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Title

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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6xn86540>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 17(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

1993-09-01

DOI

10.17953

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Beggars, Chickabobboogs, and Prisons: Paxoche (Ioway) Views of English Society, 1844-45

WINONA STEVENSON

We have seen how these people look and act in their own countries; we will now take a peep at them, mixing and mingling with the polished and enlightened of the world. We have seen them in the darkness of the wilderness; we will now see how they bear the light.

George Catlin, ca. 1848¹

Native American peoples, like Europeans, have an intellectual history worth reconstructing. This premise is vital to any understanding of relations between Europeans and others on the colonial frontier, because, as James Axtell elucidates, the ideas of both parties "have consequences when they are translated by will into action."² Given the strong resistance of many indigenous peoples to the colonial enterprise, it is important to understand their cultural philosophies and reasoning. Towards that larger goal, this paper intends to reconstruct Paxoche (Ioway) perceptions of England's socioeconomic system, laws, and judiciary, as observed during their 1844-45 European tour.³

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BACKGROUND: THE PAXOCHE AND GEORGE CATLIN

By the 1840s, the Paxoche people occupied a small reservation on the west bank of the Missouri River between Wolf Creek and the Great Nemaha River in present-day southeast Nebraska. This land, approximately two hundred sections, was set aside for their use by the United States government through the 1836 Iowa and Sauk and Fox treaty.⁴

From as early as the 1790s, the Paxoche were experiencing severe socioeconomic stress resulting from fur trade-induced intertribal warfare, territorial dislocation, and economic collapse. They were veterans of a series of wars with the Sioux and other northern Plains tribes and were forced to accommodate the more numerous and powerful Sauk and Fox, who moved into Ioway territories with the fur trade frontier and were retreating from United States expansion into their upper Michigan lands. Tension was further heightened by the decline of fur resources due to overtrapping and the depletion of buffalo. By the 1820s, many Paxoche people were reduced to mining lead for trade with American merchants.⁵

The small band under Chief White Cloud, or Mah-hos-kah, was among the last to be removed from their traditional territories in eastern Iowa to the Nebraska reservation. White Cloud and a number of other Paxoche chiefs entered into a peace treaty with the United States government in 1815, and in 1824 he, along with Mah-ne-hah-nah, or Great Walker, ventured to Washington, D.C. to sign another treaty. This time they secured United States military protection from the Sioux and Chippewa and ceded their traditional territories between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers in present-day Missouri.⁶ The 1836 treaty provided for their removal to the Great Nemaha River Reservation. A few years later, Presbyterian missionaries established the Iowa and Sauk Mission among them in the hopes of encouraging intensive agriculture and Christian conversion.

Historical population figures for the tribe are available from different sources. A.R. Fulton approximated the total tribal population at 1,400 in 1832, and William Miner estimated their numbers at 992 in 1836.⁷ A census taken in 1844 numbered the reservation Paxoche at 470 persons, but by 1848 the reservation population increased to 802, indicating that a large number of Paxoche took their time relocating to the newly established reservation.⁸



FIGURE 1. George Catlin, The White Cloud, Head Chief of the Iowas, Paul Mellon Collection, copyright 1993 National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1844/1845.

Reduced to near starvation on the Nebraska reservation White Cloud Junior, also known as No Heart (figure 1), determined to take a small group of his people to England to raise money.⁹ A long history of fur trade relations with English traders no doubt influenced his decision, as did his knowledge that an old friend, artist George Catlin, was in England showing his North American

Indian collection.¹⁰ The Presbyterian missionaries were adamantly against the proposal, so White Cloud appealed to his longtime friends Jeffrey Doraway and George H.C. Melody for assistance. Doraway, a mulatto, had lived among the tribe since childhood and had been engaged as an interpreter for the tribe by the War Department from 1824 until that position was discontinued in 1836.¹¹ In the fall of 1843, Melody, a longtime resident and itinerant missionary in the region, agreed to sponsor the Paxoche venture and secured permission on their behalf from James Madison Porter, United States secretary of war.¹² In July 1844, fourteen Paxoche people, along with Doraway and Melody, arrived in England (table 1 and figure 2). The following day, they sought out American artist George Catlin, who had been in London since January 1840.¹³

White Cloud and Doraway had first met Catlin when he journeyed through the upper Missouri region in the early 1830s. In Paxoche territory, Catlin stayed in the tent of White Cloud's father and painted portraits of White Cloud the younger and other Paxoche people (see table 2).¹⁴ In his journal, Catlin also mentions his long friendship with interpreter Jeffrey Doraway dating back to his Missouri treks and their ensuing meetings in St. Louis, New York, and elsewhere.¹⁵ Although Catlin was about to close his Indian gallery in London, he decided to extend his exhibit and incorporate the Paxoche troupe. Up to this point, the artist was barely breaking even. The arrival of the Paxoche promised to increase his financial profits.¹⁶

George Catlin's Indian gallery consisted of eight tons of freight, which included close to five hundred portraits and paintings and thousands of weapons, clothing items, and other Native American artifacts. Having previously failed to sell his Indian gallery to the United States government, Catlin took his exhibit to England, where he hoped to make a tidy profit.¹⁷ Critics of the time and more recent historians agree that Catlin was unable to sell his gallery to the United States government because of his public condemnations of Andrew Jackson's Indian policy.¹⁸ In 1830, the Indian Removal Act was passed, forcing the migration of thousands of Native Americans from their tribal homes to make way for American settlement and expansion. Lands were set aside for these tribes west of the Mississippi River.¹⁹ Catlin witnessed and condemned Indian removal and assimilationist programs. His staunch advocacy for the protection all things "Indian" and his anti-expansion stance during the Indian removal era did not impress Congress.

