7: Empire

A. Imperial Attitudes

1. Class title 1 (Keppler: *Puck* cartoon 1888)

The picture is a cartoon by **Joseph Keppler** (1838–94) from *Puck* in 1888. It actually has to do with tariff reform, but that needn't bother us. To my eyes, it shows **President Grover Cleveland** trying to pull the British Lion off the map, so that American shipping might have a chance. The British Empire was founded on its domination of ocean trade; Britannia rules the waves, after all! America only claimed her proper share; she had no interest in forming an Empire—or had she? Let's look again at the comparison I put on the web.

2. **COMPARISON 1**: Images of Empire
3. Map: The British Empire in 1886
4. Emanuel Leutze: *Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way* (1861, US Capitol)

Despite the different media, both of these are artificial constructions set out to make a point. Is the comparison a fair one? What does it say about the national attitude to the idea of Empire then? Can you say the same about attitudes now? In the Victorian era, Empire was a central component of British identity; many of the great foundations are not called "National" this or that, but "Imperial." If you ask a Briton today, they will acknowledge that Britain had an Empire once, but either lost it or gave it up. But to talk of *American* Imperialism is something of an insult—yet the word does keep cropping up, as in the title of this painted tribute to **Manifest Destiny** in the Capitol, painted by **Emanuel Leutze** (1816–68), the artist of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. It is a slippery subject, and I hope I can handle its artistic consequences without getting into deep waters politically. But for the first hour, I want to stick with the **British Empire**, which everybody at least acknowledges as an historical reality even though opinion continues to swing by 180° or more as to whether it was a force for good or ill.

B. Pax Britannica

5. Section title B (Barker: *The Secret of England's Greatness,* 1863 NPG)

That was *The Secret of England's Greatness* (1863) by **Thomas Jones Barker** (1813–82), showing **Queen Victoria** presenting a Bible to a kneeling Zulu chief. It is an iconic example of the Victorian belief in the benefits of Empire-building: Colonization, Chrisitanization, and allegiance to the Crown.

6. Drummond: *The Assumption of Queen Victoria* (gradual reveal) — pause at start

If you think Victorian painters were over the top, look at this. It is the bottom half of a 1901 painting by **Arthur Drummond** (1871–1951), an artist I know nothing about. It was painted in 1901 to mark the accession of Victoria's son, **Edward VII**, who is shown with various officers of his court. But pan up to see what has happened to his mother!

7. Drummond: *The Assumption of Queen Victoria* (top half)

The painting has the extraordinary title *The Assumption of Queen Victoria,* by analogy with the Virgin Mary who, in Catholic tradition, did not die but was *assumed* into heaven. So we see Victoria above the clouds, with **Prince Albert** to her right (left in the picture), and posthumous portraits of other real Victorian figures, while kneeling before her we see representatives of various countries of the Empire, paying her tribute. The iconography is way over the top, but as I said, Victorians were defined by the Empire, and the sense of the good they had brought to the dark corners of the world. Not for nothing was that map of the Empire headed "Freedom, Fraternity, Federation." Let's do a tour around its edges to look at the iconography there. You will see India represented by a tiger and an elephant; we'll then go up to Canada, across to various other Caribbean or Asian possessions, and end with Australia (kangaroo and sheep). The music, of course, is *Rule Britannia.*

8. Map of the British Empire, video tour
9. The British Empire in 1921

The Empire reached its maximum size in 1921. After that, countries began to gain independence, although most continued in the looser association with Britain known as the **Commonwealth of Nations**. Of all the British adventures overseas, I want to concentrate especially on India, partly because my grandfather was an official of the British Raj, and my father was born there at the end of the Nineteenth Century, in Simla, the summer capital of the British administration.

10. Simla, then and now
11. Nathaniel Dance: *Baron Clive of Plassey* (1773, NPG)

Until the middle of the 19th century, British India was a commercial enterprise, not a governmental one. The British East India Company was founded in 1600 and funded by private stockholders. Beginning by establishing small trading posts around the coast of India, they eventually came to control the entire sub-continent, partly through commercial treaties, partly through military conquest, using their own private armies of Indian mercenaries known as **Sepoys**. The man credited with locking all this into place is **Robert Clive** (1725–74), who went out originally as a clerk, but distinguished himself in an early military confrontation, and went on to win the decisive **Battle of Plassey** (near present-day Calcutta) in 1757, defeating the forces of the **Nawab of Bengal** and his supporters the French, essentially putting an end to French expansion in India.

