

**TEEDYUSCUNG, A MAN, A STATUE: FOLKLORE, STORIES, AND
NATIVE AMERICAN COMMEMORATIVE STATUES AND
MONUMENTS**

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
MASTER OF ARTS

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May 2021

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ABSTRACT

This is a public history study of statues and monuments, and the stories they commemorate. “Teedyuscung, a Man, a Statue” examines, specifically, Native American statue and monument commemorations. I begin with the *Tedyuscung Statue* in Philadelphia’s Wissahickon Valley. In examining this statue and story surrounding it, I ask: Who does this statue represent? How does the *Tedyuscung Statue* affect passerby’s collective memory of Native American cultures and peoples? And how does the *Tedyuscung Statue* facilitate the creation and construction of an artificial, imagined, and colonized Indigenous space and place in Philadelphia’s Wissahickon Valley? In answering these questions, I examine how and why Teedyuscung, the man, was cast as an actor in the Wissahickon Valley’s history. I transition next into a broad study of Native American commemorative statue and monuments, such as: *The Statue of Tamanend*, Philadelphia, PA; *The Nez Perce 1831 St. Louis Delegation Memorial* monument, St. Louis, MO; the *Kindred Spirits* sculpture, County Cork, Ireland; and the *Dignity: Of Earth and Sky* sculpture, Chamberlain, SD. Through examining these studies, I answer several questions: How are Native American peoples represented in commemorative statues and monuments today? And further, do all Native American commemorations relay similar forms of Indigenous silence and erasure? This thesis, ultimately, reveals that statues and monuments can reclaim Indigenous space and place, narrating the stories Native Americans seek to tell. And, that statues and monuments can, conversely, create imagined spaces that silence Native Americans stories and histories.

For Janice Kay “Aunt Jany” Ruth

and

Christa “Chwist” Lebourne

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many, many thanks I must extend. First, I would like to thank all past and current advisors who helped me think and write clearly: Dr. Mathias Bergmann; Dr. Jessica Roney; Dr. Eileen Ryan; Dr. Lila Corwin Berman; Kenneth Finkel; Margery Sly; Dr. Hilary Iris Lowe; and Dr. Seth C. Bruggeman. In addition, I would like to extend even greater thanks to Mathias Bergmann who first showed me the world and study of Native American history; to Lila Berman who helped mold the beginnings of this thesis and who offered support in retelling the narrative of the *Tedyuscung Statue*; and to Seth Bruggeman who pushed me to clearly articulate my voice in coherent, narrative prose – your help has proved invaluable.

Next, I would like to thank Alex Bartlett, archivists for the Germantown Historical Society and the Chestnut Hill Conservancy. Alex was with me in person or via email during some crucial moments of researching and writing about the *Tedyuscung Statue*. His support and kind guidance meant a lot.

Next, I would like to thank my friends. To my Temple History friends, Ari McManus, Isabel Steven, Mackenzie Warren, and Joe Makuc, thank you for providing friendship, feedback and support throughout navigating these tough waters of graduate school. And, to my personal friends, John, Anthony, Zach, and Alo, thank you for providing constant laughs and listening when I talked about the “statue... again?!”!

And, last but most assuredly not least, I would like to thank my family. To my mom and dad, Jim and Geri O’Gorman, thank you for the unconditional support, kindness, and love. To my sisters, Katie and Liz O’Gorman, thank you for listening to me

talk and for going through this life with me. And thank you to Amanda Clarke for providing constant friendship, reassurance, support, and love, you mean a lot to me! Also, thank you to Declan for asking the question I tried to find an answer to throughout the researching and writing of this thesis: “What’s it doing there?”

I would like to end in stating that this thesis is only the beginning. Although this thesis has a beginning, middle, and end, it is far from complete. It is, rather, a blueprint for further elaboration and scholarship, as each chapter presents a topic and information fit for a full-length monograph. A monograph I hope to write.

Alex O’Gorman
Philadelphia, PA
April 2021

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A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Within this thesis, I use the terms statue and monument, a lot. When using the word statue, I refer to Merriam-Webster’s definition: “A three-dimensional representation usually of a person, animal, or mythical being that is produced by sculpturing, modeling, or casting.”¹ When using the word monuments, I refer to Seth C. Bruggeman’s definition: “monument... refers to a commemorative structure or edifice.”²

When referring to Indigenous peoples in North America within this text, I use the first names of each Native community when necessary. I use the name Lenni Lenape in place of Delaware when speaking of history related to Teedyuscung. I use the preferred names – the Delaware Nation and Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania – when referencing these communities in the twenty first century. And I use “Nimi’ipuu” in place of “Nez Percè.”

When referencing Indigenous peoples in North America, I use the terms “American Indian,” “Native American,” and “Native” synonymously in reference to peoples belonging to federally and state-recognized tribes or nations, and non-federally or non-state-recognized indigenous communities. These terms, although entrenched in colonialism, are needed to signify those Native and non-Native who reside on lands in the system now known as North America.

¹ See, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/statue>.

² Seth C. Bruggeman, “Memorials and Monuments,” *Parks Stewardship Forum*, 36:3 (Summer 2020), 466.

The terms “colonize” and “decolonize” are used in this thesis in reference to the systems of “settler colonialism.” Settler colonialism, as a concept, crept into North American academic discourse in 2006 with the work of Australian historian Patrick Wolfe. Wolfe defines settler colonialism as “a logic of elimination.” The term has since spread throughout all modern fields of academic discourse in North America. I use historians Jeffrey Ostler and Nancy Shoemaker’s definition of the term. They state:

Unlike other forms of colonialism that seek to exploit labor and resources, the goal of settler colonialism is to eliminate Indigenous people and settle their lands. To do this, settlers [or settler colonial regime] can use a variety of methods including outright genocide, removal, assimilation, and erasure [latter, for example, by requiring Indigenous people to conform to an impossible yardstick of “authenticity”]

Ostler and Shoemaker, further, trace the work of Lorenzo Veracini, founder of the journal *Settler Colonial Studies* in 2011, stating:

[Veracini] outlines no fewer than twenty-six procedures of various forms of consciousness, and the telling of stories about themselves [non-Indigenous settler colonists]. Many of Veracini’s insights – for example, that settler societies produce narratives about the inevitable vanishing of Indigenous people and that settlers routinely claim indigeneity – draw on North American historiography.³

Settler colonialism, further, refers to the series of systems in which colonist used to control and take Indigenous lands. In North America these systems include: the American government’s tribal reservation system, tribal recognition system, the head chief system, the missionary system, blood quantum genealogical system, and the state system which created North American “states” upon Native spaces and places.

³ Jeffrey Ostler and Nancy Shoemaker, “Settler Colonialism in Early American History: Introduction,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 76: 3 (July 2019), 361 (“unlike other forms...”), 362 (“outlines no fewer...”).

Last, but most assuredly not least, is Teedyuscung. For spelling his name, I use “Teedyuscung” when talking about the man. And I use “*Tedyuscung*” when referring to the commemorative statue. In addition to his name, European Americans coined the term “Delaware” in the eighteenth century which Indigenous peoples began using themselves. When referencing the “Delaware Nation” in, say, “Teedyuscung: King of the Delaware,” I mean the loose confederacy of Shawnee, Unami, Munsee, Iroquois, Lenape, and others from various Native communities who made up the “Delaware Nation” scattered within modern day Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Teedyuscung spoke on behalf of a fragmented group of peoples displaced by various wars with Pennsylvanians and other Native societies, and land dispossession from the Walking Purchase of 1737.

PREFACE

I came to research a statue in the Wissahickon Valley by pure accident. Unsure of who or what this statue represents, I later found that its name is “Teedyuscung.” “Teedyuscung” I questioned, “the same man who from 1756 to 1763 fought for the Lenni Lenape’s sovereignty and their right to a homeland in Pennsylvania?” I wondered. “There is no way this half naked man represents a legendary Lenape man? The same Teedyuscung who wore European styled clothing and who arrived at each treaty council in a horse drawn carriage? This cannot be?” I thought, again. But, according to legend and folklore, I was wrong.

There are three known artistic portrayals that *represent* Teedyuscung. The first image, a billboard commissioned by Joseph Middleton, showed a partially clothed man, painted in colors of red and black (figure 1). The second, a sculpture by John Massey Rhind, replaced Middleton’s billboard in 1902, displaying a crouched man, wearing limited clothing, holding a hatchet, and wearing an ornate headdress not often worn in Native American communities from the Northeastern coasts (figure 2). The last, an engraving of Teedyuscung created in 1949 by a Lenni Lenape artist named William Sauts Netamuxwe Bock. It is the only *mostly* accurate portrait of Teedyuscung. This engraving serves as the cover art for Anthony F.C. Wallace’s monograph, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (figure 3). The first two images are attached to larger stories that bind religion, landscape, politics, and artistic movements. And the last image is quite literally a cover bound to the only biography of Teedyuscung’s life. Each image,

however, show us three different Teedyuscung's used to fulfil three differing agendas.
And with these agendas, each has their own story.



Figure 1. Joseph Middleton's Teedyuscung billboard. This is the only known photo of Middleton's billboard which shows a figure wearing mid-section cloth, holding a shield, both painted red and black. Photo courtesy Chestnut Hill Conservancy.



Figure 2. The *Tedyuscung* Statue that replaced Middleton's billboard in the same location, in 1902. Photo courtesy the author.



Figure 3. This is an engraved image of Teedyuscung created by Lenni-Lenape artist William Sauts Netamuxwe Bock, to be used as the cover art for Anthony F.C. Wallace's monograph, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763*. This engraving presents the only accurate depiction of Teedyuscung. Photo courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

CHAPTER 1

WHO WAS TEEDYUSCUNG?

The “Indian” crouches high above us all, telling a story. Crouched on an obscurely shaped rock which protrudes out of Philadelphia’s Wissahickon Valley, he sits and watches. His lips are closed. His eyes are open. He is cold if touched. He is white if seen. He is large if noticed within the trees in the valley. He faces west. He holds a hatchet in his hand as his arm rests gently on his knee. He is not living, but once was. He is now just a legend but was once legendary. He is a fable among modern men but was once fabled among men in his time. He is, supposedly, Teedyuscung. Once a man, he is only now but a marble statue. But who placed him on this rock and why? And, most importantly, who, or what, does he represent?

To begin, this statue does not represent Teedyuscung. Nor does it represent his peoples, the Lenni-Lenape. It is but a piece of public art stuck in an era of sculpture that is long, long, gone. But, nevertheless, the name and man, Teedyuscung, surrounds all of the lore, legend, and myth affiliated with this statue and rock it rests upon.

But who was Teedyuscung, the man? Born sometime around 1700 in Trenton, New Jersey, Teedyuscung spent the first quarter of his life as a basket weaver. His history is much too long to recount here, so, instead, I will simply say that he was a man who arose to fight for his people’s sovereignty and land from 1754 to 1763. Originally apart of violent raids in the Pennsylvania borderlands during the onset of the long Seven Years’ War in 1754, Teedyuscung sought peace by 1755. Then, in 1756, he pronounced himself “King of the Delaware,” speaking on the behalf of all Lenni Lenape and Delaware

peoples. From then until 1763, Teedyuscung, the “King of the Delaware,” survived in the most turbulent era of brutality and violence between Native and newcomers in Pennsylvania history. On the cold night of April 19th, 1763, however, members of Connecticut’s Susquehanna Company marched to Teedyuscung’s village in the Wyoming Valley (modern-day Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania) and set his house ablaze. Teedyuscung burned to death, trapped in his house. ⁴

Although the events surrounding his death are unclear, we know the man, Teedyuscung, very well through historic records left to describe him. Referring to Teedyuscung as a leader, missionary John Heckewelder stated, he was “a portly well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension, and very ready in answering questions put to him” but “his greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drinks.” Opposing Heckewelder’s comments, Major William Parsons wrote, “The King [Teedyuscung] and his wild company were perpetually drunk... abusive to the inhabitants” and that “the King was full of himself.” And on a separate occasion, Pennsylvania’s Lieutenant Governor William Deeny applauded Teedyuscung as a man of “zeal” and a “councillor and agent of this [Pennsylvania] government.” And interpreter Conrad Weisser captured an intimate and angry moment between Teedyuscung and his wife Elizabeth at an Inn in Bethlehem, PA. He noted, “Deedjoskon [Teedyuscung] could

⁴ Teedyuscung self-proclaimed himself as the “King of the Delaware’s” on July 18, 1756. William C. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church: The Moravian Book Association, Instituted 1870, For the Issuing of Documents and Papers Illustrating the History of the Moravian Church*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), 236. I use Anthony F.C. Wallace’s work to provide a presumed birth date/ context for Teedyuscung’s life and the corroborating evidence to prove the accurate date of death, and cause of death. Also, I speak more of Wallace’s work later on page 7. Anthony F.C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 258.

not get his wife away, she wanted to stay in Bethlehem, because for his debauched way of living, he took all the children but one from her.” The four men, clearly and with much detail, witnessed Teedyuscung at varying stages of his life. Helping to create a portrait for the King of the Delaware, they reveal Teedyuscung as a leader and husband trying to stay alive within the rapidly changing, complicated world in Penn’s Woods borderlands.⁵

Teedyuscung’s history is, indeed, still examined by many in the twentieth and twenty first centuries. Anthony F.C Wallace’s monograph *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1701-1763* (1949) features the first detailed examination of Teedyuscung’s life. Wallace depicts Teedyuscung as a man with a “dependent, childlike relationship to the whites” and an “acceptance of white values.” Taking note of Wallace’s interpretations, however, historian Francis Jennings later noted some flaws with Wallace’s engagement with archival sources. Jennings believed that Wallace’s interpretation of Teedyuscung was the product of “the propaganda of Thomas Penn’s henchmen” and the sources they created to “rob him [Teedyuscung] of credibility.” Jennings was the first to demand scrutinization of the archival sources used to explain Teedyuscung’s history. Since Jennings’ call-to-action, many historians have exceeded

⁵ *Reverend John Heckewelder: History, Manners, and Customs of The Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania, and the Neighboring States*, ed., introduction, and notes, Rev. William C. Reichel, (Philadelphia: Publication Fund of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881), 305; “At a Council held at Easton, Monday, the Twenty-sixth Day of July 1756,” in *Pennsylvania Archives, Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Conformably to Acts of the General Assembly, February 15, 1851, & March 1, 1852, Vol. II*, ed. Samuel Hazard, (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1852), 724-725. (Hereinafter cited as Hazard, *Penn Archives*); “William Denny to Indians at Wyoming, Philadelphia, April 24, 1759,” *The Papers of Sir William Johnson, Vol. III*, ed. James Sullivan, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921), 34; “Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weisser with the Indians, to Fort Allen, by his Honour the Governours Order, on November 19, 1756,” in Hazard, *Penn Archives, Vol III*, 66.

expectations in offering a more accurate interpretation for Teedyuscung's actions. Thus, revealing he was a strong and defiant leader who advocated for the sovereignty of the Lenni-Lenape peoples during an era when everyone wanted war.⁶

Despite the abundance of sources which examine his life, there is less written about his purported commemoration in the Wissahickon Valley. And, of the Wissahickon, there is even less written about the imaginative environment the woods in, and surrounding, its valley affords. Only a few famous authors recount the imaginative wonders of the Wissahickon Valley's wooded landscape, and the "legends attached to various sites along the creek." These authors add additional room for myth, lore, and legend exaggerated by the woods.⁷ For those who write about the *Tedyuscung Statue* in the valley, however, some believe it is "carved in the likeness" of Teedyuscung and traditional Lenni Lenape dress. Others believe the statue displays the "ignorance" of late-nineteenth century sculptors and Fairmount Park Commissioners. And others believe this

⁶ Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 17 ("dependent...") and ("acceptance..."); Francis Jennings, "Review: Anthony F. C. Wallace: An Ethnohistorical Pioneer," *Ethnohistory*, 37: 4 (Autumn 1990), 441 ("the propaganda...") and ("rob him..."). For historians who exceed expectations, see James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999), 88-272; Merrell, "I Desire All That I Have Said...May Be Taken down Aright': Revisiting Teedyuscung's 1756 Treaty Council Speeches," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, (October, 2006) 63: 4, 777-826; Steven C. Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, The Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600-1763*, (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006); Andrew Newman, *On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), Ch. 4.