TABLE 1
Members of the Paxoche Party on Tour in Europe, 1844–45

Mew-hu-she-kaw (White Cloud) or Notch-ee-ning-a (No Heart), chief
Neu-mon-ya (Walking Rain), war chief*
See-non-ti-yah (Blister Feet), "Doctor," medicine man
Wash-ka-mon-ya (Fast Dancer), "Jim," warrior
Shon-ta-yi-ga (Little Wolf), warrior
No-ho-mun-ye (One Who Gives No Attention), "Roman Nose," Warrior**
Wa-ton-ye (One Always Foremost Man), warrior
Wa-ta-we-bu-ka-na (Commanding General), son of Walking Rain
Ruton-ye-we-me (Strutting Pigeon), wife of White Cloud
Ruton-wee-me (Flying Pigeon), young woman
O-kee-wee-me (Female Bear That Walks on Another), wife of Little Wolf+
Koon-za-ya-me (Female War Eagle Sailing), young woman
Ta-pa-ta-mee (Wisdom), "Sophia," daughter of White Cloud
Corsair, infant son of Little Wolf++
Jeffrey Doraway, a mulatto, interpreter
George H. C. Melody, Protestant clergyman, sponsor

Sources: Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 13; and the *London Times*, 8 August 1844, 6.

*The similarity between "Neu-mon-ya" and "pneumonia" is coincidental.

**Died in Liverpool of consumption in late March 1845.

+Died in Paris of consumption in early April 1845.

++Died in Edinburg in late February or early March 1845.

Catlin's primitivist notions about the state of Native America developed during his numerous tours through Indian Country between 1830 and 1836. Like other primitivists of the time, Catlin feared that American expansion would obliterate Indian cultures. So he made it his task to preserve the "noble savage" on canvas. He also publicly critiqued what he perceived as the decline of Western civilization by reflecting on the natural goodness of primitive peoples.²⁰



FIGURE 2. Paxoche party in England with interpreter and sponsor. Copyright 1844–45. Engraving after a daguerreotype. William H. Miner, *The Iowa*, frontispiece.

A CRITIQUE OF CATLIN'S PAXOCHE NARRATIVE

In addition to painting, Catlin wrote numerous books on his experiences in Indian Country and abroad. Volume 2 of his 1848 publication *Notes of Eight Years Travels and Residence In Europe with His North American Indian Collection* describes in vivid detail and much anecdote the experiences of the Paxoche people who toured Europe with him in 1844–45. The most valuable contributions of Catlin's text are his transcriptions of Paxoche observations, commentaries, and critiques of various aspects of English society.

Generally, historians, such as William Truettner, have criticized Catlin's text as a "careless, windy series of anecdotes, describing the bewildered reaction of the Ojibwa and Iowa to European civilization." Truettner further stresses that it lacks thoughtful interpretation and is "simply a tasteless stratagem to boost sales."²¹ Loyd Haberly expounds on Catlin's biases, stressing that the text is "an unsparing indictment of the complacent, rot-infested, unjust feudal England of the forties such as no other writers but Swift and Shaw could have penned."²² Keeping Catlin's personal motives and biases in mind, if we

TABLE 2
Paxoche (Ioway) Portraits Painted by Catlin

Catalog Number	Title	Year Painted
256	Notch-ee-ning-a, No Heart [White Cloud], chief	1832
257	Pah-ta-coo-chee, Shooting Cedar, a brave	1832
258	No-o-mun-nee, Walks in the Rain, a brave	1832
259	Wy-ee-yogh, Man of Sense, a brave	1832
260	Wos-com-mun, Busy Man, a brave	1832
262	Mun-ne-o-ye, a woman	1832
517	White Cloud, chief of the tribe	1844
518	Walking Rain, war chief	1844
519	Blistered Feet, a medicine man	1844
520	Fast Dancer, a warrior	1844
521	Little Wolf, a famous warrior	1844
522	One Who Gives No Attention	1844
523	Foremost Man	1844
524	Commanding General, a boy	1844
525	Strutting Pigeon, wife of White Cloud	1844
526	Pigeon on the Wing	1844
527	Female Bear that Walks on the Back of Another	1844
528	Female War Eagle	1844
529	Wisdom, a girl	1844
530	Corsair, a papoose	1844

Sources: George Catlin, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin's Indian Gallery; Containing Portraits, Landscapes, Costumes, &c. and Representations of the Manners & Customs of the North American Indians* (London: C. & J. Adlard, 1844), 26–27; and William Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 214–16, 294–97.

view the recorded oratory as Paxoche narrative in its own right, the value of this text is evident. Anecdotes and reactions of the Paxoche to English society may at first appear trivial, but, placed in their historical and cultural context, the opinions of the Paxoche recorded by Catlin tell much about Paxoche worldviews and give considerable insight into their resistance to the colonial enterprise.

