

**Tough Trip to Publication**  
*Tough Trip through Paradise*  
and the Beautiful Wives of Andrew Garcia

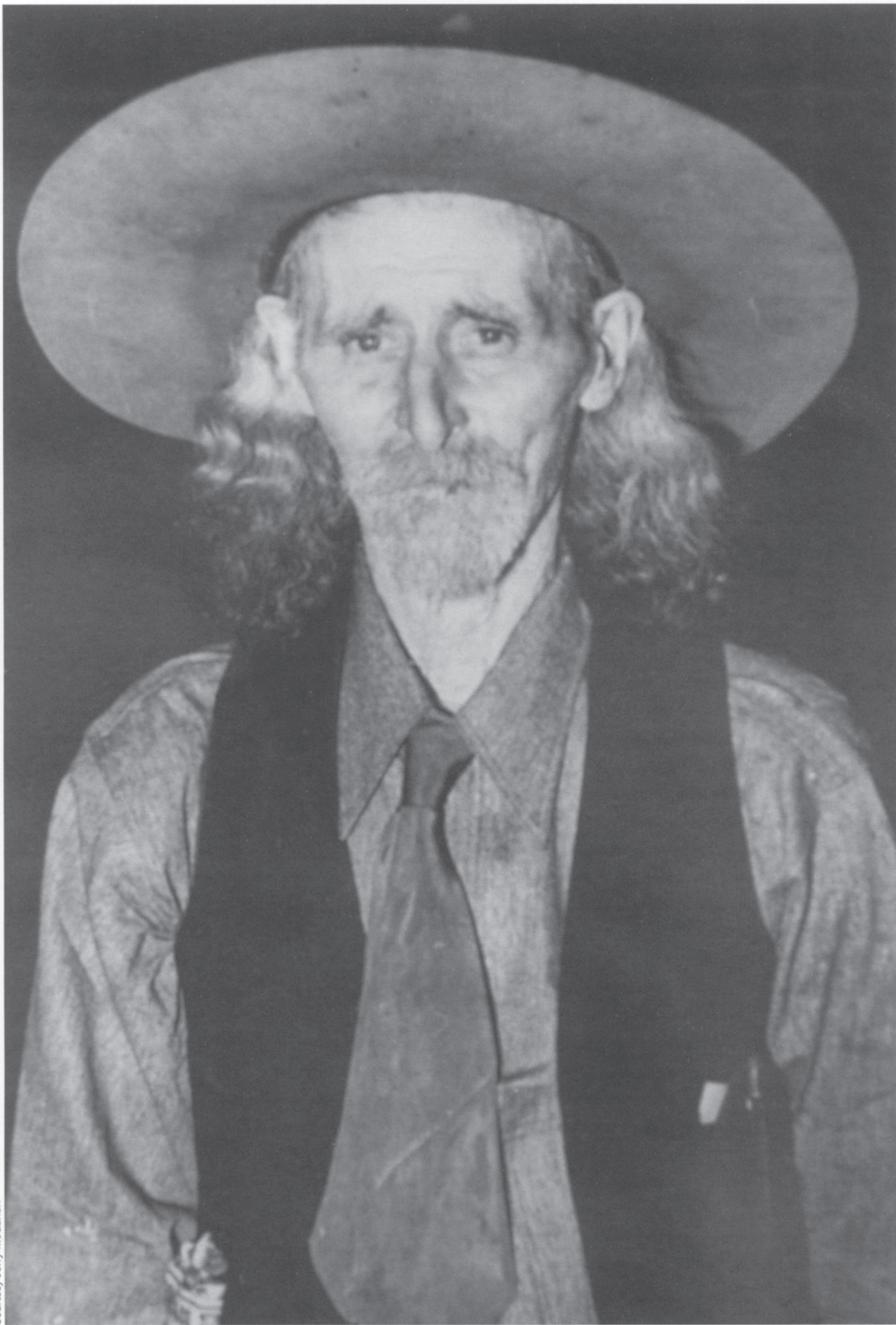
**by Diane Smith**



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, 942-340

No one has ever read or knows all that is in this manuscript of mine.

—ANDREW GARCIA TO L. V. MCWHORTER, MAY 18, 1932



Courtesy Jerry McGahan

**On January 3, 1943**, Montana rancher and outfitter Andrew Garcia died in his log home near Fish Creek, leaving behind hundreds if not thousands of handwritten and typed manuscript pages stashed in dynamite boxes and wrapped in the heavy waxed paper meant for storing powder. Throughout his later life, Garcia had intended to publish his memoir, but it took the efforts of Bennett H. Stein to finally edit a book from these manuscripts. *Tough Trip through Paradise, 1878–1879* was published in 1967.<sup>1</sup>

Garcia's memoir, at times humorous and at others deadly serious, became an instant classic.<sup>2</sup> Still in print after more than forty years, *Tough Trip through Paradise's* enduring popularity may lie in part with the fact that Garcia's sardonic understanding of the West counters the well-worn myths of western fiction, where the hero "always manages to cover up the trail on the Indians or villains who are pursuing [him] with the red-headed maiden in his arms on horseback."<sup>3</sup> As far as Garcia was concerned, this ideal was nothing more than a "beautiful hallucination and . . . B.S." In Garcia's West, the Indians and villains "could always find my trail dead easy and run the hell out of me."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Garcia saw nothing romantic about the Indian, who one day was robbing and stealing whatever he could find and the next was "fighting for his life and liberty and a square deal, which he knew from past experience he would not get from a white man."<sup>5</sup> This ironic tone weaves throughout Garcia's narrative, which probably helped enhance its reception in the late 1960s and its reputation for so many years after the author's death.<sup>6</sup>