⁷ Elizabeth Milroy, *The Grid and the River: Philadelphia's Green Places, 1682-1876*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 221 ("legends attached..."). Edgar Allen Poe and George Lippard are among the most famous authors who recount the imaginative wonders of the Wissahickon Valley. See, Poe, "Morning on the Wissahickon," *The Opal for 1844*, 249-256; Lippard, *Washington and His Generals or, Legends of the Revolution*, (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co., 1847).

statue is one of three statues previously placed at this spot.⁸ But to understand what this statue represents, we need to know how the peoples it represents are remembered.

Historians have examined how non-Native American's remember and reimagine Native American peoples in writing. Mid-twentieth century scholars, such as Roy Harvey Pearce and Robert Berkhofer, did just this. Pearce and Berkhofer sought to understand American's social perceptions of American Indian peoples. Whereas Pearce asks how European-American constructed temporal beliefs of "savage" (Indians) and "civilization" (settler colonists) in writing to better understand their (colonists') society, Berkhofer asks why "civilization and Indianness would forever be opposites," and therefore, why "Indianness must be conceived of as ahistorical and static?" These scholars, though, only analyze interpretations in writing, leaving out other forms of societal memory creation such as statues and monuments.⁹

Historians Lisa Blee and Jean O'Brien, however, have now revisited the analyses Pearce and Berkhofer left out. Blee and O'Brien seek to understand how and why

⁸ For the differing views on the "Tedyuscung" statue, see Mikaela Maria, "Tedyuscung Statue," *The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, December 5, 2015, ("carved in...") https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/teedyuscung_src/; Ethan Wallace, "A Monument to Ignorance," *Hidden City: Exploring Philadelphia's Urban Landscape*, January 31, 2013, ("ignorance"), <https://hiddencityphila.org/2013/01/a-monument-to-ignorance/>. For the one of three statues arguments, see Dena Sher, "From The Archives: The Indian Statue in the Wissahickon," *Friends of the Wissahickon*, June 6, 2017, <https://fow.org/archives-indian-stature-wissahickon/>; Debbie Hoellien, "Tedyuscung Statue," *Trails to the Past*, <https://fow.org/virtual-valley/trails-to-the-past/>.

⁹ Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), ix; Robert Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: The History of an Idea from Columbus to Present*, (New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1978), 29 ("civilization..."). See, also, Arnold Krupat, "Forward," in Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Reissue), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), vii. Francis Jennings, "Virgin Land and Savage People," *American Quarterly*, 23: 4 (1971), 519-541.

societies create imagined places for Native American peoples through writing and public art. Looking specifically at Native representations in statues and monuments, their work contributes to the broad field of American Civil War commemorations, asking questions such as: How do statues and monuments “mold a landscape of collective memory?” As Blee’s and O’Brien’s work seeks to examine, further, how statues and monuments ground “a story” of Native peoples in colonized places.¹⁰

My work, here, then, is guided by those who write about the purported *Tedyuscung Statue*, and the works of Pearce, Berkhofer, Blee, and O’Brien. With their guidance, I ask how the *Tedyuscung Statue* affects passerby’s collective memory of Native American cultures and peoples? How does the *Tedyuscung Statue* facilitate the creation and construction of an artificial, imagined, and colonized Native space and place in Philadelphia’s Wissahickon Valley? How are Native American peoples represented in commemorative statues and monuments today? And further, do all Native commemorations relay a similar form of Indigenous silence and erasure?

In this thesis, I seek to answer these questions. Throughout four chapters, I examine, thematically, how non-Native and Native Americans alike use statue and

¹⁰ Lisa Blee and Jean M. O’Brien, *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 7 (“story...”). See also, Coll Thrush, “Monument, Mobility, and Modernity; or, The Sachem of Southwark and Other Surprising Commemorations,” *Ethnohistory*, 61: 4 (Fall 2014). For Civil War commemorations, see Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 4 (“mold a...”); Mitch Landrieu, *In the Shadow of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History*, (New York: Penguin Random House, 2008). For imagined space, place, and geography, see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 53-58; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (New York: Verso, 1983).

monument commemorations to narrate stories and histories. The four themes I recount are: legend, creation, progress, and adaptation.

Chapter two examines legend. Within it, I examine a rock that quite literally and figuratively provided the foundation for the Teedyuscung legend in the Wissahickon Valley. In examining the rock, I recount the stories told of this rock by John Adam Piper, and those who commemorated Piper's story with commemorative edifices. I begin with Joseph Middleton, the first to place a commemoration to Teedyuscung upon the rock in 1856. And, subsequently, I explain the commemorative process for a second statue which replaced Middleton's commemoration in 1902, at the same place. Combined, these two commemorations provided the foundation to prolong the legend of Teedyuscung in the Wissahickon Valley.

Chapter three recounts creation. Here, I introduce the sculptor of the latter statue, John Massey Rhind, and I show the development of American Indian imagery in statues and monuments from 1890 to 1902. This development, however, happened in tandem with sculptors in France, and with one French sculptor in particular, Cyrus Dallin. Both Dallin and Rhind were among the first sculptors to introduce Native American figures in their sculptural works.

Chapter four addresses progress. I examine in this chapter four case studies regarding Native American statues and commemorations in the twenty-first century. This chapter shows that Native American communities are now engaged with artists and their creations in order to narrate the stories that Native communities would like to tell and reclaim.

And chapter five explains my proposal for moving forward, providing my last theme: adaptation. In this chapter, I begin to develop an adaptive-reuse project proposal aimed at de-colonizing and refurbishing the interpretive wayside markers associated with the statue in an effort to relay a more inclusive and accurate history for this statue and the place it rests.

I argue through these four chapters and themes, that if used correctly, statues and monuments can narrate the histories of Native American peoples and communities in productive and informed ways. And further, that statues and monument can provide a way to de-colonize Native spaces and places.

CHAPTER 2

LEGEND: A ROCK, A STORY, A COMMEMORATION

From 1740 to 1850, Philadelphia's frontier town, Chestnut Hill, was what one historian calls a "gateway village." During this active gateway era, Chestnut Hill had many passersby, Native and non-Native alike, to and from Philadelphia. Within this bustling town, one local man, John Adam Piper, often housed passing Natives on route to Philadelphia. And, in addition to providing a friendly residence and resting place for these travelers, the Natives would always stop to talk politics at a peculiar rock located on Piper's property. And as such, Piper titled this rock, "Council Rock."¹¹

Piper's Native visitors to this rock, however, live only in myth and lore. It is at this rock, Piper told many, that Teedyuscung himself once stood with his Lenni Lenape peoples, talking politics and holding council. It is also here, that one commemorative effigy to Teedyuscung stood, and the place where one still stands. Although we can assume Piper did know and see passing Native people routinely trekking into Philadelphia, there is no written evidence of these events. These Native travelers live only in folktales told by Piper, and his family.

¹¹ David R. Contosta, *Suburb in the City: Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, 1850-1990*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992), 18. For reference to John Piper's land and "Council Rock," see Thomas H. Shoemaker, "A List of the Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809 (concluded)," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 16: 1 (April 1892), 57 footnote 2.



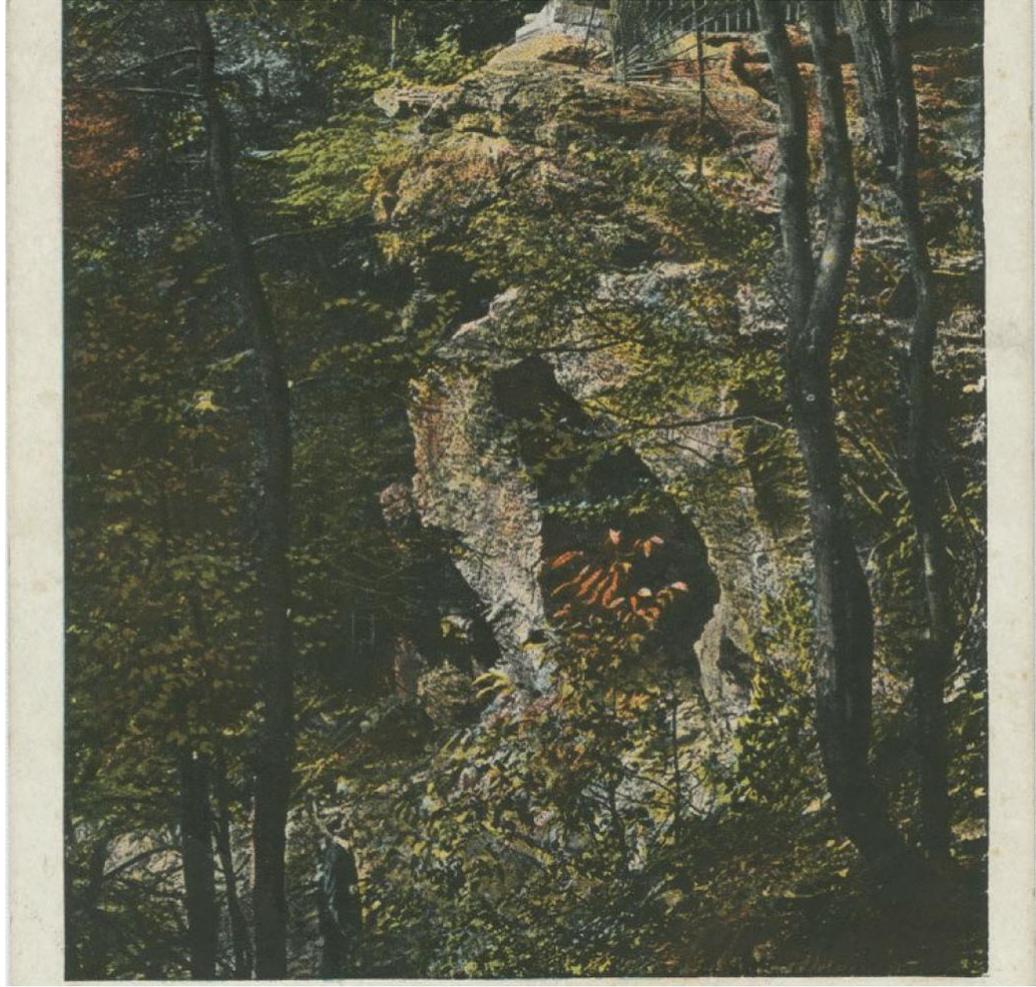


Figure 4. (4.1) A man stands in front of “Council/ Indian Rock.” The Wissahickon Creek is located down the valley, southeast in this image. And the plateau in which Chestnut Hill and Middleton’s property stands is northwest. “Teedyuscung Statue Postcard. Photo courtesy The Library Company of Philadelphia.

From the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, prominent Chestnut Hill men recast Native American peoples in the Wissahickon, using Piper’s folktale, and this rock, as focal pieces in creating Native American histories (figure 4 and 4.1). Many men dedicated a considerable amount of time, money, and effort commemorating a history they believed this rock to represent. And yet, I contend that this rock, and those who created its power, name, and lore, actually erased Native Americans and Teedyuscung’s histories rather than commemorate them.

In 1839, Piper sold a portion of his land to Joseph Middleton. Middleton purchased fourteen acres of land that stretched from the Perkiomen Turnpike to “Council/ Indian Rock” on the banks of the Wissahickon Creek in Chestnut Hill (figure 5). This land, located on Chestnut Hill’s northeastern summit, offered a pleasant and spacious view of the Wissahickon Valley and all its surrounding beauty. Middleton, a newlywed and landowner, took advantage of the beautiful scenery filled with chestnut trees and valleys to build a house. After some tireless work, Middleton completed his home which he named “Monticello” in respect to Thomas Jefferson’s famed home in Charlottesville, Virginia. His home overlooked the Wissahickon Creek, juxtaposed with the shrubbery in the valley landscape to the west, and abundance of chestnut trees to the east.¹²



Figure 5. Shows Middleton’s property labeled as “Middleton.” And his property stretching from the turnpike (left of his name) to the bend in the Wissahickon Creek (to the west below the word “Road”). “Council/ Indian Rock” is located at this bend. Charles Ellet, *A map of the county of Philadelphia: from actual survey*. (Philadelphia: Charles Ellet Jun’r, 1843), map <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012592211/>.

¹² Sister Maria Kostka Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia: A Century of Growth and Development, 1847-1947*, (Maryland: The Newman Press, 1950), 93.

Middleton shared a peaceful fifteen years in this home. And, by 1854, Middleton was a successful man, becoming president of the Wissahickon Turnpike Company and owner of a rock quarry (figure 6).¹³ In addition to financial success, Middleton had a spiritual and political awakening as well. Though once a Quaker and a member of the “Know-Nothing” party, he converted to Catholicism and joined the Republican Party. And with his newfound faith, he decided to build a Catholic Church for the religious parishioners in town.

