

ICONOGRAPHY IN THE PORTRAITURE
OF JOSEPH BRANT (1742-1807)

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ABSTRACT

ICONOGRAPHY IN THE PORTRAITURE OF JOSEPH BRANT (1742-1807)

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This thesis is an iconographical study of the portraits of the celebrated Mohawk chief, Thayendanegea, popularly known as Joseph Brant (1742-1807), an active Loyalist Indian statesman and warrior. Joseph Brant's portrait was painted on numerous occasions, especially during the period 1776 to 1807. The portraits, which include paintings, miniatures, drawings, and engravings were done by leading portraitists in England, the United States, and Canada, such as George Romney, Gilbert Stuart, Charles Willson Peale, Ezra Ames and William Berczy. The images of Joseph Brant have been classified by iconographical themes which also illustrate the historical attitudes to the Indian.

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Manoir Richelieu Collection

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x

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Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University,

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halftone

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Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division. File No. 501-1-4-4c

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Joseph Brant (Thayendanagea)

halftone

5 x 4 inches

Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division. File No. 501-16

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untitled (Portrait of Joseph Brant)

date unknown

oil on canvas

2 feet 2 inches x 2 feet 7 inches

Joseph Brant Museum, Burlington, Ontario

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5½ x 4½ inches

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Peter Winkworth, Esq.

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For this thesis I relied on the generous help of many people. My sincerest thanks go to Professor François-Marc Gagnon of the Department of Art History, University of Montreal. It was Professor Gagnon who sparked my interest in Joseph Brant when I attended his graduate course, European Iconography of the American Indian, given at Concordia University. Professor Gagnon was always available to answer my questions and freely offered his valuable insights and knowledge, while at the same time suggesting new lines of research.

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PREFACE

The portraits of Joseph Brant executed between 1776 and 1807 have precedent in the renderings of Indians that were produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the first Europeans visited the New World. Navigators, soldiers, explorers, cartographers, draughtsmen and clerics recorded the Indians in terms of their own European prejudices based on contemporary notions in philosophy and religion. These "artists" were the first visual myth-makers of the Indians. The Indian was viewed by such travellers as a symbol of the newly-discovered and exotic continent. The Indian was celebrated as a 'noble savage' which also describes the European ambivalence toward their own 'civilized' society.

In this thesis, the iconography used in the images of Joseph Brant will be analyzed through a classification of the preconceived concepts inherent whenever Europeans confronted the Indian. Each chapter will identify a particular attitude or stereotype and its relationship to the historical period, as well as its application to the portraits. The first chapter deals with Brant's biography and his place in Indian society. The iconographical analysis begins in Chapter II with the images of sixteenth and seventeenth century Indians, an era which I have identified and classified as the 'pre-contact' period.

As contact intensified between natives and Europeans, and as trade expanded, Indians gradually assimilated the European culture. From pre-contact time, at contact (from the beginning of the eighteenth century), at the height of contact (from the last quarter of the eighteenth century) and at the acculturated period (from the beginning of the nineteenth century), the degree of assimilation can be observed through the

pictorial representation of costume and silver. However, the paper will concentrate on the two latter periods because it was then that portraiture of Joseph Brant flourished.

The iconographical classifications outlined in Chapter II (The Indian as a Paradigm of the Exotic Continent), Chapter III (The Warrior Peacemaker and The Noble Savage) and Chapter IV (Humanist Portraits and The Emperor Figure) are not intended as exclusive categories. The attitudes found in the exotic, the romantic and the neo-classical images of the Indian often overlap. Rather, these headings are intended primarily to define those conventions which affected the artists. Another influence which must be taken into consideration is the fact that the earliest portraits of Brant were done in England, while later works were executed in America. This may help to explain differing perceptions and aesthetic attitudes of the artists.

For this paper I have relied upon the biography of Joseph Brant by William Stone¹ that was drawn from the large collection of Brant's own manuscripts, speeches, letters and interviews. It is Stone who astutely observed:

No Indian pen traces the history of their tribes and nations, or records the deeds of their warriors and chiefs - their prowess and their wrongs. Their spoilers have been their historians.²

Other research material available on the subject of Joseph Brant used for this thesis ranges from records and publications of historical societies, nineteenth and twentieth-century historical and biographical literature of the Iroquois, supplemented by monographs in the form of articles on Joseph Brant. The article by Robert S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America:

1755-1830," in Canadian Historic Sites (1975) is an important recent publication for historical and biographical material. Texts on American, English, Canadian and North American Indian art, and monographs on those particular artists who painted Joseph Brant, form the basic published information consulted.

In the literature, the examination of the portraits of Joseph Brant by major painters is relatively substantial. However, there is less documentation on those works by lesser artists. In this thesis, images of other Indians are introduced into the discussion of Joseph Brant as points of illustration rather than for comparison.

Although Joseph Brant was renowned as a statesman-warrior, it is interesting that there are relatively few portraits extant. It is hoped that this study will help to bring others to light.

INTRODUCTION

The evolution of the portrait of the American Indian in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can indicate the extent that prevailing ideologies affected artists. Works of art participated in and helped to propagate conceptions Europeans held of Indians. Those ideologies served as models for depicting Indians and helped to perpetuate a mythology. Artists, attempting to acknowledge through imagery the very fact of the Indian race and culture, generally could not probe beyond their own or society's stereotypes. Few Europeans had the opportunity to meet Indians in the eighteenth century, and those Indians who travelled to Europe were not perceived in their own environment. Even Europeans who encountered Indians on American soil had a very limited knowledge of these populations whose customs differed so greatly from their own. As a result, European representations of the Indian in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to have benefited little even from direct contact. Their portrayal in art, therefore, served more as a mirror for the group who described them: a reflection on the nature of the human species, rather than an honest and complete depiction. When transcultural situations did exist, preconceptions were always in conflict with the real position. Since the requirement of sensitivity and communication did not become incorporated into the exchange, these convergences abounded in stereotypes of one another. The eighteenth century inability to come to grips with philosophical questions of the 'natural' despite the search for it during the Age of the Enlightenment, can be observed in portraits of the Indian, who were not naturalistically depicted in the fine or literary arts.

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Joseph Brant, (1742-1807), the famous Mohawk orator, statesman and military leader had his portrait painted many times during his lifetime by the leading portraitists of the day in England, the United States, as well as by a German artist in the British Colony in Canada. It is rare to have the opportunity to observe and relate artistic changes in the embodiment of a specific Indian, such as Joseph Brant. The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the iconographical motifs in the portraiture of Joseph Brant, who was depicted on sixteen occasions between 1776-1807, and whose image has been accessible, circulated through prints or copies until today. Among the representations the reader will find a variety of mediums including paintings, drawings, engravings and miniatures. The chronology of Brant's portraits, from early to old age, reflect changes in ideology. Contemporary painting styles, and those individual differences of specific artists, and the utilization of mental images formed in the artists' mind's eye, will also be taken into account. The artist's relationship to his patron, whether he was commissioned by Brant or by others affects the results achieved.

The complexity of patronage in the fine arts is an issue which can only be generalized here; essentially, patronage reflects the realities of a nation at a specific time. Painters working in England in the eighteenth century mirror in portraiture, the requirement of their patrons, mainly landowners and country squires. Artists in America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century tended to celebrate in their works the statesmen and heroes of the Revolution, Loyalists and revolutionaries. A statistical survey of the paintings of Gilbert Stuart, who was the most prolific portraitist of the group

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analyzed in this thesis, reveals that more portraits of Loyalists were painted than revolutionaries. The timeless portrait form that belonged to history was an important device serving as a metaphor for statesmanship for the patrons.

The portrait, (whether painted, sculpted or written), poses more than a question of aesthetic form. Questions of appearance and reality are postulated. Dealing with physical appearance, the painter as well as the sculptor has also paradoxically to deal with the sitter's personality, that which cannot readily be seen. So, the excellent portraitist has to be a moralist, as man is composed of what he looks like, the sum of his acts, as well as being an enigma, concealing his thoughts behind language. The portrait, like all art that has survived, is bound to time and history, social conventions and style. Insofar as it may touch us in the present, draw our attention, and set our minds to wonder, it escapes the temporal and is at once of the past as well as the present. It is for all these reasons that the accomplished portrait can be judged as a work of art as well as a document, based on the supposed objective likeness of a sitter.

This paper is a study of the portraits of Joseph Brant, an Iroquois Indian. The story of the Iroquois during and following the period of the American Revolution is largely contained in the life story of Joseph Brant. In order to understand the life of Brant we must examine his background and his people. French explorers in the sixteenth century found the League of Iroquois living in a loose confederacy of five tribes, residing in central and western New York. The history and organization of the Iroquois tribes in the League are obscure until the closing years of the sixteenth century. These tribes were, from

east to west, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas (fig. I). The Tuscaroras, from the south, who came north about 1720 lived near the Oneidas. As well, mixed settlements of these tribes, known as Mingos, plus others of the Algonkin stock were also settled along the Upper Susquehanna and down into Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. There is much confusion and uncertainty regarding the origin and strength of this "League of the Five Nations" in the literature. The federation was very loose and probably never numbered more than 15,000 people or 3,000 warriors as a liberal estimate.³

The structure of Indian society played a vital role in the personal development of Joseph Brant, born a Mohawk in the Iroquois League.⁴ The League was governed by a council of elective and hereditary chiefs, the social organization comprising of clans bearing animal names. The Council that administered the affairs of the League was composed of nearly fifty chiefs or sachems, all of equal rank, and all selected from the maternal families; the Iroquois had adopted a matrilinear organization that recognized descent through the female line. Members of the council who obtained their position did so by birthright, not prowess or ability. There arose a group of warrior chiefs who attained considerable influence, sometimes even rivalling the sachems themselves. It was the chiefs, not the sachems, who won most fame and honour during the Revolutionary War. There were no strata in Indian society; any man might become a warrior chief; he might even become a civil chief or sachem provided that he belonged to one of the fifty maternal families where that position was hereditary. Joseph Brant would become a civil and military chief according to the custom of his society. The natural beauty of the homeland, the

traditions of hunting, and the respect for the history and culture of his people, were influences which would bear upon the reactions of Joseph Brant.

Geographically situated between the route to the west and between the French and English settlements, south of the St. Lawrence River, the Iroquois were subjected to imperialistic pressure from north and south.

This intermediate position was perhaps the greatest source of strength and the greatest cause for weakness among the Iroquois. They were able to increase their influence by playing one side against the other, but at the cost of dividing themselves and becoming embroiled in the wars between the European rivals which lasted from 1689 to the downfall of Napoleon.⁵

These intercolonial wars affected the Iroquois, gradually turning the eastern tribes to the English and the western group pro-French or neutral.

For many years the main source of contact between the Iroquois and the English had been that of trade, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century that contact intensified and was more varied in nature. The desire of the English to acquire the Iroquois as allies and customers led to treaties, presents, building of forts as well as an attempt to Anglicize them, which had a great effect upon Brant.

Although for the most part the Iroquois pursued a policy of neutrality during Queen Anne's War with the French of 1701, the English from time to time attempted to draw the Iroquois into it. In 1710, in a celebrated visit, four Indian chiefs, Etow Oh Koam, Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, Nee Yeath Taw No Ro, and Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Ro (figs. 5-8), were taken to London to publicize the need for more adequate

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defenses of the colony against the French,⁶ and were received by Queen Anne. Portraits painted for her have been attributed to John Verelst (1648?-1734). The visit was also a ploy to impress the chiefs with British might. A long alliance saw one chief, Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow's (fig. 6) (Brant) grandson, Joseph Brant, lead Iroquois warriors on Britain's side in the American Revolution. The Iroquois helped the English in their successful attempt to take over Canada. The Indian Kings used this situation to bargain for their objectives, which was a request for missionaries to be sent to Indian country to instruct them in the Christian Protestant Faith. Government funds were sent through the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to build a Mohawk church, house and fortified post at Fort Hunter. Within a log-enclosure, the post, begun in 1711, was built to protect the Mohawks against attacks by the French and their Indian allies. Queen's Chapel was a twenty-four foot square limestone building constructed within the fort. Queen Anne requisitioned handsome communion silver plate dated 1712 for the occasion.⁷ By the middle of the century the Mohawks were nominally Anglican Christian, a process which had been in progress since 1704 by the Society. After the American Revolution Mohawk lands were seized and Queen Anne's Chapel was burned.

In Brant's early years, the Iroquois lived in three settlements in the Mohawk Valley, the one at Fort Hunter with a population of about one hundred and sixty, another at Canajoharie, with about one hundred and eight people, and another at the Schoharie with about eighty. When united, they were about two thousand, half of whom were Seneca and about one hundred and sixty were Mohawks (fig. 2).

New York was one of the most loyal colonies to the Crown. Albany, in the Mohawk Valley, was the centre of British trade interests. Like Canada, New York was feudal and aristocratic in bent. "It was in the Mohawk Valley that feudalism, the fur trade, and Indian diplomacy were most prominent."⁸ The master planner of Indian matters until his death in 1774 had been Sir William Johnson (1715-1774), the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who established himself in the Mohawk Valley of New York. Johnson built churches and hired schoolmasters for the Mohawks, further contributing to the process of acculturation. That Sir William Johnson would become the brother-in-law to Joseph Brant by his marriage to Brant's sister Molly, (1736-1796) played a large role in Brant's subsequent Loyalist sympathies. After Sir William Johnson's death his mantle fell on his son, Sir John Johnson (1742-1830) and his nephew, Sir Guy Johnson (about 1730-1788). With the outbreak of the Revolution and the Johnsons' failure to dominate the Mohawk Valley, the Loyalists had to retreat to Canada at the beginning of 1776. At the close of the American Revolution, the United Empire Loyalists Six Nations Indians were a people without a land until the Crown purchased southern Ontario from the Mississauga Indians (Haldimand Grant, 1784) for the resettlement of the Loyalists, allotting reserves for the Six Nations in the Bay of Quinte and in the Valley of the Grand River. Thus, in summation, it was into this milieu, the battleground between the French, English and American nations, Indian and European cultures, and the resettlement, that Joseph Brant's experiences were formed.

In Chapter I, I will trace back to original sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, (the pre-contact period), those

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aesthetic conventions generally used to depict the Indian. These images serve as a background for the thesis, to place the portraits of Joseph Brant into an historical context. These early sixteenth century images affected the mental images of both contemporary and later artists. Texts and written works, in general, without accompanying images, traditionally reach smaller groups, hence are less effective as mental images for artists than prototypes based on more accessible models. These early sixteenth century images, begun as the object of European curiosity, have been classified in this text in terms of the imaginary, or dream Indian, based on the exoticism of the American Indian, given impetus by the unfolding drama in the Age of Discovery. The dissemination of published texts in the seventeenth century based on travels to the New World perpetuated the models.

The second half of the eighteenth century (at the height of contact and later acculturation period) from which the greatest number of Brant portraits were produced, may be regarded as one of the great eras of art in Great Britain. This was due to the genius of the artists aided by socio-economic conditions which gave rise to such a development and which created the distinct British character of art. In the richness and variety of the genres, national traits were reflected, especially in terms of the landscape, the informal conversation piece, portraiture, and the sporting and animal genre. The Royal Academy, to which many eminent artists of the time belonged (with the exception of George Romney who painted Joseph Brant's portrait), had a favorable influence on the emerging self-consciousness of this distinct character of English painting. These characteristics

in turn affected the orientation the English artist would have when dealing with the Indian portrait, which by this time, had become a trend within English art. Progressively, the 'noble savage' became a Romantic notion in literature and the fine arts. The fearsome, but respected enemy of white settlers along the moving frontier is examined in Chapter III. The dissemination of mezzotints taken after oil paintings of Indians in the colonies acted as models for artists and added to the stereotyped image of the Indian.

With the winning of Independence, and the settling of Canada, political change became analogous to the democratic society of Greece and Rome. Artists consciously imitated antique art in style and subject matter, drawing ancient morals for modern circumstances. Concurrently, the Indian was becoming extinct, a disappearing race, falling victim to the inevitable progress of resettlement and acculturation. In view of these concepts, Chapter IV deals with the humanist Neoclassical portraits of Brant which were derived from Renaissance humanist portraiture. These humanist portraits charted the development of the fiercely proud Indian warrior, once admired and feared, and now transformed into an aged, disillusioned chief by historic events as well as by artists.

CHAPTER ONE

Biography of Joseph Brant

In spite of the prominent part played by Joseph Brant (also known as Thayendanegea)⁹ in his lifetime, very little precise information is known about his early life. Biographical information is scarce. Our uncertainty as to Brant's parentage is surprising, since lineage and clan were important among the Iroquois. The monument over Brant's grave in His Majesty's Chapel to the Mohawks, a church on the outskirts of Brantford, Ontario (fig. 3) has the date 1742 for his birth.

Traditions and biographers agree that Joseph Brant was born on the banks of the Ohio River while the Mohawks were on a hunting party south of Lake Erie. Family lore says that Brant's father was Tehowagh-wengaraghkwin, a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Clan, and that he died while Joseph was young.¹⁰ His mother is said to have moved back to Canajoharie in New York and to have remarried an Indian known among the whites as Brant; hence the name by which Brant is commonly known.

There is uncertainty over the question of whether Brant was a full-blooded Indian. Descriptions and pictures of him show that he was rather light-complexioned. Rumours abounded during the heat of the Revolution that he was the illegitimate son of Sir William Johnson, although this is unsubstantiated. Although conflicting and contradictory evidence about Brant's birth and parentage exists, it would suffice to say that he lived a way of life regulated by the impact of English products, culture, religion, government and military entanglements with its neighbours.

A turning point in Brant's life occurred when his sister Molly (1736-1796) became the housekeeper, mistress, and Indian wife of the widower Sir William Johnson, King George II's representative for Indian affairs. Johnson then lived in lavish style in his third home in the Mohawk Valley of Upper New York, a three-storied Georgian house in the wilderness, called Johnson Hall,¹¹ a home more elegant than nearby Mount Johnson, his first residence, and Fort Johnson, his second.¹² As a lover of the frontier and the Indians, Johnson implemented programs which are still felt today, such as the Department of Indian Affairs.¹³ Such a family liaison elevated the status of Brant's family, since he was placed under the protection of one of the leading men of the country. This connection led to opportunities which Brant might not otherwise have enjoyed.

One of the successive steps in Brant's training was his schooling. If Brant ever went to school before he was nineteen years of age, it was only to learn to read and write Mohawk, for he knew little English in 1761.¹⁴ There was no schoolhouse at Canajoharie, Brant's home village, before 1761. That year, the Commissioners in Boston, representing the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, voted to promote Indian education by educating some Iroquois scholars at Eleazer Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Connecticut, the forerunner of Dartmouth College. With the backing of Sir William Johnson, Brant at nineteen enrolled in the program.

The transition from Mohawk life to the rigorous puritanism as the school was a difficult step for Brant. The Bible chapter for the day would be named, read, analyzed and studied grammatically. Then there was the daily catechism. School hours, from nine to twelve, then two

to five o'clock were followed by evening prayer, and church was regularly attended. Though Brant was an able student, the Mohawks urged him to leave school during the time of the Pontiac uprising of 1763 in which the great chief of the Ottawas and leader of the Western Indians, headed a revolt against all English and Americans. Brant left after having spent almost two years there, but not as a finished scholar, as his English carried a decided Indian accent for some time. Though he had benefited scholastically from the program,¹⁵ the Indians thought of themselves as warriors, rather than scholars. War had traditionally been the avenue to fame and prestige.¹⁶

After his military services in the Pontiac uprising, Brant married an Oneida chief's daughter in 1765, (name unknown) who bore him two children (names unknown) and set up a house in his native village of Canajoharie. He continued to be active in religious matters. He joined the Anglican Church and worked with Reverend John Stuart in translating parts of the Bible into Mohawk.¹⁷ He acted as an interpreter and aided missionaries in teaching Christianity to Indians. The Church of England had been active among the Mohawks intermittently since 1704, but the work received new impetus with the coming of Reverend Stuart in 1770 as missionary at Fort Hunter.¹⁸ Through Brant, Stuart preached to the Mohawks every Sunday. In 1773 Brant married Susanna, the half-sister of his first wife who had died in 1771, but this union produced no offspring.

At the same time as Brant's work with Stuart, he was employed by Johnson to deal with the Indians. Brant's involvement of ten years duration before the Revolution led to a growth of his influence and knowledge of the intricacies of diplomacy and policy. Since Sir /

William Johnson was involved in frontier diplomacy, involving land frauds, Joseph Brant aided him in settling disputes. Until the outbreak of the American Revolution, white migration westward had continued unchecked. Johnson and Brant were disturbed about the growing unrest on the frontier, which was created by the inroads of the settlers and traders whose expansion was becoming untenable. They saw trouble arising politically between England and the American colonies. Situated between Canada and the American colonies, the Six Nations Indians knew they could not remain neutral. Respect for both Johnson and Brant as skillful diplomats and arbitrators of Indian affairs led to the Iroquois' choice of Brant as head war chief, pending the outbreak of the Revolution.

In July of 1774, while opposing entrance of the Five Nations into the war, Sir William Johnson died at Johnson Hall in the Mohawk Valley. He had urged Brant to be loyal to the Crown, knowing that the Six Nations were not united. His position was filled by his son-in-law, Guy Johnson. Brant was commissioned a captain by Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada. This was the highest position an Indian could hold in the regular British military. In the fall of 1774 and Spring of 1775, Brant became Guy Johnson's right-hand man, serving as his deputy and secretary in the British Indian Department.

Councils during the early months of 1775 were regularly attended by the Five Nations, who discussed the dispute between England and her colonies. The Revolutionary situation rushed to a swift climax, and the Iroquois were feeling the pressure applied by both sides. The Johnsons and their supporters sympathized with the King, while there were settlers along the Mohawk who were ardent patriots. Johnson was

defeated in his argument to enlist Indian aid in fighting only a defensive war. Because of inadequate support, Johnson took a group, including Brant, to Quebec and sailed for England in 1775-1776. With open warfare still to come, Brant was determined to learn the true situation in London. He was authorized to speak of his peoples' attachment, but of their dislike of being abandoned in war, and of their treatment in land troubles. He received what he had come for, assurances that their land greivances would be settled after the war. Brant pledged to take to the field in the royal cause with 3,000 warriors, an obligation which he fulfilled as well as he could upon his return from England. Loyalist forces formed a corps known as Butler's Rangers (John Butler, 1725-1796) and fought as scouts and light infantry alongside with the Loyalist Indians of the now divided Six Nations, in particular Brant's Mohawks. Brant was at Wyoming Valley, German Flats, and took an active part in the Cherry Valley massacre (1778), Sullivan's campaign (1779) and along the Ohio against Clark (1781).

