

Kevin C. Armitage, "Commercial Indians: authenticity, nature, and industrial capitalism in advertising at the turn of the twentieth century." *Michigan Historical Review* 29.2 (Fall 2003): 71(25)

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Imagine the sorrow: an American Indian is paddling his way down a quiet river when his harmony with this benevolent natural world is abruptly interrupted by factories spewing pollution and motorists tossing the leftovers of their fast-food lunches out of car windows. The Indian has no recourse other than to shed a single tear of sorrow. Few of the tens of millions of Americans who were exposed to this 1971 advertisement ever forgot the image of Cherokee actor Iron Eyes Cody: the stoic yet mournful face, the famous tear, and the canoe, clothing, and braided black hair that dearly marked him as an Indian. (1) The Crying Indian, which the advertisement was commonly called, traded on the power of the stereotypical noble savage, displaced from an idealized past, paddling his way through a modern industrialized landscape. It was not industrial might that gave this advertisement its considerable passion, however; the emotional potency of the Crying Indian depended on viewers accepting that purity, grace, and simplicity are associated with both Indian people and unspoiled nature. The shock the advertisement created came from seeing nature's innocence defiled by industrial culture. Yet the Crying Indian was no back-to-the-land ecological revolutionary. The degradation of nature presented in the advertisement did not arise from an untenable relationship between industrial society and wild nature, but only from the irresponsible disposal of industrialism's bounty. Despite the ugly realities of pollution, the advertisement aimed to reassure the viewer that nature and industry could coexist.

The ideology underlying the Crying Indian commercials assigned contradictory meanings to different aspects of the material world. The Crying Indian exemplified a harmonious relationship between humans and natural landscapes, all the while justifying industrial society by carefully placing the blame for pollution not on the massive transformations effected by commercial manufacturing but on the irresponsible disposal of industrial wastes and trash. The conflicting ideologies embedded in this advertisement are further illuminated when one recalls that this advertising campaign was created by a trade association of manufacturers calling itself Keep America Beautiful, to help assuage the profound ecological concern that arose in many Americans during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This trade group's propaganda clearly sought to place responsibility for litter on individual actions by the consuming public, but not on the corporate manufacturers of disposable products, or, more fundamentally, on industrial capitalism itself. The advertisement admonished its viewers that people, not economic or social systems, start pollution, and only people (read: individuals) can stop it. Indeed, Keep America Beautiful vigorously fought attempts by environmentalists to enact legislation that would have reduced wasteful packaging and promoted reusable containers. (2)

Though the Crying Indian was created to respond to the specific circumstances of the 1960s environmental awakening, American culture had long associated Indian people with wild nature and had long translated that association into ideologies that simultaneously criticized and supported industrial society. The tensions between the wilderness and industrial modernity expressed by the Crying Indian were especially

potent during the rapid industrialization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Americans began to suspect that civilization could be not only a blessing but also a curse. For these Americans nature became a valued spiritual resource. For example, in 1904 a California lawyer named George Evans prescribed a cure adopted by many of his countrymen: "Whenever the light of civilization falls upon you with a blighting power ... go to the wilderness.... Dull business routine, the fierce passions of the market place ... become but a memory.... The wilderness will take hold of you. It will give you good red blood." (3) Poet and essayist Bliss Carman envisioned a simpler process: "We go back to nature," he wrote, "every time we take a deep breath and stop worrying." (4)

The use of nature to highlight the deficiencies of industrial civilization often included a vision of the people commonly thought of as the "children of nature," American Indians. The stereotype of the stoic and self-reliant Indian, with its overriding theme of alienation from industrial society, complemented and reinforced the antimodern attitudes prevalent among those turn-of-the-twentieth-century Americans who longed for physical vitality and spiritual insight. As Robert Berkhofer illustrates in his valuable study, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, the century after 1860 witnessed the rise of "realistic" portrayals of Indian peoples in a variety of media that often included variations on the old theme of the noble savage. (5) These new depictions of the Indian as noble savage served as pointed reminders of the deficiencies of industrial civilization. The image of the Indian as counterpoint to the faults of society appeared in a number of venues. The popular children's author James Willard Schultz, for example, instructed his readers, "The Indians of the plains ... alone knew what was perfect content[ment] and happiness, and that, we are told, is the chief end and aim of man.... Civilization will never furnish it, except to the very, very few." (6)

