

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Act of June 2, 1924, Pub. L. No. 68-175, 43 Stat. (June 2, 1924). Accessed April 26, 2016.

<http://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=602>.

The American Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 is the official statute authorizing the Secretary of Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to all American Indians. The Act demonstrates how the Wanamaker Expedition impacted the future. Because of the expedition, there was a high number of American Indians involved in WWI. Then, in recognition of the high involvement, congress passed this legislation as the first step toward equality for Native Americans under the law.

Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Inaugurating the National Indian Memorial." WMV video, 07:14. February 22, 1913. Accessed January 13, 2016.

[https://catalog.archives.gov/id/12681?q=*.:](https://catalog.archives.gov/id/12681?q=*.)

This is a primary source documentary whose film was of the first, original (and inspirational) flag-raising ceremony at Fort Wadsworth. This documentary depicts the setup of the ceremony, and shows how many more people and reporters attended the first ceremony than the last. Only a handful of people attended the last ceremony at Fort Wadsworth which signified an anticlimactic end like the rest of the expedition. This will help my performance when writing the script because it provides information that can be used when my character describes the original ceremony.

Desirability of Incorporating One or More Indian Divisions in the New United States Army: Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, 66th Cong., 2d Sess. 1081-170 (1920) (statement of Dr. Joseph Kossuth Dixon, Leader of Wanamaker Historical Expeditions). Accessed January 4, 2016.

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=owJAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA2132-IA3>.

The Army Reorganization Hearing with Joseph Dixon provided me with a direct link from the Expedition to Native Americans gaining their citizenship in 1924. There were specific quotes in the hearing that explicitly said the flag presented to them during the ceremony inspired many to fight for America in World War 1. After the war, because so many Natives fought for America, people demanded that they be granted citizenship. This is clear information on the Expedition's impact which is a necessary aspect of the project.

Dixon, Joseph K. *The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council*. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande, 1976. First published 1913 by Doubleday, Page & Company.

Joseph K. Dixon, the author, was employed by Rodman Wanamaker as the official photographer and leader of the expeditions. *The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council* is a first-hand account of the findings from the previous two expeditions and includes original photographs as well as stories and quotes from the participating Native

Chiefs. This book was crucial to my project because it provided first hand, unedited, chiefs' points of view regarding the expedition and white expansion.

Dixon, Joseph Kossuth. *The Purpose and Achievements of the Rodman Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship to the North American Indian*. N.p.: n.p., 1913.

This report, also written by Joseph K. Dixon, was addressed to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the People of the United States. Outlined in it were important aspects to the expedition including the purpose/reasons of conducting it, the details of travel, and the specific document used by the Natives to pledge allegiance. This source is very vital to my project due to its detailed description of the events and why they occurred.

Emma Kickapoo. 1913. Photograph. Special Collections. University of Colorado, Boulder.

This photo is of Emma Kickapoo, from an unknown American Indian tribe, and she has the United States flag draped over her as she smiles for the camera. I use this photograph as a prop in my performance because it has a dramatic effect in the sense that, whether good or bad, this expedition did in fact instill patriotism in many Native Americans for this country.

Ford Cars, Trucks, and Tractors. 1924. Image. Accessed February 1, 2016.

<http://vintagefordfacts.blogspot.com/2011/03/model-t-newspaper-ads-1923-25.html>.

This image is of a 1924 advertisement for Ford cars, trucks, and tractors. It is a primary source that will be attached to a newspaper I use as a prop for authenticity.

The Indian School Journal. September ed. Chilocco, OK, 1913. Google Books.

The September 1913 issue of *The Indian School Journal*, a journal issued monthly by the U.S. Indian school in Chilocco Oklahoma, includes several articles and snippets about the Expedition of Citizenship, some of which are written from Natives that experienced the encounters. These small articles give me a larger understanding of how some Native Americans viewed the expedition and of the controversy it instigated among them.

James McLaughlin Witnessing Sitting Bear Sign the Declaration of Allegiance to the U.S.

Government. 1913. Photograph. Wanamaker Collection. American Museum of Natural History.

This photograph was of a signing of the Declaration of Allegiance that occurred during expedition. I use it as one of my props to help the audience visualize the symbolic exchange that occurred of the flag for loyalty.

La Flesche, Susette. "The Indian Question." 1880. In *Emory Women Writers Research Project*, 222-23. N.p.: Emory University, 2005. Accessed January 13, 2016.

http://womenwriters.library.emory.edu/nativeamerican/content.php?level=div&id=laflesche_question_001&document=laflesche_question.

