

PORTRAYING THE NATIVE AMERICAN IN BRONZE:

ALEXANDER STIRLING CALDER'S

AN AMERICAN STOIC

By

MARY LYNN TOTTEN

Bachelor of Arts, 1976
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

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Thesis approved:

Major Professor

Graduate Studies Representative
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Introduction

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, non-Native American artists have produced small bronzes of the Native American in the United States. Although these statues usually show a stereotypical image of the Native American, these sculptures vary in style and intent. Some incorporate a narrative, while others do not. Many of the works were made in recognition of the end of the Western Frontier and the often-proclaimed disappearance of the Native American. While some artists created their works to capture the past, others used their works to imagine the future of the Native American civilization. One artist, Alexander Stirling Calder (1870-1945), raised in the East and forced to go west for health reasons, found a new subject in his oeuvre in the Native American.

By analyzing Calder's *An American Stoic*, cast in 1912, and comparing it to small bronzes of Native Americans by other American artists and to monumental sculptures of the Native American, I show how Calder's sculpture differs from statues of the same subject that preceded or immediately followed it by depicting the Native American as neither defeated nor savage, but as a dignified man. Examining these portrayals will show how Calder viewed the Native American with sympathy and without denying him the dignity of his own civilization. Three of these comparative works belong, as does *An American Stoic*, to the collections of the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. They are *The Choosing of the Arrow*, 1848, by Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886), *The Cheyenne*, 1901, by Frederic Remington (1861-1909) and *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope*, 1914, by Paulanship (1885-1966). The Brown statue is

academic in style, a combination of naturalistic detail and allegorical meaning, while Remington and Manship each employ a style of their own devising. Utilizing the more modern Arts and Crafts style, Calder took his first steps out of the academic ranks and began to assimilate the changes the twentieth century would bring to American sculpture, making *An American Stoic* a transitional piece. Calder's move towards modernism is more evident in his small sculptures, perhaps due to greater artistic freedom to create where commissioning committees were not involved.

Other works selected for comparison include: *The Closing Era*, 1893, by John Preston Powers (1843-1931), a monumental sculpture located in Denver Colorado; *The End of the Trail*, 1894, by James Earle Fraser (1876-1953), exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915 to great acclaim; and smaller statues by Adolph Alexander Weinman (1870-1952) and Cyrus E. Dallin (1861-1944). Comparing and contrasting these sculptures with Calder's *An American Stoic* will highlight Calder's unique treatment of this subject.

Calder's *An American Stoic* portrays the Native American with dignity and humanity in a time when most depictions of the Native American were based on the Romantic concept of the noble savage, the untamed savage or a dying race. As such, Calder's approach to his subject is unusual, especially for an academically trained artist. This figure shows an unusual sympathy between the Native American model and the non-Native American artist that emphasizes the individual's dignity, and perhaps making him a symbol for all Native Americans.

Calder, as part of the audience watching the unjust treatment meted out to the Native American in the second half of the nineteenth century, undoubtedly perceived the need for more dignified representations of the Native American, because “art is the means to create not only expression of what we believe and cherish, but just as much a means for the creation of images of what we hope and desire.”¹ Furthermore, Calder saw his model as a man as well as a type, an individual as well as representative of a larger group. Calder’s figure shows the Native American with dignity and a future, neither of which was commonly attributed to the Native Americans imprisoned on uninhabitable reservations at the turn of the century.

¹ Nanette Calder, ed, *Thoughts of A. Stirling Calder on Art and Life*, New York: privately printed, 1947, 7.

***An American Stoic* by Alexander Stirling Calder**

Alexander Stirling Calder created *An American Stoic* in 1912, during the Arts and Crafts movement. The Arts and Crafts movement in America promoted beauty in everyday objects, hoping to provide a soothing domestic atmosphere to counteract the distress of modern, industrial life (figures 1 and 2). The movement existed from coast to coast, and promoted building with local materials. By using local materials, buildings could be designed to fit into the climate and history of their location, rather than importing materials from elsewhere and an architectural style from Europe. The proponents of the movement also focused on domestic furnishings as an opportunity to bring some small pleasure to their owners no matter what class those owners occupied. The movement promoted truth to materials by leaving furniture unpainted and unpolished so the natural grain of the wood and methods of construction were visible. The excessive ornamentation of the Victorian era was reduced to simple decorative designs enhancing the beauty of the object without hiding the beauty of the materials or the object's function. The designers of the movement specialized in furniture and pottery, but no facet of material goods was exempt from their desire to render the functional beautiful. Schools of industrial design were founded in connection with museums in order to educate the designers and public in the principles of good design from past civilizations, and allow designers to adapt those elements to modern, machine-made products.²

² Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991, 156.

The American Arts and Crafts movement (1876-1916) advocated a return to handcraft and good design as a remedy against poorly designed, mass-produced goods of the industrial age. Originally founded in England by John Ruskin and William Morris in the second half of the nineteenth century, the American Arts and Crafts movement countered the Art Nouveau organic forms by emphasizing clean lines and avoiding unnecessary ornamentation.³ By providing a home environment with furniture and household goods of simple design, artists and designers proposed to bring beauty, economy, reason, comfort and progress into the home.⁴ The movement was nation-wide, with centers in Cincinnati, Boston, Philadelphia, upstate New York, Chicago, and, after 1900, California. Although the rejection of unnecessary ornament seems to place the movement within the development of the modern aesthetic, the Arts and Crafts movement looked to local history such as the Spanish mission era in California or colonial times in the Northeast for inspiration. This interest in the handmade and historical influences makes the movement more Romantic than modern.⁵ However, the desire for handmade goods to replace machine-produced items placed the Arts and Crafts movement in a major conundrum. Handmade goods are usually too expensive for the regular public, but one of the main aims of the leaders was to improve the design of household goods for the average home. Therefore, the American Arts and Crafts proponents had to accept using the machine as a tool so that the price

³ Alan Crawford; "Arts and Crafts Movement" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, <http://www.groveart.com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/>, 10/27/2006.

⁴ Gustav Stickley, "The Craftman's Birthday Party," *The Craftsman*, 24 (May 1913): 252.

⁵ Alan Crawford; "Arts and Crafts Movement" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, <<http://www.groveart.com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/>>, 10/27/2006.

of aesthetically pleasing goods could be within everyone's reach.⁶ Calder lived in major centers of the Arts and Crafts movements in both Philadelphia and Pasadena, California.

From 1906 to 1910, Calder lived in Pasadena, a California major center of Arts and Crafts building and furniture design. In California, Calder experimented with smaller figures intended for domestic consumption. With the change in scale came a change in style, and the artist produced statues with less naturalistic detail than the portraits he had produced previously. Unlike his earlier small statues, which were produced as models to win monumental commissions, *An American Stoic* was sculpted at the same size as the final bronze. The bronze figure is a closed sculpture created in the round (figure 3). A mature man stands easily with his arms folded across his chest, left arm over right. A blanket wraps around his body and over his arms, leaving only his upper torso, head and feet visible. The figure does not wear a shirt, but that was a common occurrence among many Native Americans, who wore clothing to fit the local climate and season. His skin is smooth, which emphasizes the musculature of his upper torso and sculptural quality of his face. A definite hairline on his forehead is the primary device by which the artist has indicated the difference between the hair and the skin on the man's head. A few shallow incisions indicate the hair laying flat against his head; the overall finish does not noticeably differentiate hair and skin. The figure's long hair is parted at the center and gathered into two braids that begin at earlobe level, just behind the ears. They fall forward and below the collarbones onto the

⁶ Cumming and Kaplan, 1991, 139.

man's pectoral muscles. Short, thin locks of hair are indicated in front of his ears, and at the back of the head. One lock of hair has escaped from the right braid and hangs loosely on the right side of the neck.⁷

The figure wears pants or leggings, which show only below the edge of the blanket. Tall moccasins cover his feet and ankles, so no skin shows beneath his leggings. Each tight fitting, soft shoe displays a simple band decoration across the toe. The man wears a decorated or hand woven belt over the blanket at hip level. Three round ornaments appear on the belt: two quartered by incisions, while the third holds the artist's hand-written signature (figure 5).