But these decisions angered some people. Middleton’s religious and political change enraged his “Know-Nothing” party affiliates from Philadelphia. The “Know-Nothing” Party – comprised of Protestant’s who held staunch anti-Catholic sentiments – threatened to burn “Monticello” and halt all further progress on building the church. And on a cold dark night in the winter of 1855, Joseph’s son, Thomas, witnessed, a “gang of some half-dozen ne’er-do-wells [the “Know-Nothings”] from the Hill” who rushed to his father’s house “with purpose to set fire to his property.” Joseph Middleton, however, knew these men and their intent, as he met them at a red covered bridge west of his property, shouting out their names and revealing their plan. On this night, Middleton successfully evaded death, and further, the building of the church prevailed. This moment proved to be another formative event for Middleton. By spring of 1856, he chose for his estate name an evocative title, “Teedyuscung.”¹⁴

¹³ The city and county of Philadelphia merged by an act of legislature in 1854. Chestnut Hill became part of the city of Philadelphia, proper, by 1854. Contosta, *Suburb in the City*, 1.

¹⁴ Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph*, 94; Thomas C. Middleton, “Some Memoirs of Our Lady’s Shrine at Chestnut Hill, P.A. A.D., 1855-1900,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical*



Figure 6. Joseph Middleton’s land is labeled on this map as both “J. Middleton” and “Middleton;” his quarry is labeled “Middleton Granite Quarry;” the Piper’s property is below the label “J. Middleton” and above the label “Perkiomen” (Turnpike). The bend in the creek, located just above “Middleton Granite Quarry,” is Council Rock’s location. R.L. Barnes, “New Map of the Consolidated City of Philadelphia, 1855,” Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network, <https://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/view-image.cfm/barnes>.

But, why Teedyuscung? Although there is no explicit reasoning for this change, we can infer Middleton’s eagerness to mingle his own struggles with memories of Teedyuscung’s plight, coopting his image. Teedyuscung, of course, burned to death in 1763 at the hands of white settlers anxious to claim his land. Here, Teedyuscung’s torment came with the actions of settlers anxious to claim his land. Middleton, too, felt a similar distress when faced with threats to burn his home while his family lay inside. For

Society of Philadelphia, 12: 2 (June 1901), 144. For sources related to the “Know-Nothing” Party and their “nativist,” anti-Catholic sentiments, see Charles Granville Hamilton, *Lincoln and the Know Nothing Movement*, (Washington, D.C.: Annals of American Research, Public Affairs Press, 1954), 1-24; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850’s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Teedyuscung, the “other” consisted settler colonists. Whereas Middleton’s “other” came as the anti-Catholic, “Know-Nothing” Party members. Middleton, however, prevailed, evading death while recycling Teedyuscung’s memory to facilitate a new self-image of himself as a strong and resilient leader. Middleton, all the while, never forgot a story once told by John Adams Piper. And, by 1856, Joseph Middleton found use for “Council Rock” and the lore associated.¹⁵

It was the summer of 1856 when Middleton permanently enshrined the memory and legend of Teedyuscung on “Council Rock” in the form of a wooden board, with Teedyuscung painted upon it (figure 7 and 8). Any passerby could view Middleton’s billboard full and well on “Council Rock.” And the billboard, commissioned by Middleton, received some mild praise in the *Germantown Telegraph*. According to Thomas Middleton, the *Telegraph* featured a review about Middleton’s billboard in 1856, stating that Middleton’s billboard stood, “in commemoration of his [Teedyuscung] last visit to this spot [Council/ Indian Rock], which happened just one hundred years ago.”¹⁶ Teedyuscung, though, only spoke at council treaties in Easton, Pennsylvania in 1756, some fifty miles north of Philadelphia. Additionally, and though it is unclear whether the billboard stood in advertisement for the Indian Rock Hotel located directly across the

¹⁵ For change in Middleton’s place name, see Middleton, “Some Memoirs,” (June), 10-11.

¹⁶ The citation for this source from the *Germantown Telegraph*, first appeared in 1901 in an account of Joseph Middleton’s son, Thomas Middleton. Thomas, himself, states that he is unfamiliar of the date in which he found the source. Upon further investigation, however, Alex Bartlett, the current and active archivist for the Germantown and Chestnut Hill Conservancy, has found no reports in the *Germantown Telegraph* that bear these words. See the account from which this is taken, here, Thomas Middleton, “Some Memoirs of Our Lady’s Shrine at Chestnut Hill, P.A. 1855-1900, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 12: 1 (March 1901), 25 (see footnote).

creek, or a way-marker for those on the Wissahickon Turnpike, it seems Middleton did not use it for either of these purposes. The Indian Rock Hotel featured their own advertisements and billboard placed in front of their establishment. Middleton, however, had other ideas related to the billboard and rock he placed it upon.



Figure 7. Close-up of Middleton’s billboard on “Council/ Indian Rock.” Picture taken by Charles Keyser, found in *The Wissahickon: Mostly Collected by Edwin C. Jellet, 1890-1910, VII, Valley Green to Indian Rock. Box 34, Vol. 7. 125 b. Germantown Historical Society.*



Figure 8. Second close-up of Middleton’s billboard with a better view of “Council/ Indian Rock.” *The Wissahickon: Mostly Collected by Edwin C. Jellet, 1890-1910, VII, Valley Green to Indian Rock. Box 34, Vol. 7. 125 a. Germantown Historical Society.*

After 1856, Middleton fully aligned with old John Piper’s folktales about the rock. Middleton recounts in a letter he sent to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, that, “the rock [Council/ Indian Rock]” was “undoubtedly an object of veneration to the Indians.” What’s more, “John Adam Piper... was an attached friend of Tedyuscung” and in “1758 he [Tedyuscung] and the remnant of his tribe spent the greater part of their time around

the Council Rock, on the banks of the Wissahickon,” frequenting “the house of the venerable John Adam Piper.” Serving a somewhat different agenda than a mere advertisement for the Indian Rock Hotel or a way marker for passersby on the Wissahickon Turnpike, Middleton’s billboard commemorated the legend of Teedyuscung’s presumed presence at the rock.¹⁷

Joseph’s son, Thomas, recounts a similar folktale about the rock. In an account written in 1901, Thomas notes that, “In his [Thomas’s] boyhood days” he “was acquainted with two ladies – the Misses Lydia and Susan Piper,” the daughters of John Piper. The daughters, too, told Thomas a similar story, explaining that, “the Indians in their yearly pilgrimage to Council Rock never failed in passing to stop at their father’s [John Piper] house.” And, additionally, the sisters made sure to note that their father, “was regarded by these wild children of the forest as their friend. From him they got food and drink; and were given shelter in his barn.”¹⁸

In addition to the Piper’s account, Thomas held his own personal affections with the local folklore. “At Council Rock,” recounts Thomas, “the writer [Thomas] remembers as a boy visiting that famous shrine [Council/ Indian Rick] of veneration.” And Thomas remembers further, “the hollowed front of this rock, that by art, or by nature... had been scooped out... something that might have served for a seat, or throne, for aboriginal

¹⁷ Joseph Middleton, “Echoes from Indian Rock,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 31, 1881, in S.F. Hotchkin, *Ancient and Modern Germantown: Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill*, (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Co., 1889), 457-458. For a similar account, see Naaman H. Keyser, C. Henry Kain, John Palmer Garber, Horace F. McCann, *History of Old Germantown: With a Description of its Settlement and Some Account of its Important Persons, Buildings and Places Connected with its Development*, (Philadelphia: Horace F. McCann, Publisher, 1907), 157.

¹⁸ Middleton, “Some Memoirs,” (March 1901), 22-23.

chieftains, or maybe as an altar of worship.” This unwavering narrative for the uses of “Council/ Indian Rock” explained by both Joseph and his son, proves this folklore served as a story around the campfire or dinner table for many decades previous to the Middleton’s arrival in Chestnut Hill. And yet, the rock remains as the only imagined piece of geography binding Teedyuscung to the Wissahickon Valley.¹⁹

This would not change. In 1868, the Fairmount Park Commission “appropriated” the Wissahickon Creek for the “protection of the purity of the water and the preservation of the beauty of its scenery.” Headed by the Fairmount Park Commission and its lead commissioner, Eli K. Price, the same year, the commission sought to restore the Wissahickon Valley to its natural state. At Price’s orders, the commission demolished mills and commercial structures situated on the banks of the Wissahickon Creek in effort to return “the land to its pristine state.” Middleton, although now forced to part with his rock quarry on the banks of the Wissahickon, kept his land, but the portion which housed “Council/ Indian Rock” came into the ownership of the Fairmount Park Commission. Now under control of the Fairmount Park Commission, Middleton’s billboard, and the folklore surrounding it, remained (figure 9 and 10).

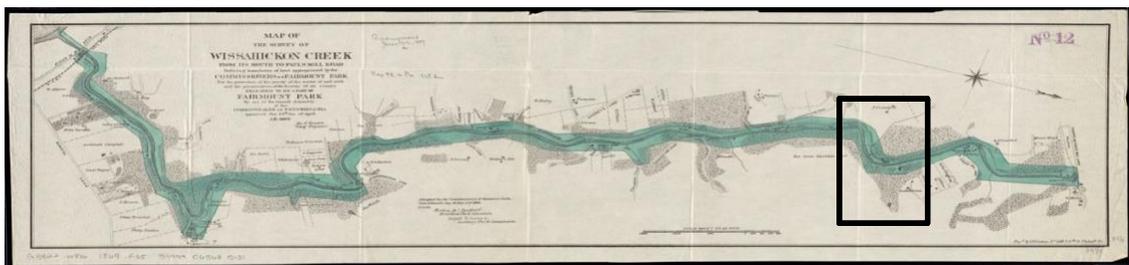


Figure 9. The black box: Joseph Middleton’s land and appropriated space on the Wissahickon Creek, and appropriated place at Indian Rock. John C. Cressen, S.B. Linton, and Fairmount Park Commission (Philadelphia, PA). “Map of the Survey of Wissahickon Creek from its mouth

¹⁹ Ibid., 22-23.

to Paul's Mill Road defining boundaries of land appropriated by the Commissioners of Fairmount Park." Map 1869. *Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center*, accessed February 2021. <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:4m90fd16x>



Figure 10. (Figure 9 Continued) The Fairmount Park Commissions land is highlighted in green, showing the Wissahickon Turnpike, Wissahickon Creek, the Indian Rock Hotel, and Indian Rock. The Fairmount Park Commission does not own the non-highlighted area, which shows “Jos. Middleton” land. Ibid.

Middleton’s billboard remained perched on “Council Rock” for almost half a century. Describing the deteriorated billboard, *The Evening Telegraph* reported in 1902, “the action of the weather has long ago worn off most of his [the “Teedyuscung” billboard] war paint and broken his weapons and even parts of his muscular form.” Covered with carvings of couples’ initials etched within hearts or various sentences that declared someone *was here*, the locals “carved him up until at last he has lost all resemblance to the once fierce aborigine that the combined efforts of a blacksmith and a

sign painter were fairly successful in representing.” By the end of the nineteenth century, Joseph Middleton’s billboard on “Council Rock,” weathered, vandalized, and a victim of time, had become a reclusive getaway for teenagers, lovers, and young mischief-makers. The Fairmount Park Commission would not touch Middleton’s billboard until the turn of the century.²⁰

By 1902, one Fairmount Park commissioner, Charles W. Henry, sought to refurbish the once great place of “Council/ Indian Rock.” At a meeting of Fairmount Park commissioners on January 3, 1902, Henry rose in front of his peers and spoke, “Indian Rock on the Wissahickon is a point dear to the heart of every Germantown boy. The statue of the Indian perched on this high rock is fast deteriorating and growing to decay.” Henry, who makes no mention of Teedyuscung or any specific group of Native peoples, was simply concerned with the folklore surrounding the rock and more specifically, the rock itself. Henry’s reluctance to state the name Teedyuscung indicates that he did not believe Teedyuscung himself visited this place but rather Indians of some sorts have in the past. Henry concluded his speech, stating, “it is the pleasure of the Commission, Mrs. Henry and myself would like to present to this body a statue suitable for that point.” And with this simple utterance of words, and stroke of a pen, the idea to create a statue commemorating the lore of “Indian Rock,” began.²¹

²⁰ Author unknown, “Our Own Teddy,” *The Evening Telegraph*, date undetermined, box 34, vol. 7, 141a, *The Wissahickon: Mostly Collected by Edwin C. Jellet, 1890-1910, VII, Valley Green to Indian Rock*, Germantown Historical Society. (hereafter cited as ECJ)

²¹ “Fairmount Park Commission, Committee on Plans and Improvements, Minutes, 1902, vol.2,” City of Philadelphia, Department of Records, City Archives, FPC 149. 17., 2-3.

For his first order of business, Henry needed to expose Philadelphians to the new attraction at “Indian Rock.” He did so by inviting Germantown’s wealthiest residents to a cocktail party. The invitation states, “your presence is requested upon the occasion of the presentation to the Commissioners of Fairmount Park of the Statue on Indian Rock, Wissahickon Creek, on Saturday, June 14th” (figure 11). Henry’s invitation did not mention Teedyuscung but did include the name “Indian Rock.” With this invitation, Henry again recast Native memory in the Wissahickon Valley. No longer bound to Middleton’s folklore, Henry’s “Indian Rock” now signified an even vaguer notion of Indian pasts, vague enough to include Teedyuscung, the Lenni Lenape, and really any Native peoples. Henry, however, shows no sign of wanting to promote “Indian Rock” as an area in which Teedyuscung once stood.²²

²² “Fairmount Park Commission, Miscellaneous Folder, Tedyuscung Statue,” City of Philadelphia, Department of Records, City Archives, FPC 149. 11.