12. Francis Hayman: *Clive Meeting with Mir Jafar at Plassey* (1760, London NPG)

I say "defeating," but the key factor in the victory was Clive's bribe to the Nawab's chief general, **Mir Jafar**, to switch sides, on the promise of being made the ruler in his place. But a puppet ruler. The East India Company made progress by making treaties with minor princelings that gave them trading and tax-

collecting privileges, and supported the private armies that the Company could use to put pressure on the princeling's rivals.

13. Benjamin West: *Mughal Emperor Shah Alam Hands a Diwani to Robert Clive* (1818)

Look at this picture by **Benjamin West** (1738–1820), painted long after the event. It shows the Mughal Emperor Shal Alam handing Clive a *diwani* or scroll granting tax collection rights in all his former empire of North Central India, thus extending the Company's rule westwards from Bengal to cover virtually the full breadth of India. It is highly idealized however; apparently the treaty actually took place in a back room in indecent haste. The Company benefitted hugely from each such so-called "treaty." In 1700, India's share of world trade was a whopping 28%; Britain's was a little above 2%. By 1900, these figures had reversed. Clive also amassed a huge personal fortune too, so much so that he came under censure in the last years of his life, under accusations of corruption. He was cleared, but took his own life.

14. Items from the Clive Collection at Powis Castle

It is said that the collection of his Indian souvenirs at Powis Castle in England is greater than in any Indian or Pakistani museum. But though undoubtedly more valuable, it is much the same as any middle class British family with connections to Empire would have building up a century or more later.

15. Indian Sepoy Uniforms

But this persistent exploitation of India caused resentment, which reached a breaking-point in 1857 with the **Sepoy Rebellion**, often referred to as the **Indian Mutiny**. It was triggered by the issue of ammunition cartridges smeared with grease that some said was beef fat, others pork—either being insupportable by one religion or the other. The Sepoys captured Delhi and took over large areas of the country, often with brutal massacre of the British population, including women and children. The British responded by sending in reinforcements—regular British army troops, not Company mercenaries—and eventually brought the situation under control. But although the Governor General urged clemency, the result was equal or even greater slaughter.

16. Barker: *Relief of Lucknow* and Armitage: *Retribution*

So contrast these two images of the putting-down of the rebellion. In the one at the top, **Thomas Jones Barker** presents the *Relief of Lucknow* in traditional heroic terms. **Edward Armitage** (1817–96), though using symbolic language, is altogether more bloodthirsty, even in his title: *Retribution.*

The other result of the Sepoy Mutiny was the ending of Company control in India and the proclamation of the **British Raj** in 1858, with Queen Victoria as its titular head. By the end of Victoria's reign, British confidence in its colonies and the rightness of its rule had reached a peak. I would like us to compare two poems: one by **Rudyard Kipling** (1865–1936) written for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, and the other (which we'll hear first) part of a pageant called *Crown of India* written in 1912 for the visit of King George V to India, with music by Sir **Edward Elgar** (1857–1934); the words are by **Henry Harrison**.

17. **COMPARISON 2:** Harrison: *Crown of India*, India's speech
18. **COMPARISON 2:** Kipling: *The White Man's Burden*, Jonathan Jones
19. Harrison: *Crown of India*, India's speech (text)
20. Kipling: *The White Man's Burden*, Jonathan Jones (text)

We might as well hear how the Elgar piece continues….

21. Elgar: *The Crown of India*, Saint George's aria

C. The Case for Kipling

22. Section title C (Kipling photograph)

A recent article on Kipling in the *New Yorker* (link on the website) calls *The White Man's Burden* "the most tone-deaf and offensive of all Kipling's poems." But this is because opinions on colonialism have totally changed, and the acknowledged Poet Laureate of the British Raj and youngest-ever winner of the **Nobel Prize in Literature** (in 1907 at age 41) is seen as a national embarrassment. But he believed what he wrote, and he did not always write what the Empire wanted to hear. This, anyway, is the theme of the documentary *Kipling's Adventure in India* made by **Patrick Hennessey** for the BBC in 2016, tracing the seven years the writer spent in India in his late teens and early twenties. It sent me back to some of the dozen volumes of Kipling left by my father, but hitherto untouched by me, and opened my eyes to some terrific stuff. I am also showing a fairly long segment of the film for its portrait of colonial society.