The blanket wrapping the figure is plain except for the variable selvedge visible on the lower edge. The excess length hanging beyond the man's left hand gathers in folds that touch the ground. How the blanket and belt interact to allow this draping to occur is unclear, as the sculptor has not given the viewer any indication of the method by which the belt passes within the wrapped blanket at the front and out of the blanket behind the draping. The base of the sculpture is flat, but unpolished, suggestive of packed earth. A minimal indentation occurs on the upper side of the base, which is otherwise smooth and regular. The names of the artist, copyright date, foundry and mold number are stamped on the back of

⁷ Maynard Dixon employed a similar pose to Calder's *An American Stoic* for a *Sunset* magazine cover in 1903, but with a much different result. His Native American is also wrapped in a blanket, but it is pulled up over his shoulders. His bowed head and the stark background give the image a very different impact. Ironically, the artist seems to be depicting the Native American overwhelmed by the western expansion and the coming influx of tourists, on the cover of a magazine published for the purpose of promoting tourism. Michael E. Zega, *Travel by Train: the American railroad poster, 1870-1950*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002, 27.

the base. The inscriptions read “A. Stirling Calder \ Copyrighted 1912” and “Gorham Co Founders Q309 #3” (figure 6).

The sculptor has had the work finished with a dark green patina over a pale green layer. The two color layers give the sculpture visual interest on close inspection, but *An American Stoic* appears to have a uniform finish from a distance. The overall patina and generally even texture unify the figure into a solid form. The lack of minute detail gives the sculpture a monumental feeling, as if viewing a larger statue from further away, where details fade from view. The simplicity of the columnar form and Arts and Crafts style give the figure a quiet and peaceful air. When so many depictions of Native Americans stress more aggressive facets of human nature, this bronze brings the contemplative nature of man to the fore. The closed stance, with arms crossed, is the body language of a man slightly withdrawn from his surrounding. The enfolding blanket can be seen as a shield from other’s curiosity, thus protecting the man from intrusion. Calder’s figure appears composed physically and mentally, and he seems to wait for what the future may bring.

The figure displays little jewelry or embellishment that can be used to identify his tribal affiliation. Unlike photographs of Native Americans by Edward Curtis and others, where the subjects are pictured stereotypically in all their finery, this man is relatively unadorned. Based on Curtis’ photographs, which he published in twenty volumes from 1906 to 1930, a Native American from the Great Plains of this maturity would be wearing feathers as evidence of bravery and bead jewelry to display his power and wealth in the formal circumstances as

having his image made. Without any specific adornment or features by which to recognize tribal affiliation, Calder may have intended *An American Stoic* to stand for all Native Americans.⁸

The relatively unadorned nature of the figure does give it a less formal feeling. By using the Arts and Crafts technique of simple ornamentation and clean lines, the sculptor has created an object that enhances the serenity of its surroundings, in line with the probable placement of this statue on a table or bookcase in the home of collectors of Native American baskets and blankets.⁹ The beautiful hand-applied patina and visible chasing marks left during the finishing process exhibit the maker's hand, an important facet of the Arts and Crafts philosophy of putting the craftsmanship back into the creation of household furnishings by surfaces and shapes that seem hand made, not machine made. Bronze is a material that allows the marks of the maker's hand to be retained in the finished product.

Bronze has been used for sculpture for centuries. The lost-wax method of casting, where a thin wax layer between a fire-proof outer mold and inner core defines the form of the final article, has been in use since ancient times. Sand casting replaced lost-wax casting as method of choice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because sand casting was simpler. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the lost-wax method was on the rise again, even though it

⁸ Lori Diel, conversation, Sept. 20, 2006.

⁹ Rebecca Lawton, conversation, Sept. 20, 2006.

was more labor intensive, because it would allow the artist to vary each cast in details if desired.¹⁰

Artists in the United States started experimenting with bronze casting in the mid-nineteenth century, creating large and small hollow bronze sculptures. Because of the difference in the tensile strength between metal and stone, bronze allows the artist to model more freely, leaving longer and thinner projections from the core of the work and creating deeper hollows within the sculpted form. *An American Stoic* uses the strength of bronze to allow the figure to stand on two feet with only the additional support of the blanket touching the ground. More massive supports are required in marble sculptures, which are often made to resemble a short tree trunk or auxiliary figure, as in the Augustus of Prima Porta (c. 20 BCE). The versatility of metal and the direct presence of the sculptor's hand on the work made bronze the material of choice by the end of the nineteenth century, and the material of choice for Calder throughout his career, regardless of the style of the work. For *An American Stoic*, bronze provides a strong material for a strong figure, and a simple patina for a simple, dignified representation of man. In keeping with the dignity of the sculpture, all identification of the makers is positioned on the back of the figure, where it cannot detract from the impression *An American Stoic* makes on the viewer.

Calder's handwritten signature on *An American Stoic* is consistent with Arts and Crafts principles. In addition to the stamped legend on the base, the artist wrote his last name in the belt ornament on the back left hip of the figure

¹⁰ Michael Edward Shapiro and Peter H. Hassrick, *Frederic Remington: The Masterworks*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988, 195.

(figure 5). It is simply written without regard to formality, and the letters are not uniformly sized or formed in standard lettering. In addition, the signature is inverted, making it harder to read and more like swirls of decoration within the belt ornament. The curved part of the “a” almost nestles into the larger “c,” while the down stroke of the “a” is detached. The “d” is a single stroke and looks like a larger inverted “e.” The letters are script, but are disconnected. The informal and handwritten nature of the signature provides another touch of the artist’s hand, and perhaps a touch of humor. By placing the signature on the back of the sculpture, the artist seems to subjugate his own importance, giving precedence to the work instead. By inverting the informal signature the artist gives it a sense of a puzzle to be solved and creates a smile for the viewer when its nature reveals itself. The Arts and Crafts desire to efface the creator is an appeal to simpler times when art was not usually signed at all, although Calder, as a man of his own times, was not willing to forgo signing the piece altogether.

Born and raised in Philadelphia, Alexander Stirling Calder was the son of sculptor Alexander Milne Calder (1846-1923). The elder Calder designed and completed the sculptural program covering the exterior of the Philadelphia City Hall, a task on which he worked from 1873 to 1893. The decorative plan included over 250 individual statues and a thirty-foot bronze figure of William Penn on the top of the domed tower, 547 feet above ground. The elder Calder included representatives of the local Native Americans, including two of the four major groups just below the statue of William Penn on domed central clock tower.

Other Native Americans are used as dormer caryatids.¹¹ The younger Calder may have actually worked on the figure of an Indian boy in his father's studio.¹²

Stirling Calder began his formal training at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts under Thomas Eakins in 1886, twenty years after his father had attended the same school. Stirling Calder continued his studies in Paris at the École de Beaux-Arts and Academy Julian from 1890 to 1892. He received national notice at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, and won a silver medal at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 for his sculptures *Phillippe Francois Renault* and *Missouri, Queen of the Rivers*, among others.¹³ He exhibited *Man Cub*, 1901, a life-size bronze image of his son Alexander "Sandy" Calder (1898-1976), at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. Both the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia own a copy of this statue of the third Alexander Calder, who became a sculptor of international importance with his innovation of the mobile as an art form. Stirling Calder received two important commissions before his health required a move west in 1905: a bronze bust of Dr. Samuel Gross, 1897, to be placed in front of the Army Medical Museum in Washington D. C., and six nine-foot figures of cast terracotta of founders of the Presbyterian Church to be

¹¹ Penny Balkin Bach, *Public Art in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992, 63, 202.

¹² Fairmont Park art Association, *Philadelphia Treasures in Bronze and Stone*, New York: Walker Publishing Company, Inc., 1976, 98.