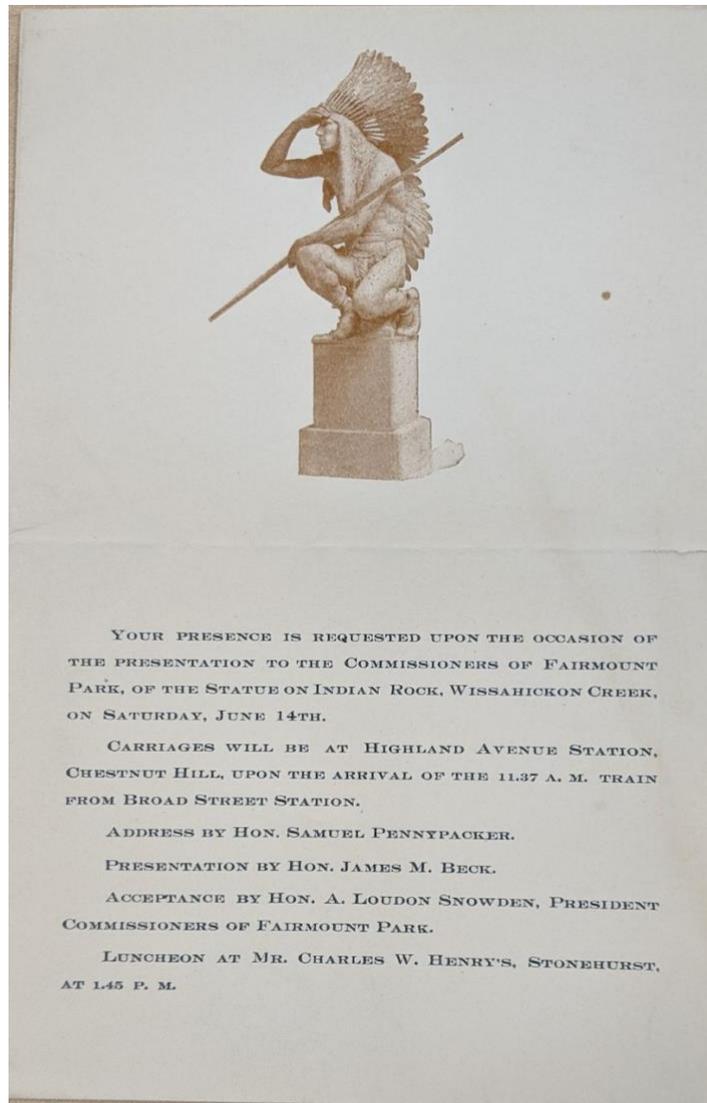


Figure 11. Charles W. Henry invitation letter. "Fairmount Park Commission, Miscellaneous Folder, Tedyuscung Statue," City of Philadelphia, Department of Records, City Archives, FPC 149. 11.

But the orators invited to speak on June 14th did not feel the same way. Men of high status and credibility spoke at the event and portrayed the new attraction as a desirable site to visit (figure 12). The New York Times even reported on this event.²³

²³ See, "In Memory of Indian Chief: Bronze Statue to be Presented to Fairmount Park, Philadelphia," *The New York Times*, pg. 2, Saturday June 14, 1902.

Speakers included United States Attorney General James M. Beck, and Samuel W. Pennypacker, vice president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and soon-to-be governor of Pennsylvania. “Teedyuscung was most distinguished among them [the Lenni Lenape],” Governor Pennypacker stated, further exclaiming that Teedyuscung was, “a great fighter as chief or king of the Delaware’s.” Pennypacker was correct inasmuch as Teedyuscung was a great leader and did engage in battle. What he disregarded, however, was Teedyuscung’s reputation for advocating peaceful negotiations with the Pennsylvania proprietors. Beck celebrated Henry’s placement of a truthful commemoration to the original Native American inhabitants of the Wissahickon Valley: “with all the statues in the park, none has ever made any permanent record of the race that lived here for countless centuries, a race most peculiarly identified with the ravine of the Wissahickon.”²⁴ In fact, the Lenni Lenape had a cultural identification with the Wissahickon Valley but they ceased to inhabit the Valley for an extended period of time during and after the eighteenth century. And yet, to promote Henry’s statue, his orators reimagined the history of Teedyuscung and the Lenni Lenape, attributing both only to the Wissahickon Valley.

²⁴ “Chief in Marble on Indian Rock,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, p. 25, June 15, 1902; Contosta, *Suburb in the City*, 181-182.



Figure 12. *Tedyuscung Statue on Indian Rock in 1902. *The Wissahickon: Mostly Collected by Edwin C. Jellet, 1890-1910, VII, Valley Green to Indian Rock. Box 34, Vol. 7. 127. Germantown Historical Society.**

Elaborating on Beck’s statement, Pennypacker also used literature to reinvent the Wissahickon Valley, and “Indian Rock,” as a place to interpret the history of any Native American. As the Philadelphia’s *Evening Telegraph* noted, Pennypacker borrowed literary imagery of Native American peoples from physician Robert Montgomery Bird’s novel *Nick in the Woods* (1853), then considered as “giving, perhaps one of the most

accurate and interesting accounts of Indian life.” Bird’s novel, however, is problematically renowned for characterizing the forest as a dark place that inhabited “the wild beast and lurking Indian.” Bird’s characterization aligned with Pennypacker’s own claims about Native Americans, detailed in his *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania*. Pennypacker’s work represents Native Americans as “denizens of the forest” who were in constant contact with the Germantown settlers who made their “homes out in the woods.” Synthesizing Bird’s work with his own, Pennypacker’s commemoration speech introduced the audience to a new world within the Wissahickon Valley wherein Teedyuscung, the Lenni Lenape, or any Native American might linger covertly in the woods, or upon “Indian Rock” in the valley. Pennypacker, as influenced by Bird, conjoined the statue and the mystery of the woods to create the Wissahickon Valley and “Indian Rock” as an evocative setting for interpreting the life of Native Americans and Teedyuscung.²⁵

Seeking to excite his audience, Pennypacker culled the most prominent literary source representations of Native Americans to create a setting and a foundation for the recreation of Teedyuscung’s memory. He used his commemoration address to transform Teedyuscung from a Lenni Lenape diplomat of peace into a “great fighter” and “denizen” of the Wissahickon woods. In his portrayal, Teedyuscung symbolized the Native

²⁵ It should be noted that Bird was a renowned physician, so his statements at this time were not only *credible* but they were part of imaginative science and phrenological studies of Native American peoples. “Teedyuscung Statue: Formerly Presented to Fairmont Park on last Saturday,” *Evening Telegraph*, ECJ, 141b; Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America*, (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1899), 234 (“Wild people”), 235 (“Earnest” and “attentive”), 236; Robert Montgomery Bird, *Nick of the Woods or The Jibbenainosay a Tale of Kentucky*, (New York: Redfield, 1853), 68.

American characters found in Bird's and Pennypacker's monographs. And the placement of the statue in the woods of the Wissahickon Valley is a testament to these authors twentieth century cultural views of Native American peoples. Using literary examples, Pennypacker simultaneously recreated Teedyuscung's image and promoted Henry's improved "Indian Rock" attraction as a thrilling place of unease and mystery in the woods of the Wissahickon Valley.

The folklore of the rock was forever enshrined as a constructed and imagined Native space by 1902. All of these historic actors involved in the commemoration in 1902, as well as those in 1856, and those before, told stories. They told stories about the land, created folklore to better identify with themselves through using the land, and they changed and created an entire landscape through story. Without these men, Teedyuscung would not roam through the Wissahickon Valley in lore, legend, or story. His presence, though, is still enshrined on "Council Rock" and "Indian Rock" today. As the statue these men spoke for in 1902, remains on the rock.

When Charles W. Henry first spoke of "Indian Rock" to his colleagues in the Fairmount Park Commission on that cold January day in 1902, he mentioned this statue, as well. "I have consulted John Massey Rhind," Henry states, "the well-known sculptor of New York who prepared a design of an Indian which will be of stone, sixteen feet in height, to be placed on these rocks [Council/ Indian Rock]." But of that statue, we still have unanswered questions.

CHAPTER 3

CREATION: JOHN MASSEY RHIND, CYRUS DALLIN, AND THE NATIVE

AMERICAN IMAGE

On October 15, 1757, Teedyuscung performed a powerful and common act of consumption: he bought some clothes. He purchased one pair of shoes, one pair of leggings, one pair of pants, a belt buckle, a checkered shirt, a ruffled shirt, a regimental coat, and a gold laced hat. Although this may seem common for the era, his purchase was not insignificant. Historians show us that choices made about how to dress reveal the cultural politics of race and power in America's colonial frontier. Teedyuscung did not simply copy the styles of his European counterparts. Rather, his choice of clothing reflected his eagerness to remain equal with European settler colonists in governance and land ownership. His clothing was emblematic of a cause.²⁶

²⁶ Hazard, *Penn Archives*, Vol. III, 293. For differing analyses of clothing as a construct of identity and meaning, see Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in American and Europe, *Folklore*, 99:1 (January 1988), 30-35; Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 1-4; Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3:1 (January 1996), 13-41 – Shannon's work proves the interchangeability of *European* and *Indian* dress and how each have distinct systemic functions. Philip Deloria's work, further, asserts that white American colonists called themselves Native names and dressed in Native clothing towards continually reinterpreting "the intuitive dilemmas surrounding Indianness to meet the circumstances of their time." And, in turn, some Native peoples reversed these circumstances to fit circumstances of their time, too. See, Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7. Marta Olmos builds upon Shannon's and Deloria's arguments in "Guest Post: "Natives of the Woods of America": Hunting Shirts, Backcountry Culture, and "Playing Indian" in the American Revolution," *The Junto: A Group Blog on Early American History*, July, 14, 2020, accessed November 2020, <https://earlyamericanists.com/2020/07/14/guest-post-natives-of-the-woods-of-america-hunting-shirts-backcountry-culture-and-playing-indian-in-the-american-revolution/#more-23283>.

Clothing in the early American colonies, as Teedyuscung understood, defined status and power. By the nineteenth century, however, artists and sculptors replaced these common images of Native Americans dressed in European style clothing with naked, muscularly toned Native American figures crowned by regalia non-indigenous to the native community they purport to represent. And as such, nineteenth-century artists and sculptors presented the Native American image as static and unable to make this common and powerful leap into modernity, a leap most often distinguished through common purchases of European clothing in the eighteenth-century Euro-American colonies.

How and why did American cultures, with specific regards to sculptural artists, get this image so wrong? Almost two hundred years later, this nineteenth-century Native American image is on full display in John Massey Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon. It shows a crouched and partially naked man wearing a feathered headdress and shielding his eyes from the sun. That is, it remembers the old Lenni-Lenape King's sartorial choices much differently. This statue, rather, is an artifact of Rhind's own preoccupations and the cultural forces that allowed his vision to obscure Teedyuscung's image. In fact, Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon is like most monuments, inasmuch as it, "tells us more about the moment of its creation than about the history it commemorates."²⁷

This chapter evaluates three particular moments associated with the creation of Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon. Each moment traces the formation of a Native American image in statue and monument arts. Statues and monuments can serve as

²⁷ Eric Foner, "A Questionnaire on Monuments," *October*, 165, (Summer, 2018), 56. (Quotation) Here, Foner speaks on all monuments, and he does not specifically reference Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon.

extensions of colonial practices, dominating stories and narratives of Native peoples. But, they can also reclaim Native stories, countering colonial narratives.

Our first moment begins with John Massey Rhind's arrival in America in 1889. Already a successful sculptor in England and France, Rhind turned his attention to America. Rhind's father did not agree with his son's decision and exclaimed, "there is no sculptural art in America; you'll starve." But, Rhind got lucky. After three years in America, he attended a formative event: Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Rhind recounted the Columbian Exposition of 1893 as a "great object lesson that quickened the national sense to form and color, and which was largely responsible for the present activity among the sculptors throughout our country." Rhind's choice of language here forces pause. Did he refer to "quickened" as "quickening?" "Quickening," defined as a pregnant mother's first feeling of fetal movement, or, "quicken," as in to make more rapid?²⁸

Both definitions suit Rhind's feeling well. As the World Columbian Exposition was a momentous event for Rhind, an architect venturing into the world of sculpture. The blending of the nineteenth century Colonial Revival and the Chicago's Columbia Exposition helped to develop the relationship between architects and sculptors, linking both artistic mediums through a heightened sense of nationalism and reimagination of the eighteenth-century colonial past. This moment in American history, as defined by

²⁸ J. Walker McSpadden, *Famous Sculptors of America*, (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1924), 251-252.

Kenneth L. Ames, “beginning about the time of the Centennial [Philadelphia, 1876] and dying out with the advent of the modern movement in the early twentieth century,” and afforded any variety of “artifactual interaction with versions of colonial America,” such as the images of the American Indian presented in sculpture.²⁹

The Colonial Revival allowed for a heightened sense of nationalism which, in turn, became a foundation for nationalist myths and values aimed at recreating white American’s cultural image through the taming of the American West, and expulsion of western Native American communities and societies. The most pervasive link between Native Americans and a nationalist agenda, incited by the Colonial Revival movement, came with Frederick Jackson Turner’s “Frontier Thesis Speech,” presented at Chicago’s World Columbian Exposition. Turner emerged as the creator of a nationalist myth that placed Native Americans as a vanishing people. And soon, Americans in the nineteenth century appropriated images of Native Americans in many forms of popular culture.³⁰

Turner’s ideals, and this sudden rush to incorporate Native American images in various forms of popular culture, however, was not coincidence. In the previous six years leading to 1893, the North American government continued its aggressive practices in handling Indian affairs. Beginning in 1887, the United States government enacted the Dawes Act which placed Native American communities upon allotted pieces of land in effort to force integration into white American societal practices such as farming and land

²⁹ Kenneth L. Ames, “Introduction,” in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Axelrod, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985), 3-13.

³⁰ “Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier Thesis Speech,” in *American History Through Its Great Speeches: A Documentary History of the United States*, ed. Courtney Smith, (ABC-CLIO, 2016).

tilling. After the U.S. governments excessive sending of ethnographic researchers to various Native communities during this era, 1887-1892, the government created the Dawes Commission (1893) which took back Indian landholdings in recently reappropriated Native spaces. The dissolution of Native governance and sovereignty came in 1898 with the Curtis Act, which abolished tribal laws and courts, and ultimately, brining Native Americans under the legal jurisdiction of the United States. These laws drastically impacted Native American communities and American communities alike, as many Americans, most notably sculptors and architects, sought to preserve and reimagine Native images in any medium possible.³¹

This ushered in what one art historian calls, an era of “Renewed Patriotism.” Three main events, the Centennial (1876); the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition (1893); and the Pan-American Exposition (1901), rejuvenated American’s faith in democratic form eroded by the Civil War. And with these newfound democratic ideals, American sought to reclaim their fractured country. This reclamation began an artistic surge of sculptures and monuments, many of which bloomed in Philadelphia’s landscape, and all commemorated Civil War veterans, cowboys, or Indians, displaying a renewed patriotism. Philadelphia alone, was witness to the creation of six different statues during this time; such as John J. Boyle’s *Stone Age in America* (1887) and *Benjamin Franklin* (1889); Alexander Mine Calder’s *William Penn* (1893) atop Philadelphia’s City Hall

³¹ The Dawes Act forced Native and white American integration and allotted Native Americans three main lawful features: 1) Every Native American would receive a title to a piece of land; 2) all “surplus” lands (the 150,000,000 acres available in uninhabited “Indian Country”) would be sold to the government and available for settlement; 3) Every Indian who received a land allotment would become an “American” citizen; C.C. Painter, *The Dawes Land in Severalty Bill and Indian Emancipation* (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 5.

showing a Swedish woman, Swedish man, a Lenni Lenape man, and Iroquois man below Penn; Frederick Remington's *Cowboy* (1908); Rudolph Siemering's *Washington Monument* (1897); Dallin's *Medicine Man* (1899); and French and Potter's *Ulysses S. Grant* (1899), to name a few. These many statues and monuments filled Philadelphia's landscape, fulfilling an agenda which assisted a new sense of nationalism aided by the Colonial Revival movement.³²

The Colonial Revival, however, is most notorious for influencing architectural designs and merging the architectural and sculptural arts. After this moment sculptor John Massey Rhind incorporated the sculptural arts in his architectural designs, but he did not forget the nationalist myths tied to the appropriation of Native American peoples. Thus, proving the coalescence of these movements – the Colonial Revival and Chicago's World Columbian Exposition – is indeed as Rhind alluded, reminiscent of tickling in a mother's womb and a rapid moment on the verge of formation.