A major factor to consider when deconstructing Catlin's record of Paxoche views is the authenticity of the translation. All translated records of Native American oratory are suspect, because the accuracy and quality of the translation, and the entire translation process, are questionable.²³ Catlin's text is suspect on many fronts. First, it went through two interpretative processes: Jeffrey Doraway's initial interpretation and Catlin's recording. Second, as a staunch primitivist and artist, Catlin no doubt indulged in poetic license and appropriated the native voice to express his own criticisms of English society.

Given these questionable factors, it is understandable that many scholars challenge the authenticity of Native American speeches. However, as Penny Petrone demonstrates, the authenticity of recorded native oratory can be gauged under critical scrutiny. According to Petrone, some knowledge of the cultural characteristics of the orator are necessary, because native oratory manifests "a complicated cultural complex of indigenous ideas, socio-political thought and action, celebration and spirituality."²⁴ In addition, the critic must be familiar with the style and literary devices found in native oratory, especially figurative language, analogy, parallelism, symbolism, and allegory. In her final analysis, Petrone states that

both the content and style of all reported speeches—even when they are merely short extracts—are wholly consistent, and demonstrate convincingly the unmistakable resonances, the formal gravity and deep conviction, that lend distinction to Indian oratorical expression.²⁵

Ethnohistorians Cornelius Jaenen, James P. Rhonda, and James Axtell were among the first intellectual ethnohistorians to systematically describe and interpret native views of Europeans and European actions.²⁶ They agree that the native voice can be gleaned from primary sources through critical scrutiny. According to Axtell, there are enough shared "mental habits and conceptual modes" among the different nations of any given cultural area to give their voices a "striking degree of similarity."²⁷ When Catlin's transcriptions of Paxoche views of English society are compared to the observations of contemporaneous Native American travelers, this thesis holds true.²⁸

PAXOCHE VIEWS OF ENGLISH SOCIETY

The Paxoche exhibition in Europe, consisting of dance, music, oratory, and craft work, was well attended by thousands of receptive viewers (figure 3). Initially, the English media were impressed by these “wild and uncouth” individuals, hailing them the most “primitive people of the woods and forests than has hitherto been seen in England.”²⁹ Fascination turned to shock and disgust, however, when a Scalp Dance was performed with “real scalps.” In this instance, the press turned on Catlin for allegedly exploiting the Paxoche for his own gain and for resorting to grotesque demonstrations for profit.³⁰

When not performing, the Paxoche people spent their time touring the sights, partaking in local activities, and visiting a variety of dignitaries, clergymen, royalty, and aristocracy.³¹ As foreign celebrities, they were accorded all the respect and dignity Europe had to offer, as were other Native American delegations of the period.³² Despite the gracious hospitality they received, however, the Paxoche were not blinded by



FIGURE 3. *Se-non-ti-ya, Blistered Feet, Paxoche medicine man, addressing the audience at the Egyptian Hall, London, England, July 1844. George Catlin, Catlin's Notes, facing page 20.*

Europe's pomp and splendor, nor did they bask in the comfort afforded them by their privileged hosts. Rather, they took it upon themselves to see all aspects of "civilized" life, which ultimately led them to discover Europe's own "heart of darkness."

Like the views of all explorers, Paxoche perceptions of English manners and customs were understood within their own configuration of ideas and values—through their own cultural lens. In particular, they were fascinated by Britain's socioeconomic system, laws, and judiciary. Like many other Native American travelers to Europe, the Paxoche questioned the advantages and propriety of English institutions. By the end of the tour, when they left "the polished and enlightened of the world," they were adamantly convinced of their own cultural superiority.³³

Paxoche scrutiny focused on England's social conditions. The Paxoche frequently criticized England's social hierarchy, especially the great disparity between the rich and the poor. They found it incomprehensible that people were reduced to begging, homelessness, and starvation in a land that boasted an abundance of food and wealth. So great was their pity for England's poor that the Paxoche party gave over thirty shillings a day to the beggars lined up along England's streets.³⁴ Medicine man See-non-ti-ya (figure 4) was so pained by the pathetic state of England's poor that on one occasion he invited a street woman and her daughter to tell their story to the assembled Paxoche. After considerable commiseration, the Paxoche gave her gifts of money, food, and clothing. See-non-ti-yah told her, "We are here poor, and a great way from home, where we also have our little children to feed; but the Great Spirit has been kind to us, and we have enough to eat."³⁵ See-non-ti-yah went so far as to invite the woman to breakfast with them for the duration of their stay in Birmingham. According to Catlin, this was not a solitary instance of Paxoche charity; they were "always giving money away to the poor."³⁶

In the face of rampant poverty, the Paxoche were very critical of British inequities, greed, and lack of charity. In Paxoche society, no individual was left to fend for himself or herself in times of hardship. Rather, their socioeconomic constructs were far less rigid, and tribal members were expected to share.³⁷ Because of this, "they had never seen any Indians in the wilderness half so poor, and looking so sick."³⁸ Their outrage at such



FIGURE 4. George Catlin. See-non-ty-a, an Iowa Medicine Man, Paul Mellon Collection, copyright 1993, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1844/45.

sights was directed at Britain's leadership and clergy. During a visit with the Temperance Society in Birmingham, See-non-tiyah stated,

If we were rich, like many white people in this country, the poor people we see around the streets in this cold weather, with their little children barefooted and begging, would soon get enough to eat, and clothes to keep them warm.