The fascination with nature and the primitive that marked turn-of-the-twentieth-century American culture was rooted in a larger ambivalence about modern life. Even such highly successful men as Theodore Roosevelt complained of "overcivilization" and advocated "The Strenuous Life" to help overcome the ostensible physical inertia and lack of authenticity of modern existence. Roosevelt was not alone in these sentiments; the enchantment with nature and outdoor vitality was so widespread and so powerful that one historian dubbed it an "American cult of the primitive." (7) Crucially, this dissonant attitude, which historian T. J. Jackson Lears labeled "antimodernism," did not involve a rejection of civilization, but rather an accommodation to modern life that was simultaneously nostalgic and progressive, secular yet spiritually vital. (8) For those Americans imbued with an antimodern malaise, contact with nature could repair the sense of loss they associated with urban, industrial life, thus easing their transition to modernity. Even devotees of rugged nature such as Theodore Roosevelt advised the wilderness traveler not to abandon civilization totally, but rather to "take books with him as he journeys; for the keenest enjoyment of the Wilderness is reserved for him who enjoys also the garnered wisdom of the present and the past." (9)

Images of Indians reveal much about the antimodern attitudes that accompanied the modernization of America. The power of these images is demonstrated when one considers that white Americans not only encountered and enjoyed them in large

quantities but even occasionally adopted Indian identities. For example, consider the turn-of-the-century antimodernist Ernest Thompson Seton. Plagued by doubts arising from the decline of agrarian life, Seton lamented the exchange of physical and emotional health derived from close contact with the "real world" of nature for the impersonal bureaucracy and standardization of industrial, urban capitalism. "The Civilization of the Whiteman is a failure," charged Seton, "It is visibly crumbling around us. It has failed at every crucial test." (10) Seton bewailed the subjection of individual autonomy to decisions made in distant cities and the insulation of people from the primary, natural forces of existence. He sensed that the industrial domination of the green world reduced both nature and the self to disenchanting objects subject to manipulation by rational technique. Seton criticized industrial capitalism not only for its class conflict, but also for engendering spiritual malaise. Tellingly, Seton turned to an ideology involving American Indians to relieve his antimodern longings. He founded an organization called the "Woodcraft Indians" to immerse urban youth in nature study and Indian lore. "Indian teachings," Seton wrote, "need no argument beyond presentation; they speak for themselves. The Redman is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precepts are what young America needs today above any other ethical teaching of which I have knowledge." (11) The antimodern white man's image of the American Indian, then, assuaged the cultural longings of educated and affluent members of society such as Seton who so decried the physically and spiritually enervating effects of industrial capitalism. Rationalized production might have created an atomized society and a desanctified nature, but antimodernists such as Seton proffered a remedy in the "Message of the Redman.... We advocate his culture as an improvement on our own." (12)

Other critics simply worried that civilization depleted resources essential for the full realization of human potential. Dr. Woods Hutchinson, for example, warned in the May 1888 issue of the *North American Review* of the debilitating effects of a civilization severed from contact with the green world: "Once let the human race be cut off from personal contact with the soil, ... once let the conventionalities and artificial restrictions of so-called civilization interfere with the healthful simplicity of nature, ... [and] decay is certain." (13) For Seton and Hutchinson, modern life had engendered a society that produced the empty, haunted people described by Max Weber (borrowing from Romantic critics) as "specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart." (14)