The Chicago World Exposition inspired Rhind's new artistic interpretations, but his blending of the architectural and sculptural arts was not born until 1897. From 1893 to 1896, Rhind preoccupied his time with the project of sculpting the entranceway to the Alexander Commencement Hall, on the Princeton University campus, New Jersey.

³² Penny Balkin Bach, *Public Art in Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 65, ("Renewed..."), 60-70. For the list of statues and monuments, see *Stone Age in America*, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/stone-age-in-america/>; *Benjamin Franklin*, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/benjamin-franklin/>; *William Penn*, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/william-penn/>; *Cowboy*, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/cowboy/>; see also, Kenneth Finkel, "Philadelphia's "Cow-Boy" Monument," *The Philly History Blog*, October 14, 2019, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/cowboy/>; *Washington Monument*, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/washington-monument/>.

During this process, Rhind steadily incorporated sculptural figures within his designs. And even President William Howard Taft later mentioned, “that no one knows better than he [Rhind] how to make sculpture an integral part of the whole design...An example of such felicitous union of structure and embellishment is found in the elaborate front of the Alexander Commencement Hall.” Rhind, himself, also noted the sculptural achievements at the Alexander Commencement Hall, stating, “In the early nineties there were few examples of public structure beyond the occasional statue one saw in a city square” and “then came a sudden renaissance of building in the country” as “public buildings began to spring up all over America” at “which the desire for a fitting ornamentation [sculptures] was apparent.”³³

After completing the Alexander Commencement Hall in 1896, Rhind joined fellow sculptors in integrating the Native American image in public art spurred by the conception of the Colonial Revival and Chicago’s Columbian Exposition. In 1897, Rhind began the *Corning Fountain* featured in Hartford, Connecticut, his first attempt at capturing native life in sculpture. The *Corning Fountain* is greatly informed by what one art historian notes as a ““genteel cause,” and nationalistic fervor, which were effectively communicated at the Centennial [Philadelphia’s Centennial Exposition of 1876] and Columbian Exposition [Chicago, 1893].”³⁴

³³ McSpadden, *Famous Sculptors of America*, 254-255 (“That no one...”), (“In the early...”).

³⁴ Robert Arthur LeGary, Jr, “Symbolizing a City, Preserving a Past: J. Massey Rhind’s Corning Fountain (1899) and the Native American Image,” Master’s Thesis, State University of New York At Stony Brook, 2001, 21.

Rhind wrote to his father before beginning the *Corning Fountain* in 1897. In the letter, Rhind excitingly states, “that I have never seen anything like it – this universal impulse to civic beauty.” For Rhind and one other sculptor, this next great impulse to civic beauty cast Native Americans as the focal subject.³⁵

Sculptural Inceptions: Dallin and Rhind

The second moment began in 1890, when sculptor Cyrus Dallin moved back to America. Upon arrival, he brought with him a bronze statue titled *Signal of Peace*. This statue displays a Lakota man sitting atop a horse, holding a spear in the air, and a long-feathered headdress trailing down each side of his head, onto the body of the horse (figure 13). Dallin’s statue, sculpted in Paris in 1889 and shown at the 1890 Paris International Exposition, was a political petition against the United States government. He sculpted this piece in solidarity with the Sioux during the petition of the Sioux Act in 1889, which formed the North American states of North and South Dakota, effectively appropriating Siouxan lands.³⁶ Dallin, born in the indigenous region of Springville, Utah, in 1861, and in the vicinity of the Ute and Paiute tribal encampments, knew well the plight of Native Americans. In advocating for Lakota and Dakota sovereignty, Dallin’s work offered an expression of accord during a time of strife. Later in 1893, Dallin presented *Signal of Peace* at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition in an effort to continue the promotion of peaceful relations between the United States government and

³⁵ McSpadden, *Famous Sculptors of America*, 255.

³⁶ Emily C. Burns, *Transnational Frontiers: The American West in France*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). “The Sioux Act of 1889, Chapter 405,” *Fiftieth Congress, Session II, Chapters 404, 405, 1889*, accessed November 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/50th-congress/session-2/c50s2ch405.pdf>.

Native America communities. At the Columbian Exposition, Dallin's work received a medal and diploma of excellence, and was purchased by a prominent Chicago judge named Lambert Tree. Dallin was in the vanguard of this new artistic expression, as his work was one of only three sculptures depicting Native American form.³⁷



Figure 13. Dallin's *Signal of Peace*. Photo courtesy of Alanscottwalker, Wikimedia Commons.

Following the positive reception of *Signal of Peace*, Dallin worked to sculpt his next piece, the *Medicine Man*. Dallin returned to Paris from 1896 to 1899, wherein he refined his role as a sculptor, finding his metaphorical voice in the form of the *Medicine Man*. This statue featured a Siouxan man straddling a horse and adorned with a horned

³⁷ Emily C. Burns, "Political Contestation in Cyrus Dallin's American Indian Monuments," *Archives of American Art Journal*, 57:1, (Spring 2018), 10; *Fairmount Park Art Association: Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees and the List of Members*, No. 37, (Philadelphia, 1903), 50. For an extended overview of Dallin's importance to American sculptural arts, see John C. Ewers, "Cyrus E. Dallin: Master Sculptor of the Plains Indian," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 18:1 (Winter 1968), 34-43. Edmonia Lewis' *Bust of Hiawatha* and Paul Wayland Bartlett's *The Ghost Dance* are the other two sculptures.

war bonnet headpiece, with long braided hair and wearing buffalo moccasins (figure 14). Dallin finished this piece in 1899. Unknown to Dallin, however, Rhind completed the *Corning Fountain* in the same year, presenting another Native American form in sculpture.³⁸



Figure 14. Dallin's *Medicine Man*. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

In 1897 a New York broker, John J. Corning, commissioned Rhind to create an “American fountain... specifically appropriate to Hartford.”³⁹ Started in 1897 and

³⁸ Burns, “Political Contestation,” 8, 11.

³⁹ Quote taken from LeGary, “Symbolizing a City, Preserving a Past,” 40.

completed in 1899, the *Corning Fountain*, memorialized John J.'s father, John B. Corning. This massive fountain features the sculptural depictions of eight Native Americans, four women at the top of the fountain and four men placed clockwise around the fountain on individual pedestals. For this thesis, the statues of the four men are most important.

For the *Corning Fountain*, Rhind sculpted portrayals of four men from the Saukiog Native community of Connecticut. These statues resemble different interactions of the Saukiog Natives with their environment and with European settler colonists. Each statue tells a story. The first shows a man spearing a fish, which showcases an interaction with the environment pre-European contact. The second, a crouched man wearing a feathered headdress and shading his eyes while looking outward toward the impending arrival of Europeans. The third, a kneeling man with one arm raised and a tomahawk in-hand, holding his hatchet high in the air as to resemble a warrior battling the European settler colonists. The fourth displays a man kneeling on a hatchet and extending a pipe toward viewers of the statue with the hope of enacting peaceful negotiations with the European settler colonists (figure 11). Rhind's second statue at the *Corning Fountain* is most important. This statue is an exact replica of the *Tedyuscung Statue* in the Wissahickon (figure 16).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Bushnell Park Foundation, "Corning Fountain," 2020, <http://www.bushnellpark.org/attractions/corning-fountain>



Figure 15. Rhind's *Corning Fountain*, showing three Native American figures. The man spearing a fish is less visible in the right-hand frame of the picture. Photo courtesy of Kenneth C. Zirkel, Wikimedia Commons.

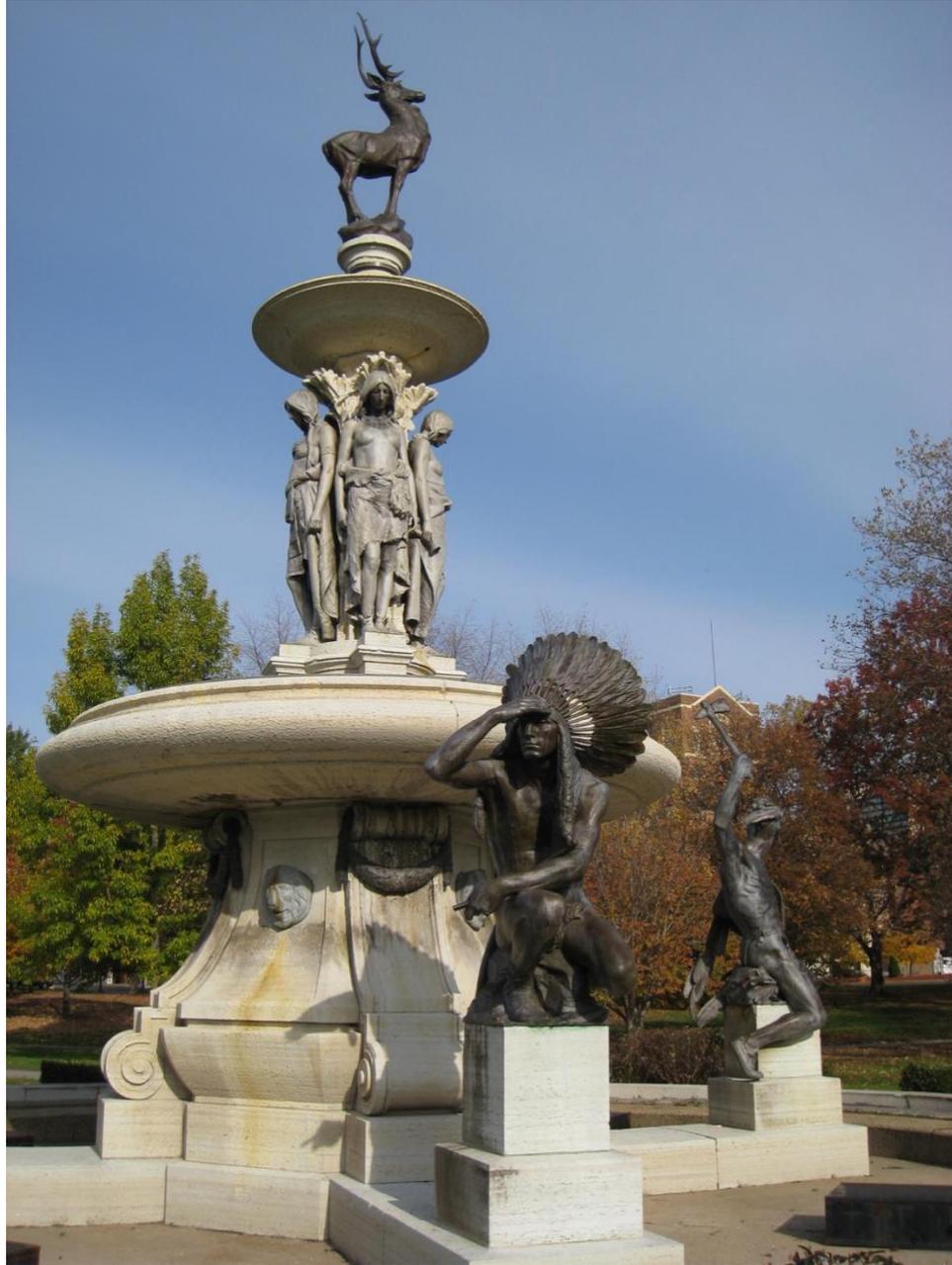


Figure 16. The fourth statue in Rhind's *Corning Fountain*. Photo courtesy of Daderot, Wikimedia Commons.

Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon and Dallin's *Medicine Man* had separate introductions in Fairmount Park. The conclusive third moment examines the Fairmount Park Art Association and the Fairmount Park Commission's differing commemorative efforts. The Fairmount Park Commission led the commencement of Rhind's statue in the

Wissahickon in 1902, and the Fairmount Park Art Association headed the commencement of Dallin's *Medicine Man* a year later in 1903. Both groups, however, had exceedingly different and somewhat awkward paths.

In the early 1900s, the Fairmount Park Art Association and commissioners of the Fairmount Park Commission followed separate agendas. First, commissioners of the Fairmount Park Commission acted on behalf of private donors. A commissioner, acting on behalf of a private donor, had the ability to control the commencement ceremony of a structure entering Fairmount Park, exclusive of the Fairmount Park Arts Association's instructions. An example of this is seen with the presentation of misinformation pertaining to Teedyuscung and the Lenni-Lenape on commemoration day for Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon noted in chapter two. For that commencement ceremony, commissioner Charles W. Henry had the power to appoint any person he wished to speak at commencement day. Second, the Fairmount Park Art Association had high standards for civic and social engagement with Philadelphia's residents. The Fairmount Park Art Association believed that accurate information must be told when presenting a new monument or structure in Fairmount Park. Proof of this is seen in the Fairmount Park Art Association's handling of the *Medicine Man* statue's commencement day.⁴¹

⁴¹ Further verifying my claim, the 1902 commencement of Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon is not listed in the Fairmount Park Art Association notes of 1903. Commissioners could act on the account of private donors, outside of the auspices of the Fairmount Park Art Association and excluded from their notes.