And yet, in spite of the book's enduring popularity, questions still persist about how Garcia's memoir came to be written and whether or not it was possible that "an adventurous Spanish kid from the Rio Grande," as Bennett Stein referred to Garcia in his introduction, could generate such a novel view of the American West. No one has ever contested the existence of Andrew Garcia; he was well known late in life through his participation in the Society of Montana Pioneers, and state newspapers often featured interviews with Garcia about his exploits on the early frontier. More-

over, Stein took great pains to ground the events of Garcia's life in Montana history, reproducing detailed maps and photographs of the landscape that the Nez Perce and later Garcia passed through and quoting at length from Garcia's correspondence with the Nez Perce historian L. V. McWhorter.

In the first edition of the book, Stein also included portraits of Garcia and his Nez Perce and Pend d'Oreille wives—In-who-lise, who was killed in June 1880; Squis-squis, who died after being thrown from a horse near Big Timber in September 1882; and Mal-lit-tay-lay, "whom he brought to Fish creek when he settled there" and who died two years later.<sup>7</sup> Another of the book's photographs shows Garcia with his fourth wife, Barbara Voll Garcia, whom Garcia married in 1899 as he settled in as a Montana rancher and guide and "tried again to be a white man."<sup>8</sup>

Bennett Stein, for all his skillful framing of the narrative, is largely responsible for the mystery that still surrounds Andrew Garcia's manuscripts. An enigma in his own right, the Illinois native allegedly traveled west after college on the back of a potato truck to pursue a number of careers ranging from rancher to newspaper reporter to Montana state senator. In the late 1940s, Stein began his quest to "discover" the stories of Montana Indians, the cadence of their speech, and the sound of their music. During his travels, Stein met Syd Ward, "an elderly white man . . . who lived near the Indians," who helped the young, self-defined ethnologist record the "history and stories of the [Salish] tribe." In 1948, Ward first told Stein about the dynamite boxes stuffed full of manuscripts and introduced him to Andrew Garcia's heirs. In 1960, Stein obtained the Garcia papers, establishing the Rock Foundation to hold all rights to the materials.<sup>9</sup>

Because Stein never allowed anyone to view the manuscripts Andrew Garcia left behind, historians and readers alike have been left to guess about Garcia's memoir and how *Tough Trip through Paradise* came to be written. For example, historian K. Ross Toole once told William Bevis, who wrote about Garcia in his book *Ten Tough Trips: Montana Writers and the West*, that Stein had shown him the dynamite crates

The provenance of *Tough Trip through Paradise*, Andrew Garcia's memoir of his life with his Nez Perce wife, In-who-lise, has been the subject of much speculation. Edited by Bennett H. Stein, the book was published in 1967, more than two decades after Garcia's death. Since Stein never allowed anyone else to see Garcia's handwritten manuscript, historians have been left to guess about how the book came to be written and why, if Garcia (opposite, circa 1940) was indeed the author, he did not himself pursue publication during his lifetime.

## Book by Ben Stein Nearly Finished

## Andrew Garcia's Writings to Live in History

By JEFF GIBSON  
(State Bureau)

**BILLINGS** — Indians and frontiersmen as they really were, traders, drifters and "the boys in blue," all of the rough, hardliving folk who inhabited Montana territory just before it became a state will live again in a forthcoming book by a Livingston resident.

The original account of

ston, acquired the yellowed manuscript and began the tedious process of checking, editing and re-writing to turn the account into a clear, accurate and exciting history.

The book will be released next spring by Houghton Mifflin Co.

Stein first heard of Garcia and his story in 1948 while recording Flathead Indian tribal

recollections of Garcia to visit Garcia's family, some of whom still reside in western Montana, and to examine the handwritten manuscript.

"I could see from the first glance that the manuscript had merit," Stein says. He began then his efforts to obtain the document — efforts that weren't successful for 12 years. During

Indian woman named In-Who-Lies.

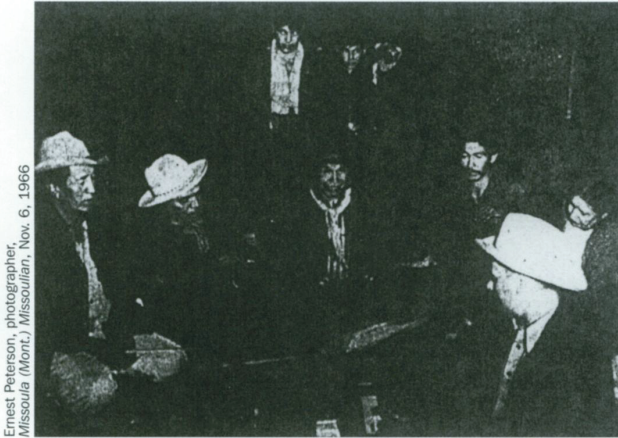
Her account of the Nez Perce retreat in 1877 to avoid being placed on a white man's reservation includes the Big Hole battle southwest of present Dillon. It also includes an account of the Indians' surrender in northern Montana.

Garcia spent the last 29 years

lingame verified the manuscript's accuracy.

At a writers conference in Missoula, Pulitzer Prize winner A. B. Guthrie Jr. talked over the project with Stein and, Stein said "gave me a lot of encouragement."