This antimodern background of industrially induced malaise best explains advertisers' use of images of Indians during the 1880s and 1890s. Most often these were found in advertisements for patent medicines and farm implements, two products simultaneously associated with the magic of wild nature and the efficiency of industrial science. Advertisers sensed that images of American Indians could help bridge the ostensibly irreconcilable worlds of industrial science and nature, and they quickly adopted images of Indian people for commercial purposes during the birth of national advertising in the late patent-medicine era. During the same period that Frederick Jackson Turner announced the end of the frontier and federal policy, as represented by the Dawes Act, ostensibly sought to remake Native-American peoples into agrarian capitalists, advertisements emphasized the American Indian's supposed closeness to nature and her medicinal secrets.

Despite the strong association of American Indians with nature, recent scholarship on the marketing of images of Indians pays relatively little attention to this fundamental connection. For example, two excellent collections of essays on the commercialization of Indian peoples, *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, edited by S. Elizabeth Bird, and *Selling the Indian: Commercializing & Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, edited by Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, contain no article solely devoted to the oldest and most persistent stereotype of Indian people: their intrinsic connection with nature. (15) Yet it was the ostensible harmony between Indians and nature that accounted for much of the ongoing popularity and cultural potency associated with images of Indian people. Using images of Indians to sell commodities tied realization of humanity's need to live in harmony with nature to the industrial economy. These images simultaneously normalized industrial capitalism and promoted a view of Indian culture as antithetical to the modern world.

By the late nineteenth century, a remarkable number of patent-medicine advertisements featured images of animals and Indians as their visual and ideological center. Both Indians and animals offered the advertised product an aura of natural vigor, the loss of which so worried antimodernists. Patent-medicine advertisements, in particular, drew upon the long tradition of American writers and artists celebrating the ostensible nobility of man in a state of nature, i.e., the "wild Indian." George Catlin, for example, not only displayed the nobility of the American Indian in his paintings that toured the United States and Europe during the 1830s and 1840s; in his book, *North American Indians*, he also effused that "nature has nowhere presented more beautiful and lovely scenes, than those of the vast prairies of the West, and of man and beast no nobler specimens than those who inhabit them--the Indian and buffalo--joint and original tenants of the soil." (16)

Advertisements for patent medicines promised the consumer the same virility displayed by the "joint and original tenants of the soil." One prominent example of the use of Indians in advertising derives from the Kickapoo Medicine Company, which built a complex commercial ideology based on the cultural significance that late-nineteenth-century Americans placed on images of Indians. (17) The company hawked its wares--Indian Sagwa, Kickapoo Indian Oil, Indian Worm Killer, and Genuine Kickapoo Cough Syrup--at elaborate medicine shows that featured singing, dancing, acrobatics, carnival skits, and "professors" who diagnosed ailments that, fortunately, were curable with Kickapoo products. The show included among its performers a number of real Indians, whose tribal identities were all subsumed under the "Kickapoo" banner. (18)

During the 1880s, as many as seventy-five Kickapoo shows might be touring the country at the same time; the company sold as much as \$4,000 worth of its most prominent product, Kickapoo Indian Sagwa, each week. The Indian-sounding name of its popular cure-all, "Sagwa," was the company's invention. Sagwa's ingredients were shrouded in mystery; supposedly, only Kickapoo medicine men knew the formula. The combination of "professors" and Indians lent Kickapoo products the ostensibly scientific expertise of the accredited expert as well as the blessing of the primitive man who could divine nature's secrets. As the 1896 *Kickapoo Almanac* argued, the Indian was "a better curative agent than the youth who, after a dozen medical lectures or so is given authority to try his

hand on anybody that comes along." (19) Such advertising appeared not only on labels but also in booklets published by the company, including the Indian Illustrated Magazine, Life and Scenes among the Kickapoo Indians, and the Kickapoo Indian Dream Book.