¹³ Tom Armstrong et. al., *200 Years of American Sculpture*, New York: David R. Godine, in association with the Whitney Museum of Art, 1976, 263.

placed on the façade of the Witherspoon building in Philadelphia, 1898-1899.¹⁴

In addition, Calder was an instructor of modeling at the School of Industrial Design of the Pennsylvania Museum from 1900 to 1905.

In 1905, Calder was advised by his doctor to move to a more salubrious climate. The specific health condition responsible for the change of environment is not clear. Stirling Calder's daughter Margaret Calder Hayes cites tuberculosis in her family memoir,¹⁵ while his son remembers heart disease as the cause.¹⁶ Either way, Calder moved his family to a recuperation ranch in Oracle, Arizona in 1905, and was sufficiently recovered by the next year to resume work. In 1906 Stirling Calder moved his family to Pasadena, California, where they stayed until 1910.¹⁷ While in Pasadena, Calder was commissioned to decorate the arched entrance to Throop Polytechnic, now Throop Institute. To fill in the spandrel corners, and decorate the arch piers, the artist created allegorical figures of Nature, Art, Law, Energy, Science and Imagination,¹⁸ figures that were consonant with his academic practice in the East.

During the stay in California, Calder met and modeled two Native Americans, Najinyankte and Kills an Enemy. According to the sculptor's daughter, he met them in Oneota Park, where the circus to which they were

¹⁴ Mariah Chamberlin-Hellman, "Samuel Murray, Thomas Eakins, and the Witherspoon Prophets," *Arts Magazine* 53 (Jan. 15, 1979): 134.

¹⁵ Margaret Calder Hayes, *Three Alexander Calders*, Middlebury, VT: Paul S. Eriksson, 1977, 15.

¹⁶ Alexander Calder and Jean Davidson, *Calder: An Autobiography with Pictures*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, 15.

¹⁷ Timothy J. Anderson, Eudora M. Moore and Robert W. Winter, ed., *California Design 1910*, Layton, UT: Peregrine Smith Books, 1980, 51.

¹⁸ Hector Alliot, "Alexander Sterling Calder," *Out West* (September 1909): 767.

attached was spending the winter.¹⁹ The sculptor's son merely mentions a ranch between Los Angeles and Pasadena where some Sioux from Dakota, or perhaps Arapahoe, lived.²⁰ Either tribe would be consistent with the costume portrayed in *An American Stoic*, as Dakota, Lakota and Nakota (all called Sioux) and Arapaho men wore breechcloths, leggings and moccasins, with a shirt or blanket added if necessary. Moreover, the men of these tribes wear their hair long, parted in the middle and in braids. The Native American sculptures Calder created later seem to derive from these two models.

Calder's association with the two Native American models resulted in six variations, five of which were small versions Calder carried with him on his return to New York in 1910.²¹ Three of the variations, by virtue of their resemblance to each other and the title of at least one variation, are of Najinyankte. One is a bust, with Najinyankte's long hair divided in the middle and gathered in two sections that fall to his bare chest. The second variation of Najinyankte shows him wrapped in a blanket and seated on a rock. He holds the blanket up to his chin, encasing nearly his whole body in it. The third version based on Najinyankte is the standing figure with the blanket wrapped from his elbows to the ground. This is the source for *An American Stoic*.

The second Native American model is the source for a sculpture of a nude or nearly nude Native American dancing. He is bent over at the waist and his knees are bent, giving the figure a low, more compact mass. His face is raised up

¹⁹ Hayes, 1977, 36.

²⁰ Calder and Davidson, 1966, 23.

²¹ Peter Hastings Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago*, Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990, 181.

to look forward, and from this it is possible to determine that Najinyankte is not the model for this variation.

The model for two final variations of sculptures of Native Americans by Calder is not clearly identifiable. One, *Galloping Horse with Indian*, is listed, location unknown, in the Smithsonian Institute Research Inventory System.²² The other is a model for a possible monumental figure titled *Son-of-the-Eagle*. This version is a standing nude Native American with an eagle rising from his head and holding a sword.²³ This statue was never cast in permanent material and the model has since been destroyed.²⁴ In 1910 Calder returned to the East with these six versions of the Native American.

Of the six variations of the theme of the Native American, several of them have been identified by more than one name over time. The bust of Najinyankte has been titled *The Chief*,²⁵ *Stand and Kill*,²⁶ *An Indian Brave*,²⁷ *Bust of Kill an Enemy*²⁸ and *Bust of Najinyankte*.²⁹ The standing figure of Najinyankte has been

²² Smithsonian Institution, Art Inventories Catalog, Smithsonian American Art Museum, <<http://siris-artinventories.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.asp>>, 12/23/2005.

²³ Henry Rankin Poore, "Stirling Calder, Sculptor," *The International Studio* 67 (April 1919): 48.

²⁴ Kineton Parkes, "Stirling Calder and the American Sculpture Scene," *Apollo* 15 (March 1932): 112.

²⁵ Everett Carroll Maxwell, "Sculptors of the Southwest: Their Inspiration and Achievement," *The Craftsman* 27 (May 1915): 155.

²⁶ Rene T. De Quelin, "Among the Artists," *Graphic* (August 24, 1907): 17.

²⁷ "Alexander Stirling Calder – Image Examples for Alexander Calder" <http://www.askart.com/AskART/artists/Search_Repeat.asp>, 6/8/2006.

²⁸ Smithsonian Institution, Art Inventories Catalog. 12/23/2005.

²⁹ Smithsonian Institution, Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, <<http://siris-juleyphoto.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp>>, 10/23/2006.

published as *An American Stoic*,³⁰ *A Sioux Half-Breed*,³¹ *Indian Brave*,³² *The Warrior*³³ and *Sioux Brave*, “*Our American Stoic*.”³⁴ The dancing Native American has been published as *Dancing Indian*³⁵ and *A Dancing Sioux*.³⁶ Photographs are not always available in conjunction with the text source for these titles, so ambiguities still remain about the identities of each sculpture. The name difficulty extends to the exhibition records for Calder’s Native American sculptures as well.

The exhibition record for these bronzes does not offer full information about media or dimensions. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the National Academy of Design records do not indicate medium or size, while the records of the Art Institute of Chicago specify medium but not size. With varying names and no sizes specified, the exact identity of the works exhibited is unclear. However, as early as 1907 Calder exhibited two Native American sculptures at the National Academy of Design. The sculptures are recorded as *Kill an Enemy: Bronze* and *Dancing Indian*, also a bronze. In 1908, Calder included three sculptures at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts exhibition. The records show these to be *Najinyankte: Sioux Halfbreed*, *Kill an Enemy* and *Dancing*

³⁰ Amon Carter Museum wall label.

³¹ Parkes, 1932, 112.

³² Patricia Janis Broder, *Bronzes of the American West*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1974, 291.

³³ “Alexander Stirling Calder – Image Examples for Alexander Calder” <http://www.askart.com/AskART/artists/Search_Repeat.asp>, 6/8/2006.

³⁴ Charles H. Carpenter, Jr., *Gorham Silver 1831-1981*, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1982, 155.

³⁵ Alliot, 1909, 777.

³⁶ Arthur Hoeber, “Calder – A ‘Various’ Sculptor: A Man of Craftsmanship and Brains,” *The World’s Work* 19 (September 1910): 13387.

Indian.³⁷ Only one statue was included in the 1910 National Academy of Design exhibition, titled *Najiyankte: Stand and Kill*.³⁸ This entry identifies Stand and Kill and Najinyankte as the same person, and implies that Stand and Kill is the English translation of the Native American name.

