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ART AND LITERACY:
A NEW ASSESSMENT OF THE FORT MARION DRAWINGS

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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Abstract

During the years 1875-1878, Fort Marion, an old Spanish fortress on the coast of Florida in the city of St. Augustine, was populated by seventy-one Native American prisoners. The individuals were held in exile from their homelands on the Southern Plains of the United States by the Federal Government, which sought to prevent further conflict in that volatile region. The warden of the fort turned prison, Richard Henry Pratt, sought to reform his charges and shape them in his image by implementing an assimilation program designed to teach the body, soul and mind of the prisoners. Through the program, Pratt attempted to remove the Indian from the prisoners and place them on the white man's road, which would allow them to survive in modern America. While in the prison, not all aspects of Plains life were removed as the men were still allowed to draw and create what is called ledger art. Within the art context of Fort Marion, a number of changes occurred in the conventions that accompanied ledger art on the Plains. One such change was the incorporation of the English language into the images, both as text and as an artistic feature. A confluence of two cultures emerged out of the unique circumstances of the prison as a borderland; between the Native American prisoners and the Euro-Americans who visited them. Mediated by the introduction of English, the exchanges that took place between the two cultures can be seen in the artwork, which represents symbolic power relations and the ways the artists negotiated a period of uncertain change.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Captivated by a particular work of art's aesthetic appeal, distinctiveness or subject, the piece invites the observer to further explore their point of intrigue. With this, one question morphs into another as the piece is explored. Motivated to explore my own questions raised through my experiences with art, I have found I am continually brought back to one; why do some artists put words in the artwork they produce? This has generated more questions for me and led me down a variety of paths, especially as I consider both the artists and their work. However, I realized I would have to focus those questions, if I were to pursue these varied paths for the purpose of this paper. Therefore, I honed the questions to their point of interconnectedness around a single topic, which could be managed within a two-year window. A window I had opened to move to the next level of education and delve deeper into anthropology.

Narrowing my focus moved me to settle on a question, which is a derivative of the original, especially as it still asks why artists incorporate words into their art; however, it is finely focused to a specific time and place. Turning to the late nineteenth century, I will focus specifically on the years from 1875-1878 at Fort Marion, a vacant seventeenth century Spanish fortress (Greene 2013: 291) on the northeast coast of Florida in the city of St. Augustine. The city was a popular tourist destination and the fort became the location for seventy-one Native American prisoners from the Southern Plains of the United States. While there, the prisoners, including men and three women, one of whom was a young girl, were subjected to an assimilation program designed to transform them into model white citizens of the

United States. Thus, allowing them to survive the transition from nomadic buffalo hunting to sedentary reservation life.

While in the prison, roughly twenty-six (Berlo 1990: 135, Earenfight 2007:5) to twenty-eight (Greene 2013: 292) prisoners made art to sell to those who visited the prison. The type of drawing they created is known as ledger art. This name comes from the paper originally used for the drawings, which included accountants' ledgers, sketchbooks, and journals. The first books used were often taken as goods captured in raids with the earliest ledger drawings appearing in the 1830s and 1840s (Keyser 1996: 33). With the encouragement of white artists, such as George Catlin and Swiss artist, Karl Bodmer, a number of Native Americans began to produce in the white man's medium "*for* whites" (Ewers 2011:14). During the 1870s, Native American artists began producing art regularly on paper as army officers found interest in the Native perspective of the battles they fought (Ewers 2011: 17). It is here we find ourselves entering into the period in which the events of Fort Marion took place and the question of why the artists incorporate the English language into the art they created will be explored.

The arrival at this topic in particular and much like the question in general comes from my position as author and researcher of this paper. My first exposure to Native American art and more particularly Native North American art was in the home of my grandparents in the state I was born, Illinois. While their motivation for collecting the art did not draw me to the paintings, baskets and pottery in my first years, the shapes and subjects invited my imagination and appreciation for the work. My grandparents and parents instilled in me a love for art that has and continues to encapsulate many

aspects of my life. I began my own modest collection when I was in elementary school with a small clay owl sculpted by D. Andrew Rodriguez of the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico. With this first piece from the Southwestern United States, my desire to learn more about Native Americans and the art they produced grew tenfold. During my very early formative years, my family moved from Illinois to Minnesota where my burgeoning desire to learn about art was stoked by my mother's work as a volunteer in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts' (MIA) Art Adventure Program. The program brought art from the museum to the schools as parents introduced art from a variety of cultures to the elementary school children. I was able to sit with my mother and learn about the art she would bring to my classroom and, although I never was able to deal with the costumes she would use in her teaching, I can say that I enjoyed every one of those days and the trips to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, which allowed me to see the art and learn about the artists and their cultures.

It was not until I reached college and began pursuing my undergraduate degree in Anthropology and History, at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois that I got my first real taste of working with art. At the end of my first year, I received a position as a student employee at the Augustana Teaching Museum of Art. While working there, I had the privilege of working with the then director, Sherry Maurer, who taught me the nuts and bolts of cataloging the collection and new acquisitions, to installing exhibitions and provided me with opportunities to design parts of exhibitions on my own. It was also here that my desire to learn more about Native North American art was reignited as I was exposed to the Olson-Brandelle North American Indian Art

Collection. This collection of more than four hundred pieces gave me a taste of Native American art from pre-historic times to the present.

While working in and around this collection, I began to formulate ideas about what artists say about their work and what it says about them; how in a semiotic sense the art works they create are a part of them and how they in turn are part of their works. Through this collection and my own experience from encounters with artists at the 2012 Santa Fe Indian Market, I further narrowed my artistic medium focus and began the research, which generated the questions for my first anthropological study. For this project, I focused on ceramic pottery and selected a number of artists from Acoma and Santa Clara Pueblos to be my primary informants, as I ventured to Albuquerque and Santa Fe for interviews, archival research and walking through every gallery I could find that sold authentic Native American pottery.

My research revealed the artists and the pieces they created are intrinsically connected, but not outside the influences of the market place, or their social context. While in their own words the artists *feel it* as the clay is molded into a pot, the artists are also influenced by what sells, the new styles people are willing to buy, the selling venue, as well as the commissioning of their work. The artists describe *feeling it* as a combination of a spiritual connection to the art they and so many ancestors created, as well as the inherent ability to mentally picture the shape within the clay. In conducting this research, my theoretical thinking surrounding Native American art focused on economics, since market factors played such a prominent role in the creation of the art, even if the artists themselves did not specifically speak to this.

In approaching the topic for my Master's thesis, these previous experiences led me to again narrow my focus to a specific artistic medium and with this, I have chosen to examine a specific subset of Plains ledger drawings as I continue my study of art and artists. The subset I am referring to are drawings created between 1875-1878 CE by individuals who were members of a number of Southern Plains Native American tribes exiled as prisoners of war to Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida. The drawings, which were created during the prisoners stay at Fort Marion, are important for a number of reasons. First, during this time period, individuals who were identified as Native American in the United States had little to no voice even in their own affairs. This was realized as the people were removed from ancestral homelands and placed on small reservations, requiring significant changes to their ways of life that had been practiced for thousands of years. The drawings made by Native American individuals from the Southern Plains create an awareness of their cultural experiences. This gives voice to Native peoples during a period in U.S. history when they were relatively voiceless, thus allowing scholars to study and see more accurately what life was like looking back on the East rather than out to the West (Richter 2001). As Candace S. Green (2013) says, "Thousands of drawings survive from the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. They constitute primary source material, offering an indigenous perspective on the past" (289). The second and primary reason Fort Marion is a prime location to examine ledger art is that it provides a unique location from which to observe the impact of cultures meeting, and the effect forced rapid acculturation can have on art work

produced in a limited amount of time and under known conditions (Daniels Petersen 1971: xi).

Finally, the third reason these drawings are important to study and central to this work goes back to the question I posed near the beginning of this section, that is, the interaction of written English language with the ledger drawings and its connection to artists and the modes of production in which they engage. The context of Fort Marion is integral to answering this question as it is one of the cases in which the use of written English language can be found in greater quantities on Plains ledger drawings as opposed to other sources from this time frame. Not only is this critical to the study, but a portion of the writing is written by the artists themselves rather than Euro-Americans, who often sought to caption drawings; giving a title or commentary to the event depicted in the drawing so that other viewers might know what was happening.

At this point, I wish to address some of the contentions that may appear, as this thesis progresses. First, the conclusions being drawn are my own, and as is the nature of research, they will continue to develop over time, as new evidence comes to light or theories are modified. I agree with Greene (2013: 309) in that the images discussed in this paper are not straight-forward, they are multi-layered and intricate. The individuals who produced the drawings are gone by a hundred years and therefore, I did not have the liberty to directly address my questions to them or to anyone who would have had direct contact with them, therefore, I relied on archival writings and the drawings themselves. With this, answers and conclusions were made through the lens of evidence, which has been examined through time and has been considered right and supported. There are no right answers when examining these images, since

they are entirely complex and situated at a moment in time that can never be fully known. Divesting those images from that time would be anachronistic, taking away meaning inherent to them and adding meaning that was never meant to be there. In beginning this process of examination; however, the historical context in which the images are placed must be developed so that a fuller understanding of the picture may be reached.

The Historical Context Leading Up to the Exile to Fort Marion

The historical context for this period begins after the Civil War, with the reconstruction of the country. Tensions between Native Americans and non-Natives began to erupt as the processes of internal colonialism, through military conquest and genocide, eroded Native held resource bases with the destruction of the buffalo and claiming of land by white settlers. This, in combination with the mobility and firepower possessed by the Plains peoples, "fueled a startling social and technological evolution among the people of the plains and predestined the violent encounters that would erupt as American settlers began to stream west after the Civil War to claim Indian Lands" (Viola 1998: 5). In 1862, the Sioux Uprising in Minnesota led to the beginning of the Plains Wars (Loehr 1989: 3), which flared intermittently until the eventual surrender and placement on reservations of the last Plains people in 1874. This surrender came at the end of the Red River War, also variably called the Buffalo War. The conflict in the Plains can be said to have been activated by the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864. In this massacre, the Colorado volunteer militia, under the direction of Colonel John M. Chivington, attacked the village under the Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle. Chivington's men mutilated the bodies of those they killed, which

caused a spike in Native discontentment towards the United States. In turn, this act caused many chiefs who were considered peaceful, as Black Kettle had been known, to consider peace was not the best path forward in working with the United States to achieve what they wanted. This also agitated many young warriors who flocked to the cause.

In 1868, Black Kettle perished, when his forces were defeated at the Battle of Washita by George Armstrong Custer. This event was so significant to the people of the Southern Plains, even Kiowa calendars recorded the event of the Cheyenne chief's death (Szabo 2011: 4). Although there were many attempts at peace, the various treaties signed by the Plains Indian tribes and the United States government from the 1850s through the middle 1870s largely failed. The army made no moves to uphold the treaties keeping settlers off of Native held lands and preventing the eradication of important food stuffs and other elements essential to Native life on the Southern Plains.

One of the most famous of these treaties was the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1868. On paper, the treaty appeared it would give all vested parties what they wanted; the Federal Government would pay annuities to the Apache, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa and Plains Apache, if the tribes were to cede their land and move onto smaller reservations. This would in turn open much of the Southern Plains to development, including railroads and non-Native settlers, as well as allowing the Plains tribes to keep hunting rights to the lands they had ceded and keep the whiskey peddlers from the reservations (Szabo 2011: 4). It was also in 1868 the United States Army founded Fort Still in Indian Territory, using it as a base of operations to launch a winter

campaign designed to bring a thousand Kiowa and Comanche people onto reservations. In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy brought a fundamental change to the Federal Government's role in Indian relations. With this policy, the Federal Government divested from the Indian problem, passing it off to the Christian Church in a move to Christianize and thus civilize the Native peoples. Considered moderately successful at the time, the individuals it converted were receptive to the ideas put forth by Christianity; however, those who were not moved by the words of the missionaries' sermons sought retribution. While they wanted what was theirs before the signing of treaties, their expectations the treaties would be honored and they would receive what was rightfully theirs should have been a certainty in the signing of the documents.

The cornerstone in these growing tensions was placed at the Battle of Adobe Walls in late June of 1874. The instigator of this battle was a medicine man named Isatai or Coyote Droppings (Szabo 2007). He called for a Sun Dance where he then gave his prophesy proclaiming; if the Southern Plains tribes went to war with the white settlers, Natives would win, the white men would leave their land and the buffalo would return (Loehr 1989:7, Szabo 2011: 5), thus allowing life to go back to what it had once been. The leader of the war was the Comanche Chief Quannah Parker. The first place of attack, Adobe Walls, was a trading post inhabited by buffalo hunters, numbering twenty-eight men and one woman (Viola 1998: 6, Meadows 2008: 202). Despite numbering in the hundreds and wearing purportedly bullet-proof protection given to the warriors by Isatai, the battle was won by the buffalo hunters setting off the Red River War (Szabo 2011: 5).

As a final measure to end the battles during the winter of 1874-1875, the Army established a program of destruction, decimating the buffalo herds, which left the Southern Plains people starving and on the brink of exhaustion (Daniels Petersen 1971, Earenfight 2007b). Coupled with one of the coldest winters on record, the Southern Plains people surrendered and walked into forts and reservations peacefully (Daniels Petersen 1971, Earenfight 2007b). Once there, the government decided it was critical to round up the ringleaders of the uprising, as well as those more criminally inclined. In the fall of 1874, Richard Henry Pratt, a first lieutenant in the Tenth U.S. Cavalry, was given the task of collecting evidence of crimes committed by Indians on the Southern Plains by General Philip Sheridan (Harris 1989: 15). This evidence would later be used in legal proceedings to prove the guilt of those who would be exiled to a distant prison. Removing the individuals from the Southern Plains would have a trifold effect. First, it would make the area safer for white settlers, since those who harbored the most resentment and malice towards the white settlers would no longer be present to act on their discontent. This relocation was also seen to prevent another set of uprisings, as the supposed leaders would be gone. Third, the removal of the ringleaders would keep their family members, still in Indian Territory, under control with the threat of harm coming to those exiled and under U.S. control.

The system had its flaws though, as many of the most culpable warriors escaped exile by making deals with those in charge of the selections process, which was already arbitrary in its practice. There are a variety of stories, which surround the selection process for those who would stay and those who would go. One such story

is that the person in charge of the Cheyenne selection may have been drunk while making the decision (Szabo 1994: 65). With the selection complete, there totaled seventy-one prisoners; the group included thirty-three Cheyenne, twenty-six Kiowa, nine Comanche, two Arapaho, and one Caddo. The seventy-one prisoners included seventy male and one female, a Cheyenne named Mochi, who was wife to another prisoner, Medicine Water. She was exiled, since she had been identified as taking part in an attack on a wagon train that saw four non-Native girls kidnapped (Szabo 2011: 21). There were two additional people included in the group, a woman and her daughter, both Comanche, who refused to be separated from her husband, Black Horse (Szabo 2011: 21).

On May 21, 1875, after weeks of travel in wagon, on train, and steam boat, the prisoners arrived at their destination of Fort Marion, a vacant seventeenth century Spanish fortress with massive walls and a moat. The group arrived minus two prisoners. First, a Kiowa Chief Lean Bear, who unsuccessfully attempted suicide, was left in Nashville until he recovered and later joined the others at Fort Marion, only to die a short while later from not eating. The second was Grey Beard, who attempted to escape the train and was shot by guards after refusing to stop. The image of Fort Marion must have been imposing to the men and women as they were marched through its gates in chains. Made of solid grey stone with massive walls and a surrounding moat, the fort spoke of the power the U.S. government had over the prisoners, as well as their physical separation from their home on the Plains. It is here; however, the story becomes more multi-layered with assimilation, as a result of the programs ordered by the man in charge of the prisoners, Richard Henry Pratt; the

same man who had been in charge of collecting the evidence to convict the prisoners of their crimes.

Pratt joined the army as a volunteer in the Union Army, during the Civil War. He was subsequently mustered out, after the victory of the North, but rejoined two years later. His commission placed him on the Great Plains in early 1867, as an officer in the Tenth Cavalry, a unit comprised of white officers and black soldiers, known as the Buffalo Soldiers. Pratt worked with many Native Scouts from various tribes, during the Plains Indian Wars and he was put in charge of Fort Marion because of his expertise on matters concerning Native Americans (Szabo 2011: 8).

> Pratt soon determined that his objective at Fort Marion was to encourage the rapid assimilation of the Indians, that is, to re-write them into his own image. According to his assimilation philosophy they could survive in modern America only by abandoning their traditional culture and by following 'the white man's road (Lookingbill 2007: 40).