23. Hennessy: *Kipling's Indian Adventure*, opening
24. The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore

Kipling got a job as Assistant Editor at the **Civil and Military Gazette** in Lahore. He began as a reporter of humdrum society events, but he would later use it as a vehicle for his own stories, finding that the writing of fiction gave him the ability to express his fascination with what he saw as the *real* India—outside the colonial pale—and question the moral assumptions of his fellow expatriates. Hennessey mentions two stories to make his point; both are short, both are wonderful reads, but I have to make do with his summaries. The first, ***Beyond the Pale***, is about an English officer who ventures into the old city for a forbidden liaison with an Indian girl; it is the first fiction he published. The second, ***Lispeth,*** is set in the hills, in Simla, the summer residence of the British Raj (where my father was born). This time, it is the Indian woman who falls for the Englishman—but Kipling's sympathies are all with her, not with him.

25. Hennessy documentary: *Beyond the Pale* and *Lispeth*
26. Title page of *Plain Tales from the Hills*

Apparently, his tendency to color outside the lines was seen as letting the side down, so he was advised to move back to England, where he more or less remained, apart from a few years in America (of which more anon). But Hennessey believes that this comparatively short time as a young adult back in the land where he was born was the foundation for the remainder of his long career.

27. Hennessy documentary: Kipling leaves India
28. — still from the above

In my estimation, Kipling was a great short-story writer, and a pretty good novelist; I am reading his masterpiece *Kim* (1901) as I write. He was more variable as a poet, but the poems are all I can discuss in any detail in this class. I am going to give you three: *Gunga Din* and *The Last of the Light Brigade* (both 1890), and the one he considered his best, *Recessional* (1897).

29. Kipling: *Gunga Din* cover

Gunga Din first appeared in Kipling's collection *Barrack-Room Ballads* of 1892. As Hennessey said, Kipling preferred the company of ordinary soldiers to that of the Nabobs in the Club, and wrote numerous poems in a kind of Cockney slang. Gunga Din is a native water-bearer or *bhisti*. He accepts all kinds of abuse as he goes around bringing water to the soldiers even when they are under fire. The first three stanzas are racist as all get-out, yet the speaker recognizes something special about the Indian: "*An' for all 'is dirty 'ide / 'E was white, clear white, inside / When 'e went to tend the wounded under fire!*" Then, in the last two stanzas, the speaker is wounded; Gunga Din saves his life, then loses his own. The poem ends with the line everybody remembers: "*You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din!*" Here they are, performed by an actor**, Michael David Farrow**, as though by an old retired soldier chatting around a camp fire. It's a blurry video, but I do like the tone.

30. Kipling: *Gunga Din*, ending
31. Tennyson: *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, final stanzas

Though also written in soldiers' vernacular, ***The Last of the Light Brigade*** shows a quite different side of Kipling, on the one hand addressing a real-life situation, and on the other specifically honoring the power of poetry. Even back then, apparently, schoolboys were made to learn *The Charge of the Light Brigade* by **Alfred Lord Tennyson** (1809–92), commemorating an 1854 incident in the **Crimean War**, when a 600-man cavalry brigade was mistakenly sent in an attack up the wrong valley, straight into an enfilade of Russian guns. These are the poem's last stanzas. "When can their glory fade?", Tennyson asks. But in fact the few survivors of the battle were *not* supported; thirty years after the battle, they were reduced to begging in poverty. A national appeal raised only 24 pounds. Kipling imagines a group of them going to visit Tennyson, asking him to write about them one more time; he does, and it makes a difference. Kipling, of course, only imagines Tennyson writing; but he wrote himself—this poem—and it *did* make a difference. Let's hear the two poems read back to back: the end of the Tennyson by **Tom O'Bedlam**, the whole of the Kipling by **Jonathan Jones**.

32. Tennyson: *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, final stanzas
33. Kipling: *The Last of the Light Brigade*
34. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897

Kipling originally wrote *The White Man's Burden* in 1897 for Queen Victoria's Diamons Jubilee. But he changed his mind; the poem would be published in America later, as you shall hear in the next hour. Instead, he wrote a shorter, darker, and more reflective poem, *Recessional*, to be printed on the day *after* the festivities had all taken place. More than anything else I have shown you today, I really respect

him for this. If time, I shall give you two readings as a kind of comparison, one playing up its solemnity, and the other almost chatty, spoken by an eccentric old professor; they complement each other.

