian Complex and How to Solve It” in which he argued that Indian-American citizenship, was an “inescapable” and necessary goal.²⁴ Parker’s impressive career and education suggested he was well informed about the debates around Native inclusion, and, by writing the biography, sought to contribute a Seneca’s perspective on the Nation’s history and incorporate the General within the American story.

²² S. Carol Berg, “Arthur C. Parker and the Society of the American Indian,” *The Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, 2000, 327.

²³ This was the assertion of Joy Porter in Joy Porter, “American Indian Identity in the Life of Arthur Caswell Parker, 1881-1955.” (Doctoral Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1994).

Parker produced at least 440 separate books, articles and addresses in addition to at least 32 published newspaper articles and at least 45 separate unpublished articles, speeches and plays. For more information see Hazel W. Hertzberg, “Nationality, Anthropology, and Pan-Indianism in the Life of Arthur C. Parker (Seneca)” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123, No 1. (February, 1979): 47.

²⁴ Parker, “The New York Indian Complex and How to Solve It,” in *Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archaeological Association: Lewis Henry Morgan Chapter*, Volume 2, No. 1 (Rochester, New York: C.F Milliken and Co. Canandaigua, 1920); Parker was also a well-known museum administrator and took up appointments at the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences and the New York Historical Society between 1924 and 1945.

Whereas my previous chapters have emphasised that Native Americans conceptualised, constructed and engaged with commemorative landscapes with the help of heritage organisations, the biography is a strong example of Seneca agency, separate from the influence of white heritage workers. Parker justified his role as the biographer based on decades of research and field work within the Seneca Nation. Experience, he believed, earned him the privilege of chronicling the General's life. In addition to his education and proficiency in his field, Parker also believed his Seneca lineage bolstered his authority as the General's biographer. As a result, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* is evidence of a Seneca biographer who sought to contribute and shape the representation of Seneca life in Civil War remembrance. In the preface, for example, the editor explained Arthur C. Parker was "better qualified to present the red man's case from the red man's viewpoint, [than] any chronicler of purely Caucasian blood."²⁵ As such, the biographic form gave Parker more control over how his ancestor would be represented, both in historical and Civil War literature. Consequently, the biography reframed Seneca life to elicit empathy from the reader in the hope that the General's story would highlight the agency of Indigenous peoples who had been rendered passive by scientific portraits for over two centuries.²⁶

The biography also sought to correct existing historical representations of the General in monument culture, suggesting that it was not the first attempt to memorialise the General's career. In the biography, Parker referred specifically to a 1905 Memorial Day unveiling of a historic marker installed at the General's grave. The marker was installed by the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and Buffalo Historical Society (BHS) who placed the monument at General's grave at the Fort Lawn Cemetery in Buffalo, New York with the inscription:

²⁵ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, vii.

²⁶ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, vii.

Do-ne-ho-geh-weh. Ely S. Parker, Sachem of Six Nations, Military secretary 1863-1866, **General Grant's Staff**, Brigadier-General USA, U.S Comm. Indian Affairs 1869-1871. Born of Seneca Parents 1828. Died August 30, 1895.²⁷

The GAR and BHS alongside members of the Seneca Nation, unveiled the headstone as part of Buffalo's Memorial Day celebrations and, in doing so, linked the General to Northern remembrance of military service that, by 1905, celebrated soldier sacrifice and patriotism that preserved the American Republic.²⁸ However, reports in *The Buffalo Courier* revealed that the marker unveiling was kept separate from larger events, suggesting that the General was probably well known to those in Buffalo, but did not play a significant role in the broader story of Union victory.²⁹

Responding to the General's growing visibility in Buffalo's monument culture, the biography allowed Parker to incorporate the General in Northern Civil War narratives where he was still relatively unknown. In doing so, he borrowed from the presentation of white Union heroism that underwrote the mainstream narrative of victory, but simultaneously stressed the General's exceptionalism by claiming his Seneca heritage gave him a strategic advantage during the war. This was the assertion of Joy Porter, who argued that Parker's prominence within the fields of anthropology, ethnology and museology equipped him with the education and experience to shape a specific image of the Seneca people or, as she argued, "a definition of Indian status and identity in relation to the dominant culture."³⁰

²⁷ "BG Ely Samuel Parker," findagrave.com, accessed July 5, 2018.

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/3603/ely-samuel-parker>.

²⁸ For more comprehensive discussion on soldier's memory see Blight, *Race and Reunion*.

²⁹ "Impressive ceremonies were held at the unveiling of the headstone over the grave of the late General Ely S. Parker in Forest Lawn cemetery yesterday morning," *The Buffalo Courier*, May 31, 1905, 6.

³⁰ Porter, "American Indian Identity in the Life of Arthur Caswell Parker," 1.

This contention was shared by Sherman Williams from the New York Historical Society, who reviewed *The Life of Ely S. Parker* shortly after it was published in 1920. In his review, Williams claimed “[to] many of its readers will come as a surprise than an Indian rendered such conspicuous services to the government... [in] fact, many who have heard and read of General Parker never realised he was an Indian.”³¹ Williams indicated the problem that Parker had set out to address: that Americans did not know where the General belonged in their national narratives. As such, the biography emphasised the General’s exceptionalism as a soldier of Seneca background, but also how a soldier from the Iroquois Confederacy could also display loyalty to the United States.

Although Parker attempted to raise his uncle’s visibility within Buffalo’s Civil War histories, he simultaneously promoted the General’s prominence within Seneca history. Scholars of Indigenous biography have shown how Indigenous biographers commonly contextualised the life of their subjects within longer, tribal histories.³² As such, Indigenous biographies produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries commonly deployed a technique known as “back-streaming,” which looked “back” into the past to show where the Indigenous subject fitted within tribal stories. In *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, the first six chapters raised the General’s visibility within Seneca history - characterised by support and negotiation with the colonial governments. In doing so, Parker connected the General to the heroism and courage of great Chieftains such as Handsome Lake and Red Jacket, who he would later argue influenced the General’s life, making him an exceptional soldier and skilled negotiator.

³¹ Sherman Williams, “Review of Books: The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant’s Military Secretary” in *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (January 1920), 50.

³² Simpson, “Constructing Khnawa:ke as an “Out of the Way Place,” 71.

Moreover, the biography included the General's birth story to emphasise that his family predicted his success before he was born. For example, when the General's mother, Elizabeth Parker, fell pregnant, she had a strange dream and consulted a dream interpreter. The interpreter prophesised "a son will be born to you who will be distinguished among his nation as a peace-maker; he will become a white man as well as an Indian....[he] will never desert his Indian people."³³ This quote reveals how the biography drew on Iroquois culture and tradition to advance the narrative about the General's success in the United States and the Seneca Nation. Overall, back-streaming stressed the General's Seneca roots, and demonstrated how his culture shaped his temperament and strength of character that helped him earn success as a Union General, a diplomat, mediator, interpreter and later as the commissioner of Indian affairs.

Writing the Life of General Ely S. Parker

Parker published the biography through the Buffalo Historical Society (BHS) at the height of the organisation's commemorative activities, suggesting that he sought to capitalise on the growing interest in the region's history, but also viewed the publisher as an opportunity to reach a wider readership outside of the city. In 1919, the BHS represented a growing population of over 505, 875 Americans in upstate New York, indicating that in Buffalo alone, the biography would be accessible to a large audience. The BHS commitment to heritage work was indicated by a historical collection that by 1921 totalled an impressive number of 40,000 items, but also a growing awareness of the role of public history.³⁴ Moreover, at the BHS's fifty-ninth annual meeting in 1921, president Henry W. Hill celebrated the organisation's

³³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 48.

Audra Simpson defined "back-streaming" as the preservation of "ideas, structures, and practices that amalgamated into "tradition" in ways to appear to invigorate and conserve culture and identities in a changing cultural and political landscape brought on by white settlement." See Audra Simpson, "Constructing Khnawa:ke as an "Out of the way place," in Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

³⁴ Frank H. Severance, "Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society," (New York: Buffalo Historical Society, 1921), 302.

commitment to preservation when he described the years 1917 to 1921 as a period of “history-making” in Buffalo.³⁵ His speech illustrated how Buffalo’s heritage workers had collected “papers, letters, journals, biographies, books, documents and other memorabilia” to add to their growing collection.³⁶ That the BHS published the biography at the peak of their commemorative activities indicates that the organisation recognised Parker’s historical work as a legitimate record of the past, and worthy of a place within their extensive collection. Furthermore, it showed that the BHS were willing to accept and publish a manuscript from a Seneca historian.

Enlistment

To restore the General within Northern Civil War narratives, the biography argued that the Seneca Nation had supported the United States during the War of 1812, emphasising that a longer, shared history between the two Nations would normalise the General’s enlistment. The biography drew on this shared history when the General argued that he wished to follow in the footsteps of his father, who had fought for the United States during the War of 1812.³⁷ Approaching his father, the General explained, “I think I ought to fight for *my* country just as you did years ago. I want you to let me go.”³⁸ This quote illustrated that the General viewed enlistment as a duty, but also elicited the idea that he was born of a generation of men who were inspired by their ancestors to fight for the United States Army.

As such, it appeared to be a rite of passage, whereby the General could replicate the same courage of the soldiers who, like his father, had “bled and died like heroes” during the

³⁵ Frank H. Severance, “Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, 302.

³⁶ Frank H. Severance, “Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, 302.

³⁷ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 32.

³⁸ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 99. Arthur C. Parker’s emphasis added.

War of 1812.³⁹ Such a quote also suggests that the General was already beginning to view himself as an American, or at least as a person who supported the United States. In reality, only a small number of Seneca men actively served in the War of 1812, suggesting that the biography deliberately emphasised Seneca participation in the conflict to argue that the Iroquois Confederacy and United States held a special, shared bond.⁴⁰ Such a history of connection set a precedent that rendered Senecas less of an oddity, and more a part of a pivotal moment of United States history, likely in the hope that it would seem logical that the General would wish to continue the tradition of supporting the United States.

The biography also borrowed from the commemoration of Ulysses S. Grant to connect the General to the veneration of heroic and high-ranking white Union soldiers. The 1920s and 1930s represented a growing impulse to produce historical studies of leadership that often looked to figures such as Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman to explore leadership and American masculinity in the context of patriotism. For example, General J. F. C. Fuller's *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* and Basil Liddell Hart's *Sherman*, published in 1929 and 1939 respectively, indicated a growing desire to venerate and acquire the qualities of these prominent military figures.⁴¹ Although the biography was published in 1919, Parker borrowed from the growing concern to commemorate individual Union soldiers that had become increasingly visible in the commemorative landscape in the form of bronze statues of prominent Union soldiers. In the biography, Parker connected the General to Ulysses S. Grant, presumably because it helped address the General's obscurity by linking him to a familiar figure from the Northern Civil War story.

