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ALICE FLETCHER'S HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS A MUSICAL RESEARCHER: THE THEORY OF LATENT HARMONY AND ITS LINK BETWEEN EARLY ETHNOLOGY AND "INDIANIST" COMPOSITION

presented by

Elizabeth J. Tibbs

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Elizabeth J. Tibbs

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ABSTRACT

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AS A MUSICAL RESEARCHER:
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ETHNOLOGY AND "INDIANIST" COMPOSITION

By

Elizabeth J. Tibbs

Alice C. Fletcher (1838-1923) was a pioneer ethnologist who dedicated her life to the study of Native American culture and music. The present study focuses on the nineteenth century anthropologist's contributions to music and the preservation of Native American songs through recording, transcription, and scholarly publication. Fletcher's contributions to music can be viewed in many ways. Historically, she created a link between ethnology and music. Through her theory of latent harmony, the idea that Indians have an innate sense of harmony, and through the subsequent harmonization of Native American melodies, she made Indian melodies more accessible to American composers. Her lifetime coincided with the extremely popular, yet passing trend of "Indianist" composition, during which American composers used Indian themes in their works. In addition, her legacy today includes the voluminous

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cylindrical recordings and various sacred items which are now being returned to the tribes from which they were taken over a century ago.

The present explores the connection between Fletcher's study of music and a number of controversial issues of the period. Fletcher's anthropological career was influenced by her dedication to helping Native Americans survive in a period of tremendous change. She was a devout Protestant, Christian reformer, who vowed to help Indians survive by advocating extreme policies of assimilation and the renunciation of their traditional culture. Fletcher surrounded herself with Native Americans who agreed with her beliefs, and these individuals served as collaborators in her pursuit of tribal information. Her belief system, along with her problematic assumptions of Native American culture, undoubtably influenced her objectivity in the study of Indian culture. Despite this, she honestly strove to help Native Americans and was particularly sensitive to women's issues. Through the study of Alice Fletcher's ethnological career, despite her flaws that hindsight reveals, we gain a more in depth view and understanding of Native American music and culture.

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In 1979, the American Folklife Center, the Library of Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Smithsonian Institution inaugurated the Federal Cylinder Project. The Project leaders sought to distribute the material on the cylinders back to the cultural groups from which the information was originally collected.[1] In the early 1980s, Dennis Hastings, the Omaha Tribal Archivist, returned the Alice C. Fletcher/Francis La Flesche Omaha recordings to the Omaha people, and he viewed this musical homecoming as a spiritual event that could spark a "renaissance" of Omaha culture. Hastings welcomed the return of the songs as a way to learn about a culture that had been long lost. He viewed the recordings as a vision of hope, which could serve to strengthen the tribe.[2]

Alice C. Fletcher (1838-1923) collected, transcribed, and studied the music of Native America. In particular, she collected a significant amount of music from the Omaha tribe

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[1]There were two other interrelated goals of the Federal Cylinder Project. The directors of the project sought to preserve and duplicate wax cylinder recordings, and document and archive the cylinder collection. See The Federal Cylinder Project: A Guide to Field Cylinder Collections in Federal Agencies (Washington: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, 1984).

[2]Omaha Indian Music: Historical Recordings from the Fletcher/La Flesche Collection (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1985).

of Nebraska. Although she initially hesitated to use the Edison phonograph in her work, Fletcher quickly learned the scientific potential of the invention, and she eventually collected many wax cylinders of Omaha music. These cylinders were then stored in the Library of Congress where they remained for nearly one hundred years.

In 1992, the University of Nebraska Press republished Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche's The Omaha Tribe, a two-volume ethnography of the Omaha Tribe, originally published in one volume as the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1911.[3] The Omaha Tribe describes the significance of the Sacred Pole and the White Buffalo Hide which Fletcher and La Flesche had placed into the Peabody Museum for safe-keeping. In the late 1980s, the Sacred Pole and White Buffalo Hide were returned to the Omaha Tribe. The new edition of The Omaha Tribe, along with the voluminous collection of songs obtained from the Federal Cylinder Project, gives the Omaha a chance to reconnect to past traditions.

The republication of The Omaha Tribe and the return of the sacred items have contributed to new scholarly interest

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[3]In his introduction to the University of Nebraska publication of Fletcher and La Flesche's The Omaha Tribe, Robin Ridington calls it ". . . the single most important and comprehensive study ever written about a Native American tribe" (Ridington in Fletcher and La Flesche's The Omaha Tribe, Volume I), p. 1.

in Alice Fletcher's work. In his Study of Ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl includes Fletcher in a list of important women in the history of ethnomusicology. Nettl conjectures that Fletcher served a role model for women who later become involved in the discipline of ethnomusicology.[4] Similarly, in her study of women and the Society for Ethnomusicology, Charlotte Frisbie calls Fletcher a role model for the women who were instrumental in the development of the Society for Ethnomusicology.[5] Finally, Dorothy Sara Lee lauds Fletcher, giving her "most credit for the development of ethnomusicology in the USA . . . ."[6]

During her lifetime Fletcher inspired many musicians and scholars to study Native American music and culture. In particular, Fletcher encouraged women to study Native American music; notable among these women are Matilda Cox Stevenson and Zelia Nuttal, both of whom studied the Native Americans of the Southwest. In addition, Natalie Curtis consulted with Fletcher while writing The Indian's Book (1907).

Fletcher's influence can be most prominently seen on

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[4]Bruno Nettl, The Study of Ethnomusicology (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), p. 333.

[5]Charlotte Frisbie, "Women and the Society for Ethnomusicology: Roles and Contributions from Formation to Inception."

[6]Helen Myers, ed., Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 22.

the influential female ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore (1867-1957). The origin of Densmore's career can be seen in her use Fletcher's materials during her lectures to various women's clubs. In her article, "The Study of Indian Music," Densmore acknowledged her indebtedness to Fletcher:

> Indian music attracted me only as a novelty, but in 1895, I added it to my lecture subjects, presenting Miss Fletcher's material with her permission.[7]

Densmore, who had been up to that time totally absorbed with Western art music, changed career direction after her initial correspondence with Fletcher. In "The Study of Indian Music" of 1941, Densmore credited Fletcher as the most important influence on her choice of career. She stated:

> Miss Alice C. Fletcher's work was called to my attention a year or two before the publication of her book on Omaha music, and with the encouragement of Professor Fillmore, whose acquaintance I had made, I wrote to Miss Fletcher, telling of my interest in the subject. If she had been less gracious in her response it is probable that I would not have taken up the study of Indian music.[8]

From the late 1890s until the early 1900s, Densmore made use of Fletcher's material as the basis for lectures at women's and music clubs around the country. Then in 1907, Densmore initiated her own ethnographic work, studying the Medicine

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[7]Frances Densmore, "The Study of Indian Music," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute 1941, p. 528.

[8]Ibid.

Ceremony at the White Earth Chippewa Reservation. During the next fifty years, Densmore collected more than three thousand cylinders and published more than twenty monographs and many articles concerning Native American music. Her research spanned tribes from Florida to British Colombia. Through her voluminous work, Densmore made significant contributions to the discipline of ethnomusicology.

In addition to the numerous women who's careers were sparked by Fletcher's inspiration and encouragement, many American composers benefitted from Fletcher's work. Arthur Farwell (1872-1952) called his reading of Fletcher's publication Indian Story and Song from North America a life-changing experience.[9] Many of Farwell's compositions were based on melodies collected by Alice Fletcher, and he credited her in the preface to many of his works. For example, in the preface to his "Indian Melodies" (1901) Farwell stated:

> For these melodies, the writer is indebted to Miss Alice C. Fletcher . . . [who] for twenty years has labored, against the greatest obstacles, and almost unaided, to preserve the folk-lore and folk-songs of a fast disappearing people . . . .[10]

Besides Farwell, other composers expressed their

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[9]Arthur Farwell, "Wanderjahre of a Revolutionist" and Other Essays on American Music, edited by Thomas Stoner (University of Rochester Press, 1995), p. 77.

[10]Arthur Farwell, Wa-Wan Press, Vol. I, p. 24.

indebtedness to Fletcher for source material. Harvey Worthington Loomis (1865-1930) used Fletcher's collected melodies in his "Lyrics of a Red Man" in 1903. Concerning his composition, Loomis stated:

> In general, these Indian melodies embody entire melodies transcribed literally from Miss Fletcher's "Peabody Museum Reports" on the music of the Omahas."[11]

In addition, John Comfort Fillmore used her themes for his only known composition, "Indian Fantasia No. 1."[12] Similarly, Amy Beach based a piano piece, From the Blackbird Hills, (1922) on a melody found in Fletcher's A Study of Omaha Music.[13] In addition, Charles Wakefield Cadman corresponded diligently with Fletcher, asking her advice in connection with work leading to some of his earliest "Indianist" compositions.

Literature Review

Contemporary scholars are only beginning to understand the importance of Fletcher. In 1988, Joan Mark, an associate in the history of anthropology at the Peabody Museum of

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[11]Harvey Worthington Loomis, "Lyrics of a Redman."

[12]Fletcher's approval was paramount to Fillmore who wrote: "Whether anyone will ever print it, I do not know. But whatever is done with it will be subject to your approval. I consider my work as yours" Fillmore to Fletcher, Fletcher-La Flesche Papers.

[13]Beach heard Fletcher read a paper, "Music as Found in Certain North American Tribes," at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Significant information concerning Amy Beach and her use of Native American melodies can be found in Adrienne Fried Block's "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes," in American Music, Summer, 1990.

Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, published the most comprehensive biography thus far concerning Alice Fletcher, entitled A Stranger in Her Native Land.[14] While basing her work on Fletcher's journals and letters, Mark meticulously researched the chronology of Fletcher's life. Using Gertrude Stein's model of "repeatings" to reconstruct Fletcher's life, Mark gives insight into Fletcher's life from a feminist viewpoint. Mark's work is a worthwhile source when studying the life of Alice Fletcher.

Another important work, which remains unpublished, is a dissertation entitled Alice Cunningham Fletcher: Anthropologist and Indian Rights Reformer by Rebecca Hancock Welsh.[15] Welch's study is a chronological overview of Fletcher's career in anthropology and Indian reform. Like Mark's work, it is based on Fletcher's diaries, and constitutes an important source for facts concerning Fletcher's life.

In contrast to Mark and Welsh, Michael Pisani has contributed to contemporary understanding of Fletcher from an ethnomusicological perspective. In his doctoral dissertation, Exotic Sounds in the Native Land: Portrayals

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[14]Joan Mark, A Stranger in Her Native Land (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

[15]Rebecca Hancock Welsh, "Alice Cunningham Fletcher: Anthropologist and Indian Rights Reformer" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1980).

of North American Indians in Western Music, he posits that early ethnologists, including Fletcher, played a significant role in popularizing the use of Native American themes in American composition.[16] In "The Indian Music Debate and 'American' Music in the Progressive Era," Pisani groups Fletcher with Antonin Dvořák and Edward MacDowell, calling them major catalysts for interest in Native American music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[17] Finally, in his "'I'm an Indian Too': Creating Native American Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music," Pisani credits Fletcher with making Native American themes more accessible to American composers.[18]

In addition to Pisani's references to Fletcher, Tara Browner discusses the influence of evolutionary theory on Fletcher's collection of Omaha music. In Heartbeat of the People, her description of the contemporary Native American pow-wow, Tara Browner plays the roles of observer and participant. In the preface of her book, she surveys the scholarly study of Indian culture back to Fletcher and

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[16]Michael V. Pisani, "Exotic Sounds in the Native Land: Portrayals of North American Indians in Western Music" (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1994), pp. 51-66.

[17]Michael V. Pisani, "The Indian Music Debate and 'American' Music in the Progressive Era," College Music Symposium, pp. 76-82.

[18]Michael V. Pisani, "'I'm an Indian Too': Creating Native American Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music," p. 242.

other early ethnologists in order to show the influence of theory on every generation of scholars.

According to Browner:

> Ethnomusicologists who write about Native American music must contend with a scholarly tradition all their own that contains equal amounts of enviable resources and racialized rationales. And in doing so, they must constantly strain facts from theories and read earlier work with a critical eye.[19]

In recent times, Fletcher's voluminous work has come to be hidden away in various archives, and contemporary scholarship is only beginning to delve into her historical significance. The present work credits Fletcher as a major contributor to the history of anthropology, and an individual who should not be overlooked. In Women Writing Culture, Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon posit that many women should be included as contributors to early anthropology.[20] According to Behar:

> Why is the culture concept in anthropology only traced through Sir Edward Tylor, Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowkski, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Clifford Geertz? Could not the writing of culture not be traced, as the essays in this volume suggest, through Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Ella Deloria, Zora Hurston, Ruth Landes, and Barbara Myerhoff to

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[19]Tara Browner, Heartbeat of the People Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-wow (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 8.

[20]Women Writing Culture is an anthology of articles primarily authored by women, written about women in anthropology.

Alice Walker?[21]

By placing value to the contributions of female anthropologists, Behar and Gordan thereby question the male, anthropological canon and ask the audience to rethink the history of anthropology. They posit that the traditional canon should be expanded beyond the monolithic, patrilineal approach to include women and other groups who have been historically excluded. Although Alice Fletcher is not included in the study, she fits into the model for which Behar and Gordan were looking.

Purpose

Although Fletcher has been referenced in a variety of sources, and her life has been chronicled by Mark and Welch, these studies have only scratched the surface in uncovering Fletcher's historical importance. The general aim of this work will be to explore her importance to anthropology and music history in the United States. The present study finds that Fletcher's studies, writings, and recordings tremendously influenced the accessibility and use of Native American music during her lifetime. More importantly, her theory of latent harmony provided a connection between ethnology and the musical community--a link that proved integral to the short-lived trend of Indianist composition.

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[21]Ruth Behar, "Out of Exile," in Women Writing Culture (Berkely, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press), p. 12.

In addition, her collection of cylinders and writings concerning Native American music have contributed to contemporary understanding of Indian, and especially Omaha culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Fletcher's connection with music, especially Native American music, gives insight into a number of controversial issues of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her interest in music, a stereotypical female interest, gained her access into the professional world. Once securing a place as an expert on Native American issues, Fletcher became enmeshed in Indian politics of the period, promoting a policy of assimilation which called for the renunciation of traditional tribal culture. Her adherence to tribal assimilation paralleled her desire to transform the Indian individual into a Christianized American citizen. Because of her reformist agenda, Fletcher then transformed Native American music into a "Christianized" and "Westernized" art form.

Despite her radical views and problematic assumptions of Indian life, Fletcher maintains a positive place as a significant early anthropologist and female role model. Her voluminous collections, writings, and recordings have provided irreplaceable information concerning tribal

ceremonies. Beyond the obvious, Fletcher should be appreciated for a number of other reasons.

During her lifetime, she achieved far beyond the norm, attaining a professional stature equal to many men of the period. From her position of power, she sought to protect Native individuals from exploitation. In her struggle to help Native Americans, she was particularly sensitive to the issues surrounding Native American women. Unequivocally, Alice Fletcher is an important historical figure from whom we can gain a more in depth understanding of traditional and contemporary Native American music and culture.

Methodology

The present work focuses on primary sources, and draws heavily from Fletcher's published writings, her unpublished writings from the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D.C., and the La Flesche Family Papers at the Nebraska State Historical Society. The personal papers of Charles Wakefield Cadman from the University of Pennsylvania provided insight into the relationship between Fletcher and the composer. Other pertinent information was obtained from the personal letters between Franz Boas and Alice Fletcher from the American Philosophical Society, and Arthur

Farwell's writings from the Wa-Wan Press.[22]

In addition to a reliance on primary sources, the present work includes an examination of secondary sources, aimed at giving insight into Fletcher's life in its broader, historical context. Her life and work intersect a variety of issues and trends in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore, the present study examines "realms of influence" that relate to her life. One such area is Fletcher's relationship with the Native American situation and governmental policy concerning the "Indian problem." Another realm involves gaining an understanding of her connection to women's issues in late nineteenth-century America, particularly in regard to early anthropology. A third facet of Fletcher's life requiring examination is her involvement with Christian reform in the late nineteenth century. A final area involves Fletcher's connection with issues in American music and her relationship with American composers.

The attempt to reclaim Fletcher's importance as a

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[22]Further study of Alice Fletcher is primarily dependent on the accessibility of resources. Currently, the Fletcher-La Flesche Papers lie unpublished in the Smithsonian Anthropological Archives in Washington D.C. Fletcher's handwriting is difficult to decipher, and much more could be learned about Fletcher if her personal papers were in published form. In addition, the La Flesche Family Papers lie in a similar state in the Historical Museum in Omaha, Nebraska. Recently, the Library of Congress has made some of Fletcher's diary entries accessible on the Internet. Despite this, many papers are still on microfilm and difficult to access.

historical figure requires an examination of further secondary sources which give more validity to her importance by providing a historical justification for Fletcher's beliefs and actions. This justification does not excuse her actions, but rather places them in their historical context. Fletcher was not a Christian extremist who radically imposed her will upon an unwilling, subservient culture. Rather, she was part of a larger, social movement, initiated by the elite culture to regain order in an increasingly disorderly world. One facet of this movement was the reform campaign, aimed at assimilating Indians into American society. David Whisnant's study of reformers in Appalachia shows many parallels to Fletcher's desire to assimilate the Indians of North America. In All That is Native & Fine, Whisnant studies a group of reformers from the early twentieth century who attempted to educate and modernize the people of Appalachia. In their attempt to transform the Appalachian people, the reformers redefined and exploited the Appalachian culture. Whisnant calls this process "systematic cultural intervention" which he defines as:

> [when] someone [or some institution] consciously and programmatically takes action within a culture with the intent of affecting it in some specific way that the intervener thinks desirable. The action taken can range from relatively passive (say, starting an archive or museum) to relatively active (like instituting a cultural revitalization effort), or negative (as in the prohibition of ethnic customs, dress, or language).

> Moreover, a negative effect may follow from a positive intent, and vice versa.[23]

Usually the intervener is a person or institution that has some sort of power over the other group or culture. Whisnant states:

> An intervener, by virtue of his or her status, power, and established credibility, is frequently able to define what the culture *is*, to normalize and legitimize that definition in the larger society, and even to feed it back into the culture itself, where it may be internalized as "real" or "traditional" or "authentic". . . . The "culture" that is perceived by the intervener (even before the act of intervention) is rarely congruent with the culture that is actually there.[24]

Fletcher is a prime example of a cultural intervener described by Whisnant. Like the reformers in Appalachia, she used her power as a governmental agent to intervene in a society that was vulnerable. The result of her intervention was the "re-definition" and transformation of Native American music into a "Westernized" and "Christianized" version of a traditional art form.

Another secondary source which helps place Fletcher into her historical perspective is Lawrence Levine's Highbrow/Lowbrow. Levine explains how the elite culture in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century strove for order in the midst of an increasingly disordered

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[23]David E. Whisnant, All That is Native & Fine (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 13-14.

[24]Ibid, p. 260.

society. He posits that the elite often looked to music as a way to reestablish order. Levine quotes the critic John Sullivan Dwight, who in 1870 emphasized the importance of music in the society, especially as a civilizing and uniting force. According to Levine:

> [Dwight argued that] . . . music [is] a "civilizing agency," a "beautiful corrective of our crudities," and argued that a democratic people, "a great mixed people of all races," whose normal impulse was centrifugal, desperately needed the harmonizing, humanizing influence of fine music. "Our radicalism will pull itself up by the roots . . . unless it be restrained by a no less free, impassioned love of order."[25]

Fletcher, as part of the elite society, viewed music as a "civilizing agency" which could strengthen her ultimate goal of assimilating Native Americans into American society. The desire for order which sparked Fletcher was a common impulse for people from her elite background. In her attempt to bring "order," Native American music became a tool to justify and accelerate the nineteenth century idea of civilization and assimilation.

Two final secondary sources, both connected to women's issues, provide insight into Fletcher's life and work as a female in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In her desire to reform Native American culture, Fletcher transcended the mold for the nineteenth century woman,

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[25]Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: the Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in American (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 200.

rejecting the role of mother and wife. Barbara Welter's article "The Cult of True Womanhood" and Karen Blair's Clubwoman as Feminist support the idea that many women in the late nineteenth century felt an obligation to societal reform. According to Welter, writers, clergy, and educators promoted the idea that women had inherently superior moral virtues compared to men. According to this idea, women could elevate society by upholding a pure familial atmosphere. Welter calls this female obligation "True Womanhood" and explains:

> The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society, could be divided into four cardinal virtues--piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife-woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power.[26]

Women were expected to sacrifice all selfish interests for the family and society, and through this self abnegation women could attain true happiness.

In Clubwoman as Feminist, Blair argues that many nineteenth century women used their perceived moral superiority as a way to first step from the domestic realm

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[26]Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860." American Quarterly, 18 (1966), p. 21.

into the public society.[27] She calls this phenomenon, "Domestic Feminism." According to Blair, organizations such as women's clubs gave women a forum to spread their moral influence into the public realm. Blair states:

> Despite public criticism, thousands of nineteenth century women effectively employed the lady's traits to justify their departure from the home to exert special influence on the male sphere. By invoking their supposed talents, women took the ideology of the home with them, ending their confinement and winning influence in the public realm. Domestic Feminism resulted when women redefined the ideal lady.[28]

Most women married and bore children, but maiden women like Alice Fletcher could be "chosen through fidelity to some high mission."[29] According to Barbara Welter:

> Very rarely, a 'woman of genius' was absolved from the necessity of marriage, being so extraordinary that she did not need the security or status of being a wife.[30]

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[27]Although women expanded their influence into the public realm, such activity was limited to traditionally feminine topics such as social issues and music. After the Civil War, a drop in the birth rate of the white, Anglo-Saxon population further complicated women's expansion into the public arena. Although the trend started soon after the Civil War, Theodore Roosevelt coined the phenomenon, "Race Suicide." A physician, A. Lapthorn Smith blamed the situation on the higher education of women. He stated:

> . . . the higher education of women is surely extinguishing her race, both directly by its effects on her organization, and indirectly, by rendering early marriage impossible for the average man. . . . The educated woman seems to know that she will make a poor mother, for she marries rarely and late, and when she does, the number of children is very small ("Higher Education of Women and Race Suicide," 467).

[28]Karen Blair, The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980), p. 4.

[29]Barbara Welter, The Cult of True Womanhood, p. 37.

[30]Ibid.

Blair and Welter's interpretation of women in the late nineteenth century gives a historical perspective, providing insight into Fletcher's unprecedented zeal regarding the Native American people.

The present work thus draws from a variety of disciplines, including musicology, cultural history, anthropology, ethnomusicology, religious studies, Native American studies, and women's studies. The study of Alice Fletcher's struggle to redefine Native American society through her interpretation of Native American music forms an intersection between these disciplines and gives insight into a moment in cultural history.

Organization

Chapter One gives a brief biographical sketch of Fletcher's life before her entry into the professional world. Chapter Two examines Fletcher's world-view and connection with societal trends and issues. Chapter Three shows how Fletcher's connection to societal trends and issues influenced her relationships with people, particularly Native American people. Chapter Four examines how her belief system and relationships with people influenced her interpretation of Native American music. Chapter Five presents a specific musical idea, the idea of latent harmony, that was sparked specifically by her

interpretation of Native American music, influenced by the affirmations of like-minded individuals, and impacted in general by societal trends and issues. Chapter Six shows how Fletcher's beliefs, ideas, and published works became disseminated throughout the American musical establishment and United States culture in general, and evaluates Fletcher's significance as a musical researcher.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Alice Fletcher's career as a professional ethnologist, musical researcher, and Native American reformer was unique for her time, particularly for a woman. Descended from Robert Fletcher, who had settled in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1630, Fletcher spent her early life living in New England.[31] Her father, Thomas Fletcher, was a New York lawyer, and her mother, Lucia Jenks, was a highly educated woman from Boston. Fletcher was born in Cuba in 1838, while her father was attempting to recover from an illness. Unfortunately, her father died during her infancy. After his death, her mother married Oliver Gardiner in New York. Fletcher grew up loving books and music, living a relatively cultured and privileged life.[32]

Fletcher's educational experience exceeded the norms for women in the late nineteenth century. She attended the private Brooklyn Female Academy [founded in 1846][33] where

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[31]The Fletcher family history, The Descendants of Robert Fletcher of Concord, Mass. was written by Edward H. Fletcher in 1881.

[32]There is little existing material concerning Fletcher's life before the 1880s because she apparently destroyed all documents that may have explained such events. From accounts given to contemporaries later in life, and some brief recollections by Fletcher herself, a view of Fletcher's early life can nevertheless be pieced together.

[33]By the end of the first year, the school had 686 students and the original faculty consisted of nineteen women and four men. According to school records, Alice Fletcher attended the Brooklyn Academy in 1847. The school was destroyed by a fire in 1853, and many documents were

the young women studied geography, history, arithmetic, natural history, natural philosophy, vocal music, and public speaking. In contrast to Fletcher's "liberal arts" education, most women were discouraged from the educational path due to social pressure and biological arguments about gender fitness. In particular, medical doctors warned women that education would negatively affect their biological and social roles. The acclaimed Harvard physician, Edward Clarke, was a major proponent of the idea that education would damage women's health. In 1873, Clarke published his Sex in Education: A Fair Chance for the Girls, in which he argued that the use of the brain would take needed energy away from the female organs during puberty. According to Clarke, such a dramatic imbalance between the brain and the female organ would ultimately inhibit girls' reproductive capacities. He stated, "The American girl, yoked with dictionary, and laboring with the catamenia, is an exhibition of monstrous brain and aborted ovarian development."[34] In her study of female education in the nineteenth century, Susan Conrad confirms that many people

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destroyed. The school was later rebuilt and renamed the Parker Collegiate Academy.