My friends—it has made us unhappy to see the poor people begging for something to eat since we came to this country. In our country we are all poor, but the poor all have enough to eat, and clothes to keep them warm . . . It makes us unhappy, in a country where there is so much wealth, to see so many poor and hungry. . . .³⁹

The Paxoche believed that the social conditions in England were correctable if only those in power could see the injustices and act on them. Catlin recorded that Wash-ka-mon-ya thought “it was wrong to send missionaries from this [England] to the Indian country, when there were so many poor creatures here who want their help, and so many thousands as they saw going into the chickabobboogs to drink fire-water.”⁴⁰

In addition to the poverty, the Paxoche people were much alarmed by the large number of drunkards and “gin palaces,” aptly named *chickabobboogs*, in England.⁴¹ After much conjecture as to the number of such establishments, Wash-ka-mon-ya, See-non-ti-ya, and war chief Neu-mon-ya set out one day to count them. According to Catlin, it was a gigantic undertaking: The medicine man and Wash-ka-mon-ya sat beside the driver, while No-ho-mun-ye and Shon-ta-yi-ga (Little Wolf) sat in the carriage on either side of Neu-mon-ya, who held a stick and knife. Each time the carriage passed a gin-palace, either No-ho-mun-ye or Little Wolf would call out “chickabobboog!” According to Catlin, as the party turned from St. James Street onto Blackwall,

their labours began to increase, and the old War Chief had to ply his knife with precision and quickness; the two companions outside stopped all further conversation, holding on to their fingers for tens, hundreds, &c. The word *chickabobboog* was now so rapidly repeated at times inside (and oftentimes by both parties at once), that the old chief found the greatest difficulty in keeping his record correct. The parties all kept at their posts, and attended strictly to their reckonings, until they arrived at Blackwall.⁴²

The return trip required a fresh stick. By the end of their experiment, the war chief’s notches added up to 446. Wash-ka-mon-ya and the medicine man counted and recorded 432 and 754,

respectively, half of which Catlin estimates were apothecaries and confectioneries.⁴³ Catlin records that “this novel enterprise, which had been carried out with great pains and fatigue” and brought the Paxoche considerable entertainment, was “one of the best comments that ever was made upon one of the greatest vices of the greatest city in the world.”⁴⁴

From their own experience, the Paxoche people knew how destructive intemperance could be to the individual, the family, and the entire community. Alcohol had been introduced into Iowa Territory with the first fur traders in the early 1700s, when the French, the Spanish, and the English struggled to control trade in their territories.⁴⁵ In a speech to a clergyman in London, Neumon-ya stated,

The Great Spirit expects us to feed the poor; our wives and children at home are very poor; wicked white men kill so many of our hunters and warriors with *fire-water*, that they bring among us, and leave so many children among us for us to feed, when they go away, that it makes us very poor It is for that we have come to this country⁴⁶

They were especially alarmed by drunkenness in England because they had heard that English people detested drunkards. In addition to Catlin’s warnings against intemperance, the Paxoche had the benefit of missionary proselytism prior to their departure from Iowa Territory. Protestant missionaries, among the Paxoche people since 1841, advised them not to travel to Europe partly because they feared the party would not be guarded “against the pernicious effects of ardent spirits.”⁴⁷ The contradiction between the ideal of temperance promoted by Christians and the overt intemperance found on almost every street in this Christian city appeared to the Paxoche curious at the least and blatantly hypocritical at the extreme.

Paxoche reactions to their first and only visit to an English prison tell much about their notions of justice. The governor of the castle in York gave the visitors a personal tour through the occupied cellblocks and the torture chamber. Partway through the tour, the much quieted Paxoche begged their leave. The old medicine man, “with his robe wrapped close around him, casting his eyes around in all directions” called his people together and stated, “I do not think this is a good place for us to stay in any longer.”⁴⁸ According to Catlin, the Paxoche were horrified and alarmed at this “degradation and wickedness”:

They thought it easier to die than to live in jail, and seemed to be surprised that white men, so many hundreds and thousands, would submit to it, when they had so many means by which they could kill themselves.⁴⁹

By Paxoche standards, the most evil and cruel of all English laws was the one that imprisoned people for debt. The Paxoche were shocked that people could be subjected to the horrors of jail merely because they did not have money:

“Why not kill them?” they said; “it would be better, because when a man is dead he is no expense to any one, and his wife can get a husband again, and his little children a father to feed and take care of them; when he is in jail they must starve; when he is once in jail he cannot wish his face to be seen again, and they had better kill him at once.”⁵⁰

To the Paxoche, a law that left families destitute and a judicial process that robbed a man of his dignity were incomprehensible.