³⁹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 33.

⁴⁰ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 3.

⁴¹ Albert E. Castel, "Foreword" (2010) in Lee, *Grant and Sherman: a Study in Leadership in the 1864-1865 Campaign*, ed. Alfred Higgins Burne, Albert E. Castel and Douglas Southall Freeman (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

One such example from early in the biography showed the General present his father with an 1861 copy of the military magazine, *Harpers Weekly*.⁴² Finding a photograph of Grant, William Parker reportedly exclaimed, “here is a man who will be the great general who shall lead his army to victory. You follow him, and you will be a great war captain too.”⁴³ As the quote suggests, William Parker had predicted Grant’s success as early as 1861 when Grant, an alcoholic working in his brother’s store in Illinois, was deployed on a less than favourable mission to the American mid-west.⁴⁴ Connecting General Parker’s enlistment to Grant’s predestined success indirectly suggested that he too could, and would possess the qualities that had made Grant so popular, and, by the commanding General’s side, Parker would appear less of an oddity.⁴⁵

The narrative of the General’s enlistment takes a turn when the War Department rejected his application on the basis of his race, prompting a further emphasis on his struggle to serve for the country he had chosen to defend. In the biography, the General travels to Albany, New York, to enlist, but the Governor there dismissed his application, claiming that “he had no need for him.”⁴⁶ Unperturbed, the General attempted to enlist again, this time in Washington, where he reportedly met with the War Secretary, William H. Seward, only to hear the same response. The General reportedly explained:

Mr Seward in a short time said to me that the struggle in which I wished to assist, was an affair between white men and one in which the Indian was not called to act. “*The fight must be settled by the white men alone*”

⁴² Harpers Weekly was an American weekly magazine that was first published in 1857 and covered, most notably, the American Civil War. Copies can be located at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000061498>.

⁴³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 100.

⁴⁴ There are several notable biographies of Ulysses S. Grant such as Ron Chernow, *Grant* (London: A Perigee Book, 2017).

⁴⁵ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 100.

⁴⁶ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 100.

he said. “Go home, cultivate your farm and *we will settle our own troubles without any Indian aid.*”⁴⁷

This quote revealed that racial prejudice played a role in determining who was fit to defend the United States and, as such, suggested that the General’s struggle to enlist was grounded in a debate over who was, and could be, an American. Consequently, the biography inferred that the General’s enlistment typified the broader experience of other Seneca men who also struggled to be included. Moreover, the biography also suggested that the General encountered significant discrimination that made his struggle to be included in the Civil War even more challenging.

The biography used the General’s rejection to reinforce his resilience and persistent support of the United States on the home front during the war. This was evident when the General returned home to his farm in Tonawanda – he “donned his blue jeans, cleared his land, pulled stumps, painted his barns and [ploughed] his field.”⁴⁸ At the front of his house he planted a flag pole and raised a “big starry banner,” expressing his allegiance to the Union cause.⁴⁹ Stuart C. McConnell has explained that the American flag was an “immediate symbol of patriotism.”⁵⁰ Depicted in farmer’s clothing, this excerpt differed to how the General was portrayed in uniform in later parts of the biography. Whilst he continued to display his patriotism by raising a flag on his property, this scene also spoke to the General’s relatability, and emphasised his unwavering allegiance on the home-front, like many other Americans during the war. In the General’s case, he explained that “if there were no cornfields there could be no battlefields,” a quote that defined farming as an expression of patriotism.⁵¹ The biography

⁴⁷ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 102. Emphasis added by author.

⁴⁸ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 100.

⁴⁹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 100.

⁵⁰ Stuart C. McConnell, “The Patriotic Book.” In *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader*, edited by Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 368.

⁵¹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 103.

portrayed the General to be part of a wider mobilisation of Americans at home who showed their support of the Union through farming, sewing circles and factory work.⁵²

The biography's depiction of the General's reaction to his exclusion from enlistment obscured his more vociferous response to rejection, as well as his involvement in a broader Seneca lobbying. Seneca reactions to exclusionary terms of enlistment were far more vocal than the General's restrained reaction in the biography. Although the General did in fact return to his farm after his application was rejected, the biography failed to account for the General's involvement in Seneca protests. Scholars have noted how the General, alongside his brother Isaac Newton Parker and Cornelius Cusick, actively protested to the United States Government after their proposed regiment of Volunteer Seneca soldiers was refused on the grounds that "there was no act of Congress that permitted Captain Cutting to admit Indians to the service" in October of 1861.⁵³

In response, General Parker, alongside his brother and Cusick, reportedly stormed the offices of Washington officials in March of 1862, with a petition protesting the ban and demanding their admittance to the Union Army.⁵⁴ After the petition, Cusick, Isaac, and another Seneca named J. M. Waite of Batavia, were some of thirty men who successfully enlisted in the Buffalo regiment under the supervision of the Seneca Captain Chancy C. Jemison.⁵⁵ However, for unclear reasons, the General's application was still denied. The General's animated response to Seneca exclusion is at odds with the depiction of the patient, farming

⁵² For more information about the home front during the war see Linda Coleman, "Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front," *The Journal of American Culture* 33, No. 4, (2010): 339-340; Ginette Aley, *Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front During the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013).

⁵³ "No More Soldiers Wanted," *The Buffalo Courier*, 10 October, 1861, 3.

⁵⁴ David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, *Anthropology at Harvard: A Biographical History, 1790-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 254.

⁵⁵ "A New Regiment – A Good Beginning," *The Evening Courier and Republic*, 14 July, 1862, 3; "Indian Volunteers," *Cleveland Daily Leader*, 21 July, 1862, 3.

Seneca depicted in the biography. This suggests that Arthur Parker viewed the Generals' vocal reaction as being at odds with mainstream narratives of enlistment. Recounting the exceptional circumstances of the General's enlistment obscured the visibility of other Seneca men who vocally protested their rejection from the Union Army and actively sought to reclaim the opportunity to participate in the war.

Whereas General Parker's enlistment and rejection has contributed to the narrative that he was motivated by patriotism to apply to the Union Army, scholars have highlighted that Iroquois men enlisted for a variety of reasons. For example, Hauptmann has argued that whilst many Senecas across the United States exhibited patriotism, New York Senecas viewed attacks on Fort Sumter and Southern secession as a threat to their own tribal sovereignty. He suggests that they were compelled to enlist because it enabled them to protect their land where it resided in the Northern States.⁵⁶

Similarly, military service has been shown to have played a significant role within Seneca culture. Barbara Graymont has argued that military service could raise the prominence of Seneca men within their own tribe, suggesting that enlisting in the Union Army was perceived as an opportunity to obtain a greater title at home and abroad.⁵⁷ She claimed Seneca culture promoted male warriors based on their aptitude for warfare rather than based on genealogy.⁵⁸ Hauptmann has also suggested that growing factional tension within the Seneca Nation in 1861 and 1862, particularly over the diminishing size of their territory likely led many men to seek refuge outside of the Seneca Nation.⁵⁹ Whilst there were several factors that

⁵⁶ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 14.

⁵⁷ For more information about Iroquois support of the United States see Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972).

⁵⁸ Graymont in Hauptmann, *The Iroquois and the Civil War*, 14.

⁵⁹ Hauptmann, *The Iroquois and the Civil War*, 16.

led Seneca to enlist, the biography only highlights one. That is, that many Seneca men volunteered for war service based less on their political standing within the United States – they were not citizens – but as an expression of their patriotism to the United States.⁶⁰ In doing so, the biography divorced the General from the complexities that underwrote Seneca enlistment, and connected him to the broader narrative that propagated adventure-seeking Americans enlisted to defend the Union.

When the General was finally accepted into the Union Army, the biography borrowed from the authority of Abraham Lincoln to further connect the General to familiar, historic individuals. When the General received his war papers in Chapter Ten, the biography claimed that he had received a special invitation from Abraham Lincoln. Whereas other Seneca men simply enlisted and set off for war, the nature of the General's enlistment suggested that he took up a superior role within the ranks of the Union Army. Reflecting years later on his enlistment, the General explained "there came to me in my forest home a paper bearing the red seal of the War Department...it was an officer's commission in the army of the United States."⁶¹ In response to learning that Lincoln had personally endorsed his enlistment, the General remarked: "it seemed odd... that an Indian was *now* desired and that the Government wished to confer honor... for which I had not served an apprenticeship."⁶² Consequently, the biography used Lincoln to legitimise the General's enlistment and furthermore, idealised Lincoln as a progressive, historic figure who embodied racial equality, to help propel the General into Northern Civil War narratives.⁶³

⁶⁰ Haputmann, *The Iroquois and the Civil War*, 16.

⁶¹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 104.

⁶² Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 106. Emphasis added by author.

⁶³ For more information about Lincoln in National memory see Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Moreover, the General's enlistment hinted at a broader transformation that occurred when Seneca men enlisted in the Union army. If the General was to appear as less of an oddity, he would have to change to suit the character of mainstream narratives. This was certainly apparent in the title of the tenth chapter, "A Sachem becomes a Warrior," which suggested that the General had transitioned from peacekeeping chieftain to warrior soldier, an important change that was met with a public prayer ritual in the General's community.⁶⁴ Transforming from Seneca to soldier was not as smooth for others, revealing that the biography simplified the more controversial reactions experienced by other Seneca men. For example, the General's brother, Isaac, received a very different reception upon his enlistment to the Union Army. In a letter, Isaac explained how his Church congregation had reacted with great surprise to the sight of him in a soldier's uniform.⁶⁵ Upon entering the Meeting House Church, Isaac claimed the congregation "lunged out their eyes to see me dressed so.... something new for the Injuns, I expect, to see an Indian dressed in soldier's uniform."⁶⁶ In both cases, enlistment was not a familiar sight, however, that Isaac's enlistment was met with far more surprise from his community suggested that inserting the General into Civil War narratives involved simplifying the complexities of enlistment for the broader Seneca community.