Calder exhibited one sculpture at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1911, the variation titled *Dancing Sioux Indian*.³⁹ In 1912, the artist included two bronzes in the Art Institute of Chicago exhibition, *Kill-an-Enemy* and *Kajinyankte*.⁴⁰ Finally, in 1932 Calder exhibited one variation, titled *Sioux Half-Breed* at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.⁴¹ Without a record of dimensions, media, and photographs, a definitive chronology of these bronzes appears impossible at this time. However, these smaller works must have been important for the artist, known for his monumental work, as they continued to be reproduced in articles about Calder's sculpture for the remainder of his life.⁴² Calder would return to the figure of a Native American one more time in his artistic career.

³⁷ Peter Hastings Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1876-1913*, Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1989, 121.

³⁸ Peter Hastings Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Design 1901-1950*, Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990, 115.

³⁹ Peter Hastings Falk, *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1876-1913*, 1989, 121.

⁴⁰ Falk, *Art Institute of Chicago*, 1990, 181.

⁴¹ Peter Hastings Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, volume III, 1914-1968*, Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1989.

⁴² Alliot shows *Dancing Indian* in 1909. Hoeber shows *A Dancing Sioux* and *Indian Dreamer* in 1910. Poore shows *Son of the Eagle* in 1919. Kineton shows *A Sioux Half-Breed* and *Son of the Eagle* in 1932.

Well after his stay in California, Calder created one last Native American, for the *Fountain of Three Rivers* (1924), the Swann Memorial Fountain in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A nude Native American personifies the Delaware River. Like the other two figures in the fountain, he reclines and holds an animal that spouts water. The body is idealized, and it is the face and hair that identify the man as Native American. Fairmont Park Art Association, the entity that commissions and maintains a large proportion of the public art in Philadelphia, describes the bronze figure is described as pensive, with a general impression of great dignity and calm strength.⁴³ Swann Fountain is a favorite dipping pool for Philadelphians in the summer, and children and adults climb on the sculptures. A major renovation and refurbishment was undertaken in the mid-1980s, when the bronze figures were restored to original condition and the mechanical components of the fountain brought up to date. The fountain's location on Logan Square at the center of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway make this sculpture familiar to residents and visitors in the city of Philadelphia. This last Native American by Calder exemplifies his retention of academic style in his monumental figures, regardless of experiments he made earlier in smaller sculptures, such as *An American Stoic*.

Calder's *An American Stoic* is one in a long succession of images of the Native American. In 1848, Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886) executed *The Choosing of the Arrow* (figure 7), one of the first bronze sculptures to be cast in the United States. Brown cast it in a foundry he built in his own studio in New

⁴³ Fairmont Park art Association, 1976, 54.

York City. This twenty-two inch high statue depicts a Native American hunting in the nude. The classic pose, well-modeled flesh and nudity of the figure reveal Brown's Italian education. While the subject is not European, the style is, highlighting one of the ongoing problems in American sculpture throughout the nineteenth century, the search for an American style in sculpture.

Similar to Donatello's *David* (late 1420s to late 1450s), Brown's Native American stands with all of his weight on his right leg, as he reaches behind his right shoulder to retrieve an arrow from his quiver. He holds a bow in his left hand slightly away from his side. His head turns to his left, and his expression is one of concentration. The figure portrays minimal movement, with only a passing breeze to ripple his hair. He stands easily yet ready to move as needed to complete his task. He is attentive to his undertaking, but no intense emotions are visible on his face as he prepares to shoot. Brown's bronze is more polished than *An American Stoic*, indicating the academic preoccupation with a smooth surface that reflects the ambient light. Brown's sculpture was created at a time when American artists still held onto some aspects of European art, like the heroic nude, while trying to find a more American way of depicting American subjects.

Both Brown and Calder employ a natural human stance that has been traditional for sculptors: the classic Greek contrapposto pose. This position places the standing human with all the weight on one leg and the other relaxed. The knee of the relaxed leg bends, causing the hip on that side to drop. In some cases, the foot of the relaxed leg is raised from the ground to imply that the figure is walking, as Polykleitos did with his *Doryphoros*. Polykleitos created the

Doryphorus in the fifth century BCE to demonstrate a system of proportions for portraying the ideal Greek male figure. In Brown's case, the figure is not walking so much as standing at ease while he prepares to strike his quarry. Calder uses the same pose in *An American Stoic*, but to a lesser degree and less visibly as the blanket hides the man's legs. For his man, Calder has the body weight shifted to the right leg, and the left rests naturally on the ground with the foot rolled inward slightly, allowing the outer edge of the left foot to lift off the ground. Only the rolling over of the left foot and the swing of the blanket on the reverse of the figure indicate the classic pose (figure 4).

In showing the Native American as a classic idealized nude, Brown adopted the image of the noble savage of the Romantic era. The Romantics saw civilization as corrupt and expounded the benefits of the simple life of "less" civilized peoples who lived in direct contact with nature. However, the nudity of Brown's figure also references classical Greek and Roman art, where heroes, gods and athletes were depicted nude in celebration of the ideal human physique. This figure, with its smooth skin and firm muscles, could as easily represent eternal youth, the classical ideal or Apollo, as well as the noble savage. The only attributes that might possibly differentiate the figure as a Native American are his long hair with a forehead knot and the bow.

This image of the Native American in an academic style is to be expected, based on Brown's artistic training. After studying painting with Chester Harding in Boston, Brown learned modeling from Shobal Clevenger (1812-1843) in Cincinnati, Ohio. Clevenger was a self-taught, successful sculptor of portraits in

the 1830s, and he traveled to New York, Boston, Paris, Rome and Florence. In 1842, at the age of 28, Brown traveled to Italy to study sculpture. He spent a year in Florence, home of Donatello's *David*, and three years in Rome, returning to the United States of America in 1846. Although Wayne Craven states that Brown rejected neoclassicism in his search for a truly American art,⁴⁴ the academic form of this work is still obvious in spite of its American subject. The smooth surface stresses the limbs and torso, a typical concern of both classical and neoclassical sculpture. The texture created in the hair contrasts and emphasizes the smoothness of the idealized body. There is no flaw in the skin or visible scars from a hard life in an untamed natural world, making the statue a depiction of an ideal type rather than a portrait of any one man. When Brown cast it in 1848, *The Choosing of the Arrow* was the first small bronze modeled and cast in the United States.

As the premier American bronze sculpture, *The Choosing of the Arrow* was an eminently suitable choice as a premium for distribution by the American Art-Union. In 1850, the American Art Union distributed twenty casts of the statue to the membership by lottery, with one additional cast awarded in 1851. Such premiums were one way in which art unions and societies endeavored to improve the taste of the American public, trying to raise the American knowledge of art to the level of Europeans who had much longer artistic traditions inculcated into their citizens. The choice of this work as a premium, gratifying as it was to

⁴⁴ Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America*, Newark: University of Delaware Press; New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984, 114.

the sculptor, who received more than \$2000,⁴⁵ brought the problem of copies and originals into the realm of American small bronzes almost as soon as any existed. The discussion about originals and copies continues to this day. Where there are substantial differences between the versions of a bronze, as seen in Frederic Remington's *The Cheyenne*, the artist's intent for the variations is open to question. Are the changes in each succeeding cast a way to find the ultimate version, or just changes? Is the last of the series the best, as a culmination of all the previous experiments, or less desirable as the artist gets further from his original inspiration for the sculpture? How does one decide between different versions, besides personal preference? Fortunately, for *An American Stoic*, the question of multiples is limited to those created by the Gorham Company, carefully identified with issue numbers 2 and 3. The same figure may also have been cast in California or New York prior to 1912, since the Broder illustration lists that figure as twenty-four inches, whereas the Gorham figure is twenty-eight inches high.⁴⁶ The differences in these statues seem to be limited to size, patina and sometimes a name inscribed on the front of the base, as the figures themselves appear to be identical in photographs. In addition to questions of the differences between multiples of a single sculpture, bronze works cast at a foundry also bring up the question of the artist's participation in the production of each copy.