[34]Edward Clarke, Sex in Education: A Fair Chance for the Girls, 1873, p. 127.

accepted Clarke's theory:[35]

> Many clergymen, doctors, and journalists argued that an intellectual woman was a contradiction in terms; many found it necessary to warn women not to pursue a life of the mind. Equipped as they were with underdeveloped, tiny brains and overdeveloped nerves, any stimulation of the former might set women off. Their delicate constitution must be carefully guarded, for it was capable of self-destruction at the slightest provocation.[36]

Despite the pressure to marry and conform to the expected female role, Fletcher received an excellent education and set out on a professional life which defied the traditional female role of the late nineteenth century.[37]

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[35]Clarke's theory was strengthened by the fact that many educated women chose to limit the size of their families. In addition to limiting the size of their families, more women were receiving higher education at academies, colleges, and universities. Patricia Graham, in "Women in Higher Education" states that in 1880, 32% of all college undergraduates were women and by 1910, 40% of all college undergraduates were women. (764) Often, educated women did not marry. If they did marry, they tended to bear relatively few children. The controversy had reached a pinnacle by 1905, when President Theodore Roosevelt coined the term "race suicide," blaming elite women for shirking their "womanly duties," by electing to gain education and wait until they were older to marry. Roosevelt stated:

> If the best classes do not reproduce themselves the nation will of course go down; for the real question is encouraging the fit, and discouraging the unfit, to survive (The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt, p. 86).

[36]Susan Conrad, Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America: 1830-1860, p. 24.

[37]See Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Women and Economics (1898) for a contemporary view of nineteenth century women. Gilman posited that nineteenth century women were totally dependent on men, and particularly dependent on the institution of marriage. According to Gilman:

> But all that she [the American woman] may wish to have, all that she may wish to do, must come through a single channel and a single choice. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame, —not only these, but home and happiness, reputation, ease, and pleasure, her bread and butter, --all must come to her though a small gold ring (Women and Economics, pp. 36-37).

The Club Movement

The most significant impetus to Fletcher's career after graduation from Brooklyn Academy was her association with the women's club movement. By the early 1870s, she had become extremely involved with the New York Sorosis club.[38] In 1873, as secretary of Sorosis, she had invited sixteen hundred prominent women in the United States and Europe to a meeting in New York. Four hundred women responded, and they established the Association for the Advancement of Women [AAW].[39] For the next eight years Fletcher remained active with the AAW. As secretary of the AAW for many years, she organized and planned annual meetings that they held in various cities.

The network of contacts she made during her association with Sorosis and the Association for the Advancement of

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[38]Sorosis advocated the education and edification of women and encouraged the development of female friendships. Despite the apparent advocacy of women's betterment, the real focus of Sorosis was on service to society. In some earliest minutes of Sorosis in 1869, it states:

> God grant that woman with her refinement, her love, and her religion may be the means in the hands of God of helping the weak, ennobling humanity and converting the world (Sorosis, p. 24).

[39]Like Sorosis, the AAW sought to edify and educate women. Also like Sorosis, the purpose of the AAW was to serve, reform, and redeem. Just through their existence, club members believed that their clubs would reform society. At the First Congress of Women in the late 1880s, Julia Ward Howe stated:

> Plant an Association like this in the sparse settlements of the wilderness, or in the moral jungle of great cities, or in the roughness of mining and agricultural districts, and I can tell you what will come up--a redeemed society (Julia Ward Howe in Karen Blair's The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914, p. 7).

Women aided Fletcher's professional career as a lecturer and also sparked her life as a socio-cultural anthropologist.[40] She lectured on ancient and prehistoric America, using supporting teaching materials such as maps, watercolor drawings, and specimens. She shared information concerning her travels, philanthropy, and scientific work with women's clubs throughout the United States. More specifically, through her lectures, Fletcher befriended Mary Copley Thaw and Thaw's husband, William Thaw, a steel magnate from Pittsburgh. She impressed the Thaws with her scientific work, and developed a personal friendship with them. After William's death, Mary conferred on her a gift of support for her scientific research efforts, and in 1890, Fletcher received the Thaw Fellowship through Harvard University.[41] The Fellowship amounted to $30,000 and equaled $1,050 per

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[40]According to Joan Mark in her biography of Fletcher, upon graduation from the elite Academy, Fletcher taught primary school and traveled in Europe. In the late 1850s, she served as governess for the Claudius Conant family of New York. Conant paid Fletcher a significant amount of money. Caroline H. Dall, one of Fletcher's friends, wrote that Fletcher could have been financially independent, but because of poor investments, she found herself in need of employment. According to Dall, "It was for her [Fletcher's] bread that she first sought employment at the Peabody Museum as a lecturer." (Caroline H. Dall Journal, Jan. 11, 1885, Caroline H. Dall Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.) Fletcher's success as a lecturer was facilitated by the support from women's clubs.

[41]Fletcher's receipt of the Thaw Fellowship caused a stir at Harvard University, which did not allow female students. According to Curtis M. Hinsley in his study of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, Harvard President Charles Eliot and the trustees were not supportive of Fletcher as recipient of the Fellowship. Accordingly, Curtis states, "While the women and men of scientific Washington gave her [Fletcher] a gala celebration, there was no public recognition in Cambridge" ("The Museum Origins of Harvard Anthropology 1866-1915," p. 132).

year, thus relieving her of financial constraints the rest of her life.

In addition to the network of contacts that women's clubs provided to Fletcher, they also served as an outlet for her to pursue personal interests. The importance of women's clubs to women in the nineteenth century was manifold.[42] The nineteenth century author and feminist, Charlotte Perkins Gilman called the club movement:

> . . . one of the most important sociological phenomena of the century--indeed, of all centuries, marking as it does the first timid steps towards social organization of these so long unsocialized members of our race.[43]

Fletcher understood the expanded opportunity that clubs gave to women. In Women's Journal, Fletcher stated:

> The sphere of home now stretched beyond the walls that once bound the wife and mother so closely. With this

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[42]Female organizations provided literary discourse and fellowship for women. For the first time, women's opportunities and influence expanded beyond the home and church. In The Club Woman as Feminist, Karen J. Blair argues that the women's club sparked the movement from the domestic to the public realm and calling this phenomena "Domestic Feminism." She states:

> Domesticity and morality, however entrenched in the American ideals of womanhood, nevertheless became vehicles whereby ladies could alleviate the repression of domestic confinement (p. 7).

In her History of the Club Movement in America, Jennie June Croly spoke on the altruistic purpose of the club movement in general. She stated:

> Women have been God's ministers everywhere and at all times. In varied ways they have worked for others until the name woman stands for the spirit of self-sacrifice.
>
> Now, He bids them bind their sheaves and show a new and more glorious womanhood; a new unit-the complete type of the mother-woman, working, with all, as well as for all. (Jennie June Croly, History of the Club Movement in America, p. 14.)

[43]Carlotte Perkins Gilman in Rothman, p. 64.

> enlargement of vision, the instinct of her race asserted itself, and she sought the discussion of clubs, not in imitation of man, but because she was of the same stock as her father and husband.[44]

By the 1890s Fletcher was quite famous and was a popular guest speaker at women's clubs. Accordingly, Fletcher inspired many women to the study of Native American culture and music. In 1901, her Indian Story and Song inspired the lectures of Mrs. Sadie E. Coe, Professor of Music at Northwestern University and member of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. As Chairperson of the Music Committee, Mrs. Coe used Fletcher's book as a basis for a lecture recital for the Illinois Confederation.[45]

Fletcher and Anthropology

The 1880s were a turning point in Fletcher's life, marking the beginning of her professional career in ethnology and her connection with Native America.[46] Like most occupations, the field of anthropology was male-

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[44]Alice C. Fletcher, "Women's Clubs," Woman's Journal 9 (19 October 1878), p. 333.

[45]Sadie E. Coe to Alice C. Fletcher, Feb. 16, 1901, Fletcher Papers.

[46]There are many interesting biographical books concerning women in anthropology. Some include: Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies, edited by Ute Gacs, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre, Ruth Weinberg. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 1989; Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest 1880-1980, edited by Barbara A. Babcock and Nancy J. Parezo, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 1988.

dominated and male-oriented.[47] At museums, women generally became secretaries or filled other historically female positions. If they became field workers, women usually helped the men. Women could collect data, but they did not analyze, interpret, or translate the information they collected. In her study of female scientists, Margaret Rossiter explains how limited the opportunities were for women in anthropology. She stated:

> . . . they [women] were chiefly in the marginal, subordinate positions that can be termed a hierarchical kind of "women's work." It should be noted therefore that most of the discussion of these jobs has been largely in economic terms. Women were willing to do the often tedious and difficult tasks required for far lower salaries than would satisfy these low-ranking jobs and often did superbly well with little support.[48]

If a woman happened to attain a leading role, she usually studied stereotypical female subjects such as women, children, home life, the arts, or emotional issues.

Despite the hierarchy, by the 1870s and 1880s, many women had joined historically male scientific clubs. The American Association for the Advancement of Science [AAAS] began admitting women in 1848 when the astronomer Maria Mitchell joined. Yet the male leadership of such

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[47]Although anthropology has had the reputation for being open to women, male leaders restricted women's roles in anthropology from the beginning. See Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest 1880-1980, edited by Barbara A. Babcock and Nancy J. Parezo.

[48]Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America, p. 60.

organizations began to limit the level of women's participation in their organizations. In 1873, the AAAS established two levels of membership. To become a "fellow," the higher level of membership, a person needed to be professionally engaged in science. As a result, most women remained at the lower level of membership. In Women Scientists in America, Margaret Rossiter found that between 1880-1884, the AAAS inducted more than forty new female members each year, but they inducted only five female fellows for the entire period. Fletcher was one of the fellows.[49]

Like other women who became involved in early anthropology, Fletcher's sex determined her first work in the field. In her first trip west in 1881, her primary project was to study Native American women.[50] In a letter to Lucian Carr of the Peabody Museum, Fletcher stated:

> I know that what I am toward is difficult, fraught with hardship to mind and body, but there is something to be learned in the line of woman's life in the social state represented by the Indians that . . . will be of value not only ethnologically but help toward the historical

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[49]Ibid, p. 76.

[50]Thomas Tibbles' Buckskin and Blanket Days gives insight into Fletcher's first trip west in 1881, when she accompanied him and Susette La Flesche to the Sioux and Omaha reservations. Tibbles' account must be viewed with caution because he and Fletcher, along with the whole La Flesche family became bitter enemies after Tibbles married Susette La Flesche in the early 1880s (Buckskin and Blanket Days: Memoirs of a Friend of the Indians, Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1985).

solution of "the woman question" in our midst.[51]

In contrast to most women involved in anthropology during the late nineteenth century, Fletcher became professionally successful. Like most of the earliest anthropologists, she did not have an academic degree in anthropology.[52] Admitted into the AAAS as a fellow in 1883, she became intimately involved with professional scientific organizations. In 1885, Fletcher and other professional women started the Women's Anthropological Society, and she served as vice-president. In 1896, she became the Vice President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1902, she was a founding and charter member of the American Anthropological Society. She served on the editorial board for the publication American Anthropologist from 1899-1916. In 1903, Fletcher became president of the Anthropological Society of Washington. She was active in the American Folklore Society, serving as president in 1905. In 1907, she served as chairperson of the American committee of the Archaeological Institute of America. Against the judgment of the most prominent anthropologists in the United States,

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[51]Alice C. Fletcher to Lucian Carr, August 3, 1881, Peabody Museum Papers.

[52]F.W. Putnam, whose academic training was in Ichthyology, began a graduate program in anthropology at Harvard in 1890. Franz Boas' graduate program at Columbia University also was started in the 1890s. John Wesley Powell was the first director of the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE]. Like Fletcher, Powell did not have an academic degree.

including her mentor F.W. Putnam and friend Franz Boas, Fletcher directed the establishment of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe and supported its first leader, Edgar Hewitt.[53]

Fletcher's anthropological career began during her first trip west in 1881. She chronicled many tribal ceremonies of the Lakhota[54] (Sioux)[55], and by 1883 Fletcher had begun her long career of publishing accounts of such ceremonies. In 1882, she witnessed the last legal and official Sun Dance of the Lakota at Pine Ridge Agency.[56] Her monograph, the "Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux," documents

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[53]Later renamed the School of American Research, the School of American Archaeology was established to train students in archaeology. Fletcher fully supported Hewitt's teaching philosophy, which included teaching through field experience, not lecture. He emphasized close relationships between teachers and students. Fletcher, too, learned mostly in this fashion: experience and a close relationship with her teacher. As part of the elite establishment, Fletcher's friends and colleagues Putnam and Boas vehemently opposed appointing Hewitt as the director. Hewitt was viewed as an amateur and according to Malinda Elliott, Boas, Putnam and other professional anthropologists were "working hard to establish professional standard to separate amateurs from genuine scientists" (The School of American Research: A History, The First Eighty Years), p. 8.

[54]Historians have spelled "Lakhota" a variety of ways, including "Lakota" and "Lakotah." The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe has officially endorsed the "Lakhota" spelling because the "H" after the "K" encourages the correct pronunciation of the word (www.lakhota.com).

[55]According to the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, "Sioux" is the French rendering of an Objibwe word "nadewisoui," which means "treacherous snakes." The term "Sioux" has historically had a negative connotation, and therefore the terms "Dakhota," "Lakhota," and "Nakhota" are preferred by the tribes. All three words mean "friends" or "allies" in various dialects. Dakhota is the Santee dialect, Lakhota is the Teton dialect, and Nakhota is the Yankton dialect of this Native American language (www.lakhota.com).

[56]The Sun Dance was officially banned from 1883 until the 1950s.

this ceremony. In 1884, the Peabody Museum published "The Wa-Wan or Pipe Dance of the Omaha," "The Elk Mystery of the Ogalalla Sioux," "The Ceremony of the Four Winds of the Santee Sioux," "The Ghost Lodge Ceremony of the Ogalalla Sioux," and "The White Buffalo Festival of the Uncpapa Sioux" for their Sixteenth and Seventeenth Annual Reports. Fletcher published much more after 1890 when Mrs. Mary Copley Thaw conferred upon her the gift of support for her scientific efforts. At this time, Fletcher gave up her governmental positions and dedicated her life to ethnographic endeavors.

Frederic Ward Putnam

In preparation for her lectures, and as a mentor for her ethnographic research, Fletcher requested the help of Frederic Putnam (1839-1915), director of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[57] Fletcher's connection with Putnam was one of the most important relationships in her life. With his aid, she attended scientific meetings and symposiums,

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[57]Putnam trained a number of female scientists, despite the lack of support from the Harvard institution and its president, Charles Eliot. In 1893 Putnam stated:

> Several of my best students are women, who have become widely known by their thorough and important works and publications; and this I consider as high an honor as could be accorded to me (Curtis Hinsley,"The Museum Origins of Harvard Anthropology: 1866-1915." In Science at Harvard University: Historical Perspectives, Clark A. Elliot and Margaret Rossiter, eds.(Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1992), p. 132.

learned the scientific method, and had an institution with which to associate. In 1879, Fletcher became an apprentice at the Peabody Museum, where she studied directly with Putnam's assistant, Lucian Carr. In addition, she learned how to collect, preserve, and handle artifacts. With Putnam's influence, Fletcher gained membership in scientific organizations such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). Through Putnam and the Peabody Museum, she published her first articles, beginning with her Five Indian Ceremonies in 1882. For the next thirty years, Fletcher maintained an intimate relationship with Putnam as mentor, colleague, and friend.

In the early 1890s, Putnam hired Fletcher to prepare three exhibits for the upcoming World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Putnam was in charge of the entire anthropology section for the Exposition. Putnam paid Fletcher three dollars per day plus travel expenses. As part of his team, she served as a judge for the ethnological exhibit and set up three exhibits. The first exhibit consisted of various items from the Nez Perces, Omaha, and Winnebago tribes.[58]

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[58]Fletcher had collected items during her tenure as Allotting Agent for the U.S. government. Fletcher's assistant, Jane Gay, called it "anthropometric mania." In attempting to acquire cranial measurements of the Nez Perces for exhibits at the Columbian Exposition, Gay and Fletcher had a difficult time in obtaining their anthropometric data as the Nez Perces questioned the intentions of the scientists. They finally had to disregard scientific procedure and turn their tools over to the school superintendent who then forced the Nez Perce children to be measured. Initially, the Nez Perce students thought that the

Fletcher's second display focused on her work on Native American music, including her new book, A Study of Omaha Music. Her final display focused on the "Sacred Pipes of Friendship of the Omaha."[59]

Although Putnam gave Fletcher significant help in beginning and securing her professional life in anthropology, Fletcher also aided Putnam at various times throughout the years. This reciprocal relationship began in 1885, when Fletcher used her contacts with women's clubs to aid Putnam in the preservation of the Serpent Mound of Ohio, resulting in the first federal law for the protection of archaeologic monuments. Later, Putnam acknowledged his indebtedness to Fletcher and her friends. He stated:

> Yet, although an interest was awakened in the object, I fear it might have come to naught if Miss Alice C. Fletcher, meeting in Newport a few Boston ladies, had not taken the opportunity to appeal to them for assistance in the work which she knew I had so much at heart, and which was, at the same time, so thoroughly in accordance with her own views. Her earnest presentation of the subject had the desired effect. In

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instruments, which were placed on the head, and around the ears and eyes, would endanger them physically. According to Gay:

> They evidently thought these mysterious instruments were some white man's contrivance to cheat them out of their remaining possessions--their ears and their eyes. Some, perhaps, imagined the performance a piece of necromancy which might result in the laming of their horses. . . . (With the Nez Perce, p. 142).

[59]Although there was a World's Congress of Religions which coincided with the Columbian Exposition, Native American religion was not counted among world religions. Fletcher's display of the Sacred Pipes was the only representation of Native American religion at the Exposition.

> the winter of 1886 several of Boston's noble and earnest women issued a private circular. . . . Subscriptions were solicited to purchase the Serpent Mound, which was to be given in trust to the Peabody Museum for perpetual preservation. . . . This appeal was cordially met, and in June 1886, I was provided with nearly $6000 with which to buy such land as seemed to be required for the purpose in view. . . .[60]

Throughout her life, Fletcher worked toward the preservation of archaeological sites and important ethnographic materials. The purchase of the Serpent Mound led to the first federal law for the protection of archaeologic monuments. Later, Fletcher lobbied for a law protecting Mesa Verde Indian ruins in southern Colorado, which preempted the "Antiquities" Act of 1906, and led to the preservation of hundreds of American ancient sites.

Clearly, Alice Fletcher's lifetime accomplishments were multitudinous and significant. Despite the difficulties she encountered, she rejected the standard role for women in the nineteenth century and dedicated her life to studying and preserving the Native American people. Fletcher never became overtly involved with the suffrage movement, nor did she openly express distress concerning her own place in society or the professional world. However in 1895, she did write to Putnam, expressing her dismay concerning the limits placed upon her because of her sex. She stated,

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[60]Frederick Ward Putnam, "The Serpent Mound of Ohio," p. 872.

> I am sometimes tempted when I think of the Museum and of what I could possibly do there, to wish that I never did wish, to be a man! I am aware that being a woman I am debarred from helping you as I otherwise could--but the bar is a fact.[61]

Later, in 1909, Fletcher was not invited to Putnam's seventieth birthday, although she was asked to provide an article for a volume published in Putnam's honor. When she heard that she was excluded from the party because she was a woman, she commented, "I'm glad to know why I was left out of the dinner. I forgot that I was woman. I only remembered I was a friend and a student."[62] Although she did not publicly or overtly rebel concerning women's place in society, her personal success and her continued support of women was a subtle rejection of traditional American society. Fletcher's accomplishments would have surely endeared her to former President John Quincy Adams, whom Thomas Wentworth Higgonson quoted in his Common Sense About Women (1882). Adams stated:

> Women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they do depart from the domestic circle, and enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God.[63]

The following chapters will explore Fletcher's professional

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[61]Fletcher to Putnam, Feb. 13, 1895, Peabody Museum Papers.

[62]Hinsley, "The Museum Origins of Harvard Anthropology: 1866-1915," p. 133.

[63]John Quincy Adams, quoted in Thomas Wentworth Higgonson's Common Sense About Women, 1882.

study of and intervention into Native American culture.

CHAPTER TWO

Fletcher's Christian and Philanthropic Agenda

Alice Fletcher's desire to preserve Native American artifacts, music, and culture produced a seeming contradiction with her equally strong desire to assimilate Indians into American society. Although she dedicated her professional life to preserving Indian culture, her advocation of assimilation called for a total renunciation of past traditions. Fletcher believed that the United States would annihilate Native Americans if they did not adopt Euro-American ways, and she sought to preserve the people.[64] In 1888, she stated:

> His [the Indian's] old-time environment is gone. His old-time organization is broken. He is encircled by our civilization, and must adopt it or be crushed. No human power can ever change these facts and conditions.[65]

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[64]In The Vanishing American, Brian Dippie explores the long- held and entrenched American belief that the Indians were a dying race. According to Dippie:

> The belief in the Vanishing American has had far-reaching ramifications. Based on what was thought to be irrefutable evidence, it became self-perpetuating. It was prophecy, self-fulfilling prophecy, and its underlying assumptions were truisms requiring no justification apart from periodic reiteration. The Vanishing American achieved the status of a cultural myth. The point was no longer whether or not the native population had declined in the past but that its future decline was inevitable. The myth of the Vanishing American accounted for the Indians' future by denying them one, and stained the tissue of policy with fatalism (p. xii).

[65]Alice C. Fletcher to Albert Smiley, "Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Friends of the Indian," 1888, p. 79.

To Fletcher, assimilation was the only avenue for the survival of Native American people, and it had two interrelated parts. She stated, "The Indian question in its civil aspect is twofold: education and land."[66] According to this viewpoint, the allotment of land could only be successful if the new landowners received adequate education to manage it. Fletcher stated:

> Justice to him therefore requires the giving to him of the rights of individual ownership of his property, of extending over him the law of the land, of opening to him the various avenues of self-support, of educating him to meet his responsibility, and finally, according to him the rights of citizenship.[67]

Fletcher's initial experience for the assimilation of Native Americans into American society was with the Women's National Indian Association [WNIA]. As an advocate for land, citizenship, and education for Indians, the WNIA was a reform organization that formed in the 1870s and 1880s. The group petitioned Congress in 1880, with 13,000 signatures, calling for many civil liberties for Native Americans. The members promoted education for all Native American children, land allotment, and full rights under law. The WNIA circulated literature, furnished information on the "Indian question" to the press, and in 1888, started a monthly paper

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[66]Alice C. Fletcher, "Between the Lines," (July, 1886), p. 430.

[67]Alice C. Fletcher, "Between the Lines," p. 431.

called The Indian's Friend.[68] The WNIA worked alongside other reform organizations, including the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia [est. 1882]. Sponsored primarily by local churches, the WNIA organized more than eighty state and local units.

With the support of the WNIA, Fletcher established a system of lending money to Native Americans who wanted to buy land and build homes of their own.[69] Later, she personally secured funds for Omaha couples to come East and live in white neighborhoods. She called this eastern experience an "outing" experience. According to Fletcher's design, the young, married couples came East and lived for a year or two among a middle-class community. After they had learned the ways of "civilization," the couples then returned to the reservation to teach their families and tribes what they had learned.

Fletcher and Allotment

Fletcher's public life as an advocate for the allotment of land to Native Americans began in 1879 when she met Susette La Flesche, Francis La Flesche, and Thomas Tibbles during their eastern tour. The trio had embarked on a tour

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[68]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, pp. 134-138.

[69]David Sills, editor, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 5, (The MacMillan and Free Press), p. 492.

of the eastern states to relate the wrongdoings done to the Ponka tribe. In 1877, the government had escorted the Ponkas from their homeland to Indian territory, and then had given the Ponkas' land to the Sioux. Travel was extremely difficult, and many tribal members died. In January 1879, Ponka Chief Standing Bear and a few followers went north to Omaha. A group of Omaha citizens, including Thomas Tibbles, assistant editor of the Omaha Herald, and Joseph La Flesche, Chief of the Omaha Tribe, took up the case. Federal troops came to arrest Standing Bear and his followers, but Omaha citizens protected them. In the end the judge ruled in favor of Standing Bear. Standing Bear then traveled throughout the eastern part of the United States with Thomas Tibbles and Susette La Flesche to relate wrongs done to the Ponkas and appeal for support.[70]

During a public meeting in Boston, Fletcher shared with Susette La Flesche her interest in gaining firsthand knowledge about Native American culture. Consequently, in 1881, Fletcher traveled with La Flesche to Nebraska to study family life and women's issues. After viewing the situation of the Omaha first-hand, Fletcher vowed to help the Omaha save their land. Francis La Flesche recounted Fletcher's initial experience with the Omaha in 1881. La Flesche

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[70]Ultimately, the federal government allowed the Ponkas to either return to Nebraska or remain in Indian territory.

remembered:

> At the suggestion of help the faces of the Indians brightened with hope . . . "You have come at a time when we are in distress. We have learned that the 'land paper' given us by the Great Father does not make us secure in our home. . . . We want a 'strong paper.' We are told that we can get one through an act of Congress. Can you help us?"[71]

Because of her earliest experience with the Omaha, Fletcher promised to help them and became an avid proponent of the allotment of land to the Native Americans. She began lobbying for allotment after she first visited Nebraska in 1881. In 1882, she worked with Nebraska's congressional delegation to reduce the size of the Omaha preserve. Her argument, endorsed by both reformers and scientists, was that "Indians could not progress until they adopted a system of individual landownership."[72]

Fletcher's persistent lobbying sparked the Omaha Allotment Act of 1882, and in 1883 President Chester Arthur appointed Fletcher to carry out the apportionment of land to the Omaha. After the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, signed by President Grover Cleveland, she performed the same governmental duties with the Winnebago (1887-1889)

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[71]Francis La Flesche, "Alice C. Fletcher," Science, p. 115.