The advertisements of the Kickapoo Medicine Company proudly blended the authenticity of the primitive with the authority of progress and industry. "The remedies now presented are simply the appliances and compounds taken from nature's own drug store by these wonderful people, and adapted to the needs and most frequent diseases of the present day," asserted one pamphlet. "They yet remain the treasured possessions of the surviving Kickapoo Indians, for whom [proprietors] Healy and Bigelow are the sole agents. Members of the tribe even now find occupation in the compounding and preparation of these valuable medicines." (20) Many Kickapoo labels featured an endorsement from Colonel William F. Cody: "Kickapoo Indian Sagwa ... is the only remedy the Indians ever use, and has been known to them for ages. An Indian would as soon be without his horse, gun or blanket as without Sagwa." (21)

Advertisements from the Kickapoo Medicine Company championed the supposed natural healthfulness of Indian people, yet they were done in a way that endorsed widely held values such as sobriety and moderation. One verse printed in Kickapoo magazines went as follows:

I am Chief of the Kickapoo Indian Tribe
And I am strong as a brave can be,
Not brandy, nor whiskey do I imbibe
Nor the Chinaman's poisonous tea.

But Indian Sagwa do I take,
For it's good for man and beast.
It cures the body of many an ache,
And stomach for many a feast. (22)

The Kickapoo Indians' naturalness offered both physical and psychological benefits. In an 1893 pamphlet advertising its wares the company promised its customers "a stomach like an Indian--he never worried about dieting. Why can't we live like the Indian, in a healthy, hearty, natural way?" (23) The company often repeated these claims; one promotional letter plugging its Indian "Sagwa" pronounced that "the Indian lives a century, sound of wind, sound of stomach, sound of digestion, sound of heart and enjoying life to the last." (24) The advertisements of the Kickapoo Medicine Company thus exploited the anxiety that civilization had sacrificed both physical vitality and emotional ease to industrial progress. Indians, after all, "never worried about dieting." The commercial ideology bound up in images of Indians, then, depended on the notion that Indians, like nature itself, were outside the commercial spheres of American life and thus not susceptible to the detrimental effects of a culture wedded to personal efficiency and material progress. Along the same lines, one 1893 trade card for Arbuckle Brothers coffee presented a brief explication of the noble savage, but one firmly rooted, as critic Jeffrey Steele points out, in the past tense: "No hardier or more rugged race than the Indians of North America ever existed. Their endurance and tenacity were more than

human, their stoicism was remarkable, their courage shrank from nothing, and their skill and agility were the development of generations of outdoor life." (25)

The emotional power of nature images works particularly well in advertisements. Nature has an especially prominent place in advertising, because, as Judith Williamson demonstrates in her now-classic text, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, "Nature is the primary referent of culture. It is the 'raw material' of our environment." (26) What is "natural" has a dual, even contradictory, role in advertising. Nature is given meaning through culture, but its significance lies in the fact that nature is understood to be outside or even the very opposite of culture. The cultural messages attached to nature thereby appear to have an authority independent of and superior to any particular culture. In advertising, nature images become particularly powerful when the culture of the day comes to seem divorced from organic life and increasingly artificial. The power of such images expands when contemporary culture appears to grow distant from nature.

The power of nature as an ideal can be seen in fears that unnatural elements of modern life cause disease. Upper-middle-class Americans of the late nineteenth century worried deeply about the health effects of industrialized life. Many feared that in an age of neurasthenia members of the professional classes, and especially women, were susceptible to a troublesome variety of physical and psychic woes associated with civilized leisure. Neurasthenia seemed a particularly powerful indicator of the maladies of overcivilization because of its protean nature; indeed, Americans used neurasthenia to explain a wide variety of phenomena, from the despair of social reformers to writer's block. Some welcomed the diagnosis because it recognized symptoms such as an inability to work, phobic behavior, and bizarre thoughts as physical maladies rather than willfully irresponsible behavior. Others retained the essential ambivalence toward modernity associated with the disease, for just as civilization apparently created the disease, so might medical science cure it. (27)