Ely S. Parker and Vicksburg

Arthur Parker's biography inserted the General into Northern Civil War narratives by focusing on his involvement during the highly successfully Vicksburg campaign. Within Northern Civil War remembrance, Vicksburg has served as a turning point in the war's narrative as a battle that revealed Grant's expertise in military strategy, and thus shaped his reputation as a strong, innovative and heroic defender of the Union cause. At stake at Vicksburg was control of the

⁶⁴ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 106.

⁶⁵ D.C. Gill, *How We Are Changed By War: A Study of Letters and Diaries from Colonial America*, 152.

⁶⁶ D.C. Gill, *How We Are Changed By War*, 152.

Mississippi River, which permitted the mobility of Union and Confederate troops and facilitated commerce and trade in the Northwest. Grant's success at Vicksburg monopolised his army's access to the Mississippi River, which subsequently impacted the mobility of the Southern army and trade routes.

By the turn of the century, Americans invested significant amounts of money to signpost this triumph, especially in the form of markers celebrating regiments of soldiers at the historic battleground, suggesting that the battle conveyed an important message about Union victory. In 1902, the Iowa Vicksburg Monument Commission successfully appropriated a vast sum of \$150,000 from the state government to construct a state memorial as well as regimental and battery monuments at the Vicksburg National Military Park.⁶⁷ The appropriation of these funds conveys the importance of the Vicksburg Campaign within state and Northern commemorative culture more broadly. Similarly, at the unveiling of a historic marker to Illinois soldiers at Vicksburg in 1906, a poem expressed the importance of Vicksburg within the Northern narrative. The poet exclaimed that the monument would serve as a "memorial temple to enduring harmony and peace" achieved at Vicksburg and would be a lasting reminder of the "most unselfish and exalted patriotism" of the Union soldiers who fought there.⁶⁸ Connecting the General to the Vicksburg campaign thus emphasised his centrality to critical moments in the Northern war narrative where he was depicted as playing a crucial role.

In the biography, the General arrived at Vicksburg at the end of 1863. The biography depicts the General as stoic and courageous, and reinforced his exceptionalism over ordinary Union soldiers by suggesting that he had a remarkable aptitude for military service. Reporting

⁶⁷ "When it comes to the question of establishing battlefield parks," *The Vicksburg American*, November 15, 1906.

⁶⁸ "Illinois Monument Dedication," *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 26 October, 1906.

to General J. E. Smith in Vicksburg in May 1863, General Parker assumed the position of Assistant Adjutant General where he worked as a division engineer in the 7th division of the 17th army corps until September 1863. When he arrived at Vicksburg, the biography described how the General “[faced] bullets, apparently with the disregard of a season veteran...[fighting] quietly under fire and rode with the troops where bullets were the thickest.”⁶⁹ This quote from the biography reveals how the General was linked to themes within Vicksburg commemoration that celebrated the courage and heroism of Union soldiers. This quote also stresses the General’s fearlessness and stoicism, thus depicting his aptitude for warfare.⁷⁰

To further raise the General’s profile within Northern Civil War memory, the biography linked the General to Ulysses S. Grant. David Blight has described Grant’s legacy in the commemorative landscape as the “principal war hero of the Union cause.”⁷¹ This sentiment was certainly conveyed at the unveiling of a historic marker for Ulysses S. Grant at Galena, Illinois, when then president, William McKinley, pronounced Grant as a “great soldier and lover of peace” who “set an example both in war and peacetime. In war, unconditional surrender was his requirement and after the war his constant and most fervent prayer was for the unification of the States and the peace of his country.”⁷² The biography increasingly made room for Ely S. Parker within the Commanding General’s legacy.⁷³ One particular example explained that in 1864, when a steamboat exploded in Vicksburg, the General remained “as unconcerned as Grant himself,” suggesting that the General had adopted many of Grant’s admirable qualities.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 107.

⁷⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 107.

⁷¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 99.

⁷² At Grant’s Birthplace,” *The New York Times*, October 17, 1899, 5.

⁷³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 107

⁷⁴ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 106.

When Grant was appointed to the position of Lieutenant General in February 1864, the biography improved the General's visibility within the history of the Army of the Potomac to nearly match Grant's prominent role. By 1864, the General had earned himself the reputation as the "Indian" of the Army of the Potomac, who rode conspicuously "upon his great black horse."⁷⁵ Although he was one of several Senecas who served during the Civil War, the biography inferred that the General stood out from the ranks of Seneca volunteers, many of whom served under McClellan during the mismanaged Peninsula campaign.⁷⁶ As Grant's trusted advisor, the General played a far more impressive role than other Seneca foot-soldiers who, despite providing valuable support to the Northern armies, remained invisible in the commemorative landscape.

One such example was Oliver "Silver Heels," and his companion Jacob Halftown of the 14th New York Heavy Artillery who fought during the Battle of Spotsylvania in May 1864.⁷⁷ According to the *New York Herald*, during the battle Silver Heels captured a Confederate soldier, and reportedly tortured the man with the skill that rivalled the "deviltry of any of the Leatherstocking redskins."⁷⁸ As the quote suggests, not all depictions of Seneca soldiers were favourable. As such, the distinction between General Parker and Silver Heels reveals a tension between two competing depictions of Senecas at the time of the Civil War and how these depictions influenced their visibility in the commemorative landscape. In the context of General Parker, the term "Indian" evoked the loyal and helpful Noble Savage, an image that likely improved his visibility in the commemorative landscape because it reminded

⁷⁵ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 143.

⁷⁶ For more information on the Peninsula campaign see Glenn D. Basher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Main Eastern Theatre: Peninsula Campaign: June-September 1862: Series 1, Vol 1, Chapter 23, 2).

⁷⁷ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 3.

⁷⁸ Hauptman, *State of the Union*, 55.

Northerners of the qualities they believed their soldiers to embody.⁷⁹ As the *New York Herald* suggested, Silver Heels' savage form of warfare was far less compatible with existing representations of Union soldiers who were depicted as engaging in reckless combat.

In addition to promoting the General's prominence in the Army of the Potomac, the biography also addressed Northern narratives where the General had not received sufficient historical attention. This was certainly the case in regard to acknowledging the General's skill and aptitude for warfare during the Virginia campaign, where the General was deployed to capture the Southern Capital of Richmond, Virginia in April 1864. On the way to Richmond, somewhere near Spotsylvania, Grant removed himself from the company and left the soldiers, Comstock, Meade, Rawlins and General Parker behind. Unimpressed with Grant's disappearance, General Rawlins called out "Hey! [Grant] do you know where you are going?" Grant replied "Parker... do you know where we are?" To which the General replied, "Yes." "Then lead!" Grant instructed.⁸⁰ The General led the company within forty yards of Confederate lines, but realising soldiers were afoot, he turned the company back, narrowly avoiding an attack. In Grant's biography, he claimed Comstock had turned the company around, excluding the General's quick decision making. Revisiting the Virginia campaign from a Seneca's perspective and acknowledging the General's navigational skills, the biography restored the General into this critical Civil War moment, and further reinforced that Grant found the General to be trustworthy.⁸¹

Although the biography cast the General as a patriotic American, in parts it also told a story of the war from a Seneca perspective, and revealed how the General used his position as

⁷⁹ For literature on the "noble savage" see Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁸⁰ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 113.

⁸¹ For Ulysses S. Grant's collection of memoirs see Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs: 1884 – 1885*. <http://hdl.loc.gov>, *Ulysses S. Grant Papers*.

secretary to further defend Seneca sovereignty in the final years of the war. This was certainly the intention of the biography from the beginning as, in the preface, Parker explained that the General had “fought for progress and enlightenment and fought as strenuously with mind as with muscle” both during the Civil War and in his endeavours as Indian Commissioner.⁸² Demonstrating that the General continued his mission to advocate for the Seneca Nation during his military service contributed a new thread of remembrance to mainstream historical narrations that challenged the notion that all soldiers enlisted to defend the United States.

The biography portrayed the Civil War to be a historic moment that addressed a wide range of questions about race and belonging in America where Senecas, too, could have a voice. An important part of emphasising the General’s political motivation was to show that as military secretary, he had access to some of the Union’s most prominent political thinkers and could use his privileged position to further advocate on behalf of other Senecas who were relatively voiceless. Whereas scholars such as Hauptman have shown that Seneca men enlisted because they viewed the Civil War as an opportunity to physically defend their traditional lands, the biography focuses on the General’s privileged position rather than the shared experience of the war shared among other Seneca foot soldiers.

One significant example revealed that the General approached Abraham Lincoln in the winter of 1864 to discuss the welfare of the Seneca Nation. The meeting took place in Grant’s winter lodgings at Vicksburg and saw the General gradually build rapport with the President. After some time, the General pressed the President during a discussion about the Seneca people. On this particular occasion, Parker outlined his plans to improve the “condition” of the Iroquois people, and to “[condemn] the treaty system and [plead] for the education of the

⁸² Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 11.

young.” In keeping with Northern depictions of Lincoln, the President is portrayed as sympathetic to the Iroquois cause, reportedly acknowledging that “the red man had suffered awful injustices which he hoped the nation would someday requite.”⁸³ Linking the General to the President politicised this aspect of war remembrance and the political mission of Northern war remembrance that lamented Lincoln’s assassination.⁸⁴ It portrayed the General as both the defender of the Union, but also as highly respected member of the Iroquois community who could advocate for political representation and the protection of traditional lands.⁸⁵

Appomattox

The Appomattox chapter of the biography inserted the General into the mainstream Northern narrative. To Americans on both sides, Appomattox represented the final chapter of the Civil War that propelled their society towards reunification. A *Washington Times* report in 1915 described Appomattox as a testament to the “men and women [who] have worked to wipe out all vestige of sectionalism and weld the nation into one great peace-loving people.”⁸⁶ But in reality, its legacy was far more divisive. To Northerners, Appomattox exemplified the triumph of their army and the successful preservation of the Union. In the South, Lee’s surrender fuelled the ideology behind Lost Cause remembrance.

Regardless of these interpretations, by 1915 there were few tangible monuments that promoted the significance of Appomattox within the Civil War’s narrative. Whether Appomattox was, as the *Washington Times* claimed, “the birthplace of Reunion,” fifty years later the site remained in a state of ruin as “magnificent structures or rank growths of weeds

⁸³ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 119.

⁸⁴ Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 129.

⁸⁵ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 119.