The production of bronzes resurrects the problem of the artist's hand that echoed through the Renaissance: how much of the work needs to be done by the

⁴⁵ Broder, 1974, 31

⁴⁶ Broder, 1974, 291.

artist to call the final product his? Bronze works are usually made from a mold or molds on commercial premises with the help of professional bronze casters and mold makers. The artist may or may not be involved with the preparation for or finishing of any one cast. Even if the artist participates in all steps of the creation of each casting, the exact number of times the mold has been used is important since the mold degrades with each cast, affecting the quality of the resultant statue. In cases where the total number of casts is in the hundreds, the artist's hand can become very difficult to discern, and differences from the early casts become more suspect as intentional changes by the artist unless carefully documented by the artist and the foundry. Bronze sculpture can be produced posthumously from molds made during the artist's lifetime, with or without the artist or estate's consent, as can casts made directly from a sculpture.

All of these considerations lead to questions of the original or originals versus copies, and the value of copies. If there were only one statue by the artist, the others would be known to be forgeries, simplifying the situation. From an art historical point of view, the difference in the modeling date, the copyright date and the casting dates for each statue complicates the chronology for the artist's oeuvre and the provenance of any single copy, as is seen with *An American Stoic*. The sculpture pictured in Broder's book, which appears to be the same as *An American Stoic*, is dated circa 1910, but the Gorham casts are copyrighted 1912, although no actual casting date is provided on the sculpture itself. Is the Broder sculpture, picture provided by Graham Gallery, titled *Indian Brave* the same work as *An American Stoic*, copyright 1912, mold Q309 # 3? At this time the question

of whether these are copies of one sculpture or two different sculptures and the relationship between them cannot be answered. However, for the general public multiples of a sculpture bring the important advantage of allowing more people to see and own sculptures, and in the case of Western bronzes, connect with the legends of the past, allowing their owners to touch the mythical West since they can no longer live it.

The end of the frontier and a sense of the impending demise of the Native American tribes prompted many sculptors at the end of the nineteenth century to choose the Native American as a subject. In the 1870s and 1880s the various tribes were settled and attempting to survive on reservations. In 1896, the Curtis Act eliminated the last remnants of the Native American tribal governments by dissolving the tribal courts and making Native Americans subject to United States courts and laws. The treatment and economic plight of the Native Americans became a public disgrace, and artists created depictions of the Native American to protest their unfair treatment and to depict their resignation in the face of defeat and assimilation. In 1893 John Preston Powers (1843-1931) created a monumental statue for the Colorado State Capitol grounds in Denver. It shows a Native American man contemplating a future without the buffalo, the lifeblood of the Plains Indian way of life (figure 8). Called *The Closing Era*, the Native American stands over a dead buffalo and looks into a future of change that cannot be denied. The figure registers the fact of change, but expresses little emotional reaction to it. Only the forward tilt of the head (figure 9) gives any indication that the man may face his future with a little less equanimity than *An American Stoic*.

The upheld head of *An American Stoic* creates the impression that, while the future will not be the same as the past, the man is ready to meet it and adapt. Moreover, by choosing the word “stoic” for the title, Calder invokes the philosophy articulated by the ancient Greeks and widely practiced in ancient Rome. Stoicism proposes that virtue is based on knowledge and only the wise are virtuous because they live in harmony with nature. The wise person should be able to greet events, both favorable and unfavorable, without emotional display or spiritual upheaval. In Greek culture, upheaval was indicative of chaos, the nemesis of their civilization. Order and progress were the goals of the Greek psyche, and they could only be achieved if man did not let his emotions cloud his judgment or lead him to live out of balance with Nature. Stoicism has always encouraged its proponents to face both joy and despair with a calm spirit. In modern times, the favorable event seems to be forgotten in the definition of “stoical,” which is having or showing great self-control in adversity.⁴⁷ Other sculptural works portray a different emotional response to the end of the Native American’s way of life.

One of the most emotional responses to the apparent end of the Native American way of life can be seen in James Earle Frazer’s sculpture *End of the Trail*, modeled in 1894 (figure 10). This work was so well received that it has been cast many times and in several sizes. The statue depicts a pathetic end to the Native American way of life. Both horse and man droop in defeat, despair and exhaustion. For the Native American, there is no future, good or bad. He has no

⁴⁷ Judy Pearsall and Bill Trumble, ed., *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, Oxford, England; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

hope or strength left. His way of life is dying. In contrast, Calder has portrayed the Native American in an upright pose, back straight, head level and face calm, the antithesis of *End of the Trail* in mood. The posture of the figure gives Calder's *An American Stoic* a feeling that this man believes he has a future. It may be one to be met with resignation and perseverance, but it exists. *An American Stoic* illustrates not the end of Native Americans, but their acceptance of the inevitable and a belief in their continuance. For Calder, the Native American endures with dignity and self-reliance, the opposite of the pathetic dissolution depicted by *End of the Trail*.

Fraser's *End of the Trail* was exhibited at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco to great acclaim.⁴⁸ Calder knew this sculpture since he was Chief of Construction in Sculpture for the Exposition, and became the acting supervisor for the sculpture program when Carl Bitter died before the opening in 1915. For the exhibition, Calder himself created major and minor works, including the central group in the *Fountain of Energy, Star*, a figure repeated at intervals on the eaves of the colonnade in the Court of the Universe, and a *Caryatid* for the Court of palms. Calder also collaborated with other sculptors on the major groups *The Nations of the East* and *The Nations of the West*, which topped the Arches of the Rising and Setting Sun in the Court of the Universe.⁴⁹ In order to complete the work of the sculptures for the exposition, Calder lived in northern California from 1912 to 1915. Due to this obligation, he

⁴⁸ Craven, 1984, 493.

⁴⁹ Stella G. S. Perry, *The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition: A Pictorial Survey of the Art of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company Publishers, 1915, 14, 46, 50, 58.

probably missed the event of the century for American artists, the Armory Show held in New York in early 1913, and traveled to Chicago and Boston, which included controversial modern sculptures.⁵⁰ The modernist touches Calder introduced into his sculpture predated the Armory Show, as I will discuss later. For another American sculptor, Frederic Remington, neither European style nor modernity were of any concern. His style, as he developed it, was wholly self-taught and American.

In 1901, Frederic Remington incorporated action and emotion into his depiction of a Native American, *The Cheyenne* (figure 11). Remington shows a mature Cheyenne brave on a galloping horse. Strong emotions are clearly visible on his face (figure 12). As he gallops past, riding with only a buffalo skin and a single rein, which lies on the horse's neck, the man seems to be shouting in anger or giving a war whoop. The sculptor has employed the folds of the flowing buffalo skin on the right side to hold the horse and rider above the base, so that the horse's feet are all off the ground. Even though the wind of their passage whips the horse's mane and tail, the man stays astride, in spite of his legs being improperly placed. The man's smooth skin contrasts with the texture of the horse, buffalo skin and bare ground of the base. His hair is loose on his shoulders and flows down his back, and one feather is woven into his hair. With his mouth open, brow lowered and eyes narrowed to slits, the figure's face shows intense emotions. His body leans forward to push his racing mount, with the right arm raised to bring down a whip to encourage the horse to greater effort. His left hand

⁵⁰ Craven, 1984, 571.

holds a spear across and at the same angle as his body, which reinforces the forward impetus of the sculpture. The man is clothed in a simple breechcloth, with a knife and shield attached to its waistband, and he is wearing low-cut decorated moccasins. As a mounted warrior, *The Cheyenne* would appear to be part of the long tradition of equestrian statues.

However, unlike the static man and horse of an equestrian sculpture of ancient Rome or Renaissance Italy, Remington's man and horse are rendered in full flight. Instead of a commander calmly dictating the actions of others, as ancient equestrian statues were envisioned, *The Cheyenne* renders an individual fully involved in the activity and emotion of the moment. While there may be a story implied in this statue, the twenty-three inch high sculpture emphasizes movement and passion, discarding narrative as a direct feature of the work.