This short two page essay was written by a Native American women whose name meant Bright Eyes back in 1880. The "Indian Question" refers to what a society should do with American Indians at the time. This essay provides me with an unedited view of the

“Indian Question’s” importance, and Bright Eyes’s view of how it could be answered. The “Indian Question” is also an underlying theme in my performance.

Los Angeles Times. “Americanizing the Americans.: Wanamaker Expedition to Be Here Tomorrow; Teaching Citizenship to All of Our Indians; Raise Flag for First Time over Many Tribes.” July 28, 1913, Editorial.
<http://0-search.proquest.com/libraries.colorado.edu/docview/159814533/abstract/E3692AA0FC324305PQ/5?accountid=14503>.

This newspaper article, published in the *Los Angeles Times*, discusses the timeline of the expedition and gives specific dates for when the expedition is to meet the Pacific coast. It also points out some interesting features of the expedition. For example, the expedition route and dates of arrival/departure were dutifully mapped out before the embarkation. This primary source helps me with piecing together a timeline of travel because in my performance, I am a stenographer that is on the expedition and stop at several reservations along the way.

Mather, Irwin F. “Red Indian’s Statue.: Continent’s First Owner Will Be Honored in American Style.” *The New York Times* (New York), March 2, 1913, Editorial section, C6. Accessed December 6, 2015.

<http://0-search.proquest.com/libraries.colorado.edu/docview/97369010?accountid=14503>. This lengthy newspaper article was a letter to the editor, esteemed Frederick Dellenbaugh, written by Irwin Mather. In this excerpt from *The New York Times*, Mather presents his clashing views of the Indian statue that, at that point in time, was to be erected on Fort Wadsworth in New York. Mather believed this is a noble thing to do, to honor the Natives, but Dellenbaugh argues that the design and architecture is inapplicable. The article is beneficial to my project because it outlines two clashing opinions of the time regarding the Wanamaker statue, and depicts how the public reacted to news of the memorial.

Moses Wilkie: Chippewa, of Turtle Mountain Reservation [North Dakota]. 1913. Photograph. Special Collections. University of Colorado, Boulder.

This photograph is of a young man in a traditional war bonnet. I use this photograph as a visual representation of Dixon’s romanticized photos. and how he even dressed already assimilated chiefs up in the war bonnets and buckskin tunics in order to make them seem more “Indian-like” and appeal to the public.

The New York Times (New York). “Wanamaker Party Now with Pueblos: Party Bearing Message of Brotherhood to Indians Reaches New Mexico. Wilson’s Voice by Record Declaration of Allegiance Expected from All Tribes before Trip Ends Early in December.” June 29, 1913, sec. 2, 11. Accessed December 6, 2015.

<http://0-search.proquest.com/libraries.colorado.edu/docview/97402593/3F4091E3E3A347F6PQ/1?accountid=14503>.

This press release was a detailed article that outlined the progress of the expedition, how the Native Americans were pledging allegiance to the United States, and how the flag raising ceremonies were organized. This article is important to my presentation because it

shows me exactly how the expedition was portrayed to the public as a positive, patriotic thing to do.

The One New Idea in Phonographs: The Phonola. Image. Accessed February 1, 2016. <https://the78rpmrecordspins.wordpress.com/2013/03/29/newspaper-advertisements-for-phonographs-from-1917-to-1924/>. This image is of a 1924 advertisement for a new brand of phonographs called the phonolas. It is a primary source that will be attached to the newspaper I use as a prop for authenticity.

“The Rodman Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship to the North American Indian: Carrying the Flag and a Message of Hope to a Vanishing Race.” WMV video, 08:57. Accessed January 4, 2016. <https://research.archives.gov/id/12680>. This 8-minute long mini-documentary contains real footage from the original and concluding Fort Wadsworth flag ceremony. It contains clips of the surrounding area, the New York harbor, and shows the pledging to the flag and photo shoots of the men with the flag wrapped around them as if it were a shawl. This documentary will assist me in the development of my performance because it gives me a visual of a possible setting, costume(s), and mannerism of those participating. Also, I can incorporate their controversial use of the flag into my project to add more depth.

Spring Crossings from New York to London-Direct Service. 1924. Photograph. Accessed February 1, 2016. <http://www.atlantictransportline.us/content/advertisements.htm>. This photo of an advertisement is trying to get people to travel by boat from New York to London. I use this 1924 ad in my prop newspaper for added authenticity.