In one advertisement, the Kickapoo Medicine Company addressed such concerns by linking "Female Complaints" to the "refined mind" characteristic of overly civilized women. The assumption that women, civilization, and nature were inexorably linked was a prevalent theme of late-nineteenth-century thought. Nineteenth-century advertising is rife with images of feminine abundance that assume an essentially female relationship with the fecund earth. (28) Yet like the vanishing Indian, the feminine connection with nature's bounty was weakened by succumbing to the masculine imperative and greater productive power of the industrial factory. Neither Indians nor a feminized nature fit into the demands of an industrial social order.

This particular advertisement's appeal to authenticity, both in its assumption that Indians represent an "authentic" attachment to the healing powers of nature and its insistence that the buyer "beware of imitations!" is especially interesting given Anglo-Saxon suspicions about the duplicity of racial others, in this case the infamous "Indian giver." The stereotype of "Injun giving," where gift givers demanded the return of their presents, was both widespread and uniquely American, as noted by H. Carrington Bolton in 1892 in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. (29) One might suspect that the stereotype of the Indian

giver stemmed from fears about the chicanery of late-nineteenth-century pecuniary culture ascribed to a racial other. This advertisement, however, avoids such worries by inviting the viewer to focus instead upon the potential duplicity of the smooth-talking huckster whose product turns out to be nothing more than a spurious imitation of authentic medicine. Indeed, the claims to healthfulness made by patent medicines were often false and deservedly ridiculed. To forestall such suspicions, the advertisement's copy relies on the association between Indians and nature, which, by definition, is not corrupt. Thus, Indians in these turn-of-the-century advertisements no longer represent the deceitful racial other but instead personify an escape from the duplicity of business civilization. The claim of authenticity expressed in this advertisement, then, depends upon a largely unspoken yet widely shared late-nineteenth-century critique of business culture.

However, the natural goodness connoted by images of Indians also fit the racist ideologies of the time. Advertisements that portrayed Indians as corn not only alluded to the healthful contributions of Indian foods to the American diet but also presented Indians as less than human, still clearly natural yet far below Anglo-Saxons on any great chain of being. The ideology of the Indian as natural man thus promoted healthful characteristics associated with the green world while also assuming the inferior status of nature compared to civilization.

The complexities inherent in using images of Indians to sell commodities extended well beyond the racist mythologies of Anglo-Saxon culture. The connection between Indians and commodity culture remained fraught with incongruous ideologies. The "Corned Indian" of the Yellow Front Seed Store, for example, relied on more than simple associations between Indians and natural abundance to sell its wares. (30) By connecting images of natural, if "Corned," Indians to the world of capitalist commodity exchange, advertisers employed a visual and rhetorical strategy that linked "natural" Indians to their ostensible opposite: the artificial world of capitalist commodity exchange. Such links, however, could have confused and troubled their Euro-American audience. Why, for example, did these advertisements not simply heighten tensions in a culture at once dedicated to industrialization and Jeffersonian agrarian idealism?

The answer, I believe, is that as representatives of man in his "natural" state, Indians endowed advertisements, and hence the marketplace, with many of the mythic qualities often attributed to nature, including magical powers and the sense of being superior to and outside of human agency. Images of Indians thus naturalized the alienation and rationalization inherent in the new capitalist economy. In a market culture that severed production from consumption, images of nature and the natural man imbued commodities with the same magic and wholeness found in cultures with an intimate sense of connection to the natural world.

Images of Indians, then, connected a commodity culture to a magical and animistic worldview. Representations of Indians endowed commercial products with the magical possibilities of nature itself. The zealous drive to industrialize and rationalize production, however, checked the premodern, animistic habits of mind addressed in advertising's images of Indians. The tension between an animistic worldview and industrial capitalism

emerges in a long-running advertising campaign by the Bradley Fertilizer Company. (31) In an advertisement on a trade card, Bradley explicitly combined animistic and modern worldviews when it claimed that it "believes in theories when supported by practical proofs." The back side of this card completes the dualistic message of the advertisement with its depiction of "The Largest Fertilizer Works in the World."