[72]According to Frederick E. Hoxie, Fletcher's approach was vital to the passage of every major land cession of the 1880s. See A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920, by Frederick E. Hoxie, p. 50.

and Nez Perces (1889-1892).[73] Fletcher encountered significant resistance from the Nez Perces, in particular. According to Jane Gay in her autobiographical account, many Nez Perces viewed Fletcher's missionary zeal as tyranny.[74] She stated:

> . . . an old grandfather, whose little girl was ill at the school, went for the child and carried her home in his arms. The Agent (Fletcher) rode after him, tore the child away and put the grandfather in irons. The child died that night and the old man was fined five dollars 'for abducting a school-girl."[75]

Despite the difficulties and resistance she encountered, Fletcher believed that her work in apportionment would make a significant change in the Indians' lives. In a letter to F.W. Putnam, she stated, "There will be no end of trouble and work, but if I succeed as I mean to do, good will come of it to the people."[76]

Fletcher approached allotment with an assumption that

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[73]As Special Agent for the Office of Indian Affairs, Fletcher was paid the same as a man in a similar position: five dollars per day, plus expenses.

[74]With the Nez Perces: Alice Fletcher in the Field 1889-1892 is a conglomeration of the letters of E. Jane Gay during the three years she helped Alice Fletcher allot land to the Nez Perces in Idaho. Gay served as cook and volunteer photographer during the three years and her letters give insight into the trials and difficulties Fletcher faced while working with the Nez Perces. (E. Jane Gay, With the Nez Perces Alice Fletcher in the Field 1889-1892, edited, with an introduction by Frederick E. Hoxie and Joan T. Mark, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

[75]E. Jane Gay, With the Nez Perces, pp. 26-27.

[76]Fletcher to Putnam, May 1, 1883, F.W. Putnam Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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white U.S. values were appropriate for Native Americans. In the late 1880s, she asked the Board of Indian Commissioners for equal allotments of land to all Indian men and women. Fletcher argued that equalization would benefit everyone. Under the Dawes Act, a few years earlier, the government had given the young and able-bodied only 40 acres, while they gave the old and infirm 160 acres. Because of her persistent lobbying, the board petitioned Congress to equalize all allotments. In January 1890, the Senate approved the idea that all Indians should receive one hundred-sixty acres. The House agreed only to eighty acres, and this passed.[77]

Fletcher was particularly sensitive to difficulties that Native American women faced in the late nineteenth century. For example, in her study of the role of Native American women, Fletcher learned that Omaha and Dakota women had an important and in many ways equitable place in society. In The Omaha Tribe, Fletcher described her understanding of the role of Omaha women. She stated:

> The Omaha women worked hard. Upon her depended much of the livlihood [sic] of the people-the preparation of the food, of shelter of clothing, and the cultivation of the garden patches. In return, she was regarded with esteem, her wishes were respected, and, while she held no public office, many of the movements and ceremonies of the tribe depended on her timely assistance.[78]

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[77]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p. 257.

[78]Alice C. Fletcher, The Omaha Tribe, p. 326.

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The role of the Omaha women as the farming experts caused tremendous difficulty in transforming Native American men into farmers. Farming had typically been part of the female sphere, and the men had been responsible for hunting and protection. As the need for hunting and protection became obsolete, reformers sought to transform the men into farmers.

In their transformation from agricultural workers to "cultured ladies," women would lose their traditional place in society. Fletcher understood the significance of this reorganization as early as 1882, when Sitting Bull lamented the plight of his women with Fletcher. He stated:

> You are a woman; take pity on my women, for they have no future. The young men can be like the white men, till the soil, supply food and clothing, they will take the work out of the hands of the women, and the women, to whom we have owed every thing in the past, will be stripped of all which gave them power and position among the people. Give a future to my women.[79]

Fletcher also learned that during divorce, the children remained with the mother. In addition, the woman owned the tipi and all its contents. Yet, in the laws which governed the United States, the woman lost all possessions and rights when she married.[80] In her study of Native American women,

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[79]Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Woman and Her Problems," p. 175.

[80]The responsibilities of the dutiful wife were outlined in Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Law of England (1765), used by American writers in the nineteenth century to instruct American women. It was also a standard textbook for the training of American lawyers.

Fletcher commented on the confusion and resistance that Native American women expressed concerning the imposition of American laws on them. According to Fletcher:

> Formerly, she owned all the home property, the lodge and all its belongings; other property was hers to do with as she pleased. Today, if she be married, she finds herself under a dominion that did not exist in the olden times, and from which she cannot escape. She is irked and disheartened by these strange enforcements that have come she knows not how, nor does she apprehend what they mean for her and for society.[81]

Fletcher responded to needs of Omaha women, in particular, by initiating programs which would aid them in changing their role in the household. According to Dorothy Clarke Wilson, in her biography of Susette La Flesche, Fletcher helped start evening classes for women on the Omaha reservation.[82]

Although Fletcher was sensitive to the needs of women, and promoted fairness in the amount of land allotted to each

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Mary Beard in Women as a Social Force quotes Blackstone:

> By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and *cover*, she performs every thing . . . . A man cannot grant any thing to his wife, or enter into covenant with her, for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence. . . .
> The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he is to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her, by domestic chastisement (pp. 78-79).

[81]Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Woman and Her Problems," p. 176.

[82]Dorothy Clarke Wilson, Bright Eyes The Story of Susette La Flesche, an Omaha Indian (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), pp. 302-3.

person, she was immoveable concerning the actual allotment process. She advocated a strict break with past traditions and approved of eliminating "Indianness," and she posited that land allotment could achieve this. For example, when Fletcher allotted land to the Winnebago in 1888, she used only English names that she drew from historical figures. Whether or not the Native Americans knew or wanted the names, she gave them names such as Aaron Burr, Benjamin Johnson, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Alice Cary.[83] In addition, Fletcher also advocated an allotment procedure in which she would allot parcels of land in an alternation between American farmers and Native Americans, to better integrate the races. Although she stripped Native Americans of their given names and uprooted them from their homes, she truly believed that she was being sensitive to the Native American culture. She stated:

> We can not take an Indian up by the scruff of his neck and put him where we please. He has his home, such as it is, and his associations, and they have to be respected. There is a great deal in the Indian's life and efforts that one must be careful not to destroy, for it will not do to destroy too much when trying to reconstruct a people.[84]

Although some reformers argued that allotments should be at

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[83]Alice C. Fletcher, "Letter from Winnebago Agency," Sept. 20, 1888, p. 7.

[84]Delos Sacket Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, p. 67.

least ten miles apart, Fletcher proposed the idea of placing relatives in the same general proximity.

The allotted lands were originally placed in a twenty-five-year trust during which time the owners could neither lease nor sell them. Though reformers sought to protect the Native Americans from losing all their land, the Dawes Act and other bills that allotted land dealt devastating blows to the Native Americans' control of land. Between 1887 and 1934, they lost 65% of their land. Indian lands shrank from one hundred-fifty million acres in 1887, to one hundred-four million in 1896, to seventy-seven million in 1900, to forty-eight million in 1934.[85] Initially, the Native Americans lost land because the remainder of reservation land, after the allotments took place, was opened for white settlement. In addition, the "sink-or-swim" philosophy of reformers backfired. Native Americans did not follow the example of the American farmer. Contrastingly, lack of decent land and lack of desire to farm it obstructed their ability to fit into the desired mold. Despite the good intentions of the reformers, the Dawes Act and subsequent allotment acts have been viewed as a failure that led to the detriment rather

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[85]Leonard A. Carlson, Indians, Bureaucrats and Land The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming (Westport, Conn., London, England: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 18.

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than the progress of the Indian tribes involved.[86]

Fletcher and Education

Besides her role in land allotment, Fletcher also became publicly and intimately involved in Native American education. She supported, in particular, Captain Richard Pratt's Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[87] When children came to the Carlisle School, Pratt did not allow the children to speak their native language or dress in their traditional clothes. The administration even gave the children "Americanized" names. Pratt's program so impressed Fletcher that she organized train excursions from Washington to Pennsylvania so legislators could view the school. In addition, she personally recruited and accompanied Lakota and Omaha children to the school, financing some trips herself.

Captain Pratt, who started the Carlisle Indian School in 1879, posited that abrupt assimilation would solve all of the Native Americans' problems. He used the adage, "Kill the Indian in him and save the man."[88] Pratt insisted on the total make-over of the Native American youths, and he often kept the children at the school for years at a time and did

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[86]Ibid, p. 19.

[87]Approximately, five thousand students attended the Carlisle Indian School in the twenty-four years of its existence.

[88]Francis Paul Prucha, "Americanizing the Indians," p. 261.

not allow them to visit their homes. Beyond their instruction in the "cultured" habits of dress, speech, and etiquette, students learned agricultural techniques. Upon graduation from Carlisle, school officials expected the Native American youths to return to the reservation and then teach others what they had learned in the east.

Besides her work with Pratt, Fletcher became involved with Native American education at the national level in 1885, when Senator Henry Dawes of the Indian Affairs Committee commissioned her to conduct a nationwide survey of the government's Native American school system. Her seven-hundred-page report called for an expansion in the number and quality of schools. In 1886, she traveled to Alaska to investigate similar educational needs of the Natives there. The result of Fletcher's study called for more and better quality schools. Although Fletcher wanted more and better schools, her philosophy of Indian education was intimately related to her call for Indian assimilation. Fletcher posited that Native American education must revolve around practical knowledge. Men would learn agricultural skills and trades, while women would learn necessary domestic duties. In her article "Between the Lines," Fletcher stated:

> Without education in the line indicated, the Indian cannot hold his property, no matter how carefully it may be guarded by law, nor can he use it profitably to

himself or the community in which he lives.[89]

In Fletcher's view, education would give Indians the skills to maintain and preserve the land which the allotment laws gave them. In short, education was a means to reach the ultimate goal of Indian assimilation.

Through her support of Native American reform, Fletcher became intimately involved with governmental policy and with Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the commissioner of Indian affairs during the 1880s and 1890s. Morgan was a former Baptist minister, and President Benjamin Harrison commissioned him in 1889 to direct the Indian Bureau to "satisfy the Christian philanthropic sentiment of the country."[90] Morgan viewed Alice Fletcher as a specialist on Indian affairs, corresponded with her, and sought her advice frequently. According to Joan Mark, in her biography of Fletcher:

> Soon not only her [Fletcher's] ideas but also her very words, quoted at length, began to turn up in his [Morgan's] annual reports.[91]

Morgan's policy enforced the allotment program, removed children forcibly from their homes, and placed them in governmental schools. He mandated that Native American

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[89]Alice C. Fletcher, "Between the Lines," (July, 1886), p. 430.

[90]Francis Paul Prucha, "Thomas Jefferson Morgan (1889-93)," in The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977, ed. Robert M Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 194.

[91]Joan Mark, A Stranger in her Native Land (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), p. 194.

schools focus on Americanization. School officials inundated Native American students with the idea of Native American inferiority and barbarism.

Morgan directed officials and teachers to promote and emphasize the superiority of American culture. Thus, the students sang traditional hymns and pledged allegiance to the American flag. One of the Commissioner's reports emphasized the importance of fervent patriotism. It states:

> School-rooms should be supplied with pictures of civilized life, so that all their associations will be agreeable and attractive. The games and sports should be such as white children engage in, and the pupils should be rendered familiar with the songs and music that make our home life so dear. It is during this period particularly that it will be possible to inculcate in the minds of the pupils of both sexes that mutual respect that lies at the base of a happy home life, and of social purity. Much can be done to fix the current of their thoughts in right channels by having them memorize choice maxims and literary gems, in which inspiring thoughts and noble sentiments are embodied. . . . The school itself should be an illustration of the superiority of the Christian civilization.[92]

By 1892, the U.S. government had outlawed many important elements of Native American society, including dances and religious ceremonies.[93]

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[92]Delos Sacket Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), p. 75.

[93]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., 1892.

The Historical Validation of Fletcher's Quest for Assimilation

Fletcher and Morgan were not the only people who sought to assimilate Native Americans into American society. Fletcher's advocacy of assimilation paralleled a reform movement throughout the United States that later became an integral part of U.S. governmental policy. After the Civil War, violence escalated between the whites and Native Americans. This violence, largely located in the western half of the United States, corresponded with the westward movement of settlers, and threatened the traditional life of the Native Americans.[94] Many tribes resisted the increasing threats to their traditional life. Some significant confrontations included the Sioux uprising of 1862, the Sand Creek massacre of 1864,[95] the Navahos' long forced walk to Bosque Redondo, Fetterman's defeat in 1866,[96] and the

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[94]The Great Sioux Reserve was established in 1868. It ran from the Missouri River to the western boundary of Dakota Territory. Then after the discovery of gold in Black Hills, the Railroad came to Pierre and Chamberlain, but couldn't get to the Black Hills because of the Sioux Reserve. In order to accommodate the expanding American population, the Great Sioux Reserve was broken into five separate reservations in 1882.

[95]A group of Cheyenne and Arapahos under the leadership of Black Kettle and White Antelope were at a peace conference with General Chivington and Governor Evans near Denver. No formal peace treaty was signed, but the Indians turned in weapons on Sept. 28, 1864. They then moved northward to camp at Sand Creek. On Nov. 29, the Indians were attacked by Chivington and almost totally massacred, even though Black Kettle had raised an American flag and a white flag.

[96]Fetterman and 80 troops were lured into an ambush by the Native Americans, and all were killed.

closing of the Bozeman Trail.

The United States government reacted to the "Indian problem" with a policy of extermination. For example, after the Fetterman massacre, General William Sherman stated:

> Of course, this massacre should be treated as an act of war and should be punished with vindictive earnestness, until at least ten Indians are killed for each white life lost. . . . It is not necessary to find the very men who committed the acts, but destroy all of the same breed.[97]

Violence continued throughout the American West, with confrontations at many places, including Little Big Horn in 1876. The physical conquest of Native Americans did not end until 1877 with the capture of Chief Joseph and Nez Perce near the Canadian border. The tolerance of Americans sympathetic to the Native Americans' plight reached its breaking point in the late 1870s.[98] Because of the Ponka ordeal, many Christian-based reform groups organized,

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[97]Olsen, p. 52, from Holler, p. 111.

[98]In his book The Vanishing American, Brian W. Dippie elaborates on the significance and impact of the Ponka case on American society. He states:

> Boston, in particular, was swept away by the Ponkas' cause. The city's mayor, the pastor of Old South Church, prominent residents like Wendell Phillips and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the president of Amherst College, the governor of Massachusetts, and one of the state's powerful senators all did their bid. Not since the removal controversy had the Bay State been so caught up in the Indian question. Before the furor settled down, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had been replaced and President Rutherford B. Hayes had contritely jotted in his diary that "a great and grevious [*sic*] wrong" had been committed (p. 155).

calling for a change in policy.[99] One of the most significant reform groups, and a group in which Alice Fletcher was an important member, was the Lake Mohonk Friends of the Indians.

In 1869, Quaker businessperson Albert K. Smiley (1828-1916), who hoped to reverse U.S. Native American policy of the day, bought the land ninety miles north of New York City, and founded the Lake Mohonk Friends of the Indian Organization. He sought to "run [the organization] in accordance with Quaker principles, with an emphasis on man's relation to man and man's relation to nature."[100] In addition, Smiley imbued the Mohonk Conferences with a religious tenor. According to Francis Paul Prucha in his study of Christian reformers and the Native Americans during the late nineteenth century:

> The harmony that marked the Lake Mohonk conferences was based on a common philanthropic and humanitarian outlook expressed in Christian terms, for the reform organizations represented there had a strong religious orientation. The Women's National Indian Association, which had been established under Baptist auspices, assumed a nondenominational posture, but it consciously

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[99]Francis Paul Prucha wrote:

> It (the Ponka situation) was, in fact, the spark that ignited a new flame of concern for the rights of the Indians. The cause was just, the propaganda arising from it was spectacular, and the interest of eastern philanthropists in the Indians burned with new intensity (American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900), p. 113).

[100]The Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian: Guide to Annual Reports, p. 2.

drew on church support.[101]

Smiley paid for the conferences and personally invited all the guests, the number of which often reached as many as two-hundred fifty. He invited prominent individuals from the east, including government officials, philanthropists, clergyman, and newspapermen, to meet with workers in the field. He also invited the Native Americans themselves.[102] Mohonk provided a common forum to discuss and promote plans for federal Native American policy. Francis Paul Prucha called the Mohonk Conference a "loose extension of the Board of Indian Commissioners" because it not only worked closely with organizations such as the WNIA and Indian Rights Organization, but also circulated its annual reports through the press, especially the religious press.[103]

The Lake Mohonk Friends of the Indians were a powerful force in determining federal Indian policy. The reformers at Mohonk called for the end of violence and advocated the assimilation of the Native Americans into American society, but their approach was much different from approaches of the

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[101]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p. 147.

[102]According to Larry E. Burgess in The Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian Guide to Annual Reports, some who attended the Mohonk Conferences were John D. Rockefeller, U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, and Sen. Henry Dawes.

[103]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p. 144.

past. Reformers believed that Native Americans should renounce their traditional culture and life. According to their viewpoint, traditional culture would be replaced with citizenship. Yet to become citizens, they had to reject the social structure of the tribe in favor of American "rugged" individualism.

Secondly, reformers advocated the breakup of the reservations. In the place of reservations, they lobbied for the distribution of land to the Native Americans. Finally, they argued that the Native Americans needed an education that would train them for life in American society.[104] A publication of the year 1900 depicts the reformers' urgency to break up the tribal structure in substitution for Christian individualism. It states:

> But if civilization, education and Christianity are to do their work, they must get at the individual. They must lay hold of men and women and children, one by one. The deadening sway of tribal custom must be interfered with. The sad uniformity of savage tribal life must be broken up! Individuality must be cultivated.[105]

The effect of all these changes, in the mind of the

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[104]Alfred Meacham (1826-1882) was a life-long advocate of Indian reform, even though he had been scalped by Modocs in 1873. In 1877, he started The Council Fire, a journal dedicated to Indian reform. He advocated land in severalty, civilization instead of extermination, and specific reforms. See Francis Paul Prucha's American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p.103.

[105]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p. 153.

reformers, would be to replace "Indians" with individuals.

Religious Evolutionism

A common thread between Fletcher, reform organizations, and people who convened at Mohonk was the spirit of Christian religiosity. In 1885, the Missionary Reverend Joseph Cook expressed the importance of religion in Native American reform:

> The first mottoe [sic] of all Indian reformers should be Indian evangelization. . . . Let us not depend on politicians to reform the Indian. We cannot safely depend even on the Government Schools to solve the Indian problem. The longest root of hope for the Indians is to be found in the self-sacrifice of the Christian Church.[106]

Native American reformers were not a small, isolated minority of the American population. In contrast, according to Francis Paul Prucha, ". . . they represented or reflected a powerful and predominant segment of Protestant church membership, and thereby of late nineteenth-century American society."[107] Fletcher was part of this religious movement, and she proselytized for the advancement of Christian civilization. In an article for the Women's Journal in 1873, Fletcher stated:

> . . . and so the truly "active life" of every one consists in the exercise of his or her peculiar talents for the service of others. It is because we are still

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[106]Ibid, p. 148.

[107]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, pp. 167-168.

> in bondage to the spirit of the time when man regarded his neighbor either as an enemy or a slave, that we are not free to use our peculiar powers in the way in which they are best adapted to serve others and so advance God's kingdom upon earth.[108]

As with other devout reformers, the driving force in Fletcher's desire to help the Native Americans assimilate into American society was the strong Christian belief system and its emphasis on service.

Fletcher's religiosity was influenced by evolutionism, and therefore she viewed the world in teleological terms. According to this viewpoint, civilization was moving toward an imminent and preordained society that would be white, Christian (Protestant) and American. Concerning the evolution of the Native American, Fletcher stated, "He is now a part of the new America, in which different races must unite to work out a common destiny."[109] Through the nineteenth century, evolutionism began to influence almost every area, including society, politics, and religion. In his Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization of 1877, Lewis Henry Morgan outlined a three-stage progression of culture based on the evolution of technological accomplishments.

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[108]Alice C. Fletcher, The Women's Journal, (1873).

[109]Alice C. Fletcher, "Flotsam and Jetsam from Aboriginal America," Southern Workman, (1899), p. 13.

I. Lower Status of Savagery
The earliest period of humanity.

II. Middle Status of Savagery
The acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire.

III. Upper Status of Savagery
The invention of the bow and arrow.

IV. Lower Status of Barbarism
From the invention of the art of pottery.

V. Middle Status of Barbarism
The domestication of animals in the eastern hemisphere, and the cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation, with the use of adobe-brick and stone, in the western hemisphere.

VI. Upper Status of Barbarism
The invention of the process of smelting iron ore, with the use of iron tools.

VII. Status of Civilization
The invention of a phonetic alphabet, with the use of writing.[110]

Progression from one stage to the next, according to Morgan, could take thousands of years.

According to the theory of cultural evolution, the natives of North America belonged somewhere from Upper Savagery to Lower or Middle Barbarism. By applying their ideas of evolutionism to religion, reformers viewed religion in hierarchical terms, and they perceived their own religion, Protestant Christianity, as highest on the evolutionary scale. Beyond asserting that Protestant

[110]Lewis Henry Morgan, Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization, 1877.

Christianity was the apotheosis of religions, reformers equated Christianity with civilization. Protestant Christianity became a social and political religion. Reformers believed that if Christianity permeated all aspects of their reform, this they could then achieve their goals of assimilation quickly, without requiring thousands of years as outlined by Morgan's theory. At the Mohonk Conference in 1900, it was stated:

> We have learned that education and example, and, pre-eminently, the force of Christian life and Christian faith in the heart, can do in one generation most of that which evolution takes centuries to do.[111]

Protestantism and evolutionism permeated the policies of land, citizenship, and education, and in the minds of the reformers, they provided justification for their ultimate goal of assimilation of Native Americans into the larger American society.

In Morgan's terms, the acquisition of private property corresponded to the highest level of economic achievement on the evolutionary ladder. In contrast, the Native American ideal of communal stewardship represented an extremely low level of the evolutionary scale. According to Frederick E. Hoxie in A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920:

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[111]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, p. 153.

> For Morgan the chief measure of a society's achievements, as well as the principal instrument for its advancement, was the private ownership of property. Actually, each stage of societal development corresponded to a particular economic system. Savages were disorganized foragers who owned nothing but tools and weapons. Barbarians (the discoverers of agriculture) owned their farms in common and had no commercial activity. Civilized people prospered through individual acquisition of land, complex machinery, and domestic animals. Their wealth produced nuclear families that were flexible yet capable of maintaining rules of inheritance. Thus private property promoted both economic prosperity and social sophistication.[112]

Although reformers believed that there were preordained stages through which all cultures evolved, some reformers believed that Native Americans could skip from "Barbarism" to "Civilization" through education and practical instruction in agriculture.[113] According to Morgan, in Ancient Society, the ownership of private property was an important key to civilization. He states:

> It is impossible to overestimate the influence of property in the civilization of mankind. It was the power that brought Aryan and Semitic nations out of barbarism into civilization. . . .[114]

With this idea in mind, reformers believed that allotting land to Native American people would provide a needed spark

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[112]Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920, p. 19.

[113]According to Francis Paul Prucha, the allotment of land to the Indians ". . . was the article of faith with the reformers that civilization was impossible without the incentive to work that came only from individual ownership of a piece of property" (American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900).

[114]Lewis Henry Morgan, Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization, 1877.

for their progression from "Barbarism" to "Civilization."

Besides the connection between acquisition of private property and evolution, reformers also identified the acquisition of private property with Protestant Christianity. According to this view, the ownership of land promoted individuality rather than tribalism. Such individuality was intrinsic in personal salvation and the metamorphosis of the Native American people into the desired Christian mold. The tenets of Evolutionism and Protestant Christianity also permeated the reformers' goal of education. Education was a key element in the assimilation process. According to Francis Paul Prucha in American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900:

> Nearly all attempts to assimilate the Indians rested upon the schools; civilization and Christianization, the great goals of the Indian reformers, could be accomplished only through formal educational endeavors.[115]

Within education, reformers could fuse "Civilization," the highest level on the social evolutionary ladder, with "Christianity," the highest level on the religious evolutionary ladder.

Convinced of the superiority of Christian civilization

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[115]Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian 1865-1900, pp. 265-266.

and assured of the validity of religious evolutionism, Fletcher resolved to "assimilate" Native Americans into her own culture, and encouraged them to be "made over" into a white, Christian image. Her drive to incorporate Native Americans into her own culture paralleled the desires of many other reformers. The difference between Fletcher and the others lies in her dedication to socio-cultural anthropology and her application of her reformist goals onto her scientific study. Her passion to unite the white and Native American "races," and her ardent belief in Protestant Christianity and evolutionism, characterizes her entire anthropological career. The following chapters will explore the relationship between Fletcher's approach to Native American music and her Christian and philanthropic agenda, and will show that Fletcher's belief system influenced her understanding of the music she collected.

CHAPTER THREE

The Quest for Authenticity and Native American Collaborators

Fletcher's understanding and portrayal of Native American music was influenced by a group of Native American individuals with whom she consulted. Historically, scholars have called a person indigenous to a tribe or culture who helps a researcher a Native informant, collaborator, or consultant.[116] For example, the Oglalla holy man, Black Elk shared his personal recollections of traditional Siouan culture with John Neihardt for Neihardt's publication Black Elk Speaks.[117] Black Elk also aided Joseph Epes Brown during his research for the 1953 publication entitled The Sacred Pipe, in which Brown studied the seven sacred rites of the Sioux. Other important Native collaborators have included Ishi of the Yana of California (Kroeber, 1961), and Don Talayesva of the Hopi (Simmons, 1942). Some collaborators later become independent scholars. Ella Deloria (Sioux), James Murie (Pawnee), and Francis La Flesche (Omaha) are

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[116]The favored term for Native Americans who have aided in the study of their own cultures has changed over the years. Margot Liberty used the term "informant" in her studies during the 1970s (American Indians and American Anthropology). Fletcher used the term "collaborator" when speaking of the Native Americans who aided her in research, long before the term was actually used in scholarly writing. Cheryl Keyes uses the term "consultant" concerning her field work in preparation for her Rap Music and Street Consciousness (2002).