As such, it was not long after their arrival at the fort that prisoner became a difficult word to use in describing the role the men and women inhabited. While they may have entered the grounds of the fort in chains, they were soon struck off and the prison became what is best described as a military school; with Pratt cutting the men's hair, issuing military uniforms and beginning the implementation of drills. He developed and imposed a system of education designed to combine working with the hands and the mind. Courses were taught on the English language, both spoken and written, as well as the Christian religion. The men also had opportunities to work on developing trade skills, often times using skills they already possessed, such as archery, in which they would give classes to those visiting the fort (Viola 1998: 11).

The development of trade skills came in the form of a program Pratt called Outing. This program sought to find ways for the men to earn money, practice the English they were learning in classes, as well as teaching the prisoners about the surrounding St. Augustine community. The program was a success in Pratt's eyes as it became the cornerstone of his next project, the Carlisle Indian School; founded in 1879 to further his assimilationist paradigm (Harris 1989: 17) To travel the white man's road Pratt was leading them down, the prisoners were required to not only be seen as Natives or exotic celebrities (Rodee 1965: 227), but to be seen in light of their accomplishments in taking on the role of the white man and walking away from their Native American heritage. Not wanting the hands of the prisoners under his charge to be idle, Pratt set them up with employment. The men began by first polishing sea bean or palm seeds and alligator teeth, which they sold to local dealers who then sold the curios to tourists. However, the men quickly moved to selling the sea beans and alligator teeth directly to tourists, as they gained the trust of those in St. Augustine. This would have been a significant change, since the merchants and tourists would originally have seen the men as unsavory, given the images that were published in newspapers and magazines (Round 2007). Newspapers, such as the New York Times, published nearly one thousand editorials on topics related to Native Americans and the public's perception of them from 1860 through 1900 (Hays 1997); in addition to narratives of survival, which were at times sold in the tens of thousands with first editions selling out in just a couple of weeks (Derounian-Stodola 1994). The image of the prisoners upon arrival would not have been a positive one, but Pratt soon saw to improving that image by having the prisoners perform tasks around town, such as harvesting oranges,

working as baggage carriers, and even moving a building (Szabo 1994: 66) This was important to the ultimate goal of Pratt's assimilation program, which was to transform "the prisoners under his charge into productive citizens, indistinguishable in religion, economy and attire from other Americans" (Greene 2013: 293).

This would imply Pratt sought to do away with all levels of traditional beliefs and practices among the prisoners, but this was not the case. He allowed them to perform traditional dances and even brought in a steer, so the men could demonstrate a mock buffalo hunt. This benefitted Pratt, since he sold tickets to both of these events at the fort. At the same time, Pratt was forcing an assimilation program on the men, he was also providing opportunities for the men to continue traditional practices and beliefs, while exposing them to the surrounding white world. These interactions were recorded through drawings the men created. Known by the colloquial word, ledger art, these images are examples of a major Plains tradition, which Pratt allowed to continue unabated in the prison environment; in fact, he encouraged it as another way for the men to make money. I use the word men, since Plains drawings and paintings were the prerogative of men within the tribes and within this group; typically only a past time of young men, as older men had other callings and saw drawing as a youthful pursuit of a warrior trying to make his mark (Harris 1989).

Ledger art produced at Fort Marion is vast in quantity, with well over 1,400 images known when Earenfight (2007a) was published, and an additional undetermined number unknowingly stored in people's attics and closets. This vast work was done by between twenty-six (Berlo 1990: 135, Earenfight 2007a: 5) to twenty-eight (Greene 2013: 292) artists. An exact count of artists is difficult due to

overlaps in styles and many of the images simply not being attributed. A large majority of the images were produced on blank pages from sketchbooks, though there are examples of drawings appearing on the ruled pages of note books and exercise books. At this point, a brief overview of the history of ledger art and its definition are required.

Ledger Art: From the Beginning to Fort Marion

It is not possible to separate the word art from the context in which it was created, especially when examining Native American communities. Joyce Szabo (1994) says this well, "Art was completely integrated in the life of the Plains people and was an accepted part of daily existence…There was no self-conscious notion of an artist as such, and no separate class of artists existed as an entity…" (4). The ingrained presence of art in the lives of Native people of the Plains demonstrates a long history of art moving through their culture. A history clearly seen on the rock art of the Northern Plains, beginning circa 1000 to 1600 CE. These images are believed to be ceremonial in nature, an effort to entreat supernatural forces to come to the aid or hear the wishes of those who painted or carved them into the stone (Greene 2001a: 8). From this point, a more secular form of rock art developed just before the period of extended contact with Euro-Americans. This art replaced the ceremonial type (Greene 2001a: 9). The images were called pictographs and are representations of human and animal figures that work to form a coherent narrative when strung together. This rock art provides a clear view into the development of the Plains War complex with the introduction of finely delineated shield designs, thus acknowledging the images are of individuals marking out battles in which they participated. This period would

coincide with the greater use of the horse in the Plains and as mentioned earlier, this mobility allowed battles to occur more quickly and over longer distances then when warriors were on foot. This conclusion is backed by James Keyser (1996) as he states;

> Evolution of both content and style indicates that Plains Indian biographic art developed from the Prehistorical period ceremonial style, as part of the large-scale culture change caused by the introduction of horses and guns into the Plains Indian society between approximately AD 1725 and 1750 (29).

In the biographic style to which Keyser refers, the images are carefully designed to denote individual warriors who would be readily recognizable, as opposed to the ceremonial style figures that are seen as more ambiguous in design. The culture change that prompted the beginning of the Plains war complex brought with it the increasing importance of marshal accomplishments of men in Plains Indian societies. Through this biographic art style, the important events in an individual's life were immortalized in a form that corresponded to spoken language and narrative story telling (Keyser and Brady 1993: 5).

Rock art and later forms of Plains art served as mnemonic devices, meaning that the images used did not tell the full story through explicit illustration, but were guide lines. Images used jogged the memory of those telling the story, allowing them to fill in the detailed narrative (Horse Capture and Horse Capture 2001: 21). The production of the art was done by warriors, rather than artists in the Western sense of the word. As such, the importance of a fully illustrative scene was less significant to the individual and their people then was the ability to accurately record the events. Thus, creating an aesthetic climate where the identity of the warriors and the description of their actions were paramount (Szabo 1984: 358-369). Each of the images was the prerogative of an individual warrior, they owned the story that went along with the

image because it was about them. While first appearing on rock, the images also appeared on large buffalo skins, which were worn as robes. The painted images were placed on the outside of the skin for viewing, while being worn. The earliest mention of painted buffalo robes comes from the journals of the Spanish explorer Francisco Coronado in 1541 (Ewers 2011a: 3).The best documented military art style robe was collected by Lewis and Clark in the spring of 1805 (Ewers 2011b: 13). There are several steps in creating the hide robes. First, a buffalo skin was taken and tanned, next a solution made up of hide glue base was mixed with powdered pigments. When the pigments were dissolved, the paint was applied with a buffalo leg bone tool, the pointed edge of which encouraged linear techniques to develop (Harris 1989: 10, Greene 2001b: 1041). The outline was laid down first and then later filled in with color (Harris 1989: 10, Szabo 1994: 10). The shift through the mediums was not clear cut, since all three forms were contemporaneous during periods of their height and decline (Keyser 1996). Some of the latest biographic rock art sites date between 1875 and 1885 (Keyser 1996: 32) and painted robes known to be created after the 1870s (Ewers 2011c, Ewers 1968).

The tradition of painting hides continued well into the nineteenth century, but was out of style among many in the Central and Southern Plains by 1840 (Daniels Petersen 1971: 22). Slowly this medium was replaced by works on paper, as it became more easily accessible and the number of buffalo began to diminish rapidly. In addition, there was an increasing value on woolen blankets as prestige goods by 1872 (Szabo 1994: 16). Around the same time as the introduction of paper into the mediums of Plains art, muslin, a type of soft fabric was also used as it became a

replacement for hides in tepee liners and some clothing (Greene 2001b). The exact date for the first ledger drawing is unknown; however, the likely candidates are drawings created by the Mandan warriors, Four Bears and Yellow Feather, who painted self-portraits using watercolors and paper provided by the Swiss artist, Karl Bodmer, at Fort Clark on the upper Missouri in 1834 (Keyser 1996: 34). Here we pause, to address an important aspect of these early artworks in the mediums of the white man. While done on paper, the drawings these two men created are divergent from the traditional styles used by Native artists of the time. Ewers (2011b) even comments, "Can there be any doubt that Four Bears, working in an unfamiliar medium, was trying to follow the example of his friend and teacher Karl Bodmer?" (16). This is significant as the style of these drawings more closely parallels the style of European portraiture then what had been done previously. As such, considering the work of Four Bears and Yellow Feather, ledger art is a bit contentious. It is not until several decades later, in the 1860s, we see the earliest use of full-fledged ledger books. These earliest known ledger art books are Cheyenne in origin; the Yellow Horse ledger from around 1865 and the other captured at the battle of Summit Springs in 1869. The images in each seem to be part of a large hide painting, paced on the separate pages (Harris 1989: 11). At this point, we can conclude by the mid-1860s to the early 1870s, the shift from hide to paper had taken full effect and if paper was accessible, the drawings would be found on that medium.

Comparable to the drawings done on buffalo robes and rock art, there were conventions that were adhered to by the artist when it came to drawing on paper. The drawings continued to serve as personal mnemonic devices linked to the individual

warriors prowess in battle, therefore, the amount of detail put into the drawings was minimal as the verbal story would fill in the particulars outside of who was depicted and the event. For example, in battle scenes, there were commonly four details included in each drawing; "identification of the person who the artist intends to be the hero; identification of the enemy; the odds; and the outcome" (Chronister 1998: 41). Greene (2001a) notes there are three basic genres of Plains pictorial art; narrative art, visionary art and pictorial record keeping (11). Narrative art is the most closely linked with the warrior tradition, as the art provides the point to begin the narrative of the warrior's deeds. Visionary art is linked to the spiritual world of the given Plains cultures, associated with vision quests and the supernatural symbolism that can be given through a vision to be placed on a shield. The pictorial record exists in a number, but is not seen in all Plains cultures artistic repertoires. The pictorial record was a way to keep track of tribal history, such as the Kiowa winter count, which recorded the most memorable event from both the summer and the winter (Greene 2009).

In the move to paper, there were some conventions, which were kept the same as the buffalo robes process, such as outlining figures first then filling them in later (Szabo 1994: 19). The outline was used not as an expressive line, but a line to define the shapes and separations of the figures. The predominant instrument used for drawing was the pencil, with pen and ink being used infrequently, rather than the hide glue and dissolved pigments of the hide robes. Artists drew from old practices, but also made the paper medium unique. For example, the artist turned the paper horizontally rather than vertically, like a Euro-American would have held it. Joyce

Szabo (1994) suggests this is to approach the pictorial space in a close approximation to how a buffalo robe was oriented horizontally with the tail at the bottom. Daniels Petersen (1971) lays out the most significant conventions present in Plains drawings including; men and horse in action, with the horses conventionalized with a long arching neck, a small body, legs spread before and behind it to indicate speed, while the man is conventionalized in a profile view of the head, but shoulders will be broadside (21). Further exploration of the drawings demonstrates the human figures will have a nose, but no mouth, eyes or hands (21). The upper torso will be elongated, rigid straight posture (21). The costume details will be stiffly stylized in a conventionalized pattern, rather than a realistic style (21). Distant objects will be placed behind or above closer objects, but with no sense of perspective making them smaller or less distinct (21). There will be no background, simple negative space (21). Figures will move from right to left in most cases and they will be two dimensional and flat (21).

A last feature present in many of the Plains drawings is what is called a name glyph. This is an image connected by a line to another one of the figures present in the image. This serves the purpose of identifying the people in the image. For example, White Buffalo Head would have a name glyph attached to the image of him, which was a buffalo head colored white. As we delve into a close examination of the Fort Marion ledger art, it is important for the reader to note the conventions outlined in this brief history of ledger art, since these will change drastically in the Fort Marion art. While some conventions will stay the same, such as the movement of the

action of a horse drawn before the figure is placed on it, many of the conventions will change not just in the image, but in the addition of text to the pieces.

Fort Marion introduced a new factor into Plains drawing, which was the Euro-American audience, who did not know what the conventions and stylizations present in the images meant. They did not have the code to unlock what was being drawn and as such, they needed a key. This came in the form of captions added to the text, often by other Euro-Americans and at times written by the Native artists themselves. It is through the circumstance of the prisoners' incarceration at Fort Marion that a borderland is formed in which there was a confluence of Euro-American and Native American culture. This thrust the prisoners, some soon to be artists, into a situation where they were both dominated by the white culture via Pratt's assimilation program, but also allowed to act out their own agency through dances and the art they were allowed to keep and market. This provided the artists with a unique situation in which their chosen art form of drawing and painting could be altered from the traditional conventions of Plains Indian society. One of the most important changes was the incorporation of linguistic elements into the artwork, rather than as a connected narrative feature. This created an opportunity of linguistic exchange where a power struggle developed between English language conventions and Plains tradition, as the artists learned to read and write and then, literally draw on the power of the English language and incorporate it into their drawings.

Chapter 2: A Lens Through Which to Look: The Theory Behind it All

Moving forward from a brief history lesson of Fort Marion, including the events that led to the exile and incarceration of the prisoners from the Southern Plains, as well as providing an overview of the art they would produce, I now turn to the process I pursued in stitching the gathered data together. This paper is the culmination of two years of work, which began with a simple question and has transformed into more questions, which would require a career of research to answer. The research I conducted into this topic took place at various times and locations and comprised a substantial sample of (more than 200) Fort Marion ledger drawings. However, due to the constraint of time and page count, a full analysis of all the Fort Marion ledger drawings is well beyond the scope of this paper. This comprehensive analysis would be better suited for a book length endeavor, especially as it would bring together more sources and images to better illustrate the entry points I make here. Drawing on my anthropological background, I set out to conduct my research using the anthropologist's tool kit; participant observation, interviews and recursive methodologies of model building. However, the typical research tools were not always helpful because of the topic I was studying. Specifically, the individuals whom I would interview are deceased and those still creating ledger art do so for somewhat different reasons then the prisoners at Fort Marion.

As such, I conducted my research with an ethnohistorical lens, using the documentary record of the Fort Marion prisoners as my main source of data. As noted earlier, there were several different locations where I physically examined images of the Fort Marion ledger drawings. These sites included the National Anthropological

Archives in Suitland, Maryland; the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and the Arthur & Shifra Silberman Native American Art Collection at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. A number of other images that appear in these pages come from other sources I was able to observe through websites, secondary sources, and/or were shared with me by other scholars. In determining the validity of the conclusions I was drawing from the images, I used sources of external critiques, which were written by other authors on topics; such as economic theories, literacy, language and the Fort Marion context itself.

Fort Marion has been well researched by a number of scholars with many years in the field of Native American art; however, the following examination of a number of Fort Marion pieces is novel. They have not readily pursued pairing the language present on a number of the images with the images themselves being considered text. In doing this, I also exercised elements of internal criticism, using my own views on the data to begin to draw conclusions from points of validity. These took the form of contextual analysis, bringing together the research and data and then pairing them next to each other, so the line of connection could be easily drawn. As I said before, the images used in this paper are by no means an exhaustive sample, but they do provide a foundation from which to base my arguments.

The most difficult portion of the selection process was the determination of which pieces of text on the ledger art qualified for inclusion in the selection. The twofold answer pointed to seeking pieces that included a specific style of penmanship and grammar. First, I drew from samples that demonstrated the specific penmanship style

the prisoners learned, which became prevalent in the 1850s, known as the Spencerian method. This method will be described in more detail in the next section, as well as the accompanying pedagogy that was used to teach the prisoners. At this point, it is important to note this method is distinguishable from other previously learned forms. There is also a lack of finesse present in a portion of the writing, which speaks to individuals who have not yet mastered the method. The second component I used in qualifying a piece for selection also drew from the text, but with this, I focused on the grammar. The selection included the broken grammar and awkward phrasing that point to individuals who have yet to master English as a language or are learning it as a second language. This conclusion is similar to that drawn by Szabo (1993) in regards to the Hanna book at the School for Advanced Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, which also has text containing broken grammar and awkward phrasing present in some of the images.

After determining which images were of value to the current analysis, the next course of action was to determine a way to approach them that would effectively convey their message. Of interest here is the idea of power; the individuals who were exiled to Florida were put into a situation where many of their traditional ways of life, which were already blunted and forced to change with the creeping colonization on their land, were abruptly ended as they were thrust into the arms of Pratt's assimilation program. The fact not all of the traditional life ways were discontinued by Pratt allowed what can be called a borderland to form. A borderland is a space where there is a confluence of cultures, which may become permeable and thus allow ideas to move freely between the cultures. Borderlands do not only form at the formal

boundaries of two or more separate cultural entities, but can also form "at less formal interactions like gender, age, status, and distinctive life experiences" (Rosaldo 1993: 29).