Wanamaker Primer of the North American Indian: The First American and First Tenant of the Soil of Philadelphia Now Occupied by the Wanamaker Store. 2nd ed. N.p.: Wanamaker Originator, 1910. <https://archive.org/details/wanamakerprimero00slwaiala>. This primer, written in collaboration with the Wanamaker Department stores, reviews a short history of Pennsylvania Indian relations and then launches into the culture of the American Indian as perceived by Dixon. This primary source assists my project because it outlines how Dr. Dixon and the public spoke about American Indians, for instance they used a belittling tone when referring to “the Redman,” which will be used when writing my script to embody the opinions of the time and for historical accuracy.

Secondary Sources

Appel, Joseph H. *The Business Biography of John Wanamaker Founder and Builder: America's Merchant Pioneer from 1861 to 1922*. New York City: Macmillan Company, 1930. Joseph Appel created this business biography through thirty years worth of daily encounters and interviews with John Wanamaker, father of Rodman and founder of the Wanamaker's department stores. This source covers the business aspect of Rodman's life which impacted the start of the expedition. Also, there is an entire chapter towards the

end dedicated to the life of Rodman which gives me the basic information I need in order to discuss him in my performance.

Barsh, Russel Lawrence. "An American Heart of Darkness: The 1913 Expedition for American Indian Citizenship." In *DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln*. Previously published in *Great Plains Quarterly*, Spring 1993, 91-115. PDF.

Russel Barsh, a professor at University of Wisconsin who worked for many years at the United Nations on indigenous people, outlines in the essay *An American Heart of Darkness* several interesting connections regarding the expeditions. The first three sections support my observation of private enterprise vs. public and how influential those with money are on the Expedition. The rest of the essay discusses Dixon as a person and as a representative of what the general public believed to be true in 1913. From this source, I gained a lot of different interpretations on my topic, which will be incorporated into my project to show the full scope of the Expedition and who it impacted.

Bays, Brad A. "Rodman Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship." Map. 1909. Accessed January 30, 2016.

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1750&context=greatplainsquarterly>.

This is a map of the Expedition of Citizenship created by cartographer Brad A. Bays after the Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1909. The map was created four years before the actual expedition because they planned it that far in advance. I made a replica of this map by projecting it onto a poster board using a projector, and then tracing it to be used as a prop in my performance.

Beck, David R.M. "The Myth of the Vanishing Race." Last modified February 2001. Accessed January 18, 2016. <http://www.colorado.edu/AmStudies/lewis/west/vanishrace.pdf>.

This short essay, written by the associate professor of Native American Studies at the University of Montana, provides an overview of how the public viewed Native Americans during the 1890's to the 1930's. The essay discusses the flaws in Indian policies and forced assimilation as well as the absurd nostalgia for an "almost extinct civilization." These viewpoints are necessary in my performance to add depth.

Buchanan, Paul D. *Race Relations in the United States: A Chronology, 1896-2005*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005. Google Book.

This book contains a chapter on the American Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 which is pivotal for my impact point made in my presentation. Buchanan, in agreement with majority of historians, argues that the act was passed in recognition of the large amount of Indian participation in WWI and the loyalty they showed. This participation and loyalty stemmed from the symbolic exchange the Wanamaker Expedition instilled.

Department of the Interior. *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him*. Compiled by Lewis Meriam. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

This report, more commonly known as the Meriam Report, was conducted four years after all Native Americans gained citizenship to the US in 1924. It outlines the issues Natives still face from egregious assimilation policies, and can be incorporated into my conclusion regarding the worth of citizenship.

Erikson, Patricia Pierce. *Voices of a Thousand People: The Makah Cultural and Research Center*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. Accessed June 1, 2016. https://books.google.com/books?id=JSO84AdMP_YC&dq=Makah+expedition+of+citizenship&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

This book about Makah history and culture includes a chapter regarding how the expedition affected Makah culture and led to “Makah Day,” a day in which the expedition, patriotism, and American Indian culture is still celebrated. On top of this effect, the expedition also led to the presence of flags and salutes at tribal meetings and other celebrations across the country including powwows.

Fergus, Charles. *Shadow Catcher*. New York City: Soho, 1991.

This book was a historical fiction novel with a plotline centered around specifically the Rodman Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship. Despite it being fiction, this book provided a great introduction into my topic and provided a multitude of different viewpoints on the situation in that time period including the feelings of a photographer in the expedition, a leader of the expedition, and a Native American women. These interpretations will be very helpful in the writing of my script for my performance. Also the books contain many primary source photographs.

Krouse, Susan Applegate. *North American Indians in the Great War*. Edited by Peter Maslowski, David Graff, and Reina Pennington. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2007.