35. **COMPARISON 3:** Kipling: *Recessional*, Daniel Avinash
36. **COMPARISON 3:** Kipling: *Recessional*, Tim Wilson
37. Class title 2 (The Mall House at Simla)

D. An Empire in Five Cartoons

38. Section title D (McKinley and Panama)

History through artifacts; in this case, cartoons. This is one from 1899 by **Victor Gillam** (1858–1920). It shows **President McKinley** looking down at the Panama Isthmus while Uncle Sam is saying to him "Finish the canal, McKinley, and make our national expansion complete in your first administration." The incentive, as always, is trade. But look at the places where the American flag is planted: **The Phillipines**, **Hawaii**, **Cuba**, **Puerto Rico**. It looks awfully like an Empire to me.

39. *Judge* cartoon, 1898, the US and Cuba

The year before, in 1898, the United States had entered the **Cuban War of Indepdence**, under pressure from commercial interests and the newspapers, whicj published lurid stories of Spanish atrocities on the island. McKinley held back, seeking peaceful settlement, but the mysterious explosion of the USS Maine in Havana harbor, killing numerous American sailors, was the spark to the tinder. In the resulting Spanish-American War, the United States emerged the victor; among the spoils were Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. So it was an Empire by accident.

40. McKinley and the Philippines, with Kipling's *White Man's Burden*

There was then a question of what America would do with these new territories, especially the Philippines. If she ratified the **Treaty of Paris**, all these islanders would become her responsibility. **Rudyard Kiping** took the discarded poem he had originally written for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, *The White Man's Burden,* and published it simultaneously in the London *Times* and *New York Sun*. His aim was to persuade McKinley to take the step. Kipling's fame was such that this did not go unnoticed; witness this other Victor Gillam cartoon from *Judge*.

41. *Judge* cartoon, 1899, *The White Man's Burden*

McKinley did sign the treaty and take on the new islands. Thus at the turn of the century, America found herself far from immune to the New Imperialism of the later 19th century, when many European countries—most notably Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal—added greatly to their overseas possessions, for example by carving Africa up between them. Eventually, America would pull back from The Philippines and Cuba, but in the interim she found herself in the anomalous state depicted in my fifth cartoon. I wonder if you'd like to dissect it.

42. **DISCUSSION:** *Puck* cartoon, "School Begins"
43. — detail from the above

[Note that I have touched on much of what follows in an earlier course on National Identity, which some of you may have taken. So a number of the next few examples may be familiar.]

E. Empire Avoided

44. Section title E (Penn's Treaty with the Indians)

Though cries of **American Imperialism** rise up whenever the US intervenes in the Middle East or McDonalds opens stores in Africa, this country has more or less pulled back from expansionism. The truly uncomfortable parallels with Britain are not the acquisition of overseas territory so much as how each nation has treated **indigenous peoples**. And in that regard, neither nation has much to be proud of.

45. — the same, with caption but without title

This is *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians,* painted in 1772 by **Benjamin West**. Of course Pennsylvania was a British colony when Penn got here, and he himself was British. Penn was a Quaker, as West himself was before he came to London. And putting his Quaker principles into effect, Penn did not take the land from the Native Americans, he bought it. **Edward Hicks** (1780–1849), another Quaker, would often include versions of this scene in the background of his many depictions of *The Peaceable Kingdom.*

46. Edward Hicks: *The Peaceable Kingdom* (1834, Washington NGA)

Such a vision was far from Empire. Still, the word does crop up fairly often in the early years. Washington told Lafayette that "*there will assuredly come a day when this country will have some weight in the scale of Empires*"; the nickname of New York as **The Empire State** is said to derive from **Washington's** calling it "*the seat of Empire*." **Jefferson** labeled the country an "*Empire for Liberty*" and saw the Louisiana Purchase as an appropriate extension of that Empire. The Hudson Valley painter **Thomas Cole** (1801–48), whom we have met before, executed a series between 1833 and 1836 called *The Course of Empire*. It consists of five landscapes, all of the same place seen at different epochs and from different angles. He did give the pictures titles, but I will suppress them for now to ask *you* what you consider to be the thrust of the series.

47. **COMPARISON 4:** Cole: *The Course of Empire*, all 5 pictures
48. — Cole, picture 1
49. — Cole, picture 2
50. — Cole, picture 3
51. — Cole, picture 4
52. — Cole, picture 5
53. — Cole: *The Course of Empire*, all five pictures (repeat)

Some questions as you look at these. What are the changes from picture to picture? Which do you think represents the ideal? Is this the same as Cole's own ideal? What is the overall message? He called them: *The Savage State*, *the Arcadian or Pastoral State*, *The Consummation*, *Destruction*, and *Desolation*. You might think that the ideal is represented by the middle picture, *The Consummation*, yet the overall message seems to be that **Empires do not last**. In which case, you'd think that Cole himself would favor the second stage, *The Arcadian State*. Almost all his paintings seem to occupy the middle ground between the first and the second: the American wilderness and what can be made of it.