Throughout the history of the United States, from colonial times to the period addressed in this paper, there have been a series of reoccurring borderlands that formed as the frontier moved further into land originally held by Native American populations. Fort Marion is one such borderland. Formed in the heart of the city of St. Augustine, aspects of the Native culture of the Plains came into contact with Euro-American culture; facilitating an area in which cultural transmission was able to occur as the prisoners were taught English, Christian religion, and how to better survive in the markets of modern America. The Native prisoners were also able to create a multi-directional flow of information exchange through the artwork they created and the friendships they made with Euro-American visitors, teachers and military personnel. The prisoners themselves entered a liminal phase (Turner: 1969); standing with the traditional culture of the Plains on the one side and on the other, Pratt's white man's road. The prisoners occupied the middle ground at Fort Marion, not able to enact their daily traditional ways of life, while at the same time, not being functionally assimilated into White society.

Within an anthropological (theory) and ethnohistorical (method) approach, it is important to understand a "historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time" (Bloch 1953:35). Therefore, with this as a beginning point, a theory was needed, which would keep my interpretations from becoming too anachronistic and taking the images out of their time socially and placing them fully

into my own. The answer I found was in the ever-enigmatic Pierre Bourdieu; the French anthropologist and sociologist famous for his dense thought on power and society and how the machinations of the two came together to reproduce the ranks and classes of individuals generation after generation.

It was in Bourdieu's writing on language I found the theory that illuminated the data I examined in this thesis. His theory on linguistic exchange is explained as:

> a relation of communication between a sender and a receiver, based on enciphering and deciphering, and therefore on the implementation of a code or a generative competence - is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit. In other words, utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed (Bourdieu 1991: 66).

This definition is by no means a simple one to decipher and will take some parsing out to be usable in this context. Therefore, I will break the definition down into two components; examining the theory as a relation of communication and as an economic exchange.

The foundational elements of Bordieu's theory (Bourdieu 1991:66) explain relationships and levels of power are demonstrated through linguistic exchange. Examining the theory, as a relation of communication is fairly straightforward as it describes the way communication occurs between a sender, the author of an utterance or text, and the receiver, the one who hears the utterance or reads the text. The relationship is based on the ability of the sender to make the communication understandable and the ability of the reviewer to understand the communication. This is based on a predetermined code of communication and an individual's level of

competence in the given code. If you do not understand the code, it is difficult to understand the communication, which results in an uneven linguistic exchange giving more power in the situation to the one who better understands the code used. An example of this, from a communication perspective, is demonstrated in an exchange between two individuals using the utterance, 'that's quite light.' There are two ways this statement could be interpreted when spoken aloud; first, the object in question does not weigh much, or second, the object is of a pale color. Depending on the code for the given communication, along with the sender and receiver's level of competence in that code, the real meaning will or will not be derived from the communication. Thus allowing one individual to receive more power from the utterance, since he understood, while the other did not. It is important to note the context of the utterance of the text is critical in understanding the communication.

The idea of context comes into play immediately when examining linguistic exchange from an economic view-point. When producing a linguistic utterance, whether it is verbal or graphic, there is always a specific context that is born into this. The context is where the utterance is given meaning, with no context there can be no meaning (Bahktin 1981). This also means the social-history of the word must be taken into account. For example, the word cool was originally used to describe a condition relating to temperature. Presently, the word cool can also have a meaning pertaining to fashionable qualities, as well as a calm demeanor. Therefore, to determine the correct definition and thus the meaning of the utterance, context takes primacy over text (Bahktin 1981). This is what Bahktin (1981) calls heteroglossia, within which there are always centripetal and centrifugal forces working to pull on

words and determine their meanings. The centripetal forces are the unitary language; the unifying speech all people in a given culture express; this force acts to bring words closer together with one meaning (Bahktin 1981: 272-273). The centrifugal forces, on the other hand, stretch the meaning of words, allowing them to have several meanings (Bahktin 1981: 272-273). This allows for words to develop an elastic quality as they are brought closer together and pulled farther apart from their meanings. According to Bourdieu (1993), the context into which an utterance is born is a market in which the properties of the market endow the utterance with a certain amount of value. Therefore, "In a given linguistic market some products are valued more highly than others; and part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to produce expressions which are highly valued in the markets concerned" (Thompson 1991:18). Since the market takes form in a given context, it requires at least a two-way directional relationship. An individual speaking to herself cannot create value on her own, since her utterance has no relation to any other linguistic products and therefore, has only a subjective value placed there by the author. In this way, linguistic exchange takes its name as a movement of linguistic products between at least two people and as such, can be treated as a form of discourse. In this, language does not circulate on the linguistic market,

> but rather discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idiolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as each recipient helps to *produce* the message which he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience (Bourdieu 1991: 39).

Particularly interesting in this passage is how the speaker and recipient fashion the discourse they form through communication via their singular and collective

experience of life. It is in this way Bourdieu sees language as a social-historical phenomena (Thompson 1991: 4, Myles 1999: 883). The question arising from this asks what creates the social-historical phenomena that is language; the answer is what Bourdieu (1984: 101) calls the habitus. The habitus is "an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition" (Bourdieu 1984: 101). As such, it is not only a structuring structure, but also a structured structure as it works to organize the world into observable classes (Bourdieu 1984: 170). In this, it is self-organized by the classes in a self-perpetuating cycle (Adams 2001: 216). In terms of reproduction, at its base "habitus concerns reproduction insofar as what it explains are the regularities immanent in practice. It explains regularity by reference to the social embedding of the actor, the facts that actors are socially formed with relatively stable orientations and ways of acting" (Hanks 2005: 69) It is then through the habitus that society comes to the individual in mental habits and corporeal ones (Hanks 2005: 69).

This relates to language as Bourdieu (1991) explains utterances are structured by social structure and class habits; in essence the habitus works through and around the actor confirming what should be said based on the habits they possess (Myles 1999: 884). Language then becomes a way class may become evident in an individual; however, the habits an individual displays are not rules. This allows an individual to use the habits strategically and gain an advantage in the linguistic market, if the habits of other classes are known. This demonstrates the ability of an individual to be more

fluid in the linguistic market place and use linguistic exchange to gain a better standing for themselves (Hanks 2005).

Knowing how the market works is the next key step, as it is, in essence, the product of past struggles created by linguistic exchange to "secure codification of the authority basis of a particular speech form, a discourse that has the value to become the prestigious marker of social distinction/difference" (Myles 1999: 887). As such, what the market does is create values and put prices on the linguistic products formed by individuals through discourse. In turn, those that have more value placed on them are given more authority and legitimacy for a time, until a new discourse arises, which based on the social-historical context of the time, may be given more value and become more authoritative and legitimate then the previous discourse. What goes into creating a more authoritative discourse and more powerful exchange then are the various types of capital an individual can muster to support their claim (Bourdieu 1984: 113)

There are six types of capital Bourdieu (1984) draws upon in his many writings: economic, cultural, educational, social, symbolic, and honorific. Economic capital consists of the amount of money under the control of a particular person at any given time in marketable commodities (Bourdieu 1984: 114-115). Educational capital refers to the level and type of education an individual has received (Bourdieu 1984: 12). Cultural capital is understood as the combination of educational capital in addition to the results of self-education (Bourdieu 1984: 13-14, 114-115). Social capital is heritable, as it is passed down to an individual based on the amount of one's family's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984: 114). Symbolic capital comes into play when dealing

with the creative classes of individuals or those who deal in creating or manipulating symbolic materials (Bourdieu 1984: 291). Lastly, honorific capital forms for individuals who contribute to the promotion of their social ideals (Bordieu 1984, Pressler 1985: 76). These various forms of capital can lend weight to an individual in a linguistic exchange as the more capital they possess in a given dimension, the more they are able to construe their linguistic product as the one with more legitimacy and authority (Pressler 1985: 76).

Here, I want to be clear. Through Bourdieu (1984, 1991) I have used a number of economic terms, such as value, exchange, and capital, which are not used to have the reader merely think about prices and monetary unites. They are used to consider the symbolic processes, which are in effect creating the various types of capital and to "de-naturalize this social order by bringing into light its symbolic foundations" (Lebaron 2003: 560). Any power gained from these interactions is entirely symbolic in content, "For in the routine flow of day-to-day life, power is seldom exercised as overt physical force instead, it is transmitted into a symbolic form, and thereby endowed with a kind of legitimacy that it would not otherwise have" (Thompson 1991:23).

It is within the realm of symbolic power and legitimacy the connections to the Fort Marion context begin to be drawn. Taking center stage again is language, but of a particular variety, that is, English. English became the modicum of authority in language with the beginning of the United States of America and extended its influence over much of the interior of North America as time progressed. The use of English permeated so heavily into many native communities that it bore pidginized

versions in some communities, therefore, deepening the social implications that knowing the language provided (Silverstein 1996). As a result of this, English became the language of the American colonies and the soon to be born country. Through its establishment as a National language, the country was brought together under the ideas it engendered. This is called a language ideology; "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard 1998: 3). This again goes to the idea of language as a socio-historical construct, as it moves language from being located solely in the learner's brain and embeds it in historical, social, and political contexts. This creates a place where language is not only learned in terms of grammar, but also the different levels of meanings and the history embedded with language use (González 2001: xxii). The idea of context comes full circle as it is the habitus, which helps to structure language within the social context of its constituent users. The Native Americans who created pidginized versions did so in response to the linguistic exchange that was occurring around them. They needed a way to create a code in which they could communicate with the traders at large, thus allowing commerce on an equal basis of power in trading relations.

This concept is demonstrated at Fort Marion under the assimilation program of Pratt. He sought to get the prisoners out of the curio class many in Florida, and the United States as a whole, placed them (Szabo 2011: 11, Pratt 2003: 118). In this class, the prisoners were considered exotic, a novelty to be looked at, the value they had as individuals was as a curiosity rather than as a productive member of society. This meant the old way of life as nomadic buffalo hunters was removed from their future,

since Pratt saw the key to their future was interacting in the modern market economy. Therefore, the prisoners needed trade skills, as well as other skills to survive as hard-working American citizens. However, to develop these skills, there was one more barrier that needed to be removed from those under his charge, that of language. By learning English and ranking the importance of English over the traditional languages the men knew, Pratt sought to establish a process for the prisoners to succeed, which depended on their becoming competent in the language used in the American market place. A disproportionate linguistic exchange began to take place, which turned English utterances into signs of wealth and authority, as per Bourdieu's (1991) definition, with the Native languages pushed into economic obscurity, similar to the traditional ways of life, which were pushed into obscurity on a country-wide scale.

In order to fully understand how the linguistic exchange worked at Fort Marion, it is helpful to look at another idea from Bourdieu (1991), that of the field. A field, as Bourdieu understands, is "a form of social organization with two main aspects: (*a*) a configuration of social roles, agent positions, and the structures they fit into and (*b*) the historical process in which those positions are actually taken up, occupied by actors (individual or collective)" (Hanks 2005: 72). Both of these conditions are present in the context of Fort Marion through the social roles assigned by Pratt, the prisoners amongst themselves, the town of St. Augustine and the U.S. as a whole. The positions in a field are related to each other by opposition, such as student and teacher, and as such, implies a relationship characterized by power and resistance. An occurrence, which can be clearly demonstrated in the images produced by the artists during their time at Fort Marion.

The dichotomy of teacher and student makes itself known through the way Pratt decided to create the linguistic exchange at the fort. The first phase in this exchange came in the form of teaching the prisoners to understand the code. I will go into more detail on pedagogical method in the next section, but the key component was teaching the prisoners, now students, to read and write the English language. The pictographic conventions of the Plains had no place in the Euro-American world where the majority of people would not understand the code and saw the English code as superior. As well as English being the dominant language in the white settled areas of the country, its legitimacy was undisputed. English at the time can be seen as both logo- and grapho- centric in terms of its power. The language was undisputed in its dominance in the market place and a singular style of Standard English would have received the most value in a linguistic exchange. In this sense, it was logo-centric, privileging the spoken word (Smith 1985: 227), as it gathered more centralized authority and prevented power from going to other languages still spoken at the time (Neel and Derrida 1990: 389).

English was also seen as grapho-centric at the same time, because of the power writing was developing among all classes in the United States. English was fast becoming what could be considered a grapholect, "a transdialectal language formed by a deep commitment to writing. Writing gives a grapholect a power far exceeding that of any purely oral dialect" (Ong 1982: 8). Why does writing come with so much power? One of the primary reasons is that when written, language comes with greater authority. Challenging the author of a written document becomes an abstract concept, as the author is usually not present to be challenged by the one reading the written

language. Coupled with the dissemination of printed materials, ideas began to travel faster and reach more people, thus prompting a need and desire to read, as well as a need to become literate. It was a drive to have the prisoners become literate that prompted part of Pratt's program. He believed part of the troubles faced by Native Americans in the U.S. was that they could not properly read the treaties they were signing.

When discussing literacy, Ong (1982) creates two categories; first, that of a primary oral culture, which has had no exposure to writing or print, and second, a secondary oral culture or a high-technology culture. When looking at this dichotomy it becomes impossible to insert the Plains peoples of the late 19th century into one or the other. One of the reasons is that they would have had contact with written works with the first settlers moving into the area, even if they were not able to read it, the connection was there. In addition, the prisoners at Fort Marion would have most likely seen some form of documentation regarding their arrest and exile. A second reason is that they did have a form of writing in pictographs, though Ong (1982) argues that it was not a true script, since the code remained unfixed (1982:85). I do not fully agree with Ong here, nor do I fully disagree. I agree it cannot be considered a true script, as there was some variability in the images used to convey ideas to others. However, I also acknowledge there was a degree of fixity to the code regarding some conventions, such as in calendars and war accounts. Plains people also do not fit into a secondary oral culture though, as that would have been used to identify Euro-Americans at the time. With this, it is necessary to create a middle ground and therefore, I propose the term dual orality to be used to describe the level

of orality displayed by the prisoners at Fort Marion. Given they were not literate or fluent in English upon coming to Florida, they would have had some knowledge of the language and as such, this may have made it easier for them to learn.

Here, I turn once more to Bourdieu (1991) to draw on his understanding of literacy. Bourdieu states, "literacy is really a question of *legitimate language*: what is consecrated and who is sanctioned to speak, and how, at a particular time and place" (Grenfell 2009: 444). Again we return to power and the struggle between parties to gain that symbolic power; with literacy not determined by a general knowledge of the language, but knowledge of the legitimate version of the language that holds the most capital in exchange. Language becomes a sign to an individual that one does not merely exist in reality, but reflects and refracts another reality (Volosinov 1973: 10). Through Bourdieu (1991) and his use of language, we can see the power struggles taking place at Fort Marion. These power struggles were demonstrated in acts of agency rather than subversion. Through the learning of the English language and by then writing it on to the images they created, the artists at Fort Marion created a borderland where they could live both in their traditional culture, as well as that of the Euro-American. At the point of their release, some of the prisoners would embrace the White man's road and seek further schooling at the Hampton Institute in Virginia and Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania (Daniels Petersen 1971, Harris 1989, Rodee: 1965). Pratt founded Carlisle Indian School to bring his assimilation program to more Native peoples across the country. It is through the texts created by the artists, not just in word, but image as well, that the inner workings of the linguistic

exchange were revealed, as well as the artists' use of English in the development of their own agency in a situation where all choice seemed to have been removed.

Chapter 3: Pen and Pedagogy: The Learning of English at Fort Marion

Learning through observation and imitation begins in the earliest days of a child's life; allowing them to develop basic daily skills. However, to become productive members in their given society, the children must expand on these basic skills, learning the rules, customs and values of the society in which they live. In doing so, children cultivate an understanding of the greater culture as they increasingly acquire the skills needed to move through components of daily life. This learning can be seen in the developmental process of learning to play an instrument. In the beginning you will watch a teacher, as they explain where to place your fingers or mouth and imitate the movement they perform. As your skills develop, the teacher can show more advanced techniques as the student observes and imitates the sounds and moves until the day student becomes the teacher, passing down the skills to the next generation. The prisoners at Fort Marion, while growing up on the Southern Plains, would have experienced learning through observation and imitation. Though it is possible some of them may not have produced any ledger art before arriving at Fort Marion, they all would have been familiar with the act of portraying an event on hide, paper or muslin through their observation of other members of their tribes.

The skill of learning through observation and imitation would be of primary use to the prisoners in the context of Fort Marion, as they observed the white people they interacted with on a daily basis. Both informal and formal, this learning through observation and imitation was particularly important to Pratt as he wanted the prisoners to learn English. "Promoting English speech was among the earliest and most persistent of our efforts in order to bring the Indians into best understanding and

relation with our people. Trading and talking with visitors was valuable help in forwarding this purpose" (Pratt 2003: 121). Through linguistic exchange and commercial exchange, Pratt sought to acculturate the prisoners into the Euro-American world. The promotion of English through talk and trade was not enough though, as the experiential method and informal education through speaking can only take a language learner so far. Thus, the prisoners were formally taught to speak, read, and write the English language through lessons that were two hours a day, five days a week (Viola 1998: 10). Both the method used and content of what they were taught is of great importance to the overall argument I am making in this paper. As such, additional context is required to more thoroughly understand the social-historical components of English in both written and spoken form.