At war's end, the Indians were resentful of the treaty made in 1782 between Britain and the United States. Throughout the war the Indians were aligned with the royal cause, but after the war their land was signed over to the Americans, and there was no mention of provision for them. At the close of the American Revolution, then these United Empire Loyalist Six Nations Indians were a people without a land. Britain and the United States had drawn up a treaty, unknown to the Indians, in which a boundary line had been established between Canada and the new Republic. Britain had discarded a great ally, and the Indian territory would be ripped apart as the spoils of conquest,

since the English had given no consideration for the protection of the sovereign territory of the Six Nations Indians. The British military, facing the danger of abandonment by Loyalists, both Indian and white, leaving British posts undefended, laid out a great land purchase plan. Under Colonel John Butler the Crown would purchase the whole of southern Ontario from the Mississauga Indians for the settlement of the Loyalists. The Haldimand Grant of 1784 provided the Iroquois with two reserves, six miles wide, on each side of the Grand River; one in the Bay in Quinte, the other in the valley of the Grand River, about 570,000 acres, as a substitute for the loss of their traditional homelands in New York during the American Revolution. A personal grant was awarded to Brant by the Crown of 3,450 acres of prime land fronting Lake Ontario at Burlington. Brant still retained his commission in the British service and drew half-pay from the Government. Total Indian autonomy over the Grand River lands was not granted, however, and the only land which Brant could sell was that which had been granted to him personally. Brant and his braves built a wood-frame church in 1785 when they fled to the banks of the Grand River. Today, His Majesty's Royal Chapel of the Mohawks is Ontario's oldest Protestant (Anglican) church.

Brant visited England in 1786 to remind the English that they had forgotten the Indians at the peace treaty of 1783. He also inquired whether King George III would support them in a war with the United States, a request which was diplomatically refused. He returned to spend the rest of his life working for his resettled people. Continuing with his religious activities as well, Brant translated the book of Common Prayer and the Gospel according to St. Mark into the Mohawk language, which was published in London in 1787. (Refer to note 17).

In the province of Upper Canada, formed in 1791, governed by John Graves Simcoe, the population grew from 14,000 in 1791 to 90,000. The aim was to welcome population growth as a means of keeping Upper Canada out of the American union. Once new settlers had taken the oath of loyalty, they received free land grants similar to those provided for the earliest, first-wave Loyalists. The use of favoritism in land-granting threw the door wide open to speculation. Joseph Brant quickly learned such business ploys as these strategies, and began to use similar tactics as a land-agent. This would lead to irrevocably serious repercussions for the Indians. Brant arranged to have power of authority, to act as sole agent of Six Nations land. By 1797 he had quickly disposed of three-fifths of Reserve land to whites, mostly Americans, at immense personal profit. Although Brant insisted that he was acting on behalf of his people, his personal wealth was considerably augmented. He had reasoned that since the original grant was too small to provide a living from hunting, and was larger than required for farming, the revenue from land sales to skilled agriculturists would be of a greater benefit to the Indians, who would learn more sophisticated techniques. However, the Indians received little money from the land speculators who bought the properties, and Reserve land was diminished up to 47,360 acres. Seen today, in retrospect, Brant seems naive in motivation and judgement, and by capitalizing upon the situation, bears some of the responsibility for selling out the Indians.

In 1793, at the Sandusky conference, Brant's long attempts to form a united Indian confederacy in opposition to American expansion failed. And by the terms of the Treaty of Greenville signed by all

the principal tribes of the Northwest in 1795, the Indians lost the greater portion of the Ohio Valley.

An unhappy event in his later years destroyed Brant's spirit. He was attacked by his son, Isaac, in a fit of drunken fury, and Brant, in self-defense, accidentally killed his son. Brant never recovered from his despondency. Although Brant surrendered himself to justice, his case was considered one of justifiable homicide. The resignation which he tendered Lord Dorchester was not accepted. In these later years Joseph Brant was extremely wealthy. He owned seven to eight negro slaves and a four-horse carriage. He died in his magnificent two-storied Georgian home, called Wellington Square, in Burlington, Upper Canada, in 1807 (fig. 4).

In summation, the Six Nations Indians disrespected Brant's allegiance to the Crown. By relinquishing control over Indian faith and religion and land, the Six Nations Indians became wards of the Government. Caught in the two forces, an empire and a frontier, neither of which were merciful, and both regarding the Indians as expendable, it is unlikely that the Six Nations Indians would have fared better under American rule where United States treaties with Indians were violated more often than not. Caught in this bitter power play, Indian resistance subsequently grew passive and eventually defenseless. In later years the Indian Department noted the destitute condition of the Grand River Indians.

CHAPTER TWO

European Interest in the New World:

The Indian as a Paradigm of the Exotic Continent

The image of the American Indian became an object of European intellectual curiosity. The most complete and authentic source of information has always been the sketches made by travellers to various parts of the Americas. The first Europeans to visit the New World were navigators, soldiers, and explorers who were adventurers, not artists. They made maps, mainly outlines of coasts, or the site or plan of a fort. Depictions of Indians were sometimes included in their maps when they attempted to delineate Indian territory. As early as 1564, Frenchman Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, (d. 1588) a Protestant colonist and settler in Florida and artist to the French expedition, made drawings of Indians he had seen at the colony. He returned to London to prepare a manuscript of the short-lived Huguenot settlement. Flemish Théodore de Bry (1528-1598) and his sons engraved le Moyne's drawings for the second volume of a series of travels entitled les Grands Voyages and published at Frankfurt in 1591.

They represent the beginning of the European tradition of the decorative Indian, for their attitudes have the grace and their costumes the elegance of a royal masque of the period.¹⁹

Englishman John White (1577-1593), who was the cartographer and draughtsman on Sir Walter Raleigh's 1585 expedition that founded the first colony on North American soil, Virginia, painted watercolours of Indians of the territory between 1585-1587. These, among other sources, were engraved and published for de Bry's first volume of travels, les Grands Voyages (British Museum, London) in Frankfurt (1590-1634).

These twenty-three sketches established the mode of presentation to be followed by travellers for centuries, for they show not only isolated figures, but also groups of Indians hunting, fishing, feasting and performing their ritual dances.²⁰

Such activities were foreign to European culture and were treated as exotic curiosities. Thus, first-hand visual documents of Indians intended to show conditions in North America became available in published form with de Bry's series of illustrated books on historic voyages. But in the de Bry engravings, the human body is rendered in the Renaissance figure style. The body-types were endowed with the pose and proportions of late classical statues. Sixteenth century images of Indians conveyed in common a fascination with details of costume, ornamentation and artifacts, while the settings were secondary.

These Indians are conceived and then presented in terms of their place in function in society, while the landscapes they inhabit are little more than abstract stages on which a certain action is performed.²¹

Samuel de Champlain, (c. 1567-1635), the French explorer of New France who visited central New York, published in his Voyages of 1613 the first pictures of armed combat between white men and Indians. French engravings of 1613 based on an original drawing by Champlain of his 1609 battle with the Iroquois were made.²²

The clergy often published accounts of their impressions of America which were accompanied by engravings made from their drawings. André Thévet (1502-1590) who had stayed a few months in Brazil published traveller's reports upon his return. Thévet was one of the investigators of the "taille-douche" or copperplate engraving. a

method considered technologically superior to woodblock printing; and Thévet used the medium for the images accompanying his travel texts. Considering the fact that Thévet held a prestigious post as French court historiographer-cartographer under four consecutive kings, his texts were influential. The Franciscan traveller's second travel book²³ was based on drawings of plants and animals and notes on native mores. Among other things, the book was one of the first to idealize the lifestyle of the primitive man and thus popularized the notion of the 'noble savage'.

One important type of American Indian image that did not exist before 1500 and then found only limited currency in the seventeenth century was the individual portrait, showing the sitter close-up in a half-length or bust-length view.²⁴

This fact is true with the exception of Thévet's two three-quarter portrait engravings, one of the King of Peru and one of the King of Mexico who have their head presented facing the viewer.²⁵ These portraits were the first to have the double intention of presenting an Indian portrait, but especially the notion of a chief.

Single page portrait types of Indians published by de Bry of native kings and queens of Florida exhibited those tendencies of the sixteenth century to categorize experience in terms of their interpretation of scientifically significant phenomena, similar to Thévet's approach. Untrue in the sense of recording individuals, Thévet and de Bry portraits recorded types. The de Bry classicizing style of representation which prevailed utilized the artistic convention of classical association, but there was a dichotomy between the form and its conventional meaning. The Indian was perceived in an idyllic sense as living somehow in a pre-classical time, in a paradise.

beyond civilization. Hence, there was a contradiction between form, which relied on North Mediterranean prototypes and content based on different geographical and chronological subject matter.

The acknowledgement of the Indian culture in terms of visual form had not been identified until the Jesuit father Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746) published an account of the religious beliefs and rites of the Indians in Paris in 1724 in Moeurs de Sauvages Américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps. But Lafitau's depictions remained fanciful in spite of the fact that he attempted to divulge the mores of a strange society, rather than a sole interest in the chief of a tribe.

The native peoples of America, as shown in Lafitau's Moeurs de Sauvages Américains (Paris, 1724), are a rather extraordinary collection of recognizable European figures, dressed according to the fancy of an artist who can have seen no authentic drawings or engravings or read any genuine accounts....26

These images of Lafitau were still prototypical stock figures, meant to please, and to set forth an image within a continuum.

By the eighteenth century, artists attempting to grasp concepts of Indian culture, generally viewed Indians as exotic curiosities within an extraordinary organization. During the second half of the eighteenth century, European artists according to the theories of the time, the Enlightenment, that new doctrine of Reason and Nature, Natural religion, Natural rights - began to look for the formal principles underlying art. Visual clarity and simplicity became for the artist the sensuous counterparts of rationality and uncluttered thought. The unifying style that developed, marked, in a way, the supremacy of mind - the artist's mind - over the matter he treated.

However they tried, the eighteenth century's search for the 'natural' never came to grips with the idea; the pleasure of solving problems was too simplistic. The euphemism of the word 'natural'

when confronting images of the Indian must be seen in context to the framework of the century. The eighteenth century political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) idea of the natural man unspoiled by civilization was a romantic notion which soon extended to the American-Indian as the 'noble savage'.

To European artists of the eighteenth century, these ideas sometimes manifested themselves as a decorative mannerism in the style known as Rococo, and that style was applied to figure painting of Europeans as well as Indians. One manifestation of this mental imagery was the 'dream' or 'imaginary' Indian who became prevalent as a symbol of the continent of America, representing the exotic parts of the world. Creations of European fantasy, these naturalistically-treated, yet imaginary Indians, appeared as if in a masquerade, usually enriching a decorative object, such as a Boule clock, silver tureen, Sèvres or Meissen porcelain, or Gobelins tapestry. The application of Indian motifs revealed the decorative rococo sensibility of the age, and at the same time continued the stereotype of the fantasy Indian. Indians of this genre can be seen in *toile de Jouy chinoiserie*, wallpaper murals, or wood-blocked cottons.²⁷ Generally, the imaginary Indian was portrayed as a full-length figure in an undefined pastoral landscape, adopting a casual, but artificially conventional pose as in aristocratic portraiture. They were featured in full regalia in a picturesque setting.

The Indian in the midst of social change - the French Revolution and the American Revolution - could thus represent the yearning of European restoration at the wellsprings of the primitive, manifesting this notion in art as a decorative mannerism. Nostalgic for a

simpler state of existence, Europeans glamourized the primitive lifestyle of the Indians in contrast to their own 'civilized' culture.

In formal detail, attitude, pose and costume, conventions seen in the portraits of the Four Indian Kings by John Verelst of 1710 appeared as early as 1564 in the watercolours of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues and in the engravings of Brazilian chiefs by André Thévet of 1584. The portrait of the Four Indian Kings are thought to be the first full-length oil portraits of North American Indians in the history of European art.²⁸ An exception is the portrait of the Mohawk convert and mystic Kateri Tekakwitha, (Caughnawaga Museum), painted between 1682-1685 by Père Claude Chauchetière, (1645-1709) after a vision.²⁹ However, Kateri's portrait was not painted because she was an Indian, but rather because she was considered to be a saint. The iconography of the Four Indian Kings played a vital role in terms of models for Indian portraiture for artists in America since mezzotints and engravings were made from the originals. The imaginary Indian type, where the full-length portrait of a figure is placed in the rococo style landscape, is a convention also used in these portraits.

Dubbed the "Four Indian Kings", they actually were elected sachems, or civil chiefs of the Five Nations Confederacy that exercised control of the strategically important communication routes to French Canada provided by the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers in present day New York State. The sitters, each portrayed with his clan symbol, were Etow Oh Koam (Christianized Nicholas) (fig. 5), a Machican of the tortoise clan, and Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pleth Tow (Christianized Brant) (fig. 6) thought to be Joseph Brant's grandfather, of the bear clan, whose elaborate

tatoos were much admired in the press of the day.³⁰ As well, were Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Ro (Christianized John) of Canajoharie, whom Verelst painted with bow in hand and wolf totem in the background (fig. 7) and Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row (Christianized Hendrik, b.c. 1680-1755) (fig. 8) also of the wolf clan. The Indian belief in totemism, where the animal is assumed to be the emblem of an individual or a clan, implied a special identification between the animal and the person or group. Hendrik was the ranking sachem of the group in terms of ability and influence, and Verelst has depicted him in black court dress. Queen Anne presented each King with a plain scarlet cloak for the sitting and one can see that the cloak, moccasins, and quill sashes are the same.

Commissioned portraits of this period and earlier suggest the way the sitter would want to be pictured, and stylistically, the figures of the Four Indian Kings relates to this mode in common with the limner. Like the limner, where modelling is minimal, contours assume great importance as a means of identifying the size and shape of the figure and the cut and substance of their clothing. Nothing is subordinated in the figure of one part over another, and the overall pattern dominates the space. The Four Indian Kings comprise the visual characteristics of the pattern-making of 'primitive' art and the posed renderings of a composition. In common with the limner, faces are painted masks.

In pose, with hand on hip, Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row bears a distinct relationship to John White's watercolour Indian in Body Paint, c. 1535, which was engraved by de Bry in America and a source for one of the Kings. A great similarity in stance to the former can be seen

in depiction of the Indian King Philip of the New England woods³¹ which was a portrait influenced by prints of the Four Indian Kings. Painted by Paul Revere (1735-1818), this engraving was originally published in Thomas Church's An Entertaining History of King Philip's War.³² Revere borrowed the costume and general pose from the Four Indian Kings to reinforce the idea of kingship.

Basic preconceptions abound in the Verelst paintings. The combination of Indian and English artifacts indicate current Indian acculturation testimonial of contact. In this way a comparison can be made with the pre-contact period before the eighteenth century where artifacts of the Indian material culture were apparent in watercolours and drawings. The elements of destruction which would eventually lead to the demise of the culture can be documented in the portraits of the Four Indian Kings. The shotflask and carrying sash, as well as the flintlock rifle of the British military, c. 1710 are proudly borne, contemporary in style, and acquired through trade. These are juxtaposed with Indian decorative artifacts of wampum belts, moccasins and wooden ball-headed club, as well as a quiver and a bow and arrow. Each sitter was associated with his favorite weapon against his natural habitat, while a scene of Indian fighting or hunting was enacted in the background. The arms in the foreground and background are ascribed as symbols of status. Historically, the club infers the arms of the primitive man, so an allusion to the hierarchy of weaponry is implicit. Colonizers systematically used trade to acculturate the Indian. With the exclusion of Tee Neen Ho Go Ro, illustrated in black court costume, except for a belt or burden strap decorated with dyed moosehair or porcupine quills in black, red and white, the other

Kings sport a weapon of either violence or survival. Again this is suggestive of the typical platitudinous approach used by the artist to disparage the Indian. To further devalue individuality, these Indians have been made to look alike, but it is difficult to conjecture whether this is meant to be political, or a weakness of the ability of the artist to individualize his sitters. In these portraits of the Four Indian Kings the trade objects shown are weapons. Presentation silver was actively traded only from about 1760-1821.³³

The entrepreneurs anticipating the intense public curiosity aroused by the visit of the Four Indian Kings were quick to print a wide variety of publications to satiate this interest.³⁴ The Four Kings went home with gifts ranging from their scarlet cloaks, to a magic lantern with pictures, while they presented the Queen with wampum, necklaces and other 'curiosities'. A wampum belt served as a gift, also as a binding symbol of an agreement; they were of the highest importance as documentary evidence of such pacts.

It must be emphasized that Verelst never visited the New World. Although these portraits belong to the type of Anglo-Dutch realist portraits³⁵ they have been modified by a familiarity with Baroque prototypes, such as that established at the British Court by Sir Peter Lely, (1618-1680) and Sir Godfrey Kneller, (1646-1723) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). Characteristically, the Anglo-Dutch portraits appear rather primitive: facial features are clearly marked, and highlights accentuate the cheekbones and help to model shoulders, hands and clothing. Strong value contrasts are employed, yet the figures are stiff, sculptural and emphatically linear. The overall directness of the presentation of the figure marks a distinct

difference with the vague background, which helps to create a measure of space, a baroque device. According to Hugh Honour³⁶ more than two hundred copies of the John Simon mezzotints after Verelst were distributed among the Indians in North America. They provided a source of inspiration for a colonial artist who painted a mural in the Archibald Macphaedris house in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (completed about 1723).³⁷

The decorative use of large Indian figures carefully chosen in terms of left and right-hand gestures to flank a central opening, may remind one of Theodore de Bry's triumphal arch motif. (Theodore de Bry, From Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida..., Frankfurt-Am-Main, 1591). At the same time, these life-size American princes retain their regal bearing in spite of the decorative, domestic setting. In the final analysis it may be that these images were being used as emblems by the White Colonists for their own sense of pride and growing self-confidence in a new land, apart from the mother country.³⁸

Verelst also exhibits Anglo-Dutch realism in his renderings of flat, angular draperies and decorative animals. This stiff, and mannered presentation is like that of the portraits by Dutch painters active along the Hudson River. An 'American look' emerged in the eighteenth century, apparent in the repetition of figural poses from one painting to the next. Mezzotints influenced North American as well as European artists. The point of mezzotints for portraits and paintings in general was its ability to record shading and modelling so accurately, but was in fashion only until early in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the New World artists used English mezzotints as guides in their representations of local dignitaries who sat to them.³⁹ In summation, sources used by European and American

artists to depict Americans or Indians were still European. American artists could not as yet scrutinize their own landscape and persona since most saw themselves as Europeans domiciled in America, which they were. The artistic tradition of Verelst's native country's art can be linked to that of other portraitists active at that time along the Hudson River, New York and Albany in the eighteenth century, where, as elsewhere, the major talents remained at home in England and Holland.

"To painters dependent for their livelihood upon commissioned portraits, the Indian, like all the lower classes, was beyond the range of patronage."⁴⁰ Few paintings of specific Indians done during the eighteenth century are known. They usually represent a small group of chieftains who took part in historic events, such as the Four Indian Kings, or in the signing of treaties and the making of alliances in time of war. A possible exception of that time could be the European-trained Swedish-born colonial painter, Gustavus Hesselius, (1682-1755) who worked in Philadelphia from 1711 until the end of his life, and whose work shows his psychological perception of his sitter. For John Penn, proprietor of the colony of Pennsylvania, he created close-up intimate portraits of the Delaware Indian chiefs Tishcohan and Capowinsa, the earliest serious and realistic studies of Indians by an American painter.⁴¹ Both paintings of 1735, feigned ovals within a frame, are frontal half-length portraits. They express a seriousness of demeanor, neither manifesting rococo affectations nor preoccupation with elegant fashion as costume pieces. Both Indians emerge as real people, and reflect the fact that Hesselius was one of the most sophisticated artists active in the colonies at the time, and not dependent upon the formularized poses of the Kneller tradition.

Although Hesselius lived in America for more than forty years, he does not seem to have portrayed Indians again. Thus, even though the dominant art form practiced in the American colonies before the American Revolution was portraiture, only a few portraits of individual Indians were produced between 1675-1775.

The images of the Four Kings of 1710 were precursors to the portraits of Joseph Brant in terms of the homage accorded a visiting chief. The archetypal 'noble savage/natural man' pre-contact definition of Indians gradually extended to and incorporated artifacts of contact, such as the clothing and weapons of Europeans adopted by Indians increasingly from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Brant, while in London in 1775-1776, caused a sensation in British society. As a delegate for his people, he had been fêted and courted as had his predecessors, as discussed previously. By the time of Brant's arrival in England, then thirty-three years old, he held the rank of Captain in the British Army. In London Brant joined the Masonic Order and was initiated into the third degree of Falcon Lodge. His portrait was drawn by an unidentified artist for James Boswell (1740-1795) the renowned diarist. The original is lost, although the work is known through an engraving (fig. 9). Boswell had interviewed Brant, and was fascinated by the manners and mores of the Indian, attitudes which surely mirrored those of Englishmen at the time. Through the immediacy of journalistic posturing, James Boswell's eighteenth century anecdotal observations were written up in his chatty, gossipy manner in the London Magazine for July, 1776, and a print was made from Boswell's portrait of Brant to accompany the article entitled "Account of the Chief of the Mohawk Indians who

lately visited England."

The chief has not the ferocious dignity of a savage leader; nor does he discover any extraordinary force either of mind or body.... A print of him in the dress of his nation, which gives him a more striking appearance; for when he wore the European habit, there did not seem to be any thing about him that marked preeminence. Upon his tomahawk is carved the first letter of his Christian name, Joseph, and his Mohock appellation thus, Thayendaneken (pronounced Theandenaigen) the "g" being sounded hard as in get. His manners are gentle and quiet, and to those who study human nature, he affords a very convincing proof of the tameness which education can produce upon the wildest race.... He was struck with the appearance of England in general; but he said that he chiefly admired the ladies and the horses.⁴²

Boswell maintained the stereotype of the imaginary Indian. To the sophisticated Boswell "here was a simple savage, a noble 'red man,' whose colorful dress and coppery skin made him worthy of remark, and whose traits were such as one would not expect of an Indian."⁴³

Boswell was following the strategy of the Tory lobbyists who were trying to gain favor for their cause in the American struggle. They and their Indian colleagues had been working for all-out British support for the American Tories. They wanted governmental backing for enlisting the Indians on their side. They presented the Indians as innocent neutrals, who were preyed on, or wronged by the American frontier settlers, and who wanted nothing but protection from the British Crown. For them, Boswell's timely article in the London Magazine which emphasized the progress of the Indians in civilization, their being Christians, and their loyalty to the King served political goals.