⁸⁶ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 119; Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 129; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 215.

covering the tumbled foundations.”⁸⁷ Published in a time of growing concern to restore, venerate, as well as give meaning to Appomattox, the biography formed part of a broader cultural reckoning over what role the battle would take within Northern Civil War remembrance. By placing the General into the centre of the McClean farmhouse, the biography contributed a Seneca perspective to these debates; recovering and reinstalling his presence into the narrative of the Civil War’s final hours. Inserting an “Indian in the drama of Appomattox,” as the chapter’s title suggests, the biography transformed the General from a mere oddity in the background to being a central part of the war’s narrative.

“The Indian in the Drama of Appomattox” is the strongest example of how the biography addressed the General’s exclusion from Civil War literature, and has certainly resonated, to an extent, with Civil War scholars. In 1979 William Armstrong drew inspiration from the Appomattox scene in naming one of his chapters the “One Real American,” which indicate that the biography helped carve a space for the General across Civil War literature.⁸⁸ Others have indicated that the General’s famous words, “we are all Americans,” may hold a deeper meaning.⁸⁹ Theda Perdue has defined the biography’s conceptualisation of Appomattox as a “storybook ending to four nightmarish years, [which emphasised] Lee’s grace in defeat and Grant’s compassion in victory as the nation turned toward the task of rebuilding.”⁹⁰ Despite an ongoing fascination among some scholars with the General, we can only imagine what Parker hoped to achieve by inserting the General’s famous quote into his chapter on Appomattox. Whilst the quote “We are all Americans,” raised the visibility of the General within the Appomattox story, it also highlighted the ultimate tragedy of the Civil War – that

⁸⁷ “Bier of Hopes of Lee’s Army Now in Ruins,” *The Washington Times*, 26 September, 1915, 18.

⁸⁸ William Armstrong, “One Real American,” in *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief*, ed. William Armstrong (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1978).

⁸⁹ See Perdue, “Stand Watie’s War,” 32-41; Joseph Bruchac, “A Name to Remember,” in *Voices* 14 (Spring/Summer 2014): 38-39.

⁹⁰ Perdue, “Stand Watie’s War,” 32.

Americans had fought against each other. And that Seneca people, too, were affected by the war's outcome.

Whilst the biography's reimagining of Appomattox sought to insert the General into Northern monument culture, in the years following its publication, it struggled to influence how Ely S. Parker was depicted in cultural representations of Appomattox. Thus, the General still appears as an oddity in monument culture. Recently, Mark Rifkin has questioned how the General sat within Northern Civil War remembrance. Upon viewing the film "Lincoln" (2012), he identified a Native American actor in a dramatization of the Appomattox claiming, "at the end of the film, in a scene set at the Appomattox courthouse, the site of General Robert E. Lee's surrender...I suddenly realised that it must be Ely S. Parker."⁹¹ He highlighted how the General, and Native Americans more broadly, do appear within Northern Civil War narratives, but that they are rarely the central focus. This has also been the case with artists who have included the General in their Appomattox paintings, but in the background. For example, Tom Lovell's 1965 painting, "Surrender at Appomattox," highlights this inclusion as well as Keith Rocco's "The Surrender" (Figure 13).⁹²

⁹¹ Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 91-93.

⁹² Digital images of Tom Lovell "The Surrender Meeting: a gentlemen's agreement" and Keith Rocco's "The Surrender" can be found at the following website <https://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-surrender-meeting.htm>



Figure 14: *The Surrender Meeting: A Gentlemen's Agreement*⁹³

Complicating the Narrative

By emphasising General Parker's Seneca heritage, the biography has complicated dominant narratives that promoted white Americans as the only people invested in the Civil War's outcome. Arthur C. Parker asked his readers to reconceptualise how they typically viewed the Civil War heroes, and this assertion was shared by Sherman Williams who made mention of the biography's contribution to mainstream narratives in 1920:

when one considers that the white men have lived for thousands of years
under conditions favourable for their development, whilst Indians had
no great opportunities previous to their relations with white

⁹³ Keith Rocco, "The Surrender" from <https://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-surrender-by-rocco.htm>, accessed December 12, 2018.

men...[Parker] does much to demonstrate the fact that the Indians were inherently a capable people...⁹⁴

Williams indicated that the inclusion of a Seneca hero in the Civil War's central narrative challenged the portrayal of Union heroism as a white privilege. This was evinced when Parker claimed in the opening chapter that his great uncle was the "first American of his time and an embodiment of all the heroic ideas that enter into our conception of American manhood."⁹⁵ Although Parker did borrow from the cultural veneration of white soldiers to incorporate his great uncle into the commemorative landscape, his story of the Civil War revealed that whiteness was not a prerequisite for heroism, and that it was the General's Seneca heritage that made him an exceptional soldier.

Although the biography attempted to restore Ely S. Parker to mainstream Civil War narratives, it does indicate that there is still not enough is known about what compelled other Seneca men to enlist in the Union Army.⁹⁶ Asking this question, Lawrence Hauptman has demonstrated how the Civil War was a transformative moment for the Seneca Nation, one that compounded a period of crisis from 1838-1875. During this time, the Iroquois confronted "land speculators, railroad magnates, and state and federal officials intent on obtaining their shrinking land base."⁹⁷ Hauptman has argued that the Civil War galvanised New York's Iroquois communities, providing new opportunities for Iroquois people to carve out a space for

⁹⁴ Sherman Williams, "Review of Books: The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary," *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 1, No. 2 (January 1920): 50.

⁹⁵ Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 7.

⁹⁶ Perdue, "Stand Watie's War," 32.

⁹⁷ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 3.

For more detailed studies of Iroquois Civil War history see Philip S. Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981); Stuart McConnell, "Who Joined the Grand Army? Three Cases in the Construction of Union Veteranhood, 1866-1900," in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1900); Lawrence Hauptman, *State of the Union: New York and the Civil War* (New York State Archives Partnership Trust, 2002).

themselves within American society by going to war.⁹⁸ This was certainly the case in the state of New York where 4,700 Iroquois men enlisted in the Union Army, and though in 1861 they were not legally citizens of the United States, they were paid the same as their white counterparts and donned Union Army uniforms.⁹⁹ In comparison to Seneca recruits from Wisconsin, of which there were 1,128 and the Indian Territory of which there were 310, New York Senecas were overwhelmingly represented in the Union Army.¹⁰⁰

Whereas the biography has raised the profile of the General within Civil War commemoration, recent investigation into the involvement of other Seneca Union soldiers has revealed the limited representation of Seneca people in Northern Civil War monuments more broadly. Hauptman has drawn attention to the Tuscarora Lieutenant Cornelius Cusick who led the D Company of the 132d New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment between July 1, 1863 and June 24, 1864.¹⁰¹ Cusick was renowned at the time for leading the Seneca regiment of the 132d Infantry into the battle at Batchelder Creek, North Carolina in February, 1864, where he was said to have contributed to a vicious military engagement instructing his men to “scalp” wounded Confederate soldiers.¹⁰²

Whilst the scalping myth was debunked in 1897 by the New York State historian, Hugh Hasting, this portrayal of Cusick and the 132nd regiment suggests the portrayal of prominent Seneca soldiers was not always positive.¹⁰³ In comparison to Parker, Cusick received vastly different historical treatment. There are no monuments venerating his service and he is rarely mentioned by scholars.¹⁰⁴ Although Cusick never obtained the rank of Brigadier-General, his

⁹⁸ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 3.

⁹⁹ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 11.

¹⁰¹ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 11.

¹⁰² Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 43.

¹⁰³ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 43.

¹⁰⁴ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 11.

career mirrored that of General Parker's in a number of ways. Both men hailed from the Seneca Nation, where they both held significant ranks within their communities, and both held a reputation as a mediator between the Seneca people and the United States Government.¹⁰⁵ However, whilst Cusick's success at Batchelder Creek was celebrated as a significant feat in 1864, the biography certainly contributed to the General's inclusion in Civil War commemorative culture.

Regional Contrast

In comparison to the previous two chapters, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* is the strongest example of Native American agency within the Civil War commemorative culture of the 1920s and 1930s. Through the biography, Arthur C. Parker inserted his Seneca uncle into Northern Civil War narratives without adhering to the criteria of white heritage groups that endorsed requirements for Civil War commemoration. In comparison to Cherokee heritage workers that adhered to the UDC's charter for memorialisation, Arthur Parker created the biography with little intervention from heritage organisations. As such, Parker had greater control over how he would shape his great uncle's legacy, and through my discussion I have highlighted how the biography celebrated the General's Seneca heritage as part of what made him exceptional.

The Life of General Ely S. Parker suggests that Northern commemorative culture promoted a broader, more accessible message that was flexible and could be reshaped to include a wider range of historical perspectives. This has certainly been the case with the inclusion of African American soldiers depicted in Northern monument culture, which celebrated their sacrifice and support of the Union cause. Whereas the existence of African American and Native American histories of the Civil War complicate how the Northern

¹⁰⁵ Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War*, 11.

histories have been conceived as overly white, they do demonstrate how Northern commemorative culture could incorporate wider perspectives into dominant narratives.

Whilst this thesis has examined the commemoration of Native American Civil War involvement across three distinct geographical locations, a comparison of the Battle Creek Marker and *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* highlights two contrasting narratives about the Union Army and its relationship to Native American peoples. In the West, the Battle Creek marker removed the California Volunteers' massacre of Shoshone people and repurposed the narrative to promote Mormon, westward expansion. In doing so, the DUP's heritage workers obscured the Union Army's violence in the West and displaced Shoshone experiences of Civil War violence in favour of a redemptive narrative of expansion. In comparison, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* reveals a vastly different representation of Native American Civil War involvement that appealed to existing, triumphant historical narratives about the Union. When compared, these monuments reveal the two extremities of Native American Civil War involvement within the Union Army. In the West, the Shoshone were victims of a tragic massacre. In the North, General Parker was a celebrated soldier with an aptitude for warfare. Thus, not all features of Native American Civil War experiences fit neatly within dominant monument culture.

In both Northern and Southern case studies, the incorporation of Native individuals into Civil War narratives has subsequently obscured the contribution of other Native American Civil War soldiers. Ely S. Parker's Civil War involvement has overshadowed, to an extent, the contribution of other Seneca peoples who defended the Union with little historical recognition. In the South, the UDC's Stand Watie monument deployed familiar narratives about Southern soldier heroism and defeat that downplayed widespread destruction and poverty that devastated

the Cherokee Nation. In comparison, Western narratives obscured Shoshone Civil War experiences, and frontier violence was obscured within a narrative of Mormon pioneer settlements and westward expansion. Together, these case studies highlight the limited capacity of 1920s and 1930s Civil War remembrance culture to accurately represent Native Civil War involvement, and, moreover, how Native American involvement complicated the expression of dominant narratives and as such, white heritage workers obscured, conflated or excluded indigenous perspectives from monument culture.