The Pen

The story of language and writing in general are outside the scope of this paper, as adequate exploration would require book length endeavors; such as the works of Janson (2011) and Fischer (2004). A simplified examination of the development of writing in the United States from colonial times to the period of Fort Marion will however, provide the information necessary to understand the significance of writing English at the time the artists incorporated writing in their drawings. The first system of writing came out of Sumer in Mesopotamia around 3100 BCE; the origins of which can be traced to the trade system of the time (Fairbank 1970: 25, 20). With individuals trading on a large nation-state level, it became necessary to establish ownership of the goods and the payment that was to be received for these goods. The Sumerians developed a cuneiform system to assist in the navigation of goods

throughout the Empire. They used clay cylinders as seals, which could be rolled over a piece of wet clay to produce an image listing the seller and buyer of the goods.

From this point in time, other cultures began to develop writing systems around the world, including the beginning of the English alphabet and the multiple of variations it moved through, which reflected the ways English was spoken and eventually written. Here, we will advance the timeline to quickly progress to the colonial period of writing in the United States, though at the time, a colony of Great Britain, lasting from 1600-1800 (Dougherty 1917: 281). During the colonial period, a writing master provided instruction in writing. Though not of the aristocracy, as writing was seen to be a manual task no matter how elegantly it might be done, nonetheless, writing masters were held in high regard. Once they established their reputation, a good master would garner more students to teach his writing style. So highly esteemed was the ability to write, the masters were often able to establish their own schools devoted to teaching handwriting. During this period of time, writing was not about self-expression, but was about self-presentation a trend that would continue on into the period of Fort Marion, as we will learn (Donica, 2010: 19).

Handwriting in the colonial period of the United States was much the same as it was in England, based on social class. "In the absence of other markers of distinction, eighteenth century colonial authority and status depended heavily on how one appears to others" (Christen 2012: 496). Thus, certain scripts carried with them more prestige. For example, an elegant hand signified social refinement, while mastery of a specific hand was a clear visible way of positioning oneself in society and essential to commerce, government, education, and personal correspondence (Christen 2012:

496). Even upper class men and women had different styles of handwriting, allowing gender to be determined by the appearance of letters. Gentlemen wrote in large brazen script, while women wrote in a more delicate version. As such, a complete stranger examining the handwriting of another could tell a number of things about the person who wrote it, from occupation to gender, and even class. As the "very style in which one formed letters was also determined by one's place in society and therefore acted as a…mechanism of controlling the social and cultural meanings attached to writing literacy" (Thornton 1996: 18).

Revealed in the handwriting style is a demonstrated power. At a gender level, the size and boldness of men's handwriting, as compared to women's, is evidence of the power men held over women at the time, lending even more strength to the economic power of handwriting. A man's hand would carry more weight when it was present on documents then would a woman's. Corresponding with this argument then is the idea that given the style of handwriting, a document may also carry more weight. For example, the script used by a professional in the bank would be different than that of a clergyman, or a lawyer and as such, each would have differing levels of power associated with them in different contexts. During the colonial period; however, handwriting was simply a mercantile activity. The reason to learn handwriting in the first place was to gain a position as a merchant or work in a store. A job that made money gave the owner of the handwriting more symbolic power to be used in the market place.

Even the materials used by the writing masters linked handwriting and commerce as inseparable units. The standard way to teach a pupil how to write was to use what

was called a copybook. These were similar to the books used by school age children today, which would show an example of a text or writing style. The method focused on learning simple forms and letters that make up the alphabet and then advancing to the point of mastering the shapes to write effectively. The difference with colonial period copybooks was that the handwriting drills focused on commerce, since the samples of writing they contained took the form of bills of exchange, receipts, and bookkeeping entries (Thornton 1996:9). In essence, learning handwriting by this method does not promote literacy in English, writing or creative thinking as the pupil learns only to copy what they see before them and not think for themselves on how to create their own compositions. Again, this imparts the importance of writing as a mechanism of presentation rather than expression, as well as creating a power differential between those in the mercantile classes and below, as compared to the upper classes who could control the production of symbolic power in dictating what was to be copied in the first place.

Handwriting became a marker of "character, class, gender, and occupation, it was a valued social and economic tool" (Christen 2012: 499-500). The more elegant and fluid the script, the better the training an individual had received and as such, correlated directly to how much money was put into one's education. There was a direct correlation between the amount of economic, educational, cultural, and social capital an individual and their family could put together to increase their standing in a given class and achieve a higher authority when it came to market interactions. The variance in styles promoted by the teachings of individual masters can be seen in many documents from this time period, one of the most recognizable is the

Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. The signatures demonstrate a variety of different styles of ornate letters, illustrating the signers were students of different masters. Handwriting was slowly slipping out of the grasp of the elite though, as by the end of the eighteenth century nearly all white males and fifty to ninety percent of white women, depending on socio-economic factors, could sign their name (Christen 2012: 500) This was a trend that had been growing, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As countries found their governments more centralized, with growing literacy rates and commerce between individuals, the need for handwriting appeared in all classes and occupations, as it had first appeared in ancient Sumer.

Following the Revolutionary War and the subsequent War of 1812, there was a strong anti-British sentiment floating through the United States and with this, a move away from the British methods of handwriting instruction was initiated. It was not until the early to mid-1800s individuals began to express the sentiment they wanted handwriting taught in the public school curriculum; therefore, requiring a redefining of pedagogy (Eaton, 1985). This was not the end of the writing master of colonial America, while he survived it was in a diminished capacity, especially as there was also a decline in need for technical skill to be a writing master. "The content of the nineteenth-century penmanship manual is very different. Lengthy catechisms on the theory of penmanship and whole chapters on hand and body position dwarfed the visual models for imitation" (Thornton 1996: 46) In this, the hours a writing master spent engraving wooden blocks with his style of writing to put into copy books was

no longer needed, since the shift in pedagogy had gone the way of theory and turning the process of handwriting into a mechanical procedure, rather than an art form.

Here, an influential figure enters who would have an impact on the artists of Fort Marion, that is, Plat Rogers Spencer. He was born in 1800 in East Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York (Henning 2002, Thornton 1996, 48) Spencer set the United States on a particular path in handwriting that continues even to this day. Stories of his youth are full of him practicing his handwriting on everything he could get his hands on, from the backs of pieces of leather to giving his first penny to a lumberman to get him a sheet of paper (Henning 2002: 6) Without a master to teach him, Spencer created a handwriting system that 'made use of the oval and push-pull-drills that are familiar to most students of other systems. "The pen was to be held easily, not in the desperate grip that is the way of many beginners and the arm was to move in a generally rolling motion on the large forearm muscle" (Henning 2002: 7).

Unlike many writing methods today, which rely on wrist and finger movements, the Spencerian system used a full arm movement to execute the strokes required for the letters. The grip used on the pen is known as the dynamic tripod, which involved the thumb, index, and middle fingers to form a tripod, allowing for more minute movements of the pen (Schwellne et. al 2012: 719). Like other nineteenth-century penmen, Spencer reduced the strokes needed to make the alphabet into a few elemental principles with each letter, both upper and lower case, being made of similar types of lines and curves. He "grounded his approach in a moral and aesthetic philosophy. Spencer did not represent handwriting elements as mere bits of letters; instead he identified them with natural forms" (Thornton 1996: 49). While still

elegant by modern cursive standards, it was simpler than older versions, which allowed handwriting to come into the classroom and take less practice. Therefore, handwriting could be taught in conjunction with other classes more readily than during the age of masters and the colonial period.

Spencer published his first copybook in 1848. The book was distributed around New York, but soon it moved across the country where, from 1850-1900, it was estimated to have assumed a near hegemony over other styles of handwriting being taught at the time. Coinciding with the introduction of mass-produced steel nibs for dip-pens, the Spencerian method spread to schools all over the country as expensive handmade quills were replaced by a steel nib on a wooden holder. The machine made dip-pen was developed in the early parts of the nineteenth century, but evolved in parts. "Machine-made pens were probably introduced by John Mitchell about 1822, whilst James Perry has the credit for being the first maker of the steel slit-pen with a hole at the base of the slit (1830). Joseph Gillott patented an improved pen-point in 1831" (Fairbank 1970: 86). Though the machine made dip-pen was developed in the early nineteenth century, it was not until the Civil War came to an end they were commonly found in the classrooms of the United States (Eaton 1985: 258).

As such, handwriting, once a sign of wealth and authority, had been opened up to the many people in the United States. No longer was it as Bourdieu (2014: 421) described general language; a way for the petite bourgeois to distinguish themselves from the lower classes who were relegated to borrowed or clumsy language, rather, writing became the purview of all . "Withholding literacy was the most direct way of regulating the social and cultural weight attached to it" (Thornton 1996: 17). As

handwriting and the growth in literacy, which accompanied it, appeared in schools across the country, its availability to individuals of all class, directly impacted the social and cultural weight of handwriting. Soon, handwriting was understood as critical for all individuals to possess to prosper in the market place that was the United States. Some handwriting experts of the time felt the democratization and homogenization of handwriting would allow a common American identity to be fostered for the people (Christen 2012: 509). It is here Pratt picked up the Spencerian method, which could foster a common identity in the American people and also create that identity in his Native American prisoners. He believed this would provide the prisoners with an economic and social advantage found in English, but not in their Native languages. Learning the Spencerian method ensured the handwriting displayed by the prisoners was similar to the Euro-American population and thus, promote cultural assimilation.

Pedagogy

The formal education program at the prison provides another example of how English instruction under Pratt had an economic basis that privileged it over Native languages. The best way to examine the pedagogy of the time is to read about it from the individuals who taught it; unfortunately, that is not possible in this paper for the same reason it is not possible to do an exhaustive survey of all the Fort Marion drawings. However, I will be able to present some of Pratt's own words on the subject and drawing on an illustration through a document from one of the Fort Marion prisoners, *Koba*, Wild Horse, a Kiowa prisoner. Born around 1848, Koba was approximately twenty-seven years old when he was sent with the rest of the prisoners

of war to Fort Marion (Daniels Petersen 1971: 129). Many of his drawings retained the entirety of the Plains drawing conventions, as well as excelling in naturalism with his drawings having realistic "eyes, mouths, hands, better proportions, and a relaxed posture," in addition to showing both front and rear views of his figures (Daniels Petersen 1971: 57). What is shown in Figures 1a through 1e are not typical ledger drawings. In fact, I would not classify them as drawings, but will use the title given to them by Koba himself; *Koba's Picture Words*. These sheets of lined paper are from Koba's notebook in which he documented some of the lessons he was taught in the classroom at Fort Marion.

Koba's use of English language can be used to help illustrate the pedagogy used to teach the prisoners. Figure 1a is a list of words in English, written in an imperfect Spencerian hand, which demonstrates Koba was still working to master the technique. The individual words are also accompanied by a small illustration of the word. For example, the first word on the list, "Key," has a small image of a key next to it. This illustrates Koba is working through two different writing conventions; the grapholect (Ong 1982) of the English language and the picture writing technique of the Plains. This intersection of the two conventions is significant, as it becomes a focal point for Koba. As he creates an image to go along with the word, Koba is reproducing the mnemonic origins of Plains drawings to assist him in the learning of the English language. By applying an image Koba knows or a combination of images, as in the word "Fear," Koba associates the pairing with the mental processes taught to him through the Kiowa culture. In doing so, he is creating a mental bridge between English and Kiowa, allowing him to find the words he needs to describe life around

him; first through the image, then through the English word. These are examples of heteroglossia (Bahktin 1981) and heterographia.

In Chapter Two, I discussed heteroglossia as the primacy of context over text in a linguistic utterance. Heterographia is the same concept, but as illustrated through the written utterance, such as the meaning of an image or a written text. Both need to be considered in the context they were authored, so as to understand their meaning. For example, a piece of World War II propaganda needs to be examined in the context of the 1940s to more fully understand its meaning, though some may argue that point with me and I can accept that there are instances when such would be true. Both of these ideas pair with the multi-language discourse the Native prisoners were constructing through their forced assimilation. Upon their arrival at Fort Marion, the prisoners' knowledge of English would have been minimal, if it existed at all. Coupling this with the possible language barriers among tribes, though none may have existed due to familiarization by association, the prisoners would not have had an immediate way to communicate with each other, except through Plains sign language, which was not universally the same among all the tribes. In learning English, a de facto lingua franca was created that all the prisoners could use (Lookingbill 2007: 45). However, the prisoners would have still used their own Native languages, thus creating an area where multiple languages were used on a daily basis for discourse. This created a linguistic borderland where, depending on the language used there was power to be gained from the linguistic exchange market.

By constructing picture words, Koba was tapped into multiple languages and demonstrated a polyglossic thinking. In using multiple forms of writing, both

pictographic and written English, Koba demonstrates this polyglossic thinking as both forms of writing effect the way he is learning English. As such, depending on his immediate context, he could call upon the written word or picture word to give meaning to an utterance, either verbal or as an image.

Examining the pedagogy of the prison, one can see the words Koba chose to write are not random words, but rather those he picked up by hearing them spoken through the day. Turning to Figures 1a and 1b, the first few words seem to be random, including words such as grass and sponge. These are words that would be easy to teach and used in every day conversation when first coming to the prison. The words answer basic questions. Where will you meet for morning drills; on the grass. How will you clean that item; with a sponge. These words written by Koba are evidence of what is called the contextual or experiential teaching method. In this method, the teacher works with the natural use of language to situate it in everyday living (Hendricks 1979, Sears: 2002). It motivates "learners to take charge of their own learning and to make connections between knowledge and it applications to various contexts…" (Sears 2002: 2). For example, the men learned the word "cents," so they could deal with buying goods. As Pratt believed, trading and talking were great motivators in learning English. The practical elements of language were taught first, as the men learned the word for objects, which physically surrounded them, as well as those needed in daily interactions (Hendricks 1979: 5-6). The theoretical components, such as grammar, came later to reinforce what had been taught. This can be seen in the broken English displayed in the sentence; "His Zotom Heap sick. You come see him quick" (Pratt 2003: 185). This was a sentence Pratt found written on a note left

for him in his quarters one night; written by Etahdleuh. This note demonstrates the knowledge of the words and the general order they should appear; however, a full understanding of grammar is missing. Due to the contextual teaching, there is a wide vocabulary present in some of the captions. This is supported by the sheer amount of words Koba has listed. However, when the words are strung into a sentence, the grammar is broken causing it to read awkwardly to a native English speaker.

The contextual method is demonstrated later in this same list as words begin to be grouped in simple categories; such as facial features with words like cheek, chin, and jaw, as well as words being grouped in rhyming schemes. By grouping through category and rhyme, individual lessons are developed around the learning of specific words and the parts of life associated with them. This is demonstrated in an anecdote Pratt describes about an incident in one of the classrooms. "She [their teacher] was trying to teach them to pronounce the words ending in *th* and was using the word *teeth.* She had them well along in concert pronouncing *teeth* and then wanting to show them what 'teeth' are, removed and showed them her complete set" (Pratt 2003: 155). This is the contextual approach in action, as well as a humorous illustration. The prisoners were learning sounds they would need to use and shown what the word meant through action. There is however, no indication of how to grammatically use the words they were learning aside from how to pronounce them.

Grouping the rhyming words allows the teacher to focus on one or more sounds that are heard in many words. This provides practice in pronunciation and memorization. "For the non-native speaker [of English] at the beginning stage, it is clearly easier to sing or recite a rhyme in English then it is to communicate personal

information, wants or needs. The rhythm and rhyme is naturally appealing…" (Hendricks 1979: 2). Think back to old bard's tales and songs or nursery rhymes, they were easy to memorize due to their rhyming patterns, as well as the rhythm that is incorporated into their repetition (Piette 1996).

Many educators of the time realized this and as such, incorporated verse-like elements into their teaching. Spencer wrote them into his copy books such as "Let the pen glide/Like gently rolling stream,/Restless, but yet/Unwearied and serene;/Forming and blending forms,/With graceful ease./Thus, letter, word and line/Are born to please" (Henning 2002: 7). What is important here is in the writing of the lines, they were recited out loud and thus, the rhythm was not only established in the spoken words, but in the written as well, making the pen movement more fluid. Other teachers used different variations of the same method; "These sentences and paragraphs were usually aphorisms of biblical quotations that exhorted the student to greater mental or moral endeavor" (Eaton 1985: 254). It is probable, though no evidence has been found as of yet, these were the types of sentences given to the men at Fort Marion to copy, since their assimilation would demand they had to leave their traditional beliefs behind and take Christianity as their religion.