The unmistakable meaning, one appropriate to a progressive worldview that valued development above nature, was that science and industry were the new and appropriate way to comprehend and control the green world. Frederick A. Bushee, writing in *Popular Science Monthly*, summarized this confidence: "Science is the basis of art, and the progress of knowledge has stimulated and perfected the useful arts. Science has enabled us to make great strides in the conquest of nature, and has made possible to some extent the control of different forms of life. (32) Science and industry exemplified cultural modernism. In American thinking, nature, like the Indian, needed redemption from its primitive state. Yet the very popularity of Arcadian myths suggests the nervousness just beneath these pronouncements. Science might define the future, but the idea of nature as the emotional touchstone of human life retained substantial power.

Such contradictions between animistic and rational thought likely persisted in the worldview of farmers in the late nineteenth century. As a group, they proved skeptical of agricultural science even as they warily embraced mechanization. Agricultural historian David Danbom writes that animistic worldviews and practices such as "moon farming," in which farmers planted, harvested, slaughtered animals, and even cut timber according to phases of the moon, continued into the early twentieth century. Danbom argues that "isolation strengthened the ancient traditions and superstitions which marked rural people as intellectually and economically preindustrial." (33) Farmers interpreted the natural environment through tradition rather than science and resisted the intrusion of contemporary industrial values into their lives.

The need to address the contradictions between premodern and rational values animates the Bradley campaign. The central image of the Indian encapsulates the advertisement's underlying ideology. The stereotypical stoic and noble Indian on the front cover of the almanac is paired with the depiction of a modern factory on the back cover.

Moreover, the Indian's back is turned to both the factory and the healthiest rows of corn. Industrial production, the advertisement implies, improves upon the work of nature, outdoing "natural" magic once known only to American Indians. Images of Indians served not only as a reminder of outmoded ways of life succumbing to mechanized efficiency, but also endowed industrial products with the magic potentialities of the natural world. Indeed, the notion that Indians were a vanishing race, which was widespread among Euro-Americans by the late 1800s, helped resolve tensions between nature and industry. The foreordained disappearance of "primitive" cultures before the onslaught of modernity paralleled the transformation of the source of wealth from nature to industrial production. At times companies explicitly marketed the connection between the status of Indian people as a "vanishing" race and the magic of their beneficent medicines. An 1882 advertising booklet accompanying Austen's Oswego Bitters, for example, portrayed the product as a "health giving" and "life giving" remedy once known

only to Indian people. "Gradually its benefits were extended to whites," the booklet proclaimed, "and as the Indians faded away before the onward march of civilization the secret passed from their hands into those of the conquering race." (34)

The opposing cultural values represented within the pictures used in the Bradley fertilizer advertisements recognized premodern assumptions even while marrying them to an ideal of industrial efficiency. Such tensions are common in American advertising. In his history of advertising, *Fables of Abundance*, Jackson Lears argues that the symbolism of American advertising derives from two largely antithetical cultural poles: the riotous, irrational carnivalesque and the managerial values of personal efficiency. Advertised goods must promise the consumer the potential magic of personal transformation or pleasure even as the advertisement valorizes the rationalized system of industrial capital that produces goods and trains people. (35) The contradictory elements of the Bradley campaign, then, exemplify the central ideological tropes of American advertising.