In Remington's *The Cheyenne*, the subversion of sculptural tradition may indicate a desire to innovate a style appropriate to the subject or a lack of formal education. The artist was self-taught and his self-professed aim was to preserve what he could of the vanishing West.⁵¹ In 1901, when this sculpture was created, the West of the wild frontier had disappeared. By the turn of the twentieth century, cowboys and Indians were increasingly a thing of the past, and the artist wanted to safeguard the look and feel of this important aspect of American history. Although he only lived in the West for a few years, Remington continued

⁵¹ Broder, 1974, 128.

to make trips from his Eastern home to sketch and experience the life of the cowboy, Native American and United States Cavalry trooper.⁵²

The Cheyenne differs from *An American Stoic* in many ways, most obviously in action and emotion. Each artist treats the subject in a style to complement the attitude of his statue and to evoke a different response from the spectator. The impressionistic style of Remington allows him to dispense with fine detail in order to emphasize the movement of the figure.⁵³ He provides enough detail to make the face recognizable, but only as much as the viewer would get in watching a man gallop by. Calder's absence of detail, on the other hand, is one way his figure presents a calm and dignified presence. *The Cheyenne* exemplifies motion, while *An American Stoic* emphasizes the stillness of the figure.

A third option for sculpture, when not depicting a type or a narrative, is to depict an individual, as Adolph Alexander Weinman (1870-1952) does in 1903 in *Chief Flatiron* (figure 13). This figure is a portrait bust of a Native American in the naturalistic approach of the conventionally trained. Part of the art establishment, Weinman was often involved in the sculptural programs and displays of the international expositions held in the United States between 1876 and 1915. His monumental group *Destiny of the Red Man*, modeled in 1903, but not cast until 1944, depicts nine figures, three animals and a bird, and presents the defeat and disappearance of the Native American dramatically. His portraits, like

⁵² W. C. Foxley; "Remington, Frederic (Sackrider)" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, <<http://www.groveart.com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/>>.

⁵³ Shapiro and Hassrick, 1988, 222.

Chief Flatiron, however, are realistic in detail and based on the academic penchant for accurate depictions, true to the outer features of the sitter. The wrinkled brow, drooping eyelids and sunken cheeks of *Chief Flatiron* indicate the age of the man, and the mouth, neither smiling nor frowning, makes it seem like the man's mind is elsewhere, as is the case in so many of the figures described in this thesis. Although Weinman sculpted many statues on various subjects, scholar Patricia Janis Broder considers Weinman's Native American monuments and portraits to be the most interesting part of his artistic oeuvre.⁵⁴ *Chief Flatiron* shows the face of age and character, while *An American Stoic* portrays a man whose face is not yet inscribed with his experiences. Both portray the Native American with dignity and some sympathy for their status in life.

Another representation of the Native American experience is Cyrus Dallin's *Indian Chief* (figure 14). Created in 1907 at twenty-six inches tall, *Indian Chief* has many similarities to *An American Stoic*. Both are of similar size, stance and dignity: standing squarely on his feet, arms crossed the man is ready to face whatever comes his way. Both sculptures have a blanket wrapped around the figure. Dallin has molded the blanket to the chief's body from the shoulders to the waist, but from the waist the blanket hangs loosely in well-defined folds. Fringed leggings and moccasins show beneath the blanket. The man's hair is carefully arranged and ends in two braids, like the braids on *An American Stoic*. The only indications of the chief's status are a necklace of large beads around his neck and his age. Like *Chief Flatiron*, this man has a lifetime of experience, and

⁵⁴ Broder, 1974, 200.

he sees the world from a different viewpoint than Calder's figure. He also may be stoical, but it is after the fact and after fighting for a better outcome, as can be seen in his grim, down-turned mouth and stiff face. This sculpture portrays a man beaten but not broken. More evocative of the Native American's plight, the Gorham Company chose Dallin's *Appeal to the Great Spirit* to be cast a twenty-one and a half inch version.

In 1912, the Gorham Company selected Calder's *An American Stoic* as an addition to their art bronze offerings. The Gorham Company had manufactured silver flatware since 1831 in Providence, Rhode Island. Today a division of Textron, the Gorham Company was the last of a series of successive businesses that began in with Nehemiah Dodge in 1794. The addition of partners and sons over time eventually led to the name Gorham Company. In 1831, Jabez Gorham added silver spoons to his line of tankards, porringers and teapots. These silver spoons were made of "coin" silver, and replaced pewter spoons on the Sunday tables of families in the Northeast. His son, John Gorham expanded the business in the 1850s to add hollow wares like trays and tureens, and the business changed from hand making to drop-press manufacturing techniques. Gorham added small, solid bronze castings to their output as early as the 1860s, and started producing large, hollow bronze castings in 1885, capitalizing on the demand for monuments for the Civil War. In the 1880s Gorham sold small replicas of statues by well-known artists, including famous monuments like Gutzon Borglum's *Seated Lincoln*.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Carpenter, 1982, 1, 19, 28, 39, 40, 141-159.

By 1912, the Gorham Company was a national retailer of silver flatware and hollowware, with stores from coast to coast. Examples of bronzes like Calder's were displayed in the Fifth Avenue Gorham Company store, and this indicates that such items were in demand in at least New York. Having his figure selected by Gorham for on-order casting meant that Calder joined the ranks of artists who designed and created small statues for decorating homes and offices, including Harriet Whitney Frishmuth, Edward Clark Potter, and Anna Vaughn Hyatt Huntington, among others. From Calder's arrangement with Gorham Company comes the Amon Carter Museum's *An American Stoic* and another copy at the Rhode Island School of Design. The inscription on the sculptures of "#3" and "#2",⁵⁶ respectively, indicates the casting of at least one other copy, #1, in 1912 or before.

Gorham was only one company to capitalize on the new attention to small bronze statues that arose in the second half of the nineteenth century. The renewed interest in bronze casting was due to the creation of foundries in America and the revival of the lost-wax process for casting.⁵⁷ The demand for such works was also spurred by exhibitions of small bronzes in museums early in the twentieth century. The National Sculpture Society selected nearly two hundred small bronze statues to travel the United States in 1909. The tour was considered a success, with over thirty thousand visitors to the exhibition in Chicago alone.

⁵⁶ Maureen O'Brien, Curator of Painting and Sculpture, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI, e-mail message to author, Sept. 6, 2006.

⁵⁷ Michael Edward Shapiro, *Cast and Recast: The Sculpture of Frederic Remington*, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981, 11.

Four years later, in 1913, the society prepared another exhibition of different bronzes to travel around to various museums in partnership with the Pittsburgh Art Society.⁵⁸ After seeing these works on exhibit, the general public wanted to acquire similar works for their own homes and gardens.⁵⁹

On a larger scale, 1913 saw the groundbreaking ceremony for the National American Indian Monument at Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island. Since 1909, discussions of a monument of a Native American in New York Harbor, equal to the Statue of Liberty, had been discussed among the wealthy and politically minded men and women of the Northeast. Joseph Wanamaker's son Rodman, heir to the Philadelphia department store empire and fortune, proposed a memorial and Congress enacted legislation in 1911. The bill permitted the creation of such a monument, as long as it did not cost the Federal Government any money. Outgoing President William Howard Taft and most of his Cabinet, the New York State governor, the New York City mayor and much of New York society were at the groundbreaking, held on February 22, 1913, five days after the opening of the Armory Show. The plans called for a long architectural base by Thomas Hastings with a standing Native American holding his arms out in welcome by Daniel Chester French. In spite of grand plans, and due to lack of

⁵⁸ Adeline Adams, *The Spirit of American Sculpture*, New York: The National Sculpture Society, 1923, 199-200.