Writing in the prison context became a marker of wealth and authority for the men as they were taught through indisputable texts and learned from copy cards placed around the room. Harriet Beacher Stowe, who had a teacher friend at Fort Marion and took many trips to the fort (Wescott 1991: 46), shared her observations of this in *Harper's Weekly* on May 11, 1878 (Berlo 2007: 162). She explained that placed around the room were cards that had a word attached to an image, such as an image of

an apple above the word apple written out. The men learned the written word carried with it a power to claim something as its own. They also learned along with names, prices might also be attached to the word/image as demonstrated by Figure 2; *Price Current* by the artist Buffalo Meat. The image shows the name of an object, at times with a picture, and the price listed next to it. Learning the names of these objects allows the men to interact with the economy of St. Augustine and, as Pratt wanted to teach them, demonstrated English had more power to serve them in this enforced context than their traditional languages.

Returning to the Figure 1 series, other contextual learnings can be observed, such as in Figure 1b. Here, we find a portion of a letter written to Koba's father; an individual who most likely did not know any English and would not have been able to understand a letter written in a form other than pictographs. By practicing this form of writing, Koba is ensured he would be able to communicate in the method that Euro-Americans did. The picture words also include two additional interesting aspects. First, there is a list (Figure 1c) of other prisoners at Fort Marion. The list has the spelling of an individual's name using the English alphabet, sometimes translations of a Native American name for an individual, and at other times the Native language name for an individual. I was struck by the inconsistency of deciding which would be used to address the individual, the English or Native language translation. The decision of the name used for an individual was determined by the ability of the name to be pronounced by the teachers and soldiers at Fort Marion. If the name was easy enough to pronounce in English, the Native name was kept, a difficult name would be translated out of the Native language. What is interesting about this image is that

along with the name, it also included a name glyph for the individual that would help to identify individuals in a drawing; signifying who they were by placing the glyph over the figures head. This practice all but completely faded out at Fort Marion, since learning to write in English led to the artists more frequently recording their name in script (Szabo 1994: 74).

The last aspect I want to look at is illustrated in Figures 1d and 1e, both class attendance sheets. Classes were conducted at Fort Marion in two-hour blocks, once a day, with the pupils divided into four classes (Pratt 2003: 175). These two lists appear to be attendance sheets for one such class. If you look closely, there is an interesting note to be made about these two lists, that is, the handwriting is different. Particularly noticeable, if you look at the letter 'A,' one looks like more of a type-face letter and the other an enlarged lower case 'a.' As I am not an epigrapher by training, my skill at determining, which is or is not Koba's hand writing is beyond my skill. However, in examining the two, we can claim 1d is by Koba. If 1d is an attendance sheet, he would have put his own name on it, since being absent from classes could have led to a possible punishment leading Koba to make himself apparent in the count. In examining "Koba" on this list, it is most akin to that in 1a and therefore, we can conclude Koba is the author of the list. Based on the close observation of the handwriting style in Figure 1d, we see it closely resembles 1a. In this way, Koba can be seen to be the author of both, though there is still the possibility that the words which appear on the pages are not Koba's at all and were labeled at a later date.

What these two documents speak to is important and will become even clearer in the following chapters as we delve more deeply into the drawings of Fort Marion.

The handwriting that is present on many of the drawings, when written by the hand of the artist's themselves is of the Spencerian style. Though there will be a couple examples shown and more known that do not fit this type of script. The differences in handwriting found on the images to be examined further strengthens the conclusion that the contextual method was used in teaching the prisoners what they needed to survive in modern America. By learning English in this manner, the prisoners also built on previous English knowledge they may have had, which would have been learned on a need to know basis. Like many languages, encounters with English would have been based on trade or interactions of a mediated type where communication was limited to specific purposes. Through the contextual method, the prisoners were beginning to learn the ins and outs of the linguistic market that was found in St. Augustine at the time. They were able to create exchanges with those around them to a larger degree and have more value placed on what they as individuals and a group were able to bring to the discourse of various topics. Through learning to read and write English, another opportunity was opened to them to begin to create art in a way that allowed them to express what they may not have been able to say should they have used their traditional languages.

By learning the authoritative power of the English language in their location, the prisoners entered into a situation where they were able to mediate the power they gained and lost to a degree. Whereas, if they had refused to participate, they would have been left to be just prisoners. The men and women held captive at Fort Marion took an initiative that was placed before them and transformed it into an aide to better negotiate the world of the Euro-American in which they found themselves trapped.

Koba's picture words show a glimpse into this world through the words that he and his fellow classmates learned. Koba shows a knowledge of the other prisoners, with whom he interacts on a daily basis and with whom he probably became good friends, as can be seen later in a set of images made by either Koba or Etahdleuh. The picture words also make known one of the complications that comes to the fore when dealing with data on which it is no longer possible to talk to the individuals who created them; that is, direct authorship. While these words are marked as Koba's and the hand writing is similar to other handwriting that is known to belong to him, without detailed analysis by an individual with training or a machine with programing, one hundred percent certainty cannot be achieved. To this point then, I want to say that if I deem a given drawing to be by an individual, it is either through those who have studied the material longer then I have attributing it as thus or a conclusion I have drawn from as careful observation as I can produce at this time. Like the prisoners, my learning with this material is contextual learning and I am also discovering the underlying grammar, as I move through the sea of words. It is now we turn our attention to the drawings and the words that can be found either as text in the drawings or as part of the artistic elements of the drawings themselves.

Chapter 4: A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words

In the last chapter, emphasis was placed on words. We specifically considered the words one artist had written and what they said about the situation at Fort Marion. The words told us a story of individuals being placed into a situation in which their traditional languages were no longer economically valuable and carried no symbolic power outside of speaking to those of their own tribe. Even in the prison walls, English had more power, it held a position of authority in the classroom, in letters and governmental documents, becoming the *lingua franca* of the prison; allowing the prisoners to communicate with each other and those in St. Augustine. The words told the story of how the men were educated; that is, learning what they needed to navigate the area around the prison and immerse them in the Euro-American culture, which surrounded them. As stated earlier, this learning by immersion and experience is called the experiential method; designed to teach what is needed for day to day success, then with this foundation, moving into the underlying grammatical structure.

Though the prisoners had been interacting with the Euro-American world for some time while on the Southern Plains, it was through the experiential method the potential power of English was revealed. Their first steps moved them onto a path that was forced on them when they were removed from their homes on the Plains. Pratt made a conscious decision to turn what could have been another prison into a military school as he focused on assimilation by educating the whole man; body, mind and soul. Through this, he appeared to strip the men of all the power they possessed, taking their culture and identity as Native Americans and refashioning them in white man's clothing. The prisoners; however, used this holistic education to

create in themselves a new culture. This fit the borderland that had been created when they were taken as prisoners, mapping onto themselves traits of Euro-Americans, while maintaining Native American traits. In this, a third culture was created between the two, which allowed the prisoners to navigate and survive as they were thrust into a situation in which they had no control.

Foucault (1978:95) said, "Where there is power, there is resistance". The resistance demonstrated by the men in their art is not one of an overt nature, which commonly comes to mind when the terms power and resistance are used, but more of a covert outcome. Covert, not in a traditional sense of a secret move or underground resistance, but rather as an unforeseen outcome. Through their art, the men affected a situation in which they began to control the perceptions of the consumer not only economically; convincing them to purchase the art, but also in a symbolic way as they affected people's perception of them. This created a borderland, in which they had to adopt the values of the Euro-Americans to convince those inside and outside of the prison the assimilation program was working. Through the art, the men developed a second identity that catered to their situation, giving them the power to act as agents in a world where their power was diminished. The men sought to have themselves known as productive members of society, rather than individuals who lived on the fringes and contributing nothing. In this, they worked toward an early release from their imprisonment.

Turning now to the cliché, but most appropriate title of this chapter, I will introduce the specific drawings produced at Fort Marion to be examined. The drawings are divided into two types; those with text and those without text. This is a

surface level distinction I have made, so as to more easily break down the ideas I am presenting in relation to the evidence. It is important to note here that within linguistic exchange, the product that comes from the exchange is linguistic in nature. However, I will not limit the exchange to spoken or written text, imagery can be linguistic in nature as well. That is, the artist is attempting to communicate through the image. This is demonstrated in magazine advertising. Indeed, there is often text to accompany the images; however, it is the images that draw the attention and add additional language to the composition. While text and image may enhance or complement one another, I will begin my examination of the drawings with those that do not have text. With this, the situation at Fort Marion may be examined as the whole picture of the drawings is revealed to be a representation of the English language.

Image as Text

The images produced at Fort Marion can be understood as a type of language. Although not a spoken language, the images invite interpretation and as such, the images need to have conventions that govern its speech. It is through these conventions meaning can be contrived (Margolis 1974: 176). Bourdieu (1984: 2) explains, "A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded". It is here we find the bridge between language and art. That is, to possess the code with which to read the art, one must also be knowledgeable in the conventions that govern the art itself. In this way, the artist acts as a translator taking the conventions of one language and placing them into the plane of another, at the same time then, confronting the failure

of the conventions to possess meaning in either plane (Duquette 2003: 38). This means there are times conventions of a language can be beyond the understanding of an individual. The art becomes too complex or the language too different to allow for adequate understanding. The artist must account for this failure by the one deciphering the language by enciphering for them; that is, translating it into a form they will understand. It is here the first aspect of resistance comes into play with the Fort Marion drawings. When the artists act as translators, they are consciously shifting the conventions of their artistic language, so the Euro-Americans can understand it. The artists also remove more traditional conventions to literally draw developed images of themselves for those seeking to consume what they are producing;

> Images involve two kinds of participants, *representational participants* (the people, the places and things depicted in images), and *interactive participants* (the people who communicate with each other *through* images, the producers and viewers of images), and three kinds of relations: (1) relations between represented participants; (2) relations between interactive and represented participants (the interactive participants' attitudes towards the represented participants); and (3) relations between interactive participants (the things interactive participants *do* to or for each other through images). (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 377)

The major connections I am seeking to examine are those between the interactive participants, as it is here the translation and understanding of the code takes place. Through the production of drawings, the artists at Fort Marion provided a view of their life in the prison, as well as their life on the Plains, in a way that guarded them (and their families/tribes) from further harm or incrimination. With this, they began to censor the images they produced, whether by the suggestion of Pratt or the realization they were indeed prisoners, even though they were granted significant freedoms. As

such, they drew in a manner that demonstrated they were civilized rather than dangerous; as the continued drawing of war scenes would portray. The theme of warfare, which dominated early pre-reservation ledger drawings and hide paintings, all but disappears within the walls of Fort Marion; "The difference between the percentages of battle images made before the Florida imprisonment and those made at Fort Marion is startling: roughly 90 percent of the earlier years and only 10 percent for Fort Marion" (Szabo 2011: 52, Daniels Petersen 1971: 72). By removing the warfare theme, the artists censored themselves and therefore, prevented sanctioning by their captors for drawing war scenes in which they were killing white soldiers. The warfare drawings would have been contrary to Pratt's assimilation plan, especially as he was trying to turn them into white men, or the other military individuals watching them. The change in their drawings also provided a means to cater to the new market that was beginning to develop, the tourist market, where images outside of warfare seemed more suited to the sensibilities of the consumers (Szabo 1984: 370).

This idea of censorship as a process of resistance and self-determination are found in Bourdieu's understanding of language. When he speaks of censorship it is not in the typical political or religious sense of the word, "Rather, he is referring to a general feature of markets or fields which requires that, if one wishes to produce discourse successfully within a particular field, one must observe the forms and formalities of that field" (Thompson 1991:20) Linguistic products, as such, are often euphemized, modified to fit the market through self-censorship as a product of anticipation (Thompson 1991: 19). The artists at Fort Marion saw that the market for their

drawings was changing, no longer was it their peers among the people of the Southern Plains, but individuals they had never met before and would possibly never see again. A self-censorship and mode of translation needed to be enacted to fit the new market. A new language and set of conventions needed to be created to allow the consumers to understand the meaning behind the art. An action that many of the men took in stride and used to propel themselves into the borderland that had been created; fashioning themselves as something between Euro-American and Native American. This new language was English and was used in the written texts on the images, at times translating the pictorial event into English, as well as transitioning to a pictorial style that fit English narrative patterns.

In the European and by extension Euro-American book tradition, "a picture must plainly illustrate a story" (Miller 1992: 63). The artists needed to create pictures that the consumers were able to understand, the conventions of the Plains had to be pushed aside to allow understanding of the iconography, the code to read the drawings. At the same time, "words are necessary to indicate what story it is" (Miller 1992: 63). It is the pairing of these two ideas that would take Plains drawings from the realm of foreign language into translated document, allowing the purchaser of the art to know the content and then, relate the content to others.

One of the interesting translations that took place was the shifting of how art was viewed by the individual artists. While I refer to the drawings as art, as do many scholars, there has been a significant body of scholarship built up around the tradition of Plains Indian drawings, as well as other Native art forms, which suggests they were much more than pieces of art (Greene 2013: 289). The drawings were in fact woven

directly into the everyday life of the peoples of the Plains (Szabo 1994: 4, Daniels Petersen 1971: ix). There was no class or occupation termed artist, as there was in Western societies. The individual recording of war honors and other images of importance were drawn by the man's own hand. Each story was owned by an individual, meaning they had the prerogative in depicting the event. If an individual was a more accomplished drawer, they may have been sought out by others to draw a recording of the event. Even then; however, they would not have been considered artists by the Western world's definition.

At Fort Marion, this changed as the men were suddenly cast into a role and class in Euro-American society; that of the exotic and therefore of the curio class. In addition, those who were talented drawers became known as artists. The production of drawings created a new social stratum for the artists, they entered into the market with a new symbolic power, which allowed them to change the way they created their art. No longer on the Plains, they were not bound by the conventions of the traditional language of drawing. While nostalgia played an important part in the production of images, "Personal pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction were now important factors" (Szabo 1984: 370). Drawing became a vocation for the men as they produced both for themselves, as well as for consumers. Interesting in the production of drawings is the fact there are two different types of paper noticeable in some collections. For example, drawing from the collection at the National Anthropological Archive, in which there is a multitude of Fort Marion drawings, the vast majority of these can be found, like so many other drawings, to be done on blank pages from drawing or sketchbooks. There is a selection; however, that was done on lined paper, which

would have come from notebooks, such as the men would have used in class, similar to *Koba's Picture Words* (Figures 1a-1e).

The two types of paper suggest personal pleasure and aesthetics were indeed involved in the creation of drawings as the men took on their new mantle as artist. The images drawn on lined paper would most likely have been drawn for the artist himself, rather than for sale. A notebook provides space for notes, while the drawings could be doodles; drawn while waiting for a prison event, passing time, to record a personal memory or potentially for practice, as will be discussed with a series of images below. The drawings on unlined pages would have been made available for sale. The artists would have been made aware through their experiential learning of English the purpose of the drawing and sketch books, as well as learning the type of paper used for art. Adding to that, Pratt ordered blank drawing books or individual leafs of blank paper for the prisoners' drawings. It seems reasonable to conclude then that there was a dichotomy formed between art for self and art for sale. A dichotomy requiring more concentrated research than the focus of this paper permits.

A second significant translation required for the ledger drawings' new market of tourism was the effect nostalgia had on the drawings. Taken from their homelands and stripped of their culture except that which was geared towards economic incentives, the men began to miss what they once had (Szabo 1994: 43). As such, there are a number of images depicting portions of traditional Plains life, like this drawing (Figure 3) done by Cohoe, whose name translates as Broken Leg or Lame, a Cheyenne prisoner. He was incarcerated due to his implication in a murder. The image depicts three individuals engaged in an activity that would have been coming

to an end around the time of Cohoe's incarceration, skinning a buffalo. Like many Cheyenne drawings, (Green 1996) the action in the image moves from right to left, opposite of what is typical of Western artistic conventions. What is particularly interesting about this piece, aside from the nostalgic factor, is the care and accuracy taken in depicting the action and the clothing of the warriors present. This is a characteristic found in many Plains drawings; that is, individuals are known in an image based on their dress, horse trappings or the weapons they carried. Attention to detail is also a particular trait Cohoe possesses in his drawings, demonstrating an eye trained to recognize the individual in his depictions. In the image, we see two arrows on the ground; one broken and the other whole, both with red colored shafts indicating they were the arrows that took down the buffalo. The individuals are each dressed differently, signifying who they were or the societies within the Cheyenne tribe in which they were a part. This image is from a book in the collection at the Minneapolis Institute of Art in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Comparable to other images in the book, Cohoe does something special that speaks to his attention to detail as an artist and his confidence in producing the image. He uses ink to outline the figures and to fill in many of the regalia details.