The book will be illustrated with pictures from Garcia's collection, some by western pho-



Ernest Peterson, photographer, Missoula (Mont.), Missoulian, Nov. 6, 1966

**Announcing the anticipated publication of Garcia's memoir—Garcia had been a Montana celebrity of sorts during his later life—the Missoulian ran this photograph of editor Bennett Stein (in the white hat in the right foreground) with members of the Salish tribe, whose tribal songs Stein was recording in 1948, the year he first learned of Garcia's story.**

but not the actual manuscripts. Another Montanan, however, confirmed to Bevis that he had seen the set of pages, describing it as "nearly illegible and nearly illiterate. But it did tell stories." Then there was the widely circulated legend that when Bevis was researching his book on the male-dominated world of Montana letters, he arrived at Stein's house outside of Livingston, Montana, hoping to see the Garcia manuscripts, and Stein chased him off with a gun. The story was apocryphal, it turned out, but it served to confirm that the book's legend had taken on a life of its own. As historian Dave Walter once commented about the questions surrounding the Garcia manuscripts: "It really is one of the great remaining mysteries in Montana history/literature."<sup>10</sup>

If Garcia did indeed write his memoir, and his manuscript was as Bennett Stein represented it, why did Garcia never pursue publication during his life-

time? Did he fear, as Stein maintained, "that his books would be stripped for the benefit of his would-be helpers, and . . . that his personal manner of expression would be lost," or was there something about himself that Garcia was reluctant to reveal?<sup>11</sup> Even as an aura of mystery continues to surround the book, important clues have been hidden in plain sight: L. V. McWhorter's papers at the Washington State University archives include a sizable collection of letters to and from Garcia as well as a number of Garcia's handwritten and typed manuscripts that shed at least some light on how Garcia came to write his memoir—for a quick look through the McWhorter collection confirms that Garcia did indeed write the memoir.

For fifteen years, through the depth of the Great Depression, McWhorter and Garcia maintained a lively if not always cordial correspondence about the Nez Perce, the writing of history, and the challenges associated with publication and being a writer. While McWhorter pushed Garcia for more and more details about the Nez Perce for his own work, he also encouraged Garcia to pursue publication on his own. And even though Garcia at times turned coy when pressed to go public with his life story, claiming his manuscript was not yet ready and he had much more to tell, his desire to see his work in print and even translated onto the silver screen is palpable throughout his correspondence with McWhorter. Their letters also reveal the back-and-forth of two ambitious and committed historians and writers, both dedicated to writing history from a native point of view. But in the end, a simple photograph, also in plain view, may be the key to understanding Garcia and the rest of his story.

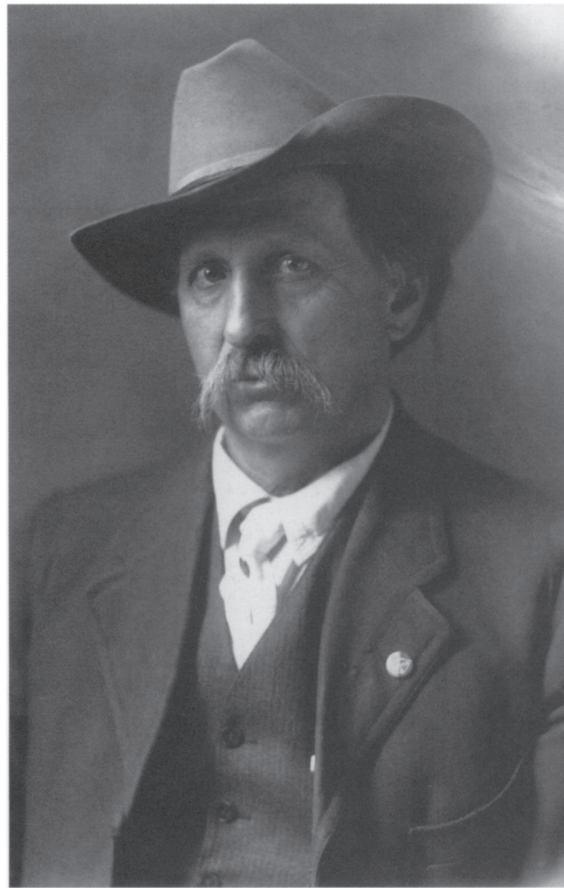
**Interestingly,** it appears to have been a chance meeting that brought Andrew Garcia and L. V. McWhorter together. In 1928, McWhorter passed

through Missoula, Montana, on his return from the Big Hole battlefield where, in 1877, Colonel John Gibbon and the Seventh Infantry opened fire on a group of nearly eight hundred sleeping Nez Perce men, women, and children. An advocate for Native Americans in general and the Nez Perce in particular, McWhorter planned to document the Nez Perce flight from Idaho to Canada. To better understand the Big Hole battlefield and what had transpired there, McWhorter traveled with Chief Black Eagle and Peo Peo Tholek, both of whom had participated in the battle as young men, and interpreter Sam Lott (Chief Many Wounds). Lott had been a teenager sent to an Indian boarding school in 1877 but had interviewed many of the battle's survivors.<sup>12</sup>

McWhorter also invited the Seattle sculptor Alonzo Lewis, whom McWhorter hoped would illustrate his planned history. McWhorter intended to help Lewis secure a commission for a sixty-foot sculpture of Chief Joseph, whom many claimed orchestrated the Indians' brilliant escape that ended with Joseph's surrender just shy of the Canadian border. McWhorter believed that the "Chief Joseph Colossus" sculpture, coupled with his history, would capture the public's imagination and lead to a widespread demand for justice for the surviving Nez Perce.