[117]This collaboration resulted in Neihardt's publication, Black Elk Speaks of 1932.

included in this category.

Fletcher's Expectations

In this work, Fletcher collaborated with Native American individuals who worked to preserve their own traditions, ceremonies, and artifacts. The collaborators were extremely significant because of the invaluable Native perspective they offered. Because of her connection, collaboration, and friendship with them, Fletcher gained access to sacred knowledge and artifacts which had formerly been inaccessible to whites. With the help of educated informants, she wrote detailed monographs and preserved important ceremonies such as the Omaha "Wa-wan" and the Pawnee "Hako."[118] The collaborators served as her translators, negotiated with tribal leaders to allow her

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[118]Despite her reliance on educated Native individuals, Fletcher also gained the trust and friendship of tribal leaders who clung to traditional Native American culture. She received a significant amount of information concerning the Hako from a respected holy man, Tahirussawichi. Tahirussawichi had been given the title of "Ku'rahus," which means a "venerable man," and was

> applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. (Fletcher, The Hako, p. 15.)

Tahirussawichi clung to Pawnee traditions, and was hesitant to share information with Fletcher; she patiently developed a level of trust with him. According to Fletcher:

> It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation (Alice Fletcher, The Hako, p. 15).

access into tribal affairs, and clarified the information that she collected. In all of her studies, Fletcher used the help of a Native collaborator, and from her perspective, the collaborator was integral to good scholarship. She maintained that the Native collaborator needed to have a mixed cultural background, which included literacy and knowledge of both the Euro-American and tribal cultures.[119] In The Hako, Fletcher stated:

> My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites.[120]

Fletcher's "collaborator" for the Hako ceremony was James Murie, an educated, "Christianized" Pawnee.[121] Fletcher

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[119]Fletcher was not alone in her use of collaborators who had mixed cultural traits. In her study American Indians and American Anthropology, Margot Liberty states that most Native American collaborators or "informants" during the era had similar backgrounds. They usually had a "mixed-blood heritage," were literate in two languages (English and the Native American language). In addition, not only were they comfortable with whites, but they also were familiar with tribal traditions (American Indians and American Anthropology, 1976, p. 45).

[120]Alice C. Fletcher, The Hako, p. 13.

[121]Fletcher, The Hako, p. 14. Later, Murie assisted George A. Dorsey, curator of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. In 1910, Murie became a part-time field researcher for the Bureau of American Ethnology, and in 1912, he collaborated with Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History. Throughout his career, Murie collected songs, ceremonies, and artifacts

had met Murie when he was a student at the Hampton School, and when she decided to study the Hako ceremony, she renewed her friendship with him. Between 1898-1902, Murie accompanied Fletcher on three visits to ceremonies, introduced her to Pawnee holy men, served as a translator, corresponded extensively, and answered many questions concerning Pawnee culture.

Although he served as Fletcher's source concerning Pawnee ceremonies, Murie's knowledge and appreciation for the culture was limited and influenced by his connection with Euro-American society. Murie had a mixed cultural background: his mother was a member of the Pawnee tribe and his father was white. Murie's mother raised him in Nebraska with the Pawnee tribe. As a young child, he participated in buffalo hunts, spoke his native language, and was familiar with tribal ceremonies.

In 1879, Murie's mother sent him to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia. At Hampton, the faculty transformed Murie into a "productive citizen." He learned a trade, became fluent in English, and became a Christian. According to Douglas Parks in "James R. Murie: Pawnee Ethnographer":

He was confirmed in the Episcopal church while in

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for museums, served as a source and contact, and translated the Pawnee language for anthropologists.

> school, and later after leaving Hampton he wrote, "I want them (the Pawnee) to put their superstitious ideas aside, and believe in the White man's Great Spirit. I am working for the Indian people and for the 'the Father above the skies.'"[122]

When Fletcher met Murie at the Hampton School, he had rejected his heritage, and so she encouraged him to study and preserve the traditions of his tribe. In her study of Native Americans in early American anthropology, Margot Liberty points out that before Murie met Fletcher, he had little interest in his own Pawnee background. According to Liberty:

> Murie's work with Fletcher had been that of an assistant. His work under Dorsey's guidance was to improve and develop. Credit must, however, be given to Fletcher for awakening Murie's interest in Pawnee culture and religious life, and its preservation by himself and anthropologists; for before he met Fletcher he seems to have taken no significant interest in the traditions of his people, preferring instead to be like a White man as he so often said, and consequently sharing many White attitudes.[123]

During his early collaboration with Fletcher, Murie attended the Pawnee ceremonies, mostly as an observer. In his study of Murie, Douglas R. Parks explains that Murie never wore or even owned Native American clothing. Furthermore, Murie rejected Pawnee religion. Parks states:

> . . . his [Murie's] attitude towards and view of Pawnee religion--in fact, life in general--were basically that

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[122]Douglas R. Parks, "James R. Murie: Pawnee Ethnographer," p. 77.

[123]Margot Liberty, "American Indians and American Anthropology," American Indian Intellectuals, p. 79.

> of a White. And so in his anthropological work we must realize that his accounts were derived primarily from observation--from what he witnessed and what native practitioners told him--and not from the introspection of a believer. . . .[124]

The Omaha and Dual Expectations

The dual expectations Fletcher placed on individual collaborators were part of a widely accepted conviction that viewed Native American culture as hierarchically lower than white culture on the evolutionary scale, and rewarded those tribes or individuals who accepted this Euro-American viewpoint. Because of their relative acceptance of this idea, the Omaha were the subject of a significant number of Fletcher's anthropological and musicological studies. Her connection with and study of the Omaha resulted in numerous monographs including Omaha Indian Music (1893), Indian Story and Song from North America (1900), and The Omaha Tribe (1911).

In contrast to some traditionally bellicose Native American tribes, the Omaha were a peaceful tribe that had never been at war with the U.S. government. From early association with whites, the Omaha had always been cooperative. They became involved with French fur traders, befriended settlers, and cooperated with missionaries. According to Michael L. Tate in The Upstream People: An

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[124]Douglas R. Parks, "James R. Murie: Pawnee Ethnographer," p. 83.

Annotated Research Bibliography of the Omaha Tribe:

> . . . they [the Omaha] maintained peace with the increasing waves of white entrepreneurs and settlers, cooperated with missionaries, aided Mormon travelers at Winter Quarters, and served as a buffer against Sioux attacks.[125]

Some members of the Omaha tribe used their connections with whites to obtain political and social power within the tribe. The fur traders, wanting influence in the tribe, approached men with whom they could communicate and who were sensitive to their purpose. Because many fur traders had married Omaha women, several people had a mixed French and Omaha cultural background. Often, the fur traders approached these men with mixed cultural background.

In her study of the Omaha, Margaret Mead portrayed a similar picture of the tribe. Mead stated:

> Traders and early government officials tended to select, from among the influential Indians, men friendly to their purpose who were then declared to be "chiefs."[126]

Sometimes, men who were most cooperative with the whites later became chiefs of the tribe. Of significance is the story of Blackbird, who used his connections with the French fur traders to become chief. Conversely, the traders used their connections with Blackbird for their own economic

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[125]Michael L. Tate, The Upstream People: An Annotated Research Bibliography of the Omaha Tribe (Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1991), p. vii.

[126]Margaret Mead, Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, p. 22.

gain. In The Omaha Tribe, Fletcher recounted the story told through old men of the tribe:

> Blackbird was a handsome man and the white people made much of him, showing him more attention than they did his companion. When Blackbird returned to the tribe he declared he had been made a chief by the white people. Blackbird was an ambitious man, who loved power and was unscrupulous as to how he obtained it. The traders found him a pliant tool. They fostered his ambitions, supplied him with goods and reaped a harvest in trade. From them he learned the use of poisons, particularly arsenic. If an Indian opposed him or stood in the way of his designs, sickness and death overtook the man and Blackbird would claim that he had lost his life through supernatural agencies as a punishment for attempting to thwart his chief. Because of these occurrences Blackbird was feared. He exercised considerable power and adopted the airs of a despot.[127]

Blackbird wanted political power within the tribe and used his connection with the fur traders to secure his power.

The reciprocal relationship between Blackbird and the fur traders was similar to that between Fletcher and the Omaha chief, Joseph La Flesche (1822-1888 or 1889).[128] La Flesche provided Fletcher with access into Omaha culture while Fletcher promised him aid in retaining Omaha land. Her relationship with La Flesche was strengthened by his bi-cultural experience through which he promoted Christianity, education, and assimilation. Traveling with his father, who

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[127]Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Lincoln and London: The University of Nebraska Press), 1992, p. 82.

[128]Inscriptions on the family tombstones in the Bancroft, Nebraska, cemetery state that Joseph died on 9-24-1889 at age 67 years. (La Flesche Family Papers) The date reads as 1888 in Francis La Flesche's obituary in Science magazine.

had been a French fur trader, La Flesche witnessed the Omaha situation from a perspective different from those who remained on the reservation. In her study of the La Flesche family, Iron Eye's Children, Dorothy Kidd Green explains that La Flesche's early travels with his father made an indelible mark on his psyche. Throughout his life, La Flesche attempted to adopt ways that were acceptable to the dominant, Euro-American society because he believed that this was the only way to ensure his people's survival. Kidd stated:

> Through his experiences with many tribes and his observation of the increasing power of the white men, Joseph had come to believe that the white men would increase in numbers and that their manner of living would prove stronger than that of the Indians. He felt the future meant only sorrow for the red men unless they learned the new ways and worked with the white men rather than against them.[129]

La Flesche decided that he, his children, and ultimately his tribe should assimilate into white culture. When La Flesche married and had children, his village became known as the "Make Believe White Men." La Flesche sent all of his children east or to Christian mission schools to receive an education. La Flesche and his children all spoke English and had significant contact with the white culture. Furthermore, when James Owen Dorsey began his study of the Omaha, which

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[129]Dorothy Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Children, p. 7.

culminated in his Omaha Sociology (1884), the La Flesche family was his major contact and source of information.

Throughout their lives, the La Flesche children were involved with civilizing and "Christianizing" organizations. When President Chester Alan Arthur appointed Fletcher as a special agent to carry out land allotment in April 1883, Joseph La Flesche's daughters aided her in educational activities for the tribe. According to Dorothy Clarke Wilson in her study of Susette La Flesche:

> She [Susette] managed also to spark many activities for the betterment of the tribe--starting night classes in English, encouraging the women to create handcrafts and plant lower gardens.[130]

Susette and Rosalie married white men. Susan, the first Native American medical doctor, worked in the Indian Bureau at Omaha Agency. Marguerite also worked in the Omaha Agency in Walthill. According to Dorothy Kidd Green in Iron Eye's Children:

> . . . both married and had children and were pioneer residents of Walthill, Nebraska, when that town was formed in 1906. They worked together in many civic projects at the same time giving attention to and lending assistance to those on the Reservation. . . .[131]

The tombstone of Rosalie La Flesche Farley (1861-1900), in Brancroft, Nebraska, Cemetery, gives insight into the inter-

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[130]Dorothy Clarke Wilson, Bright Eyes, pp. 302-303.

[131]Dorothy Kidd Green, Iron Eye's Children, p. xii.

cultural lives of all the La Flesche. It states, "The nobility and strength of two races were blended in her life of Christian love and duty."[132]

Despite their involvement and intimacy with white Americans, the La Flesche family experienced mixed reactions and expectations from the white culture with which they were working. On reservations and mission schools, Native American were expected to act and dress like the dominant, Euro-American population. Yet in other circumstances, Native Americans were expected to promote their Indian culture. For example, in the late 1870s, Susette La Flesche (1854-1903) traveled east to lobby for support against the removal of the Ponkas from their land. To ensure support and sympathy, those in charge of the various speaking engagements told her when and where she should act, talk, and look "Indian." She was encouraged to wear her traditional Omaha dress and use her traditional name, "Bright Eyes." Yet, while attending a Christian mission school, her teachers and religious leaders expected her to use her English name and wear Victorian clothing. Like his sister, Susette, Francis La Flesche encountered many mixed expectations. Francis lived most of his adult life in Washington, D.C., moving in scholarly circles with Alice Fletcher. Yet, when he wrote an

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[132]La Flesche Family Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society.

autobiographical account of his childhood, entitled The Middle Five, he had a difficult time getting it published because it was not "Indian" enough.[133]

Francis La Flesche (1857-1932)

As Alice Fletcher's collaborator and primary source for information concerning Omaha and Native American culture and music, Francis La Flesche translated the Omaha language, substantiated information, and secured contacts for Fletcher. In 1882, while Fletcher lobbied for the Omaha in Washington, she sought La Flesche's aid. The next year, he accompanied her to the Omaha reservation and served as interpreter during the allotment process. From this time onward, La Flesche provided invaluable assistance to Fletcher in her collection and understanding of Native American ceremonies, songs, and life. With his aid, she wrote Omaha Indian Music (1894), Indian Story and Song (1900), and Indian Games and Dances (1915). With La Flesche, Fletcher coauthored the monumental Omaha Tribe of 1911.

During the collection and research process, La Flesche sang many traditional Omaha songs for Fletcher to transcribe

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[133]La Flesche had dedicated The Middle Five (1900) "To the Universal Boy." La Flesche combined Victorian prose with Omaha legends, and Margot Liberty calls it "a cross between Huckleberry Finn and Little Men" (p. 104). According Liberty, The Middle Five was rejected by publishers because it was "too typical of schoolchildren everywhere" (p. 106). "Native American 'Informants': The Contributions of Francis La Flesche," in American Anthropology: The Early Years, edited by John V. Murra.

or record by the phonograph. In addition, he secured contacts with and served as a link between Fletcher and Omaha holy men. Through La Flesche's aid, she secured many sacred items, including the White Buffalo Hide, and placed them in the Peabody Museum for "safe keeping." Through the support of La Flesche, Fletcher obtained the Omaha Sacred Tent of War in 1884, and she obtained the Omaha Sacred Pole and its belongings for the Museum in 1888.

Despite the assistance La Flesche gave to Fletcher, his own background and connection to the white culture probably influenced his approach to scientific work. La Flesche had a unique childhood, torn between two worlds. On one hand, he respected, observed, and participated in traditional Omaha life. He spoke Omaha fluently, and had acted the part of the Sacred Child in a Wa-wan ceremony. According to Margot Liberty, in "Native American 'Informants:' The Contribution of Francis La Flesche":

> Young Francis took part in the buffalo hunts, serving at fifteen as one of the runners sent to locate the herd, and covering on that occasion some one hundred miles in eighteen hours.[134]

Despite his connection with the tribe, La Flesche was pressured to renounce his cultural background. During his

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[134]Margot Liberty, "Native American 'Informants:' The Contribution of Francis La Flesche," American Anthropology: The Early Years ed. John V. Murra, (St. Paul, New York, Boston, Los Angeles, San Fransisco: West Publishing Co., 1974), p. 102.

youth, La Flesche attended the Presbyterian mission school on the Missouri River. His experience at the Mission school has been called a period in his life which "marked the beginning of his Christian life and faith."[135] During school, teachers taught only in English and did not allow the children to speak their Native language or wear traditional clothes. When three governmental officials visited his school, they requested to hear a traditional Native American song. According to La Flesche:

> There was some hesitancy, but suddenly a loud clear voice close to me broke into a Victory song; before a bar was sung another voice took up the song from the beginning, as is the custom among the Indians, then the whole school fell in, and we made the room ring. We understood the song, and knew the emotion of which it was the expression. We vanquished their enemies; but the men shook their heads, and one of them said, "That's savage, that's savage! They must be taught music."[136]

La Flesche recounts that after the children sang their traditional song in the Omaha language, they began daily singing lessons, learning to sing in harmony.[137] The teachers

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[135]Walthill, Nebraska Newspaper, Sept. 15, 1932.

[136]Francis La Flesche, The Middle Five, pp. 100-101.

[137]In Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America 1890-1930, Karen J. Blair writes of a similar phenomenon in settlement houses which dealt with immigrant children. She states:

> When reformers addressed the Americanization of the foreign born in the United States, the music clubs promised that piano lessons in the settlement houses would instill the best qualities of diligence and perseverence in immigrant children (p. 40).

The same logic was used in regard to Native Americans during the same

inundated La Flesche and his fellow students with the idea that their own cultural music was "savage" and the music taught at the mission school was "real" music.

In addition to the mixed expectations La Flesche experienced as a child, his adult life was equally complex. From 1880 to 1910, La Flesche worked as a copyist for the Office of Indian Affairs. From 1910-1929, he worked as an ethnologist at the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology. In his personal life, he lived with Alice Fletcher as her son. From 1885 until her death in 1923, La Flesche and Fletcher lived together in Washington.[138] He functioned as a Victorian gentleman, accompanying Fletcher to social events, the opera, and concerts. La Flesche and Fletcher traveled together and corresponded every day when they were separated. Fletcher and La Flesche's relationship remained strong despite extensive scandals and rumors.[139]

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period. Hamm states in Music in the New World:

> The fact some Indians learned to sing simple sacred music in the European style was seen by the white man as a great and hopeful step, an indication that they could be civilized (p. 20).

[138]In 1891, Fletcher informally adopted La Flesche. They decided against legalizing the adoption so that La Flesche could keep his family name. In letters to Fletcher, La Flesche often referred to her as "M" which stood for "Mother." Alice Fletcher also became personally close with the entire La Flesche family. Francis' sister, Rosalie La Flesche Farley, named one of her children "Fletcher" (born 1888). With respect to Alice Fletcher, the name "Fletcher" became a popular La Flesche family name for many generations. (La Flesche Family Papers)

[139]Thomas Tibbles married Francis La Flesche's sister Susette in the early 1880s. There was immediate animosity between the remainder of the La Flesche family and Tibbles. After La Flesche moved into

La Flesche's particular background undoubtably influenced his tenuous relationship with the tribe itself. While attempting to salvage part of his cultural heritage, La Flesche sometimes encountered resistance within the tribe. He gave secret information and sacred objects to easterners to put in publications and museums. Many tribal members objected to La Flesche's actions and viewed his overall work with suspicion. For example, Yellow Smoke, keeper of the Omaha Sacred Pole, or "Venerable Man," persistently refused to give the Pole to Fletcher and

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Fletcher's home with her, Tibbles spread vicious gossip concerning the nature of their relationship. In response, Francis wrote a letter to his sister Rosalie, accusing Tibbles of being romantically involved with Susette while still married to his first wife. (La Flesche Family Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society)

Although the nature of their relationship is not totally clear, Fletcher and La Flesche obviously felt a great deal of affection toward each other. In 1906, La Flesche married Rosa Bourassa. Rosa moved into the house with La Flesche and Fletcher. Within eight months the marriage was over. This sparked tremendous controversy as some believed that Fletcher had broken up the marriage to marry La Flesche herself. From 1910-1911, Francis became extremely jealous of Fletcher's friendship with an archaeologist named Edgar Hewitt. Partially because of Fletcher's apparent interest in Hewitt, La Flesche accepted an appointment in Oklahoma. During the hiatus away from Fletcher, La Flesche's correspondence with Fletcher was curt and sporadic. In a letter she wrote to Francis in the year 1911, Fletcher assured Francis of her devotion to him. She stated, "You are the dear thing in life to me" (Fletcher to La Flesche, Jan 4., 1911, Fletcher Papers). After La Flesche was assured of Fletcher's devotion to him, and her devotion to his work, La Flesche returned to Fletcher's home in Washington. According to Joan Mark, during the last twelve years of Fletcher's life, she worked on bettering La Flesche's career (Joan Mark, A Stranger in her Native Land, 332). Fletcher resigned from her post with the School of American Archaeology, and she transcribed two hundred and seventeen Osage songs which La Flesche had recorded for his work on the Osage. During the last ten years of her life, Fletcher slowly withdrew from public life and aided La Flesche in his research and writing. He, in turn, cared for Fletcher during her extensive illnesses and was at her bedside when she died in 1923.

Francis La Flesche for "safekeeping" in Peabody Museum. Finally, in August of 1888, they persuaded Yellow Smoke to give up the Sacred Pole and to divulge pertinent sacred information. Yellow Smoke agreed only after Joseph La Flesche, the chief, assumed full responsibility and accepted all punishment for sharing such secret information. Within a month after the Pole left the reservation, Joseph La Flesche became ill and died. As the result, the mistrust of Fletcher and La Flesche increased among the Omaha.[140]

Even after his death, complexity surrounded La Flesche's legacy. On September 5, 1932, three separate rites were performed, and each service represented a different facet of the complex cultural life which he led:

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[140]A similar situation occurred when Frances Densmore induced members of a Ojibwe religious society to perform songs of the Grand Medicine Society for the Washington Anthropological Society. In 1899, Alice Fletcher had collected songs from the Ojibwe of Leech Lake, Minnesota. The Bear Island Chief, Swift Flying Feather, had traveled to Washington, D.C., to discuss Indian/U.S. relations. During this time, he recorded numerous songs for Alice Fletcher in her home. Some of the songs included the songs of the Grand Medicine Society, or *midewiwin*, the Ojibwe traditional religion. About a decade later, Frances Densmore continued work with the Ojibwe, and she induced members of the religious society to perform part of the ceremony for the Washington Anthropological Society. According to Thomas Vennum, Jr., in his study of Ojibwe Recordings, Swift Flying Feather was scorned by tribal members:

> When it was learned that she [Densmore] induced Maingans from White Earth to perform a portion of a Grand Medicine Ceremony before the Washington Anthropological Society and to record a large number of the *mide* songs, the singer was ostracized from the medicine lodge. His wife's subsequent death was attributed to his betrayal of ritual secrets. (Thomas Vennum, Jr., "The Alice C Fletcher Ojibwe Indian Recordings," in Discourse in Ethnomusicology III: Essays in Honor of Frank J. Gillis, (Bloomington, Indiana: Ethnomusicology Publications Group, 1991), p. 87.

> First was the religious service at the home conducted by Amos Lamson of the L.D.S. church in the presence of a large company of Indians gathered on the lawn in front of the cottage, the casket lying within the home.
>
> At the cemetery the Masonic funeral service was performed with the solemnity by members of the lodge at Walthill. After the casket was lowered and the grave was filled, the Indians, left to themselves, performed their sacred rites at the grave, which were said to have been very serious and impressive.[141]

Soon after La Flesche's death, Hartley Burr Alexander wrote an obituary for the American Anthropologist which included a polemical photograph. The photograph chosen was one in which La Flesche had on a suit and tie covered with a buffalo robe. The photograph clearly represented a vision of La Flesche's complicated, bi-cultural life. Although La Flesche spent his whole life straddling two cultures, the white editors of American Anthropologist decided that, in death, they should portray La Flesche as an "Indian." According to John V. Murra, in his study of Francis La Flesche:

> The buffalo robe shot was selected, but apparently the clash of cultures suggested therein was too great for the layout editor to bear. By some process--I am told that airbrushing was not a common photographic technique in 1933--a unique job of censorship took place. All evidence of street clothes was removed from beneath the buffalo robe. And we have a benignly smiling La Flesche posed for posterity in a getup, which, had he seen, would surely have astonished him.[142]

When they published the photograph, the editors made the evidence of La Flesche's street clothes disappear.

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[141]Waltill Times, (Sept. 15, 1932).

[142]John V. Murra, American Anthropology The Early Years, p. 106.

Paradoxical Results

Although she made enormous contributions to the study of Native America, collected and preserved significant artifacts, and developed close personal friendships with a variety of Native Americans, a small minority--the minority with political, educational, and social power--influenced her dramatically. This minority, as collaborators, accepted Fletcher's presentation of Native American songs and ceremonies in white terms, which supported her philanthropic agenda, while also distorting the cultural integrity of the music. Fletcher associated with Native Americans whose experience, education, and background were tempered by white values, beliefs, and views.[143] The collaborators supported the governmental policies of education and land allotment. They also agreed with the movement to break up the traditional tribal structure. White people involved with schools, churches, and other white organizations, told both Murie and La Flesche that their tribal heritage was wrong, evil, and sinful. Murie and La Flesche had strong connections with their tribes, but also viewed traditional Indian culture as barbaric and destined to extinction. By viewing dominant, Euro-American culture as superior to their

[143]In Indian Nation, Cheryl Walker explores issues concerning authenticity and Native American scholarship. She argues that Native Americans who reject their traditional ways should still be considered "real Indians," and their viewpoints should be valued as significant.

own culture, the collaborators portrayed their own traditional music as subordinate to Western music. In a review of A Study of Omaha Indian Music, which appeared in The Nation, the reviewer posited that Francis La Flesche's upbringing and education had caused him to accept the latent harmony principle.[144] According to the music critic:

> Mr. La Flesche's harmonic sense may have been largely influenced by hearing our music, and the same is true of other Indians experimented upon, who have ceased to exist as a tribe and have long been under educational influences. While, therefore, it is interesting to hear that the Indians do take kindly to our harmonies (although we still have doubts on that point), we think that much more rigorous experiments would be needed to show that they have a "latent harmonic sense" except in the way in which a statue is latent in the marble.[145]

The collaborators' biases affirmed Fletcher's work and provided a sieve through which she transformed Native American music into a musical expression that coincided with her philanthropic intentions.

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[144]The theory of latent harmony is the subject of Chapter Four.