⁵⁹ Gorham Manufacturing Company, *Famous Small Bronzes: a Representative Exhibit Selected from the Works of Noted Contemporary Sculptors*, New York: Gorham Company, c. 1928, 7.

funds, very little happened after the groundbreaking, and World War I put an end to the endeavor.⁶⁰

More in keeping with the intent of domestically scaled sculpture, Paulanship created a work titled *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* in 1914 (figure 15). In this twelve and a half inch sculpture, Manship employed a new style derived from his studies in Italy, where his attention became focused on the archaic Greek and Etruscan sculptures to be found there. Seeing these newly unearthed sculptures, he embraced the archaic and developed a format for himself which privileges style over narrative. For Manship, twentieth century sculpture was created for visual interest, with an emphasis on material and without regard to purpose or destination of the statue. Instead of producing a sculpture with rhetorical and public feeling, the artist expressed his private thoughts and feeling without consideration of their being legible to anyone else. The role of the viewer was to react without understanding the artist's intent.⁶¹ *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* exemplifies Manship's archaic style with its principles of formal restraint and decorative detail used in depicting a subject that is not restricted in its own movement.

Modeled in 1914 and cast in 1915, *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* consists of two pieces. The work captures the moment when the Native American has loosed an arrow at the antelope and waits to see the result of the hit. His intended target rears slightly as the arrow penetrates its body behind the right

⁶⁰ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans 1880-1930*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2004, 213-214, 257-259, 261.

⁶¹ Susan Rather, *Archaism, Modernism, and the Art of Paul Manship*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993, 56.

shoulder. The Indian Hunter kneels on his right knee with his left leg bent in front of him to provide a stable base for shooting (figure 16). His left arm is fully extended as he grasps his bow tightly in his left hand. The figure's right arm remains fully cocked, extended behind him and bent at the elbow, leaving his right hand next to his right shoulder. The extension of both arms in opposite directions turns the figure's torso at the hips, imitating the customary pose of the human figure in ancient Egyptian wall paintings. Ancient Egyptians employed this convention in order to show all the body parts, and thus have those parts translate into the afterlife. The related walking stance the Egyptians developed in their funerary sculpture was the beginning of the Ancient Greek sculptural style that was so important to Manship. In Manship's case, however, human anatomy and the action represented, rather than representational formulas, require the twisting from the hips, bringing the torso into frontal display. This gives the sculptor a chance to model the musculature of the chest, which is fully visible to the audience. The stylized muscles of the torso are matched by the stylized grooves depicting the figure's hair. The Native American's long hair is gathered together into braids doubled up over the man's ears. Manship has rendered the male nude except for moccasins and a drape with lion paws hanging over his left thigh.

Both the human and animal figures are sleek and beautifully finished. The highly polished finish amplifies the modeling of the man's muscles in his extended left arm as well as the stylized folds of the drapery. The human figure conveys the tension of the hunt and the wait for results in the tight muscles of the

man's arms and legs. The hunter's face is intent, and his brow furrowed in more stylized lines, reinforcing the incisions defining his hair. The exact place the hair begins on the forehead can only be determined by close examination, which also reveals stylized extensions of the eyebrows that curve around the outside of the eyes and end on the cheek bones. The artist has eliminated detailed naturalism in favor of stylistic definition to create the desired effect. The hunter is more stylized and idealized than Brown's *The Choosing of the Arrow*, illustrating some early twentieth century artists' search for less naturalistic forms of expression.

Manship's *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* anticipates the Art Deco style. Many decorative consumer goods of the 1920s and 1930s incorporated the sleek lines and stylized forms seen in Manship's sculpture.⁶² As Melissa Burdette points out in her 2005 thesis, Manship's connection to Art Deco, willing or not, meant his sculpture has been derided as "decorative" and commercial. His fortunes and reputation rose and fell with Art Deco movement, and his imitators. Nevertheless, Manship's style bridged the gap between the academic and the radically modern styles. Indeed, Manship may have been the first American sculptor to achieve international respectability in the twentieth century. Exhibitions of his works and books about the artist and his sculptures are sporadic and follow when interest in Art Deco revives. The latest flurry of interest resulted in a book by Susan Rather titled *Archaism, Modernism, and the Art of Paul Manship* published in 1993.⁶³

⁶² Melissa M. Burdette, "Paul Manship and Art Deco: the Evolution of Reception" (MA thesis, Texas Christian University, 2005), 15.

⁶³ Burdette, 2005, 7, 16, 17, 28, 35.

In her book Rather posits that modern archaism was devoid of narrative, as Manship and artists were reacting against the anecdotal character of late nineteenth-century sculpture.⁶⁴ However, *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* is almost as much about the narrative as it is about the style of the figures. Created in 1914, only two years after *An American Stoic*, this sculpture has returned to a story-telling function, providing its audience with a complete story in a single image. The artist meant for the two pieces to be displayed somewhat apart, thus incorporating space and time into the sculpture. The viewer must look from one piece to the other, perceiving the flight of the arrow, bridging the gap between them, or once the arrow is seen imbedded in the antelope, retracing its flight back to the archer. In addition, by inscribing the arrow directly and subtly on the antelope, the artist delays the viewer's recognition of the story. The action would be more quickly recognized if the arrow protruded from the animal's body. This concern with the time taken to understand the work was a concern of modern art, and Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase # 2* (1912) is a prime example. Exhibited at the Armory Show in 1913, to the consternation of nearly everyone who saw it, Duchamp's painting not only depicts motion, it requires time to understand. At first glance, only flat planes of color are visible, hiding the figure in the four foot, ten inch painting. Shortly thereafter, the figure and its descent down the steps become visible, and the viewer watches the nude descend. Thus, Duchamp has incorporated time to understand and time to recreate the action mentally in a single image. Manship's incorporation of time to understand

⁶⁴ Rather, 1993, 59.

and space for the action to take place makes this work modern, although Manship's adoption of an archaic style was not meant to invoke modernity. His archaic style was a challenge to the established naturalism of the past four hundred years.

Like Remington's *The Cheyenne*, Manship's *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* is a sculpture depicting purposeful action, but Manship's work portrays a pause within the story. It is the end of the stalk, after the release of the arrow, which has hit its mark, but the results of the hit are not yet apparent. This motionless quality of the *Indian Hunter* is a feature it shares with *An American Stoic*. In both sculptures the artist has dispensed with naturalistic detail in order to achieve the figure's effect. Calder's abstraction gives his figure a calm presence, while in Manship's sculpture the replacement of naturalistic elements by stylized features embodies his artistic statement. Despite being about an American subject, Manship's work has a definite foreign quality to those who are familiar with either neoclassic sculptures like Brown's *The Choosing of the Arrow* or the naturalism of Remington's statues. This strangeness stems from Manship's departure from naturalistic conventions that have been in use, for the most part, since the Renaissance. In the removal of much natural detail and the use of stylized lines, Manship has recreated the same attributes of the ancient pre-classical figures that captured his attention in Italy between 1909 and 1912, and abandoned the academic style of his training.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Rather, 1993, 36.

One of the differences between the established academic style and the emerging modern style in the early twentieth century was the modern artists' increased use of abstraction. Patricia Janis Broder, in her book *Bronzes of the American West*, sees Calder's *An American Stoic* as a "more abstract approach to a traditional Western theme."⁶⁶ The artist has simplified the form by wrapping the figure in a blanket from elbow to ankle, limiting the number of reflections on the work to the forehead, shoulders and the blanket-covered left arm. The calm demeanor removes any emotional elements from the figure, and the overall patina reinforces the monolithic form by not providing any particular color details on which the eye can focus. The emphasis on form over narrative and the lack of naturalistic detail gives the sculpture a modern feeling. In this, the figure seems to indicate an earlier date than 1920 provided by Broder for Calder's turning to modern elements for his sculptures. Charles Carpenter gives a 1910 date for the change,⁶⁷ a date echoed in the illustration of the sculpture in Broder's book. This earlier date may be based on his familiarity with *An American Stoic* as historian for the Gorham Company, which cast the work in 1912. Either 1910 or 1912 would put Calder's move towards a modern style before the Armory Show in 1913. Wayne Craven, in his seminal book *Sculpture in America*, calls Calder an academic abstractionist and writes that Calder was one of the few artists who were able to move from the academic sphere to the modern one. This was particularly difficult to do in a time when changes in group affiliation were very

⁶⁶ Broder, 1974, 289.