At that time the Mohocks were a very rude and uncivilized Nation.... They are now so well trained to civil life, as to live in a fixed place, to have good commodious houses, to cultivate land with assiduity and skill, and

to trade with the British colonies. They are also converted to the Christian faith, and have among them a priest of the Church of England, who regularly performs the sacred functions as prescribed in the Liturgy, which is translated into their language.⁴⁴

Boswell had satirized in his text the complete acculturation he had perceived in Brant.

The examination of Brant by Boswell as a chief denotes the operative hierarchial European classification of peoples in terms of class and rank, ideas also explicit in the depiction of the Four Indian Kings. Dealing with the Indian reality by social classification is a bias which does not fit with the Indian culture, especially since authority is not designated in Indian culture as a permanent function. (Refer to Introduction, p. viii).

In the miniature tondo half-length engraving of Brant which accompanied the text, Joseph Brant appears caricaturized, as an overly-decorative buffon, and the object of European sophisticated intellectual curiosity. The graphic image, more tangible than the written word, had more impact than the text. The image is essentially very linear, little modelling is used, and is very static. Various techniques have been utilized, including dots, parallel lines, and cross-hatching to create variety and texture.

One notes immediately the military decorations which are a prominent part of Joseph Brant's attire, and which symbolize European contact which had steadily increased since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Brant wears silver earrings, and attached to a headband, probably of trade silver, is a feathered headdress. Trade silver headbands and armbands copied earlier prototypes made from

skins. A flowered sash over the shoulder is worn over a flowered European shirt, probably of muslin. Before contact, Indians made sashes from animal hair, or natural fibers from plants such as nettle or basswood. A single silver armband encircles the right arm. Silver gorgets and armbands were donned after the fashion of the English and French military and given to North American Indians as both a diplomatic gift and trade-good. Armbands and legbands were common ornaments; they were made of thin sheets of silver of varying widths with holes drilled at the ends for ties, which made the pieces adjustable in size. Armbands were worn singly or in pairs at the middle of the upper arm, wristbands or bracelets on the lower arm. An ornate version of the single-barred Latin cross is displayed. The cross is perhaps the oldest form of trade silver and one of the few without an Indian prototype.⁴⁵ Brant's neckpiece was probably a piece of black or red broadcloth. A fringed blanket is worn over the shirt.

This image of Brant for Boswell can be compared to the engraving of Pocahontas by Simon van de Passe (c. 1595-1647) of 1616, (British Museum) engraved to commemorate her visit to England (fig. 10).

When Simon van de Passe engraved her likeness in 1616 listing her age at 21 as part of a complete inscription, he created what may have been the first English and perhaps the first European posed-for portrait of an American Indian. In style, of course, this image belongs to the stiff and rather formal tradition of Tudor-Stuart portraiture that survived from Elizabethan times into the reign of James I. When compared to contemporary portraits of fashionable English ladies, a few details in the van de Passe engraving (the unusually prominent cheekbones and the conspicuous feather fan) seem to suggest the savage origins of this elegant and aristocratic woman.⁴⁶

In the Boswell engraving, the portrait is brought closer to the picture plane than in the van de Passe engraving, and so it communicates a

more immediate image. The celebrated princess in the van de Passe engraving deftly holds a feather fan, in contrast to the tightly-clenched knife gripped by Brant. The knife actually appears in the print as an ineffective symbolic deterrent, which carries on the tradition of portraying the Indian with a weapon as examined previously in the Four Indian Kings. In this case the weapon appears to be satirical, implying the impotency of an Indian threat. The linear details of ornament, however, are similar in both works. There can be no question of direct portraiture of persons in either case, the implication being that details of accurate personal appearance were far from essential - in fact, both Indians display strong Caucasian features and complexion.

The silver gorget, worn by North American Indians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and introduced by Europeans, splendidly adorns the neck of the illustrious chief, Joseph Brant. The silver gorget had an aboriginal prototype. Prior to the arrival of the European, many eastern North American Indians wore shell ornaments, crescent-shaped, more often round, and concave in shape, and they became the Indian prototype for the silver gorget. Traditionally, in pre-contact times, medallion-like objects made of shell and stone were suspended from the neck on a leather thong.⁴⁷ For the Indians, the crescent-shaped gorget was a vestigial remnant, transformed from the seventeenth century use of breast armour, and served as a token of their alliance with a particular European power, as well as a mark of personal prestige. A crescent-shaped gorget often represented a military commitment, and was generally given to the chief warrior of a tribe, or to the chief, often both the same.

Following the British victory at Québec, there were fewer occasions for presenting diplomatic gifts to the Indians, but such gift-giving resumed during the American Revolution. There is evidence that during the Revolution, some Indian chiefs were made "gorget captains" in the British army, giving them the same status and authority on the battlefield as a regular army captain. Foremost among these gorget captains was Joseph Brant, a Mohawk-Iroquois chief, whose loyalty Britain rewarded many times.⁴⁸

From the period 1740-1770 most of the crescent-shaped gorgets worn by the Indians were official gifts usually bearing the coat of arms of Britain, the type worn by Brant in the Boswell engraving (fig. 9) and in the Romney painting (fig. 11). But in reality, gorgets and medals were pseudo-tokens with no real corollary in the English military system.

The increase in portraits of Brant from the year 1776 reflects the attachment artists had in utilizing the Indian in accordance with new subject matter; the birth of the new country. The Indian represented the need for a new set of visual myths in which both American artists could elevate the glory of the new country, and the English and American artists would develop the image of the exotic creature into that of the Noble Savage.

CHAPTER THREE

The Warrior Peacemaker

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the role of the British Department was no longer one of controlling and appeasing discontented tribes. Instead, the Department was instructed to conduct a planned crusade to win the allegiance of the Indians to the royal cause. Although both the British and the Americans had begun to recruit Indian allies, most of the tribes gravitated toward Great Britain rather than the colonies. The King, as represented by the British Indian Department had a history of just dealing with the natives. Their agents had acted to protect various tribes from acts of aggression or depredation by the American settlers. By 1775, realizing the futility of attempting to gain Indian aid, the Americans adopted a policy of seeking their neutrality. European expansion in the North American wilderness continued to accentuate bitterness, deadly conflict, brutality and tragedy between Indians and the white man. But, as well, there was also sympathy, admiration and respect for the natives. It seems inevitable that European and American relations would be reduced to human terms, and examined with various levels of responsibility.

It was through such paintings as George Romney's (1734-1802) Portrait of Joseph Brant, (1776, The National Gallery of Canada) (fig. 11) that the 'noble savage' could exemplify a harmonious future between Indians and Europeans. Attitudes such as these were born of the pacifist humanitarianism of the Quakers which influenced Benjamin West,⁴⁹ (fig. 24) and perhaps the philosophical paintings of Charles Willson Peale (fig. 32). Although John Dryden used the term "Noble

Savage" as early as 1670 in The Conquest of Granada, the concept has come to be associated primarily with France, where it was popularized by Rousseau's writings. The term referred to the superior character of the natives of America. Their stoicism and Spartan virtues were held up as a contrast to the degeneration of those virtues in European society. The use of the Noble Savage to reproach European society for its venalities thus became something of a habit, casting a moral spectre over discussions of the time. Literary romanticism, which bred nostalgia for trackless forests and uncharted havens, was a concept that incorporated the American Indian.

Shortly before Brant was painted for Boswell in 1776 on the Indian's first visit to England, he had two sittings for a portrait by George Romney, on March 29 and April 4.⁵⁰ This portrait was later owned, if not commissioned by the Earl of Warwick. Romney was, with Gainsborough and Reynolds, the most famous English portrait painter of the later eighteenth century, before the rise of Sir Thomas Lawrence.⁵¹ Romney painted Brant during the period of his career when the Grand Manner was his passion. Influenced by his visit to Rome and the ideas of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painting was executed when he was at the height of his popular success. His career at this juncture was similar to that of Pompeo Battoni (1708-1781) the portraitist renowned in Rome, who received many commissions from the British. Much of the rest of Romney's life would be spent making sketches for vast historical pictures.

Romney was noted for the speed and ease with which he could rapidly execute an exact likeness, quickly sketching the effect of light, shade, the colour harmony in the work, the composition of

the figures, even the drawing and expression within an hour, but he never made a finished drawing for a picture.⁵² Romney lacked an academic education in art, so he was not proficient in describing anatomy.

Romney's three-quarter standing pose of Brant, who takes up most of the height of the canvas, dominates the broad space, and confronts the spectator. His placement in front of a dark, unspecified forest, suggests a romantic Indian in his natural living environment. The pose stresses the military leader (the soldier or the warrior) and Romney gives him an aristocratic bearing. Romney's quoting from late Italian and English baroque prototypes can be seen in the fashion in which the pose has been used to project the character of the sitter as a military leader. With the body in slight contraposto, in a three-quarter turn, and with an accentuation on the volumes of the physique, the sitter projects in his body type those traits of confidence and leadership one would expect in an aristocrat or a chief, especially one with the reputation that Joseph Brant enjoyed. Romney exaggerates the facial features and contrasts the smooth face with the puckered textures of the costume. The hands, too, are emphasized. The forward movement of the figure and tilted head against an open background are the technical devices the artist uses to create an aura of bravura. Romney tried for a breadth of light and shadow, for the object to stand away from the ground.

The placid round countenance reflects the calm demeanor which Boswell noted, and there is nothing to indicate the fierce savage, save the tomahawk loosely held in the right hand. A broad head-band is topped by red plumes, while a chain pendant falls from the back. A white shirt is covered by hands crossed in

front, and a colorful Indian blanket rests on the left arm and shoulder. A broad metal arm band and a gorget hanging on the breast completes the costume.⁵³

Romey's depiction of Brant is further illustrated:

Evidently, Indian leaders were not suited to that polite artist's mode. Brant on canvas appears as a dusky beau in savage finery, self-conscious, proud, effeminate, rather than an Iroquois. However much we may doubt the full tale of Brant's exploits, the man whom Romney painted was capable of none of them.⁵⁴

In both the Boswell print as well as the Romney painting, the artists' penchant for portraying the Indian with a weapon is exploited. In the former Brant wields a knife, however ineffective, and in the latter a pipe-tomahawk is held in a nonchalant manner.⁵⁵ The tomahawk is engraved with his Indian and Christian names, Thayendanegea and Joseph and has become incorporated in the painting as symbolic of Brant's 'occupation'. Pipe-tomahawks from the eighteenth century usually had a wooden shaft; elliptical in cross-section, shaped at the end to form a mouthpiece, the English style iron head combined the bowl and the hatchet-type blade.

In his text Boswell had noted the charm of Brant's costume. He intended to enhance the allure of the exotic Indian by calling attention to native attire. A manifestation of the eighteenth century cult of the picturesque attached to the beauty of landscape, led, also, to a vogue for pictures of costumes and occupations. Dark breeches, red stockings, a striped cloak, which is draped over a foreshortened right arm, and leather straps across the chest complete the costume. Around his neck Brant wears a plaited string of sweet-scented hay.

Brant wears the Military gorget of his rank, as commissioned

officer in the British army. This silver gilt gorget was probably the one presented to Brant by King George III. It is engraved with the royal cipher G R (George Rex) and the English coat of arms in the centre, with decorative arrangements of English and Indian instruments of battle to the right and left, inscripted on the back, "The Gift of a Friend to Captⁿ Brant".⁵⁶ Brant wears silver armbands and the Latin cross which is made of silver of fine craftsmanship. Ring brooches are fastened on the left side of his pink shirt. Circle or ring brooches were the most common brooches; open in the centre, they had a fastener on the front. The silver brooch was attached to the garment by pushing the fabric through the centre and piercing it with the pin. A leather headband is attached to the red feathered headdress with attached silver rings which cascade over the right shoulder. The significance of the possession of the silver in the Romney painting points to its symbolic value as a sign of station. By this time rank was a concept no doubt acknowledged by the Indian as well as the white man.

Current events had propelled Brant's London visit and subsequent commitment to the British cause in the American Revolution. Romney refers to these political factors in the painting. Thus, the insistence of those two elements, the successful warrior and the peacemaker are more apparent in the Romney painting than in the Boswell engraving.

Copies and graphic images after the Romney work in the eighteenth and nineteenth century attest to the popularity and availability of the image, the prestige of the artist, and the quality of the portrait. The dissemination of the Romney prints in nineteenth century books, mainly of the biographical and encyclopedic type, points to a more

documentary desire, and a need for the image of the warrior-peace-maker as a romantic image.⁵⁷

Romney painted another portrait of a Mohawk thought to be Brant, but presently unlocated.⁵⁸ The painting is described as a head and shoulders pose, turned to the right and facing the spectator, in native dress, cap in his right hand with a closed cloak.⁵⁹

The Noble Savage

After the treaty of peace in 1783, Brant retained his Captain's commission in the British service granted him during the Revolution, and drew half-pay from the British government. He dedicated his leadership of the Iroquois towards their resettlement. In 1786, ten years after Brant's first visit to England, he returned with the purpose of adjusting the claims of the loyal Mohawks for compensation of their losses and sacrifices during the American Revolutionary war. After the war Brant had attempted to reach a territorial agreement with the United States, had failed, and at this visit he obtained an indemnity for those losses, and also received lands in Canada. He took up the new British policy of hindering American westward expansion.⁶⁰

The times had changed, and Brant was now an ambassador for his people, over the heads of civilian officers, and was no longer a "front man" for the Tories as he had been 1776. During this visit, Brant, in the prime of his life, would combine resourceful diplomacy with his military skill. Nobility vied to have him as a guest, he was presented to King George III and Queen Charlotte. As on his earlier visit to London, there were those friends anxious to take this opportunity of securing a likeness of the distinguished Mohawk War Chief. Again, people in high places commissioned portraits. Among them were Hugh Percy, second Duke of Northumberland (1747-1817) and Francis Rawdon, Earl of Moira, later Marquis of Hastings (1754-1826). These noblemen had served with distinction in America during the war, where Percy had contracted a "friendship in the field"⁶¹ with Brant. The American artist, Gilbert Stuart, (1755-1828)⁶² was commissioned

to paint portraits for both the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Moira (figs. 25 and 26). These portraits by Stuart were painted at the period when he had left Benjamin West's studio and was on his own, before he went to Ireland in 1787, fleeing his creditors.

The formal differentiation of Stuart's renditions of Brant from other aristocratic eighteenth century portraiture of the Indian could be seen in terms of the concept of the 'noble savage'. In the Romney painting, the Indian as a 'noble savage' was documented as a part of the natural order of inequality of fortunes and conditions in view of the frontier preceding the American Revolution. After the Revolution the Indians learned that they had no right to exist independently or to live where they pleased. Ten years later, in the Stuart paintings, the concept of the 'noble savage' extended to examination of that lost and forgotten road by which man must have passed from the state of nature to the state of society; the political and moral implications of the nature of change were being examined. The connotation of injustice, ill-fortune or indiscretion, transforming and altering natural inclinations, bred feelings of nostalgia for the plight of the Indian who was caught in the web of the white man's concept of civilization. This pathos coincided with the circumstances surrounding Brant's visit; the Indian condition could be studied in the historical retrospect of the previous ten years, and by the realities of Indian retrogression since the American Revolution.

Stuart's strength in portraiture was in his sole concentration on the face in his effort to show the intimate characteristics of an individual sitter. He mainly painted heads, a large number of what used to be kit-kats - canvases thirty by twenty-five inches, and many

even smaller than that, especially in Boston.⁶³ His outstanding characteristic was an interest in human nature.⁶⁴ Stuart's reputation rested on his ability to transmit a sitter's character through formal means.

In the portrayals of Brant by Stuart, the artist created what would become typical of his work; a (portrait) form identified with the American portrait of the Federal period, which was a generalized, monumentalized image, without movement, fleeting mood, or setting. Stuart learned how to paint idealized portraits in London from Reynolds and Romney, where he had lived with Benjamin West, but Stuart's remarkable faculty for reading character surpassed his masters.

Stuart's presentation of Brant of 1786 tends to a fluid, dreamy, nostalgic exemplification, in which the traits of the vulnerability of the 'noble savage' adapting to change is the dominating moral. Brant is championed as a defeated but unvanquished foe. Stuart, though formed by English portrait painting, speaks of new horizons and new sophistication in American art with this new type of portrait concept to immortalize eminent leaders.

The portrait made for the Duke of Northumberland,⁶⁵ (fig. 25) though similar to that painted for the Earl of Moira (fig. 26) could have been painted by the artist at another time once he had captured the physiognomy of the sitter. The pose and mood are different. In the kit-kat Duke of Northumberland representation Brant appears a proud, subdued, man. The poignancy of the condition of the mollified warrior has been captured. "The calm demeanor, somewhat saddened, is the principal impression one gets from it."⁶⁶ The portrait is characterized by sobriety, restraint and discretion, and Stuart attributes

a depth of passion and his psychological intention. Stuart employs an open background for this bust portrait, as he often did, and the work expresses a static, timeless, posed effect. Here, Brant's features are more precisely delineated, albeit more westernized, than in the Moira portrait. Brant is posed in a three-quarter turn to the left, with his eyes directed toward the spectator. In this portrait Brant dons a different headdress and costume than in the Moira portrait. His headband incorporates trade silver circlets, and circle brooches are attached to his red and white feathered headdress.⁶⁷ Brant's fringed blanket is worn over his shoulder, and a silver arm-band encircles his right arm. Around his neck is a red broadcloth neckband. Silver ring brooches embellish both sides of his red shirt, to which they are attached, which is partly covered by a black cloak. In this painting Brant wears a silver gorget suspended from a blue ribbon with a pendant medallion embossed with the head of George III. In diplomatic or military situations medals were the most common gift offered to friendly Indians. They were also the earliest form of trade silver. The silver in the Duke of Northumberland portrait is indicative of military rank and contact, and epitomizes acculturation to that date.

A painting in the British Museum⁶⁸ (fig. 27) and the one in the Miss Lloyd-Baker Collection⁶⁹ (fig. 28) are similar to the Moira portrait (fig. 26) and were probably painted by Stuart at another time. They share in common the portrayal of Brant wearing a shell gorget, rather than the silver gorget and pendant medallion of the Duke of Northumberland portrait. Similarly, the orientation of the body faces right, rather than left.

The Moira portrait⁷⁰ (fig. 26) is a romantically idealized life-size bust portrait of Brant who is similarly posed in a three-quarter turn to the left, with his head turned strongly to the right. A wistful, faraway gaze implies remote, rather than present time. This Brant could be all that legend had made of him; intelligent, sensitive, and capable of violent emotion. He is most attractive, possessing all of the finest qualities of his race. Stuart presents a boyish rendering of the hardened fighter, lobbyist and diplomat, whose exploits were famous in all America and England. To achieve the drama of the warrior, Stuart relied upon his expertise in solving formal problems. He brought the head and right shoulder up to the picture plane, and by turning the body to an angle, the projected left shoulder, accentuated by the dark sash, underlined the boldness of the figure. The contrast of the light background with the dark outlines of the figure dramatizes the form. The large, white shell gorget is the focal point of the portrait because it repeats the shape of the head in a different direction and because the white contrasts sharply with the red and black of the costume. Brant wears a red and white feathered headdress with black headband ornamented with trade silver circlets. Silver ring brooches are attached to the headdress. A neckpiece, apparently a black ribbon (or perhaps a piece of brown fur) tied in a bow at the right side of the neck adds a jaunty touch. Brant is wearing what looks like a fur pelt robe with the skin tanned and a red ochre rubbed into the hides. Red was a magical colour used to symbolize a protector.⁷¹ His Indian red cloak with darker red stripes is also decorated with silver brooches. The effects of nature - puffy clouds in a bright blue sky, in the background - complete this

romantic picture. This is a generalized likeness of Brant. Stuart pays a great deal of attention to the finery in a conscious attempt to capture the essential style of the man; but he was more engaged in conveying those peculiarities of costume than typifying the sitter by his costume. Stuart was interested in the play of angles of the head, shoulders and headdress and neck ribbon framed by the cloud.

Characteristically, Stuart placed his sitter's heads near the centre of the canvas, a convention used by contemporaries as well.

"The heads themselves are all painted in a cool, diffused light, seldom relieved by heavy shadows or dark background."⁷² Isham analyzes the painterly qualities of Stuart's work further:

He paints with an unequalled purity and freshness of color, very delicate and sure in the half-tones, varying his color to suit the individual, but with a pearly brightness which is characteristic.⁷³

Blended with virtuoso brushwork, Stuart's attraction with the nature of the sitter, his costume, and the staging of the clouds in the background heightens the romantic feeling of drama in the 'natural' when depicting the Indian in spite of the fact that there are no references to time or place. Brant appears as a 'noble savage' and hence a mythical creation on the part of the artist. Stuart had the ability to capture the physiognomy and temperament of his sitter by utilizing combinations of tints to reproduce natural effects, a technique which predated the impressionists.

A small oval miniature on copper,⁷⁴ (fig. 29) presents peculiar difficulties of attribution. This is proverbially true for miniatures because of their very size and technique. The comparative moderate money value of miniatures makes them more apt than larger portraits to

remain in the family of the sitter. Thought to be the work of an English artist, Henry Bone⁷⁵ I believe that the miniature, commissioned by Brant or someone in his family, could be painted after Gilbert Stuart, since the work is similar to the Stuarts in terms of pose and the facial features (figs. 26, 27, 28), but the military costume and crescent-shaped silver military gorget differ. Stuart's "style" was widely imitated, so this attribution to Bone is questionable. Inscribed to Joseph Brant's third wife, Katerine, 1786, the Mohawk girl whom he married at Niagara in 1780, who bore him seven children, it was in the possession of his daughter, Elizabeth, until at least 1836.⁷⁶ The miniature portrait's appeal for the owner lies in its preciousness and upon an appreciation of the craftsmanship involved. "In its emotional appeal to the original owner it partakes thus a little both of the companion and the talisman."⁷⁷ The distinction in this bust portrait miniature when compared to the Stuarts, is that the background of sky or clouds is eliminated, rendering the details of dress still, rather than in motion. Also, the sitter appears younger, and more comely in terms of more regular and shapely features more flatly painted. The mouth is more sensual, and the nose is curved, rather than hooked. Brant is depicted with a feathered headdress with silver rings, attached to a headband with a double row of attached silver circlets. A silver gorget round his neck indicates the royal coat of arms. He wears an English military greatcoat. A sash over his right shoulder is attached by what appears to be council square silver brooches, and a fringed blanket over his left shoulder completes the outfit. The condensation of the image within the round format serves to consolidate the decorative aspects of

silver and attire. For this reason it is difficult to abstract the use of silver in the miniature solely for its symbolic military importance. In contrast to the Duke of Northumberland image which Stuart painted, where the use of silver declines in military significance due to the emphasis upon the emotional content in the painting, the miniature retains a decorative, rather than symbolic value.