Walking the streets of Missoula, these three elderly Indians and their Anglo advocates must have made an arresting group, for Andrew Garcia, then a seventy-two-year-old rancher and outfitter, appears to have engaged them in conversation. Garcia maintained that, like McWhorter's Indian informants, he could contribute inside information concerning the Nez Perce campaign since he had worked as a packer for General Nelson Miles when the military stopped the fleeing Chief Joseph and his followers at the Bears Paw Mountains and that his information would shed new light on popular misconceptions about the Nez Perce. For example, he maintained that, contrary to what others had written about the looting and pillaging by the Nez Perce as they traveled through the Bitterroot Valley, in at least one instance the Indians left horses and branded them with the rancher's own iron to document their intended payment.<sup>13</sup>

This chance meeting on the streets of Missoula led to a lengthy correspondence between the two men. It also resulted in Garcia sitting down to write his life story.



McWhorter Photo Collection, PC 85 3-46, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections (hereafter MASC), Washington State University Libraries, Pullman (hereafter WSU).

**Andrew Garcia's chance meeting with Nez Perce historian Lucullus V. McWhorter (above, March 26, 1915) led to a fifteen-year correspondence between the two men. Their letters reveal the essential role McWhorter played in encouraging Garcia to write his memoir and hint at possible reasons Garcia delayed publishing his life story.**

Born in El Paso, Texas, on September 13, 1855, Andrew Garcia first came to Montana in 1868 with his uncle, Alvino Ortez, who was married to Garcia's father's sister. Ortez operated a pack train between Walla Walla, Washington, and Virginia City and traveled to El Paso to purchase Spanish mules to sell in Montana Territory, convincing Garcia's parents to let the thirteen-year-old Andrew travel with him as far as Socorro, New Mexico, where Ortez planned to recruit a new group of herders and send his nephew home. Once they arrived in New Mexico, however, Ortez kept Andrew with him, traveling on to Three Forks and Bozeman, where Garcia briefly attended school. He then worked as a night herder making runs between Bozeman and Corinne, Utah, before being sent back to his parents in Texas.

Garcia returned to Montana in the fall of 1876, this time working as a civilian packer and herder for the Seventh Cavalry at Fort Ellis outside of Bozeman, where he watched at least one key event in Montana history unfold—the pursuit and subsequent surrender of the Nez Perce. In 1878, Garcia left his job with the army to establish the “Beaver Tom Trading Company Limited,” living for nine years, mostly with the Pend d’Oreille, “in a tepee, following Indian customs and observing their rules of living.”<sup>14</sup>

*Tough Trip through Paradise* picks up Andrew Garcia’s story in the summer of 1878, when he is about to turn twenty-three, the age “when a fellow thinks he knows it all, and in reality he doesn’t. This is the time in life when a fellow ought to have a guardian—one of the good old-fashioned, short-arm kind that will kick or pound the conceit out of him.” Garcia relates how, in spite of good advice to the contrary, he threw his lot (and savings) in with the trapper Beaver Tom, who promised to repay him in furs. Beaver Tom also offered Garcia the added benefit of buying “blankets and other stuff dear to the Indian’s heart, and trad[ing] this stuff to them for furs and buffalo robes. Because I had to buy the stuff, the profit from trading would be mine.”<sup>15</sup>

Garcia headed off on his tough trip with the well-seasoned Beaver Tom—what his real name was Garcia

never knew and he never asked—who delivered the young man into the hands of thieves, cutthroats, and various tribesmen, some of whom Garcia robbed through shady trades and fortuitous backcountry deals, and others who robbed him. Little did he know that he was “giving up all hope to be a white man again—that I was leaving the white man and his ways forever.”<sup>16</sup>

While on the trail, Garcia met an eighteen-year-old Nez Perce woman living with a group of Pend d’Oreille. The Pend d’Oreille called her In-who-lise, or Broken Tooth, though her Nez Perce name was White Feather and she had been christened Susan. In-who-lise “was not so beautiful, but her eyes and face had truth and honesty in them,” Garcia recalled. In-who-lise had been with Chief Joseph and his followers when the Seventh Infantry opened fire on the sleeping Nez Perce encampment. The soldiers shot In-who-lise through the shoulder and killed her sister as the two young women tried to escape.<sup>17</sup>

Garcia convinced In-who-lise to marry him in part by promising to locate a priest to perform the ceremony and by agreeing to help her return to her family’s land in Idaho. He also offered to help her locate the grave of her father, Gray Eagle, buried where he had died on a trail leading away from the Big Hole battlefield. One key point, however, Garcia

neglected to share with his prospective bride: “I knew better than to tell her that I was at the Bear Paws the day Chief Joseph had surrendered. I had been with them when they went to Fort Keogh and helped to drive their large band of horses along with them; the horses the Nez Perce never got back. I had seen her people driven on flatboats in the cold like cattle to be floated down the Yellowstone to Fort Buford without any shelter from the storms.”<sup>18</sup>

*Tough Trip through Paradise* recalls Garcia’s firsthand experiences trading with rival tribes and some secondhand stories of murder, mayhem, and other bits of Montana history and lore. The story also recounts In-who-lise’s description of what happened when the army attacked the Nez Perce camp and the trip Garcia and his young wife later made to complete the gruesome task of discovering and rebury-