[145]The Nation, (June 7, 1894), p. 435.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Portrayal of Native American Music and the Search for Order

Beginning in the early 1880s, Alice Fletcher collected Native American melodies and published them and their underlying stories in numerous journals. Rather than focus on the warlike and violent attributes of Native American culture, she chose to emphasize nonviolent qualities such as peace, unity, and friendship. Her portrayal of Indian music countered interpretations of the past. Fletcher found aspects within the music that had heretofore been overlooked, and simultaneously served to solidify her religious and assimilationist agenda.

Savage Music

In literature and music in the nineteenth century, writers and composers portrayed Native Americans as "savage." Sometimes this took the form of the "noble savage," a portrayal that emphasized their supposed virtues. According to this view, Native Americans possessed a special connection with nature, and because of this closeness with nature, they represented a view into the past--a time

unmarked by the vices of civilization.[146] In addition, they were pure, and possessed naive attributes such as generosity, innocence, and peacefulness. To remain undefiled and natural, Indians needed to be sheltered from the deleterious aspects of civilization.[147]

In contrast to the idea of the noble savage, American literature and music also sometimes portrayed Native Americans as brutal, bloodthirsty, and heartless. The idea of the "brutish" or "brutal" savage began with early explorers and missionaries, who relayed encounters with cannibalism and human sacrifice. By rejecting what was different about the Native American culture, such as attitudes toward religion, sexuality, nature, and property, Americans could, in their own minds, affirm their own perceived cultural superiority. According to Michael Pisani in his study of Native American identities in nineteenth and early twentieth century music:

> The preoccupation with savagery--scalp hunting, for example--which imparts the thrill of danger to novels of James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain, and others, played upon fears of these earlier (real or purported) practices of various Indian tribes. The war dance,

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[146]According to Alan Dundes, many early ethnologists assumed that European contact with Native American tribes would lead to cultural destruction, and sought to collect material which was "'pure' precontact cultural data" ("The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," p. 8).

[147]This idealized abstraction of a pure state of nature is associated with the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The society of the "noble savage" came to be seen as the closest approximation of a place literally somewhere far away, or in the remote past.

> often presented as the prelude to scalp hunting, is one such representation in music of the brutal inhabitants of North America.[148]

Henry Schoolcraft, who was the Indian agent over Ojibwe territory in the early nineteenth century, published some earliest accounts of Native American music. In particular, he portrayed Native American music as contrary to cultured taste. He stated:

> It is perhaps all we could expect from untutored savages, but there is nothing about [their music] which has ever struck me as either interesting or amusing, and after seeing these performances once or twice, they become particularly tedious, and it is a severe tax upon one's patience to sit and be compelled, in order to keep their good opinion, to appear pleased with it.[149]

Other than Schoolcraft's accounts, there is little extant material, except that collected by missionaries and frontier explorers in diaries and journals. Their accounts portray Native American music as primitive and distasteful.[150]

Evolution in Fletcher's Portrayal of Native American Music

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[148]Michael Pisani,"I'm an Indian Too," p. 223.

[149]Henry Schoolcraft, Narrative Journal of Travels in the Year 1820, (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1821), p. 186.

[150]The earliest and most common topic for composers who approached Native American subjects was the war dance. The war dance, with its brutally savage implications, became a commonly composed genre in the early eighteenth century. These early "war dances" were not based on original Native American melodies, but rather used specific musical techniques to portray "Indianness." The compositions were usually set in the minor mode, with general "exoticisms" denoting "Indianisms." See Michael Pisani's "'I'm an Indian Too': Creating Native American Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth Century Music," in The Exotic in Western Music, ed. by Jonathon Bellman.

When Fletcher first heard Native American music firsthand, the contemporary portrayals of the music influenced her judgement, and she found their music to be the most repulsive and "savage" of all elements of their culture. According to Fletcher, it was the aspect of Native American culture most unlike her own, and she found it difficult to understand or enjoy Native American music. In Omaha Music, Fletcher recounted her first experience with Native American music:

> I remember well my first experience in listening to Indian music. Although from habit as a student I had endeavored to divest myself of preconceived ideas, and to rise above prejudice and distaste, I found it difficult to penetrate beneath the noise and hear what the people were trying to express. I think I may safely say that I heard little or nothing of Indian music the first three or four times that I attended dances or festivals, beyond a screaming downward movement that was gashed and torn by the vehemently beaten drum. The sound was distressing, and my interest in this music was not aroused until I perceived that this distress was peculiarly my own, every one else was so enjoying himself (I was the only one of my race present) that I felt sure something was eluding my ears; it was not rational that human beings should scream for hours, looking and acting as did these Indians before me, and the sounds they made not mean something more than mere noise.[151]

Although at first Fletcher viewed Native American music as distressing and cacophonous, her perception changed in 1883. In July of 1883, Fletcher was stricken with a serious illness that caused her to be bedridden for many months.

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[151]Alice C. Fletcher, Omaha Music, p. 7.

During this period the Omaha sang to her without the drum, and through this experience she finally "heard" the music.

The Omaha celebrated Fletcher's return to health by performing the Wa-wan ceremony, and from her breakdown came enlightenment. This experience made an indelible mark on Fletcher, changing how she viewed the Omaha and Native American society overall. In A Study of Omaha Music, she stated:

> The occasion of this exemplification was one I can never forget, not only because of the insight it gave me into the music of the people and the meaning of the ceremony I witnessed, but because of its deeper revelation of the heart and inner life of the Indian.[152]

The experience transformed her view of Native American music. In A Study of Omaha Music, (1894), Fletcher explained her change in outlook:

> My first studies were crude and full of difficulties, difficulties that I afterward learned were bred of preconceived ideas, the influence of generally accepted theories concerning "savage" music. The tones, the scales, the rhythms, the melodies that I heard, which after months of work stood out more and more clearly as indisputable facts, lay athwart these theories and could not be made to coincide with them. For a considerable time I was more inclined to distrust my ears than my theories, but when I strove to find facts that would agree with these theories I met only failure.[153]

Rather than adhere to the long-held theories of savage music, Fletcher began to view the music as much more than

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[152]Ibid, p. 9.

[153]Ibid, p. 8.

meaningless, savage utterances.

Fletcher's Perception: The Peaceful Purpose of Native American Music

In laying aside the previous ideas concerning "savage" music, Fletcher focused on peaceful attributes of the Omaha culture. According to Fletcher, the Omaha promoted the ideals of friendship, peace, and unity through their ancient Wa-Wan ceremony.[154] During a four-day Wa-wan ceremony, a man of one tribe presented the Wa-wan pipes of friendship to a man of another tribe. According to Fletcher, "By means of this ceremony the two men become bound by a tie equal in strength and obligation to that between father and son."[155]

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[154]Fletcher described the Native American sacred pipe ceremony in various forms at least five times in publication. A full description of the Omaha Wa-wan ceremony appeared in 1893 in the serial Music entitled "The Wa-wan, or Pipe Dance of the Omahas." The ceremony is an integral addition to Omaha Indian Music of 1893 and The Omaha Tribe of 1911. A partial description of the ceremony appears in Indian Story and Song (1900). At the World's Congress of Religions in 1894, Fletcher presented a program on the Indian Sacred Pipe ceremony. Finally, in The Hako (1904), Fletcher fully described the Pawnee's version of the pipe ceremony. Equally important to the number of times that Fletcher described the ceremony in publication was Fletcher's emphasis that the peace ceremony was purely Native American and not a result of any sort of acculturation. She stated:

> The highly poetic character of the Wa-wan songs and of this entire ceremony is native; nothing has been borrowed from our own race that I have been able to discover. The ethical teachings are in strict accordance with Indian ideals which here reach some of their highest expression.

By positing that the pipe dance was a uniquely Native American creation, Fletcher countered contemporary portrayals of Native American society and suggested that Native American society was similar to her own society.

[155]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 35.

Both parties included gifts to accompany the giving and receiving of the pipes. According to Fletcher, the giving of gifts counted toward tribal honors and was important to maintaining peace between tribes. She stated, "These gifts all count in a man's tribal honors and are all made in the interest of peace and fellowship."[156]

Music was an intimate element in the Wa-wan peace ceremony. The Omaha called the person who gave the pipes "the one who sings," and they called the person who received the pipes "the one who is sung to."[157] Fletcher described the purpose of the Omaha Wa-Wan and its intimate connection with music:

> The Wa-wan means to sing for some one and is the name given to the ceremony connected with the Pipes of Fellowship, --songs form so important a part of the ritual that the peculiar pipes used in this ceremony are called Ne-ne-ba wae-ah-wan, pipes to sing with. The songs are accompanied by rhythmic movements of the Pipe Bearers, and also of the Pipes, which are swayed to the music. These motions are termed Nene ba ba-zhan, shaking the Wa-wan pipes. As the rhythmic movements of the Pipes and their Bearers have always attracted the attention of white observers, the ceremony has been characterized by them as the "Pipe dance" or "Calumet dance," whereas the performance does not convey to the Omaha mind the idea of a dance, nor do the movements really resemble Indian dancing, with the possible exception of that part of the ceremony which takes place on the fourth night.

In addition, songs accompanied every aspect of the ceremony.

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[156]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 35.

[157]Ibid.

The party sang "This I Seek" before they sent runners to offer a tobacco gift to the intended recipient of the pipes. Another song accompanied the movement into the village. Songs accompanied the laying down of the pipes and raising of the pipes. There were prayer songs for cooperative weather.

The Pawnee Hako[158] ceremony, like the Omaha Wa-wan ceremony, emphasized unity and peace through music and the sharing of pipes. Fletcher stated:

> The purpose of this ceremony was . . . to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.[159]

Originally the Hako represented a desire for children in order to increase the number and power of the tribe. The purpose of the Hako expanded through time and became a desire for peace and unity among all people.

In her last significant work, Indian Games and Dances

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[158]The derivation of the term "Hako" is from a number of Pawnee traditions. One custom was the practice of pulsating the voice during a pitch held for two or more counts. A second custom was waving the hand to and from the mouth to break up a note. The final tradition was making a drum from a section of wood which was then hallowed out with a skin stretched across it. Fletcher explained:

> From this analysis of the word hakkowpirus we discern that the pulsating voice and the beaten lips were the first means employed to produce an effect which was afterward emphasized in an instrument, the drum (hakkowpirus, the breathing mouth of wood), which was made to give forth a series of sounds by the same device of whipping by the hand (The Hako, p. 18).

[159]Alice C. Fletcher, The Hako, p. 280.

(1915), Fletcher wholeheartedly espoused the ideas of Christian ethics, peace, and unity. The four dances included in the book are all peace ceremonies. In the Omaha, Osage, and Pawnee "Life of the Corn," or as Fletcher renamed it, "A Drama in Five Dances," Native American tribes viewed corn as a gift from God. According to Fletcher in Indian Games and Dances:

> The idea of this unity throughout all nature, including man, is fundamental to Indian thought and belief. It is expressed in all his religious ceremonies and also in his vocations, both serious and playful. In the present instance it appeals to him through the planting, the growth, the maturing and the use of the corn, giving its life to man.[160]

In this ceremony, the life and maturation of corn represented the life and maturation of humanity and nature itself. Accordingly, the Native Americans celebrated the unity of life in each stage of its development through song, dance, and ritual.

In addition to the celebration of life and unity inherent in the Omaha "The Life of Corn," the He-de Wa-chi (the Omaha Festival of Joy) symbolized similar ideals of tribal unity, thanksgiving, and peace. In the He-de Wa-chi, the Omaha encouraged tribal unity by drawing together the ten distinct clans. A tree symbolized this unity (representing the tribe) with ten branches (representing the

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[160]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Games and Dances With Native Songs, p. 33.

clans), and twigs (representing individuals from each group). Fletcher explained the ceremony:

> Like all Indian ceremonies, the He-de Wa-chi embodied a teaching that was for the welfare of the tribe, a teaching drawn from nature and dramatically enacted by the people. The Omaha tribe was made up of ten distinct groups, each one having its own name, a set of names for those born within the groups, and certain religious symbols and ceremonies committed to its care. By tribal rites and regulations these ten distinct groups were welded together to form the tribe, whose strength and prosperity depended upon internal harmony and unity. The He-de Wa-chi taught the people what this unity really stood for. The central object of the ceremony was a tree, which was the symbol of the tribe; its branches were as the different groups composing the tribe, the twigs that made up the branches were as the individuals that formed the groups.[161]

Fletcher believed that all people should use this ceremony to express unity and peace.

Fletcher's Perception: Savagery in Native America

Even concerning tribes known for their predilection for warfare, Fletcher maintained that the desire for warfare was always secondary to the call for peaceful relations. Fletcher stated:

> Warfare was widespread among the tribes around the Mississippi valley; yet among these people the desirability and value of peace were recognized. Honors won in a defensive fight gave the warrior higher rank than those gained in wars of aggression.[162]

When Fletcher spoke of acts repulsive to the "civilized" world, she emphasized the moral and ethical aspects of the

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[161]Ibid, pp. 54-55.

[162]Ibid, p. 48.

song and ceremony and discounted the "savagery" that had heretofore been the focus. She attested, "Among the thousands of Indian songs which I have gathered I have found none commemorating acts of cruelty."[163] For example, the scalp dance, which historically had been viewed a gruesome and savage act, Fletcher viewed and portrayed as a lesson for all people. While she acknowledged that the Omaha performed the scalp-dance, she argued that this dance meant much more than it appeared on the surface. In the song and story of Zon-ze-mon-de, warriors celebrated a war victory by dancing around a scalp. Yet according to Fletcher, the actual point of the story and song had a deeper meaning. In Zon-ze-mon-de, young warriors allowed an old man to reach a fallen enemy first and thus the old man received honor as a warrior, because the first to reach the body of an enemy, received a war honor.[164] According to Fletcher:

> Its teaching to the young Indian, that even by the loss of personal gain he should render respect and honor to the old men who had once stood between the tribe and its enemies, guarding it from danger, is a lesson good for any people.[165]

The story teaches young warriors to respect their elders,

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[163]Alice Fletcher, "Flotsam and Jetsam in Aboriginal America," Southern Workman, (January, 1899), p. 14.

[164]Alice Fletcher, "Flotsam and Jetsam in Aboriginal America," Southern Workman, (January, 1899), p. 14

[165]Ibid.

rather than to celebrate cruelty to the enemy.

In addition to her interpretation which countered the traditional perception of the scalp dance, Fletcher also interpreted an Omaha funeral song in a way contrary to previous interpretations. During the song, singers lacerated themselves on the arm with a willow branch in order to express sympathy. While previous interpretations had emphasized the apparent violence within the ceremony, in Indian Story and Song, Fletcher argued that the importance of the ceremony was not the self-mutilation, but the power music had to connect with the spiritual world. She explained:

> . . . music had power to reach the unseen world, so the song was for the spirit of the dead, who could not see the lacerated singers, but could hear them, as they sang to cheer him as he went forth, forced by death to leave all who were dear to him.[166]

Rather than focusing on the apparent physical violence of the scalp dance and funeral ceremony, Fletcher portrayed both ceremonies in terms which people of her own culture could understand and appreciate.

Fletcher's Perception: Connection with Christianity

Fletcher's desire to find similarities between Native American and her own cultural music reached its apogee in her use of Christian terms and rhetoric to describe

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[166]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Story and Song, p. 60.

historically non-Christian ceremonies. For example, she called the spiritual leaders of the tribe "priests" and the "priesthood." In Indian Story and Song, Fletcher stated:

> Religious songs were known only to the priesthood; and, as music constituted a medium between man and the unseen powers which controlled his life, literal accuracy was important, otherwise the path between the god and the man would not be straight, and the appeal would miscarry.[167]

In contrast to depictions of the past, Fletcher used the themes and rhetoric of Protestant Christianity when discussing Native American music and legend.

In a story Fletcher collected called "The Story and Song of the Wren," the Christian implications became even stronger. Not only did Fletcher call the spiritual leader a "priest," she called the story a "parable." She stated, "This little parable occurs in the ritual of a religious ceremony of the Pawnee tribe."[168] The following passage from "The Story and Song of the Wren" could have just as easily been found in a bible or a Christian spiritual book. It states:

> As the priest looked, he thought: "Here is a teaching for my people. Every one can be happy, even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks."[169]

As late as 1922, one year before she died, Fletcher

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[167]Ibid, p. 115.

[168]Ibid, p. 56.

[169]Ibid.

still promoted her idea of a connection between Christian religion and Native American customs. On May 14, 1922, she and Francis La Flesche spoke to a church congregation in New York City on the "Aboriginal Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the Native American Race." In her speech, Fletcher articulated her belief that the Pawnee Hako ceremony resembled Christian teachings. According to a newspaper report:

> After the service in the church, Mr. La Flesche spoke of his early remembrance of life in the Omaha Reservation, and Miss Fletcher spoke of the Hako, of the perennial influence of the great Inter-tribal ceremony in which was embodied the teaching of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the ceremony making for peace and fraternity between tribes.[170]

Fletcher again connects Christianity with a common and traditional Indian ceremony and lifestyle, suggesting that Native Americans had inherently Christian ideals and outlooks.

Fletcher's Perception: The Elevation of Native American Culture Through Music

Fletcher called Native Americans "savages" on the evolutionary scale, and she viewed Native American music as inferior to the music of her own culture. Despite this, she believed that Native Americans were more culturally advanced

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[170]Cadman Collection.

than heretofore believed, and, in her own mind, she "elevated" the music. Fletcher questioned common opinions about Native American music. In 1893, she argued, "The music of savages is still spoken of as purposeless sound . . . but there can be no more be a jargon in music than in speech."[171] For example, she posited that the lyrics of tribal songs had poetic value. In A Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher stated:

> While it is true that evidences of sustained things are wanting, these Indian songs show nascent art both in music and poetry. Moreover they reveal the fact that emotion in its simplest utterance weaves together words and melody and is unconsciously true to the laws which we have discovered to underlie and govern our separated arts of music and poetry.[172]

She argued that the use of "nonsensical" vocables, a technique employed in Omaha music, denoted relevant meaning and poetic value. In A Study of Omaha Music, she first explained her theory. According to Fletcher, the initial letter of a vocable related to a particular emotion. For example, the "H" or "A" at the beginning of a word related to gentler emotions and were most often used in love songs, funeral songs, or encouragement songs. The vocables included: "*hae, ha, he, hi, ho, ha, or athae athee.*" In contrast, those vocables that began with a "Y" related to harsher emotions. She explained, ". . . *yae yee yi* permit

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[171]Alice C. Fletcher, Music 4, (1893), pp. 457-467.

[172]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 56.

sharp explosive tones, and these syllables are generally employed when warlike emotions are excited."[173]

In addition to the arguing poetic value of vocables, Fletcher also credited Native American composers with higher artistic ability than had been attributed to them in the past. She argued that Omaha music was a poetic and musical art, carefully planned and written by true "composers." In her description of the following woman's song, Fletcher called the use and arrangement of words "groping after metrical form" and an attempt to "lift it from the commonplace."[174]

Da-dun na e-ba-hun beah-ke-thae, *thae*
Da-dun na e-ba-hun beah-ke-thae, *thae*
Han-ah-de oo-tha-g'tha-ah thun e-zha-zhae we-b' tha-dae thae ; *thae*
Da-dun na e-ba-hun beah-ke-thae, *tha hi*
Ae-bae-in-tae thae! ah-abe-dan ae-hae me-kae thae ; *thae*
Wa-gun-tha-ma ae-hae me-kae thae ; *thae*
E-zha-zhae we-b'tha-dae thae ; *tha hi.*

Da-dun na! I have made myself know ; *thae!*
Da-dun na! I have made myself know ; *thae!*
Last night when you sang, I uttered your name, *thae!*
Da-dun na! I have made myself know ; *thae!*
"Who is it that sings?" *Thae!* they said, and I sitting there, *thae!*
"Wa-gun-tha is passing" I said ; *thae!*
It was your name I uttered! *tha hi.*

She believed that the use of the simple syllable *thae*

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[173]Ibid, p. 12.

[174]Ibid, p. 17.

displayed the advanced nature of Native American composition. According to Fletcher:

> The use of the syllable *thae* as a musical refrain at the end of each line is noteworthy. The introduction of *thae* in the fifth line after Ae-bae-in-tae, "Who is it who sings?" has the effect of a sigh, adding dramatic expression and a touch of pathos to the narrative.[175]

By according creative and intellectual value to Native American music, Fletcher drew it closer to her own music. In her own mind, the value of Native American music made it an artistic form that could be assimilated into her view of acceptable art forms.

In her attempt to draw Native American music closer to the music of her own cultural heritage, Fletcher used familiar musical terms to comment on the unfamiliar. She commented on Indian music using commonly understood musical terms, genres, forms, and styles. In addition to calling the writers of Native American melodies, "composers," she also called their transcribed melodies, "arias." According to Fletcher:

> When we bring the Indian song side by side with our more modern music, in which the intellect controls the expression of emotion, marked differences are shown, but there is a sympathetic chord and even some of the fundamental forms of expression, as the use of melody, harmony and rhythm against another are common to both. The divergence is upon the intellectual rather than the emotional plane. Our music shows the influence of our social conditions, our coordinated society--our leisure

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[175]Ibid, p. 17.

> class, whether this be sacerdotal or secular, and the added power gained through written music, wherein the eye has reenforced the ear, making the intellect more potent, and developing a new enjoyment and a broader field for musical expression.[176]

She found the difference between Indian and "modern music" to lie in the development of the intellect. In contrast, according to Fletcher, the music had fundamental similarities on the emotional or expressive level.

Conclusions

By finding similarities between Native American melodies and music of her own cultural heritage, Fletcher used a vocabulary with which she was familiar. Although using Western terms to describe non-Western music was a common practice at the time, Fletcher went beyond common practices and attempted to portray Native American culture as philosophically closer to her own culture to reinforce her assimilationist agenda.

Fletcher's reliance on evolutionism gives insight into her portrayal of Native American music. She displayed the music differently from portrayals of the past, finding commonalities between Native American and the music of her own cultural heritage, and refuting the "brutish" savage image. Yet the evolution of Fletcher's musical thought, and her mature portrayal of Native American music, is more than

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[176]Ibid, p. 56.

a shift from a "brutal" to a "noble" savage depiction of Native Americans. Her shift in viewpoint concerning Native American music served as support for her missionary agenda. Fletcher blurred the difference between the ethical Christian and the noble savage, and her portrayal of Native American music, which countered the "savage" image of Native American music, viewed Native American music as similar to white "cultured" music.

In accordance with her scientific training, she viewed Native American music as being at a point in evolutionary history which gave insight into the history of humanity. To Fletcher, Native American songs came to represent a part of history that would no longer exist. The study of Native American music, then, was not to perpetuate the culture, but to give insight into a moment in the evolution of humanity. In A Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher stated:

> The songs therefore stand as a monument, marking the limit which the Omaha Indian's environment placed upon the development of his mental life and expression.
>
> The Omahas as a tribe have ceased to exist. The young men and women are being trained in English speech, and imbued with English thought; their directive emotion will hereafter take the lines of our artistic forms; therefore there can be no speculation upon any future development of Omaha Indian music.[177]

Yet Alice Fletcher translated ceremonies and specific

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[177]Ibid, p. 57.

ceremonies into Christian terms, portraying her connection to evolutionary history and missionary agendas. The use of Christian terms in place of the original Native American terms, and the attribution of Christian ethics to a non-Christian society are expressions of her reformist goals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a time when Native American culture was going through tremendous change, and its fate unsure, Fletcher's portrayal of Native American music provided a resemblance of cultural order.

CHAPTER FIVE

Fletcher's Creation: Indian Harmony

While the previous chapter explored Fletcher's portrayal of music in general, the present chapter focuses on a specific idea, the theory of latent harmony, which Fletcher developed and promoted throughout her lifetime. Latent harmony was a theory in the late nineteenth century, popularized by Fletcher and the music specialist John C. Fillmore, that Native Americans have an innate sense of harmony.[178] Although the performance of Native American music was monophonic, Fletcher posited that Indians actually "meant" a particular harmony when they performed their music. Fletcher and Fillmore believed that Indians had an unconscious awareness of this harmony. According to this view, an unconscious or "latent" harmony accompanied every melodic note.

During the late nineteenth century, both amateurs and professionals viewed harmony as a central part of "real" music. The system of tonal harmony, developed during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, was an important aspect of musical understanding for musically

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[178]During the 1890s, Franz Boas also supported Fletcher and Fillmore's understanding of Indian music.(Fletcher Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.; Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia)

literate individuals. Harmony, along with its dependence on an equally tempered scalar system and written music, became used to differentiate between Western and non-Western music. In his study, The Western Impact on World Music, Bruno Nettl explains that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the system of harmony was an integral part of musical understanding. According to Nettl:

> What was dearest to the European music-lover of that time was precisely the system of harmony. The intervallic structure of the basic tone material was so fundamental that one could not really imagine intelligible music to be without it. . . . To early ethnomusicology, harmony, equally tempered scalar structure, and notation were among the most basic criteria for distinguishing Western from non-Western music.[179]

Like other early collectors of Native American music, Fletcher used the criteria of harmony, the equally-tempered scalar system, and notation to differentiate between Western and Native American music. Further, and more importantly, she made philosophical connections and established similarities between Western and Native American music based on these criteria. Because of her attempts to notate Native American music and her attempts to place Native American music onto the Western scalar system, Fletcher came up with a theory of Native American harmony: latent harmony. She used latent harmony as a tool to intervene, transform, and

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[179]Bruno Nettl, The Western Impact on World Music, p. 16.

mold the Native American culture into a Euro-American model. To transform and assimilate Native Americans on a macrocosmic level, Fletcher manipulated the microcosm of their music into a language that her contemporaries could understand and appreciate. The idea of latent harmony and the actual physical representation of this idea as harmonizations gave credence to her efforts to assimilate Native Americans on a social level.