⁶⁷ Carpenter, 1982, 155.

difficult to make due to the strong feelings of the modernists and entrenched attitudes of the academic organizations.⁶⁸

The modernists, in trying to free art from the stranglehold of rules based on the past, advocated an art without ties to historical periods and free from concern with naturalistic detail. As mentioned before, modern art also included the fourth dimension, time, but not as one scene in a narrative. Rather, they created images that require time to discern or understand, or by representing a series of actions in a single work. Whether an image incorporated time or not, the use of abstraction by both the modernists and those engaged in the Arts and Crafts style creates a commonality between the movements. In 1936, Nikolaus Pevsner argued that the Arts and Crafts style was part of the development of modern style. However, the Arts and Crafts incorporated a return to historic sources as part of their mandate. This and Manship's return to archaism would seem to make both retro styles instead of steps towards the modern style. Also, by making Arts and Crafts a step toward the modern style, Pevsner minimized it as a style in its own right. His argument for the continual development of style in a single stream is a notion that has lost credibility for most art historians. It is more likely that different art styles exist simultaneously in the expressions of artists for the society around them. The linking of one style to another in a chain of logic or development is too simple a view of a complex phenomenon as art. The theory would also seem to overlook the ever-increasing availability of art from past times to the artist and his audience in modern times.

⁶⁸ Craven, 1984, 573

In looking at style and the presence or absence of naturalistic detail, this dichotomy seems more like a sliding scale with extreme naturalism at one end and extreme abstraction at the other. In this case, the Arts and Crafts style and modern archaism would fall near the middle of this scale. This intermediate position is one reason why the abstraction of Arts and Crafts can create a calm sensibility in *An American Stoic* and archaic modernism creates the decorative qualities of *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope*. It also allows a moderation of feeling about the subject, from anger, disgust or pity to recognition of the basic humanity of the Native American. The moderate style chosen by the artist presents the subject moderately, as the choices of the other artists in this thesis resulted in diverse representations of the Native American.

Conclusion

Each of the sculptures highlighted here depicts a Native American in a different style employed from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of World War I. Brown's *The Choosing of the Arrow* exemplifies the academic ideal nude shaped by the nineteenth century Italian art education he received. Remington's *The Cheyenne* displays the action of the West in an impressionistic style, achieved by a self-taught artist. Manship's *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope* is modern archaic style and prioritizes style over subject. Calder's *An American Stoic* demonstrates the possibilities of using the Arts and Crafts style to give the portrayal of the Native American a fitting dignity, and the possibility of future change in the artist's public style.

Calder's change of environment in 1905-1910 stimulated his imagination to a new subject -- the Native American -- and prompted him to create at least one bronze in the Arts and Crafts style. Like his father, working in the ornate Second Empire style when it was being replaced by the Renaissance palatial style of McKim, Mead, and White for public buildings,⁶⁹ Stirling Calder found himself trained in a style and form increasingly held up for criticism as old-fashioned, Beaux-Arts monumental sculpture. Calder himself recognized the need for change in artistic styles: "The changing appeal of the arts is only disturbing to those who think there is only one kind of art, instead of which the fact is that art is an everlasting sequence of the impressions and aspirations, the preferences and

⁶⁹ Craven, 1984, 484.

the visions of men.”⁷⁰ Broder acknowledges Calder’s place as a transitional figure in the history of American sculpture. She recognizes a change in his sculpture to a more modern style based on simplified, stylized forms, and dates it to about 1920.⁷¹ Craven sees a change in Calder’s style in the Swann Memorial Fountain, completed in 1924.⁷² Both of these dates place the change well after Calder’s time in the West, although the delay may be related to Calder’s reluctance to use a more modern style in public monuments due to the public’s conservative tastes. For this reason it is important to look at Calder’s small bronzes, where the artist may have felt freer to experiment, both in style and subject matter. Here the change can be recognized as early as 1910, in works directly influenced by Calder’s move to California.

After his Western experience, Calder remained active in monumental sculpture into the 1920s and 1930s. He was commissioned by the United States government to create the figure of Leif Ericsson that was given to the people of Iceland in 1931 to commemorate the one thousand year anniversary of Iceland’s Althing, the oldest continuous parliament in the world. In 1935, Calder also won a competition to create a figure for the new Washington, D. C. Post Office, and created the cast aluminum *Revolutionary Post Rider*. Calder’s other monumental sculptures can be found in Jefferson City, Missouri, Philadelphia, New York, Washington D.C., and Miami, Florida. With time, the locations of his smaller works may emerge and be compiled to complete the records of his oeuvre. *An*

⁷⁰ Calder, 1947, 19.

⁷¹ Broder, 1974, 289.

⁷² Craven, 1984, 572.

American Stoic, in spite of its smaller size, is a significant work within Calder's artistic output, both for its treatment of the Native American and for Calder's use of a style that allows him to give the Native American a fitting dignity.



Figure 1: Typical Arts and Crafts living room. *Craftsman* 28 (June 1915)



Figure 2: Typical Arts and Crafts dining room. *Craftsman* 28 (June 1915)



Figure 3: Alexander Stirling Calder, *An American Stoic*, copyright 1912.



Figure 4: Alexander Stirling Calder, *An American Stoic*, back.



Figure 5: Calder's signature, statue inverted. Copyright 2006 by Sara Blackwood.



Figure 6: Inscription on back of base. Copyright 2006 by Sara Blackwood.



Figure 7: Henry Kirke Brown, *The Choosing of the Arrow*, 1848



Figure 8: Preston Powers, *The Closing Era*, 1893.



Figure 9: *The Closing Era*, detail.



Figure 10: James Earle Fraser, *End of the Trail*, modeled c. 1894



Figure 11: Frederic Remington, *The Cheyenne*, 1901



Figure 12: *The Cheyenne*, detail



Figure 13: Adolph A. Weinman, *Chief Flatiron*, 1903.



Figure 14: Cyrus Dallin, *Indian Chief*, cast 1907.



Figure 15: Paul Manship, *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope*, modeled in 1914, cast in 1915



Figure 16: *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope*, detail

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VITA

Mary Lynn Totten was born on September 17, 1954, in Landstuhl, Rheinfalz, West Germany. She is the daughter of Col. (ret.) Jerry McAlister Totten and Mary Pool Totten. A graduate of Lanier High School, Austin, Texas, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in computer science at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas, in 1976.

She worked as a computer programmer for Tarrant County Hospital District, General Dynamics, Champlin Petroleum Company and Tandy Corporation, all in Fort Worth, for an aggregate of twenty-seven years.

In January 2004, she enrolled for graduate study at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. She received a TCU Tuition Award and a Kimbell Fellowship (2005-2006).

She is married to Earl Eugene Upchurch II.

ABSTRACT

This thesis compares Alexander Calder's *An American Stoic*, 1912, to other American bronze sculptures of the Native American, including: *The Choosing of the Arrow*, 1848, by Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886); *The Cheyenne*, 1901, by Frederic Remington (1861-1909); *Indian Hunter and Pronghorn Antelope*, 1914, by Paulanship (1885-1966); *The Closing Era*, 1893, by John Preston Powers (1843-1931); *The End of the Trail*, 1894, by James Earle Fraser (1876-1953); *Chief Flatiron* (1903) by Adolph Alexander Weinman (1870-1952); and *Indian Chief* (cast 1907) by Cyrus E. Dallin (1861-1944). Comparing and contrasting these works with Calder's *An American Stoic* provides a critical evaluation of Calder's work as a representation of the Native American, and offers an examination of an aspect of the artist's work that has been overlooked. A discussion of the Arts and Crafts style and the first appearance of modern attributes in Calder's sculpture are also included.