This academic book discusses The three Wanamaker Expeditions, and goes into depth on what Dr. Dixon did after the third Expedition of Citizenship. This book is vital to my performance because it works alongside the Hearing of the Reorganization of Indian Affairs to prove my impact point and solidify my project through discussing American Indian Citizenship during and after World War 1.

Lindstrom, Richard. “‘Not from the Land Side, but from the Flag Side’: Native American Responses to the Wanamaker Expedition of 1913.” *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 209-28. Accessed December 9, 2015. doi:198940720.

This extensive journal entry provides an in depth analysis on the the effects of the the expedition on Native Americans. This is beneficial to my project because it is important when researching a historical event to know and understand both the causes and effects. This source details the social and cultural effects which are only one part in the intricate puzzle that is my topic.

Maddox, Lucy. *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.

This academic book, published by Cornell University, gave me great insight into the development of the American Indian culture toward gaining United States citizenship. It

also mentions the conflicting opinions at the time, those pro-allotment of land versus those against it, which will help with the dynamic of my performance. Finally, this source outlined the different issues Native Americans at the time faced such as the abrogation of the treaty process, the removal of Native American children to boarding schools, and a multitude more.

“Photographs from the Wanamaker Expeditions, 1908-1913.” Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed December 9, 2015.

http://www.masshist.org/photographs/nativeamericans/essay.php?entry_id=75.

This simple website offers both a quick synopsis of the expeditions and primary source photographs from all three of the expeditions. The outlining of all three expeditions is beneficial to my project because two of the excursions occurred before the expedition of citizenship, and therefore played a role in the lead up to my topic. Also, the photographs included were taken not only of the Natives themselves but also of the surrounding setting which can help with the creation of my scenery for my performance.

Reynolds, Charles R. *American Indian Portraits from the Wanamaker Expedition of 1913*. Brattleboro: Stephen Greene, 1971.

This book consists of two parts: a secondary source research chapter written by author Charles Reynolds, and primary sourced photographs from the expedition. The research chapter dives into the background of, and accomplishments from, the Expedition of Citizenship which have aided in the development of my thesis and script. The primary photographs are also a huge asset, but I did not cite this book as primary due to the uncertainty of whether or not I will use a selection of them as props in my performance.

Rollings, Willard Hughes. “Citizenship and Suffrage: The Native Americans Struggle for Civil Rights in the American West, 1830-1965.” *Nevada Law Journal* 5 (Fall 2004): 126-40. PDF.

This article from the Nevada Law Journal was written by esteemed Native American historian and scholar Willard Rollings. As well as clearing up the confusion I had about which state was the last to enfranchise Native Americans (which was Maine in 1967), it also provided a great overarching history regarding general Native American citizenship and suffrage. I used key information about the different rights that were denied even upon gaining citizenship in my conclusion as well as the issues still plaguing tribal nations today.

The Romance of a Vanishing Race. Narrated by Sophia Pati. By Jay Adkins. 1921. Dallas, TX: Rich-Heape Films, n.d. DVD.

This DVD includes three historic documentaries. The first is about the romance of a vanishing race. This provided me with the wording and opinions the public had regarding Native Americans at the time. It also showed the romanticized action shots of Native Americans that Dixon took during his three expedition. The second documentary is specifically about the expedition of citizenship, and explains Dixon’s view of the flag as well as panning to highly romanticized takes. Both of these first two documentaries

helped me grasp the opinions of the public at the time, and showed me the romanticized shots Dixon was producing.

Sanders, Jeff, and Reno Charette. "American Indian Involvement in WWI." Accessed February 2, 2016.

http://www.msubillings.edu/ww1/pdf/American_Indian_Involvement_in_WWI.pdf.

This PDF is a power point created and posted by professors in Native American Studies at Montana State University in Billings. The information is about Native Americans in World War 1, and also discussed the road to citizenship. This digital file was important to my project because I gained the exact numbers of Native Americans that enlisted in the war, I learned about the steps Native Americans had to take leading up to citizenship, and I ultimately solidified the direct connection between the large amount of Native Americans enlisted and the passing of the American Indian Citizenship Act which is my impact point.

Stein, Gary C. "The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924." New Mexico History.Org. Accessed April 26, 2016. <http://newmexicohistory.org/about-us>.

This article, written by historian Gary C. Stein who worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a researcher from 1987-1991, discusses another reason why the American Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 was passed. Not only was it out of recognition for the American Indian Involvement in the war, but also out of a public push for reform (possibly catalyzed by the involvement in WWI.)