The Fairmount Park Arts Association unveiled Dallin's *Medicine Man* statue on December 10th, 1903, erected in East Fairmount Park on a pedestal of red granite.⁴² Buried beneath this granite pedestal is a sealed metal box that includes newspaper clippings, coins, and various printed materials of local history in 1903. Following the placement and burial of the box, Francis La Flesche, a member of the Omaha Tribe, made a speech. And La Flesche, a renowned Indigenous ethnographer, ethnomusicologist, writer, and overall advocate for Native American sovereignty and preservation, was perfect for the job. As one historian notes La Flesche's importance in the early twentieth century, stating, "La Flesche took on as one of the primary objectives of his writing and research the goal of changing white Americans' conception of Indians."⁴³ In seeking to educate the audience and potentially change these viewers' preconceptions of Native peoples, La Flesche explained the presence and role of the medicine man in the Siouxan society and recounted his own life:

The statue at once brings back vividly to my mind the scenes of my early youth, scenes that I shall never again see in their reality. This reopening of the past to me would never have been possible, had not your artists risen

⁴² The Fairmount Park Art Association purchased Dallin's "Medicine Man" statue for \$6,000 at the 1899 Paris Salon.

⁴³ *The Osage and the Invisible World: From the Works of Francis La Flesche*, introduced and edited, Garrick A. Bailey, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), ("La Flesche took on..."), 11. Francis La Flesche was an important Indigenous activist, scholar, and ethnographer who worked alongside Alice Fletcher, the creator of ethnographic "field work." He also held a law degree and worked as the first Indigenous person to work for establishments such as, the Peabody Museum of Natural History (Harvard University); The Smithsonian Museum; the Geological Surveys; and the Bureau of Ethnology. And he worked with Indigenous groups such as the Omaha and Osage. See, Katie Garber, "Francis La Flesche and Ethnography: Writing, Power, Critique," *Ethnomusicology*, 61: 1 (Winter 2017), 115-139; Sherry L. Smith, "Francis La Flesche and the world of Letters," *The American Indian Quarterly*, 25: 4 (Fall 2001), 579-603.

above the distorting influence of the prejudice one race is apt to feel toward another and been gifted with imagination to discern the truth.⁴⁴

Speaking upon the historically accurate interpretation of Dallin's work, La Flesche offered his gratitude toward the promotion of Native American history, and especially the history of the Sioux. Heeding the commencement of Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon, we can imagine La Flesche's discontent toward its artistic interpretation of Native Americans.⁴⁵

Displayed by the Fairmount Park Art Association's presentation of the *Medicine Man* statue, the two organization of Fairmount Park differed greatly. At the direction of the commissioners of the Fairmount Park Commission, Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon received an inadequate portrayal of Teedyuscung's history. The Fairmount Park Art Association, however, displayed the care needed in commemorating the indigenous peoples of North America. They featured a Native leader who adequately spoke for and represented Siouxan peoples of North America. Rhind's statue in the Wissahickon, of course, is just as emblematic of a cause as Teedyuscung's attire was in 1757. For Rhind, however, his cause included the nationalist fervor of the era and furthered an agenda set course by the Colonial Revival movement. Clearly, statues and their depictions – specifically clothing style and form – have the power to narrate history. Can statues and

⁴⁴ Francis LaFlesche, *Who Was The Medicine Man?*, (Philadelphia: The Fairmount Park Art Association, 1904), 13.

⁴⁵ *Fairmount Park Art Association: An Account of Its Origin and Activities from Its Founding in 1871*, (Philadelphia: The Fairmount Park Art Association, 1922), 57-58. For the contents and a description of the hermetically sealed box, see *Fairmount Park Art Association: Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees and the List of Members*, 18.

monuments, however, reaffirm and reclaim narratives of Native American pasts in positive and progressive forms?

CHAPTER 4

PROGRESSION: NATIVE AMERICAN STATUE AND MONUMENT

COMMEMORATIONS TODAY

In Philadelphia, the statue of a Lenni-Lenape man stands in direct alignment with City Hall's William Penn Statue and Penn Treaty Park. This twenty-one-foot bronze statue depicts Tamanend, the Lenni-Lenape King of the Turtle Clan who *signed* the first treaty of peace with William Penn in 1682. Here, however, and unlike most statues in the city's landscape, this statue's appearance and placement create an imagined space.

This statue, and its placement, promotes Philadelphia's founding myth. By sitting directionally-in-line with Penn Treaty Park and the William Penn statue atop City Hall, it binds Tamanend and William Penn together into the same mythic story of Philadelphia's creation. The story goes like this: William Penn landed on North America in 1682, made peace with the Natives, signed a treaty with Chief Tamanend under an elm tree at a place then called Shackamaxon (area surrounding Penn Treaty Park), and thus earned for his Quaker followers the right to peacefully inhabit the area we now call Philadelphia. The physical treaty and the elm tree, however, do not exist.⁴⁶ This treaty was, as French

⁴⁶ Although a physical copy of a treaty does not exist, Francis Jennings believes William Penn's sons, Thomas and John, destroyed the original prior to fraudulently ceding the Lenni-Lenape ancestral homelands in the 1737 "Walking Purchase." See, Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, (New York: Norton, 1976), 201.

philosopher Voltaire, states, “never written and never broken.”⁴⁷ If not for historic documents that prove Pennsylvania was a peaceful colony in its early years, and the propaganda surrounding Pennsylvania’s *peaceful* early history, the treaty story between William Penn, Tamanend and the Lenni-Lenape under the “great elm” at Shackamaxon would not exist.⁴⁸ The Tamanend statue, then, though it may commemorate Philadelphia’s storied founding, does not commemorate Native people in any meaningful way.

The Tamanend statue reflects a larger issue associated with commemorating Native histories. Native peoples, more often than not, are not able to promote the stories they seek to tell in statue and monument commemorations. And, since many Native American communities cease to hold federal or state recognition, it is more difficult for Native communities to control the presentation of their histories. This is wholly the case for Native peoples in Pennsylvania, as the Delaware Nation and the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania are not recognized as tribal nations by the state of Pennsylvania. In recent

⁴⁷ Quote taken from, Lindsay DiCuirci, *Colonial Revivals: The Nineteenth Century Lives of Early American Books*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 122. For William Penn’s storied treaty, see Deborah A. Fisher, “William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians,” in *Encyclopedia of American Studies*, ed. Simon Bronner, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018).

⁴⁸ For disproved propaganda, see Benjamin West’s painting, “The Treaty of Penn with the Indians,” Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; Ann Uhry Abrams, “Benjamin West’s Documentation of Colonial History: William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians,” *The Art Bulletin*, 64:1 (March 1982), 59-75. And governmental sources contrived by William Penn’s sons, Thomas and John, related to the “Walking Purchase” of 1737; Jennings, Appendix B “Documents of the Walking Purchase” to *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984); Steven C. Harper, “Making History: Documenting the 1737 Walking Purchase,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 77: 2 (Spring 2010), 217-233; Harper, “The Map That Reveals the Deception of the 1737 Walking Purchase,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 136: 4 (October 2012), 457-460.

years, however, state and federally recognized American Indian nations have begun to erect statues and monuments in places and spaces to remedy and reclaim their stories lost to the chasm of history. As this chapter shows, monuments that commemorate the stories of Native American peoples need not always be bound to indigenous or ancestral places to promote their histories. And statues which are bound to indigenous or ancestral homelands, therefore, often fail to promote or commemorate Native histories.

In 2000, a National Park Service (NPS) researcher located two unmarked graves in St. Louis, Missouri's Calvary Cemetery. The graves dated to 1831 and they belonged to two Nimi'ipuu people, Black Eagle and Speaking Eagle. The Nimi'ipuu ancestral homeland, however, is located 2,000 miles west of St. Louis on the Columbia River Plateau in the modern-day state of Idaho. So, these two men must have travelled east through the Rocky Mountains toward St. Louis. Their graves, found by NPS Nimi'ipuu tribal liaison W. Otis Halfmoon and NPS researcher Robert Moore, provided important details to a story long forgotten by the Nimi'ipuu and Americans alike. Halfmoon and Moore sought to reclaim the story of these men and by finding their graves, helped to further the public knowledge of Nimi'ipuu history and American history. But why did Black Eagle and Speaking Eagle travel so far? And how did they accomplish such a feat?⁴⁹

These two men were originally part of a four-man delegation sent to St. Louis in search of the Christian religion. In 1831, the Nimi'ipuu's Chief Red Bear instructed the

⁴⁹ Rosa Yearout, "On the Trail: A History Lesson We Share with Pride," *Idaho Catholic Registry*, (March 2012), 13.

four men to travel east across the Rocky Mountains with a guide from the Hudson's Bay Canadian fur trading company to find the famed explorers Merriweather Lewis and William Clark in St. Louis. Chief Red Bear instructed that these four men find Lewis and Clark, and that they were to ask Lewis and Clark for a "book of light" (a Christian Bible). The four men found Lewis and Clark in St. Louis, but they did not receive a Christian bible or "book of light." But Clark did direct these men to a Christian church where they received a metal cross. Of the four men, Black Eagle and Speaking Eagle died in St. Louis, one man died on the return trip, and one man returned to the Nimi'ipuu with the metal cross in hand. Although some historians and Nimi'ipuu tribal members argue that Christianity did, and did not, create an internal fissure within Nimi'ipuu culture and society, the delegation's success, nonetheless, transformed the Nimi'ipuu Nation. Further, this extraordinary feat is the Nimi'ipuu Nations first documented, and successful, eastward travel across the Rocky Mountains.⁵⁰

This extraordinary feat is commemorated today by a monument that stands at the grave of Black Eagle and Speaking Eagle in Calvary Cemetery (figure 17). The monument's creation resulted from the "Nez Perce St. Louis Warriors Project" (NPSTLWP) which received a \$10,000 Lewis and Clark Bicentennial grant awarded by the Idaho State Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee to pay for the statue's

⁵⁰ See, Clifford M. Drury, "The Nez Perce Delegation of 1831," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 40: 3 (September 1939), 283-287; Alvin M. Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 87-96; Alexander O'Gorman, "Nimi'ipuu: Religion and the Purveyors of Religious Acculturation," *Journal of the West*, 58: 2 (Spring 2019), 29-32; Tim Woodward, "Nez Perce Tribe finally will get memorial to two Idaho warriors: Carving to Honor Nez Perce Who Died 200 Years Ago," *The Idaho Statesman*, National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, accessed December 2020, http://www.nathpo.org/News/Lewis_Clark/News_Lewis11.htm.

creation and induction ceremony. The eight-foot-tall granite monument, which commemorates their journey and preserves this formative event in Nimi'ipuu and American history, displays two eagle feathers that represent the two fallen soldiers.



Figure 17. Nez Perce 1831 St. Louis Delegation Memorial monument. Photo courtesy of Bruce S., Waymarking.com
https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/wm81R_Nez_Perce_Indian_Warrior_Graves_St_Louis

Designed by Crystal White, a Nimi'ipuu Nation member and historian, the eagle feathers are important Nimi'ipuu cultural objects. To wear eagle feathers in the Nimi'ipuu society is the highest honor and one that is only afforded to experienced and elder members. White chose the eagle feathers to accurately commemorate these men with the highest honor and to remain culturally accurate to the Nimi'ipuu Nation's history and culture. White and the Nimi'ipuu's monument is what one reporter notes as, "a source of civic pride that has been a long time coming." For the Nimi'ipuu population of 1,100 residing on the Nation's reservation in Lapwai, Idaho, the monument displays a

proud moment of promotion and reclamation of Nimi'ipuu history, culture, and society in a public place and space.⁵¹

Kindred Spirits

Another commemorative expression of Native reclamation of history is found with the Choctaw Nation. After the Federal government expropriated the Choctaw from their homelands in Mississippi in 1831, the Choctaw community suffered widespread famine, death, and confusion. Sixteen years later, and after being afflicted by starvation and hunger during the relocation process to a reservation plot in Oklahoma, the Choctaw peoples helped another group of peoples in need of help to stop famine and hunger. The Choctaw Nation gathered \$170 (equivalent to \$4,400 today) and donated it to help feed the starving peoples of Ireland in 1847.⁵²

Many people in Ireland never forgot this generous donation. Ireland's potato famine ended in 1849 after four long years of hunger and inability to produce proper crop yields. Of the four years of famine, 1847 was the worst. Referred to as "Black 47," almost one million people starved to death in this year.⁵³ From 1847 to the present-day, the friendship between the Choctaw and Irish remains strong. For example, in 1990 some county leaders in Ireland invited some Choctaw leaders to join the first annual Famine

⁵¹ Woodward, "Nez Perce Tribe finally will get memorial to two Idaho warriors: Carving to Honor Nez Perce Who Died 200 Years Ago."

⁵² Unknown, "Sculpture in Ireland Honors Choctaw Nation," *Choctaw Nation Website*, accessed December 2020, <https://www.choctawnation.com/news-events/press-media/sculpture-ireland-honors-choctaw-nation>.

⁵³ Christine Kinealy, "Great Famine Revisited: General Introduction," in *The History of the Irish Famine Vol. 1*, eds. Christine Kinealy, Gerard Moran, and Jason King, (New York: Routledge, 2019), 2-13.

walk in County Mayo, Ireland. And, two years later, some Irish leaders came to America to march the 500-mile length of the Trail of Tears with the Choctaw. The continued bond and friendship between the Choctaw Nation and the people of Ireland is enshrined today in a monument titled *Kindred Spirits* which commemorates the Choctaw Nation's support in 1847 (figure 18).⁵⁴

This monument narrates the important history shared between the peoples of the Choctaw Nation and Ireland. Commissioned by the Midleton Town Council in County Cork, Ireland, and sculpted by Alex Pentek, *Kindred Spirits* stands in Bailick Park as a recognition of the Choctaw people's generosity and friendship. Pentek's monument displays nine, twenty-three-foot-tall stainless steel eagle feathers placed up-right in a circle, which resembles an empty bowl "symbolic of the Great Irish Famine."



Figure 18. "Kindred Spirits" monument. Photo courtesy of Gavin Sheridan, Wikimedia Commons.

⁵⁴ For an examination of the history of Choctaw and Irish relations, see ed. LeAnne Howe and Padraig Kirwan, *Famine Pots: The Choctaw-Irish Gift Exchange, 1847-Present*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2020).