Never did the tenuous coexistence of so many contradictory values face such systematic and widespread challenges as during the rapid industrialization of the late nineteenth century. Thus it is not surprising to find images of Indians easing the tensions inherent in industrialization during the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The rhetoric of progress associated with the fair championed the faith in industrial modernity that spurred the deep antimodern angst of people such as Seton. The cult of progress justified its followers' faith in industrialism through a strong emphasis on cultural development. Thus, the World's Columbian Exposition placed much emphasis on anthropology. The fair contained an "ethnology" exhibit developed by Frederick Ward Putnam, curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, with the assistance of Franz Boas. A guidebook for the fair proclaimed that visitors could gaze upon the "facial characteristics of Indian races, and also their dress and occupations; whole [families] are represented in cases, or singly, both men and women engaged in some useful art." (36) The grounds also featured many exhibits that focused on the primitive "other," such as a replication of a cliff-dwellers' village, an Eskimo settlement, and a Viking ship. (37) Moreover, the fair displayed living Indians as objects of public curiosity and anthropological inquiry. (38)

Efforts to use "primitive" cultures to naturalize the new industrial order are easily seen in this advertisement displayed at the exposition by New Empire Mowers, Reapers and Binders. (39) Columbus discovers the land of plenty only to find that its fertility derives from mechanized harvesting! The carnivalesque atmosphere represented by Columbus discovering a landscape already subject to mechanized efficiency only makes sense in the context of the need to naturalize industrial production. The joke and fun of the advertisement work against the tensions created by industrial rationalization. Contradictions between nature and industry simply did not exist in New Empire's promised land; abundance was as natural as industrial progress. Like the Crying Indian, these Indians supported industrial efficiency. In the anxious cultural climate of the late nineteenth century in which an antimodernist such as Seton could advocate Indians as exemplars of the most vital ethical teachings, it was indeed funny and comforting to be told that Indians had supported industrialization all along. Indeed, the advertisement's comic history portrays a world at once rationalized and fruitful. Economic development

was not only inevitable, but also natural; industrialization not only produced plenty, but also released the utopian potential inherent in a land blessed with natural bounty. Nature, as exemplified by "natural man," was the embodiment of carnivalesque fleshy excess as well as the producer of the industrial order.

Yet the industrial order, as Americans in the 1890s were well aware, produced the social order--and that did not include Native Americans. Thus the joke and the absurdity of Indians as mechanized producers reinforced the idea that Indians as people were permanently outside American life. Like *Keep America Beautiful's* Crying Indian, Native Americans were forever relegated to an imaginary past, even as the advertisement's effectiveness depended on the ongoing cultural power associated with Indian people. The tension is resolved through the idea that the social order derived from the same natural forces that ensured that Indians would vanish from the mechanized world. This advertisement's images of "natural" Indians lent industry the force of inevitability that guaranteed the disappearance of indigenous ways of life and the people who lived such lives. Yet the advertisement promised that the magic of the natural world and its inhabitants still existed in myth and could be conjured up by the awesome power of the industrial economy.

The tensions that defined the use of Indians in advertising and the quest for magical transformation wedded to an ideal of industrial efficiency created the antimodern impulses that made images of Indians a potent commercial force. Seton's antimodern lament points toward the complexities of the self in a world defined by industrial capitalism, and the need for ideologies at once magic and coherent, antimodern and progressive. To affirm modern identity, then, advertisers presented to Americans images of Indians that celebrated modern economic productivity and yet were not themselves modern. In this way, advertisers used images of Indians to help sell Americans the idea that a world centered on the circulation of manufactured commodities was an entirely natural and authentic expression of social destiny.

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(1) For more on Iron Eyes Cody as an exemplar of stereotypes about Indians and nature, see Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

(2) Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 8-81,322-23.

(3) George S. Evans, "The Wilderness," *Overland* 43 (January 1904): 31-33.

(4) Bliss Carman, *The Making of Personality* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1908), 315.