In comparison to historical markers, the format of historical biography was arguably a more effective device, whereby Parker was able to insert the General into a familiar narrative of the war that appealed to a readership enamoured with Civil War literature. The biography also transmitted historical information in a more active way. In comparison to the Stand Watie marker, that also celebrated an individual soldier, the biography arguably has had a greater impact. The biography arguably facilitated the transmission of the General's story in a more active and intimate way than the Watie marker, which has received far less historical attention. Those who read the biography presumably purchased or borrowed a copy, took it home, read it, reflected and discussed it with their family and friends, transmitting the narrative through conversation which challenged their understanding of the American Civil War. Although there is little evidence to assess the success of the biography, the heightened scholarly engagement with the text suggests that it made a wider impact. Compared to the Watie marker, which promoted a brief narrative that was transmitted primarily in its dedication, the biography's narrative was more detailed and accessible over time.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the role of Seneca General Ely S. Parker in Northern Civil War commemorative culture. I have highlighted how Northern Civil War remembrance has permitted a wider range of historical perspectives, as well as demonstrated how Arthur Parker published *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* to commemorate the General within broader, Northern Civil War remembrance. I have demonstrated how the biography appealed to a heroic narrative of soldier heroism, the legacy of Ulysses S. Grant, and the significant battles of Vicksburg and Appomattox to heighten the General's visibility within Northern commemorative culture. I have argued that Ely S. Parker has occupied a specific role within Northern remembrance, in which he is celebrated for his heroism and remarkable success as a Seneca General. However, as the General has been regarded by Americans as an anomaly within the Union Army, commemorating Ely S. Parker has obscured the involvement of lesser-known Seneca men. As a result, I have revealed that whilst Northern Civil War remembrance has come to include a wider range of perspectives, these perspectives are still limited. Civil War commemoration still struggles to give voice to individuals who did not or whose experiences inherently could not, fit within dominant depictions of the Civil War in the North.

Conclusion

On August 18, 2017 President Donald J. Trump took to Twitter to voice his outrage at the growing discontent over the nation's Confederate monuments. "Sad to see the history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments. You can't change history, but you can learn from it. Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson – who's next, Washington, Jefferson?"¹ At a subsequent press conference, Trump was quick to point out that Washington and Jefferson were revered figures in the American story, but given their history as slaveholders, he feared that growing concern about the sins of the American past would erase their contribution. "Are we going to take down statues to George Washington?" he posited to the audience.² Whether he intended to or not, Trump's remarks identified a major struggle in the ongoing debate over the role of public history and the timelessness of symbols of the American past. You can't change the past. But you can use public history to tell a story about the past. What he failed to consider was how debates about race and the American Civil War are still very much alive within US society.

Over the past two years, Americans have begun to question whether symbols of the Confederacy should still feature as part of their commemorative landscape. At times, these debates have spawned an emotional response, leading to violence, protest and on one occasion, the death of a protestor, Heather Heyer, in Charlottesville, Virginia when a white nationalist ploughed his car at high speed into a crowd assembled to protest Virginia's "Unite the Right."³

¹ Julia Zorthian, "President Trump Says It's 'Sad' to See U.S. Culture 'Ripped Apart' by Removing Confederate Statues." Time.com, March 6, 2019. <http://time.com/4904510/donald-trump-twitter-confederate-statues/>

² Zorthian, "President Trump Says It's 'Sad' to See U.S. Culture 'Ripped Apart' by Removing Confederate Statues."

³ Christina Caron, "Heather Heyer, Charlottesville Victim, Is Recalled As 'a Strong Woman' in <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/heather-heyer-charlottesville-victim.html>

Men and women such as Heyer, who publicly protested in commemorative spaces, have become emblematic of the ongoing reckoning with the relevance of Confederate monuments. Many have argued that Confederate monuments have the capacity to both fuel and legitimise racial violence. This is especially the case when these monuments exist on the grounds of public schools, parks and town halls. Responses to this debate over public memory have earned global recognition through social media, launching an international conversation over memorialisation and the narratives we choose to promote. There has been no shortage of video material depicting angry protestors shown tearing down bronze statues and clashes between what Trump, among others, have described as the “alt-Right” and “alt-Left” – proponents of extreme views on opposite sides of the political spectrum. As this heated debate continues to unfold it is easy to forget that these protests arose in the same commemorative spaces where, decades earlier, heritage groups unveiled these monuments in dignified ceremonies with the belief that the histories they promoted would be installed permanently.

Native American Civil War monuments have not been immune from criticism. In August 2017, the Cherokee Nation historian, Catherine Gray explained that the stain of Watie’s allegiance to the Treaty Party has influenced how the Cherokee Nation have sought to incorporate the Brigadier- General into their collective history. At present, both the Stand Watie and William Adair monuments at the Cherokee Capitol building are under the jurisdiction of the Cherokee Nation Supreme Court who are currently deciding what to do with the markers. Gray explained that both monuments have polarised popular opinion on the Confederacy and failed to represent the experience of ordinary Cherokees who experienced destruction during the war, but also specific minorities such as “Black Indians” – the descendants of slaveholding Cherokees and their African American slaves. Looking for a solution, a representative from the Cherokee Nation, Deb Proctor, explained that a group is

currently attempting to move both monuments elsewhere, hopefully to a museum so that they can be used to tell a story of the past, rather than be directly linked symbols of the Cherokee political identity.⁴

Although this thesis has not responded to the ongoing debate over the relevance of Confederate monuments, it has shown that Civil War monuments continue to form part of an unfolding conversation about the construction and representation of public history. This thesis has revealed how, when treated as primary sources, monuments can provide valuable insight into how a wider range of historical perspectives did, in fact, form part of Civil War remembrance. As such, this thesis demonstrated how analysing monuments can help restore the opinions, motivations, ideals and visions of Native Americans history to the historical record. Consequently, my three case studies have given voice to some previously unknown Cherokee, Shoshone and Seneca peoples and highlight the imperative to continue to conduct more research into the origins of Civil War remembrance to obtain a greater understanding of the context in which these monuments were created.

This thesis enquired whether Native Americans engaged with Civil War monument culture in the 1920s and 1930s. I found that, in rare instances, some Native Americans helped introduce Civil War monuments to the commemorative landscape. My three case studies have further highlighted that the diversity of Native American Civil War experiences yielded a wide range of commemorative responses. I argued that these monuments challenged our understanding of Civil War remembrance as a white enterprise and also revealed that Native Americans often worked in tension with white heritage groups as they attempted to publicly

⁴ Jacob McClelland, "As Cities Remove Confederate Monuments, Cherokees Grapple with Civil War Past," [kgou.org](http://www.kgou.org/post/cities-remove-confederate-monuments-cherokees-grapple-civil-war-past), accessed February 4, 2019. <http://www.kgou.org/post/cities-remove-confederate-monuments-cherokees-grapple-civil-war-past>

promote their histories. As a result, I showed how commemorating Native American Civil War experiences was a collaborative process that ultimately led to the incorporation of these histories into mainstream historical narratives. As such, this thesis also exposed the limitations of monument culture to include stories that challenged the redemptive function of Civil War history. In Chapter Two specifically, I demonstrated how soldier-Indian violence in the West threatened to undermine the redemptive function of Civil War remembrance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As a result, Native American Civil War remembrance supported, to an extent, existing claims about the past and further advanced the agenda of heritage workers and their historical charters.

This thesis has also shown that some Native Americans actively commemorated the Civil War 1920s and 1930s. As such, the monuments in this thesis are evidence that Native Americans recognised that the Civil War was an important event that influenced their political and social identities, culture, tradition and engaged in public conversations about the war's meaning with white heritage groups. Although Native American Civil War remembrance was a rare occurrence, we should not discount the effort of heritage workers such as Mabel Anderson and Arthur C. Parker, who went to great lengths to give voice to histories they believed to be worthy of commemoration. But at the same time, it is necessary to recognise that these stories are products of small groups with specific experiences of the Civil War who either related to existing historical narratives or sought to correct them by raising the visibility of their own histories.

Looking across these three case studies, one lesson is clear: that the input of Native Americans in Civil War remembrance depended on two main factors: interest in heritage work and connectedness to the Civil War story. Firstly, it was far easier for Native Americans to

contribute their historical perspectives if they were already members of a historical organisation or actively engaged in heritage work. This was certainly the case for bicultural individuals such as Arthur Parker and Mabel Anderson, who used their Euro-American and Indian heritage to disseminate historic material even before they created their Civil War monuments. The success of both monuments suggested that they viewed themselves to some degree as Americans, but also cherished their cultural heritage, and used this duality to promote tribal histories in spaces where they recognised Native American perspectives to be underrepresented. Subsequently, their inclusion in the white commemorative landscape indicates that white Americans recognised that Anderson and Parker were well integrated and active members of their communities. As such, membership to heritage groups gave Parker and Anderson access to valuable resources, such as publishers and fundraising initiatives that supported their commemorative endeavours. Promoting histories with white heritage groups also provided a built-in audience who were receptive to the histories they sought to promote and further bolstered the legitimacy of their claims to the past.

Moreover, Native Americans could participate in monument culture because their tribal histories intersected with Civil War histories. Thus, people such as Anderson, Parker and the Northern Shoshone recognised the war to have played a significant role in their past that they felt compelled to dedicate it. This intersection certainly played a role in promoting the legitimacy of Native claims to the American past, but also provided a certain degree of authenticity that either enhanced or subverted Native Agency in different parts of the United States. In the North and South, Cherokee and Seneca descendants of Civil War soldiers used their ancestry to legitimise their claims to Civil War memory. In Oklahoma, Civil War ancestry allowed Mabel Anderson to obtain UDC membership and, in return, her peers utilised her heritage to improve the local interest of Tahlequah's Civil War history. Similarly, Arthur C.

Parker's blood connections lent authority to the Biography. As such, the degree to which Native Americans could be agents in the commemorative landscape also depended on whether they were seen to enrich Civil War histories rather than challenge them.