This suggests a level of sophistication other artists may not have reached during their imprisonment at Fort Marion, since the majority of the images were drawn with colored pencils. An interesting point of translation is revealed in this image, as the people and horses lack faces. The only figure in the image with eyes is the dead buffalo. One of the possible reasons for this was that the artists would eventually realize the tourists who were purchasing their drawings did not know the code for the

individuals being depicted; the tourists saw anonymous figures in colorful clothing. As such, the figures did not require faces to tell the story of what was happening. The image need only be detailed enough for a potential buyer to be able to determine what was portrayed. The boldness of colors assists the buyer in this translation. In the image by Cohoe, the dark outlines draw one's eye around and into the different colors, which are done in colored pencil, thus adding a different visual texture to the image. This creates a pleasing aesthetic in the piece, centered around a moment of nostalgia and a play on the sensibilities of the consumer. What this in turn does is set the stage for the consumption of the art, "Consumption is…a stage in a process of communication, that is an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher code" (Bourdieu 1984: 2). To consume the images, the drawings needed to be translated into the language of the Euro-American. A condition we see emerging with Cohoe's piece and will become more evident in the following images. Though it seems apparent, the artist would determine what is produced, but the consumer also plays a key role in the development of an image (Brody 1976).

The average buyer of a piece of art from Fort Marion was a tourist on holiday. What they wanted was an object, in this case a drawing, which they would be able to look at and remember their trip and the people they had encountered (Clemmer 2008). As such, as I said before, war imagery was all but removed, since the consumer wanted an image that would bring a memory of the location they had visited. The artists complied and took it upon themselves to begin creating a new language through translation that would fit with the tourists' wants. Like the Cohoe piece

(Figure 3), the images that were produced were romanticized. The Native Americans that were depicted were shown to be noble, stoic and well-dressed on every occasion. The images took on what I would call a postcard-esq feature; they were aesthetically pleasing, portraying a moment sealed in time from the memory of the artist. The images were designed to appeal to the individual who purchased the individual drawing or the full book, thus allowing the consumer to look at it, decipher the code and with that, pair a memory of their own. In essence creating a new mnemonic device, which told two stories; one of the tourist and one of an artist caught between cultures. Artists placed between two cultures in a borderland had numerous interesting effects on the art, which they produced. The most noticeable change is the aforementioned postcard-like features that begin to appear in the drawings produced at Fort Marion: Figure 4 and Figure 5 are two such drawings. Figure 4, a drawing by Cohoe, showcases the postcard features. The drawing consists of a steam powered paddle-boat on a field of blue water. The image is given little to no perspective; appearing as a two-dimensional image, with no suggestion of size other than filling a full page and thus, suggesting it is large. The image is part of a book in which Cohoe chronicles many of the different sights he has seen during his trip to and while at Fort Marion. The image of a paddle-boat would leave an impression. In addition, the image meets the conventions of European art, which when produced with the English language in mind would be understood and readily consumed. That is, in a given language a narrative style can be understood by the individual reading. This is transposed onto art as we understand an image has a narrative that accompanies it. For example, should I draw a dog chasing a stick the flow of the image and the

compositional elements I use to depict the narrative fit into the English conventions of art. However, art from an individual with the narrative styles of a non-English language would be different from that produced by an individual with an English speaking audience in mind.

Traditional Plains drawings were done with an audience of peers in mind, that is, individuals who would understand the images used in the drawings and able to pull meaning from them. An individual of Euro-American descent would not understand the images used and therefore not have the cultural competence to understand the narrative of the image. This plays into linguistic exchange, as it creates a linguistic product (in this case drawings) that must be deciphered by the consumer. If they do not possess the cultural competence to decipher the language (read image), the exchange becomes void as no authority can be derived from the discourse, with the parties being on unequal ground. In the case of this paddle-boat image, Cohoe has created a drawing in which the Fort Marion consumer is on the same level of cultural competence as Cohoe in understanding the images' narrative. Though the reverse can be said as well, if the power inequalities between Cohoe and his audience are taken into account. Cohoe can be seen to demonstrate enough cultural competence to know the importance of a paddle-boat and part of its symbolic meaning to a consumer. This allows the exchange to be mediated to completion, resulting in an increase of symbolic and economic capital by Cohoe. The purchaser gains more in social and cultural capital, since s/he would be able to discuss the image, which was purchased.

Figure 5 is a drawing done by Bear's Heart, a Cheyenne prisoner. Born in 1851, he was twenty-four years old when he arrived in St. Augustine with the rest of the

prisoners; he was charged with being an accomplice to a murder (Daniels Petersen 1971: 97). The art he created, while at Fort Marion, is some of the most realistic drawings; as evidenced by Figure 5, an image of the harbor at St. Augustine. Though total understanding of perspective is not present in the image, one can begin to see the artists are beginning to develop a sense for the aesthetic of Western art traditions. The image is a bird's eye view of the harbor at St. Augustine. The foreground consists of the town, including a central square, which leads out to a docked ship. Each side of the square is lined with houses of regular size, while on the right hand side of the page, a large building is visible, which size and style suggest would be a governmental building. The imposing gray-bricked Fort Marion dominates the left side of the foreground. The middle ground of the drawing is made up of the harbor and Anastasia Island, including its lighthouse. The prisoners were often taken to the island for good behavior, providing them with an opportunity to camp and experience an environment similar to their home on the Plains. A steam ship can be seen traveling out of the frame on the left hand side of the drawing. Behind the ship, in the background, two wooden poles are visible. The poles, which resemble crucifixes, hold the lines for the telegraph, which appear on the island and infer a connection to the town, as well as making a connection to the rest of the country. Bear's Heart's image was drawn for a very specific audience, that is, the white consumer. The drawing by itself is an image, which will assist in the recall of a story the consumer would have witnessed upon coming to St. Augustine. Devoid of all action, except for the moving ship and a semblance of currents in the way Bear's Heart colored the water, the viewer is allowed to project their own experience onto the image. It is an

image, which could be experienced any day of the week or almost any day of the year. As such, consumers can use it as a mnemonic device to recall one of the days of their trip. An important aspect of ledger art comes into play with this and should be remembered when examining all the images from Fort Marion.

The images were usually part of books and as such, the individual piece cannot be entirely understood out of the context of the book. While a portion of the images can sit on their own, knowing what is in the rest of the book can help one in understanding the narrative being constructed by Bear's Heart, as well as providing the context in which it should be read. This image is from a full book, some of the images show traditional Plains life, but a majority of the book is devoted to the narrative of how the prisoners arrived at Fort Marion. Narratives like this were not uncommon. Earenfight (2007) does an excellent job of reconstructing one such narrative story and describing the methodology he used, as well as providing an understanding of the text. Figure 6 is a direct narrative event from the trip to Fort Marion, which shows the prisoners being transferred from train to a river-boat under armed guard. One can imagine the number of questions the men received each day about how they had come to Fort Marion and what life was like before their incarceration. How then does an individual go about answering this question? The answer is taken from what the men learned from their forebears on the Plains. That is, the men chronicled, their experience in drawings, which could then be used in sharing their narrative. These drawings would have become hugely popular at the prison with many different artists producing them; from Bear's Heart to Etahdleuh and Zotom.

Now, I turn to the Kiowa artist named Zotom to better illustrate the journey narrative the artists were constructing. Zotom, whose name translates as Bitter, was around twenty-two years old when he arrived at Fort Marion. His charges included a number of raids; chief among them the infamous raid on Adobe Walls, which was noted in the first chapter. Zotom is a well-known artist from the prison; producing a plethora of drawings during his three years of incarceration. Zotom was a historian of the event of Fort Marion; both leading up to the men's incarceration, as well as the years of captivity. His drawings demonstrate a shift in style from other artists' drawings within the confines of the walls. Zotom's drawings are "in contemporary terms, cinematic and sequential, while most other drawings are snapshot views of individual scenes or arrangements of figures. Zotom was clearly intent on telling a story in as complete a manner as possible…" (Szabo 2007: 71) This narrative feel and the panoramic view he creates is most clearly represented in Figure 7; *Zotom is Busy Drawing A Book,* from the Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection at the National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Described by Szabo (2007) as arguably the most important document in the collection, the drawing features thirteen small images along a page marked at the top and bottom, "Indian Agent." Drawn on lined paper, the work suggests this drawing or series of small drawings were done for purely personal use. This is reinforced by the lack of explicit detail present in the small images. The detail provides enough information to understand what may be happening in each scene, while still vague enough to be simple sketches to remind Zotom of the events leading up to Fort Marion. The title of the piece comes from the text written across the bottom of the page. I am still not

familiar enough with Zotom's handwriting to say that it is definitively his, which is why the drawing was placed in this section. The drawing most likely had the text added by a hand other than Zotom. There is no reason for the page to be annotated, if it was used as a reminder for Zotom. However, an individual who purchased it, may need to know what was going on, so they would know what drove Zotom to draw it in the first place.

There are a number of significant aspects of this image, which speak to the argument of this paper. First, this drawing or series of drawings illustrates the narrative formulas that were being developed at the prison. In this, the narrative formula is the underlying conventions of how the language is formed and a story is told. Examining Zotom's drawings exhibited here, one can see he has created a portrayal of the sequence of events and with this, a reminder of the events, as well as their order. The drawing or series of drawings becomes a storyboard if you will, the plot map for the move from Indian Territory to Fort Marion. With this sequence, Zotom is demonstrating the English narrative structures are an important formula for the artists. By creating drawings in their books, which suited the consumers, the men were showing their understanding of the narrative structures of the Western world and by extension, the English language.

This leads to a second significant aspect of the image; that is, the text that accompanies the drawing. The text reads, "Zotom is busy drawing a book." As mentioned before, I do not believe the text was written by Zotom, but rather by a different hand after the drawings were completed. The text reinforces the claim I am making; that is, the images are a type of storyboard Zotom used as a memory aid to

recall the events leading to his incarceration. Interestingly, Zotom was not doing anything novel, but rather returning to his roots and using the methods of calendar creation the Kiowa had been using for centuries at that point in time. The Kiowa had a special way of keeping track of the history of their people, a method shared by a number of different tribal groups on the Plains, such as the Lakota and Hidatsa. The calendars were like ledger drawings, mnemonic devices used to aid in the recall of the events of a year and give name to that year. While many tribes drew only one image per year, the Kiowa drew two; one in the summer and one in the winter. This practice of drawing two events per year led to the calendars being called winter counts as the year turned over in the winter, each year was then counted by the transition of winter into summer. Greene (2009) provides a detailed analysis of a particular winter count created by the Kiowa artist, Silver Horn, a sibling of one of the men imprisoned at Fort Marion, Ohettoint, for those looking for more information on the topic of calendars.

When examining Figure 7, it is easy to see parallels between the calendar tradition of the Kiowa and the drawings by Zotom. At this point; however, I would argue that while there is the similarity and the idea may have been birthed by the creation of calendars, what Zotom is doing here is different. Part of this interpretation is based on the accompanying text on the page, which states Zotom is drawing a book not a calendar. While I do not know the specifics of the Kiowa language to know if there is a difference between the word(s) for book and calendar, it is reasonable to assume Zotom would have known the difference between the two words in English. For example, to purchase more drawing materials, Zotom would know what a drawing

book or sketch*book* were. Zotom knew the images he was creating were not just recorded twice a year, but were recorded to accompany a number of different important events in his life over a short period of time. This is referenced by the thirteen images, which is twice as many as the entire three years of his incarceration would have produced following Kiowa calendar conventions. Zotom knew what he was doing in creating an outline of a book that he could then easily reproduce. With this, he shows an understanding of the narrative patterns of the English language. Moving forward in his own learning, he also demonstrates a keen level of observation of the Euro-American world that surrounded him.

This level of observation is clearly demonstrated in the last two images I present in this section; Figure 8 again by Cohoe and Figure 10 by Making Medicine. When discussing Figure 3, I made mention that Cohoe had an eye for detail and a knack for replicating what it was he saw. This is again clearly demonstrated in Figure 8; a drawing of one of the dances sanctioned by Pratt and put on by the prisoners. These dances drew a crowd of tourists who would pay money for a ticket, as shown by the number of people present. Sanctioned by Pratt, this is a counterintuitive approach to assimilation and a removal from the curio class, since the dances created a spectacle performance to show people what life on the Plains looked like. The dances, originally held roughly twice a week (Lookingbill 2007: 43), were soon ended however, as Pratt realized the dances did nothing more than perpetuate the stereotypes Euro-Americans had of Native American life (Szabo 2007: 162). What is important to our discussion of this image however, is not the nature of the dance itself, but the nature of what appears to be the focus of the images produced by

Cohoe. When looking at the image, one's eyes are drawn to the dancers in the middle of the drawing; covered in yellow body paint and wearing breech-clouts, they are holding bows, arrows and axes, which are fashioned from the supplies the men would have had on hand at the fort. There appears to be a fire next to the dancers. A second look at the drawing will reveal more as the viewer attempts to read the images. Surrounding the men on all sides are faceless figures in Euro-American dress; the men are in suits, while the ladies are in dresses. There are also a few children amongst the crowd. When closely examining these figures one will notice the attention to detail present in each individuals clothing, especially since no two appear to be exactly the same. While this is particularly true for the ladies' dresses, the men had more limiting color and style choices for their suits in the later 1800s. On the right side of the image there are two standing figures; one in a military uniform, possibly Pratt himself, and the other is more than likely an important figure who was present at this particular dance.

Cohoe's image provides important insight into the negotiation of symbolic power and linguistic exchange that occurred at Fort Marion. The first point is one made already; that is, Cohoe observed what was happening around him with a fine level of detail. He watched who was coming to the dances and what they were wearing. He was paying attention to the milieu in which he was coined, learning from his surroundings and applying it to the drawings he was creating. A drawing, such as this, serves to create a memory for a tourist as it focuses on the dancers, the center of attention, while the faceless figures, with no specific identity, watch. The image also demonstrates Cohoe's recognition of his own place as he creates an image which

caters to the tourists. His observation of what is happening is clearly captured in the image as he modifies his image to draw the tourist's eye to the dancers with fine detail, while leaving the observers ambiguous in face and dress.

This modification can also be seen in the work of Making Medicine; Figure 9, an image titled, *Jennie Pendelton.* Again, here, the detail put into the dress of the individuals pictured in the drawing is significant. In the image, there are two women, Jennie Pendelton is denoted by the written name extending from the base of one figure. There are also two figures, which are prisoners from Fort Marion in their military dress. Each figure holds a small bow and the men are doffing their hats in greeting to the ladies. The scene suggests the beginning of an archery lesson that many of the men would provide as a source of income, as well as providing a trade skill that could still be used in much of the country. Interestingly, this image does not fill the whole page. While not entirely uncommon in Fort Marion drawings, this difference is significant. In this image, the drawing is bordered by a hand drawn frame. The inclusion of the drawn frame into the image speaks of another observance by the artists, the practice of framing works of art. The men would have seen this practice in town. Learning of this practice, Making Medicine incorporated it into his art.

The inclusion of Euro-American practices in the art is a change, which then leads to the understanding that the linguistic exchange that took place in the spoken word also takes place in the artistic text. Examining the drawings produced by the prisoner-artists of Fort Marion as texts provides a depth to the image that is missed in the purely art historical analysis of the images. The drawings are composite and

entangled, they are a product of the time in which they were produced and the borderland scenario that was the climate of Fort Marion. The transfer and application of Euro-American concepts does not end in the image as text, but extends further into the incision of image and text, as will be discussed in the next section.

Image and Text

Within the realm of ledger art as a field of study it is not uncommon to come across drawings with accompanying text. Often times the artist drew over the text, showing the ledger book, journal or other medium that was the source of the paper had been captured or traded at some point in its history. As ledger art began to increase in popularity, the text accompanying the images was not always original, but rather added after the image was drawn to provide a caption, which described the drawing for those who did not know the language conventions of the drawing. Again, this provided a translation of what was occurring in the image. At Fort Marion, there is a unique addition that appears on a number of the drawings I have observed; that is, the artists themselves wrote on the images. As said before, this was determined by seeking and evaluating the Spencerian style handwriting the men would have learned, as well as elements of broken English, which showed a level of unfamiliarity with the language. There is abundant research still to be done on this topic. This study barely scratches the surface of what the drawings hold in relation to language, specifically in the realm of handwriting analysis, which would confirm the text is indeed by the artists of Fort Marion. This is an endeavor I have begun to undertake in this section, but through small steps, as I have no formal training in this type of analysis outside of what my own observations tell me. Again, the reader should look carefully at the

images with their own eyes and come to their own conclusions. Without the artists' interviews, the images can be interpreted in a variety of ways and with this, my observations and interpretation of the data lead in one direction. As the artists' written words were influenced by their particular time and place, so am I.