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, 940-940

**As a civilian packer and herder, Garcia had witnessed the Nez Perce surrender at the Bears Paw, a fact he never revealed to his wife In-who-lise. This bird’s-eye view of the battleground shows the Bears Paw Mountains in the background.**



**As recounted in *Tough Trip through Paradise*, Garcia and In-who-lise made an 1879 trip to the Big Hole battlefield where, two years before, the Seventh Infantry had opened fire on a group of nearly eight hundred Nez Perce. In-who-lise herself had been shot, her sister killed, and her father fatally wounded. Her recollections, as told to Garcia, shed new light on the battle and were of great interest to L. V. McWhorter. For instance, contrary to what early historians of the Big Hole battle claimed, In-who-lise recalled that most of the fighting happened in the Indian campsite, marked today by tipi poles, above.**

ing her dead. As Garcia recalled, “I had wanted to see the Big Hole battlefield, but now that I had my wish, I hope to God never to see another sight like it again!” “[H]uman bones were scattered through the long grass and among the willows across the creek, and on this side of the creek human bones and leering skulls were scattered around as though they had never been buried. . . . Some of the tepee poles of this once large Injun camp still lay scattered around. The peeled ones were as good as they were two years ago on the day when some unfortunate squaw hauled and set them up here, her lips breathing with song and laughter, not knowing that tomorrow would bring their death song.”<sup>19</sup>

Leaving the battlefield behind them, Garcia and In-who-lise eventually found her father’s vandalized gravesite, his remains lying next to a shallow pit. “I scooped in the dirt with my hands,” Garcia recalled, “but the vandals had made a clean sweep. Nothing remained but Gray Eagle’s half-bleached skeleton with a few wisps of long hair. I could not tell if he had been scalped, but In-who-lise was sure that he had, or why had they dug him up? Also, why was most of his hair gone?”<sup>20</sup>

Thwarted in their attempts to return to In-who-lise’s native land and dogged repeatedly by whites who mistook Garcia for a renegade, the couple joined another group of Pend d’Oreille. After a horse raid



Leaving the Big Hole, Garcia and In-who-lise struggled through lodgepole pines “thick as the hair on a dog’s back” similar to those seen here in a 1890s photograph taken in the Bitterroot Mountains. A few weeks later, In-who-lise was fatally wounded by a Blackfeet warrior. Garcia buried “my In-who-lise . . . among the blizzard swept crags of the wild Marias Mountains.”

gone bad, a revenging Blackfeet struck In-who-lise in the face with his coup stick, and she died the following day. Garcia buried his “beloved Susie, my In-who-lise . . . among the blizzard swept crags of the wild Marias Mountains, where the summer skies often are darkened by swirling snowstorms. All of my associates from those rough and ready years have crossed the Great Divide, and the Squaw Kid wanderer awaits the final journey.”<sup>21</sup>

**With such a powerful** and entertaining story to tell, why did Andrew Garcia fail to pursue publication during his lifetime? L. V. McWhorter often pressed Garcia on just this point. After he first met Garcia in 1928, McWhorter returned to his ranch in Washington’s Yakima Valley and sent the Montanan a short note asking him to write what he knew about any of the Nez Perce battles. McWhorter, who already had spent twenty years gathering first-person accounts about the Nez Perce war, had another request as well: “I would like a photograph of yourself to be inserted with your narrative,” he wrote, “and will be glad to give you a copy of the book soon as off press, which will be some time yet. Of course I will use your article under your own name.”<sup>22</sup>

When McWhorter’s letter arrived, Andrew Garcia was living on a small ranch near Fish Creek, where he and his fourth wife, Barbara Voll Garcia, had raised their four sons, along with winter wheat, fall rye,

fruit, and cattle—anything to scratch out a living while fighting unpredictable weather and precarious economic times. He also ran, according to his stationery, “Garcia Brothers: Guides, Packers and Outfitters of Hunting Parties to all Parts of Fish Creek, Montana, and the Clearwater Country of Idaho, the home of the elk.”<sup>23</sup>

In response to McWhorter’s request for a photograph, Garcia sent three snapshots, all of which showed him attired in a wide-brimmed hat and buckskins, leading one historian to quip that Garcia’s outfit looked like “early Tom Mix.” One of the photographs (which later appeared on the cover of *Tough Trip through Paradise*) shows the Montana rancher standing next to his horse in a snowy field, with tree-studded mountains looming in the background. In another, Garcia cradles a rifle and stands next to his wife Barbara, a small woman wearing a long, fringed jacket over her dress, a heavy babushka-like scarf tied under her chin. “Use this one,” someone, presumably McWhorter’s publisher, scrawled on the back of the snapshot. Because a photograph of Garcia and his white wife might belie his stories about life with the Indians, the instructions added: “Eliminate wife from picture.”<sup>24</sup>

To McWhorter’s encouragement to write what he knew about the Nez Perce campaign, Garcia responded that he was willing, “but unless you will let me bring in other Indian matters it would not be much of an article.” Garcia could contribute more than just his experiences with General Miles, however, since his first wife had been a member of Chief Joseph’s tribe.<sup>25</sup>

McWhorter responded enthusiastically, encouraging Garcia to write it all down. “Incidents are the life of such narratives,” he advised. “Tell what she saw and



# GARCIA BROTHERS

GUIDES, PACKERS AND OUTFITTERS

OF

Hunting Parties to All Parts of  
Fish Creek, Montana, and the  
Clearwater Country of Idaho  
THE HOME OF THE ELK