In a watercolour drawing attributed to Benjamin West (fig. 30)⁷⁸ entitled Portrait of Joseph Brant in London, 1775-1776 the work is believed to have been made as a sketch for Benjamin West's larger picture, Indian Chief which is now lost.⁷⁹ Curiously, the title does not refer to the correct locale in the portrait, but I have not found a satisfactory explanation to clarify this misnomer. The pose relates to a drawing Benjamin West made of Apollo Belvedere during his stay in Italy, 1760-1763 (Collection: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College).

This watercolour can be classified as a carrier of the rococo flavour of the imaginary Indian, especially insofar as the elegant figure is placed in a pastoral landscape. The background evokes what seems to be lean-tos around a lake in front of a hilly background. The typical Iroquois longhouse is not shown. The turtle on the ground perhaps refers to the Iroquois legend that the earth was formed from a lump of mud on the turtle's back⁸⁰ a reference which recalls the Four Indian Kings. (In the portrait of Etow Oh Koam, fig. 5, there is a mythological reference to the turtle as a clan totem or perhaps to this same legend). The Indian wears a headband with a double row of silver circlets attached to a feathered headdress and a European cloth shirt with silver ring brooches on his

right shoulder. A woolen blanket, a sash, Indian moccasins, leggings, and a scarf tied at the neck complete the ensemble. In his right hand he holds a pipe-tomahawk, wampum belt, and a feather fan, probably of eagle feathers. Pre-contact and contact artifacts are incorporated. The deportment of the figure is informal in bearing. The configuration of the body dominates the foreground, subordinating in the background those emblems of Indian artifacts and the landscape between the figure and the picturesque environment beyond. There is a bravura and ease in the handling of the figure. Although the artist attempts to celebrate the hero in a natural setting, the work exhibits all the rusticity of a pastoral, in a settled terrain. All is amiable and tranquil. With no great depth of social perception, the work validates much of what was happy in the eighteenth century.

A small, crayon, bust drawing eloquently entitled A Portrait Evidently of Joseph Brant, 1775-1776⁸¹ has been attributed to the English artist, Samuel Wale (1720-1786).⁸² Although Wale could have done the work, the drawing was evidently done after Gilbert Stuart. But because of the striking similarity to Stuart's kit-kats the work should be dated 1786. If this is the case, the title of the drawing is incorrect. But also, given Wale's death date, the possibility of an attribution to another hand is conceivable. This portrait drawn against a plain background, (fig. 31) in pose, glazed eyes, and costume, is similar to the Stuarts. Brant wears a shell gorget around his neck and his feathered headdress with a double row of trade silver circlets is tied to his head with a bow. Silver brooches are fastened to the headdress and a neckpiece encircles his neck. A

shirt with attached silver brooches and sash completes his costume.

Brant's biographer, William Stone, commissioned the artist, Nathaniel Rogers (1788-1844)⁸³ to prepare a painting for his book but Stone opted to use the engraving after Romney taken from the Earl of Warwick's painting instead.⁸⁴

In America, in his ongoing pursuit of land negotiation, Brant travelled between Philadelphia, New York, Niagara and York. From the middle of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was the metropolis of the American colonies and a centre of culture rivalling only Boston. In the history of oil painting in America, we find the period of the 1790's and a little later, that the new Republic was exhibiting signs of wealth and stability. Philadelphia was the capital of the Republic from 1790 until 1800, and as such was also the destination of numerous Indian delegations seeking the ear of the President or the Congress. In Philadelphia, in 1792, at the Philadelphia conference, a delegation of over forty Iroquois chiefs, (most of whom had remained loyal to the British during the Revolution) met with President Washington. There, a sincere effort to found an enlightened policy had been made. Brant might have been a sympathetic ally had he not been defeated by the cynical efforts of others in the administration. His response was contemptuous.

I was offered five thousand dollars down, and my half-pay and pension I receive from Great Britain doubled, merely on condition that I use my endeavors to bring about peace. This I rejected.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, Brant stated that he would endeavor to promote peace and at a meeting of ninety-three chiefs counseled it.

Joseph Brant went to Philadelphia again in 1797. The Indian

nations of the Northwest Territory and their British allies had been defeated by "Mad Anthony" Wayne at Fallen Timbers on February 12, 1795. Blue Jacket, war chief at the battle sued for peace, and the Treaty of Greenville that August was followed in the next year by ceremonial visits to the President in Philadelphia. The Miami warrior, Little Turtle,⁸⁶ who had led the tribes to victory over St. Clair in 1791, was making peace overtures. These rival tribesmen met in a chance encounter at artist Charles Willson Peale's⁸⁷ (1741-1827) Museum of Natural History and Historic Portraits, founded after the Revolution. (Later known as the Pennsylvania Academy, the Museum was then in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, on what is now Philadelphia's Independence Square). Motivated by a speech made to the Indians by George Washington, and because of this unexpected meeting between the chiefs of the several opposing tribes in Independence Hall in 1796, Peale was interested in including Brant's portrait into his Museum - a portrait gallery of "the animal man."⁸⁸ Peale's intention was to ennoble Brant's statesman-image and group him within the context of other 'exotic' races, with the purpose of documenting Brant's social, political and racial significance.⁸⁹

The educational theory and purposes of the Museum came from the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 'Teaching is a sublime ministry inseparable from human happiness, and the learner must always be led from familiar objects towards the unfamiliar.'⁹⁰

From 1784 to 1854, Peale's Museum in Philadelphia played a strong role in the development of the sciences in the United States in accordance with the latest canons of scientific order.⁹¹

Before Peale went abroad his style was essentially naive. When

he went to London and worked in Benjamin West's studio, he attempted the latter's classically mannered and highly finished style. Still, Peale never understood the Grand Manner as did Stuart. Peale's portrait of Joseph Brant entitled Capt. Joseph Brant,⁹² (fig. 32) is a three-quarter turn bust oil with the sitter placed against a blue-grey background. Brant is portrayed with black hair and his scalp-lock is matted with red paint and decorated with a white feather. At the side of Brant's head is a tuft of green grasses, and a red and a white rose, perhaps a throwback to England's Wars of the Roses of the house of Lancaster, the ruling family of England between 1399-1461. An earring is worn on Brant's left ear, and a black broadcloth headband with a double row of trade silver circlets is worn as a head-piece. A flowered shirt, probably muslin, is brown, figured in darker brown with touches of blue and yellow, and is worn with a silver arm-band. Brant is draped with a blanket. Contact with Europeans had changed styles, and woolen and cotton goods replaced fur and leather. Some of the old furs ceased to be used as clothing, but found their way to the white man's market.

(But) the picture has in it too much of the painter's sympathy and humanity to be merely a record. The face is full of mildness and hope, and seems to be looking into Peale's own vision of a day of harmony among all races.⁹³

... the 'savage' here is shown to be a very mild and human person, reflecting the artist's sympathy. At that time there was none of the hatred and abhorrence which was so zealously generated by the patriots of the nineteenth century. Peale's portrait depicts a warrior who is still youthful. With shaved head and war paint, the Chief seems to epitomize the Indian fighter, though his soft eyes and smile belie this role. A decorated headband seems not to hold the plume with

flowers which fall off the back of his head. The rich red striped blanket with gold fringe resembles that in the Stuart portrait, but the throat is more heavily bound, and a brass gorget hangs on the breast. Here again, is the romantic Indian of the eighteenth century.⁹⁴

Of special interest is the fact that Brant is represented by Peale as fairly light-skinned and decidedly hawk-nosed, and varies considerably in features from the way other artists painted him, leading one to consider whether Peale was capable of capturing a true likeness of a sitter:

... The complexion is a light shade for our conception of an Indian, and on the face are streaks of red war paint. The background is now light blue darkened to a shadowy gray in parts. It is important to note, as a comment on Peale's drawing in portraits, that this Indian looks exactly like many white men, and has the same shaped eyes as Washington, Rochambeau, and others of Peale's subjects.⁹⁵

Peale tended to a superficial treatment of Brant's features, and his brand of Romanticism demonstrates more the concept of Brant as a mild-mannered innocent. Peale renders the subtlety of pattern - stripe and floral - in a delicate manner, but displays a recurrent difficulty with drawing in his work. He emphasizes the clear realism of sharply focused forms through precision of outline and purity of local color. However, the physiognomy was not carefully observed. The contours of the outline of the face are formalized, with a corpulence of flesh lacking proper bone structure underneath. The severity of the eyes and nose contrast with the mouth which is sensually treated. Though the face simulates nobility and introspection, essentially it lacks the psychologically convincing qualities of Stuart's portraiture of Brant. The work characterized

by a spirit of gentleness, intended to symbolize the aspirations of the Indian race, and as such qualifies for our visualization of the sitter as a 'noble savage'. At the same time, this painting is much more decorative than the Stuart kit-kats. But it is a weaker, and more bland interpretation of Brant, the Mohawk warrior, whose exotic image has now been objectified and typified.

Of the American artists who depicted Joseph Brant during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Stuart, Peale) only Peale was a permanent resident during the 1780's and his career shows a different orientation to subject matter. In relation to art and science Peale had attempted an objective approach, but in the Brant portrait he could not sublimate his romanticism, and the concepts of objectivity, for which he strove, are ironically belied in this picturesque portrait of the 'noble savage'.

The eighteenth century had been an age of classification. Insects, plants, animals and the races of man were divided into genera, species and subspecies. It was commonly supposed that this would lay bare the Divine Order or rational structure beneath the face of nature, but the result was entirely contrary.⁹⁶

Ideas such as these would account for Peale's systematic intellectualized, admiration for the 'natural phenomena'. However, intensive study of individual specimens only revealed their differences, and the use of intuition to solve problems gradually supplanted eighteenth century empiricism and grew into nineteenth century romanticism, thereby dating Peale's conception of the universe. The Romantic movement in art, with its unbridled expression of the passions, its love of the exotic, and its occasional absurdities, was a reaction to Neoclassicism with its passions for rules and

Academies, and reached its apogee about 1830 in France, Britain and Germany. The artist's emotional identification with his subject was a prime motivating factor in a Romantic work. Portraits of Brant from the last quarter of the eighteenth century reflect the ideologies of the Age of Enlightenment and the cult of the picturesque within it. Those extreme feelings for the grandeur and violence of nature, along with the emotional and symbolic qualities of myth, highly characteristic of Romanticism in the literary and fine arts, were concepts which were only being marginally developed by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and not attached to the Indian. The portraitists who depicted Brant, rather, reflected their interest in the Indian as a romantic subject, rather than as the object of Romantic passion.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Classical Hero: Humanist Portraits

The great demand after the American Revolution for portraits of national heroes and statesmen created a body of official portraiture which is close to the intention of history painting. During the early Republican period an acceleration of portraiture reflected this 'practical' art form. The figure of Brant was so popular that it inspired the execution of primitive portraits as well⁹⁷ (figs. 42 and 43).

Ancient republican Rome, with its devoted citizens and Spartan virtues appealed to the citizens of the struggling new Republic in America, and as well to the growing Loyalist Upper Canada. Both architecture and the fine arts reflected an interest in the classical past. The arts and architecture of Greece and Rome were the symbols of rationality and justice, not simply tied to a past culture, but seen as deeply rooted in the nature of man, reminding him of his timeless qualities of dignity, honor, and essential humaneness and democracy.

At the end of the eighteenth century the noble dignity now fashionable to impart to these savage types was due to the growing knowledge that these peoples were soon to disappear. And the humanist portraits of Joseph Brant which follow signify the artists' attempts to exalt Brant's personal eminence over any distinction given to him by status.

A portrait of Joseph Brant was executed by the American artist, Ezra Ames (1768-1836) in 1805, (fig. 33) commissioned by William

Caldwell of Albany, New York, whom Brant was visiting at the time.⁹⁸ The careers of Brant and Caldwell interlocked, since William Caldwell (1747-1822) was a staunch Loyalist who was active in the royal cause throughout the American Revolution, as a captain in Butler's Rangers in 1777, and at Wyoming, German Flats and the Cherry Valley raids in 1778. In 1782 Caldwell was involved with the Ohio campaign was at Sandusky. Caldwell was most sympathetic to the Indian Ohio River boundary claims in 1794.

Self-taught, Ames modelled his work after Gilbert Stuart, and tried to imitate his flesh tones.⁹⁹ When Ezra Ames painted Joseph Brant, the circumstances around the sitting made an interesting anecdote. As Brant was in civilian attire, a quickly-made Indian costume was made for him since he resisted being painted without his Indian dress.

In 1805 Brant visited my maternal grandfather, the late James Caldwell, at Albany, and while his guest, was solicited by his son William Caldwell to sit to Mr. Ezra Ames for his portrait. He declined to do so on the score of having no Indian dress with him, considering it a compromise of his dignity to be painted in his civilized garb. My grandmother, who had been a silent listener to the conversation, was not to be baffled by this excuse, and putting on her bonnet quietly slipped away to the store of Mr. Christian Miller, a few doors below her own house in State street, and purchased some calico which she quickly transformed into a sort of hunting-shirt - a few strings of wampum and a feather or two completed the needed costume, and Colonel Brant no longer had an excuse for his refusal. Mr. Ezra Ames did full justice to his sitter, and the fine portrait for which I possess the receipt in full was the result.¹⁰⁰

In this half-length portrait of Joseph Brant, painted two years before he died at sixty-five years of age, the artist conveys a wise,

albeit more sober man, whose nobility of experience and accomplishment due to his age and situation contrast greatly with those portraits presenting him in the full tide of manhood. In this rendition the notion can be examined that not all acculturation need be negative nor coercive. A ribbon attached to his scalplock and a silver earring are the only vestigial remains of his Indian culture since the costume is totally inventive. But despite the circumstances around the commission, a transcultural situation between the artist and the sitter was harmoniously integrated. A very naturalistic, sympathetic interpretation is the result. Perhaps the fact that Brant was old, allowed Ames to depict him in this candid manner.

Like many of the portrait painters of his time his purpose was less to produce an artistic result than it was to meet the demand for accurate likeness, a demand met today by photographers.¹⁰¹

Charting Ames' development in portraiture, his biographer, Theodore Bolton, claims that this development was very gradual from 1790 to the time of his portrait of Joseph Brant in 1806. Bolton noted a slight advance in the artist's ability at characterization in works of this period, where Ames' 'primitive' style was progressing to his mature style. The sitter is posed against a plain background. Slightly turned to the left, Ames aligned the body and face in the same direction. He concentrated on the elemental concerns of building up the volume of the dark bulk of the figure and costume and contrasting them with the light on the modelled face and neck. Since the shoulders do not project, as in the Stuarts (figs. 26, 27 and 28), nor are the light and dark areas distributed in a more artless fashion, as in the Peale (fig. 32) the painting, involved with simpler formal concerns,

generates a fairly static image.

As with the Romney rendition, prints were made from the Ames. A copy of the Ezra Ames portrait was made by George Catlin (1794-1872).¹⁰² Catlin's copy of the Ames was engraved by Archibald Dick (1805-1865), the New York artist, sometime before 1838, for Stone's biography of Brant¹⁰³ (fig. 34) for the frontispiece of the second volume. Prints and drawings after the Ames as well as the Catlin exist, sometimes difficult to differentiate due to the lack of proper documentation¹⁰⁴ (figs. 35-41).

In later life, on his tract of land at Burlington, Ontario, given to him personally by King George III, Brant lived a genteel life in his home which he called Wellington Square¹⁰⁵ (fig. 4). Yearly, on May 1, he drove with his coach and four-in-hand to the Mohawk festival. The literature¹⁰⁶ dwells on the finery and attire of dress of both Brant and his wife, and of the fine domestic furnishings in the latest Georgian styles fashionable at the time. Entertainment offered to guests in Brant's home was in the sophisticated manner of high society, and when Indian hospitality was extended, it was presented simply as a courtesy to share a social nicety. The ambivalence towards this thoroughly assimilated Indian, who had been a pawn in other men's plans, is still felt today.

William Berczy (1749-1813) painted Joseph Brant as a spiritual leader in a new and optimistic age, as a Roman model of the past, with whom to identify and learn from. A series of works on Joseph Brant by William Berczy dating from the time after the Grand River grant of 1784 follows.¹⁰⁷ In his capacity as land developer, Berczy met Brant and the union between them and John Graves Simcoe, the

first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada who arrived in 1792, consolidated their mutual political and financial fortunes in Ontario. Berczy had brought a party of German colonists to the United States in 1792 as the Marquis of Bath's land agent. However, he quarrelled with the New York State authorities on the nature of land given to them, and so he moved them to Markham Township, outside of Toronto. Toronto and Quebec patrons commissioned Berczy to paint portraits and conversation pieces which are comparable to contemporary works in the Neoclassical style being done in England of about 1800. Berczy painted a full-length commemorative portrait of Joseph Brant after his death in 1807 (fig. 48),¹⁰⁸ but John Andre, Berczy's biographer, believes that the painting was based on studies made in the 1790's. An examination of these studies reveals that the silver worn by Brant has rapidly diminished or is non-existent, and Brant's portrayal in civilian attire is accentuated. Some possible reasons for his elimination of all the silver could be due to his age, or to the absence of political or military motives.

Brant's head and shoulders 'in wash' were 'taken from life' sometime between 1794-1797 and the same head was now copied into the oil paintingSlightly different, as if prepared for an engraving, is the fourth version of Brant, now in a good home in Montreal.¹⁰⁹

The Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) has a bust oil portrait tondo of Brant who is posed in a three-quarter turn to the right, (fig. 46)¹¹⁰ believed to be a preliminary sketch for the painting in the Pitfield collection (fig. 47).¹¹¹ A ribbon is attached to Brant's scalplock. He wears an English military coat, sash over his shoulder, and a silver earring in his right ear. All attention is concentrated

on his face and his frowning expression. Andre believes¹¹² that the full-length portrait in the National Gallery of Canada was the end product of additive compositional elements, of which a tree-trunk sketch he owns, is a detail; and that Berczy took the head from the earliest sketch (ROM), added the tree trunk, and put these separate elements together. Andre believes that at that time Berczy did not have the proper circumstances to paint a masterful work, as he had financial worries. Since Berczy was a slow painter, who always thought in terms of full compositions, Andre believes that these were preparatory works. Berczy, who had started to mature as a painter about 1780, had, by then, done his better paintings in Europe. In the New World, Andre believes that Berczy had neither the paint, materials, nor time to execute the detailed work he prided.

Originally, from 1785, Berczy was a miniature portrait painter, working in this specialty in Switzerland and England before he arrived in America. A watercolour miniature tondo bust portrait in the collection of the Château du Ramezay (fig. 45) similar to the miniature watercolour in the collection of the Quebec Seminary (fig. 44) has been recently been attributed to Berczy as another version¹¹³ and these probably were the earliest sketches, both dating from c. 1794-1797. In the miniature bust watercolour by Berczy at the Quebec Seminary Brant wears a silver medal around his neck, and a feather with a ribbon attached to his scalplock, while in the Château du Ramezay tondo there is no evidence of any silver at all. In the half-length oil tondos in the Pitfield and ROM collections, Brant wears the same attire and silver earrings, but in the Pitfield

rendition the George III medal is included. In the Pitfield and ROM collections Brant holds a tomahawk which appears as an anachronism without his traditional costume. Andre related to the author¹¹⁴ that the Pitfield work was probably the latest replica done as a preparatory work for a series of engravings, but he does not know whether they were ever executed. In that likeness Berczy prominently displays a feather on Brant's scalplock, which has been omitted in the ROM version. He lavished meticulous attention on the sculptural effect of the face, creating the impressive power of a Neoclassical bas-relief, and precisely determined basic character traits from Brant's features. Possibly Berczy could have been influenced by prints.

For the tondo renditions of Joseph Brant, Berczy used the circular picture format, a shape already popularly revived by the end of the eighteenth century. The tondos of Brant fall into a Renaissance-humanistic arrangement as described in Northern Europe, where the portrait developed as a pure type, and the artist and patron became interested in the observations divulged in the human face, which became as revealing of the real world as observation of objects in general. In humanist portraits by Holbein, Durer or Matsys at the threshold of the Reformation, one saw an individualism in artistic and intellectual matters, and a new kind of introspection. The later Neoclassical code was a differentiation between a natural setting in portraiture and a 'natural' portrait, emphasizing a sculptural effect in the portrait, with a return to Van Eyck with the use of black grounds. In the sketches of Brant by Berczy, though, the features have been crisply delineated, the subject has a commanding presence; his aura and power emanate more from his inner being than from his

office. The artist, by focusing on Brant's personality, has ennobled it. Hence, the tondos of Brant fall into this humanistic arrangement and are close to a real objective likeness of the man. The use of civilian dress implies a familiarity with the sitter, and contributes to the feeling of complete assimilation in spite of the attributes of feather and tomahawk, vestigial remnants of Brant's original culture. In these studies, attention is paid to the specific physiognomy and details of mouth, bone structure, and flesh are emphasized.

In comparison to the Ames portrait (fig. 33) the humanist portrait of Brant by Berczy, whether watercolour miniatures (figs. 44, 45) or oils (figs. 46, 47) are closer in intention to the influence of the Neoclassical style. This was due to the sophistication of Berczy as a painter and his greater awareness of current European styles. As in the Ames portrait, where Brant was painted while on a holiday, an older, vulnerable, less powerful image of the sitter was captured. The effect that Brant was seated in an interior setting in the Ames painting reinforces his 'human side.' In the ROM version (fig. 46) and the Pitfield painting (fig. 47) Berczy engineers these heroicizing impressions with formal devices. The projection of the sitter's right arm holding a tomahawk is an angular form, bisecting the figure, and emphasizing the lines in the painting. These lines, dynamic, yet controlled, become analagous to those qualities perceived in Brant, producing a commanding image, far more dominant than the Ames.

The Classical Hero: The Emperor Figure

Berczy's commemorative composition, Portrait of Joseph Brant (National Gallery of Canada, 1807) (fig. 48), thought to have been executed shortly after the Chief's death¹¹⁵ shows him in full-length, striking a theatrical pose on the river bank. Neoclassical influence can be seen in the emphatic modelling, the severity of the line of the figure against the landscape, and the frozen static position. Brant manifests in demeanor and bearing those attributes of faith, loyalty and conquest, in terms of the aspirations of the earliest explorers and voyageurs, glorifying the European-American contact, and symbolizing the fruitful side of this association.