The Paxoche were similarly pained during a visit to the Surrey Zoological Gardens. Wash-ka-mon-ya asked of Catlin,

What have all those poor animals and birds done that they should be shut up to die? They never have murdered anybody—they have not been guilty of stealing, and they owe no money; why should they be kept so . . . ?⁵¹

During that visit, the Paxoche treated the animal inmates with the respect and esteem they would have given them in Iowa Territory—each time they passed an animal that was a soul or spiritual relation to one in their party, they acknowledged it according to Paxoche tradition.⁵² They also required their non-Indian guides to honor Paxoche ways. According to Catlin, Jim “made us white men take off our hats as we passed the beaver, for it was his relation.”⁵³ All were similarly required to throw tobacco to the rattlesnake, who was medicine and was not to be killed.

The most touching incident at the zoo, and the most insightful record of Paxoche respect for animal people, occurred when See-non-ti-yah, the medicine man, came across a caged wolf. According to Catlin,

The Doctor’s *totem* or *arms* was the wolf—it was therefore *medicine* to him. The Doctor advanced with a smile, and

offering it his hand, with a smirk of recognition, he began, in a low and soft tone, to howl like a wolf. All were quiet a moment, when the poor animal was led away by the Doctor's "distant howlings," until it raised up its nose, with the most pitiable looks of imploration for its liberty, and joined him in the chorus. He turned to us with an exulting smile, but to his "poor imprisoned brother," as he called it, with a tear in his eye, and a plug of tobacco in his hand, which he left by the side of its cage as a *peace offering*.⁵⁴

During the course of the tour, Paxoche criticisms of English inequity and injustice and Paxoche confidence in the righteousness of their own ways and values were recorded with increasing frequency by their chronicler. The consistency of Paxoche convictions eventually led Catlin to believe that it would have been better to have kept them ignorant: "[T]hey had but little idea of this enormous item that was to go into the scales in weighing the blessings of civilization."⁵⁵ Contrary to the expectations of their hosts, the Paxoche did not revere English civilization, nor did they exhibit any desire to imitate it. Rather, they condemned certain fundamental English precepts and institutions.

It is also clear from Paxoche observations and critiques that they refused to collaborate in or accept the larger colonial enterprise. This is most evident in their rejection of the Christian missionary project. During a visit with a group of clergymen who were attempting to convince the Paxoche party of the benefits of Christianity, Neu-mon-ya replied,

As to the white man's religion which you have explained, we have heard it told to us in the same way, many times, in our own country, and there are white men and women there now, trying to teach it to our people. We do not think your religion good, unless it is so for white people, and this we don't doubt. The Great Spirit has made our skins red, and the forest for us to live in. He has also given us our religion, which has taken our fathers to the "beautiful hunting grounds," where we wish to meet them. We don't believe that the Great Spirit made us to live with pale faces in this world, and we think He has intended we should live separate in the world to come.⁵⁶

When the missionary suggested that the smallpox had been sent among them to punish them for their "wickedness and their resistance to his word," Neu-mon-ya replied,

My Friends, we don't know that we have ever resisted the word of the Great Spirit. If the Great Spirit sent the small pox into our country to destroy us, we believe it was to punish us for listening to the false promises of white men. It is a white man's disease, and no doubt it was sent amongst white people to punish *them* for their sins. It never came amongst the Indians until we began to listen to the promises of white men, and to follow their ways; it then came amongst us, and we are not sure but the Great Spirit then sent it to punish us for our foolishness.⁵⁷

Neu-mon-ya closed the discussion by stating that the way the Paxoche could please the Great Spirit was "to get our wives and children something to eat, and clothes to wear."⁵⁸ Clearly the Paxoche believed all people should live according to the teachings given to them by their Creator and that religious tenets should be practiced at home. They also felt that the English could learn much from Paxoche charity and benevolence.

COMPARATIVE CRITIQUE OF PAXOCHE VIEWS

Existing ethnohistorical studies of Native American views of European society strongly indicate that Paxoche perceptions were neither idiosyncratic nor isolated. The majority of Native American travelers to Europe had similar criticisms of European customs and manners. A number of ethnohistorians claim that Native American perceptions of Europeans at home and abroad are so similar in substance and nuance that a general "Amerindian" view of European culture is conceivable. Cornelius Jaenen states,

As there appears now to have been much more of a common European concept of America—rather than markedly different Spanish, French, and English conceptual frameworks—so there appears to have been more of a common Amerindian reaction to the coming of the Europeans than different Micmac, Huron, or Iroquois responses. . . .⁵⁹

One of the most striking features of Native American oratory concerning Europeans is native ethnocentrism, or their "terrific superiority complex."⁶⁰ According to historian Olive Dickason, "What the Amerindians saw in Europe only confirmed them in the belief that they were at least equal, if not superior" to Europe-

ans.⁶¹ Ethnocentrism clearly is evident in the Paxoche penchant for judging English behavior according to their own cultural standards and values. Furthermore, the existence of “Paxoche-centrism” strongly indicates their loyalty to their own cultural constructs, which, in a more general context, directly challenged one of the primary goals of the colonial enterprise—the conversion and cultural transformation of Native American societies.⁶²

Native American perceptions of the English also posed an ironic contrast to how the English imagined themselves. Like Native Americans, the English and other Europeans had a tremendous cultural superiority complex. According to Francis Jennings,

The invaders of strange continents assumed an innate and absolute superiority over all other peoples because of divine endowment; their descendants would eventually secularize the endowment to claim it from nature instead of God, but would leave its absolute and innate qualities unchanged.⁶³