RANCH AT  
FISH CREEK, MONTANA

POSTOFFICE

Rivulet, Mont., Aug 28 1928

Mr L. F. McWhorter

Yakima Wash

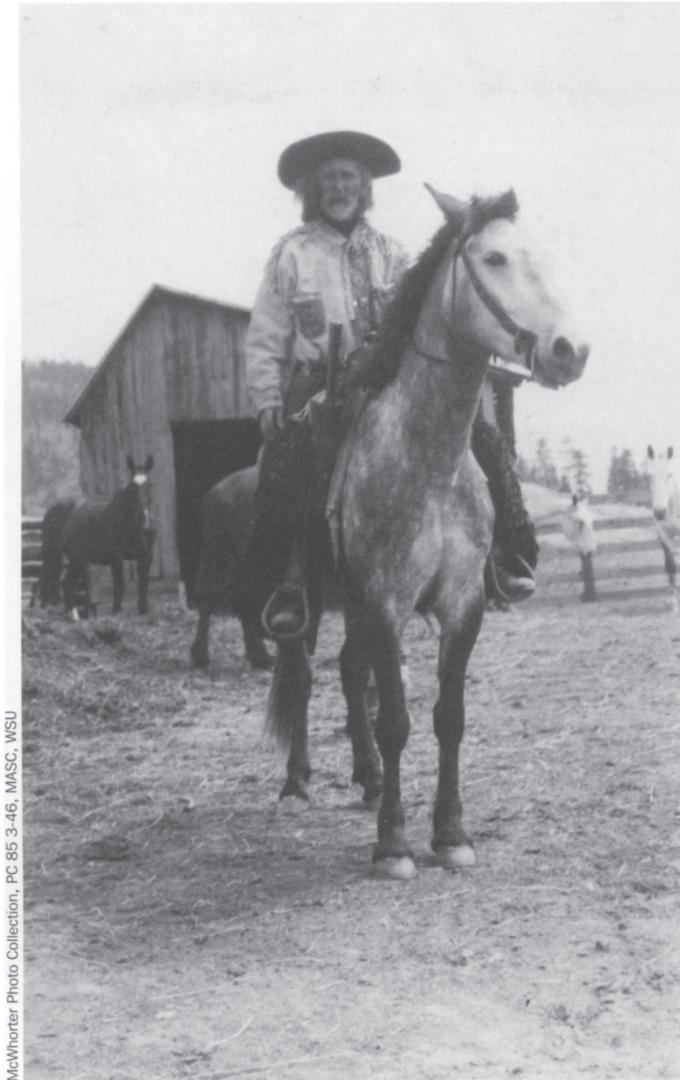
Dear Mr McWhorter

Your letter of Aug 2, received and  
contents noted, and in reply will say  
that I am willing to write as requested  
about what I know about the Nez Perce  
Indian Campaign. But unless you  
will let me bring in other Indian matters  
it would not be much of an article,  
of course I did not tell you in Missoula  
that my first wife was one of Josephes  
<sup>brother</sup> young that got away in the Battle in  
the Peewee mountains (not his daughter  
but one of the tribe) and that she was shot  
through the shoulder in the Battle the Big  
hole and in the arm, she was staying when  
I got her with Pend Oreille Indians who were  
in that part of the country Buffalo hunting  
and that is the tribe I spent most of my time with  
I wish you would let me write this and was one of  
them for several years at the same time taking care  
those Nez Perce matters at the same time

Yours truly  
New Garcia

McWhorter Collection, C 55 8-42, MASC, WSU

In 1928, when Garcia met McWhorter, Garcia lived on a ranch on Fish Creek, northwest of Missoula, where he and his sons from his 1899 marriage to Barbara Voll ran the outfitting business advertised on his letterhead (above). In this letter of August 28, Garcia agreed to "write as requested about what I know about the Nez Perce Indian campaign."



McWhorter Photo Collection, PC 85 3-46, MASC, WSU

**At the time he met Garcia, McWhorter had already spent twenty years working on his history of the Nez Perce war, a history that, when published, would be illustrated by photographs. In reply to McWhorter's request, Garcia sent three snapshots, including the one above.**

experienced. Her impressions of Joseph and the other Nez Perce leaders, their standing with their followers. You connect up any outside data you wish, and make it as strong as you wish." McWhorter reported that he was busy transcribing his notes from his trip to the Big Hole battlefield and cautioned Garcia that "care is an essential with correctness." He trusted Garcia would take the time needed to write up his own notes and memories.<sup>26</sup>

Garcia did take his time. Months went by during which Garcia later reported he had been writing every night. Like many writers obsessed with their

subject, Garcia confessed that "in one way I am sorry as I now . . . do not do anything else but think and those memories come crowding through my head, one minute full of joyful humor, but the next minute bitter and sarcastic as hell."<sup>27</sup>

Garcia, however, did not initially share his memories of military campaigns or of his marriage to In-who-lise with McWhorter. Instead, as he wrote to McWhorter, he wanted to relate his entire life story, vividly recalling his early years along the Mexican border, "before what you call the Pilgrim Fathers came," and then after the Civil War when his family was forced out of Texas into Arizona, home of Victorio and his "hell-singed Apache band." Garcia promised to take the historian along with him on the trail to New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, where McWhorter would "hear and see the earth tremble and shake as you ride in the loping mass and taste the dust as you sit on the top of a buffalo horse and shoot and kill, and though death is on all sides, you are drunk with the joy of a savage half-man, half brute." He had already written 135 pages, and "I have not left the Rio Grande yet."<sup>28</sup>