The Initiation of the Latent Harmony Idea: Fletcher's Role

When she first studied Native American music, Fletcher followed the idea that the music was based on a micro-tonal scalar system. In Omaha Music, she stated:

> During the earlier years of my studies I was, with other observers, inclined to believe in the theory of a musical scale in which the interval of a tone was divided into many parts . . . .[180]

Fletcher came to this conclusion while attempting to transcribe and notate Native American melodies. Initially, she did not have the aid of the phonograph, and she collected the melodies in a variety of different ways. She completed some of her transcriptions on the reservation itself.[181] On the various reservations, she met with willing

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[180]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 152.

[181]Later, she used the Edison phonograph, producing produce wax cylinder recordings and then she notated the material at her leisure. By the early 1900s Fletcher, along with Francis La Flesche had accumulated more than 500 cylinders which have now been transferred to magnetic tape and are housed in the Library of Congress.

participants and transcribed the songs.[182] Contrastingly, some Native American singers and musicians came to Washington to her home to complete the transcriptions. For example, George Miller, an Omaha student at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, visited her home during the 1880s to aid in her musical transcriptions.[183] Wherever she met with Native American singers, there were often problems in notating the melodies. Often, the singer had to repeat the song often until she completed the transcription of music and words. Fletcher would then repeat the song to the singer to confirm the notation. In such a technique, she noticed aberrations of pitch and devised a system of commas to show when the singer deviated from the Western scale. Because of the aberrations of pitch, she decided that Native American music must be based on a minutely-divided scalar system.

Although Fletcher initially believed that Native American music was based on a minutely-divided scale, she later changed her mind. In A Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher

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[182]Fletcher collected some songs at the home of Rosalie La Flesche Farley, the sister of Francis La Flesche, in Bancroft, Nebraska. In 1941, Frances Densmore visited the Omaha Reservation and interviewed three singers who had recorded songs for Fletcher. In her work for the Bureau of American Ethnology, Densmore re-recorded songs which they had recorded for Fletcher. Mattie Merrick White Parker remembered recording a number of songs for Fletcher in the Farley home in about 1890. (Frances Densmore, "The Survival of Omaha Songs," American Anthropologist 46, 1944), p. 420.

[183]Fletcher/La Flesche Collection, National Anthropological Archives.

stated:

> . . . but, for several years not past, having become more familiar with the Indian's mode of thought and feeling concerning music, and as a result of careful investigation of hundreds of songs which I have transcribed, I have been led to account for his peculiar intonations in other ways than in the use of a minutely divided scale.[184]

She decided that the aberrations of pitch by the Omaha singer were not the actual intention of the singer. Rather, she concluded that aberrations of pitch occurred for many different reasons. First, Fletcher found that there were good and bad Omaha singers, just like in her own culture. When weaker singers performed, there were more aberrations of pitch. When the better singers performed, they "sang with greater precision of interval and clearness of tone, coming surprisingly near our own standards . . ."[185] Secondly, Fletcher concluded that certain aberrations of pitch were intentional musical devices. Sometimes the Indians used a portamento or gliding of the voice for emotional effect. Finally, Fletcher experimented by stretching Indian songs upon a minutely divided scale and concluded that Indians did not recognize their songs when placed on such a scale. She posited that if Indian music were not recognizable when placed on a minutely-divided scale, then it had to fit on

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[184]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 152.

[185]Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Songs and Music," p. 89.

the Western equally-tempered scale.

Different problems arose after Fletcher placed Native American music on a Western scalar system. For example, when she played melodies on the piano, the Native American singers were not satisfied with the sound. In A Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher stated:

> When I played these songs upon an instrument to Indians who had learned to hear the tones on an organ or piano, in the manner I have already described, the melody, as they sang it, when played as an unsupported solo, did not satisfy them. The song was pronounced correct, but it was unsatisfying; there was something lacking.[186]

When she added simple chords beneath the melodies, the Indians were more satisfied. She insisted that the Indians demanded the addition of chords to their monophonic melodies. In A Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher called the addition of chords a "matter of necessity." She stated:

> I first detected this feeling for harmony while rendering to the Indians their melodies upon an instrument; the song played as an unsupported solo did not satisfy my memory of their unison singing, and the music did not "sound natural" to them, but when I added a simple harmony my ear was content and the Indians were satisfied.[187]

She accepted the Indians' satisfaction as a validation of her belief in latent harmony.[188] Yet, by using the piano and

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[186]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, p. 196.

[187]Ibid, p. 10.

[188]In "The 'Objective' and Subjective View in Music Transcription," Nazir Jairazbhoy discusses the physiology of hearing and its effect on musical transcription. He posits that "hearing" can influenced by

organ in her attempt to replicate Native American melodies, Fletcher inadvertently guided the outcome of her experiment.

The Expansion of the Latent Harmony Idea: Fillmore's Role

After she had collected, notated, and harmonized several Omaha melodies, Fletcher believed that she needed aid in describing the technical aspects of the music.[189] In 1888, she sent transcriptions to John Fillmore in Milwaukee, who taught at the Milwaukee School of Music.[190] Initially, Fillmore's efforts were focused solely on the analysis of Fletcher's transcriptions and harmonizations. Gradually, he began to harmonize melodies and later became involved in the actual collection and transcription of melodies. Before his work with Fletcher, Fillmore had focused solely on the study of Western art music, and had written many textbooks that were well known and very popular.[191] He was extremely busy

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numerous stimulus, including the listener's memories, feelings, and expectations. Therefore, "hearing," even in the most scientific of settings, is a subjective experience.

[189]Like most Victorian ethnologists, Fletcher did not feel comfortable analyzing the music herself, and therefore she utilized the aid of a music expert.

[190]Fillmore studied music at Oberlin College from 1862 to 1865, and then in Leipzig, Germany, in 1866. In 1867, he returned to Oberlin and became the director of the Conservatory and then received an M.A. in 1870. He taught music the rest of his life. He held posts at Ripon College in Wisconsin (1868-1877), Milwaukee College for Women (1878-84). He founded the Milwaukee School of Music in 1885 and finally directed the music school at Pomona College in Claremont, California (1895-1898).

[191]These include: 1. Lessons in Musical History: A Comprehensive Outline of Musical History From the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Present Time, (Published 1882, reprinted in 1888, 1895, 1930 by Presser); 2. New Lessons in Harmony, (Published in 1887 by Presser); 3.

with his work at the school and often found it difficult to find time to work on Fletcher's transcriptions. After a long period of reticence, Fillmore wrote to her in August of 1890 and apologized, "Don't think I am not interested in the Indian music. I long to be at it and hope to accomplish something after Sept. 1."[192] When he finally began working on transcriptions and writings concerning Native American music, he was extremely insecure and continually turned to Fletcher for advice and affirmation. In at least three letters to Fletcher in the spring and summer of 1891, prior to his first publication concerning Native American music and latent harmony, Fillmore requested her aid in his writing.[193]

Fillmore agreed with Fletcher's observations concerning latent harmony. In "Music as Found in Certain North American Tribes," Fletcher asked him to scientifically demonstrate the "discovery" of latent harmony. According to Fletcher:

> From years of careful study in the field I have become convinced that the Indians have a feeling for harmony, but as Prof. Fillmore has found from his exhaustive

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A Practical Value of Certain Modern Theories Respecting the Science of Harmony, (1887); 4. A History of the Pianoforte Music, with Critical Estimates of Its Greatest Masters and Sketchers of Their Lives, (1883, reprinted seven times by T. MacCoun of Chicago).

[192]John C. Fillmore to Alice C. Fletcher, August, 1890, Fletcher Papers, National Anthropological Archives.

[193]John C. Fillmore to Alice C. Fletcher, May 4, 1891; July 18, 1891; August 2, 1891, Fletcher Papers, National Anthropological Archives.

> study of my collections that the building of the songs themselves proves this statement, I shall leave the demonstration of this interesting discovery to him.[194]

Fletcher and Fillmore's more extensive collaboration occurred in A Study of Omaha Music (1894). Fletcher divided A Study of Omaha Music into two parts. In Part One of the fifty-one page publication, she divided ninety-two Omaha songs into three categories: Class Songs, Social Songs and Individual Songs. In Part Two, entitled "Report on the Structural Peculiarities of the Music," Fillmore commented concerning the scales, harmony, rhythm and tonality of Omaha music. Included in this section are ninety-two melodies transcribed by Fletcher and then harmonized by Fillmore.

Besides his harmonic theory, Fillmore extended Fletcher's theory by positing that the Indian's unconscious sense of harmony determined the makeup of the melody. Fillmore stated:

> I am forced to the conclusion that melody is a product of the natural harmonic sense and that all efforts to reduce primitive melodies to scales without reference to the natural harmonies implied in them must prove futile.[195]

He connected his implied harmonies connected to Indian melodies with the harmonies used in the "Modern Romantic School" of composition which was prevalent during his

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[194]Alice C. Fletcher, "Music as Found in Certain North American Tribes," p. 461.

[195]Alice C. Fletcher, A Study of Omaha Music, pp. 61-62

lifetime. According to Fillmore, "Wa-Wan Wan-An (Taking Away the Hunga)" depended on 3rd and 6th relationships, a practice common in romantic music.[196]

In his "Report on the Structural Peculiarities of the Music," Fillmore depended on the Omaha Indian, Francis La Flesche, as his authority on Indian music. Fillmore spent one week with La Flesche in Washington, and they spent one week together on the Omaha reservation. On the reservation, Fillmore met with six Indians, including Francis La Flesche. After a week on the reservation, La Flesche spent one week at Fillmore's home. In three weeks, primarily with Francis La Flesche, Fillmore made broad generalizations concerning Omaha music and Indian music as a whole. Concerning La Flesche, Fillmore stated:

> To his unwearied patience, intelligence, courtesy and carefulness I owe much; vastly more, indeed, than I can give any adequate idea of in any acknowledgment I can make. Without his devoted assistance no thorough or complete investigation of the music of his tribe would have been possible. No one else was so thoroughly competent in every way to assist a musician in finding out what needed to be known.[197]

From his work with La Flesche and the five other Omaha Indians, Fillmore believed that he had proved Fletcher's notion that Indians have an innate harmonic sense. In a period of three weeks, Fillmore posited to have made a

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[196]Ibid, p. 62.

[197]Ibid, p. 60.

"thorough" and "complete" study of the music of the Omaha. He concluded that Indians have a predilection for the major key, and that their melodies modulate similarly to the contemporary romantic music of the period.

Fillmore's Transcriptions

Fletcher secured Native American contacts for Fillmore, and Fillmore relied on Fletcher for advice. Like Fletcher, Fillmore viewed Indian music as in a barbaric state, and believed that the music needed to be "made over" into Western art music to be worthwhile and "beautiful." After attending a festival with La Flesche on the Omaha reservation, Fillmore stated:

> There is no development of the ear or voice in these respects among these Indians. The only advanced element in their music is the rhythm; all the rest is barbaric. But translated into terms of civilized music, much of it will be very beautiful indeed. There is a mine of melodies here, the exploration of which is only just begun.[198]

Though Native American music was monophonic, Fillmore harmonized the melodies in his attempt to analyze them. His harmonizations are similar to those found in simple, nineteenth century Euro-American music, including Protestant hymns and popular American songs. His settings contain simple textures, mostly triadic harmonies, and basic chord progressions. Musical Example 5.1, the "Na-g' thae Wa-an,"

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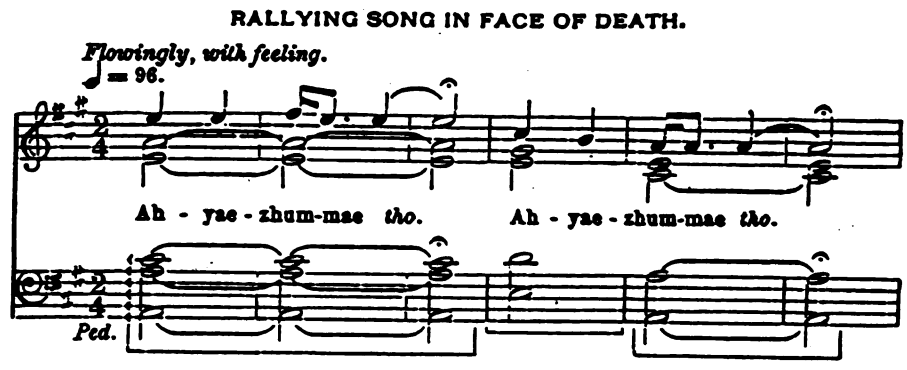
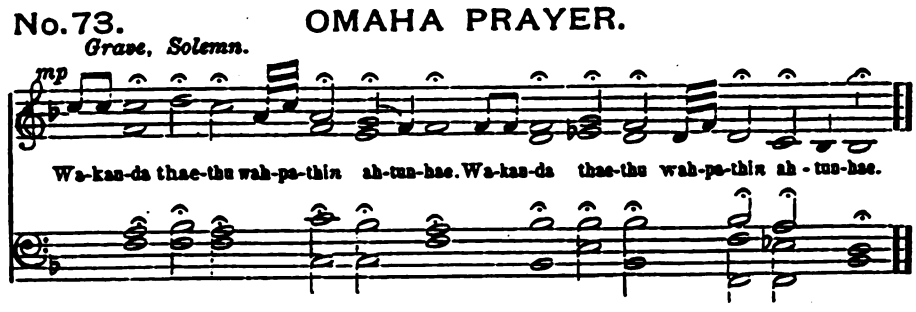
[198]Fillmore to Fletcher, July 11, 1891, Fletcher papers.



Example 5.1
"Na-g' thae Wa-an"

is in the key of A major and, like many hymns, is based on three chords: the tonic, dominant and subdominant chords. The use of a dominant 7^{th} chord in the fourth measure reinforces the modern sound and the movement away from the original Native American melody.Another hymn-like harmonization is the "Omaha Prayer," Musical Example 5.2. It is reminiscent of a threefold Amen which modulates from the key of F major to $B^{\flat}$ major.



Example 5.2
"Omaha Prayer"

From 1894-1898, Fillmore published his own work on Indian music.[199] In 1894, Fillmore published "A Study of Indian Music," in Century Magazine, which compared latent

[199]Fillmore also promoted the idea of latent harmony because the existence of latent harmony also displayed a natural law of acoustics. Fillmore posited that the existence of latent harmony was proof of the existence of an undertone series as suggested in the theories of Riemann, Oettingen and von Helmholtz. In Fillmore's study, the "Indian ear" accepted the minor chord as easily as the major, a fact, which in Fillmore's mind, helped to verify the existence of the undertone series. A major debate in the history of music theory during the nineteenth century was determining the scientific basis for minor harmony. Because the minor 3rd was not part of the overtone series, theorists could not justify minor harmony. Fillmore stated:

> It is possible we shall sometime discover that the tones we hear are more complex than even Helmhotz knew; that the undertone series as well as the overtone series is present in every tone, and that "major" and "minor" conceptions are due to the predominance of one or the other, much as quality of tone (*timbre, klangfarbe*) is due to the predominance of one or another set of overtones. "Report on the Structural Peculiarities of the Music," in Alice Fletcher's A Study of Omaha Music, 1894, p. 63.

harmony with the harmony of the "modern romantic school."[200] In 1895, Fillmore published "What Do Indians Mean To Do When They Sing, And How Far Do They Succeed?" in Journal of American Folk-Lore. In "What Do Indians Mean," Fillmore posited that he, Fletcher and Franz Boas, did not differ in opinion concerning latent harmony. In the same year, some of Fillmore's transcriptions appeared in Boas' Smithsonian report, The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians.

From his connection with Fletcher, Fillmore networked within the anthropological community as a musical specialist. In 1893, he partnered with Franz Boas in studying the music of the Kwakiutl and preparing Indian exhibits for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Fillmore studied the Navaho songs recorded on the phonograph by Washington Matthew and Mexican songs collected by Carl Lumholtz. Fillmore recorded some Indian songs when Charles Lummis introduced him to the Indians of Isleta, New Mexico. His "The Harmonic Structure of Indian Music" was published posthumously in 1898 after Fillmore's sudden death en route to a meeting of the American Association for the

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[200]John C. Fillmore, "A Study of Indian Music," Century Magazine, p. 620. By the "modern romantic school," Fillmore may have been referring to the music of Richard Wagner (1813-1883) and associated composers, but the association is problematic, since much of Wagner's harmony is distinctly more chromatic and dissonant than that found in Fillmore's harmonizations of Indian melodies.

Advancement of Science.

Fillmore-Gilman Controversy

During the 1890s, a controversy ensued in musical circles between Benjamin Gilman and John Fillmore concerning the theory of latent harmony. The published professional disputes between Gilman and Fillmore publicized the theory of latent harmony and made an indelible mark in the history of ethnomusicology. Similar to Fillmore's role as a musical expert for Fletcher, Benjamin Gilman[201] was the commissioned musical expert for the Hemenway Southwest Expedition.[202] Founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway of Boston in 1889, Hemenway entrusted leadership of the Expedition to Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, who recorded the speech and song of the Zunis, Hopi, and Pueblo. Hemenway hired Benjamin Gilman as his music specialist to analyze the tribal music Fewkes collected. In

[201]Gilman lectured at Harvard University concerning the psychology of music and later became curator of the Art Museum in Boston. Gilman later made recordings of other "exotic" music at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. These included 101 cylinders of music from Java, Samoa, Turkey, and Vancouver Island. Although he never published the collection, it is housed in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, and has been preserved by the Federal Cylinder Project of the Library of Congress.

[202]Fletcher's interest in the collection of Native American music came at the beginning of a surge of interest music in Native America. In addition to Fletcher's work and the famed Hemenway Expedition, many others began to study Native American music. In 1882, Theodore Baker of Germany was the first to publish on the music of Native America. In his dissertation Ueber die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden, Baker studied the music of eastern tribes, including the Seneca and Iroquois of New York. Beginning in the 1880s, Dr. Franz Boas studied the music of the Indians of British Columbia and Dr. Carl Stumpf studied the Bellacoola Indians.

preparation for this expedition, Fewkes recorded the songs of the Passamaquoddy in Maine.

Like many early ethnologists, Gilman believed that non-Western music, including Native American music, was based on micro-tonal scales that did not fit into the Western scalar system.[203] In short, Gilman did not accept the theory of latent harmony in part because it presupposed the placement of Native American melodies on the Western scalar system.[204] Fillmore and Gilman clashed violently in their approach to harmony. In his study of Zuni music, Gilman concluded the opposite of Fillmore. He asserted that the Zunis did not have a latent harmonic sense, did not sing on a fixed scale, or even have any sense of a key note or tonic chord. In direct contrast to Fletcher and Fillmore's findings, the transcriptions of Gilman's 1891 publication, entitled "Zuni Melodies," include minute divisions of the Western tempered scale. Gilman used the harmonium measurement of Alexander

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[203]Benjamin Gilman, "The Science of Exotic Music," Science 30 (1909), pp. 532-535.

[204]By the early twentieth century, the theory had been dismissed as ludicrous. For example, music historian Henry Krehbiel posited in his *Afro-American Folksongs* (1913) that it was absurd to think that Indians have music based on a Western scale. He stated:

> The speculations on this point in which some professed students of the music of the North American Indians have indulged have reached a degree of absurdity almost laughable . . . . Why savages who have never developed a musical or any other art should be supposed to have more refined aesthetic sensibilities than the peoples who have cultivated music for centuries, passes my poor powers of understanding.

Ellis to decipher minute divisions of pitch.[205] Using Ellis' approach, he concluded that aberrations of pitch were very random, and thus Native Americans rarely sang the same version of a song twice.

In his writing, Gilman not only negated the presence of a harmonic sense, he also denied the existence of a consciously organized sense of scale. According to Gilman in Hopi Songs:

> What we have in these melodies is the musical growths out of which scales are elaborated, and not compositions undertaken in conformity to norms of interval order already fixed in the consciousness of the singers. In this archaic state of the art, scales are not formed but forming.[206]

By rejecting a harmonic sense in Native American music, and by placing his collected melodies on a minutely-divided, rather than a Western scalar system, he challenged the essence of Fletcher and Fillmore's theory.

The publication of Gilman's "Zuni Melodies" in 1891, which refuted Fillmore and Fletcher's findings, threatened them significantly. In his article, "The Zuni Music as Translated by Mr. Benjamin Ives Gilman," Fillmore viciously denounced Gilman because Gilman was a psychologist, not a

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[205]Alexander Ellis, a British acoustician, examined music from around the world and devised a "cent" system which divided each semitone into 100 cents. After 1885, Ellis' system became a basis for a minutely divided scale and influenced how students of non-Western music approached the music they studied.

[206]Benjamin Gilman, Hopi Songs, 1908.

trained musician.[207] Fillmore also posited that Gilman's lack of musical training caused errors in his transcriptions of Zuni melodies. For example, Fillmore argued that Gilman's transcription of "Sacred Dance of the Koko" was flawed because of Gilman's lack of harmonic training. Concerning Gilman's transcription that lacked a key signature, but included each sharp as an accidental, Fillmore stated:

> It is very easy for any musician to see why he should *not* have done so. . . . Any intelligent musician who reads it will speedily become aware that he is imagining the sounds which compose two chords, one major and the other its relative minor, but that both are wrongly spelled in the notation.[208]

In his rebuttal of Gilman's work, Fillmore took the liberty to "correct" Gilman's transcription "Sacred Dance of the Koko." Musical Example 5.3 shows Gilman's original transcription and Musical Example 5.4 shows Fillmore's harmonized "revision" of Gilman's work.

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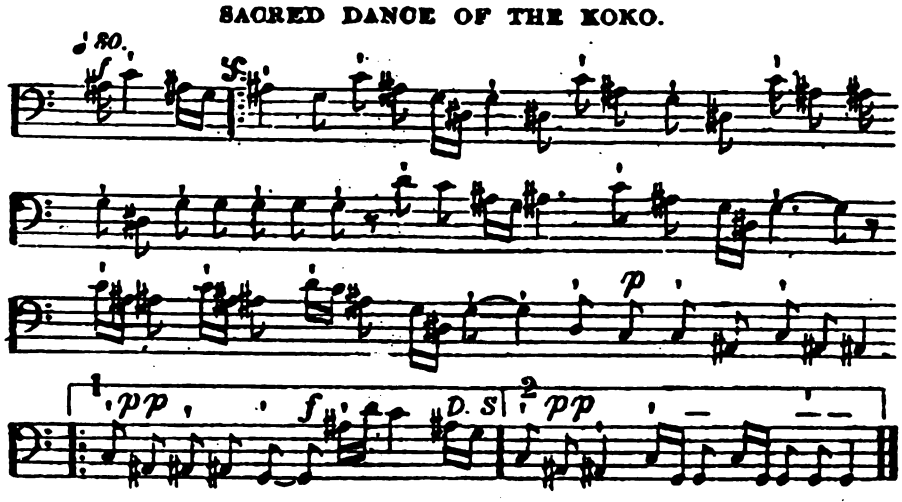
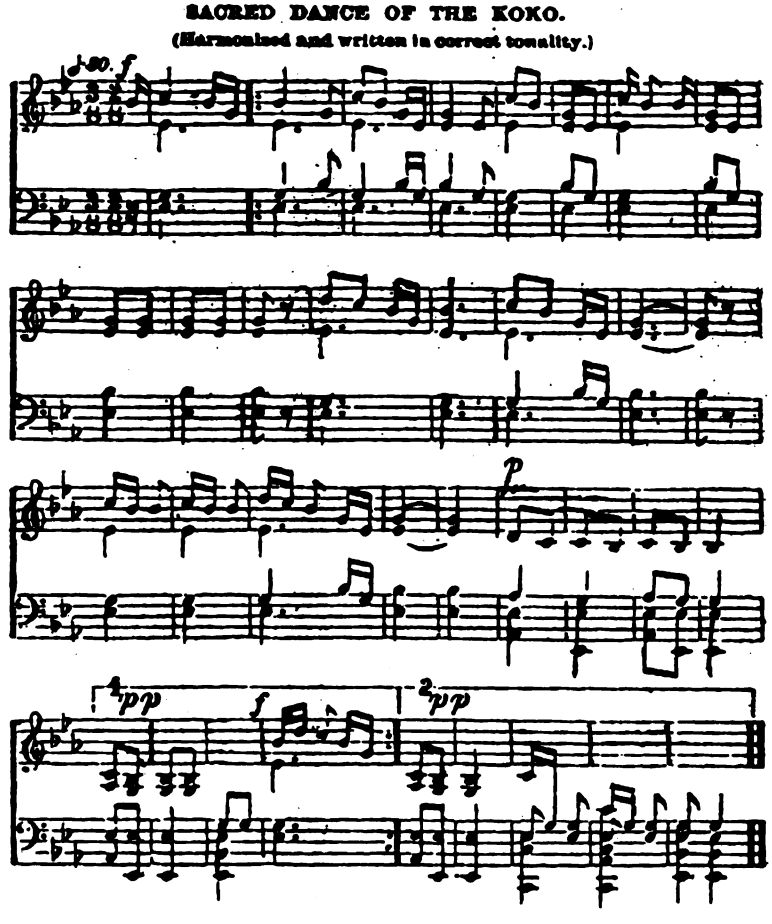
[207]He also denounced Gilman in letters Alice Fletcher. Fillmore to Alice Fletcher, Nov. 5, 1893, (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum).

[208]John C. Fillmore, "The Zuni Music as Translated by Mr. Benjamin Ives Gilman," pp. 41-43.



Musical Example 5.3
Gilman's original "Sacred Dance of the Koko,"
from Gilman's "Zuni Melodies."



Musical Example 5.4
Fillmore's "Revision" of Gilman's
"Sacred Dance of the Koko"
The Zuni Music, p. 44.