The first evidence of this comes again in the form of the observations the prisoner-artists were making of their surroundings. Learning from word cards spread around their classrooms, as well as the experiential method, the prisoners would begin to pick up the language that surrounded them. The incursion of English over traditional languages, as I have said, created a market whereby English became the more authoritative language, thus creating a discourse around which everything encountered by the prisoners came to be filtered. The men took note of their surroundings in their drawings as seen by a number of images in the previous section. Their images became a type of text that was translated into the English language for others to understand and purchase, in essence, consuming the memories and creating their own. In a way, alienating the artist from the work they were creating. That is, while the conventions of the art shifted from the language of the Plains into the realm of English, essentially, the art became less personal. Ledger art drawings bound in books and carried closely to the body were on the Plains an intensely personal piece of property; it was an individual's life history in pictorial form contained on the medium of paper. The drawings were not subject to everyday public scrutiny like lodge covers, tipi linings and robes (Szabo 1994: 42). Through the commodification of the art at Fort Marion, the artists began to become separated from the drawings they were creating, while they were still reproducing their own memories in the

drawings, the memories were being appropriated by the individual who purchased the piece. The artist was removed from the art, becoming a distant figure and therefore, once the image exchanged hands, the artist was only mentioned as the creator of the drawing. However, the story of how it was obtained and the journey that came with it was relayed in detail for the consumer.

The question raised at this point asks how the artists' responded to the appropriation of their art by those outside their culture. It is my understanding they incorporated an element of European and American art into their creations. That is, they put a mark of authority on the art that could only be interpreted as the artist's symbol of authority. A mark to claim a piece of art as one's own and as a part of one's personal history. I contend that this mark is the signature. Through a close observation of their surroundings, the men would have learned the language of authority and how to take that authority and transfer it to their own art. The beginnings of this transference can be found in Figure 10, a drawing of a train by Cohoe. The image is an exquisitely detailed drawing of a steam engine locomotive, complete with a figure with a beard as the driver. Printed on the side of the locomotive is the word "D.C AMBLER," which is an interesting addition in this image. Cohoe was not the only one to reproduce this specific locomotive, as seen in Figure 11a and Figure 11b. These are drawings by Making Medicine, which depicts the exact same locomotive, but this time with the addition of train cars being pulled behind the locomotive. What these images show is that the artists were taking note of the words that surrounded them on a daily basis and reproducing them in the drawings they were creating. This introductory example of transference is worth

further examination as these images make a significant contribution toward the larger picture. The train is particularly significant as it is a multilayered pictorial element. The train represents the intrusion into the interior of the continent by Euro-Americans, as well as the mode of transportation that brought them part of the way on their journey to the Fort. In addition, the train would represent the economics of Western tourism, since trains were the primary means of travel for the tourists coming to St. Augustine.

While the artists were able to document their observations from these images, we do not know if the artist understood what they were writing. Although difficult to determine, with more evidence, we may conclude they did understand what they were writing. This further evidence comes from the front (Figure 12) and back (Figure 13) covers of an exercise book filled with drawings done by Zotom. A text to be considered is found on the front cover on the upper left hand portion of the page. This is situated above the writing that was added after the book came into the possession of its buyer. Approaching this text was difficult, as I passed it over the first time I paged through the images in the book. The only completely discernible letters are a *Z* and an *O* with what looks like a partially finished *I* along with a small cursive *o* and *m.* Upon staring at the writing for a number of days, it began to resolve itself into the word Zotom; however, the letters were strange, they were not complete letters but portions that when put together became the letters. It was later, when pointed out to me by Dr. Daniel C. Swan, a professor and my advisor at the University of Oklahoma, I came to realize these strange letters were an imitation of a particular type of lettering that would have been abundant at Fort Marion. The lettering is an

imitation of military stencils that would have marked containers around the Fort with the contents they held. As such, this was an attempt by Zotom to mark the exercise book with a stencil stating the contents of the pages were drawings by Zotom.

Once paired with the back cover on which the word "ZOTOM" is clearly written, it becomes indisputable who created the book and who owns the images drawn on its pages. The problem arises; however, that both texts, the front cover in its semblance of military stencils and the back cover, which resembles print face of the time, were not taught to the men as the expected form of handwriting. It will be helpful moving forward to make a clarification when I refer to print, or print face I am talking about the type of lettering that would be found in printed books or signage. Writing on the other hand is the texts that are done by human hand, such as the cursive the prisoners learned. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the deviation from Spencerian style penmanship is that the men were seeing it around them and copying it into their art works. However, we are still left with the question of whether the men understood the text they were writing. Again I say yes, drawing from the work of Zotom, there are number of possibilities we can consider. First, Zotom, as well as Making Medicine and Cohoe, were more than capable of reading print, a difficult task as print face letters look very different from cursive letters in many cases. For example, a Spencerian *n* with the double hump looks like a print face *m*. The ability of the men to read the letters, even if they did not fully understand the meaning of the words they came from creates a sense that they were at the very least able to sound out the letters they knew to make up their names.

I have found no evidence to date that says the prisoners were literate before arriving at Fort Marion. It is reasonable to assume they had all encountered written English at some point in their capture, through legal documents and the fact that the Southern Plains were not completely isolated from white people prior to the reservation era. A second important possibility to consider is that the authority that appears in Zotom's labeling of his book is also seen in the various signatures found on works drawn by other artists, such as Koba (Figure 14a, 14b and Figure 15). These feature a signature done in the style of print face. This is an interesting fact in itself, as we know from Koba's picture words (Figure 1a-1e) that Koba was a talented penman and understood how to write in the Spencerian style. Again, though print face, as seen in Figures 14a, 14b and 15, this would have been the same type found on bulk goods, train cars, store fronts, military stencils and the covers of books. Labeling the images in this way would give the indisputable ownership of the drawings, or book in Zotom's case, to the artist. The artists are in effect staking their claim on the drawings, so that, when sold those viewing the images would know who created them and therefore, the displayed memories were the artist's prerogative. Signatures were not commonplace on traditional drawings coming from the Plains. Therefore, the incorporation of a signature demonstrates the artists recognized how English language conventions work in relation to art and the authority that is placed in the signature once it is put on a piece of art.

Considering the authority placed in printed words rather than written words is important to the argument being made here. When words are written they come with the personality of the individual writing them, "handwriting may be considered as the

written speech of the individual; like his oral efforts - and indeed, like his every act - it soon becomes impressed with characteristics peculiar to himself, and tending to differentiate him from all other individuals" (Melcher 1920: 209). Consider a hand written letter, it is more personable and more informal then that written in print. The fluidity of the written script as opposed to the mechanics of print, and the feeling of personality of the author rather than a cold detachment from the machine. As such, "Print situates words in space more relentlessly than writing ever did. Writing moves words from the sound world to a world of visual space, but print locks words into position in this space" (Ong 1982: 119). It is this locking of the words into a particular space that make print so authoritative. Using the style of print, the artists at Fort Marion placed themselves in an immovable position as they claimed authority over the works they produced.

The art they drew was becoming a commodity; they were selling images with the facades of churches, the harbor of St. Augustine and images of themselves doing drills and other activities. They were being alienated from the labor they were putting into the drawings, no longer was it purely an act of remembrance, but an act of exchange taking place in a market ruled by the English language. The men were placed in a borderland where they had to accommodate the assimilation practices of Pratt, but at the same time remain who they were. Creating a point where identity could be constructed both as relationally and contextually (Pembecioglu 2012: 46). Through their art, the men were finding a way to access the agency they possessed in a situation where all their power seemed to be lost. By writing in the style of printed words, the men were claiming what they drew for themselves, as part of themselves

and returning to the art of their roots; albeit through the language of the dominant society, so as to appear in a position where they were learning and adopting the white man's road.

It is in this next set of images the struggle for identity and the power of discourse through linguistic exchange can be seen clearly. Figures 16, 17, and 18 are three of the most significant images to be found when it comes to the incorporation of text and image. I will discuss each image individually before looking at them as a grouping. Figure 16 is a drawing done by either Koba or Etahdleuh. A determination of the exact artist is difficult because of the similarities between the men's styles, in addition to the further confusion presented by the text on the image. The drawing itself is a depiction of five courting couples. Each pair is wrapped in a blanket, as was custom at the time for the Kiowa, Cheyenne and many other Plains tribes. The men are differentiated from the women by their breast-plates, feathers in their hair and the appearance of slightly sharper angles in the facial features. Three couples can be seen to be facing each other, while the couple in the center of the drawing and at the far right hand side have both the man and the woman facing to the left. The text of the image reads, "This man/Indian Kiowa/write me and/Koba," with an additional "Koba" written next to the man in the pairing farthest to the right. The text of this image is written in the Spencerian style and the drawing is done on lined paper. The use of lined paper, as discussed previously, brings to the fore that this image may have been created for personal use. However, when paired with Figures 17 and 18, which came from the same notebook, the images may be considered practice

drawings because of the great similarity in the scenes, as well as the appearance of some of the same figures, as denoted by the clothing they are wearing.

The text of this image, like the other two, is difficult to read due to the broken grammatical structure of the supposed sentence, as well as the way the author chose to break up the different lines. Breaking the text apart line by line is the easiest way to interpret what is being said and as such, will be the method used for this image, as well as the other two. Beginning with the "This man," there are two ways to look at this phrase. First, it may be a reference to the author of the text in the third person; that is, "This man" means "I". A second way to interpret the phrase is as a subject in the image, possibly the figure denoted as Koba. While either interpretation may be considered for the first phrase, the second line, "Indian Kiowa" is easier to decipher. With this phrase, we read the individual being referred to as the subject is a Kiowa prisoner. What is interesting about this line is the dichotomy placed between Indian and Kiowa. It shows an understanding for the umbrella term, Indian, that was placed on Native Americans by Euro-Americans, as well as demonstrating an understanding of the specific word used in English to denote the individual's tribe. It also shows the author of the text more than likely knew the English names for the other tribes present at Fort Marion. Thus inferring, if the subject of the text had been Cheyenne, the text would have read Indian Cheyenne rather than Indian Kiowa. The third and fourth lines are necessary to pair together with the connecting word of "and" being used: "Write me and/Koba." The interpretation for these lines suggests the author of the text is writing, in addition to Koba, who would be writing nearby as well. A second interpretation of the phrase suggests the author of the text is writing, while the

"and/Koba" portion of the phrase references the addition of the word "Koba" next to one of the figures in the image.

Figure 17 is similar to Figure 16, as it shows five courting couples. However, Figure 17 suggests the couples are at a different point in their courting than Figure 16, since only two couples are wrapped in a blanket, while the rest of the couples appear to be greeting one another. The men and women are differentiated in this image in much the same way as Figure 16. Again, we see the couples facing each other except for the couple second from the left and the couple on the far right, which have both the man and the woman facing to the left. Interestingly, the man in the couple second from the left is the same man found in Figure 16 in the center couple. While the style of this image suggests it could have been done by a different artist because of a harsher quality, this could be attributed to difficulty with the pen and ink, as is evidenced by the splotches of ink where crisp lines are found in the other two images. The text of this image reads, "every one so good/Indian and Kiowa/me white man/write and Koba." In this image, we see the male in the couple farthest to the left is labeled "Koba," though dressed differently from the Koba in the first image. Again, the text is difficult to decipher. The first line, "every one so good," may be a reference to the state of being of the prisoners at Fort Marion. The Plains nostalgia portrayed in the courting image reinforces this line of text. When paired with the second line, "Indian and Kiowa," this becomes clear, as well as allowing the determination of the author of the text to be Kiowa. Again, the dichotomy forming between the other Indians at the fort and the Kiowa is noted. The third line is the most difficult to interpret. If taken alone, the author seems to be referring to himself as a

White man; however, when paired with the final line, he could be saying he is writing like a White man and using English. Either way issues of identity can be read in this text as the author seems to battle with the context of becoming a white man, while at the same time being Kiowa. How do those two notions come together? The pairing of the text and the image is a good way to look at this idea. The image comes from the conventions of the Plains. This is demonstrated in the two dimensionality of the figures with very little in the form of landscape taking shape in a small band of blue-green to be seen as grass. However, the English text above the figures' heads demonstrates the duality of the identity the men are forming, especially as they are writing like white men and learning to be white men. Their audience has become white people rather than other Native Americans, with scenes like courting becoming popular as they portray a noble and safe image of the Indians. This is more in line with the image projected by the artists themselves in the garb of military men, those very same men who not too long ago helped protect the United States from breaking in two.

Figure 18 is the last image in the series showing four courting couples. Again, we see two couples facing each other and two, with both the man and woman facing to the left. The drawing skills are once again crisp with the lines clearly drawn, demonstrating a high level of skill with the writing instrument used to create the drawing. The text of this image reads, "every one so good/Indian and Kiowa/me write [perfect/people]/Koba." In this image, the man in the center right couple is labeled Koba. Reading this text is much the same as Figure 17, with the difficulty coming

from the last word in the third line, which has been scratched out and possibly reads either perfect or people.

Now, I want to offer an interpretation of how the texts and the images of these three drawings work together. All three drawings seem to be by the same hand, with only Figure 18 demonstrating a noticeably different style, which again, could have been difficulty with the pen. The text is also by the same hand, with the additional labeling of Koba in each drawing written by the author of the main text. How is one supposed to read this text? These three images stand alone in the large quantity of Fort Marion drawings I have researched that include text. Normally the text is in the form of a caption explaining what is occurring in the image or a signature giving the drawing a definitive creator and owner of the imagery being used. In their distinctiveness, the text on these three drawings are left wide open to interpretation. It is my conclusion that the text is a form of letter to a potential buyer. Beginning with the traditional Plains Pictographic letter (Figure 19), which the men often sent home to their relatives, the artists add a twist based on the linguistic exchange that is occurring at the fort. Drawing an entirely pictographic letter to sell to Euro-American visitors would not have gone over well, since the intended audience would not have been able to understand what was happening in the letter. The traditional pictographic letter would have required an accompanying legend to explain what each individual aspect of the letter was conveying. Therefore, the prisoners created a romantic image that was both easy to draw and therefore easy to reproduce, while also making an important nostalgic connection between the Plains life and consumer. The scene was recognizable to a consumer and the additional English text allowed the artist to

explain Fort Marion life to an outsider. Everything was good, everyone was being good, both the Kiowa and the other Indians present at the fort. The author was learning to become white and write like a white man, like his friend Koba, who became the subject of the images. Koba was labeled, not with a name glyph typical of pre-Fort Marion ledger art, but with a written English name, setting him apart from the others in the image.

This marking out of Koba could be a sign he is the artist and wanted the buyer to tell the story of the civilized Indian they met named Koba. However, it could be Etahdleuh showing that others in the prison were like him. Etahdleuh was seen as an exemplar in Pratt's program and one of the few who upon returning to Indian Territory and reservation life did not fall back into the traditional ways of life of his tribe. In fact, he returned to the East, since he was not able to understand how the other Kiowa could live as they did.

This pairing of an English text letter speaking about how good life was at the fort with a romantic image has a second function. In this pairing, the artists portrayed how they were becoming assimilated. An overview of Fort Marion drawings will show that there are very few images that express any sort of hardship, while the men were in prison. The images show what appear to be happy individuals and do not portray the actual historical data of life at the fort in which men were often put in solitary confinement or punished for misdeeds. The creation of these romantic images was a way for the men to act out their agency and present a facade to the world, not just to gain an economic advantage, but a symbolic power. They created the image of an Indian becoming civilized, portraying scenes that showed they were on the white

man's road. They were not the unsavory individuals that many thought them to be, though many in the prison had indeed committed murder and raided with the intent to kill white people. The images coming from Fort Marion show a community of reformed individuals, wanting to go home and be with their families again. By creating the romanticized drawings and eliminating war from the content of their books they showcased an appearance that would allow them to return home more quickly. Through the use of English language both through imagery and text, as well as the pairing of the two, the prisoner artists enacted an identity to wear while in the world of the Euro-American, one that once they left would quickly fall to the wayside when English no longer held the power of authoritative discourse it did in the Eastern portion of the United States.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: An End is But a New Beginning

The winter of 1874-1875 brought with it changes that shook the very foundations of life on the Southern Plains of the United States, as the Native American tribes that populated the region were forced to submit to the U.S. government and walk into forts and onto reservations across Indian Territory. Seventy-one of these individuals were imprisoned by the government for charges ranging from murder to raiding. These seventy-one endured a journey across half of the country to St. Augustine, Florida where they were held in exile for the next three years at Fort Marion. While there, the men were subjected to the assimilationist ideals of their warden, Richard Henry Pratt, who sought to teach the whole man; mind, body and soul that the white man's road offered them the best path to redemption and the ability to live in the modern world of the United States of America.