In the same letter, Garcia related a story about traveling with In-who-lise and being mistaken for a member of Joseph's tribe, almost getting lynched in the process. He also promised to tell McWhorter about the time he was a "herder under Sturgis the day Joseph licked the devil out of us a few miles north of the Yellowstone and when Howard and Sturgis took after Joseph only to get to the Bear Paws to see Miles lick up all the cream and have Joseph corralled." He wanted to take McWhorter "to Indian camps where you will see again the days of long ago, the squaws with their laughing and flashing eyes; and of this the Squaw Kid ought to know, for he was not called the Squaw Kid for nothing."<sup>29</sup>

McWhorter encouraged Garcia to keep writing, and the rancher obliged, eventually sending page after page of his memories. Still, Garcia seemed reluctant to relate his stories in full, suggesting to McWhorter he might need to have his manuscripts typed because his handwriting was so difficult to decipher. Finally, after more than a year of exchanging letters, McWhorter took on that job himself, transcribing, editing, synthesizing, and typing Garcia's remembrances into a rough manuscript. Calling it "A Message from Garcia," McWhorter's synthesis did not include

Garcia's "subsequent wanderings in Europe and the Orient" but rather described Garcia's life with In-who-lise and "their hardships, [and] their hopes overthrown during his bride's brief career."<sup>30</sup> How McWhorter planned to use the resulting manuscript is unclear, but he probably intended, at least initially, to reproduce at least part of it in his big history of the Nez Perce, using Garcia's name and photograph as he had promised. In the meantime, though, he encouraged Garcia to pursue publication on his own.

Garcia thrilled at seeing his lengthy handwritten notes and stories transformed into a typed manuscript and, except for a few quibbles, generally approved of McWhorter's version, writing "as you did not have all the necessary material, you have done very well the way it is." He promised to add some material to both the beginning and the end of McWhorter's version and "a few things here and there throughout that will make it a far better foundation for your story."<sup>31</sup>

By this time, a pattern had emerged. Even as the pages about his life piled up, Garcia continued to balk when it came to sending out his manuscript for publication, raising any number of excuses, including the fact that he now had in mind a three-volume book he intended to call *In-who-lise*, so he had to keep writing. However, with one manuscript not yet ready to see the light of day for whatever reason, Garcia was ready to pitch another. He called this one "Standing on the Line," a story that "starts away down on the Rio Grande in Texas before there were telegraphs or railroads and the gun was the law along the Mexican border . . . when I was a kid big enough to remember well the unlawful acts committed down there by American outlaws [and] Mexican brigands. . . . It was shure to God a hard man's country and the wooly and wild West never could hold a candle for the many classes of sons of bitches that made it their home and hangout as where I was raised." As he continued to churn out pages, Garcia was beginning to take himself seriously as a writer. "I am in for the job of my life," he wrote to McWhorter.<sup>32</sup>

Anxious to see Garcia's work published, McWhorter offered to introduce Garcia to the Los Angeles writer Olive Burchfiel and reminded him that James Willard Schultz was making a good living writing about his life with the Indians. Garcia agreed

that Schultz was a great writer—"[I] wish I could write as good as him"—but still he delayed, reporting that he now had an even grander, more lucrative vision in mind—the movies: "I am not foolish enough to think or pretend that In-who-lise is the only hell roaring story and [that] none [has] ever been written like it before, in heaven, earth, or hell. Still, there is one thing I do know. That this manuscript . . . given into the hands of the Master Minds they have in the movies down in Los Angeles . . . could create and produce reel after reel of separate or continuous . . . Injun and frontier acts. . . . I have paid good money to see worse ones."<sup>33</sup>

Responding to another draft of the typescript McWhorter sent, Garcia admitted, "I cannot punctuate for effect, therefore, have to write many useless words that in the end I will have to pay someone to throw out. Make it a go this time," he asked his friend, "only using what you need. . . . Cut out all squaw love, and all the other stuff not necessary to make it a good sensible short story." At this pace, he admitted, "that lady you recommended so well in Los Angeles

“[T]he Squaw Kid ought to know, for he was not called the Squaw Kid for nothing.”

hair will be gray and I will be dead when this manuscript is ready."<sup>34</sup>

In his introduction to *Tough Trip through Paradise*, Bennett Stein maintained that in addition to his concern about losing his personal expression, Garcia never pursued publication because he also worried his story would be appropriated by the western fiction market. Indeed, Garcia expressed the fear that McWhorter, or others like him, would take his story and use it for their own financial gain. As Garcia wrote to McWhorter in 1930, there are "quite a few scoundrels in the publishing game and I know of and have heard of quite a few, who were swindled out of what they wrote, and then see the scenes, characters and title changed into something else, and some rascal [gets] the benefit of their work. I know of a preacher and two more in Missoula who had this done to them."<sup>35</sup>

If his actions can be believed, however, McWhorter never intended to exploit Garcia, other than to integrate into his history the little the Montanan

knew about the Nez Perce—admittedly most of it secondhand—just as McWhorter had used the remembrances of the others he had interviewed.<sup>36</sup> Garcia's memories of In-who-lise brought a unique and untold perspective to the history of the battlefield, so McWhorter seemed genuinely interested in what Garcia could relate from her perspective. The rest of her story, however, he was willing to leave to Garcia. As McWhorter eventually wrote, In-who-lise's biography "as written and held in manuscript by Andrew Garcia, to whom she was later married, is short but fraught with pathos it ends with her death . . . at the hands of the implacable Blackfeet in the wilds of the cheerless Marias Mountains."<sup>37</sup>