Pentek further incorporated the eagle feathers in respect of the Choctaw’s culture, as eagle feathers are traditionally “used in Choctaw ceremonial dress.” This statue, as Pentek states, aims “to communicate the tenderness and warmth of the Choctaw Nation who provided food to the hungry when they themselves were still recovering from their own tragic recent past.” Pentek, who paid close attention to detail, wanted to provide the most accurate representation of the Choctaw Nation’s culture and promote the joint history between the Choctaw and the people of Ireland.⁵⁵

And in doing so, some members from the Choctaw Nation honored this statue and the important history surrounding it. On July 18, 2017, Midleton county invited members of the Choctaw Nation to Ireland for a commemorative service. On this day, Choctaw members Chief Gary Batton and Assistant Chief Jack Austin Jr., attended the special ceremony. In honoring the statue, Chief Batton explained, “your story is our story... The bond between our nations has strengthened over the years. We are blessed to have the opportunity to share our cultures.” Making sure to note the similarities in history, Chief Batton expressed his joy for the reclamation of Choctaw history in Ireland and the importance to remember that both the Choctaw peoples and people of Ireland have similar histories. On this July day, hundreds of people gathered in Bailick Park to witness

⁵⁵ Barry Roche, “Cork Sculpture recalls generosity of Choctaw Nation during Famine,” *The Irish Times*, accessed December 2020, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/cork-sculpture-recalls-generosity-of-choctaw-nation-during-famine-1.3118580>; “Kindred Spirits,” Alex Pentek website, accessed December 2020, <http://alexpentek.com/current-projects>, (“symbolic of the...”), (“used in Choctaw...”), (“to communicate the tenderness...”).

the Choctaw commemoration ceremony and experience this spectacle of public history and continued friendship between these two communities.⁵⁶

Dignity of Earth and Sky

The third case study, though, proves a bit different from the previous two. In Chamberlain, South Dakota, a fifty-foot stainless steel monument stands on a bluff above the Missouri River, towering over pedestrians and passers-by (figure 19). This statue, titled *Dignity of Earth and Sky* and sculpted by D.C. Lamphere, depicts a native woman outstretching a star quilt which is made of 128 colored diamonds, reflecting the colors of the water and sky that surround her. This woman represents what Lamphere believes to be the “courage, perseverance and wisdom” of the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota peoples of South Dakota in effort to “honor the Native nations of the Great Plains.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ “Sculpture in Ireland honors Choctaw Nation.”

⁵⁷ “Dignity of Earth and Sky,” D.C. Lamphere Studio website, accessed December 2020, <https://www.lampherestudio.com/dignity>; *Travel South Dakota Website*, accessed December 2020, <https://www.travelsouthdakota.com/northeast-region>.



Figure 19. “Dignity of Earth and Sky” statue. Photo courtesy of Kidderdan, Wikimedia Commons.

In seeking to reclaim the history of the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota peoples of the Great Plains, the *Dignity* statue, however, serves a different purpose than the previous two case studies. After its creation, the state of South Dakota successfully commodified the *Dignity* statue. According to one South Dakota news outlet, residents of the state can now purchase license plates with the image of the *Dignity* statue imprinted upon them. This license plate promotes the state of South Dakota, furthering the state as an established tourist destination which features Mount Rushmore, most of Americas remaining live Buffalo population, and the “great canyons.” But this commodification does not necessarily bring attention to the twenty-three sovereign, and distinct federally recognized American Indian Nations who legally hold over one-million acres of federally recognized lands in South Dakota. This statue, and license plate it is featured upon, can

only promote South Dakota's Native history, which does not promote the current affairs of the state's American Indian population.⁵⁸

On one hand, the state of South Dakota is home to the most federally recognized American Indian lands in the country. On the other hand, it is home to the most impoverished American Indian reservation in the country. In complying with modern practices of creating Native American statue and monument commemorations, which are also found in the last two case studies, Lamphere did consult with the Native communities he sought to promote through the *Dignity* statue. Lamphere consulted with Native residents from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and after the statue's completion one Native resident of this place stated, "It's just amazing. It's beautiful. It's a great honor for our people. I'm happy that someone would think to do this in honor of us."⁵⁹

Indeed, this resident's approval marks a beginning in the reliance of Native American histories via statues and monuments in place and space. But this statue does not promote the awareness needed in current American Indian affairs, as the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is home to the lowest life expectancy, and it is one of the poorest communities in the United States. The Oglala Sioux tribe at Pine Ridge Reservation is in need of federal and state assistance, none of which this statue offers. But what more can a

⁵⁸ "Dignity License Plates Available July 1," *Dakota News Now*, accessed December 2020, <https://www.dakotane.wsnow.com/content/news/Dignity-license-plates-available-July-1-427489993.html>; *Native Governance Center* website, accessed December 2020, <https://nativegov.org/our-story/>.

⁵⁹ Noel Kirkpatrick, "Dignity Stands Tall in South Dakota, Honoring Native Tribes," *TreeHugger: Sustainability for All*, August 14, 2017, accessed December 2020, <https://www.treehugger.com/dignity-statue-honors-culture-lakota-and-dakota-people-4864460>.

statue do than simply promote those it represents? The answer: little to nothing if the state and federal government do not offer necessary assistance. The *Dignity* statue, then, can only stand as a piece of public art that commemorates the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota people's history, but fails to bring awareness to their current affairs.⁶⁰

In effect, the *Dignity* statue serves three purposes. One, the statue strives to, but purports to, raise public awareness about the history and endured presence of the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota peoples. Two, state funds procured from sales of the *Dignity* license plate do not make its way to the Native communities in need. And three, the *Dignity* statue only adds to the tourist allure in the state of South Dakota. Although the *Dignity* statue seeks to bring awareness to, and potentially narrate the history of the Lakota, Dakota, Nakota, and Oglala Sioux, this statue can only promote the history of South Dakota, excluding its Native past and current Native affairs within the state.

Statues and monuments can serve many purposes when used to commemorate Native American peoples and communities. As seen with the Nimi'ipuu and the Choctaw Nations, monuments can serve to narrate Indigenous histories and stories and promote public awareness to each American Indian Nation. But, as noted with the *Dignity* and *Tamanend* statue, statues can only promote an image that often fails to relay the current affairs of Indigenous peoples. Monuments use inscribed words and form as narrators of

⁶⁰ For the Pine Ridge Reservation, see "Re-Member Pine Ridge Reservation," accessed January 2021, <https://www.re-member.org/pine-ridge-reservation.aspx>; "Friends of the Pine Ridge Reservation," accessed January 2021, <https://friendsofpineridgereservation.org>; and the Oglala Lakota Nation home page, accessed January 2021, <https://oglalalakotanation.info>.

history and story, whereas statues narrate history and story through appearance. And appearance can never truly narrate.

This is, unfortunately, the same case for Native peoples who continue to reside in Pennsylvania.⁶¹ Within the last decade in Pennsylvania, Native peoples of the Delaware Nation created a cultural center in Allentown, PA, to promote public awareness of their peoples and culture. And similarly, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, not part of the Delaware Nation, which operates as a non-profit 501c3 organization opened their own cultural center in Easton, PA. Although the Delaware Nation has federal recognition, neither it nor the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania have state recognition in Pennsylvania. As a result, city and state commissions control the public display of Native histories and stories through statues and monuments, exclusive of Native collaboration or engagement. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has the ability to review and certify state-sponsored statues and monuments at historic sites and on public property, excluding Native voices in the review and creation process. And, as such, their history is often silenced in support of other stories, such as Penn's Treaty with the Lenni-Lenape.⁶² If all their varied purposes, statues and monuments can successfully narrate Native histories. But, these incredibly powerful tools of narration can also silence the very people they seek to

⁶¹ See, David Minderhout and Andrea Frantz, "Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania," *Human Organization*, 67:1 (Spring 2008), 61-67.

⁶² See also Daniel Shurley's article that touches on the issue of Philadelphia silencing Lenni-Lenape history, "Philadelphia's Forgotten Forebears: How Pennsylvania Erased The Lenape From Local History," *Hidden City Philadelphia: Exploring Philadelphia's Urban Landscape*, August 23, 2019, accessed January 2021, <https://hiddencityphila.org/2019/08/philadelphias-forgotten-forebears-how-pennsylvania-erased-the-lenape-from-local-history/>.

commemorate. And, so it seems, monuments help commemorate stories and histories, whereas statues help create, and sometime mislead, stories and histories.

CHAPTER 5

ADAPTATION: DECOLONIZING THE NARRATIVE

In 2000, the Friends of the Wissahickon sought “to restore the ‘Indian.’” The friends submitted a proposal to the “Save Outdoor Sculpture!” program, granted by the Heritage Preservation’s National Institute of Conservation. Preparing for the *Tedyuscung Statue*’s one-hundred-year anniversary in 2002, the friends sought to restore the statue. After almost a century of decay and vandalization, Rhind’s statue stood similar to Middleton’s once sturdy billboard, a victim of vandalization and weather. And, after some much-needed restoration, the Friends of the Wissahickon successfully unveiled their statue. Although the friends restored the “Indian,” the place markers and interpretive wayside marker labeled “Tedyuscung” remained unamended.⁶³

Walking to view Rhind’s statue from Forbidden Drive, viewers will first see the interpretive wayside marker dedicating the statue (figure 20). The marker, sub headed “Looking West,” states:

Across the stream and about 100 feet up the hill you’ll see a statue, carved in 1902, of a Lenape Indian Chief. Though some say the statue is the Lenape leader “Tedyuscung,” it’s meant to symbolize a nameless chief. Legend has it he’s watching his people leave in the late 1750s, headed west for someplace less crowded.

⁶³ “Email from Peter Latham,” December 1, 2000, Fairmount Park Archives.

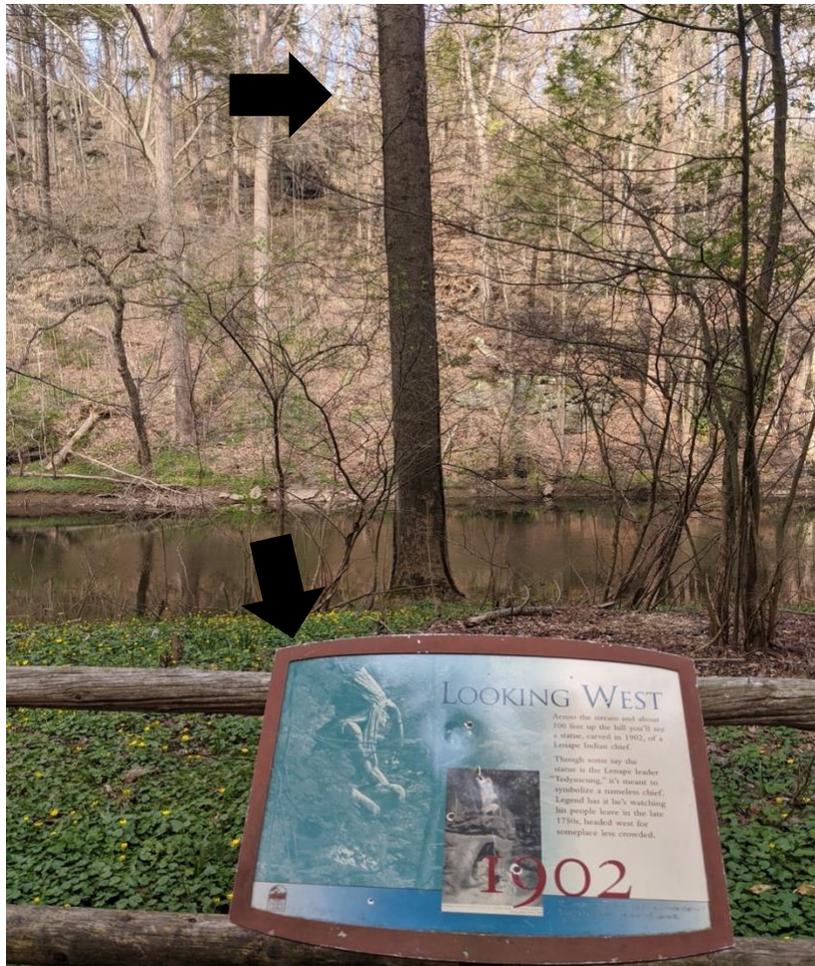


Figure 20. The *Tedyuscung Statue* historic information board with arrows pointing to the statue visible through the trees above, and the board. Photo courtesy the author.

Farther down Forbidden Drive, and walking toward the statue, viewers will see directional signs labeled “Tedyuscung Statue” (figure 21). Since the Friends of the Wissahickon acknowledged the statue as the “Indian,” it is clear they do not believe the statue to represent Teedyuscung. So, then, why did the Friends of the Wissahickon fail to change the statue’s interpretive wayside markers or place-markers?



Figure 21. *Tedyuscung Statue* directional marker. Photo courtesy the author.

Although there is no definitive answer to this question, this interpretive wayside marker associated with Rhind's statue tells a much different story than any other wayside marker in Fairmount Park. Most other plaques and interpretive way markers for public art located throughout Philadelphia simply show information about the artist or creator, or they explain where the statue or monuments once stood. But, of all the other works of

public art in Fairmount Park, none are narrated like Rhind's statue. Herein lies our problem. How do we use statues and monuments to productively narrate history? In answering this question, I offer a step-forward. In making this step, I seek to unveil a plan for an adaptive reuse project for the *Tedyuscung Statue*. If narrated, statues and monuments can help decolonize native spaces and place.

Unlike all other interpretive wayside markers in Fairmount Park, the one bound to this statue displays the narrative of the "vanishing Indian." As much of this thesis examines the form of the *Tedyuscung Statue* and the story it tells, the statue's interpretive wayside marker firmly plants the statue within a settler colonial narrative. The *Tedyuscung Statue*, though, uses both form and narration to imbue public memory. Indians, as we now know full-well, did not relocate due to overcrowding, and they did not relocate due to an unacceptance of white European values. American peoples and governments forced the removal of Native peoples residing in the Eastern and Western coasts, and Midwest lands.⁶⁴

This interpretive wayside marker, then, stands as a powerful message. When we read written accounts, it is as if we are engaging in an imaginative world. But a world with very serious implications. Written texts, such as this wayside marker, are always created, as one historian notes, "both visually and textually within a particular time and place, recording curators' opinions, beliefs, and values." This wayside marker brings

⁶⁴ For the myth of the vanishing Indian, see Francis Jennings, "Virgin Land and Savage People," *American Quarterly*, 23: 4 (October 1971), 519-541; Ari Kelman, "The Myth of the Vanishing Indian: A Fierce Argument in Defence of Indigenous American Cultures," *Times Literary Supplement*, No. 6066 (2019), 12.

readers into a created world in which Native American peoples peaceably moved west, leaving their ancestral homelands, willingly. This wayside marker serves only to perpetuate a narrative of settler colonialism. And, as such, “Part of the legacy of colonialism,” states historian and museum curator, Raney Bench, “is that Native people have had the authority to tell their own stories taken away.”⁶⁵

Colonial narratives must be amended. We are, however, in luck, as our current era is witness to decolonization efforts. For one example, historian Katrine Barber introduces a set of tenets for decolonial public history methodology. These tenets foreground abandoning “faith in the superiority of the dominant culture,” including and acknowledging Indigenous communities and their histories, engaging with Indigenous “experts identified by their communities,” respecting community tribal protocol and governance, and developing public facing narratives that “debunk and oppose those that naturalize the colonial past.” Barber notes further, however, that these principles of decolonizing public history are anticipated to happen and have yet to be incorporated in many community projects.⁶⁶

Barber’s methodology has potential in Pennsylvania as well. Pennsylvania is now home to two Native cultural centers and museums. Created by American Indian peoples

⁶⁵ Amy Lonetree and Amanda J. Cobb, eds., *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 181-182 (“both visually...”); Raney Bench, *Interpreting Native American History and Culture at Museums and Historic Sites*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 35 (“Part of...”). These arguments about writing Native histories are not new, as scholars have long scrutinized the power of text over oral traditions. For one example, see Daniel K. Richter, “Whose Indian History?” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 50: 2 (April 1993), 383-393.