On the contrary, Chapter Two revealed how violent Civil War histories in the West reduced the extent to which some Shoshone men, women and children could voice their own historical perspectives in the West. The DUP's exclusion of Shoshone participants from the rock gathering project and use of Washakie Shoshone scouts and actors in the re-enactment of the "Battle at Bear River" was evidence that white heritage groups could exercise greater control over the remembrance of Native American Civil War histories. I claimed that the DUP reached out to the Washakie community because they hoped that the Shoshone would be symbolic of the pioneer's encounter with Indigenous peoples more broadly. As a result, I argued that the agency of Native American participants was significantly reduced and without the historic materials available, it is unlikely that we will find out more about why so many Shoshone people agreed to take part in the festivities. Further research into the attendance of Native American peoples at dedication ceremonies could contribute to a broader discussion of the social and political dynamics in the 1920s and 1930s.

Applying a geographic lens and analysing Native American Civil War commemoration across the United States has also revealed how the story operated differently across the United States. Building on scholarship about Cherokee memorialisation to include case studies from Northern and Western monument culture, I emphasised the flexibility of the Civil War story and the Cherokee, Northern Shoshone and Seneca perspectives within it. My main conclusion from using a geographic comparison was that the visibility of Native American Civil War histories was dependent on the strength of Civil War commemorative impulses across the

United States. I found that the visibility of Native Civil War perspectives was improved when Native heritage workers could appeal to existing, mainstream Civil War narratives and then incorporate their own stories within those commemorative landscapes.

Clearly there are avenues for further historical enquiry. My discussion of the Battle Creek Marker is one example of how we can improve our understanding of the ways in which Americans have confronted Civil War violence in the West.⁵ Future discussions in this regard would involve further analysis of the unsettled legacy of the Civil War in the American West and how the obfuscation of extreme violence on the frontier between 1861-1865 led to the silencing of Native American perspectives in the commemorative landscape. New insights into the representation of Soldier-Indian encounters in the West during the war could enrich the literature. This is important because the historiography, until recently, has focused on Northern and Southern commemorative landscapes and how these two competing narratives contributed to the growth of two, distinct veneration of the Civil War. Thus, expanding research in the Western Civil War commemoration could further explore how soldier and Indian encounters outside of the Civil War's main theatres formed part, or failed to form part of the dominant narrative. Moreover, further enquiry into how the Civil War led to the destruction, dislocation and fragmentation of Native culture and identity in the West can open a conversation about how Civil War monuments that conceal violence could have contributed to debates over American identity and the future of Native Americans within the body politic. As I mentioned in my introduction a more detailed examination of Native American Civil War commemoration could analyse whether there was a relationship between increasing participation of Native groups in the commemorative landscape and growing calls for social and political recognition, autonomy and protection in the lead up to the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act.

⁵ Benjamin Madley, *American Genocide*; Alvin M. Josephy, *The Civil War in the American West*.

Further research could also trace the development of tribal relationships with Civil War monuments as the debate over Civil War monument culture unfolds. Such potential exists in two of my case studies where the Cherokee Nation and Northwestern Shoshone Nation have questioned the relevance of their Civil War monuments. In the case of the Northwestern Shoshone Nation, the Tribal Chair, Darren Parry, emphasised the need to keep the monument to show how the representation of soldier-Indian violence in the West has been silenced by monument culture. Such a study could extend debates over agency and the ongoing interest and involvement of Native American peoples in debates about the relevance of Civil War histories. In today's political climate and with the opportunity to connect to a wide variety of participants over the internet, we have greater opportunities to obtain crucial, first hand perspectives from Native Americans who hold strong and vital opinions about how their tribal histories have formed part of American narratives and what they plan to do with Civil War monuments that do not adequately represent the experiences of their wider communities.

Ultimately, this thesis has demonstrated that in some instances, Native Americans were participants in the Civil War commemorative landscape of the 1920s and 1930s. This thesis has provided a fresh perspective on our understanding of Civil War commemoration and the visibility of Native American histories within mainstream narratives. Whereas these perspectives present a rare insight into how Native American engaged with 1920s and 1930s monument culture, we must not forget that there were likely countless, undocumented perspectives that have gone unexamined. Collating these perspectives would be an impossible task, however those that did voice their personal experience of the Civil War do challenge our understanding of who was impacted by the conflict, and how it changed their lives.

Post-script

On a warm summer's day in May 2018, I travelled to Salt Lake City to meet the North-western Shoshone Tribal Chairman, Darren Parry and visit the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark. Although I'd visited primarily for research, I had been lucky enough that Darren had the spare time to generously meet with me and visit the Boa Ogoi. Of all the case studies in my thesis, the Battle Creek marker has fascinated me the most. At times, the case study seemed to fit in very well and at other times I felt it resisted classification altogether. As such, I decided that I'd have to visit the site to satisfy my curiosity and to reconcile Mae Parry's narrative about Boa Ogoi with the physicality of the historic landmark. I was also compelled to visit because every other scholar of the Bear River Massacre had taken some kind of issue with the marker during their visit, whether it was an impromptu stop on the side of the road or attending the annual remembrance ceremony. Until I uncovered the rich historical materials that told the story of the marker's construction, no one, with the exception of a few local journalists, had really discussed the remarkable circumstances in which the LDS made the marker and the significance that every person in town in the 1930s wanted to contribute a perspective on what the Bear River Massacre meant to them.

Darren is a warm, funny and incredibly generous person, who has helped me a great deal with my research and, picking me up in his white pick-up truck first thing in the morning in the parking lot of a hunting and fishing chain called "Cabela's" in Farmington, Utah, it is clear that he goes well out of his way to help researchers such as myself who have expressed an interest in Shoshone history. We arrived at the Battle Creek marker at mid-morning, having crossed the border into Idaho just moments before. What was once uninterrupted Shoshone country is now irrigated farmland that stretches for miles with the exception of a few small towns along the way. When we arrived at the historic landmark, I found that the site has changed dramatically. People have built houses on the massacre site, including one resident

whose ranch is reportedly situated on a mass grave. As such, when we approached the Battle Creek Marker, I was surprised to find that it was effectively situated in the shared driveway of two farm houses, something I'm sure the Daughters of Utah Pioneers would have considered as unthinkable at the time of its dedication.

For a marker that has experienced a great deal of historical revision, the whole site was far smaller than I'd imagined. Up close, I relished the opportunity to view its intricate detail and found it to be, as the rock dedications described, a collage of lava rocks, petrified woods, granite and marble, fossilised artefacts that spoke to the DUP collecting project and the effort the LDS to showcase Idaho's unique geological landscape. Since its dedication, the site has undergone several iterations of historical remembrance, most recently in the form of a grant from the National Parks Service to build a cultural information centre at Boa Ogoi. The collection of historic plaques and wooden signposts convey the sense that people in Idaho are still yet to figure out where the massacre sits in their regional history and the best way to tell the story of LDS expansion.

It is almost serendipitous that the debate over the relevance of symbols of the Confederacy, and by extension representations of the past, have come under such scrutiny six months after I commenced my research. The two historic markers in this thesis are no exception. During my trip to Utah and Idaho I was lucky enough to talk with a variety of locals to whom I posited the question, "what do you think should happen to the Battle Creek Marker?" Their answers ranged from, and I'm paraphrasing, "some people want to take a bulldozer and knock it down" to "it doesn't bother me" to "we just need to keep it so that we can keep telling the story." In Idaho, it seems that locals have been having this conversation for years. In the late 1990s, for example, the Idaho State Historical society installed a "historical interpretation

route” that is situated on a hill looking over the whole massacre site. The society had received a grant from the Idaho State government to, as Darren put it, “correct” the story.

At present, Darren is in talks with various organisations to construct a cultural interpretation centre at the historic site to raise the visibility of Northern Shoshone history in the region. The centre will heighten awareness of the Civil War’s violence in the West and reveal in explicit detail the devastating dislocation, poverty, displacement and destruction of Northern Shoshone Culture that continued to unfold decades after the massacre. For Darren, the centre is the best way to respond to debates about the ongoing relevance of the Battle Creek Marker and to improve the awareness. He is also hosting school and tour groups and visitors whom he hopes will be compelled to visit the region. Rather than destroy the Battle Creek Marker, Darren hopes that keeping the collection of memorials will implore visitors to understand Idaho’s complicated relationship with the massacre.

What the debate over both these monuments has demonstrated is that Native Americans need to make the decisions themselves about what to do with these representations of the past. The monuments I have discussed in this thesis are evidence of a confrontation with the past that continues to unfold, and also show how Native Americans too, held a stake in the meaning of the American Civil War, and, as such, should continue to have a say in how their Civil War histories form part of the dynamic and ever-changing commemorative landscape.



Figure 14: A photograph of prayer ties at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark⁶

⁶ Elizabeth Miller, Photograph of prayer ties at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark, May 2018.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Materials

Indian Pioneer Papers

Ghormley, Michial. Investigator Frank J. Still. January 2, 1927. 2073.

Harris C.B. Investigator L.W. Wilson. 5117.

Hicks, Ed. Investigator Hattie Turner. 13886.

Keys, Lydia Taylor. Investigator James R. Carseloway. November 10, 1937. 12079

Meigs, R.R. Investigator Elizabeth Ross. January 26, 1938. 12925.

Parks, J.T. Investigator Frank J. Still. January 26, 1937. 7437

Seabolt, Alfred Pickens. Investigator Gomer Gower. February 1, 1938. 13846.

Walker, Agnes. Investigator Alane D. McDowell. January 13, 1938. 12923.

Church History Library

“About monument rocks, August 3, 1932. Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00107. *Myrtle Goff Papers 1926-1932*.

“Daughters of Pioneers Hold Spirited Meeting.” Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00105. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

“Descendants of Early fighters dedicate markers.” Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00111. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

“Franklin County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.” *Organisation of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers: Franklin County Chapter*. Typewritten Note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00112. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

“Franklin County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.” *September 5 Running Sheet*. Typewritten Notes. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00033. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Goff, Charles I. *Charles I Goff to Scouters: July 2, 1932*, Letter. Church History Library. *Myrtle Goff Files*, No .101. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Goff, Mary Myrtle. *Personal Notes about the Battle Creek Marker*. Handwritten notes. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00017. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Goff, Mary Myrtle. *Personal Notes about the Battle Creek Marker*. Handwritten notes. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00027. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Horne, Flora B. *Horne to the Daughters of Utah Pioneer*. Letter. Church History Library. MS 7692_b0037_f0017_00005. *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1925-1932*.