Fillmore and Gilman also clashed because of methodology. The major controversy concerning methodology involved the acceptance of the newly invented phonograph for the scientific collection of Indian melodies. At that time, Fillmore and Fletcher did not use the phonograph, and transcribed the melodies painstakingly by ear. Contrastingly, Fewkes and Gilman utilized the phonograph to record the music and then Gilman transcribed the melodies by listening to the recordings.[209] In a letter to Fletcher in 1893, Fillmore explained his contempt for Gilman's work. Fillmore stated:

> I don't believe that Gilman knows what he is talking about at all. . . . The notion that Indians know anything about small intervals of tone is, I am convinced, wholly a mistake. Anyhow, he can prove nothing in his way of going to work. The cylinders are worthless, to begin with. Somebody will have to do that work over in a scientific way, if there are ever to be any results. It is absolutely necessary to use a battery and keep an absolutely even and definite rate of speed.[210]

Although Fletcher and Fillmore later utilized the phonograph, Fillmore believed that the phonograph had significant limitations and therefore could not be an adequate scientific tool. Fillmore's scepticism of the phonograph was based on well-founded criteria. There were

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[209]In 1879, Fewkes had tested the phonograph when he recorded the music of the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine.

[210]John C. Fillmore to Alice C. Fletcher, 1893, Fletcher Papers, National Anthropological Archives.

significant limitations to the cylinder phonograph. First, the recording time of the cylinders ranged from three minutes to nine minutes. Therefore, the length of the recorded song may have been manipulated by the ethnographer. Second, because there was no level control on the phonograph, the dynamic range of the original performance was often changed. Ethnographers requested performers to sing or play at an even level, and they often requested performers to eliminate loud yells and cries. Finally, the quality of sound was challenged because the phonograph was inconsistent in picking up higher frequencies of sound. In seeking to surmount these limitations, ethnologists sometimes inadvertently transformed the nature of the original performance.[211]

Fletcher's Support of Latent Harmony and Harmonizations After 1898

Despite the limitations of the phonograph, Fletcher recognized its potential, and used the phonograph beginning in the 1890s. From 1893-1898, Fletcher focused on the music of the Omaha, and during this period she collected many cylinders of Omaha music. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Fletcher wrote at least seven articles

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[211]For more information on the limitations of the phonograph, see The Federal Cylinder Project: A Guide to Field Cylinder Collections in Federal Agencies, American Folklife Center, Washington: 1984.

for scholarly magazines concerning Indian music. Within these articles she promotes the idea of harmony. These include: 1."Music as Found in Certain North American Indian Tribes" (1893); 2. A Study of Omaha Indian Music (1894); 3. "Indian Music" (1894); 4. "Indian Songs: Personal Studies of Indian Life" (1894) 5. "Some Aspects of Indian Music and its Study" (1894); 6. "Indian Songs and Music" (1896); 7. "Indian Songs and Music" (1898).

After Fillmore's death in 1898, and during the first decade of the twentieth century, Fletcher's professional focus changed. She no longer limited her study to the specific area of Native American music, but rather expanded to the study of tribal culture. During the first few years of the twentieth century, she was consumed by research concerning the Pawnee's peace ceremony, The Hako (1904). Following the publication of The Hako, Fletcher's focus shifted again. After 1904, Fletcher focused on her research for the mammoth The Omaha Tribe, published in 1911. During this period, Fletcher also wrote many entries for the Handbook of the North American Indians, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1907 and 1910. In addition, after 1900 Fletcher became increasingly busy in anthropological societies and organizations. Fletcher was president of the Anthropological Society of Washington in

1902 and president of the American Folklore Society in 1905. She also became intimately involved during the same time with the Archaeological Institute of America and the establishment of the School of American Research in Santa Fe. After 1911, at the age of seventy-three, Fletcher experienced numerous illnesses and retreated from professional work, choosing to devote her energies to supporting the career of Francis La Flesche.

Despite Fletcher's shift in priorities after Fillmore's death in 1898, she still supported his work, the idea of latent harmony, and the harmonization of musical transcriptions. For example, in 1898, she presented Fillmore's material in his place at a meeting. Then, in a preface to "The Harmonic Structure of Indian Music," Fletcher affirmed her support of Fillmore. She stated:

> His remarkable work, cut short by his untimely death, bears abundant evidence of his thoroughness as a student; of his power to discern fundamental truths in the most meager material. . . .[212]

Beyond her affirmation of Fillmore's work, Fletcher supported the theory of latent harmony and the harmonization of Native American music in two extremely important works which she published after Fillmore's death. Fletcher supported latent harmony and the ideas of Fillmore in her

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[212]Alice C. Fletcher, Introduction to "The Harmonic Structure of Indian Music," p. 298.

1900 publication, Indian Story and Song. Like in her earlier publications, she argued that adding a simple harmonic accompaniment made the melody "sound natural" to the Indian. For example, Fletcher stated:

> The discovery of the Indian's preference in the rendition of his songs upon the piano led to many experiments, in which Professor Fillmore took part, and that brought to light many interesting facts. Among these facts may be mentioned the complexity of rhythms, one played against the other; the modulation implied in some of the melodies; the preference for a major chord in closing a minor song; and the use of certain harmonic relations which have been deemed peculiar to the modern romantic school.[213]

Fletcher reaffirmed her support of observations previously made by Fillmore concerning the technicalities of Indian music.

Besides Fletcher's Indian Story and Song, her monumental The Omaha Tribe of 1911 is a key to understanding her support of latent harmony and the harmonization of Native American melodies. Coauthored by Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe was not limited to the study of music. Fletcher and La Flesche sought to describe many different aspects of the Omaha tribe including, cognate tribes, tribal organization, music, warfare, social life, ceremonies, history, religion, and customs. Just as music was important in every aspect of the Omaha society, Fletcher and La Flesche included musical examples throughout the book.

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[213]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Story and Song, p. 119.

The inclusion of the harmonized versions of songs in The Omaha Tribe was important to Fletcher, who still held to the idea that the harmonized versions were closely aligned with the original Indian melody. She stated:

> In a few instances the songs herein given have been interpreted by adding a simple harmony and in every instance the harmony given has been tested among the Omaha and been preferred by them when the songs were played on the piano or organ.[214]

In the section on Omaha music, Fletcher again affirmed her belief in the validity of latent harmony. Like in her earlier publications, she insisted that the Indians found the harmonizations to sound "natural." She stated:

> It has been the constant experience of the writers that the Omaha objected to the presentation of their songs on a piano or reed organ as unsupported arias. As almost all their songs were sung by a number of singers, the melody moving by octaves, the overtones were often strongly brought out, and this may account for the Indian's preference for a simple harmony of implied chords, when their songs were interpreted on these instruments. "That sounds natural!" was their comment on hearing their songs so played, even when it was explained to them that they did not sing their songs in concerted parts; yet they still persisted, "It sounds natural."[215]

Fletcher also explained that she included harmonized versions of songs in the publication in order make the songs more accessible to the average reader.

> [They are] to give some of these songs a chance to be really heard by the average person, for only the

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[214]Alice C. Fletcher, The Omaha Tribe, 1911, p. 375.

[215]Alice C. Fletcher, The Omaha Tribe, p. 374.

> exceptional and musically gifted can discern the possibilities that lie in an unsupported aria; moreover, the single line of music stands for a song that is sung in octaves by a group of male and female voices and therefore is not a true picture of the song itself.[216]

In Fletcher's opinion, the harmonized versions were still closer to the original Native American melody.

Although she posited that harmonized melodies were closer to the original, she did not always harmonize the melodies. Rather, she presented the Native American melodies in a variety of ways in both Indian Story and Song and The Omaha Tribe. Strict methodology in her presentation of Indian melodies was not Fletcher's main priority. Out of the thirty musical examples used in Indian Story and Song, four are not harmonized. Fillmore had harmonized seventeen of the examples, including "Zon-za-mond-de."[217] Six had been transcribed from graphophone and then harmonized by Edwin S.Tracy (1875-1961), the new music specialist.[218] After the death of Fillmore in 1898, Fletcher utilized the musical expertise of Tracy, musical director of the Morris High School in New York City. Tracy aided Fletcher in many

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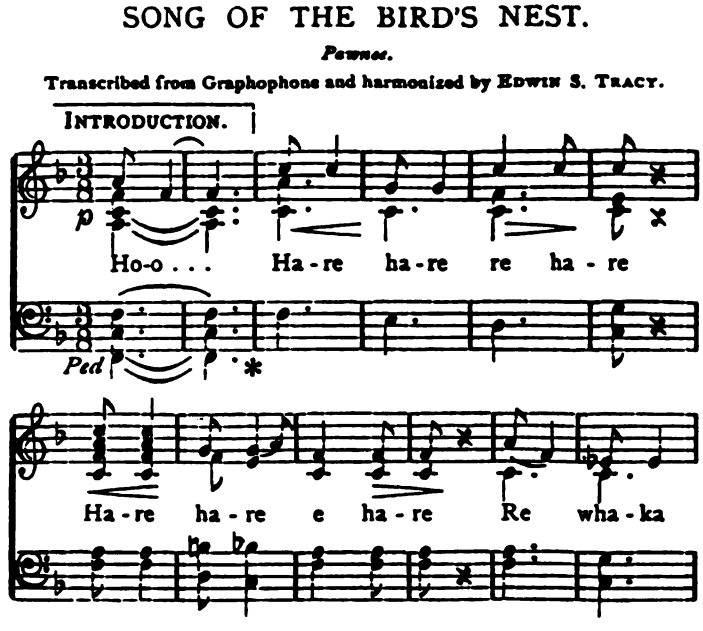
[216]Ibid, p. 375.

[217]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Story and Song, pp. 46-47.

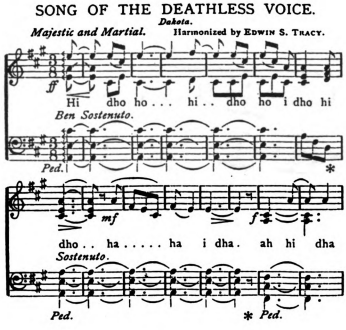
[218]Further information concerning the Ojibway recordings can be found in "The Alice C. Fletcher Ojibwe Indian Recordings," by Thomas Vennum, Jr. in Discourse in Ethnomusicology III: Essays in Honor of Frank J. Gillis, 1991. The terms Ojibway, Ojibwe, and Ojibwa are used synonymously.

publications, including Indian Story and Song, The Hako, The Omaha Tribe, and Indian Games and Dances. Tracy not only harmonized melodies for Fletcher's works, he also harmonized melodies for Rev. Joseph Gilfillan for his novel The Ojibway: A Novel of Indian Life of the Period of the Early Advance of Civilization in the Great Northwest, 1904. Alice Fletcher had collected three cylinders of Ojibway music which she loaned to Gilfillan for his novel. The cylinders later were used by Frances Densmore in her study, Chippewa Music (1910).

Music examples 5.5 through 5.8 are melodies which Fletcher included in Indian Story and Song, and reflect the variety of techniques she used in presenting songs in musical notation.



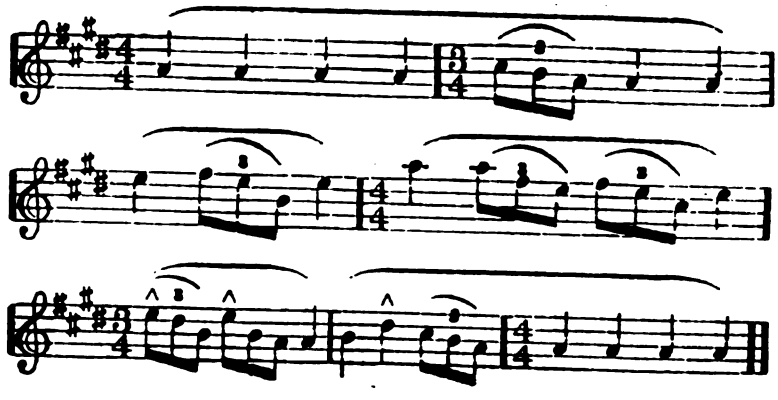
Example 5.5
"Song of the Bird's Nest," Indian Story and Song, 33.
Harmonized and transcribed by Edwin Tracy.



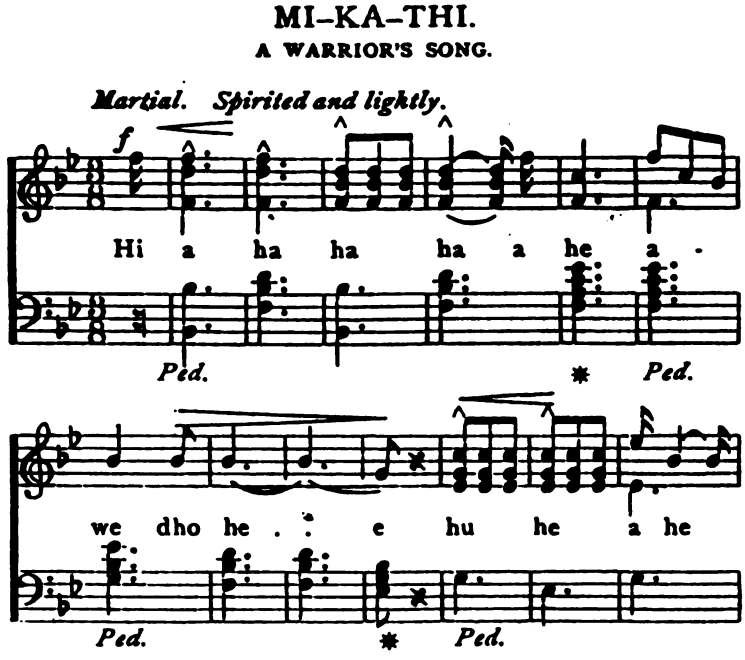
Example 5.6
"Song of a Deathless Voice." Indian Story and Song, 42-43
Harmonized by Edwin Tracy

LOVE CALL.

Omaha.

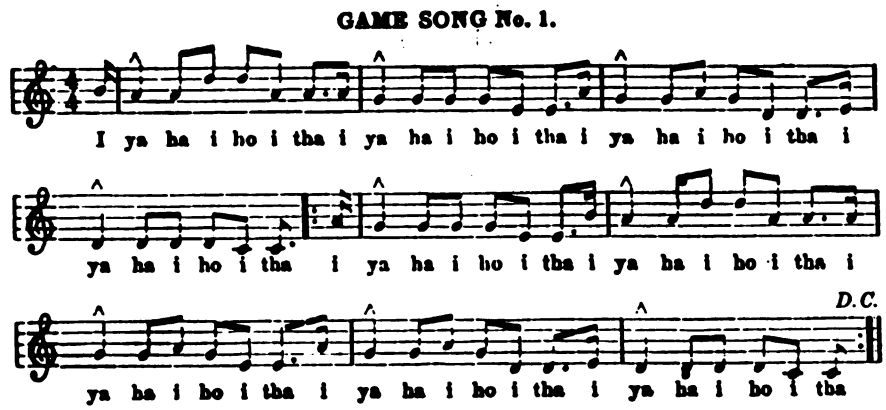


Example 5.7
"Love Call," Indian Story and Song, 69.
Not harmonized and probably
transcribed by Alice Fletcher.

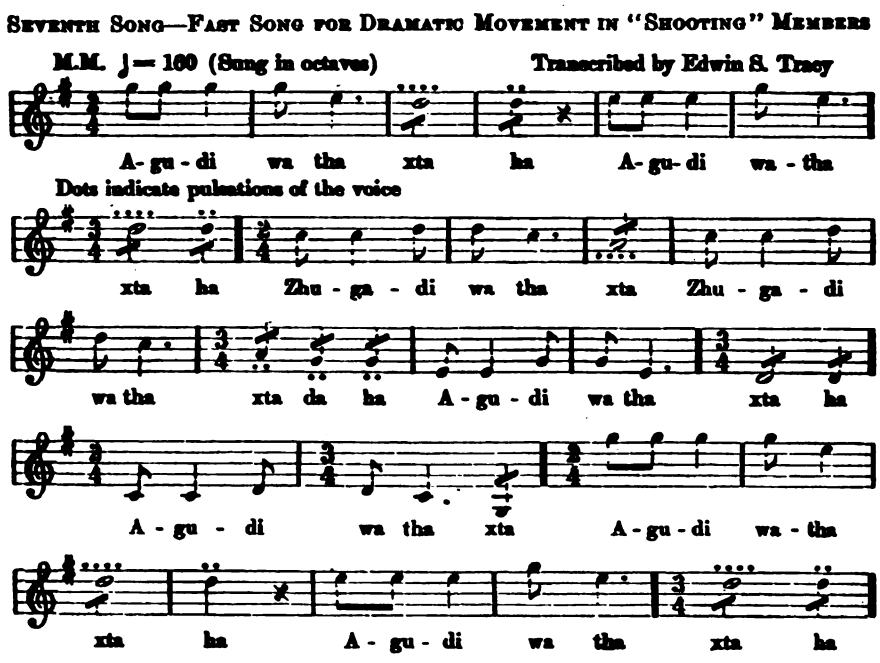


Example 5.8
"Mi-ka-thi," Indian Story and Song, 92.
Harmonized and transcribed probably by Fletcher.

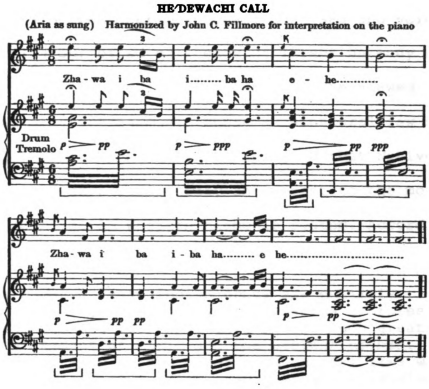
In The Omaha Tribe, like in Indian Story and Song, Fletcher was not meticulous concerning the methodology used in presenting the musical examples. The transcriptions include at least twenty-three monophonic transcriptions by Edwin Tracy, at least twenty-nine harmonized transcriptions by Fillmore, and almost eighty monophonic melodies probably transcribed by Fletcher herself. The transcriptions range in style from Tracy's single line melodies with metronome markings and dots indicating voice pulsations, to single line melodies with drumbeat indications underneath, and to Fillmore's rhythmically strict and modulating harmonizations. Musical Examples 5.9, 5.10, and 5.11 exemplify the variety of transcription techniques that Fletcher used in her publication.



Example 5.9
Game Song No. 1, The Omaha Tribe, Volume II, 368.
Monophonic transcription; only extra markings are accents on the first beat of each measure; unclear who transcribed it (probably Fletcher).



Example 5.10
"Fast Song For Dramatic Movement in 'Shooting' Members,"
The Omaha Tribe, Volume II, p. 550.
Tracy's monophonic transcription; dots to indicate pulse; frequently shifting meter.



Example 5.11
"He/dewachi Call," The Omaha Tribe, Volume I, p. 257.
Fillmore's harmonized transcription, with dynamic markings, pedalings, and modulation from A major to F# minor.

Fletcher's willingness to experiment with the transcription process was typical of early anthropology. During a period when strict methodology was not set, she was comfortable utilizing a variety of transcription techniques in her publications.

Interpretation: An Understanding of Latent Harmony

Fletcher's advocation of a latent harmonic sense in Indian music clearly shows the interdependence and connectedness between her missionary impulses and scientific endeavors. The purported existence of latent harmony was significant to Fletcher for many reasons. She viewed the presence of a latent harmonic sense as a natural law showing a particular point in history. She posited that Native American music was a rudimentary antecedent to the more advanced, complicated Western harmonic system. According to Fletcher:

> It is because these Indian songs are entirely uninfluenced by any theory of acoustics or rules of musical composition, that they are of such great value to the student of music and the student of man. In them we discern some of the underlying natural laws which govern musical expression, and they are a revelation to us; that musical expression is a necessity to man, who would know himself and be known to his fellow-beings.[219]

Art music, in Darwinist terms, was considered the pinnacle of musical evolution. Fletcher agreed with this belief and posited that studying Indian music would give insight into the evolution of musical expression. In "The Study of Indian Music" (1915), Fletcher stated, "By the study of Indian music it is possible to retrace the steps that have led from song to 'culture music.'"[220] She also applied the idea of a

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[219]Alice C. Fletcher, "Some Aspects of Indian Music," 1894.

[220]Alice C. Fletcher, The Study of Indian Music, p. 232.

natural law to human development and intellectual capacity. For example, in "Indian Songs" (1894), she stated, "The study of Indian music adds to the accumulating proof of the common mental endowment of all mankind."[221] According to Fletcher in "Music as Found in Certain North American Tribes":

> The Indian is not a primitive man, not properly a savage, but he is untutored; and yet we hear him voicing his aspiration and his love in accordance with the same laws that are intelligently and consciously obeyed by Wagner, laws which are fundamental in the very nature of man.[222]

In viewing latent harmony as proof of a natural law, Fletcher was sure that despite the outward differences, there was an underlying unity to all music.[223]

Fletcher accepted and promoted the idea of latent harmony to draw Indian and white people closer together culturally. After explaining the tenets of latent harmony, she stated in "Indian Music":

> Language is intellectual, the tool of the mind, primarily, to speak broadly; and the languages of the

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[221]Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Songs," 1894, p. 431.

[222]"Music as Found in Certain North American Tribes," Music 4 (1893), p. 467.

[223]Fillmore also subscribed to the idea that there was a unity to all music. In an article for The Journal of American Folklore, "What Do Indians Mean To Do When They Sing, and How Far Do They Succeed?" Fillmore stated:

> I am profoundly convinced that the unity of all music, primitive and civilized, will become the most striking fact which will force itself on the attention of the observer (p. 138).

> earth represent many and various forms of structure. If a more universal common structure prevails in vocal folk-music, may not the reason be that the emotions of the heart of man are more in common the world over than are his intellectual ideas? These separate, while the former unite the human race.[224]

In her attempt to "unite the human race" through the language of music, Fletcher supported latent harmony. Furthermore, the addition of chords to monophonic melodies brought Fletcher and the Native Americans singers into agreement. Because her acquaintances and collaborators apparently accepted her harmonized versions, which sounded like Western music, a cultural convergence occurred. Fletcher and Fillmore's harmonizations on the piano, which they viewed as a natural outgrowth of latent harmony, created a musical intersection between Western and Indian cultures. From their perspective, the harmonized versions of Native melodies were a unifying symbol. Fletcher's advocation of assimilation in the form of latent harmony paralleled her struggle for Native American cultural, political, and social assimilation.

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[224]Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Music," p. 199.

CHAPTER SIX

Fletcher's Influence: Acculturation and the Use of Native American Themes in Composition

Fletcher's Promotion of Native American Music: The Message of Native America

In addition to her role in collecting, recording, and interpreting Native American music, Fletcher diligently encouraged American composers to use Indian themes in their compositions. Through her proselytizing, she made Indian themes accessible to American composers, and made an indelible mark on American composition in the early twentieth century. Although Fletcher was not a professional musician, she was truly interested in the idea of a distinctly American music. In 1873, she attended one of the writer/composer Sidney Lanier's flute concerts, in which he performed two of his own newly composed pieces, "Blackbirds" and "Swamp Robin." Lanier impressed Fletcher by his performance of these pieces. After the concert, Fletcher wrote him a letter paying tribute to his work. In the letter, she wrote:

> [You are] not only the founder of a school of music, but the founder of American music; that hitherto all American compositions had been only German music done over, but that these were at once American, un-German,

classic, passionate, poetic, and beautiful.[225]

She also wrote:

> Your flute gave me that for which I had ceased to hope, true American Music, and awakened in my heart a feeling of patriotism that I never knew before. . . .[W]hen your "Swamp Robin" came upon the wing of melody, and piped again his simple lay . . . I found worship in my Native Land and Tongue.[226]

Fletcher's desire for a uniquely American music became fulfilled when she encountered Native Americans and their music. Yet, her advocacy of Indian music as a basis for American composition expanded beyond the promotion of a truly "American" school. To Fletcher, Native American music carried a message, and in Indian Games & Dances, she stated:

> Of the songs I heard in solitude, some were published over thirty years ago. Since then many of my gleanings have been used by different composers and the musical message sent far and wide.[227]

She was not alone in her vision of music communicating a message. In Yankee Blues, MacDonald Smith Moore explains how composers who reached their musical maturity around the turn of the century linked music in the United States with issues of American identity.[228] To them, music had an almost

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[225]Sidney Lanier, A Poet's Musical Impressions, p. 79.

[226]Ibid.

[227]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Games and Dances With Native Songs p. 4.

[228]MacDonald Smith Moore, Yankee Blues: Musical Culture and American Identity (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 2.

religious potential.[229] Moore argued:

> Through the spiritual metaphor of musical order, composers might focus for people the ideal order behind the seemingly disconnected features of modern American life.[230]

Fletcher's transcriptions filled the void for composers seeking to use music for its spiritual content, for those who sought new thematic ideas, and for those who sought to find truly "American" music.

The years from 1890-1920 have been called the "Indianist" period of musical composition, a time when many American composers looked to Indian sources for composition.[231] The call for accessible Native American themes partially inspired Fletcher's large-scale publication, Indian Story and Song From North America of

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[229]In Yankee Blues, Moore studies a group of "Yankee" composers, born in the 1870s, including Ives, Mason, and Farwell, who viewed music as having a unifying power. They believed that music had a social role: to uplift American society. In their minds, music was a spark for the meliorism which permeated the Progressive era.

[230]MacDonald Smith Moore, Yankee Blues: Musical Culture and American Identity, p. 46.

[231]Although the period of composition has been classified as "Indianist," ethnomusicologist Tara Browner discusses the problems in labeling the period in such a way. In particular, she states that the use of a broad classification such as "Indianist" is problematic because most composers wrote a variety of types of music, and were not restricted to music based purely on Native American themes. According to Browner:

> . . . ultimately the term "Indianist" is a vague one, used primarily for convenience. For the present purpose, "Indianist" is used here to refer to any American who used Native American music as source material for art music on a consistent basis (as opposed to just once or twice) between 1890 and 1920 ("'Breathing the Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," p. 266).