(5) Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

- (6) James Willard Schultz, *Friends of My Life as an Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 7, quoted in Brenda Berkman, "The Vanishing Race: Conflicting Images of the American Indian in Children's Literature, 1880-1930," *North Dakota Quarterly* 44 (Spring 1976): 39.
- (7) Roderick Nash, "The American Cult of the Primitive," *American Quarterly* 18 (Autumn 1966): 517-37.
- (8) T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). For more on antimodernism, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1993).
- (9) Theodore Roosevelt, *A Book-Lover's Holidays in the Open* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1916), viii, quoted in Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 14.
- (10) Ernest Thompson Seton, *The Gospel of the Red Man: An Indian Bible* (Santa Fe, N.M.: Seton Village, 1966), 105. For the best biography of Seton, see H. Allen Anderson, *The Chief: Ernest Thompson Seton and the Changing West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986). See also John Henry Wadland, *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era, 1880-1915* (New York: Arno, 1978). For the variety of scouting movements and a larger context, see David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). For Seton as an antimodernist and appropriator of Indian images, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 95-128.
- (11) Seton, *Gospel*, 1-2.
- (12) *Ibid.*, 108.
- (13) Woods Hutchinson, "The Physical Basis of Brain Work," *North American Review* 146 (May 1888): 522-31; quoted in Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 28.
- (14) Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 182.
- (15) S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1996); Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, eds., *Selling the Indian: Commercializing & Appropriating American Indian Cultures* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).
- (16) George Catlin, *North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written during Eight Years' Travel amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1841), 1: 293.

(17) All images used in this article are taken from the Warshaw Collection of Business Americana--Indians (hereafter cited as Warshaw Collection), RG-74, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The Buffalo Hunt is from "Patent Medicine," box 20; the Indian "Sagwa" image is from "Forestry," box 50.

(18) Stewart Hall Holbrook, *The Golden Age of Quackery* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), 208-15. See also James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961); Ann Anderson, *Snake Oil, Hustlers, and Hambones: The American Medicine Show* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2000).

(19) Quoted in Gerald Carson, *One for a Man, Two for a Horse: A Pictorial History, Grave and Comic, of Patent Medicines* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 23.

(20) "Untitled Pamphlet," RG-74, box 6, Warshaw Collection.

(21) Quoted on the website: <http://web.grinnell.edu/courses/sst/f01/SST395-01/PublicPages/PerfectDrugs/Kendra/USMedicineShows/KickapooIndianMediCo/>.

(22) Quoted in Anderson, *Snake Oil*, 63-64.

(23) Quoted in T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 146.

(24) U.S. National Library of Medicine, "Varieties of Medical Ephemera," website: <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/ephemera/ephemera.html>.

(25) Jeffrey Steele, "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising," in *Dressing in Feathers*, ed. Bird, 61.

(26) Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London: Boyars, 1984), 103. Williamson's explanation of the way advertising works is best read in conjunction with works on the history of advertising. The field is vast. Highlights include Smart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977); Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (New York: Morrow, 1984); and Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

(27) For more on neurasthenia, see Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Barbara Sicherman, "The Uses of a Diagnosis," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 32 (1977): 33-54.

(28) See Leaf, *Fables of Abundance*, especially 102-13.

(29) H. Carrington Bolton, "Injun-Giving," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 5 (1892): 68.

(30) "Seeds," box 15, Warshaw Collection.

(31) All images from the Bradley Fertilizer Company are taken from "Fertilizer," box 1, Bradley folder, Warshaw Collection.

(32) Frederick A. Bushee, "Science and Social Progress, Popular Science Monthly 79 (September 1911): 237.

(33) David B. Danbom, *The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrization of Agriculture, 1900-1930* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979), 11.

(34) Steele, "Reduced to Images," 51.

(35) Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 10.

(36) Daniel B. Shepp and James W. Shepp, *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed* (Chicago: Global Bible Publishing, 1893), 306.

(37) David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 211.

(38) Ralph W. Dexter, "Putnam's Problems in Popularizing Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 54 (1996): 315-16. The use of Indians at the World's Columbian Exposition is recounted in L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

(39) Book 50, Warshaw Collection.