Merrill, H R. "H R Merrill writes about Battle Creek Monument." Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00036. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Merrill-Horne, Alice. *The organisation "Daughters of the Utah Pioneers." First minutes of the "Daughters of the Utah Pioneers."* Typewritten history. Church History Library. MS 7692_b0037_f0017_00017. *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1925-1932*.

"Much activity being shown on Battle Creek Monument." August 3, 1932. Newspaper clipping. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00107. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

"Timeline of Battle Creek Marker." Typewritten Note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00019. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Images

Unknown photographer. "Women lean in front of Battle Creek Marker" in *Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association Photographs, circa 1930s-1950s*. Church History Catalog. Folder 17, File 3. PH 7316_f0001_00003.

Unknown photographer. "Boy Scouts re-enact Battle of Bear River." *Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association Photographs, circa 1930s-1950s*. Church History Catalog. Folder 17, File 5. PH 7316_f0001_00005.

Unknown photographer. "Battle Creek Marker." *Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association Photographs, circa 1930s-1950s*. Church History Catalog. Folder 17, File 7. PH 7316_f0001_00007.

Unknown photographer. "Unnamed Shoshone Boy Scouts at Dedication of the Battle Creek Marker." *Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association Photographs, circa 1930s-1950s*. Church History Catalog. Folder 17, File 11. PH 7316_f0001_000011.

"Stand Watie," from Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS no. 7358 from "Stand Watie (1806-1871). Okhistory.org. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WA040>.

Photograph of Stand Watie Monument, civilwaralbum.com. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://www.civilwaralbum.com/indian/tahlequah1c.htm>.

"General Stand Watie Grave Site, Polson Cemetery, Grove OK." Travelok.com. Accessed June 28, 2018. https://www.travelok.com/listings/view.profile/id.2995?CMP=pinterest_nativeamerican&UTM=pinterest_nativeamerican.

"Cherokee National Capitol" in *Visit Cherokee Nation*. Accessed February 4, 2019. <http://visitcherokeemission.com/ATTRACTIONS/Pages/cherokee-national-capitol.aspx>

“Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma.” Oklahoma Historical Society and Photograph Collection, OHS. Okhistory.org. Accessed January 18, 2018
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OK085>.

Keith Rocco, “The Surrender.” Nps.gov. Accessed December 12, 2018.
<https://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-surrender-by-rocco.htm>.

Elizabeth Miller, Photograph of prayer ties at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark, May 2018.

Elizabeth Miller, Photograph of fossilised rock at the Bear River Massacre National Historic Landmark, May 2018.

Rock Dedications

Amos Keller Family. “Rock Dedication.” Handwritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00537. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Bollwinkel, Russell. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00386. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Dunkley, John A. “Rock Dedication.” Handwritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00436. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Carver, Parley P. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00443. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Franklin County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. “Rock Dedication.” Type written note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00134. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Kehner, R E. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00455. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Larsen, J N. “Rock Dedication.” Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00340. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Mendenhall-Handy, Nettie. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00378. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Merrill Family. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00454. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Packer, James. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00515. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Sant, Sarah J. “Rock Dedication.” Handwritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00286. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Scouts of Troop 56 Richmond South. “Rock Dedication.” Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00255. *Myrtle Goff Papers 1926-1932*.

The Family of Peter Maughan. "Rock Dedication." Typewritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00507. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Unknown. "Rock Dedication." Handwritten note. Church History Library. MS 1074_F001_00517. *Myrtle Goff Papers, 1926-1932*.

Archives of the International Society of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers – Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City Utah.

Application for membership of Myrtle Goff, June 26, 1923. Application form. Franklin. International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Unknown Folder. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah

Gathering hidden treasures today for our children tomorrow, Court House, Preston. June 27, 1952. Franklin County Convention Program, Daughters of Utah Pioneers. International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Unknown Folder. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah

Lessons: History of Cache County. Scanned pages of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers membership history lesson. International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Unknown Folder. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mary, Chandler. *Monuments*. Typewritten document. International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Unknown Folder. Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

University of Utah Repositories

Hart, Newell. 'Our Native Beginnings' in *Cache Valley Newsletter*. December 1974. Box 10, Folder 5. Utah State University, Merrill-Cazier Library, Special Collections and Archives Division. *Newell Hart Papers, 1860-1983*.

Hart, Newell. 'Trail Blazer Preview', 1976. Box 29, Folder 3. Utah State University, Merrill-Cazier Library, Special Collections and Archives Division. *Newell Hart Papers, 1860-1983*.

Daughters of Utah Pioneers

Horne, Flora B. *Flora B. Horne to central company 'Daughters of Utah Pioneers'*, Folder 17, No. 5. Church History Library of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. MS 7692_B0037_F0017_00005.

Mary, Chandler. *Monuments*. Typewritten document. International Society of Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

Randmall, Stewart L, Walker, Mark E. 'Pioneer monuments of the Sons of Utah Pioneers'. August 8, 2015. Sons of Utah Pioneers National Directors of Monuments. https://archive.org/details/SUPMASTERLISTWithPICTURESv318815RP_201508. Accessed May 1, 2016.

Published Works

Anderson, Mabel. *The life of General Stand Watie, the only Indian brigadier general of the Confederate army and the last general to surrender*. Privately Published in Pryor, OK. 1931. From

the Alexander Street Online Database, "North American Indian Thought and Culture". Accessed June 13, 2017.

Parker, Arthur Caswell. "The New York Indian Complex and How to Solve It." in *Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archaeological Association: Lewis Henry Morgan Chapter*," Volume 2, No 1. Rochester: C.F Milliken and Co. Canandaigua, 1920.

Severance, Frank H. "Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. New York: Buffalo Historical Society, 1921.

Williams, Sherman. "The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem and General Grant's Military Secretary by Arthur C. Parker." *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*. January 1920.

Minutes/Reports

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1913." (New Orleans, Louisiana. November 12-13.) Unknown file number. The Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1914." (Savannah, Georgia, November 11-14.) Unknown file number. The Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1915." (San Francisco, California, October 20-24.) Unknown file number. The Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1916." (Dallas, Texas, November 8-11.) Unknown file number. The Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1917." (Chattanooga, Tennessee, November 14-17.) Unknown file number. The Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

"Minutes from the United Daughters of the Confederacy Annual Convention 1919." (Tampa, Florida, November 11-15.) Unknown file number. From the Archives of the International Society of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. (Scanned and emailed by archivist with no reference details)

Newspapers

Ada Evening News
Buffalo Courier

Cleveland Daily Leader
Franklin County Citizen
The Confederate Veteran Magazine
The Daily Ardmoreite
The Daily Oklahoman
The Evening Courier and Republic
The Greenville News
The Indian's Friend
The Morning Tulsa
The New York Times
The Ogden Standard Examiner
The Oshkosh Northwestern
The Salt Lake Tribune
The Washington Times
Vicksburg Evening Post
Vinita Daily Chieftain

Studies

“Whose Heritage? Southern Poverty Law Centre.” Southern Poverty Law Centre. 2016.
<https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>. Accessed June 2019.

Websites

“BG Ely Samuel Parker,” Findagrave.com Accessed July 5, 2018.
<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/3603/ely-samuel-parker>.

Card 30325, “Sallie G. Pendleton” in “Dawes Final Rolls,” okhistory.org. Accessed December 13, 2017.
<https://www.okhistory.org/research/dawesresults.php?fname=sallie&lname=pendleton&tribe=&rollnum=&cardnum=&action=Search>

Card 8191, “Mabel W. Anderson” in “Dawes Final Rolls,” okhistory.org. Accessed December 13, 2017.
<https://www.okhistory.org/research/dawesresults.php?fname=Mabel&lname=Anderson&tribe=Cherokee&rollnum=&cardnum=&action=Search>

Card 14, “Ida H. Culbertson” in “Dawes Final Rolls,” okhistory.org. Accessed 13 December, 2017.
<http://www.okhistory.org/research/dawesresults.php?fname=Ida&lname=Culbertson&tribe=Cherokee&rollnum=&cardnum=&action=Search>.

“Stand Watie.” Biographic Entry in Gale Research Inc. 1996. *DIScovering Multicultural America: African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans*. [Detroit, MI]: Gale Research.

“The Surrender Meeting: a gentlemen’s agreement” [www.nps.gov](http://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-surrender-meeting.htm).
<https://www.nps.gov/apco/learn/historyculture/the-surrender-meeting.htm>. Accessed 10 November, 2018.

Tim Willert, "OKC board votes to change school names," newsok.com. Accessed May 14, 2018. <https://newsok.com/article/5594657/okc-board-votes-to-change-school-names>. Accessed 9 October, 2018.

Jacob McClelland, "As Cities Remove Confederate Monuments, Cherokees Grapple with Civil War Past," kgou.org. Accessed August 31, 2018. <http://www.kgou.org/post/cities-remove-confederate-monuments-cherokees-grapple-civil-war-past>.

Christina Caron, "Heather Heyer, Charlottesville Victim, Is Recalled As 'a Strong Woman,'" nytimes.com. Accessed 6 March, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/heather-heyer-charlottesville-victim.html>.

Julia Zorthian, "President Trump Says It's 'Sad' to See U.S. Culture 'Ripped Apart' by Removing Confederate Statues." Time.com. Accessed 6 March, 2019. <http://time.com/4904510/donald-trump-twitter-confederate-statues/>.

"Selected Works of Mabel Washbourne Anderson," in *Sequoyah Research Centre, American Native Press Archives*, ualrexhibits, Accessed October 10, 2018. https://ualrexhibits.org/tribalwriters/artifacts/Anderson_selected-works.html

"Lesson 39: Church during the Great Depression" www.lds.org, Accessed October 6, 2017. <https://www.lds.org/manual/church-history-in-the-fulness-of-times-teacher-manual/lesson-39?lang=eng>

Official Record of the War of the Rebellion: Pacific Coast Theatre. Serial 105. Chapter LXII, 185-187. "Engagement on Bear River, Utah Ter," ehistory.osu.edu, Accessed February 4, 2019, <https://ehistory.osu.edu/books/official-records/105/0185>.

"1863 Bear River Massacre," digitalatlas.cose.isu.edu, Accessed March 6, 2019. <https://digitalatlas.cose.isu.edu/geog/rrt/part4/chp14/96.htm>

Secondary Sources:

Adelman, Jeremy and Aron, Stephen. "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the People In-Between." *The American Historical Review* 104, No. 3 (1999): 814-841.