⁶⁶ Katrine Barber, “Shared Authority in the Context of Tribal Sovereignty: Building Capacity for Partnerships with Indigenous Nations,” *The Public Historian*, 35:4 (November 2013), 21.

to promote Native histories and oppose colonial pasts, the Delaware Nation of Anadarko, Oklahoma, opened the first, the “Museum of Indian Culture” in Allentown, PA. The Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania opened the second, the “Cultural Center and Trading Post” in Easton, PA.⁶⁷ Both centers promote awareness and educational outreach for the public and those interested in learning more about Lenni Lenape culture and American Indian cultures in Pennsylvania. And both seek to decolonize the public’s knowledge, and memory, of American Indian peoples in Pennsylvania. With these two Native cultural centers in operation, Pennsylvania’s Native and non-Native communities may successfully engage in public decolonization projects.

And these public projects require that the creation, interrogation, remembrance, and adaptation of public art must always be a communal process. “We all contribute to public art,” states architectural historian, Joni Palmer, and also the “enduring value and meaning by our interacting with it.” Palmer refers to the act of finding communal value, meaning, and interaction in public art as “co-productive acts.”⁶⁸ Palmer’s work, however, looks beyond the notions of producers and audiences of public art, and engages directly with the peoples who public art pieces affect. Here, Palmer’s work addresses the

⁶⁷ I would like to note – I am aware of the issues between the Delaware Nation and Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania. But it is not my authority, or professional requirement, to speak on these issues. I simply speak about both communities, and cultural centers, in effort to establish potential Native communities who may want to partner with my project. For cultural centers, see <https://www.museumofindianculture.org>; and <https://www.lenape-nation.org>. A third center has since opened as well, see <https://www.discovernepa.com/thing-to-do/american-indian-cultural-center/>.

⁶⁸ Joni M. Palmer, “The Resonances of Public Art: Thoughts on the Notion of Co-Productive Acts and Public Art,” *City & Society*, 30: 1 (April 2018), 69.

important need for communal engagement with whomever a piece of art will affect, either by personal image, communal image, or a distortion of public memory.⁶⁹

Palmer's ideals align directly with public art and the commemoration of Native peoples in America. The twenty-first century has witnessed a change in Native statue and monument creation allowing the involvement of Native communities in the creation process for public art. In abiding by principles laid out by Barber and Palmer, there must be active engagement between Native communities, and all minority communities, and the larger non-minority communities in order to narrate a piece of public art for historic purposes.

Decolonizing the Wissahickon Valley

I seek to apply the ideals of Barber and Palmer in conjunction with an adaptive reuse project we can call, tentatively, "Retelling Teedyuscung." This proposal begins with removing the interpretive wayside marker, as the colonial narrative of the "vanishing Indian" cannot persist. The new marker should indicate who created the statue, and when it was placed in the Wissahickon Valley. This new marker will introduce viewers to the statue's sculptor, John Massey Rhind, offering a brief explanation of the era in which this statue formed and the granite sculpting process.

An additional second wayside marker will need to live near or next to the first. It will offer a brief explanation of Charles W. Henry, the statues commissioner, and his

⁶⁹ Palmers work is in concert with many other art historians who seek to engage with the public, see for example Cameron Cartiere and Jennifer Wingate, "The Failure of Public Art," *Public Art Dialogue*, 10:2 (November 2020), 111-113; Martha Radice, "Putting the Public in Public Art: An Ethnographic Approach to Two Temporary Art Installations," *City & Society*, 30:1 (April 2018), 45-67.

speakers on commemoration day: Samuel Pennypacker, Charles Snowden, and James M. Beck. This wayside marker will deconstruct the myth of the “vanishing Indian” and expose readers to the folklore surrounding “Council” and “Indian” Rock. Through providing two interpretive wayside markers, we can provide two, contradictory but parallel, narratives – the statue’s physical creation and the statue’s folklore creation.

In addition to physical information, an online component will accompany this board. The *Tedyuscung Statue* must be added to the Association for Public Art’s (APA) “Museum Without Walls” tour (MWOW). This includes a one-page-website-spread of the statue, accessible through an online search engine sponsored by the APA.⁷⁰ This page will provide a more-in-depth narrative for the statue, including the story of Joseph Middleton’s original billboard, the stories and folklore associated with “Council” and “Indian” Rock and the commemoration placed upon it, a brief history of the changing landscape of the Wissahickon Valley and Fairmount Park, and, of course, the story of Rhind’s statue and its commemoration in 1902. And for visitors who do not want to or who are unable to climb the valley to see the statue, a link to a Clio interactive tour of the site/ statue is accessible through the APA website, or a scannable QR code on the statue’s interpretive wayside marker.⁷¹

But, none of this is possible without community involvement and collaboration. Before procuring the necessary grant funding for this project, the communities this statue

⁷⁰ For example of form and style, see the Tamanend statue page, <https://www.associationforpublicart.org/artwork/tamanend/>.

⁷¹ For a very tentative example of this, see Alexander R. O’Gorman. "John Massey Rhind's Depiction of a Native American in the Wissahickon Valley." Clio: Your Guide to History. November 30, 2020. Accessed February 2, 2021. <https://www.theclio.com/entry/120833>.

engages must be in coordination. A communal effort by, say, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania (501c3), the Delaware Nation, the Friends of the Wissahickon, the Fairmount Park Conservancy, the Chestnut Hill Conservancy, the Association for Public Art must be in coordination. All communities must share authority in decolonizing works of public art.

Since Rhind's statue was officially commissioned in 1902, we can easily initiate "Retelling Teedyuscung" without the challenges associated with commissioning new public art. As a community, we all have the shared authority to remedy the story surrounding this statue. If done immediately, we can begin to decolonize this piece of public art, which may potentially serve as a useful and educative presentation for history.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: JAMES M. BECK'S THEMATIC ADDRESS

Commemorative art has its serious purpose and solemn obligations. The Greeks had so fine a sense of its properties that they condemned Phidias to prison because he had furtively chiseled images of himself and Pericles on the shield of Minerva... This tradition suggests a great truth. A permanent memorial constitutes not merely a verdict upon the past but a challenge to the future. It seeks to project the beliefs and emotions of a generation beyond the gulf of years into the unknown and illimitable future, down whose infinite vista we turn an eager but darkened vision. It asserts our belief that the thing we commemorate is of such undying interest that it will not 'fade like streaks of morning cloud into the infinite azure of the past.' Such memorials are the letters of a great language, by which one age tells to another its deepest feelings, its greatest passions, its highest hopes, its noblest deeds. Such appeal of the living to the unborn is either an act of sublime justice or it is presumptuous folly. If the latter, its worst vice is that it flatters and therefore shames the dead.

- James M. Beck, 1911⁷²

In 1911, James M. Beck, former head of the Fairmount Park Commission and a speaker at the *Teedyuscung Statue's* commemoration day in 1902, delivered the above speech during a dinner in New York City. At the dinner, Beck arose and spoke, proposing to build a national monument in Washington, D.C. to the "memory of the noble women" who contributed during the Civil War. Beck's speech, and his insight on public art, is invaluable. And, in fact, Beck's words guide the conclusion of this thesis.

⁷² *Project for a National Monument to the Women of the Civil War with Speech of the Hon. James M. Beck, Delivered at the Banquet of the Loyal Legion, New York, October 4, 1911*, (New York: Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 1911), 6-7.

As Beck so poignantly mentioned, a permanent memorial provides a verdict upon the past and a challenge to the future. In addressing this challenge, Beck's speech highlights the four themes present throughout this thesis: legend, creation, progress, and adaptation.

The legend of Teedyuscung and the commemorations bound to this myth displayed what Beck believed to be a "great truth." Most assuredly Beck did not mean these words literally. His words, rather, provide a map for navigating the often-tepid meanings of statue and monument commemorations. The great truth is not a truth at all. Beck's words, in fact, are contradictions. Truth is an idea often molded and distorted by personal opinions for whatever situation one may need it for. And a "great truth," as Beck mentions, consist of many ideas with many different meanings and agendas bound to them. Beck's words, then, explain that commemorations, which are tools traditionally used with specific agendas, should always be questioned by the public in order to find contradictory ideas, or the many differing truths displayed. In Teedyuscung's case, his commemoration in the Wissahickon Valley lives only in memory, and not form, making it harder to unveil the "great truth" or many differing agendas this statue represents.

Continuing a search for truth, Beck notes that each commemorative creation speaks a universal language that societies must be in tune with. In evaluating the language of commemorative creations, Beck, states, "such memorials [statues and monuments] are the letters of a great language, by which one age tells to another its deepest feelings, its greatest passions, its highest hopes, its noblest deeds." When viewing commemorative creations, Beck advises that society not only be attune to the truth (ideas) it conveys, but also understand the societies' artists lived within while creating a

commemoration. When thinking of, say, John Massey Rhind's sculpture in the Wissahickon, viewers may only look upon the statue as a piece of regressive imagery. But instead, viewers must try to understand the world in which this statues creation occurred and how this commemoration reflects our current world.

But finding progressive ways to present past ideals, as Beck notes, is often challenging. Beck states, a "permanent memorial constitutes not merely a verdict upon the past but a challenge to the future." In order to understand the challenges presented in statue and monument commemorations, we can only look to form and placement of a commemoration. These examinations of public sculpture, however, have only recently resurfaced. Kirk Savage, historian of monuments and sculpture, believes that the "golden age" of public monuments (1850-1925) was the last era of critical examinations of statues and monuments. Savage notes further that critics during the golden age did not find sculptures and monuments to present challenges to the future. Critics, instead, dismissed their power and relegated them as poor ways to narrate history, unfit of any further thought or examination. And yet, despite the twenty-first century's rise in taking down sculptures commemorating Confederate War heroes, many more commemorations produced during the "golden age" remain today, unattested and majorly unchallenged by the many futures they witnessed.⁷³

Beck, even during the "golden age" of monument creations, called to challenge the meaning of monuments. He asserts that commemorations pose either as an act of "sublime justice" or a game of "presumptuous folly" that most always "shame the dead."

⁷³ Kirk Savage, "The Obsolescence of Sculpture," *American Art*, 24: 1 (Spring 2010), 11.

Those commemorated in statue and monument lived a life, witnessed and judged by their peers. And to commemorate those already judged negatively or positively in history, places an uninformed burden on the public when faced with questions of how to progressively adapt a commemoration to fit current needs and ideals. In essence, public commemorations are unfair to both the living and the dead. The living should not be in charge of judging those already judged, and the dead should not get a final say in how societal memory is shaped.

But, nevertheless, commemorations in forms of statues and monuments continue to stand as active and engaged tools that shape societal memory. Societies are only left to ask two questions regarding presentation: 1) Should a commemoration be removed from a public space, and 2) If not removed, how do we promote accurate stories for commemorations? For we can only call upon the past to help educate us about the future.

In many ways, Beck's address asserts that knowledge is crucial in order to remedy actions of the past. We should look upon the ones who "shaped" – in literal sculptural and monumental forms, and figuratively with the help of sculpture and monument – our histories of the past as educators. There is a wealth of knowledge to be learned from men such as Beck, Middleton, Henry, Pennypacker, and Rhind, and their actions are not made in vain. As historians who seek to engage in decolonizing narratives espoused through public commemorations should not cast maligned judgements on these men.

We need to, instead, understand their pasts. Middleton's billboard was not a mid-nineteenth century anomaly. In the mid-nineteenth century, the entirety of the American world sought to "reclaim" the vanishing Native American race both literally and figuratively. But amidst all the racist hatred toward Native peoples during the mid-

nineteenth century, Joseph Middleton, based on folklore related to his land, commemorated a Native American man and coopted Teedyuscung's image. Middleton did not contribute to the cultural violence espoused on Native American peoples and communities during the mid-nineteenth century. But he did perpetuate the image of peoples living in "untamed woods" which is tantamount in settler colonial narration as associated with the word "Indian." And, indeed, he colonized and created a Native space.

Charles Henry and the Fairmount Park Commission simply solidified what Middleton, and others before him, started. Henry enshrined Philadelphia's Native American histories in a statue and used the Wissahickon Valley as an interpretive medium. Equally as harmful and negative as Middleton's commemoration, the Fairmount Park Commission enabled the mislabeling of a commemoration which continues today.

In representing Native American pasts, Philadelphians and politicians acted progressive for their time, but not adequately. Teedyuscung was a great leader in Lenni Lenape and Pennsylvania history, and a man caught between nations, empires, and land disputes that ultimately cost his life. His legacy lives through folklore and a supposed monument in the Wissahickon Valley. And his image is only known through a monument that does not fully grasp his greatness as a leader.

Although Native American commemorative statues and monuments stand fixed in place, Native histories do not. Native American histories are on-going, forming and evolving daily. Every time a new bridge is built, canal dug out of the ground, or commemoration placed, we are taken farther away from Native space and place histories. Although the many Native American statues and commemorations stand to continually narrate Native histories, they will inevitably fall into the same guise of the future Beck

warned of many years ago. The statues and monuments will continue to stand, but our perceptions of them will change. After all, Native American commemorations stand on once, and always, Native ground.

But the story of Teedyuscung is a part of a bigger problem that involves the conquest of empire and settler colonialism. Once the pen met the paper and people such as Joseph and Thomas Middleton, Samuel Pennypacker, Charles W. Henry, and James M. Beck wrote about the past, they excluded Native Americans from modernity. And silenced Indigenous voices amidst a growing system of settler colonialism perpetuated by the American empire. Writing Native Americans as peoples of the past is a phenomenon that is facilitated by monuments and commemorations to Native American communities and peoples. And yet, the power of the American narrative and commemoration prevails. It has been more than 250 years since the death of Teedyuscung, and we have yet to find a fitting commemoration for a man who presumably roamed the woods in the Wissahickon Valley.

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