54. John Vanderlyn: *The Death of Jane McCrea* (1804, Hartford)

Pennsylvania was unique among the colonies by not having an army. However, many of the other colonies were constantly at war with their Native American neighbors, and the views of the Indian appearing in art is more often warlike. This painting by another expatriate student of West's, **John Vanderlyn** (1775-1852) is a maybe-true event that soon passed into American myth: the murder and scalping of **Jane McCrea**. Jane was a young girl on her way to join her fiancé, who at that time was fighting on the British side in the Revolutionary War. The facts are far from clear, but the notion that her supposed murderers, native scouts working for General Burgoyne, were allowed to get away with it, was a great cause of anger for the American Patriots, even though the victim was a Loyalist.

55. **COMPARISON 5**: Sculptures by Persico and Greenough

Here is another comparison, of two sculptures of about the same date (1840) that used to be placed on either side of the main entrance to the US Capitol until they were removed for reasons of political correctness; I don't have bigger versions, and the photos I do have are not great. What do you think is going on in each one? Why do you think they were removed? The one on the left (2 views) is *The Discovery of America* by **Luigi Persico** (1791–1860); it represents **Columbus** as Master of the New World, while a native American woman cowers in fear or awe or both. The one on the right is by **Horatio Greenough** (1805–52), and is called *The Rescue*. Here the Native American is prevented from committing his atrocity by the Backwoodsman grasping him from behind. It used to be known as *Daniel Boone Protects his Family.*

56. Leutze: *The Last of the Mohicans* (1850), with book covers

The sporadic warfare between Indians and white settlers provided material for several of the novels of **James Fenimore Cooper** (1789–1851). The most famous of these, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1850), is set against the background of the **French and Indian War** (1754-63) and involves some wholesale slaughter by the Huron tribe. Basically, though, it is an historical romance, becoming the most popular book of its time, going into many editions and inspiring even our friend **Emanuel Leutze**. It is centered around the figure of **Natty Bumppo** (known as *Hawkeye*), a white man brought up as an Indian and at ease in both worlds. The final scene of the 1992 movie takes place after all the slaughter is over, and shows Hawkeye (**Daniel Day-Lewis**), Cora, the white girl he is protecting (**Madeleine Stowe**), and his Indian friend Chingachgook (**Russell Means**), the last survivor of the his tribe, the title character

57. Michael Mann: *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992), final sequence
58. George Catlin: *Stu-mick-o-sucks* (1832, Smithsonian)

Cooper did not simply make up things about the Indians; he was friends with an Indian chief. But at the same time, he was clearly romanticizing the Indian people. There were a few artists who spent large portions of their year among Indians, treating them with respect and the desire for understanding. The most famous of these is **George Catlin** (1796-1872), who began his career as an attorney in Philadephia. But an encounter with a group of Indians who were passing through spurred an interest in what he called "America's vanishing race." Giving up the law, he spent the next several years in the West, visiting 18 different tribes, studying their ways, collecting their artefacts, and obtaining enough of their confidence to be able to paint about 500 portraits.

59. Deas: *The Death Struggle* (1845), with Bierstadt: *The Last of the Buffalo* (1888, NGA)

Another artist, **Charles Deas** (1818-67), set out to emulate his hero George Catlin, and also spent time living among Indians to familiarize himself with their ways. However, the painting shown here, *The Death Struggle*, is not an objective portrayal like Catlin's but an allegory of the struggle between white Americans and the original inhabitants, which he felt could only end badly for both of them. I am pairing it with a late painting by **Albert Bierstadt** (1830–1902), *The Last of the Buffalo Herd*, that seems to address a similar apocalyptic, or at least ecological, theme.

60. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: *Hiawatha* (1855), book covers

Fenimore Cooper's success was partly that he tapped into native lore for a country that had no unified folklore of its own. Inspired by **Elias Lönnrot**, the writer/compiler of the Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*, **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807–82) used its meter and diction to write his own national epic, made up of Indian characters and stories that were partly derived from Indian lore, partly made up. Longfellow relies on a lot of nature description, plus Indian names such as *Gitche Gumee,* or “the Big-Sea-Water” for Lake Superior. This is the opening stanza:

61. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: *Hiawatha* (1855), opening

Published in 1855, this was also hugely successful, inspiring numerous editions, musical settings, and parodies—it is so easy to make fun of! Here are two short samples of the most famous setting, *Hiawatha’s Wedding Feast* (1898) by the Black English composer **Samuel Coleridge-Taylor** (1875-1912). I admit to choosing it out of nostalgia; I sang in a performance of it as a boy alto, my first year at boarding school. I’ll play the opening, whose incantatory quality and all those names appealed to me a lot at 14! Immediately after, I’ll play the opening of the tenor aria, “Onway, awake, beloved!” which is pure Romanticism without any “Indian” feel at all. I thought of adding titles, but the diction of the tenor, Chauncey Packer, is incredible!

62. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: *Hiawatha’s Wedding Feast*, opening
63. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor: *Hiawatha’s Wedding Feast*, “Onaway, awake, beloved”

F. Empire Embraced

64. Section title F (Leutze: *Westward the Course of Empire*), video tour

This is where we came in (does anyone say that any more?). **Emanuel Leutze** using the word “Empire” in his title without apology: *Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way* (1861). **Jefferson** believed that independence and civic virtue went hand-in-hand with land ownership, and that the Republic must expand in order to reach its full potential. And in 1845, a journalist named **John O'Sullivan** put the idea into words: it was the Americans' **Manifest Destiny** to carry the "great experiment of liberty" to the edge of the continent, and to "overspread and to possess the whole of the land which Providence has given us." Note the word "Providence"; once again, the imperative towards land acquisition is given a religious cover.

65. **COMPARISON 6:** Two depictions of Westward Expansion
66. Bierstadt: *Emigrants Crossing the Plains* (1869, Youngstown, Butler Institute)
67. John Gast: *American Progress* (1885, Autry Museum, Los Angeles)

I am putting these up as a comparison, though I doubt we’ll have much time to discuss them. Two depictions of the trek West, by **Albert Bierstadt** and **John Gast** (1842–96). Which is the more real? And does “more real” actually mean real? I have not given the date of the Gast, but can you see any elements that might date it? The telegraph or the railroad; the Golden Spike was driven in 1863. But principally, I am thinking of the Brooklyn Bridge, which opened in 1883; the picture is dated 1885.

68. William Tylee Ranney: *Advice on the Prairie* (1853, Buffalo Bill Center, WY)

From grandly allegorical to down-to-earth and intimate. I am throwing in this picture by an artist I didn’t know, **William Tylee Ranney** (1813–57), because I think he gets something of what it was actually like for a whole family to make that long trek across the endless plains.

69. Albert Bierstadt: *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak* (1863, NY Met)

And **Albert Bierstadt** had already gone ahead of them with his visions of the pot of gold at the rainbow’s end. For the first pioneers, it was a literal pot of gold, the goal of the **California Gold Rush** of 1848–55. But even without that, Bierstadt painted visions of another Eden, to equal or surpass those of **Thomas Cole**, which has already been spoiled. And it is an Eden where everybody lives peaceably in harmony with nature; note his depiction of an Indian Village.

70. Charles Marion Russell: *The Custer Fight* (lithograph, 1903)

But as we know, the Indians were *not* living peaceably on lands of their choice. Many had been forcibly relocated from the East in the **Trail of Tears** occasioned by the **Indian Removal Act** signed by **Andrew Jackson** in 1830; Wikipedia makes no bones about calling this an **ethnic cleansing**. And even the new Western reservations were continually eroded, not only by the continuing pressure of white settlers westward, but by the Indian tribes themselves, encroaching on their weaker neighbors. It was such a conflict between the Lakota and the Crow that brought in the US Cavalry under **Colonel George Custer**

in the 1876 **Battle of Little Bighorn**, in which Custer himself and over a third of his men were killed. This much later painting is by **Charles Marion Russell** (1864–1926).

71. Buffalo Bill poster

News of these events kept Americans back East breathless; they wanted to see for themselves. One man, **William Frederick Cody** (1846–1914), known as **Buffalo Bill**, saw an opportunity. And with that, I'll end the hour: first with a documentary from the Smithsonian, then a snatch from the 1946 musical by **Irving Berlin** (1888–1989) about his show, *Annie Get Your Gun*—which also happens to be one of the only two American musicals I have ever directed.

72. Smithsonian video: Buffalo Bill
73. Irving Berlin: *Annie Get Your Gun*, "There's no business like show business"
74. Class title 3 (Buffalo Bill poster)