1900. At the Congress of Musicians at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha in 1898, Omaha singers sang their traditional songs for many trained musicians, thus sparking the interest of many composers. Fletcher viewed the melodies as "wild flowers," which had not yet "come under the transforming hand of the gardener."[232] She posited that Indian melodies were in an archaic or "barbaric" form which the American composer could modernize or "civilize." According to Fletcher:

> This unique presentation not only demonstrated the scientific value of these aboriginal songs in the study of the development of music, but suggested their availability as themes, novel and characteristic, for the American composer. . . .
>
> Material like that brought together in these pages has hitherto appeared only in scientific publications, where it has attracted the lively interest of specialists both in Europe and America. It is now offered in a more popular form, that the general public may share with the student the light shed by these untutored melodies upon the history of music. . . .[233]

In Indian Story and Song, she provided the story behind the various songs in order to give the composer insight into the ideas behind the themes. According to Fletcher:

> It was felt that this availability would be greater if the story, or the ceremony which gave rise to the songs, could be known, so that, in developing the theme, all the movements might be consonant with the circumstances that had inspired the motive. In response to the expressed desire of many musicians, I have here

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[232]Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Story and Song from Native America, p. xxix.

[233]Ibid, pp. xxix-xxx.

given a number of songs in their matrix of story.[234]

American Music

The use of Native American themes in American music coincided with the surging ethnographic interest in Native American culture and music. Although a passing phase, which began in the late nineteenth century and ended by the 1920s, the use of Native American themes in composition was part of a call for truly "American" music. This demand came from many directions and contradictory forces. American composers wanted to be free from the dominance of Germany in compositional techniques, styles, and repertoire, and they sought to find a truly American style to differentiate American music from European, especially German, music. American composers hoped to find a folk tune they could deem truly "American" and use in their compositions. Yet at the same, delving into one's own national past, and using folk melodies in national music, was an idea already entrenched in European romanticism, the same strain from which American composers sought to free themselves.

The interest in Native American music was part of this greater exotic romantic movement, but also had specific determiners in America in the late nineteenth century. Fletcher, along with other ethnologists, began collecting

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[234]Ibid, p. xxix.

Native American music at a furious rate in the late nineteenth century, because they believed that Native Americans would someday become extinct. Beginning with Theodore Baker's collection of songs in his dissertation, On the Music of North American Indians (1882), many governmentally funded projects produced Native American songs, making them accessible to composers. These included: Franz Boas' study of Alaskan Inuit and the Kwakiutl of Canada, Fewkes and Gilman's study of the Native Americans of the American Southwest, and Fletcher's study of the Omaha.

The use of Indian themes in American composition became a tenable option by the 1890s. Antonin Dvořák (1841-1904) publicized the idea of an American school of composition in the 1890s, during his tenure at the National Conservatory in New York. In "The Real Value of Negro Melodies," published in the New York Herald in 1893, and later in "Music in America," published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine in 1895, Dvořák advocated the establishment of an American school of composition. Even before Dvořák encouraged the use of indigenous materials in American composition, many American musicians had already called for a truly American school. In 1822, Anthony Philip Heinrich wrote The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, and Heinrich "was hailed by the Boston publication, Enterpiad, or Musical Intelligencer, the

'Beethoven of America.'"[235] By 1852, the composer/critic William Henry Fry called for an American school of composition. He stated:

> It is time we had a Declaration of Independence in Art, and a foundation of an American School of Painting, Sculpture, and Music . . . until American composers shall discard their foreign liveries and found an American school--and until the American public shall learn to support American artists, Art shall not become indigenous to this country.[236]

Although there was a small vanguard who advocated the establishment of an American school of composition and a break from European traditions, Dvořák's vocal and highly publicized pronouncements in favor of an American school publicized the trend.

Dvořák did not necessarily advocate the literal use of folk melodies in serious composition. He intended, at least in his own compositions, to replicate the character and traits particular to their idiosyncratic expression and idiom in rhythms, modes, and melodic intervals. Concerning his "New World Symphony," Dvořák stated:

> It is this spirit that I have tried to reproduce in my new Symphony [New World]. I have not actually used any of the melodies. I have simply written original themes

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[235]Deborah Osman, "The American Indianist Composers," (D.M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1992), p. 3. Although Heinrich (1781-1861) was a Bohemian composer, who had emigrated to the United States in approximately 1810, in the preface to The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, he stated, ". . . no one would be more proud than himself to be called an American Musician."

[236]William Henry Fry, "Mr. Fry's 'American Idea' About Music," Dwight's Journal of Music, II/23 (March 12, 1853), p. 181.

> embodying the peculiarities of the Native American music, and, using these themes as subjects, have developed them with all the resources of modern rhythms, harmony, counterpoint and orchestral color.[237]

Fletcher's professional career not only coincided with, but also responded and contributed to, Dvořák's call for American music. Almost contemporaneously with his entrance into the American music scene, Fletcher published her first collection of Native American songs, The Study of Omaha Music. According to John Clapham in "Dvořák and the American Indian," Dvořák amended his view to include the music of Native America after reading Fletcher's book.[238] He states that John C. Fillmore sent Dvořák a copy of Fletcher's book, The Study of Omaha Music, during the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893. Clapham implies that Fletcher's influence may have caused Dvořák to amend his original promotion of folk-based American music to include Native American themes in addition to African-American melodies.[239]

By the time Fletcher had written Indian Games and Dances in 1915, many composers had contacted her, used Native American themes she had collected in their

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[237]Antonin Dvořák, "Dvořák on His New Work," New York Herald, (December 16, 1893).

[238]John Clapham, "Dvořák and the American Indian," Musical Times 107, no. 1484 (October 1966), pp. 863-67.

[239]Ibid.

compositions, and acknowledged her as their inspiration. Fletcher's influence was especially prominent on Charles Wakefield Cadman and Arthur Farwell. Cadman (1881-1946) was a composer and organist who first read Fletcher's books and articles in 1908. In 1909, he published his first work based on Native American themes, Four American Native American Songs, Opus 45. The four songs included "From the Land of the Sky-blue Water," "The White Dawn is Stealing," "Far Off I Hear A Lover's Flute," and "The Moon Drops Low," and they were based on melodies previously collected by Fletcher. For the next eleven years, Cadman wrote many "Indianist" pieces including: "To a Vanishing Race" (from Three Moods, 1909), Daoma (an opera, 1912), From Wigwam and Tepee (1914), Thunderbird (1917), The Robin Woman: Shanewis (opera, 1918), and The Sunset Trail (1920).

In 1915, Cadman wrote "The 'Idealization' of Indian Music" to explain his compositions based on Indian melodies. Cadman's "idealizations" may be viewed as an extension of and support for Fletcher's idea of latent harmony. While Fletcher harmonized Indian melodies based on the assertion that Native Americans had a "latent" sense of harmony, Cadman "idealized" Native American themes based on the same belief. According to Cadman:

> The matter of the Indian's "thinking" an harmonic scheme to his simple melodies, subjective though the

> process may see, it is but a slight step forward, and the composer who idealizes his melodies follows the line of least resistance. We simply take up the process where the Indian dropped it. . . .[240]

In his "idealization" of Indian melodies, Cadman sought to uphold the integrity of the original Native American melody. He posited that the composer must be sensitive to the original Native American legend and words in order best "idealize" the Indian melody. He stated in "The 'Idealization' of Indian Music":

> One mistake in idealizing an Indian folk-tune is to lose sight of its original meaning. A war-song cannot be made to ring true if treated as a love-song, and vice versa. The composer should study the accompanying words of a song . . . and also, if possible, the song's connection with any particular phase of Indian life from which the song itself grew.[241]

In spite of his rhetoric, Cadman had difficulty determining the proper use of Indian themes.[242] In his compositions, Cadman often did not remain loyal to the original meaning or spirit of the Native American songs he borrowed. For example, in the final song of his Four

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[240]Charles Wakefield Cadman, "The 'Idealization' of Native American Music," p. 389.

[241]Charles Wakefield Cadman, "The 'Idealization' of Native American Music," p. 389.

[242]See Richard Crawford's The American Musical Landscape for a discussion of the ideas of authenticity and accessibility. According to Crawford, nineteenth century opera was altered "to suit particular audiences and circumstances," thus securing its accessibility and success.(p. 87) In contrast, Crawford posits that authenticity "invests ultimate authority in works and traditions within which they are composed." (p. 87) Cadman, who ostensibly advocated "authenticity" in regard to his use of Indian themes, was ultimately driven by "accessibility" and the need to please his audience.

American Native American Songs, Opus 45, "The Moon Drops Low," Cadman used Fletcher's "Prayer of the Warriors Before Smoking the Pipe," published in The Study of Omaha Native American Music. "Prayer of the Warriors" was originally an important song of the Hae-thu-ska Society of warriors. Traditionally, the Hae-thu-ska Society met monthly and used the song to open their ceremonies, and the original words translate from the Omaha into "Wakonda, we offer tobacco in this pipe, will you accept our offering and smoke it?" Rather than portraying a sacred ceremony, Cadman and his librettist Nellie Eberhart changed the meaning of the words by lamenting the plight the Indian in society. In his study of Cadman's song cycles, Frederick Scheutze found that Nellie Eberhart's text is not reminiscent of the original "in content or mood." He stated:

> Her text is a majestic lament over the demise of the once proud Indian race. Using Indian images such as soaring eagles and allusion to the sun and moon, the singer bewails the state of the Indians, saying that they no longer are like the rising sun but only now like the sinking moon.[243]

Musically, Cadman also did not remain true to the Native American themes. In Fletcher's original transcription, the triple metered vocal part was contrasted with a duple metered drum part. Cadman believed that Fletcher's version

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[243]Scheutze, "The Idealization of American Music as Exemplified in Two Indian Song Cycles of Charles Wakefield Cadman" (D.M.A. diss., University of Missouri, 1984), p. 78.

was too complex rhythmically and therefore he set the entire song in triple meter.[244] In addition, he only used the first half of the original Native American melody because he found the second half too low and monotonous. According to Scheutze:

> Cadman breaks away from the Native Indian theme at measure 9, creating his own melody in the spirit of the original and harmonizing it with conventional minor mode harmonies. . . .[245]

Overall, many of Cadman's idealizations "were more complex, employing considerable chromaticism and frequent and abrupt key changes, usually third-related."[246] As a result, Cadman's musical style really never broke away from the romantic tradition.

In his "Indianist" operas, Cadman sought to realistically represent contemporary Indians. Despite this, the operas were influenced by Cadman's personal musical style, Fletcher's perception of Native American culture, and La Flesche's perception of his own culture. While Cadman was writing his first "Indian" opera, Daoma, a four-way correspondence followed between librettist Nellie Eberhart, Cadman, La Flesche, and Fletcher. Both Cadman and Eberhart

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[244]Ibid.

[245]Ibid, p. 80.

[246]Harry D. Perison, "The 'Native American' Operas of Charles Wakefield Cadman," College Music Symposium, p. 28.

requested information from La Flesche while writing Daoma.[247] Before offering suggestions to Cadman, La Flesche often contacted Fletcher regarding the project.[248] The themes used in Daoma came from three major sources: Fletcher's The Study of Omaha Music, Fletcher's The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony, and the melodies Cadman collected during a visit to the Omaha reservation with La Flesche in 1909. In his study of the Native American operas of Cadman, Harry D. Perison had difficulty in identifying the actual Native American motives within Daoma because Cadman freely paraphrased them. Instead of strict use of borrowed melody, he used generic exotic devices which became typical "Indianisms" such as "pentatonic melodic figures, syncopated rhythms, and 'drum-beat' accompaniments."[249]

In another opera based on Native American themes, The Robin Woman: Shanewis (1918), Cadman's style was again influenced by a need for dramatic effect and political agenda. The opera was based on the life of Tsianina

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[247]La Flesche was viewed in a subservient role even though he provided Cadman with a significant amount of information. La Flesche often felt that he did not receive the amount of recognition that he deserved. When working on a libretto for Cadman's opera "Daoma," La Flesche's relationship with Cadman became strained and tenuous. Apparently Cadman had taken credit for material that La Flesche had given him and La Flesche wouldn't respond to Cadman's letters for many months (La Flesche Family Papers).

[248]The correspondence can be found in the La Flesche family papers in the Nebraska State Historical Society.

[249]Harry D. Perison, "The 'Native American' Operas of Charles Wakefield Cadman," College Music Symposium, p. 28.

Redfeather, who was not only of Indian descent, but also a classically trained soprano. She had been Cadman's principal soloist in his "Music Talk" lecture series for a number of years. Cadman, Nellie Eberhart, and Redfeather conflicted over the ending of the opera. Redfeather and Eberhart opposed a tragic ending for two reasons. First, Redfeather did not have tragic events in her life. Second, a tragic ending did not portray Indians in a "civilized" manner. In contrast, Cadman favored a tragic ending because of the musical and dramatic opportunities. In a letter to Eberhart, Cadman stated:

> I had hoped that you would carry out the tragic ending, with the Indian girl either killing herself or being killed or else stabbing the false lover in a passion or frenzy at the revelation of his perfidy. That would give an opportunity for BIG MUSIC and dramatic music. I fear you are thinking too much of Tsianina's own characteristics and *her* life and story of her career rather than the *manufacture* of a plot that will be grand operish. . . . Tsianina said you felt the tragic ending or the killing or being killed business was not "Indian" or "civilised Indian" for this age and day. . . .[250]

In the end, a tragic ending was chosen, with an unfaithful lover being killed by a poisoned arrow. Musically, the opera did not differ in style from late nineteenth century Italian opera, with action and dialogue conveyed through alternating accompanied recitative and arioso passages. Arias were added

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[250]Cadman to Eberhart, March 1, 1917, in Harry Perison's "The 'Native American' Operas of Charles Wakefield Cadman," College Music Symposium, p. 38.

for subjective expression, and choral interjections commented on actions. The plot, a love triangle which emphasized Native American bitterness toward whites, was set in modern day 1910s, complete with modern dress, ice cream stands, and lemonade vendors.[251]

Arthur Farwell and the Wa-Wan Press

Arthur Farwell (1872-1952) began his formal study of music when he was in college at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After studying with private teaching in the Boston area, he traveled to Europe in 1897 to study with Englebert Humperdinck, Hans Pfitzner, and Alexandre Guilant. Farwell returned from Europe intent on writing music which did not rely significantly on the European model.

In 1899, Farwell discovered Fletcher's book, Native American Story and Song, and called this a turning point in his life. He stated:

> And now a day must be recorded, in that Summer of 1899--a day fraught with ominous and fateful significance--a day which was to throw the shadow of a far-reaching doom upon my subsequent course in life--was to drive me to distant corners of the land and involve me in endless wars and controversies. Upon the day in question, in search of American legendary lore for

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[251]In 1917, the New York Metropolitan removed all German works because of the war in Europe and the nationwide movement against all things German. As a result, many American composers were premiered from 1917-1918. In "An American Music: The Search for an American Musical Identity," Barbara Tischler discusses the call for 100% Americanism during the years of World War One. In concert halls, the percentage of German/Austrian works declined dramatically during the 1917-1918 season, while the percentage of American works rose similarly. Cadman's Shanewis (The Robin Woman) was one of these works.

> literary purposes, I went down to Bartlett's old Cornhill book shop, in Boston. A clerk put into my hand a little red-brown book with totem poles on the cover-Native American Story and Song from North America--by Alice C. Fletcher.[252]

The melodies Farwell found in Native American Story and Song inspired his American Native American Melodies of 1901. Because he could not find a company to publish his work, he created his own publishing company--the Wa-Wan Press, borrowing the name "Wa-Wan" from Fletcher's study of the Omaha Wa-wan peace ceremony.[253] Many of the compositions which appear in the Wa-Wan Press publications were based on melodies collected by Fletcher:[254]

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[252]Arthur Farwell, Wanderjahre, p. 77.

[253]Farwell Papers, Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music.

[254]The Wa-Wan Press ran from 1901-1911. From 1901-1907, two volumes of music were published each quarter, one vocal and one instrumental. Intermittently, sheet music was published. Beginning in January, 1907, the publications became monthly rather than quarterly, alternating between vocal and instrumental. Also in 1907, Farwell founded the Wa-Wan Society of American which promoted American music. Along with the Wa-Wan Society, Farwell published The Wa-Wan Press Monthly in promoting a separation between American and European music.

Title	Date and Number	Source	Tribe	Composer
American Native American Melodies	Volume I Number 2, 1901	Native American Story and Song	Omaha Dakota Arapaho	Farwell
Dawn, Op. 12	Volume I Number 3, 1902	Native American Story and Song	Omaha Otoe	Farwell
Ichibuzzhi, Op. 13	Volume I Number 6, 1902	Peabody Museum Reports of 1893	Omaha	Farwell
The Domain of Hurakan, Op. 15	Volume 2 Number 10, 1902		Vancouver Pawnee Navaho	Farwell
Wa-Wan Choral	Volume 4 Number 28, 1905		Omaha	Farwell
Impressions of the Wa-wan Ceremony of the Omahas	Volume 5 Number 38, 1906	A Study of Omaha Music	Omaha	Farwell
Lyrics of the Red-Man	Volume 2 Number 12, 1903	A Study of Omaha Music	Omaha	Loomis
Lyrics of the Red-Man, Op. 76, book 2	Volume 3, Number 24, 1904		Omaha Iroquois Cree	Loomis

Like Cadman, Arthur Farwell sought to be sensitive to the meaning and integrity of the Native American themes he used in his compositions.[255] Farwell's compositions were mostly solo piano miniatures, even though Native American music tended to be vocal, sung by large groups of people. In American Native American Melodies, he harmonized ten Native American melodies he had borrowed from Fletcher's Native American Story and Song, and then transcribed them for solo piano. Farwell's interpretation of number eight, "Song of the Spirit," is contrary to its original meaning. Although the originally piece was part of a funeral service, his setting has a bright and upbeat nature. In musical style, he

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[255]Despite their similarities, Cadman and Farwell had significant differences. When Cadman first wrote his Four Native Native American Songs in 1907, he sent them to Farwell for review and publication in the Wa-Wan press. Farwell did not accept the songs, and Cadman had to look to other publishers. Cadman was extremely offended that Farwell did not accept his compositions. In a letter to Fletcher in 1908, Cadman stated:

> I admire Mr. Farwell greatly, yet I feel that he should have a broader attitude concerning this great movement. I believe it is necessary before the work can be carried out. Ideals are all right but they must not be too visionary or impractical(Charles W. Cadman to Alice C. Fletcher, Fletcher-La Flesche Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.).

In 1909, Cadman's Four Native Native American Songs were published, and at least two of these songs became very popular, promoting the career of Cadman. Although the songs were published, and the songs became very famous, Cadman was still bitter at Farwell for rejecting the songs. Cadman spoke in a pejorative manner about solo piano music based on Native American themes, Farwell's favorite medium. In "The 'Idealization' of Native American Music," Cadman stated:

> Native American music is essentially vocal, hence its idealization in song form is easier of fruition. But the themes do not lend themselves successfully to piano music, and little success has been achieved in this direction. Such attempts generally savor of "salon music," (p. 390).

added to Fillmore's simple, hymn-like, harmonized versions by employing seventh chords and chromatic harmony.

Fletcher's influence on Farwell and Cadman expanded beyond the use of Indian themes in their compositions. Both composers contributed to public awareness of Indian music and Native American culture throughout the United States during the early twentieth century. Through nation-wide lecture-recitals both Cadman and Farwell promoted Fletcher's transcriptions, or their own renditions of her transcriptions, which were included in many of the programs. From 1903-1907, Farwell made four nation wide lecture-tours to promote American music. He viewed his lectures series as a sort of mission: to sift the "whole mass of the best work of American composers. . . through the American consciousness."[256] Farwell educated and entertained audiences at a variety of venues including music clubs, women's clubs, and folklore societies throughout the United States.[257]

Cadman, like Farwell, sought to promote Indian music throughout the United States. In a letter to Francis La

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[256]Wa-Wan Press Monthly 6, no. 51 (Nov. 1907), p. 43.

[257]The title of his two lectures were as follows:
1. "Myth and Music of the American Indian and its Relation to the Development of American Musical Art."
   Part 1: The "Great Mystery"-Gods, heroes, and men, music, mythical, legendary and personal.
   Part 2: The development of American musical art.
   Part 3: A presentation of original compositions in larger forms developed from Indian melodies and myths.
2. "A National American Music."

Flesche, Cadman stated:

> I trust she (Miss Fletcher) be spared many years and add yet some to the mountain of American ethnology--if that were possible. She has done a great work in compiling these interesting and necessary facts and I hope the work will go on until man is forced to see that unity and brotherhood are inevitable. Until that time there is no such thing as civilization. (As for example the Springfield riots.) God grant that the wheels move faster. The inner urge is slow. I burn with shame at the present conditions, yet I suppose the great scheme of evolution does not count by years. I am so glad if I can have a small part in the great awakening, and if the results of my work do not carry far, it is a satisfaction even to know that I can feel the pulsations of the work as it is carried along.[258]

In 1908, Cadman began his own lecture series called "Indian Music Talk" usually with songs for voice and piano and/or piano solo. A typical lecture included the performance of many melodies transcribed by Alice Fletcher, John Fillmore, or Francis La Flesche.[259]

Fletcher's Legacy

Soon after Fletcher died in 1923, the "Indianist" movement in American composition ended. Although composers lost interest in using Native American themes in composition, the period is nonetheless significant because of its role within a period of cultural unrest. In this period of tremendous change, including the influx of

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[258]La Flesche family papers, Nebraska, Aug 19, 1908.

[259]Cadman Papers, Historical Collections and Labor Archives, Pattee Library, The Pennsylvania State University.

immigrants, the problems associated with industrialization, the westward movement of population, and most importantly for this study, the "Indian problem," music was a unifying force. The transformation of Native American music from its original form into a musical expression that the public could understand and appreciate gives insight into the many complicated and interconnected cultural phenomena during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Alice Fletcher, whose life spanned from before the Civil War until after World War One, served as a catalyst for cultural change. She inspired, reflected, and reacted to the search for order in her collection and promotion of Native American music. Her portrayal of Indian music evolved throughout her lifetime, and paralleled her perception of Native American culture overall. Although she sought to remain free from biases, both evolutionism and Protestantism heavily influenced Fletcher's portrayal of Native American culture and music. In her attempt to assimilate Native Americans into the larger, dominant American culture, Fletcher sought to find similarities between the two cultures that could expedite her ultimate goal of assimilating and "Christianizing" Native Americans. In accordance with this view, Fletcher found aspects within Indian society, and music in particular, which influenced her belief that Native

Americans could be transformed, or, in her words, "saved" and "civilized." Not surprisingly, her desire to assimilate Native Americans into her own culture sometimes influenced her scientific objectivity. She used music, a subject of her scientific study, as a vehicle for Indian integration into white society.

Fletcher appeared in anthropology during its earliest, experimental stage. She wrote in a simple, narrative voice, offering personal reflections in addition to scientific data. She allowed herself to be changed by her experience with Native Americans. In her last large-scale publication, Indian Games and Dances With Native Songs, Fletcher stated:

> One day I suddenly realized with a rude shock that, unlike my Indian friends, I was an alien, a stranger in my native land. . . .
>
> Time went on. The outward aspect of nature remained the same, but imperceptibly a change had been wrought in me until I no longer felt alone in a strange, silent country. . . .
>
> When I realized how much closer because of this change I had been drawn to our land, how much greater had become my enjoyment of nature, the desire arose to find some way in which I could help to make audible to others the voice I had heard. . . .[260]

Partially because of her style and lack of scientific method, she came to be ostracized by the young generation of university trained anthropologists, including Paul Radin and

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[260]Alice Fletcher, Indian Games and Dances With Native Songs, pp. xxi-xxii.

Robert Lowie.[261] The younger generation's refutation of Fletcher's work was instrumental in pushing Fletcher's work to the wayside.

From the present work on Fletcher, we have gained a fresh understanding of her legacy as a musical researcher. Many of her writings describe personal relationships with collaborators, and firsthand reflections on the connectivity between Indian reform and anthropology. She often expressed herself in first-person narration, a "non-canonical" style of writing. Yet, these writings are also interlaced with writings that include substantive and theoretical contributions to anthropology. Thus, her publications successfully blend the two apparently antipodal models of anthropological writing.[262]

The same sense of duality and paradox represent the life and work of Alice Fletcher. Obviously, her oeuvre and didactic inspiration during her lifetime was monumental. She significantly contributed to the preservation of Native American culture and music. Fletcher absorbed Native American music into her own vernacular, a cultural

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[261]Radin criticized some of Fletcher's material in "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," Journal of American Folk-Lore 24 (1911). Lowie condemned Fletcher and La Flesche for neglecting to acknowledge the work of J. Owen Dorsey, Omaha Sociology (1884) in The Omaha Tribe (1911).

[262]In the introduction to Women Writing Culture, Ruth Behar explains that "women, past and present, fruitfully resolve the tension between these two poles of writing" (p. 18).

intervention that mirrored the assimilation policies of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. With the dual sense of Fletcher's legacy in mind, the "musical homecoming" of the Flescher/La Flesche recordings to the Omaha tribe necessitates rethinking. Despite the obvious joy that the return of songs and sacred objects have brought to the Omaha people, we must view Dennis Hastings' belief that the return of the songs could spark a "renaissance" in Omaha culture with caution. The recordings, and Fletcher's writings concerning the recordings give a vision of Omaha culture transformed by her personal beliefs and ideas. Through these recordings, Hastings and the contemporary Omaha tribe have a view of the past, but a view shaped by an influential person, Alice Fletcher, and the powerful belief system that drove her. Because of her beliefs, Fletcher preserved an integral part of the Omaha and other tribal cultures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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