Agnew, Brad. "Our Doom as a Nation is Sealed: The Five Nations in the Civil War." in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, edited by Bradley Clappitt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2015.

Armstrong, William. *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978.

Barnes, John. "The Struggle to control the past: commemoration, memory and the Bear River Massacre of 1863." *The Public Historian*, 30, 1 (February 2008): 81-104.

Bataille, Gretchen M. and Lisa, Laurie. *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Bean, Christopher B. "Who defines a Nation?: Reconstruction in Indian Territory." in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, edited by Bradley Clappitt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Berg, S. Carol. "Arthur C. Parker and the Society of the American Indian." *New York History* 81, No. 2 (April 2000): 237-246.

Bessetti-Reyes, Gina. "Women and the American Wilderness: Responses to Landscape and Myth." Master's Thesis, McAnulty College, 2014.

Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Blight, David. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Browman, David L. and Williams Stephen. *Anthropology at Harvard: A Biographical History, 1790-1940*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Brown, Crete. "'Unsettling' the Bear River Massacre: A Transformative Learning and Action Project Utilising Indigenous Worldviews and Ceremonial Elements." Doctoral Thesis, California Institute of Integral Studies, 2013.

Brown, Dee. *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Bruchac, Joseph. "A Name to Remember: Ha-sa-no-an-da. 'Leading Name.'" in *Voices: The Journal of New York Folklore*. <https://nyfolklore.org/folklore-folklife/voices-journal/>

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Burton, Jeffrey. *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866-1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Statehood*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Buss, James Joseph. *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.

Christensen, Scott R. *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder 1822-1887*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999.

Cipolla, Craig N. "Native American Historical Archaeology and the Trope of Authenticity." *Historical Archaeology* 47, No. 3 (2013): 12-22.

Clampitt, Bradley. "Introduction: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory." In *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Cobb-Greetham, Amanda. "Hearth and Home: Cherokee and Creek Women's Memories of the Civil War in Indian Territory." In *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Indian Territory*, edited by Bradley Clampitt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, John Stephen. *Inheriting the Past: The Making of Arthur C. Parker and Indigenous Archaeology*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2009.

Confer, Clarissa. *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

Confino, Alon. "History and Memory." In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 5: Historical Writing Since 1945*, edited by Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Cox, Karen. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Crawford, Aaron. "The People of Bear Hunter Speak: Oral Histories of the Cache Valley Shoshone regarding the Bear River Massacre." Masters Thesis, Utah State University, 2007.

Dale, Edward Evertt. *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.

Deloria, Phillip J. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Deloria, Phillip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Denson, Andrew. *Monuments to Absence: Cherokee Removal and the Contest over Southern Memory*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

Dilworth, Leah. *Imaging Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013.

Eliason, Eric A. "Celebrating Zion: Pioneers in Mormon Popular Historical Expression." Doctoral Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1998.

Ellinghaus, Katherine. *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017.

Embry, Jessie L, Nelson and Mauri Liljenquist. "'Such is our heritage': Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museums." in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, edited by Amy K. Levin. New York and Toronto: Altamira Press, 2007.

Fleisher, Kass. *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History*. Albany: State of New York Press, 2004.

Fortney, Jeff. "Lest We Remember: Civil War Memory and Commemoration Among the Five Tribes." *American Indian Quarterly* 36, No. 4 (Fall 2012): 525-575.

Gill, D.C. *How we are Changed by the War: A Study of Letters and Diaries from Colonial America*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Gilpin Faust, Drew. *This Republic of Suffering*. New York: Vintage Books, 2008.

Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2005.

Haebich, Anna. "Forgetting Indigenous Histories: Cases from the History of Australia's Stolen Generations." *Journal of Social History* (Summer 2011): 1033-1046.

Hart, Newell. *The Bear River Massacre: being a complete sourcebook and storybook of the genocidal action against the Shoshones in 1863 and of Gen. P.E. Conner and how he related to and dealt with Indians and Mormons on the Western frontier*. Preston: Cache Valley Newsletter Publishing Company, 1983 (Second Printing).

Hauptman, Laurence M. "In the Shadow of American Indian Removal: The Iroquois in the Civil War." In *State of the Union: New York and the Civil War*, edited by Harold Holzer. New York: Fordham University Press, 2002.

Hauptman, Laurence. *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1995.

Hauptman, Laurence. *The Iroquois in the Civil War: From Battlefield to Reservation*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993.

Hazel W. Hertzberg. "Nationality, Anthropology, and Pan-Indianism in the Life of Arthur C. Parker (Seneca)." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123, No. 1 (February 1979): 47-72.

Herschbach, Lisa M. "Fragmentation and Reunion: Medicine, Memory and Body in the American Civil War." Doctoral Thesis, Harvard University. 1997.

Hirsch, Jarrod. *Portrait of America: A Cultural History of the Federal Writers Project*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Honan, Park. "The Theory of Biography." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 13, No. 1 (Autumn 1979): 109-120.

Janney, Caroline E. *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Johnson, Walter. "On Agency." *Journal of Social History*. 37, No. 1 (Fall 2003): 113-124.

Jordan, Brian Matthew. "Living Monuments: Union Veteran Amputees and the Embodied Memory of the Civil War." *Civil War History* LVII, No.2 (2011): 121-152.

Joseph Jr., Alvin M. *The Civil War in the American West*. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1991.

Kaye, Jeanne and Brown, Craig J. "Mormon Beliefs about Land and Natural Resources, 1847-1877." *Journal of Historical Geography* 11 No. 3 (1985): 253-267.

Kelman, Ari. "What's in a Name?: The Fight to call Sand Creek a Battle or a Massacre." In *Battles and Massacres on the Southwest Frontier: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Ronald K. Wetherington and Frances Levine. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.

Kelman, Ari. *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2013.

- Kennedy, David M. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Krauthamer, Barbara. *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Langesen, Amanda. *The Making of Public Historical Culture in the American West, 1880-1910: The Role of Historical Societies*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. "Haunted America." In *Sweet Medicine: Sites of Indian Massacres, Battlefields and Treaties/Photographs by Drex Brooks*, edited by Drex Brooks. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- Lull, Robert W. *Civil War General and Indian Fighter James M. Williams*. University of North Texas Press, 2013.
- Madley, Benjamin. *American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Madsen, Brigham D. *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.
- Maltz, Earl M. "The Fourteenth Amendment and Native American Citizenship." *Constitutional Commentary* 17, No. 3 (2000): 555-573.
- Mankiller, Wilma. *Mankiller: A Chief and her People*. St. Martin's Griffin, 1993.
- Marak, Andrae and Van Valen, Gary. "Introduction: Transnational Indians of the North American West" in *Transnational Indians in the North American West*, edited by Clarissa Confer. College Station. Texas A&M University Press. 2015.
- Masich, Andrew, E. *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Mauss, Armand L. *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- McConnell, Stuart C. "The Patriotic Book." In *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader*, edited by Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton, 365-375. New York: New York University Press, 2007.
- McConnell, Stuart C. "Who Joined the Grand Army? Three Cases in the Construction of Union Veteranhood, 1866-1900." In *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, edited by Maris A. Vinovskis. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1900.
- Miller, Rod. *Massacre at Bear River: First, Worst, Forgotten*. Caldwell: Caxton Press, 2008.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. "Haunted America" in *Sweet Medicine: Sites of Indian Massacres, Battlefields, and Treaties*. Photographs by Drex Brooks, Foreword by James Welch, Essay by Patricia Nelson Limerick. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 120-160.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1987.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson, "Making the Most of Words." In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*. ed. Cronon, Miles and Gitlin, New York: W.W. Norton. 168-169.

Ngai, Mae M. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

O'Brien, Jean. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Olsen, Steven L. "Celebrating Cultural Identity: Pioneer Day in Nineteenth Century Mormonism." *BYU Studies* 36, No.1 (1996-1997): 159-174.

Paludan, Philip S. *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981.

Perdue, Theda. "Stand Watie's War: Forced to choose between North and South, the Cherokee Nation was nearly destroyed by the Civil War – and the Consequences still Resonate today." *American History* 50, No. 1 (April 2015): 32-41.

Perdue, Theda. *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Perdue, Theda. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Porter, Joy. "American Indian identity in the life of Arthur Caswell Parker, 1881-1955." Doctoral Thesis. University of Nottingham. 1994.

Riftkin, Mark. *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Rollyson, Carl. "Biography Theory and Method: The Case of Samuel Johnson." *Biography* 25, No 2. (Spring 2002): 363-368.

Saunders, Max. "Life-Writing, Cultural Memory, and Literary Studies," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An international and interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008.

Schein, Richard H. "The Place of Landscape: A conceptual framework for interpreting an American Scene." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101, 4 (December 1997): 660-680.

Schneider, Khal. "Distinctions that must be Preserved: on the Civil War, American Indians, and the West." *Civil War History* 62, No. 1 (March 2016): 36-54.

Shklar, Judith. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1991.

Shoemaker, Nancy. *American Indian Population Recovery in the Twentieth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.

Silber, Nina. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures*, 9 (December 2007): 67 -80.

Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Slotkin, Richard. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialisation, 1800-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Stauffer, Suzanne M. "A Good Social Work: Women's Clubs, Libraries, and the Construction of a Secular Society in Utah, 1890-1930." *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 46, No. 2 (2011): 135-154.

Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Between Indian and White Worlds: Tthe Cultural Broker*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Thayne, Stanley J. "The Blood of Father Lehi: Indigenous Americans and the Book of Mormon." Doctoral Thesis, University of North Carolina. 2016.

Thrush, Coll. *Indigenous London: Native Travellers at the Heart of Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Thrush, Coll. *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Warde, Mary Jane. *When the Wolf Came: The Civil War and the Indian Territory*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2013.

West, Elliot. *Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and& the Rush to Colorado*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

West, Elliot. *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

White, Richard. *It's Your Misfortune and None of my Own: A History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Wilkinson, Charles F. *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2005.

Williams, Sherman. "Review of Books: The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary," *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 1, No. 2 (January 1920): 50.

Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wolf, Patrick. *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. London: Verso, 2016.

Young, James E. *The Textures of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Young, James. "Memorials and Museums." in *The Oxford handbook of Holocaust Studies*, edited by Peter Hayes and John K. Roth. Oxford: University of Oxford Press. 2010.

Yuhl, Stephanie E. *The Making of Historic Charleston: A golden Haze of Memory*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.