This completely assimilated Mohawk chief... stands in full regalia in front of Berczy's idea of the Grand River, and points to the site for his people's new homeland. Berczy... has treated the Iroquois leader just as if he were a British aristocrat pointing out his ancestral domain, or a British general indicating the scene of his most famous battle. This painting is as much in the spirit of contemporary British ruling-class portraits as Berczy could make it and he might have supplied the entire comprador patron class of Upper Canada with similar works, but the town of York at this time was little more than a string of houses, and a concentration of wealth in the colony in only a few hands further limited the number of families who could afford to commission such canvases.¹¹⁶

Barry Lord, quoted in the previous paragraph, shows his insight towards the sitter as well as the artist. The content, for a social art historian, here, has been to use the art as a social document. Berczy's full-length portrait has evoked various reactions from art historians.

- Theatrical touches in this later version are in the spirit of Zoffany's portraits of the comic actor, Isaac Bickerstaffe, owned by the Garrick Club of London.¹¹⁷

Berczy's relationship with Johan Zoffany (1725-1810) admits possible stylistical influences. Zoffany's most characteristic subjects were 'conversation pieces', animated portrait groups in the owner's houses or grounds as backgrounds. Berczy was inspired by this favorite English convention. In the Portrait of Joseph Brant the expanse of background depicting the land awarded the Six Nations Indians under Brant on the Grand River personifies the sitter's status. Brant participated in the social whirl in the colony and his 'civilized' manners were observed by his hostess, Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, who wrote after entertaining him at dinner:

He has a countenance expressive of art or cunning. He wore an English coat with handsome crimson blanket, lined with black, and trimmed with gold fringe, and wore a fur cap; round his neck he had a ring of plaited sweet hay. It is a kind of grass which never loses its pleasant scent. The Indians are very fond of it.¹¹⁸

Perhaps that Berczy chose to feature the landscape points to the interest in the natural surroundings or is just his following of a common tradition in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Berczy equates the sitter with the background in a more accurate iconographic sense than in the Four Indian Kings. However, his placement of Brant in rank of importance with that land is ironic, since the reserve had diminished rapidly by that time. (Refer to Chapter One). The impressive posture of Brant and the formality of that stance refer to Roman portraiture and point to the classic models Berczy used. The

reduced size of the canvas is probably due to the prohibitive cost or availability of a larger one and scarcity of occasion to practice the craft.¹¹⁹ Berczy's training as a miniaturist is probably another reason for his use of a small format. The small-scale, full-length figure reveals Berczy's mature artistry from his first appearance in Canada. In this portrait in a late autumn landscape, Brant points to his people's land with outstretched right arm, while he holds a long-barrelled flintlock rifle with his left. He wears a sash and powder horn made of wood and horn over his shoulders. Under this is a skin pouch to hold shot for his gun. Pouches were used for many purposes. Made from tanned, smoked skin, of one-piece construction, they were often decorated with moose hair with quill appliqué sewn with sinew. Cut skin fringes were attached to the ends. Small, decorated containers, they were used for carrying medicine, tobacco, or other personal articles, because leggings had no pockets. Over a European-style white cloth shirt, a woolen blanket is draped in classical fashion as a toga was traditionally worn. The soft-soled Indian-made moccasins, adapted to woodland travel and canoe use, were made of a sole and sides made of a single piece of buckskin with a seam up the back, and decorated with quillwork on the vamp and cuffs. On his blue ankle-length Indian-made buckskin leggings, decorated with legging bands of beadwork, he wears splendid Indian garters decorated with motifs of either quill or beadwork. A Treaty George III embossed medal is worn around his neck. His dog, with head turned to his master, is poised at Brant's side. Behind him, the Grand River, his homeland, stretches, and Brant dominates this vista. Berczy uses a meticulously linear approach to the outlines of the figure and aspects

of foliage, while the clouds and river are less defined. The folds of blanket and shirt, though voluminous, are controlled.

This heroicized portrait of Joseph Brant by William Berczy was modelled after the Neoclassical ideas put forth in England and Europe. In stance, the Roman Emperor figure type which was used for the Brant portrait, can be seen in Berczy's portrait of Admiral Horatio Nelson of 1805, which is an earlier prototype for the work¹²⁰ (fig. 49). In Berczy's design he has borrowed a familiar pose from Roman portrait statues of political leaders of the Imperial period such as Augustus of Prima Porta (c. 20 B.C., Vatican Museum, Rome). Berczy describes his sitter with the cool objectivity characteristic of Neoclassicism.

Andre believes that Berczy planned to engrave this work in copper for a series on Canadian scenery and costumes in the style of Freudenberger or perhaps connected with Augustus Kendall's travels in Canada.¹²¹ It is posited by Martha Cooke that Berczy modelled his full-length portrait of Brant based on the Simon mezzotint after Verelst (fig. 50) which was circulated among the Indians, since the convention of depicting the trade objects and attire are reminiscent. Prints made from the oil paintings of the Four Indian Kings of John Verelst influenced artists working in North America, possibly Berczy.¹²² But this argument is not convincing; the pose is different, and so is the setting. The Verelst looks like a fashion plate as opposed to the selective and 'ceremonial' treatment of Brant.

In the foreground, tree stumps with growth of sprouts and mushrooms suggest colonization, decay and change. Stumps were the inevitable consequence of the subjugation of the forest wilderness, a

process concurrent with the first American settlements, so perhaps the iconography implies a specific American symbol, namely the clearing of land, blazing of new trails, and the establishment of settlements. Here, the iconography may be in reference to the resettlement of the Indian, part of the due process of colonization.

Everything is crystal clear. Instead of the foggy air and unified space of the 'baroque' the receding landscape is fenced in with flat planes...¹²³

Joseph Brant is a flat plane too, a coloured linear drawing which could easily be converted into an engraving.¹²⁴

The mezzotint technique emphasizes the crisp outlines of objects, hence the definition of the foliage seen in the mezzotints of the Verelst paintings which Berczy might have borrowed. As a result, the flora in Berczy's painting of Brant resembles those crisp outlines.

The old rotting tree trunk, you know, symbolizes the brief life of all creatures, but not plants, flowers and mushrooms sprout from it. With great care, in Durer's minute style, Berczy gives the trunk a most important air.¹²⁵

Berczy was an artist preoccupied with the new Neoclassical type of painting even though he had chosen a highly Romantic subject of the 'noble savage.' By emphasizing the equality of background to foreground, with the sitter as if in a frieze, Berczy has managed to give the Indian chief a great deal of monumentality, heroicizing the personality in the Neoclassical manner, and linking him to an Emperor! The painting's middleground and background contain topographical features intended to set the scene in proper sequence to the figure in the foreground.

The significance of Berczy's memorial Portrait of Joseph Brant

lies in its testimonial value, documenting the extent to which the Indian had become acculturated. The painting is an allegory of those themes and concepts vis-a-vis the Indian and the symbolic attachment to land and land rights. The synthesis of pre-contact and contact costumes and trade goods constituting the artistic motifs in the painting, substantiates the degree of transaction and adaptation. At the same time, Berczy's portrait is an icon simultaneously summarizing the regression and veneration of the Indian.

In spite of conflicting views of Brant as traitor or arbitrator, the town of Brantford, Ontario, bears Joseph Brant's name and acknowledges him as its founder.

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth century was the great age for publishing of travellers' reports. The appeal of the rapidly vanishing frontier, the romantic interest in the wild and untame, the Victorian fondness for genre paintings, and the growth of scientific curiosity among the masses, all stimulated a taste for pictures of Indians. North Americans, recognizing that any scholarly recital of their struggle for independence required documentation, began early in the nineteenth century to gather and publish records. Historians under the spell of exploration and discovery expressed the notion that next to Christianity, the greatest deed of an era had been the discovery of the New World. The archivists' purpose was to make accessible to scholars and students a useful tool which would make possible the 'scientific' study of history by having laid open for use the rich mines of material. A review of this literature shows the penchant of Victorians for the narrative, their love for the dramatic exploit vis-a-vis Indian and American encounters, and those typical moralizing attitudes for which the Victorian era has become identified with. Brant was seen as a victim of progress, whose race's demise carried with it the optimism of evolution.

The impulse to document the North American heritage and the manifestation of this desire through biography, led to the need for engravings after those artists who had created the original images.¹²⁶

Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882) published his theory of evolution by natural selection¹²⁷ in the early 1840's. Darwin approached the diversity of nationality based on racial differences, which he theorized were subject to change through adaptation. This was a

hypothesis which influenced George Catlin, as well as many Victorians.

So, this idea of race, a characterization of the nineteenth century, manifested itself in the notion of a uni-culture. The concept of evolution, popularized by Catlin in text and image, led to feelings of nostalgia at this demise of the Indian race, but also contributed to a cultural bias.

Such theories were reinforced by Lewis Morgan's theory of the division of humanity into a series of steps in society¹²⁸ from a hunting-savage, to agricultural-barbaric, to a civilized (cities, writing), classification of societies, defined by their technology. It was not too much to assume from this system that the hunters, (Indians) soon to disappear, should be documented before their demise.

Such a documentary approach affected the mental images of artists, and produced the kind of descriptive, notational quality of George Catlin's text and paintings of Indians and Charles Bird King's (1785-1862) portraits, such as obsession with costume, jewellery, finery, and nostalgic attitude to the race and culture, now in its death throes. Charles Bird King began a series of portraits of great Indian chiefs from c. 1816-1822 and 1824-1837 for the National Portrait Gallery in Washington. In 1858 the Indian Gallery comprised of 147 works, mostly by King, but a fire in 1865 at the Smithsonian Institute where they were housed destroyed most of the works. King left a large bequest to the Redwood Library in Newport, Rhode Island, including his personal collection of paintings of Indian subjects.¹²⁹ Distribution of silver tokens with the effigy of royalty (Queen Victoria, Edward VII, Prince of Wales) distributed to the Indians in the nineteenth century, were used to impress the Indians of English and white

supremacy, rather than as symbols of alliance. The literature and art imagery in the nineteenth century reflected a magnanimous attitude toward the Indian now that there was no longer severe bodily threat and the assimilation of the Indian was secure. Ironically, portraits of this genre, instead of growing away from the original prototypes of Indian seen in cartographers' maps, exploit those very images with even more pomp and ceremony.

In reviewing the literature of the Indian in Europe one is struck by this long history of the Indian usually seen as an exotic curiosity, who, as the Four Indian Kings, and Joseph Brant, as examples, were fêted and treated as oddities. The Osages (Sioux Indians who migrated to the Osage River in Missouri) who visited France in 1827 exemplify the classic scenario of celebrityhood, circus-like travelling and exploitation. However, this tradition of the Indian as novelty, accessible to large crowds, was succeeded later in the nineteenth century by the ritual of the Indian as entertainer. George Catlin attempted to protect the interests of the travelling Indians, particularly the nine Ojibways who gave performances throughout England in 1844. In Manchester, C.F. Foreman writes:¹³⁰

The Indians dashed into the room, single file, with war cries that terrified the spectators, who were reassured when the warriors seated themselves and commenced to smoke while Catlin delivered his talk about them. They danced to the music the medicine man played on his drum while they sang a war song. Roars of applause followed the performance, and the actors responded with a Wa-be-no, or mystery dance.¹³¹

The climax of their visit was a reception given them by Queen Victoria.

And Ruthven Todd observes:

The tradition of performance culminated around the turn of the century with the travelling troupes organized by Buffalo Bill and his imitators; their performances stimulated Bonnard to essay a helter-skelter Indian scene, now in the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, which restores to the Indian the energy and freedom of the Noble Savage.¹³²

It was within these ideological boundaries that the documentor of Indian pictures, George Catlin made his contribution. Portraits of the Indians such as those by Catlin's were made to accompany texts, frequently in handsome folio size, with fine colour reproductions. Catlin's oeuvre consisted of hundreds of sketches, mostly bust portraits of warriors and sachems, which with artifacts and live Indians he successfully exhibited in 1838, before their publication three years later. In Catlin's text, The Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, published in London by the author, in 1841, he betrays an inborn bias against the Indian which probably was indicative of public opinion.

The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilised world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their rapid declension from the civilised nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond reach or human investigation, - whose early history is lost - whose term of national existence is nearly expired - three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilised man within the short space of 25 years - twelve million of whose bodies have fallen victims to whiskey, the smallpox and the bayonet; leaving at this time but a meagre proportion to live a short time longer, in the certain apprehension of soon sharing a similar fate.¹³³

It was this fear of danger by extinction, which caused the upsurge of documentary writings of Indians, many of which were

accompanied by prints.¹³⁴ The revival of the Romney image, as well as the Ames, accompanied many nineteenth and twentieth century biographical texts. Many of these tracts, nostalgic in feeling, sought to glorify as well as to document this dying race. By the time Charles Bird King began his series of portraits of great Indian chiefs the tribes of the Atlantic Coast Region were already regarded as a rapidly dying race.

In conclusion, the investigation of the many portraits of Joseph Brant uncovers developments in art and style. In the earliest Brant portraits, done in London, the tendency was to idealize the Indian as an imaginary, decorative, figure. This led to pictures of Brant, which dwelt upon the visual appeal of costume and weaponry and contact trade goods. Brant is represented in the portraits done in America as a symbol of those exponents of logic and virtue formerly attached to the classical past of Greece and Rome, to reappear as synonymous with the budding nation. Brant, in this guise, and paralleling current modes in art, was often represented in civilian clothing, rather than native dress, in a more sober, elegant, and timeless image, pointing to this assimilation in style, manner and adapted lifestyle situation. The European, as well as New World iconography, suggests the confusion between myth and reality, barriers which restricted or instructed perceptions accordingly. The surviving images of the portraits of Joseph Brant reveal the varied cultural vested interests which were brought into action, and which have hardened into modes of perception over the years.

ENDNOTES

¹W. L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant (1838: rpt. New York: Kraus, 1969).

²Stone, Introduction, n.p.

³See Diamond Jenness, Indians of Canada, Sixth Edition, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15 (1932) rpt. Ottawa, Canada: 1967, p. 133.

⁴Jenness, Chapter 10 discusses the social and political organization of the Iroquois, pp. 133-139.

⁵Marc J. Smith, "Joseph Brant, Mohawk Statesman," Diss. The University of Wisconsin, 1946, p. III.

⁶Refer to the following sources: Malvina Bolus, "Four Kings Came to Dinner with their Honours," The Beaver, 304 (1973); Richmond P. Bond, Queen Anne's American Kings (Oxford: 1952); W. Martha Cooke, The Four Indian Kings (Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa: 1977); C.T. Foreman, Indians Abroad: 1493-1938 (Norman, Oklahoma: 1943); Freda F. Waldron, "Queen Anne and the 'Four Kings of Canada' A Bibliography of Contemporary Sources," Canadian Historical Review, 16 (1935), 266-75.

⁷This communion silver bears the hall-mark of the silversmith, Francis Garthorne, and is inscribed with the royal cipher and coat-of-arms and was made for Her Majesty's (Queen Anne) Mohawk Chapel. After the American Revolution by the terms of the Haldimand Grant (1784) which resettled the Loyalist Indians into two different locations, the Queen's collection of silver was divided between the two settlements; one on the Grand River near Brantford (now Mohawks of the Six Nations Reserve, Ohsweken, Ontario) under Joseph Brant, and the other at the Bay of Quinte (now Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte), in Deseronto, Ontario, where it is still kept and used for ceremonial purposes. Refer to W. Martha Cooke, The Four Indian Kings (Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, 1977).

⁸W. L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970), p. 167.

⁹Translated literally this means Two-sticks-of wood-bound-together, which denotes strength. Also, in the literature the name has been interpreted as He-who-places-two-bets. It was general practice among the Indian tribes for a person to acquire a new name, or a nickname at each of the important events of life, such as birth, at which time the name of an ancestor could be used, according to the white man's

tradition, in which the continuity for the Indian would be of one's clan. Or a name could be derived from a dream or otherwise significant occurrence at the time of birth, or at the first indications of a special personality trait. Some Indians waited until a later age to name a child, such as at puberty, or after a war or hunting exploit, or after an elevation in tribal rank. As well, retirement from active participation in tribal life was deemed a propitious time. Many Indian names have allegorical meanings which cannot be translated, so English spelling is phonetic, and never uniformly set down. This accounts for the various spellings for Brant's Indian name in the literature.

¹⁰Smith, p. 5. For a summary of family tradition as understood by Reverend John Stuart, Brant's friend and contemporary, as told to Brant's biographer, see Stone.

¹¹Robert S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America: 1755-1830," Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 14 (National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa: 1975), 101.

¹²Allen, p. 12. See the painting on this page by E. L. Henry (Collection: John B. Knox, Knox Gelatin Inc. Johnstown, New York), which depicts Sir William Johnson in council with the Iroquois at Johnson Hall.

¹³Johnson, who had come from Ireland to the Mohawk Valley in 1738 to take care of an estate for his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, soon was involved in Indian trade, and gained the confidence of the Mohawks, then of the rest of the Five Nations. By 1746 he was in charge of the conduct of Indian affairs for the Iroquois, and his power, influence and wealth grew. He acquired large tracts of land, and was appointed a member of the New York Council. In character, he was known to be dependable, honest in trade, and a natural manager of affairs and handler of men. In 1755 when England and the American colonies resolved to end the French threat to the north, Johnson was made a major-general and sent against Crown Point, the French fort at the southern tip of Lake Champlain with one thousand Indians including the thirteen-year-old Brant. In a battle which marked the beginning of the Seven Years' War, Johnson defeated the French under Baron Dieskau. Later, in 1759, Brant was with the Indians who helped capture Fort Niagara. Their victory broke the chain of French forts which stretched from the St. Lawrence to Louisiana.

¹⁴J. W. Lydekker, The Faithful Mohawks (New York: 1938), p. 55.

¹⁵Lydekker, p. 55.

¹⁶Jenness states (p. 137) that Indian men confined their activities to hunting, fishing, trading and war, leaving agriculture to women.

¹⁷Several portions of the Bible had already been translated into Mohawk at that time, but Stuart felt that the New Testament should be translated, which Brant agreed to do. They translated the Gospel of Mark, part of the Acts of the Apostles, and a history of the Bible with a concise explanation of the Catechism. This text, entitled The Book of Common Prayer Translated into the Mohawk by Joseph Brant (London: 1786-7), was illustrated by Lieutenant James Peachy, (d. 1799) active in America from 1774-97. Peachy was the English officer-surveyor attached to the Quebec office of the Surveyor-General of Canada, who worked along the St. Lawrence River following the American Revolution. The death of Sir William Johnson and the outbreak of the Revolution stopped the printing of these translations. Peachy executed drawings of Joseph Brant's wife Katerine, and one is reproduced in Russel Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Great Britain: 1970), p. 246.

¹⁸See Lydekker for a summary of Stuart's work in the Anglican Church.

¹⁹Robert C. Smith, The Noble Savage: The American Indian in Art (University Museum, Philadelphia: 1958), n.p.

²⁰Smith, (1958), n.p.

²¹Elwood Parry, The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art: 1590-1900 (New York: 1974), p. 2.

²²One exists in the Public Archives of Canada. A printed volume entitled Les Voyages de Champlain, published in Paris in 1613, is in the William L. Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This source is from The Painter and the New World (The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts: 1967), plate 3. Ever since 1609, when an exploring party under Samuel de Champlain met a number of Iroquois warriors and killed many with firearms, the Iroquois confederacy of what is now New York State fiercely resisted any further incursion by French colonists and their allies, becoming implacable enemies of the French.

²³Les Singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique (Paul Gaffarel, 1558; rpt. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1878).

²⁴Parry, p. 13.

²⁵André Thévet, Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustrés (1584; rpt. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles) Vol. 2, p. 641 and p. 644.

²⁶Ruthven Todd, "The Imaginary Indian in Europe," Art in America, 60 (1972), 41.

²⁷Refer to Hugh Honour, The European Vision of America (The Cleveland Museum of Art: 1876) for decorative arts of this nature.

²⁸Cooke, n.p. They were acquired from the Honourable John Petre at Writtle Park, near Chelmsford, Essex, by the Public Archives of Canada in 1977.

²⁹Père Henri Béchard, s.j. of the Jesuit Fathers, in personal communication with the author, January 25, 1982, related that the oil painting at the Caughnawaga Mission is either an original by Chauchetière, or an early copy, probably painted at the same time as a pen sketch reproduced by copperplate engraving in Twelfth Collection, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, (Paris: 1718), p. 119. In a conversation with François-Marc Gagnon on March 5, 1983, he noted that the three-storied church in the background of the painting is likely a fanciful creation on the part of the artist, or painted from another model, since it was only in 1845 that the present stone church at Caughnawaga was constructed. Prior to Chauchetière's death in 1709, a wooden church serviced the community. Gagnon referred the author to a print of Caughnawaga in the middle of the eighteenth century where a church appears to be closer to the one in Chauchetière's painting. This print is reproduced in "Mohawk," by William N. Fenton and Elisabeth Tooker, in Handbook of North American Indians, edited by William C. Sturtevant, (Smithsonian Institution, Washington: 1978), p. 470. For further information relating to the artistic career of Claude Chauchetière, refer to François-Marc Gagnon and Nicole Cloutier, Premiers Peintres de la Nouvelle-France (Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles: 1976) Vol. 2, pp. 25-53.

³⁰There is no documentation to interpret tattooing, and the oral tradition has died. Tattooing was probably used as a spiritual protection, a practice which appears to have stopped by the middle of the eighteenth century. Told to the author by Conrad Graham, Registrar, The McCord Museum, Montreal, June 1981.

³¹Paul Hulton, The American Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects (London: 1964), Vol. 2, plate 47, reproduces this work. See A. Britt, The Great Indian Chiefs, (New York: 1938), for a reproduction of King Philip, which is opposite p. 30.

³²Second Edition; (New Port), 1772.

³³N. Jaye Frederickson and Sandra Gibb, The Covenant Chain: Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver (Ottawa: The National Museum of Man, 1980), p. 43.

³⁴Refer to sources in the bibliography which were cited in the Note no. 6.

³⁵John Verelst, an Anglo-Dutch artist, was a member of a family of Dutch artists, several of whom worked in England. He was probably the son of a flower painter, Cornelius Verelst. On his death he was described as a "noted face painter" in The Gentleman's Magazine. There exists numerous signed portraits by him dated between 1706 and 1734 recorded mainly in English country houses. Biography from Honour, cat. no. 170.

³⁶Honour, cat. no. 170.

³⁷Parry, p. 19, plate 15.

³⁸Parry, p. 19.

³⁹In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the mezzotint became a widely accented and admired art form in itself, reproducing literary themes then so popular in English painting.

⁴⁰Smith, (1958), n.p.