Europeans imagined themselves and their societies to be at the pinnacle of human progression. They deemed their cultures civilized and their people enlightened. Those who stood in the way of their colonial ventures were deemed uncivilized and savage.⁶⁴

Clearly the ideas of all parties in the colonial enterprise determined their actions. Both sides perceived their own cultures as morally superior and reacted to each other according to cultural dictates and circumstances. European notions of superiority required the conquest and cultural transformation of Native American societies. Native American notions of superiority dictated that they resist the colonial agenda for as long as they could without risking total annihilation. The tenacity of Native American culture in resisting colonial intrusion has been much commented on. James Axtell marvels that,

in the face of diseases, admitted technological inferiority, demographic inundations, loss of land and power, and aggressive religious and cultural proselytizing, the Indians managed to sustain their magnificent, if disconcerting, self-regard.⁶⁵

Native American resistance weakened as European and Euro-American imperialism expanded. However, as long as Native

American traditions and beliefs provided comfort and strength in times of hardship, Native American cultural systems persisted.

CONCLUSION

The fortitude of the Paxoche in the face of the colonial enterprise can best be understood within the broader historical and contemporary context—the degree of colonial impact on the nation, the strength of Paxoche cultural integrity, and Paxoche centrism. The Paxoche felt the impact of European intrusion beginning in the early 1700s. Although they experienced varying degrees of socio-cultural stress resulting from their participation in fur trade and imperial rivalries, disease epidemics, territorial dislocation, and economic collapse, direct European contact during the early colonial period was sporadic, and the process of Paxoche cultural change was relatively slow.⁶⁶ The portent of American expansionism reached Paxoche territory at the turn of the eighteenth century. By the 1840s, as Neu-mon-ya indicated earlier, the sociocultural equilibrium of the nation was disintegrating.⁶⁷ Despite the relatively high degree of social breakdown among the Paxoche, however, their representatives in London did not exhibit the usual characteristics of a conquered people—spiritual, psychological, and physical demoralization.⁶⁸ In other words, it appears that the Paxoche in London neither accepted nor internalized American conquest. The prevalence of Paxoche centrism further indicates that they still strongly valued their own cultural constructs. The full brunt of the colonial enterprise—physical conquest and directed efforts by missionary and state agents to undermine Paxoche culture and institutions—would hit them on their return home.

POSTSCRIPT

Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Paxoche have met a fate similar to that of other upper Missouri tribes. American expansion and declining Paxoche resilience forced White Cloud, Little Wolf, and other Paxoche leaders to cede large portions of their reservation on the Great Nemaha River in 1854 and 1860.⁶⁹ By 1890, about half of the tribe removed to a tract of allotted land in

Indian Territory on the Cimarron River, next to the Sauk and Fox tract near present-day Perkins, Oklahoma.⁷⁰

Between 1914 and 1923, ethnographer Alanson Skinner visited the two Paxoche communities and reported that there were only 162 survivors in Nebraska and 79 in Oklahoma. By Skinner's description, a few material remnants were all that survived of Paxoche culture:

Practically speaking, Ioway native culture, in all its branches is dead The last pagan was the late Chief David Tohee, who died during the great influenza epidemic a few years ago. The rest of the tribe are either Peyote devotees or Christians.⁷¹

No doubt sociocultural stress motivated many Paxoche to seek new forms of spiritual rejuvenation. However, despite Skinner's dismal appraisal, his own research correctly indicates that Paxoche cultural integrity persisted. While among the Oklahoma Paxoche, Skinner visited Jim White Cloud, who possessed a grizzly bear claw necklace wrapped with otter fur, *ma to-shagre-wanapi*, with long streamers of otter fur down the back. Apparently, it was the only one of its kind known to exist by this date, and Skinner hoped to acquire it for the Milwaukee Museum. Jim White Cloud refused to part with it, Skinner stated, because "he regards it as sacred."⁷² Quite probably, Jim White Cloud was a descendant of White Cloud or No Heart, and, from Skinner's description, the necklace sounds much like the one worn by White Cloud in Catlin's 1832 and 1844 portraits (figure 1). Clearly, despite George Catlin's and Alanson Skinner's bleak forecasts, some Paxoche cultural characteristics and integrity persisted into the twentieth century.

Contemporarily, the only existing Paxoche (Ioway) reservation is the one located near the Great Nemaha River in the northeast corner of Kansas, on the Nebraska line. The reservation consists of 1,072 acres, and as of 1992, the tribal population numbered 172 souls.⁷³

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer thanks her History 280, British Imperialism, classmates at University of California, Berkeley (spring 1992), for supporting the revival of indigenous (other) voices silenced by the colonial enterprise and for recognizing that intellectual

colonialism still arrogantly stalks the halls of academia. Kinanaskomitinawaw nitotemwak Gerald Vizenor, Betty (Cherokee) Bell, Irene Gonzales *ekwa* Rochelle Brock for their postcolonial insights, suggestions, and support, *ekwa* their good spirits.