The prisoners soon found themselves in the midst of two worlds; their homeland on the Plains from which they had been forcibly removed and the world of the Euro-American. Placed in this situation, a period of adjustment was required as the prisoners learned what was expected of them. An example of this transition is demonstrated in the dress the men wore. Upon arriving at the Fort, the men were given their first military uniforms. The men then proceeded to cut up the pants to make breech-clouts and leggings. The response from Pratt was swift as he informed them they could not do this, since the clothing they were being given was not theirs but belonged to the U.S. government (Pratt 2003). Outside the prison walls, once their chains were removed, the prisoners found themselves embroiled in all St. Augustine had to offer. St. Augustine was an ancient city, one of the oldest in the United States,

which drew tourists from all over the country, sending them home with trinkets and curios to remember their trip (Harris 1989: 13). The exiles entered into this trading within their first few months making upwards of $1,600 from the polishing of sea beans. They used the money to purchase items for their own personal comfort; however, the majority of the prisoners sent it home (Pratt 2003: 119). The tourists quickly discovered the exoticism of the Native Americans in their midst, countless eyes were laid on them, since most had never seen an Indian before arriving at St. Augustine. One may only guess at the questions the tourists had for the prisoners; however, based on the way Native Americans were depicted in the press and illustrations of the time, more than likely they viewed them as unsavory (Round 2007).

Before long the tourists did discover the Native prisoners had talents beyond polishing sea beans and alligator teeth; they could create art. This was a skill Pratt discovered soon after the men began the journey to Fort Marion. He allowed the men who drew to more fully explore this skill as he supplied them with the materials needed to create the drawings. The men created series of drawings using sketchbooks and notebooks in the Plains ledger art style. Each book sold for around $2.00 and by 1876 the men had earned between $3,000 and $4,000 from selling their books, beans and the bows and arrows they created (Pratt 2003: 152-153). It is through these drawings that a major point of exchange began to appear between the Native prisoners and the Euro-Americans who purchased the drawings and took classes, such as archery, from the prisoners. The primary mode of the exchange was linguistic as the prisoners learned what created authoritative discourse, at that time, in the Euro-

American world of the United States; that is, the English language. Through the learning of the language, the men created a borderland at Fort Marion where they adopted a dual identity; that of the Euro-American catering to the assimilationist wishes of their captors, as well as maintaining their identities as Native Americans from the Plains. It is through the art they produced one can see these dual identities forming. This was specifically demonstrated through their practice of drawing, which went back generations, with the incorporation of new linguistic conventions and narrative patterns in their art coming from the Euro-American and English language dominated world.

To fully understand these drawings they cannot be examined as static objects locked into one instance as a commodity. Indeed, this is one purpose of a commodity; to be sold and to be consumed. However, comparable to people the drawings have social lives and are a product of the time in which they were created (Appadurai 1986: 3). Examining the art as a social-historic object gives the drawings a personal biography through which a researcher can see a greater story of who the men were while drawing:

> "Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure. For example, in situations of culture contact, they can show what anthropologists have so often stressed: that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects - as of alien ideas - is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use"(Kopytof 1986: 67).

In the cases presented in this thesis, the alien idea, for the prisoners, is the use of the English language in both the verbal and written textual sense, as well as the way it affects the narrative structures of the art that was produced.

It is easy to conclude the way the men used English in the art they produced resulted from the teaching they received as they were being assimilated into the Euro-American world. However, this is not the argument I forward in this work My thesis, which developed out of my research, demonstrates the men enacted a form of agency, which allowed them to adopt a borderlands cultural identity, signifying to the Western world they were learning the white man's road and walking down its pathways. The art they produced became less about the individual and more about the group, more detail was focused on the acts of many, rather than the acts of a single warrior. The images also became more romantic and postcard-esq as they showed groups of individuals courting, which did exist prior to Fort Marion, the facades of churches and the journey to Fort Marion. While the images put to paper still served the old function of documenting the history, especially as the men depicted what they saw while at Fort Marion or on the way to Florida, the drawings did divorce themselves from the traditional practices as the focus of the images moved from the men as individuals and became a communal act of identity building. Together, all of the artists who drew while at the Fort, began to create a sense they were becoming white men, putting aside their Plains heritage and demonstrating, through their art, they were not dangerous and therefore, could be allowed to go home and teach the others in their tribes what they had learned while in exile.

Interestingly, upon release, a number of the men stayed in the Euro-American world to learn more. Release saw all the prisoners first travel to Hampton, Virginia where fifteen elected to stay and attend the Hampton Institute, an industrial school for African Americans, with another five remaining elsewhere in the East for education

(Harris 1989: 18, Szabo 2011: 10, Daniels Petersen 1971). Those who returned home pushed the ways of the white man's road to the wayside as they adopted again what they had known for the majority of their life. Significantly, all of the artists mentioned in this paper who used English either in their artistic language or through written text were among those who chose to stay in the East (Daniels Petersen 1971). This suggests learning English did indeed have an impact on the men who used it and found the valuation placed on it through exchange mattered in the modern world. Through further learning, the men could then return to the Plains and assist the rest of their tribes in entering into the markets they needed to access in order to survive in modern America (Fear-Sepal 1999: 327).

Nevertheless, the men did not succeed at this task and many, such as Zotom, who became a leading medicine man, all but abandoned what he had learned in the East (Daniels Peersen 1971). Once back on the reservation the need to enter the linguistic market using English diminished as the Native languages and tribal culture again became the authoritative discourse. The former prisoners had a choice to make, either return to their traditional ways or return to the world of the Euro-American. Etahdleuh felt this decision deeply after spending ten years in the East. He did return home to the Kiowa to teach them the ways of the Euro-American world; however, he returned again to the East. Etahdleuh was disillusioned by the way the Kiowa reacted to him, as well as being unable to understand why they continued to live traditionally.

The production of ledger art should also be considered when examining the impact of the Fort Marion borderland, since after their release, only two artists, both Southern Cheyenne; Howling Wolf and Squint Eyes, are known to have created

ledger art upon returning to their reservation (Szabo 1994). First, it was no longer feasible to create the art when there were other tasks that needed to be done, which directly related to survival. The motivation in creating the art was also gone. There were no longer tourists who sought to consume the art, which then gave way to an absence of money for time. This thought pattern can be seen more clearly looking ahead in time to the Kiowa artist Silver Horn. When offered money for his work Silver Horn changed the way he drew his images, drawing on only one side of the paper and adopting a more naturalistic technique to better suit the conventions of those who sought to purchase his pieces (Greene 2001a). Returning to Fort Marion, the artists no longer had to project the image they were reformed prisoners, no longer violent or potentially harmful to the United States. No longer did they need art to demonstrate their readiness to be released, they were freed and reunited with their families.

The art produced at Fort Marion was created out of the confluence of a number of different circumstances, which were generated by innovation and adaptation. The coming together of the Euro-American world in the form of Pratt's assimilationist policy and tourism were driving forces behind the St. Augustine economy. This, coupled with the life ways of the Southern Plains tribes, created a unique borderland at that particular time and in that specific geographic location. The atmosphere created prompted the individuals incarcerated at Fort Marion to adopt a dual cultural identity. The prisoners drew from their past, as well as the present to create a new self. While they demonstrated an assimilated exterior change, an internal agency was biding time, which would claim the prisoners' true identity at release. The

incorporation of the English language into the ledger drawings that were produced by the men is one of the ways this dual identity took shape. This dual identity is demonstrated in the image (Figure 20) of Wo-Haw, a Kiowa artist, standing between a buffalo and a Long Horn cattle. This image is at times interpreted as Wo-Haw demonstrating a cultural struggle to determine where he wants to go; the life of the Plains Indian or the life of the white man (Daniels Petersen 1971, Berlo 1990). Like all of the images presented in this paper, this is a composite image that can be interpreted many different ways. As Greene (2013) points out, the image may also be in reference to a spiritual journey or vision quest, which then portrays a continuum in his journey. If one uses the first interpretation of the image of Wo-Haw standing between two cultures, the dichotomy that formed at Fort Marion is portrayed. The linguistic exchange, which took place as English replaced traditional languages, both verbal and artistic, as the authoritative discursive form of communication placed the artists into a situation where they were made to refashion themselves to survive, not only economically, but also socially as they fought to gain the symbolic power needed to function in a capitalistic society.

This is a skill they most certainly had as the curio dealers in the city sought to keep the men confined to their stand in the fort when it came to selling their art, since they were taking business from the other shops in town when they were allowed to wander and sell. The artists' understanding of the difference between content and message is evident in their use of the English language. What is said is the content and what is being conveyed is the message (Sainsbury 1984, Culler 1985). Through the use of content styled after the English language, a specific message was sent, one that would

be understood by those able to decipher the language conventions in play. In order to make this happen, the language of legitimacy needed to be used; therefore, a discourse was constructed that allowed the men to take English and mold it to meet their own needs and desires. Entering into the market the men used an alien language to refashion themselves for an alien audience and in so doing, came to express their agency in a way that would not have been possible were they to have kept the linguistic conventions of their traditional languages. "If the power struggle between self and other is evident within the language use of one individual, it is intensified fourfold when individuals seek to express themselves with the assistance of other persons" (Wong 1989: 296).

Through the art, which was produced for sale, the men sought to express themselves to a new audience and with this, demonstrate they were assimilating and ultimately released. Through the use of the English language, both written and drawn, the artists of Fort Marion sought to enact the effects of the borderland that was created. In doing so, they sought to gain symbolic power and capital through exchange, by which they could secure their future, as well as their families' in a world that was changing rapidly around them.

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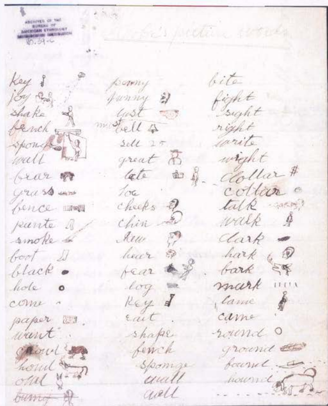

Figure 1a: Koba Pictographs, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy of Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Koba

roof
flat
flowr
flour
spool
~~bird~~
~~thir~~
~~heard~~
plank

power
bird
third
heard
plank
thank

My dear father
I am going to write you
a good letter
the man gave the boy a
penny to growl like a dog
One dark night I found a
big round dollar on the ground
He took his ring from his finger
Thank you for the big bird
I heard a dog bark in this house
the man took the ring from his finger
and gave to me

Figure 1b: Koba Pictographs, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy of Dr. Candace S. Greene.

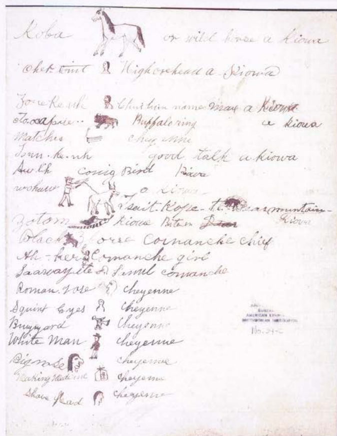

Figure 1c: Koba Pictographs, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Figure 1d: Koba Pictographs, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Figure 1e: Koba Pictographs, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archived, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Figure 2: *Price Current*, Yale Collection of Western America, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Figure 3: Drawings, 2008.14.2, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

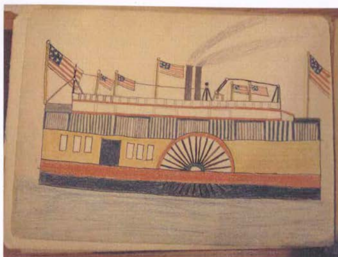

Figure 4: Drawings, 2008.14.2, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

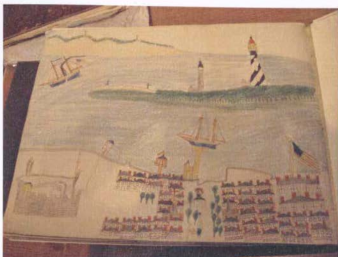

Figure 5: Drawing, 98.151.1, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

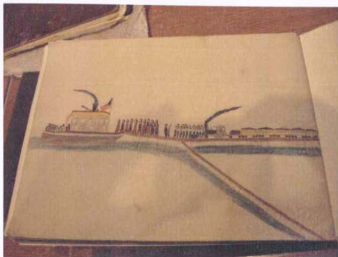

Figure 6: Drawing, 98.151.1, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

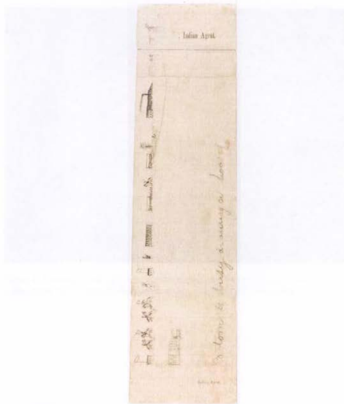

Figure 7: *Zotom is Busy Drawings A Book*, 1996.017.0207B. Arthur &Shifra Silberman Native American Art Collection, Donald C & Elizabeth M. Dickinson Research Center: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

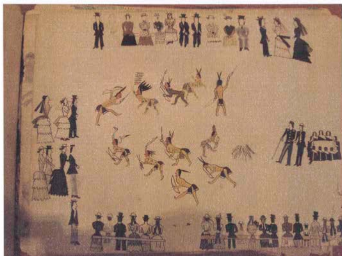

Figure 8: Drawing, 2008.14.2, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Figure 9: *Jennie Pendelton*, 1996.027.0536. Arthur &Shifra Silberman Native American Art Collection, Donald C & Elizabeth M. Dickinson Research Center: National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

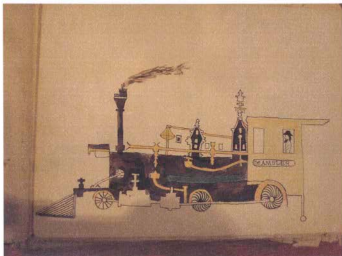

Figure 10: Drawing, 2008.14.2, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

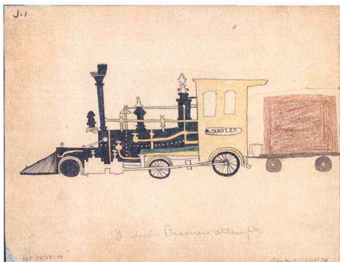

Figure 11a: Making Medicine drawing of small steam locomotive pulling two decorated passenger cars, 1875. Manuscript 39B, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

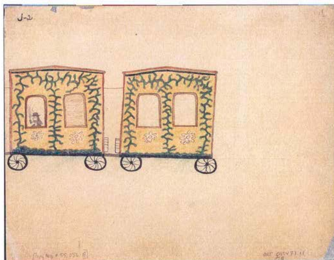

Figure 11b: Making Medicine drawing of small steam locomotive pulling two decorated passenger cars, 1875. Manuscript 39B, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy Dr. Candace S. Greene.

Figure 12: Exercise book containing drawings by anonymous Kiowa artist, 1875-1878. Manuscript 98-54, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 13: Exercise book containing drawings by anonymous Kiowa artist, 1875-1878. Manuscript 98-54, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 14a: Drawing, 2008. 14.1, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

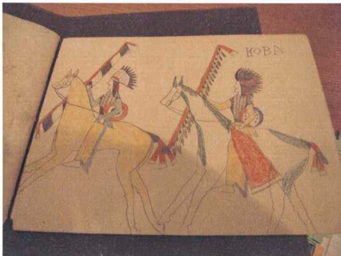

Figure 14b: Drawing, 2008.14.1, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

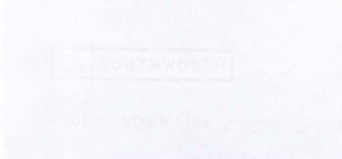

Figure 15: Drawing, 2008.14.1, Bequest from the Karen Daniels Petersen American Indian Collection. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Figure 16: Kiowa drawing possibly by Koba or Etahdleuh, of courting scene, with five couples wrapped in blanets, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

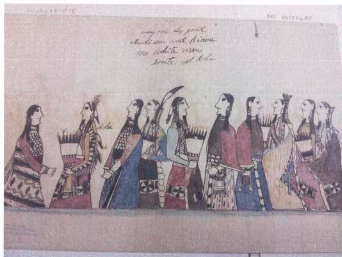

Figure 17: Kiowa drawing, possibly by Koba or Etahdleuh, of courting scene, with five couples, 1875-1877. Manuscript 39C, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 18: Kiowa drawing, possibly by Koba or Etahdleuh, of courting scene, with four couples, 1875-1877. Manuscript, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 19: White Buffalo Head pictographic letter to Minimic, ca. 1877. Manuscript 30.740, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Image courtesy of Dr. Candace S. Greene.

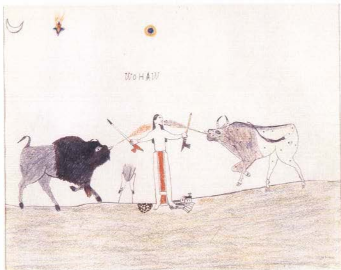

Figure 20: Drawing. In Harris, Moria F. (1989) *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art From Fort Marion.* St. Paul, Minnesota: Pogo Press.

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