⁴¹Matthew Bagnell, A History of American Painting (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 24. These paintings are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For further details, see Paintings and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974), pp. 146, 147, and 250. See Honour, for bibliography of these paintings by Hesselius, cat. no. 174.

⁴²London Magazine, 45 (1776).

⁴³Milton W. Hamilton, "Joseph Brant: The Most Painted Indian," New York History, 39 (1958), 119.

⁴⁴London Magazine.

⁴⁵Frederickson and Gibb, p. 57.

⁴⁶Parry, p. 8.

⁴⁷Sandra Gibb, "Indian Trade Silver Gorgets," Canadian Collector, 15 (1980), 25-29. Gibb states that records from the 1770's indicate that gorgets were being manufactured for trading purposes, and that though still in use at that time as formal presentation

pieces, traders were then giving them to Indian chiefs to win them over as fur-trading partners. It is unlikely, she says, that these gorgets bore an official coat of arms. Thus, from an official badge of alliance, the gorget moved to a popular trade good. This pattern of tradeoffs can be especially observed in the career of Brant through the iconography of the gorget. In the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, an unusual shell gorget decorated with silver bosses and a monogram of the initials "JB" is thought to have been Brant's. See Gibb, p. 27. Brant's silver gorget and sword are in the collection of the Joseph Brant Museum, in Burlington, Ontario.

⁴⁸Gibb, p. 26.

⁴⁹In the career of Benjamin West (1738-1820) born near Philadelphia, paintings of Indians were used as contemporary symbols in American mythology. In West's portrait of Colonel Guy Johnson (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1776, fig. 24), it is generally thought by historians, that the figure of the Indian in the background behind Johnson may be either a generalized portrait of Brant or may have been intended to personify the Six Nations in general, as the facial features do not correspond to other portraits of Brant. Since Brant was with Guy Johnson in England in 1776, it has been posited that the painting may have been inspired by Brant's visit. The Indian costume of wampum arm bracelets and neckband, sashes, which appear to be ceinture perlée (wool interwoven with trade beads, which developed into the ceinture flechée), Indian-made moccasins, decorated peacepipe, and tufted headdress, all pre-contact artifacts pre-dating the costume of the Four Indian Kings and the exclusion of silver, points to the artist's allegorical purposes. It should be noted, as well, that the costume does not in any way relate to other portraits of Brant, leading one to deduce that the portrait's purpose was not strictly documentary. West's career tended to memorialize regional and chronological considerations in his works. The most characteristic features of the North American continent — an Indian encampment, and Niagara Falls — reveals that West was aware of the setting and the progression of events leading to Johnson's and Brant's arrival in England to negotiate land rights. West was disposed to emphasize the object lesson in life, and this painting reminds one of the important role race relations played during the Revolutionary Wars. For a review of the literature see: Hugh Honour, The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York: Pantheon House, 1975), no. 177; J.T. Flexner, The Light of Distant Skies (1954), New York, 1969, p. 54; Milton W. Hamilton, "Joseph Brant: The Most Painted Indian," New York History, 39, (1958) 122 ff; Grose Evans, Benjamin West and the Taste of his Times (Carbondale, Illinois: 1959), p. 46; Margaret Bouton, American Painting in the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.: 1959), p. 17; The Painter and the New World (The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts: 1967), no. 85; Elwood Parry, The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art: 1590-1900, pp. 31-34.

50 R. H. Hubbard, European Paintings in Canadian Collections (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 123.

51 George Romney was born at Dalton-in-furness in 1732. When he was twenty-one he was apprenticed for four years to the travelling portrait painter, Christopher Steele. In 1756 Romney worked on his own as a portrait painter in Kendal, Lancashire and York, in the style of Arthur Davis. In 1762 he left for London, where he became known, but a mutual dislike developed between him and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Romney became a member of the Society of Artists, but he was not one of the founders of the Royal Academy in 1768, nor did he ever exhibit there. In 1773 he travelled to Italy where he was influenced by classical sculpture in Rome, and Correggio at Parma. On his return to London in 1775 he settled in Cavendish Square and rose to the height of his fame and success. Romney's painting of Joseph Brant represents an example of the artist's mature work. The reader is referred to the following sources for bibliography of George Romney: Allan Cunningham, The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters. Vols. 1 and 2, (London: ed. Mrs. Heaton, 1879-89); William Hayley, The Life of George Romney (Chichester: 1809); Richard and Samuel Redgrave, A Century of British Painters (London: Phaidon, 1947); Rev. J. Romney, Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney (London: 1830); Humphry Ward and W. Roberts, Romney (London: Thos. Agnew and Sons, New York: Scribner's Sons, 1904).

52 Redgrave, pp. 99-100.

53 Hamilton, p. 122..

54 Britt, p. 75.

55 Jenness, p. 298, states that prior to European contact Indians used stone tomahawks, but at contact they switched to metal. After contact, several chiefs and warriors posed for their portraits holding their favorite war-clubs or axes, which were later forms of the original tomahawk.

56 See Sotheby & Co. (Canada) Limited, Watercolours, Prints and Maps from the Collection of Canadiana Formed by the Late Robert W. Reford of Montreal (27 April - 20 May, 1968). At the dispersal of Reford Collection the gorget was sold.

57 An eighteenth century watercolour adapted to an almost full-length figure was found and attributed to Robert Prescott's (Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada 1796-1797) daughter, Susanna Dalton, which is now in the collection of the Brantford City Hall (fig. 12). A bust stipple engraving is in the Public Archives of Canada with a reversed image (fig. 13). A line engraving (fig. 14), an engraving by Archibald Dick, 1890, (fig. 15), a mezzotint by J.R. Smith, 1779,

(fig. 16), a chromolithograph (fig. 17), a bust colour lithograph by Rolf Smith and Co., of Toronto, 1880, (fig. 18), a full-length colour print by William Kingsford in the Kingsford Scrapbook (fig. 19), a print (fig. 20), photo process (fig. 21), halftone (fig. 22) and an unidentified reproduction (fig. 23) exist in the Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa. See File no. 501-1, Brant, Joseph Thayendanegea. This inventory is incomplete. Further research must be done in relation to nineteenth century graphic artists and printers working in Canada and the United States.

⁵⁸ This portrait is referred to in Humphry Ward et al., Romney on p. 201. The painting, then in the collection of a Mr. W. Icton, was exhibited in the Grafton Gallery in Spring 1900, no. 105.

⁵⁹ This description is from Algernon Graves, A Century of Loan Exhibitions (London: Algernon Graves, 1914), Vol. 3, p. 1128. The painting is listed as A Mohawk Brave (Brant).

⁶⁰ At the Sandusky conference in 1793 Brant's long attempts to form a united Indian confederacy in opposition to American westward expansion failed. Allen, p. 101.

⁶¹ J.R. Fawcett Thompson, "Thayendanegea the Mohawk and His Several Portraits," Connoisseur, 170, (1969), 51.

⁶² Rhode-Island born Gilbert Stuart went to Scotland c. 1770. After returning to America he went back to London in 1775 and studied under his fellow-countryman, Benjamin West. After escaping his creditors by working in Dublin from 1787-93 he returned to America and became famous as a portrait painter. He worked in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and for the last twenty-two years of his life, in Boston. The reader is referred to the following sources of bibliography in reference to Gilbert Stuart: James T. Flexner, Gilbert Stuart: A Great Life in Brief (New York: Knopf, 1955); Samuel Isham, The History of American Painting (1905; rpt. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1936); George C. Mason, The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart (1879; rpt. New York: Lenox Hill, 1972). E. P. Richardson, Introductory Essay by Gilbert Stuart: Portraitist of the Young Republic, 1755-1828 (Medford, Connecticut: 1967); W. T. Whitley, Gilbert Stuart (1832; rpt. New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1969); Early American Portraits (The Newark Museum, 1947).

⁶³ ~~Isham~~, p. 97.

⁶⁴ Early American Portraits, p. 9.

⁶⁵ The Northumberland portrait has remained in the family and is in the possession of the present Duke. It hangs in the Print Room at Syon House, Brentford, Middlesex. The portrait was exhibited at the

British Institution (Museum) in 1857, then called Chief Warrior of the Mohawks, Captain Brant. Graves, Vol. 3, p. 1274.

⁶⁶Hamilton, p. 126.

⁶⁷Thompson describes the painting's colour on p. 51.

⁶⁸This version is similar in all respects except for the inscription 'Thayandenagea - otherwise Joseph Brant War Chief of the Mohawks' on the upper right of the painting. The provenance of this canvas has not been established. See Thompson, pp. 51 and 53. Thompson states that the canvas was not among the 118 portraits constituting the National Collection of Pictures housed in the British Museum until 1879; and that it was first recorded in a manuscript called Register of British Museum Paintings and Sculpture compiled by the Museum in 1936. He presumes that the painting either came to the British Museum with one of the major acquisitions, such as the Christie Collection, or it was presented to the Department of Ethnography by a former Keeper. However, he agrees that neither explanation carries conviction.

⁶⁹A portrait of Joseph Brant by Gilbert Stuart was recorded in the Miss Lloyd-Baker Collection. However, little else is known about the work. See Anna Wells Rutledge, "Portraits of American Interest in British Collections," Connoisseur, 141, 268-9 for reference to this painting. I have tried to contact the editors of Connoisseur for the author's address, but have not been able to obtain this information.

⁷⁰The Moira portrait is now in the collection of the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown, New York.

⁷¹Information from Conrad Graham, Registrar, The McCord Museum in an interview with the author, June 1981.

⁷²Isham, p. 94.

⁷³Isham, p. 94.

⁷⁴Collection: The Joseph Brant Museum, Burlington, Ontario.

⁷⁵Henry Bone, (1755-1834), who began as a painter on china for Cookworthy of Plymouth, was appointed enameller to George III, George IV and William IV of England.

⁷⁶Stone, Introduction, p. xxix. Hamilton stated in his article on p. 131, that the miniature was made by Stuart after a copy of the

Moir portrait, but according to Shirley E. Hartt, Curator of the Joseph Brant Museum, Burlington, Ontario, in correspondence with the author, March 4, 1980, based on the research of Alan R. Green, of Burlington, Ontario, the miniature is believed to be the work of Henry Bone. However, she notes that there is no confirmation of this.

⁷⁷ Harry B. Wehle, American Miniatures: 1730-1850 (rpt. New York: Da Capo, 1970), p. 5.

⁷⁸ Collection: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, The David I. Bushnell Jr. Collection, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁷⁹ Information from Catalogue cards from the Archives of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the David I. Bushnell Jr. Collection, Harvard University, Cambridge, February 27, 1980.

⁸⁰ Frederickson et al, p. 59.

⁸¹ Collection: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, The David I. Bushnell Jr. Collection, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁸² Samuel Wale was born in England. He studied at St. Martin's Lane Academy. He was chiefly a book illustrator who worked mainly in pen and Indian ink. One of the founding members of the Royal Academy, he also professed a knowledge of architecture. On the death of Richard Wilson he was appointed librarian to the Academy. He exhibited at the Academy from 1769-1778, contributing sacred and historic subjects. Information from the Archives of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, The David I. Bushnell Jr. Collection of February 27, 1980, indicates that the small crayon drawing may have been made by Wale from a larger portrait, possibly Benjamin West's Indian Chief, now lost, but which existed a century ago. But this possibility is unlikely, since stylistically, the work relates more to Gilbert Stuart's representations of Brant than to West.

⁸³ Rogers, born in Bridgehampton, Long Island, was essentially a miniature painter who had studied with Joseph Wood.

⁸⁴ Stone, Introduction, p. xxix. The author has not yet uncovered a published reproduction of this painting by Nathaniel Rogers. It was probably never made nor engraved.

⁸⁵ Ellston A. Cooper, "That Chivalrous Savage: Joseph Brant." Maclean's Magazine, (1954), p. 49. Cooper does not mention where he read this quote.

⁸⁶ Gilbert Stuart painted Little Turtle's (1752-1812) portrait in Philadelphia in 1797. The painting has since been destroyed but a

lithograph based on the portrait exists in the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives Bureau of American Ethnology Collection. See Charles Coleman Sellers, " 'Good Chiefs and Wise Men': Indians as Symbols of Peace in the Art of Charles Willson Peale," American Art Journal, (1975), fig. 2, p. 15, for a reproduction of Little Turtle.

⁸⁷Peale, a portrait painter and miniaturist, was also a silversmith, clockmaker, glassmaker, sculptor, engraver in mezzotint, and dentist, as well as a natural scientist. Born in Maryland, he had an eclectic career. He was a soldier in the War for Independence and a radical politician who was in the legislature for one term (1779-1789). Peale was bound apprentice to a saddler for ten years where he acquired manual skills, and learned delicate metalwork. Biography from Catalogue of American Portraits in the New York Historical Society (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 7. For further reference to Charles Willson Peale refer to the following sources: Bertha N. Briggs, Charles Willson Peale: Artist and Patriot (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952); Charles H. Elam, Introduction by, The Peale Family: Three Generations of American Artists (Detroit Institute of Arts: Wayne State University Press, 1967); Cuthbert Lee, Early American Portrait Painters (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929); C. C. Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures of Charles Willson Peale (New York: Scribner's, 1969); C. C. Sellers, "Good Chiefs and Wise Men: Indians as Symbols of Peace in the Art of Charles Willson Peale," American Art Journal, 7, Part 2 (1975), 10-18; C. C. Sellers, Mr. Peale's Museum (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980).

⁸⁸Sellers, (1952), pp. 40-41.

⁸⁹Sellers, (1975), pp. 10-18.

⁹⁰Sellers, (1980), p. 1.

⁹¹Peale utilized the Linnean classification system from the primates down, noting that men, as animals, must be contented with their place at the head of the list. In the Museum, they were represented by portraits of outstanding human beings, and Peale's hope was that some day he would have actual preserved specimens of 'homo sapiens' as well. With Peale's great chain of nature, the aborigine was a racial type, and exhibited as such. Peale began this curiosity-cult which would have a continuum in the nineteenth century with George Catlin, who would exhibit paintings and live Indians in the 1840's.

⁹²Collection: Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia.

⁹³Sellers, (1952), p. 41.

⁹⁴ Hamilton, pp. 128-129.

⁹⁵ Lee, p. 116.

⁹⁶ Hugh Honour, Romanticism (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 18.

⁹⁷ An undated folk-art rendition of Brant exists at the Joseph Brant Museum, in Burlington, Ontario, (fig. 42) but it is uncertain whether it was done during Brant's lifetime, or whether it is indeed of Brant. Here, Brant is delineated as an old man, in a relatively crude work. In a half-length pose, Brant wears a greatcoat and a sash, and a George III medallion. He is portrayed with European styled hair. Also, in the National Gallery of Canada's Curatorial File for Joseph Brant, correspondence between Walter Randel, Director of the Gallery of Primitive Classical European Art, New York City, and Jean Trudel, former Curator of Early Canadian Art at The National Gallery, dated February 1, 1977, refers to an undated half-length portrait possibly of Joseph Brant in the New York Gallery's Collection (fig. 43). Brant is portrayed wearing a blue ceremonial sash over his shoulder with a band of wampum around his neck. In the Catalogue, Paintings and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 248, there is a listing entitled Thayendanegea by an unknown artist, describing the subject as half-length, standing, with brown eyes, black hair, and light brown coat tied around the waist with a light red sash. A white shirt and large silver medal suspended by a light blue ribbon, long triangular earrings, and white and bright red plumes fastened on the head with a black ribbon complete the costume. The subject wears a tomahawk to his right side with a leather strap, and with his right hand he grips the hilt of a sword, pointing it down. The background is in a landscape with fir trees, under a partly cloudy sky. However, it is noted that whether this portrait is actually of Brant is an open question. It is difficult to say whether these images of Brant have been painted from memory instead of from the model, since the attire and physiognomy differs so greatly from the majority of Brant's portraits studied, and since a folk-artist often repeats an image formed in his mind's eye, often based on a prototype, which is not the case in these examples. Naive, unstudied, folk artists proverbially resolve formal problems in an imaginative way, since they are not bound to tradition, training, or livelihood to their art.

⁹⁸ Collection: The New York State Historical Association, Coopers-town, New York.

⁹⁹ Ames was born at Framingham, Massachusetts, and moved to a farm in Staatsburg, New York as a child. By 1790 he was established there as a painter of furniture and coaches. In a memo book covering these years (1790-1802) in the files of the New York Historical Society,

Ames records miniatures as his earliest painted commissions, and states that his livelihood was earned from his work as a carriage and coach painter, frame gilder, plate letterer, and silver engraver. Ames, a relatively obscure painter until 1812, attracted national attention with his portrait of Governor George Clinton, after which he was the leading portraitist of Albany, and painted the likenesses of hundreds of local residents, statesmen, politicians, merchants, and others who came to the New York State capital. His portraits have a local, State, and sometimes national interest, mainly as records. Ames' biography was published by the New York Historical Society with a catalogue of 563 paintings by the artist. See Theodore Bolton et al, Ezra Ames of Albany (New York: 1955). For further information refer to the following sources: Dorothy C. Barck, "Ezra Ames (1768-1836) Painter," The New York Historical Society, 10, (1927), 131-134; George Cuthbert Grove Jr., "New York Painting Before 1800," New York History, 19, (1938), 44-47; John Davis Hatch Jr., "The Albany Institute History and Art: A Sketch of Its Early Forerunners," New York History, 25, (1944), 311-325; Katharine M. McClinton, "Ezra Ames, Ornamental Painter," Antiques, 60, (1951), 194; Robert G. Wheeler, "Ezra Ames of Albany (1768-1836): Painter, Banker, Business Man," American Collector, 16, (1947), 6-8.

¹⁰⁰ A framed receipt at Fenimore House, Cooperstown, New York reads: August 27th 1806/ Received of Mr. Wm Caldwell/Thirty Dollars in full for/Painting a Portrait & frame/of Col. Brandt (sic) - EZRA AMES. This reference was sent to the author in a letter of April 10, 1980 from the files of the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York. This source is originally from the Lyman Draper Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, taken from American Historical Record (1873), p. 318, in which this anecdote was related by Mrs. Catherine E. VanCortlandt, whose maternal grandfather was James Caldwell, the father of William Caldwell, for whom the portrait was commissioned.

¹⁰¹ Bolton, Introduction, p. xvii.

¹⁰² Collection: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

¹⁰³ Stone, Introduction, n.p.

¹⁰⁴ Fig. 35, pen and ink drawing by Canadian, C.W. Jefferys, figs. 36, 37, engravings, fig. 38, coloured lithograph, fig. 39, photogravue, figs. 40, 41, halftones.

¹⁰⁵ The Joseph Brant Museum in Brantford, Ontario is a replica of that home, which stands on the original ground.

106 Barry Lord, The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People's Art (Toronto: NC Press, 1974), p. 84, and Heritage Kingston (Queen's University, 1973), pp. 40-41.

107 Berczy was born in Saxony and spent his youth in Vienna. He studied art in Italy from 1785-90 and in England from 1790-92. Berczy was a town planner, engineer, and land developer as well as an artist. In 1792 he brought a group of German emigrants to New York State, then to Markham Township near Toronto. He painted portraits in Toronto in 1795. Around 1803 he turned to professional painting. See John Andre William Berczy: Co-Founder of Toronto (Ortoprint: 1967), Berczy's biographer.

108 Collection: The National Gallery of Canada.

109 See Andre, pp. 61-62. Andre is referring to the watercolour in the Collection of the Quebec Seminary (fig. 44). See Purves Carter, Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Paintings in the Gallery of Laval University (Quebec: 1908), no. 219, p. 11. The painting prepared for a possible engraving to which Andre refers is the one in the Pitfield collection (fig. 47).

110 Correspondence with Karen Haslan, Royal Ontario Museum of April 1, 1980 to the author did not reveal the painting's provenance, nor was the painting dated.

111 The Royal Ontario Museum Catalogue Cards revealed that their painting may be a preliminary sketch for the Pitfield painting. On the reverse (on paper glued to board) there is the following identification: "...Portrait taken from the life by my father, an excellent..." written by Berczy's son.

112 In a conversation on August 18, 1981 with John Andre, the author interpreted the probable sequence of the paintings' execution.

113 Collection: Château du Ramezay. See File no. CrX978.31.1 to see this miniature watercolour. In this file is a letter from William O. Sturtevant, Curator, The Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. to Renée Martel, Curator of Prints and Drawings, July 29, 1978. Sturtevant notes the similarity of the watercolour in the Château du Ramezay collection to the watercolour in the Quebec Seminary collection, and he attributes the work to Berczy. See, as well, Lita-Rose Betcherman, "Genesis of an Early Canadian Painter: William Von Moll Berczy," Ontario History, 57, (1965) 60. Betcherman relates that Berczy's son certifies that the gouache (probably from the Quebec Seminary) was painted from the life (PAC, Berczy Papers, 015996, Robert Kerr to Berczy, July 29, 1794) and served as the model for the head in the oil painting. She writes that the sittings were

arranged by Dr. Robert Kerr, a white man related to Brant by marriage. Berczy was at Simcoe's headquarters at Niagara before taking possession of his land when he painted the work.

¹¹⁴Conversation with John Andre, August 18, 1981.

¹¹⁵Conversation with John Andre, August 18, 1981.

¹¹⁶Lord, p. 84.

¹¹⁷Russel J. Harper, Painting in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 62.

¹¹⁸J. Ross Robertson, ed. The Diary of Mrs. John Simcoe (Toronto: 1932), p. 14.

¹¹⁹Conversation with John Andre, August 18, 1981.

¹²⁰Collection: Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.

¹²¹Andre, p. 88. Andre's source is Public Archives of Canada, William Berczy Papers, MG 23, H2, 6, Vol. I, p. 131.

¹²²Cooke, n.p.

¹²³Andre notes that this trend began in 1760 in European painting. See p. 87 and p. 161.

¹²⁴Andre, pp. 87-88.

¹²⁵Andre, p. 87.

¹²⁶These images were intended for use either as frontispieces, or as portraits inserted into a biographical text, to represent those statesmen, politicians, or heroes of the past. A twentieth century manifestation is the interest and attraction of Joseph Brant's career upon the artist, copyist Murray Killman (born 1929). To commemorate Brantford's Centennial, Murray Killman held a Commemorative Portrait Exhibition in 1977. He copied most of the well-known works by various artists who had painted Joseph Brant. As well, Killman included his own inventive works. Killman's intention was to assemble this collection of copies as the first complete collection of the representations of Joseph Brant. (However, incorrectly attributed works were included; notably portraits of a Cherokee Indian by William Hodges, R.A., also attributed to Benjamin West. Painted in the 1790's those portraits by Hodges differ greatly from contemporary portraits of Brant in both features and costume).