NOTES

1. George Catlin, *Life among the Indians* (London: Gall & Inglis, n.d.), 325–26.
 2. James Axtell, "Through Another Glass Darkly: Early Indian Views of Europeans," in *After Columbus: Essays on the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, ed. James Axtell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 126–27.
 3. This tribe is generally referred to as Ioway (Iowa), an Anglicized term derived from the French *Ayauais*. The French claim to have heard it used by Algonkian-speaking peoples. Ioway peoples historically called themselves Paxoche (Pa-ho-dje), or "Gray Snow People." See Martha Royce Blaine, *The Ioway Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 3, 7. An earlier translation of Paxoche (Pa-hutch'ae) was "Dusty Heads." For a discussion of the origins and synonymy of their name, see William H. Miner, *The Ioway* (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1911), 77–81.
 4. *Ibid.*, 2, 59.
 5. David Mayer Gradwohl, "The Native American Experience in Iowa: an Archaeological Perspective," in *The Worlds Between Two Rivers: Perspectives on American Indians in Iowa*, ed. Gretchen M. Bataille, David M. Gradwohl, and Charles L. P. Silet (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1978), 48–49; Marshall McKusick, *Men of Ancient Iowa: As Revealed by Archeological Discoveries* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1964), 202–203, 205; and Thomas Schilz and Jodye L.D. Schilz, "Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Robes: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Fur Trade along the Missouri and Des Moines Rivers, 1700–1820," *The Annals of Iowa* 49:1 and 2 (1987): 19, 22. In 1848, a Paxoche named Waw-non-que-skoon-a drew a map of the territories formerly occupied by his people for Henry Schoolcraft. The map is reproduced in Miner, *The Ioway*, 24.
 6. The treaties entered into between the Paxoche (Iowa) peoples and the United States are reproduced in Miner, *The Ioway*, appendix B, 49–76.
 7. A.R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa* (Des Moines, IA: Mills & Co., 1888), 119–22, cited in McKusick, *Ancient Iowa*, 203, and Miner, *The Ioway*, 1.
 8. Miner, *The Ioway*, 41.
 9. Some confusion surrounds White Cloud's identity in the historical literature. There were two White Clouds (senior and junior). White Cloud, Sr. (Mah-hos-kah, or Mashashka) died in 1834. It was he who was imprisoned in St. Louis in 1808, at the age of twenty-five years, for murder resulting from Iowa-Osage warfare (he escaped the stockade the following year). He also signed the 1824 United States Treaty. It was White Cloud, Jr. (Mew-hu-she-kaw, or Mahaskah), also known as No Heart (Notch-ee-ming-a), who traveled to England in 1844. White Cloud, Jr. was also the subject of two Catlin paintings, done in 1832 and 1844.
- Part of the confusion surrounding the separate identities of the White Clouds stems from confusion about the identities of their wives. White Cloud, Sr. was

married to Rantchewaime, Female Flying Pigeon. A Female Flying Pigeon, or Pigeon on the Wing (Ruton-wee-me, or Lutonuimi) was also a member of the 1844 European troupe, but she is described as a young, unmarried woman. White Cloud, Jr.'s wife in Europe was Strutting Pigeon (Ruton-ye-wee-me, or Lutonyiwime), who was probably an earlier wife, since family oral history identifies Mary Many Days Robideaux as White Cloud Jr.'s long-term wife.

Anthropologist Alanson Skinner claims that, in Iowa tradition, men and women had multiple names, one of which was a hereditary family gen name. For example, White Cloud, Jr. was also known as No Heart, or No-Heart-of-Fear (Notch-ee-ming-a, or Notceninge), which signifies that he was a member of the Bear gens, a leading family that owned the sacred pipe. Likewise, young Pigeon on the Wing Woman (Lutonuimi, or Ruton-wee-me) carried the name of old White Cloud's (probably deceased) wife, which signifies that she was a member of the pigeon gens. See Blaine, *Ioway Indians*, 105; William Truetner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 214, 294; Robert G. Waters, "The Historical Lineage of Jim Rhodd, Chief of the Northern Iowa Tribe," *Whispering Wind* 26:1 (1993), 15–16; Alanson Skinner, *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians*, *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 5:4 (1926): 195–96.

10. The Paxoche had a long history of alliance relations with the French and English. In 1725 a handful of Paxoche, along with a number of other representatives from the Missouri nations, set out to visit the king of France under the escort of Chevalier de Bourgmont, commander along the Missouri River. However, in New York, at the point of departure, their intended vessel sank, and all but four of the original twenty-two native emissaries, including the Paxoche representatives, decided not to go. Richard N. Ellis and Charlie R. Steen, "An Indian Delegation in France, 1725," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67 (1974): 389–90. The Paxoche medicine man See-non-ti-yah, or Blister Feet, was about sixty years old when he traveled to England in 1844. He carried with him a George III silver medal that he had inherited from his father, Le Voleur, who had received it in 1778. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad, 1493–1938* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), 186. See Schilz, "Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Robes," for an overview of British-Paxoche trade relations.

11. All the literature under study states that Doraway was a mulatto. A picture of Doraway found in a copy of a daguerreotype in Miner's book shows that he has African American features (see figure 2). The circumstances surrounding his upbringing among the Paxoche people, however, remain a mystery. Miner, *The Iowa*, 65; George Catlin, *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe, with His North American Indian Collection*, vol. 2 (New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1848), 7.