¹²⁷C. R. Darwin, The Foundation of the Origin of Species 1842 and 1844 (rpt. New York: Kraus, 1969).

¹²⁸Lewis H. Morgan, The League of the Iroquois (New York: 1904).

¹²⁹After the destruction of the National Collection, the Redwood Library Collection was the largest surviving group of Indian subjects. The collection went to auction in 1970. Refer to Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., The Important Collection of North American Indians by Charles Bird King (1785-1862) (Property of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island. New York: 1970).

¹³⁰C.T. Foreman, Indians Abroad: 1493-1938 (Norman, Oklahoma: 1943).

¹³¹Foreman, p. 134.

¹³²Ruthven Todd, "The Imaginary Indian in Europe," Art in America, 60, (1972), 47.

¹³³George Catlin, The Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians (London: privately printed, 1841), Vol. I, p. 5.

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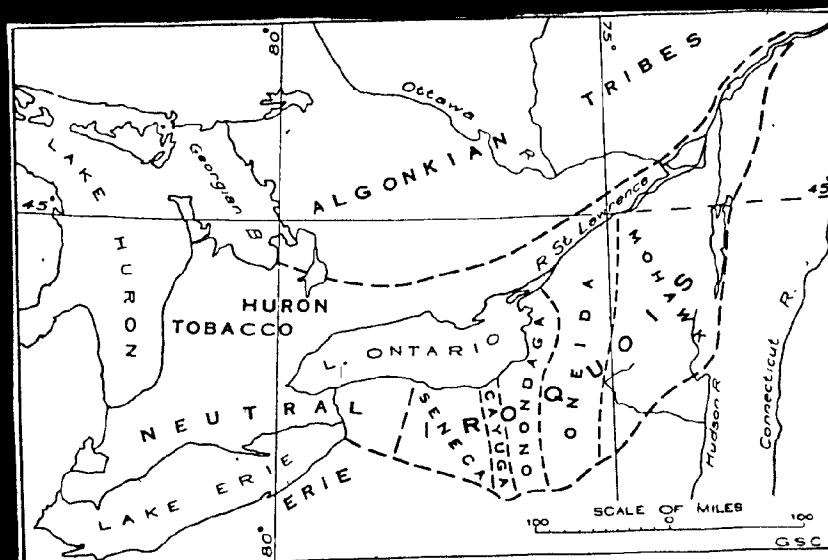
ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF ARTISTS

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

Anonymous	oil	cat. no. 42
Anonymous	oil	cat. no. 43
Ames, Ezra	oil	cat. no. 33
Berczy, William	watercolour	cat. no. 44
	watercolour	cat. no. 45
	oil	cat. no. 46
	oil	cat. no. 47
	oil	cat. no. 48
	oil	cat. no. 49
Dalton, Susanna	watercolour	cat. no. 12
Jefferys, Charles W.	pen and ink	cat. no. 35
Peale, Charles Willson	oil	cat. no. 32
Romney, George	oil	cat. no. 11
Stuart, Gilbert	oil	cat. no. 25
	oil	cat. no. 26
	oil	cat. no. 27
	oil	cat. no. 28
Henry Bone after Gilbert Stuart?	enamel on copper	cat. no. 29
Samuel Wale after Gilbert Stuart?	crayon	cat. no. 31
West, Benjamin	watercolour	cat. no. 30

GRAPHIC ART

Anonymous	engraving after an original in the possession of James Boswell, Esq.	cat. no. 9
After Ezra Ames	engraving	cat. no. 34
	engraving	cat. no. 36
	engraving	cat. no. 37
	colour lithograph	cat. no. 38
	photogravure	cat. no. 39
	halftone	cat. no. 40
	halftone	cat. no. 41
After George Romney	stipple engraving	cat. no. 13
	line engraving	cat. no. 14
	engraving	cat. no. 15
	mezzotint	cat. no. 16
	chromolithograph	cat. no. 17
	colour lithograph	cat. no. 18
	coloured print	cat. no. 19
	print	cat. no. 20
	photo process	cat. no. 21
	halftone	cat. no. 22
	unstated	cat. no. 23



Approximate distribution of the Iroquoian tribes in 1525 A.D. Based partly on map in Beauchamp, W. M.: "A History of the New York Iroquois"; N.Y. State Museum, Bull. 78. The boundaries between the Huron, Tobacco, and Neutral nations, and what tribe or tribes controlled the north shore of the St. Lawrence river, are not known.

Fig. 1. Map Indicating Approximate Distribution of the Iroquois Tribes in 1525

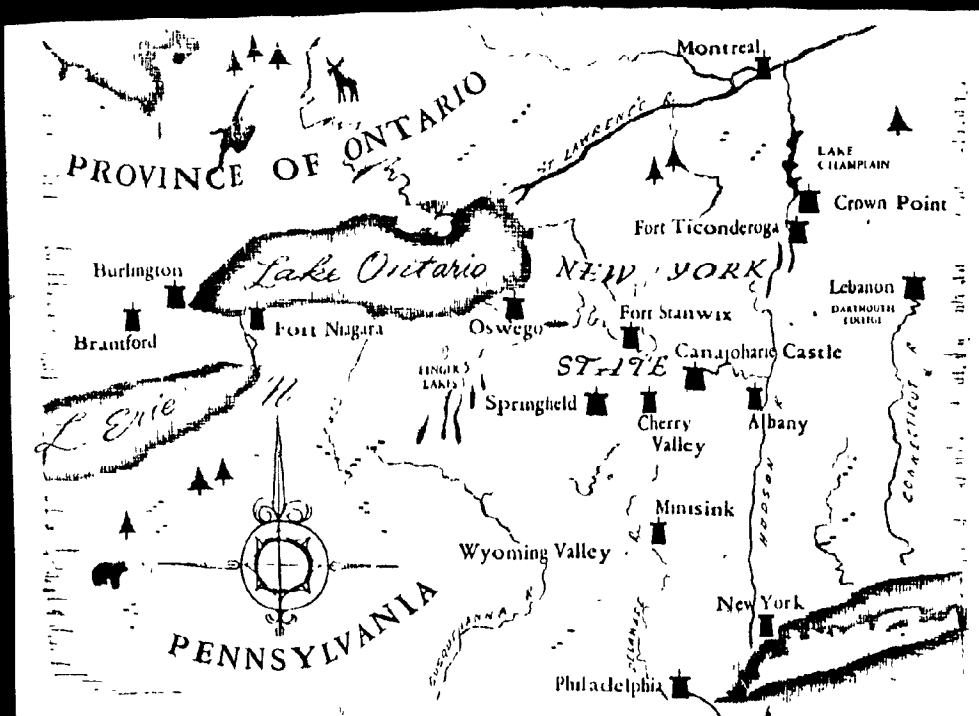


Fig. 2. Map Indicating Key
Points in Brant's
Career

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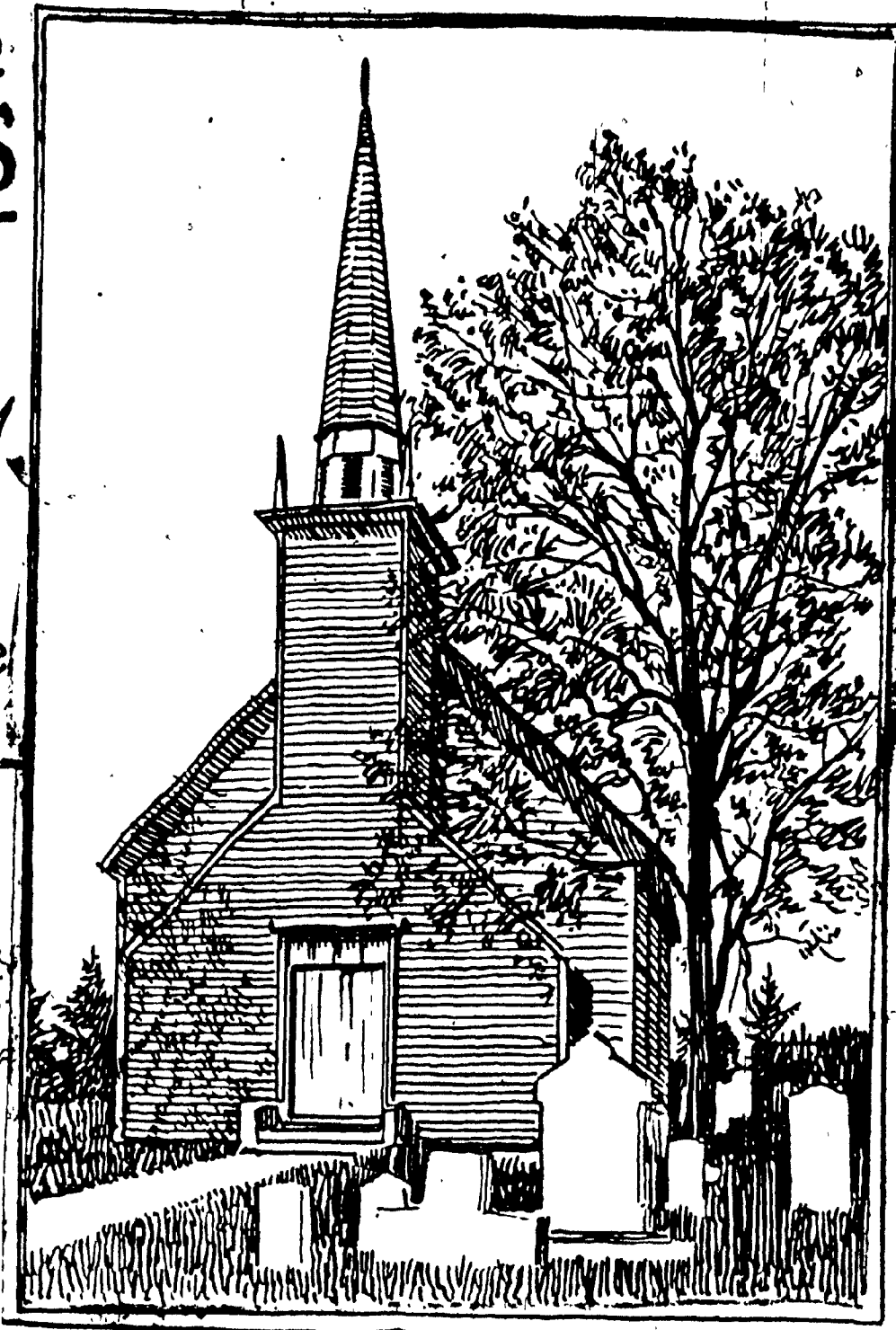
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← II

*His Majesty's
Chapel of the*

Fig. 3. Charles W. Jefferys
Chapel of the Mohawks
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 4. Charles W. Jefferys
Joseph Brant's House at
Burlington



Fig. 5. John Verelst (attr.)
Etow Oh Koam
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 6. John Verelst (attr.)
Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth
TOW
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 7. John Verelst (attr.)
Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 8. John Vereist (attr.)
Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 9. Anonymous
Engraving from an
Original Drawing in the
Possession of James
Boswell
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 10. Simon van de Passe
Pocahontas
British Museum,
London

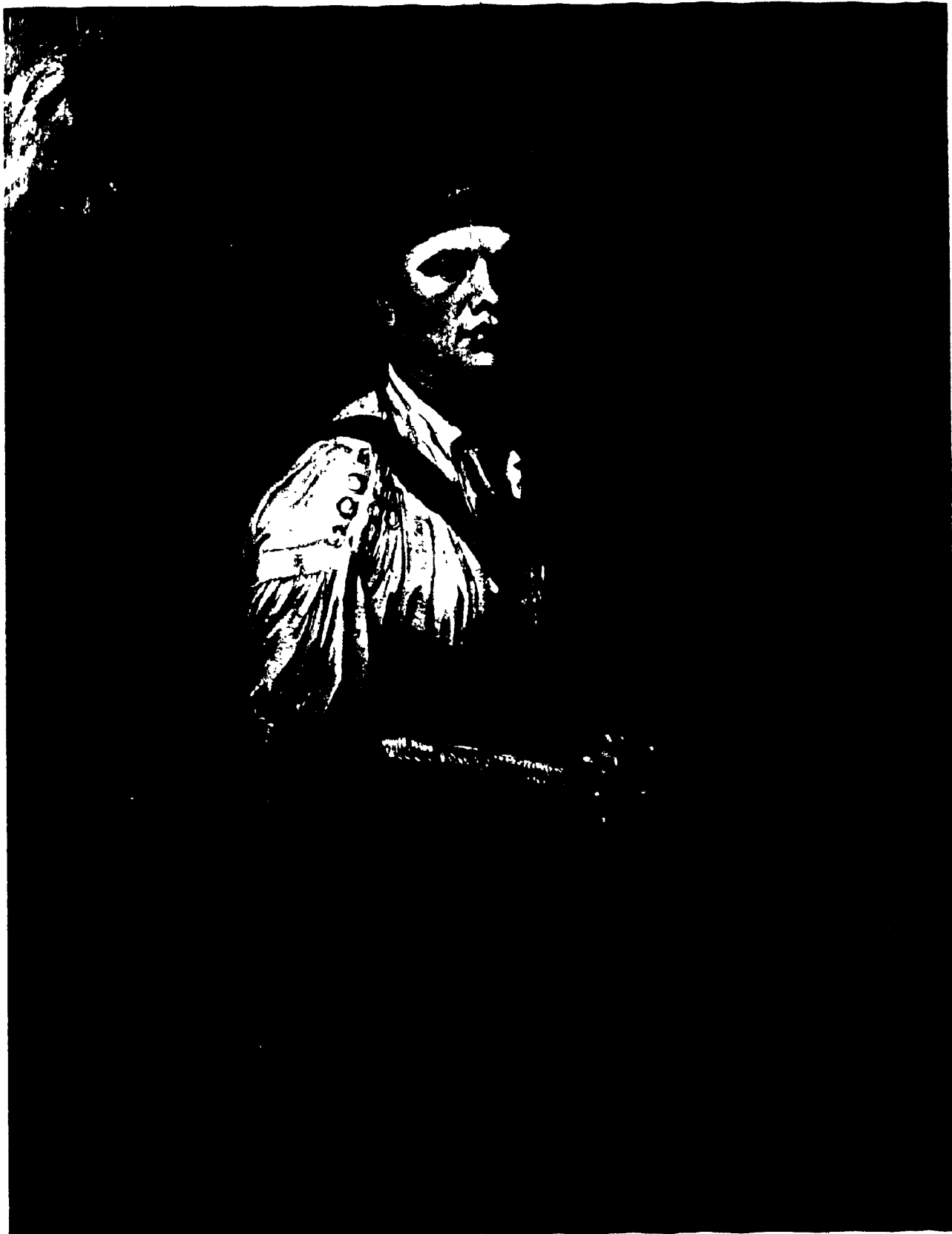


Fig. 11. George Romney
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
The National Gallery of
Canada



Fig. 12. Susanna Dalton
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
Brantford City Hall,
Brantford, Ontario



Thay Endaneega

Fig. 13. Anonymous. (after
George Romney)
Thay Endaneega
Public Archives of
Canada



Jos. Brant

571-4 12

Fig. 14. Anonymous (after
George Romney)
Jos. Brant
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 15. Archibald Dick (after
George Romney)
Joseph Brant -
Thayendanegea
Public Archives of
Canada

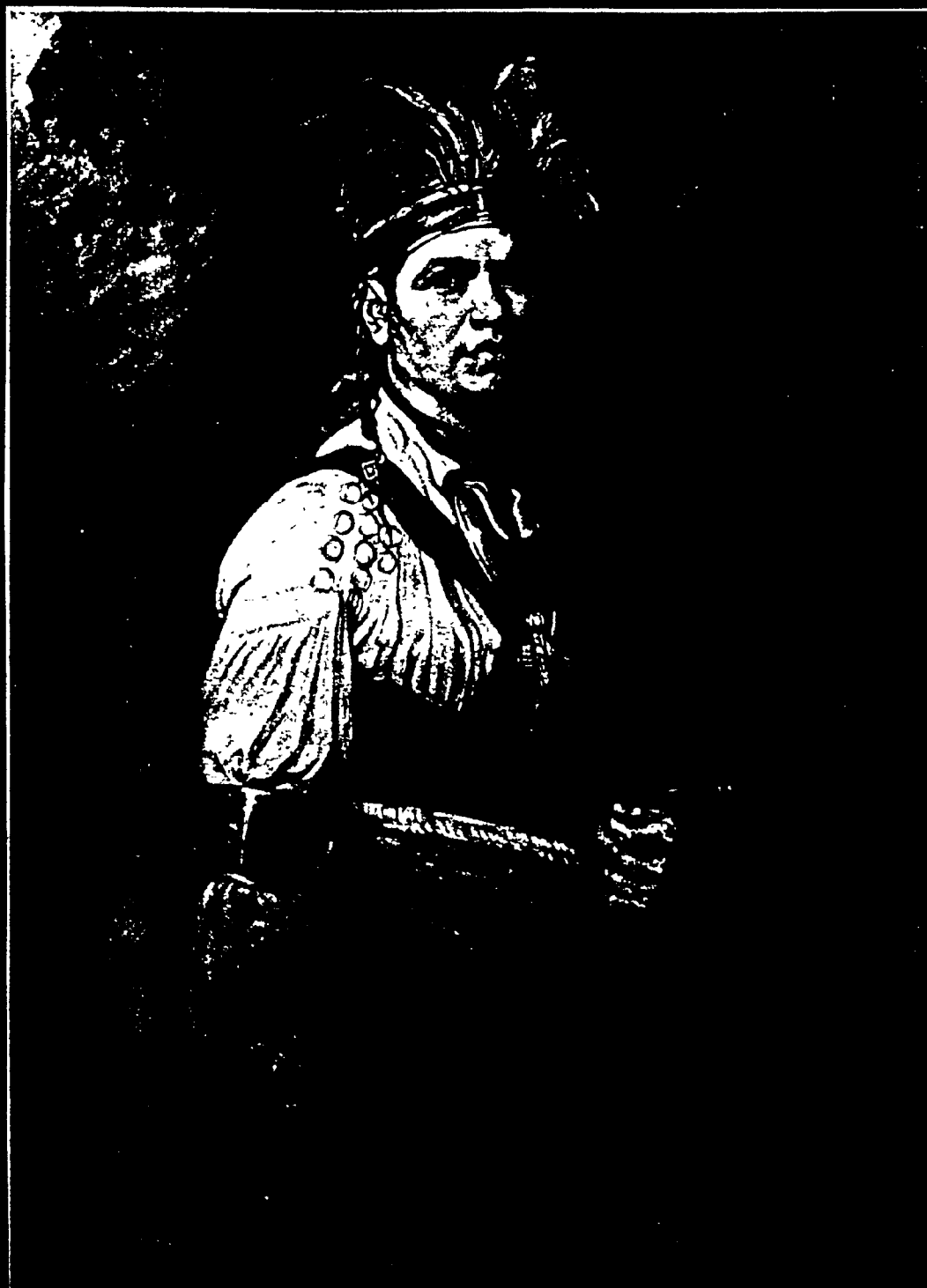


Fig. 16. J.R. Smith, Engraver
(after George Romney)
Joseph Tayandaneega,
Called the Brant
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 17. Anonymous (after
George Romney)
Joseph Brant,
Thayendanegea
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 18. Rolf Smith and Co., Toronto, Lithographer
(after George Romney)
Jos. Brant Thayendanege
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 19. William Kingsford (after
George Romney)
Joseph Brant -
Thayendanegea
Public Archives of
Canada



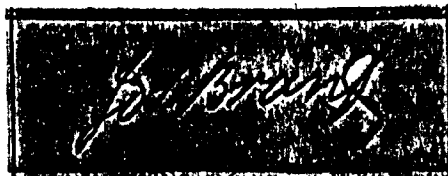
Fig. 20. Anonymous (after
George Romney)
Joseph Brant
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 21. The Fine Arts Publishing Co. Ltd. (after George Romney)
Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant, the Mohawk Chief
Public Archives of Canada



- Joseph Brant -



501-1-1a

Fig. 22. Anonymous (after
George Romney)
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 23. Anonymous (after George Romney)
Joseph Brant
Sir William Johnson
Papers
The University of the
State of New York, 1928.
Vol. 6, p. 311.

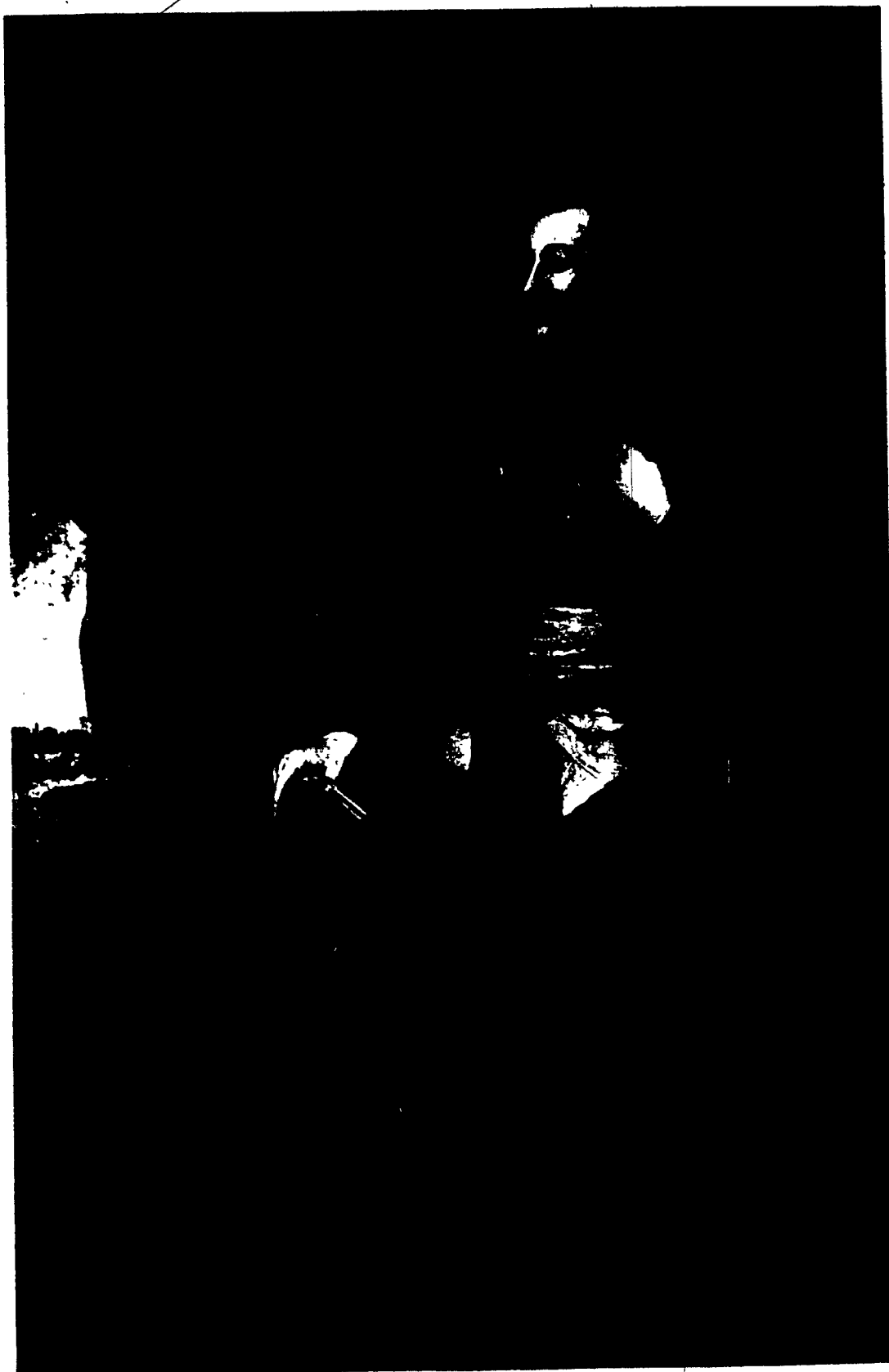


Fig. 24. Benjamin West
Colonel Guy Johnson
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C. Andrew
Mellon Collection

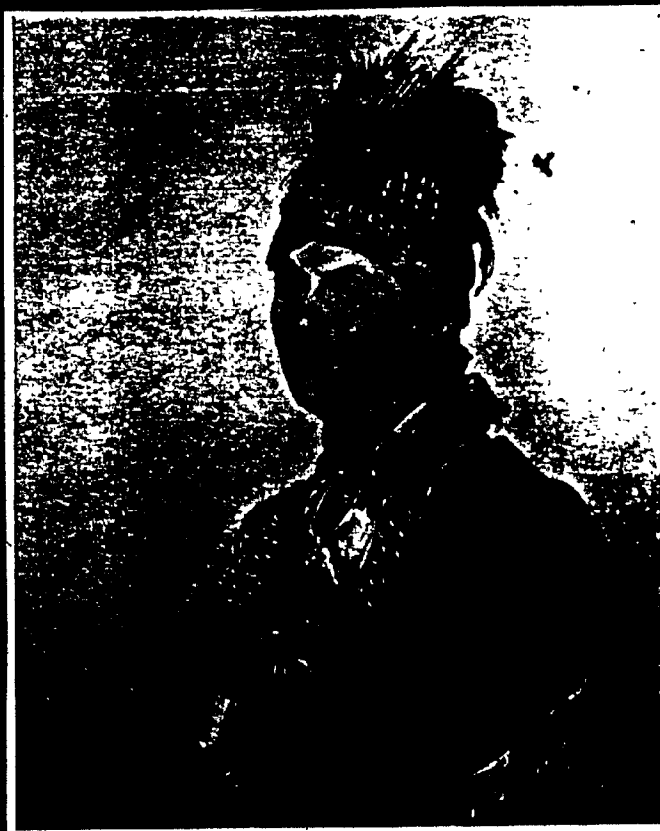


Fig. 25. Gilbert Stuart
Thayendanegea
His Grace the Duke of
Northumberland, Syon
House, Brentford,
Middlesex, England



Fig. 26. Gilbert Stuart
Joseph Brant
Thayendanegea
New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York



Fig. 27. Gilbert Stuart
Thayanegea: Mohawk
Chief, 1742-1807
The British Museum,
London



Fig. 28. Gilbert Stuart
Thayandenukaa, or
Joseph Brant
The Miss Lloyd-Baker
Collection, England



Fig. 29. After Gilbert Stuart
The Joseph Brant
Museum
Brantford, Ontario



Fig. 30. Benjamin West?
Portrait of Joseph
Brant in London, 1775-
1776
Peabody Museum of Arch-
aeology and Ethnology,
Harvard University, The
David I. Bushnell Jr.



Fig. 31. After Gilbert Stuart
A Portrait Evidently
of Joseph Brant, 1775-
1776
Peabody Museum of Arch-
aelogy and Ethnology,
David I. Bushnell Jr.

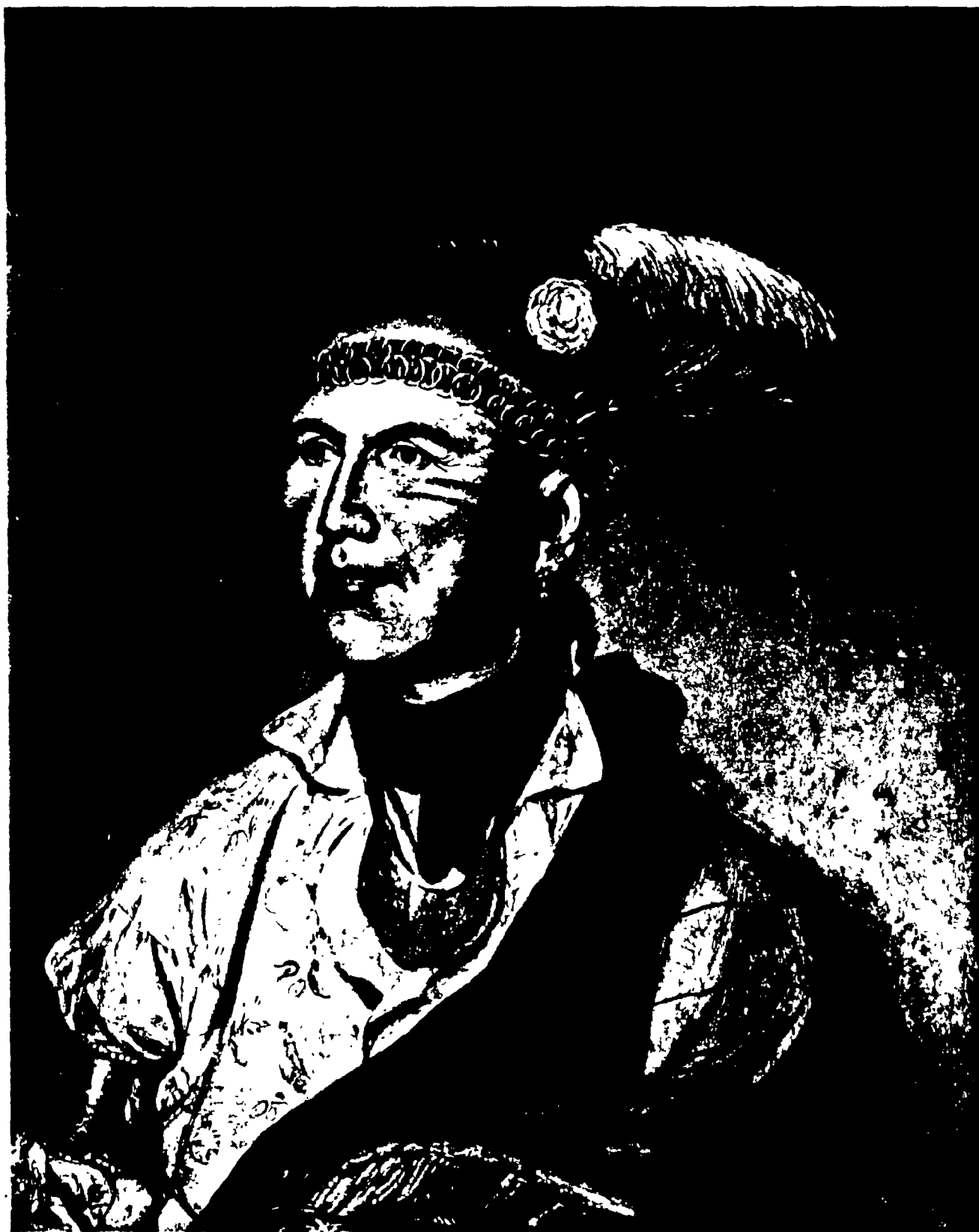


Fig. 32. Charles Willson Peale
Capt. Joseph Brant
Independence National
Historical Park,
Philadelphia



Fig. 33. Ezra Ames
Joseph Brant
New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York



*Jos. Brant
Havendanegea*

Fig. 34. Archibald Dick, Engraver
(after George Catlin,
after Ezra Ames)
Public Archives of
Canada

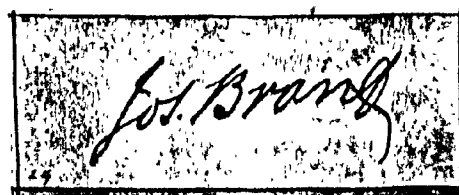


Joseph Brant.

Fig. 35. Charles W. Jefferys
(after George Catlin,
after Ezra Ames)
Public Archives of
Canada



THAYENDANEGEA (JOSEPH BRANT)
The Indian Loyalist of the Revolution



SP1-1-4 d (P.D.)

Fig. 36. George Catlin
Thayendanegea (Joseph
Brant)
Public Archives of
Canada

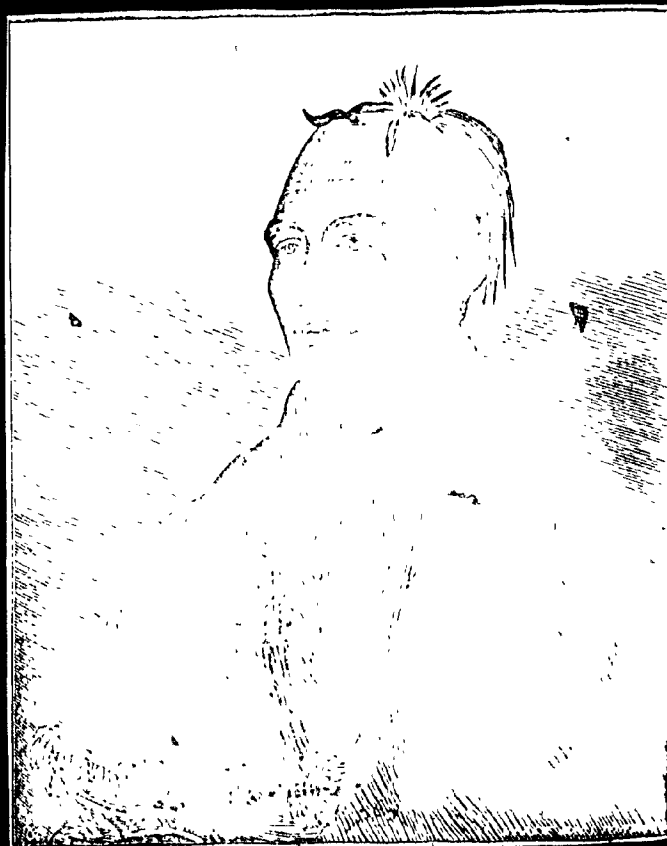


Fig. 37. Beale Bros., Toronto
Printer, (after Ezra
Ames)
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
Memoir of the Distin-
guished Mohawk Indian
Chief, Sachem and
Warrior, Capt. Joseph
Brant....Brantford,
Ontario: C.E. Steward
& Co., 1872, n.p.

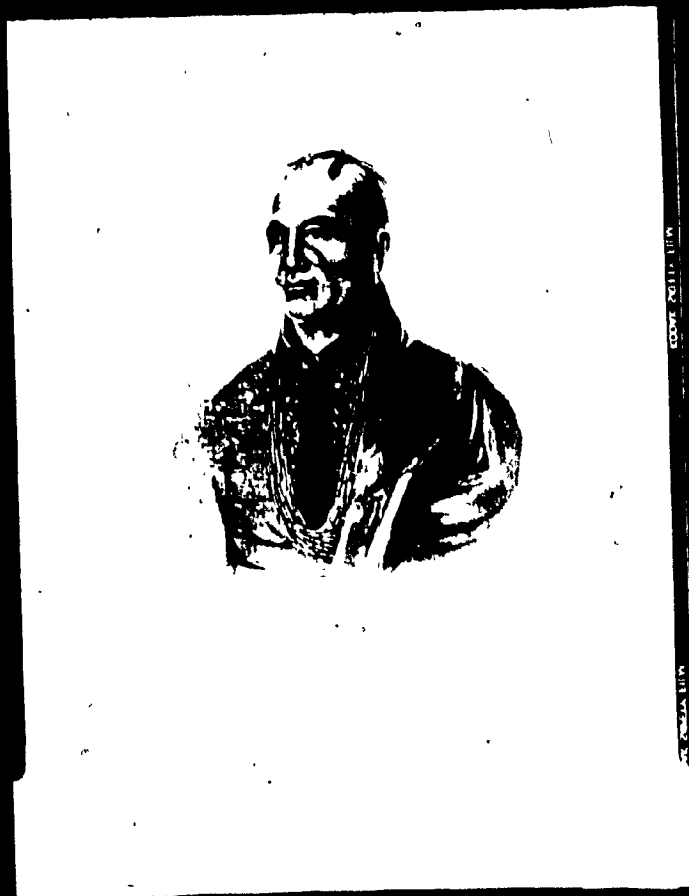


Fig. 88. F.W. Greenough, Litho-
grapher, J.T. Bowen's
Establishment, Phila-
delphia (after Ezra
Ames)
Thavendanegea, The
Great Captain of the
Six Nations
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 39. Anonymous (after Ezra Ames)
"Thayendanegea" (Cap-
tain Joseph Brant)
Public Archives of
Canada



JOSEPH BRANT

From a portrait in the Indian Department, Washington

Fig. 40. Anonymous (after
George Catlin, after
Ezra Ames)
Joseph Brant
Public Archives of
Canada



Fig. 41. Anonymous (after Ezra
Ames)
Joseph Brant
(Thayendanegea)
Public Archives of
Canada

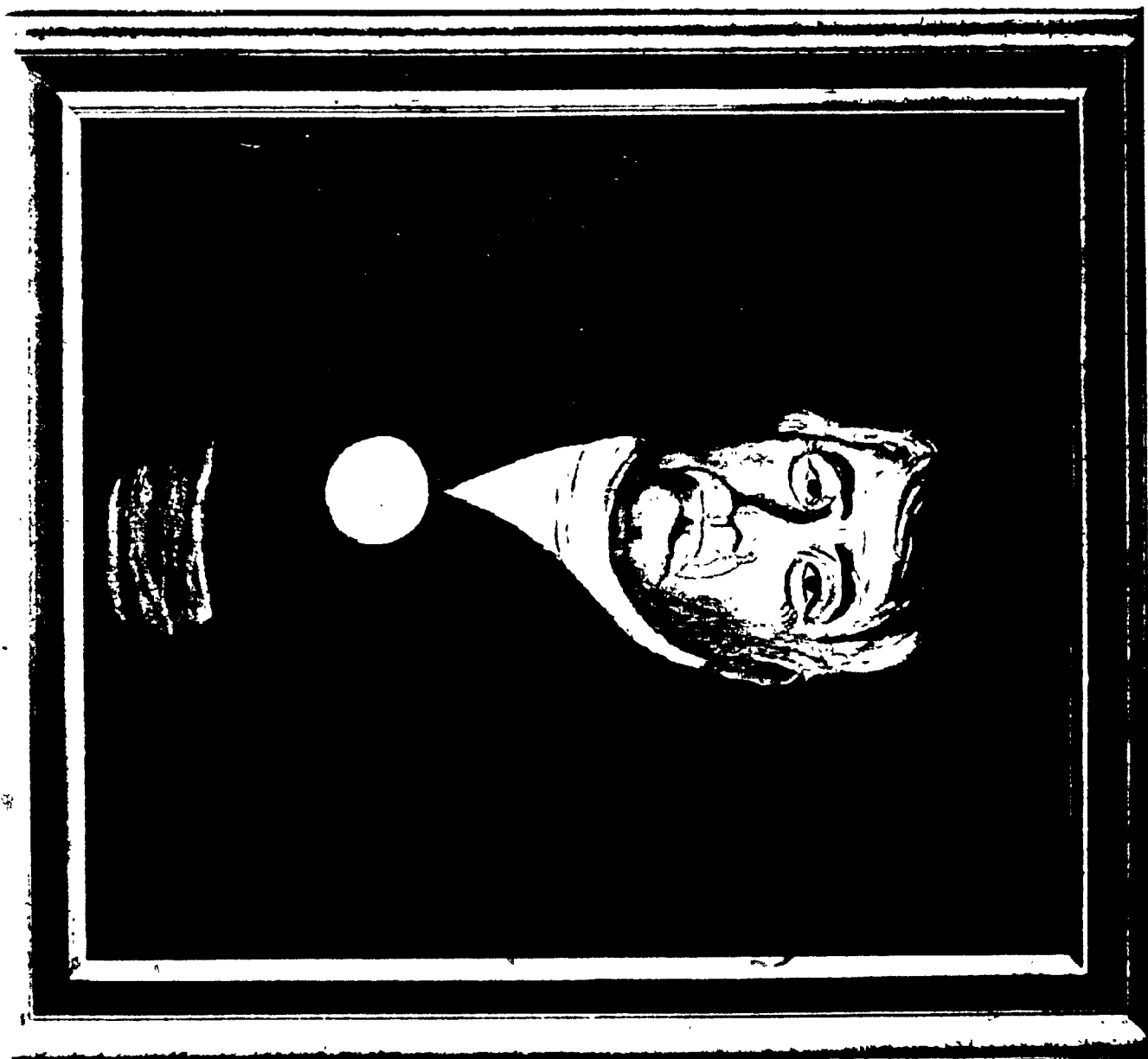


Fig. 42. Anonymous
untitled
Joseph Brant Museum
Burlington, Ontario

POOR COPY / /
COPIE DE QUALITEE INFERIEURE




Fig. 43. Anonymous
untitled
Walter Randel Gallery,
New York City, New York



Fig. 44. William Berczy
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
Musée du Séminaire de
Québec

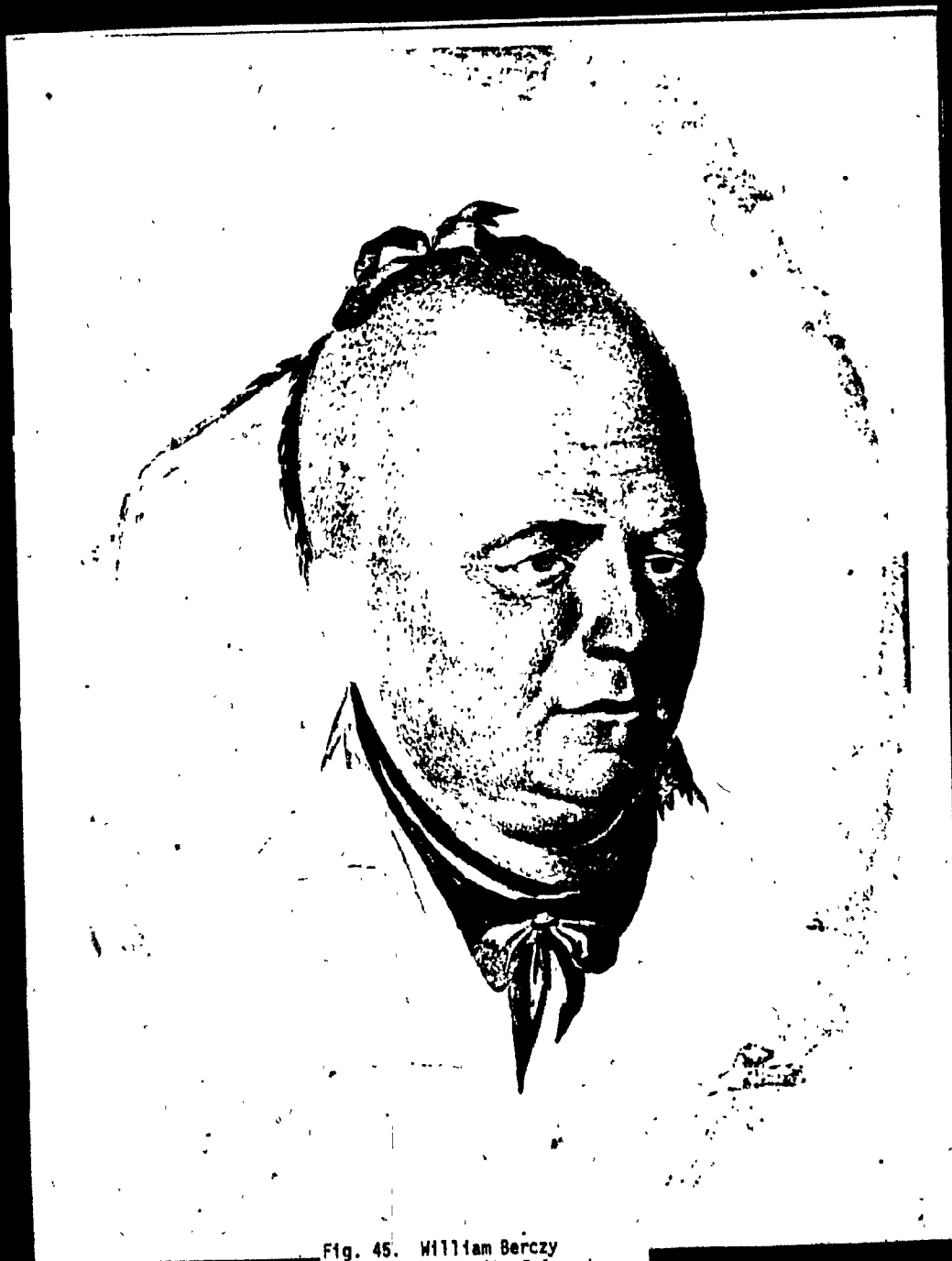


Fig. 45. William Berczy
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
Château du Ramezay



Fig. 46. William Berczy
Portrait of Joseph
Brant, Chief of the
Mohawks
Royal Ontario Museum,
Canadiana Department.
Collection



Fig. 47. William Berczy
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
Mrs. W.C. Pitfield,
Alexandria, Ontario



Fig. 48. William Berczy
Portrait of Joseph
Brant
The National Gallery
of Canada, Ottawa



Fig. 49. William Berczy
Admiral Horatio
Nelson
Hudson's Bay Co.,
Winnipeg



J. Winkworth Esq.

SA GA YEATH QUA PIETH TOW, King of the Maguans.
Portrait for the Hon. Mr. C. and the Hon. Mr. W. of the Hon. Mr. W.

J. Simon port.

Fig. 50. John Simon
Portrait of Sa Ga
Yeath Qua Pieth Tow
Peter Winkworth, Esq.