12. Little is known about Melody except that he was a Protestant clergyman with the London Missionary Society. Catlin writes that a Reverend William P. Cochran of Marion County, Missouri, wrote a letter of support for Melody to take the Paxoche abroad. Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 1–2. Haberly suggests that Melody's mission was to impress the Paxoche with "all the fine things in England," but Carolyn Foreman suggests that it was Melody's mission to "counteract the impression made upon them [Paxoche] . . . by the Catholics." Loyd Haberly, *Pursuit of the Horizon: A Life of George Catlin Painter & Recorder of the American Indian* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948), 151; and Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 193.

13. Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 1–2.

14. Truettner suggests that the portrait referred to by Catlin as the White Cloud portrait was actually the No Heart (no. 256) portrait painted in 1832. The portrait entitled *White Cloud* (no. 517) was painted in England in 1844. Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 214, 294.
15. Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 7.
16. Harold McCracken, *George Catlin and the Old Frontier* (New York: The Dual Press, 1959), 193.
17. Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 41, 39.
18. *Ibid.*, 37; and McCracken, *George Catlin*, 184–85.
19. United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 18–19.
20. Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 79–80.
21. *Ibid.*, 53.
22. Haberly, *Pursuit of the Horizon*, 177.
23. Penny Petrone, *Native Literature in Canada From the Oral Tradition to the Present* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), 7.
24. *Ibid.*, 4.
25. *Ibid.*, 5, 34.
26. Cornelius Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture in the Seventeenth Century," in *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, ed. Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd. Reprint, 1988), 102–33; James P. Rhonda, "'We Are Well As We Are': An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34:3 (1977): 66–82; Axtell, "Another Glass Darkly," 127.
27. Axtell, "Another Glass Darkly," 127.
28. See for example, Grant Foreman, "Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe," *Missouri Historical Society Collections* 5:2 (1928): 109–28; George Henry (Maugwundaus or Big Legging), *An Account of the Chippewa Indians, who have travelled among the Whites in the United States, England, Ireland, Scotland, France and Belgium* (Boston: Published by the author, 1848).
29. *London Times*, 8 August 1844.
30. *Ibid.*, 5 September 1844. Catlin also describes his unpopularity among the English press during his Ojibwa shows. Marjorie Catlin Roehm, *The Letters of George Catlin and His Family: A Chronicle of the American West* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), 292.
31. *London Times*, 17 August 1844.
32. Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskin: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 16.
33. Catlin, *Life among the Indians*, 325.
34. Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 114.
35. See-non-ti-ya, cited in *ibid.*, 136.
36. *Ibid.*, 137.
37. Blaine, *The loway*, 210.
38. Wash-Ka-mon-ya, cited in Catlin, *Catlin's Notes*, 71.
39. See-non-ti-ya, cited in *ibid.*, 143.
40. *Ibid.*, 71.
41. *Ibid.*, 70. *Chickabobboogs* is derived from *Chickabobboo*, an Ojibway term adopted by Catlin to distinguish common "fire-water" from wine, because there was no differentiation in the Paxoche language for the varieties of

alcoholic beverages. Chickabobboo refers to “the Queen’s wine.” Chickabobboog is a gin palace, where people drink all manner of spirituous liquors. *Ibid.*, 50, 71.

42. *Ibid.*, 100.
43. *Ibid.*, 100–101.
44. *Ibid.*, 101, 99.
45. Blaine, *Ioway Indians*, 42–43. Also see Schilz, “Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Robes,” *passim*.
46. Nue-mon-ya, cited in Catlin, *Catlin’s Notes*, 41–42.
47. Blaine, *Ioway Indians*, 224–25; “Extract of a letter from S. M. Irvin,” 24 May 1847, in Catlin, *Catlin’s Notes*, 328.
48. See-non-ti-ya, cited in Catlin, *Catlin’s Notes*, 150.
49. *Ibid.*, 150, 152.
50. *Ibid.*, 152.
51. Wash-ka-mon-ya, cited in *ibid.*, 91.
52. According to Alanson Skinner, the Paxoche were organized under ten gens: Black Bear, Buffalo, Pigeon, Elk, Eagle and Thunder, Wolf, Red Earth People, Snake, Beaver, and Owl. See Skinner, *Ethnology of the Iowa Indians*, 193.
53. Catlin, *Catlin’s Notes*, 88.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, 137.
56. Neu-mon-ya, cited in *ibid.*, 40.
57. *Ibid.*, 41.
58. *Ibid.*, 42.
59. Jaenen, “Amerindian Views,” 105.
60. Axtell, “Another Glass Darkly,” 142.
61. Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 229.
62. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonials, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), 53.
63. *Ibid.*, 5.
64. *Ibid.*, 8–9.
65. Axtell, “Another Glass Darkly,” 143.
66. Blaine, *The Ioway*, 139–204 *passim*.
67. Catlin, *Catlin’s Notes*, 42.
68. See, for example, Franz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 1–28; Wilbur Jacobs, “The Price of Progress,” *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 126–50; Robert Blauner, “Colonized and Immigrant Minorities,” in *From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*, ed. Ronald Takaki (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 149–60; Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).
69. Miner, *The Ioway*, 66, 73.
70. Skinner, *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians*, 190, 262.
71. *Ibid.*, 190.
72. *Ibid.*, 165.
73. George Russell, *The American Indian Digest* (Phoenix, AZ: Thunderbird Enterprises, 1992), 23.