In December 1931, after more than three of years of correspondence, Garcia finally acknowledged that it must seem odd to McWhorter that he had refused all offers of assistance to finish and publish his memoir. Garcia was anxious to "get this work done," but there was another, more personal reason for his procrastination. "Among the many reasons you probably had for this all were wrong," he wrote. Even though he felt confident that his book about his marriage to In-who-lise, which had expanded to include his many other encounters with Indian women, would "appeal strongly to the degenerated minds of today who want no Sunday school tracts handed out to them [let alone] buy them," Garcia confessed to the "true reason" he was in no hurry for his writings to see the light of day:

[M]y white wife and family are the only enemies In-who-lise has got. And her who is so good to me in everything else would now rather pick up a rattlesnake than pick up a sheet of this story lying on the floor or anywhere else. Under those sorrowful conditions, I have had to write for more than two years, work hard all day around the ranch, and write till twelve o'clock at night and instead of receiving any encouragement I only receive blank silences about what I write. . . . Hell will be a popping the day In-who-lise appears in print in the Garcia family, especially for an old sinner once called the Squaw Kid by the whites and long ago and still yet called by the Injuns An-ta-lee.<sup>38</sup>

This news so alarmed McWhorter that he apparently advised Garcia to keep a copy of his life's work

locked in a safety deposit box. Garcia demurred, assuring his friend that his wife was "resigned to her fate" and that if anything happened to him, he had instructed his family to notify McWhorter since he "knew the out-lines of the story, so that it could be carried on." When McWhorter still expressed concern about losing the manuscripts, possibly even to fire, Garcia assured him again. "I am not going to take any chances on this," he replied, probably having already stashed his manuscripts in the boxes meant for storing dynamite.<sup>39</sup>

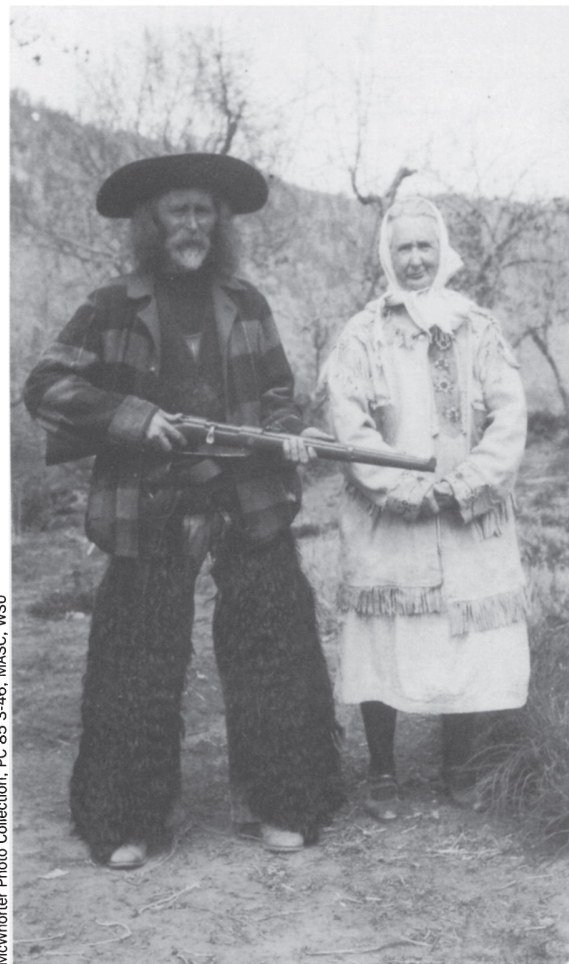
Beyond his wife's objections, another obstacle—the sheer scope of the work—slowed the progress of Garcia's three-volume *In-who-lise*. Garcia had ambitions beyond telling his own life story. He intended to do nothing less than change readers' perspectives on Indians. "[A]ll History is a lie from start to finish," Garcia once wrote to McWhorter, because "the whiteman don't want to hear or believe the dirty truth about himself." History is written by "white men of prejudiced minds, against the Indian and more especially against the Nez Perce people of Joseph's band. . . . [T]hey justify and heroize acts that are known to you and I as no better than murder."<sup>40</sup>

Even more specifically, Garcia hoped to present a positive portrait of Indian women. With his writings, he wanted to prove to the world that native women were "capable of a beautiful love and affection that no white woman would be ashamed to acknowledge and was not a brute, like some writers would have you believe." His work would be "the only attempt that ever was made in defense of the downtrodden, despised, and misunderstood Indian woman," "a love story which for its oddity stands alone . . . (not as a master piece of literature) but that it contains no white women." Nonetheless, he admitted, the book would not be "recommended for Sunday school classes or white woman critics no matter how liberal their tendency." Who better than the "old Squaw Kid," he argued, to tell such a story? He was also determined to tell the story of his "good little Squaw In-who-lise. You will shurley pity her, and wonder and say this shurley cannot be the good old man they call Garcia today."<sup>41</sup>

While interested in Garcia's firsthand experiences and the stories he learned from his Nez Perce wife, McWhorter appears to have cautioned Garcia about the sexual frankness of his stories, perhaps hoping

Garcia would portray his encounters with Indian women in a more romantic light.<sup>42</sup> While grateful for McWhorter's help, Garcia was confident of the story he had to tell: "If it is not fit for a Sunday school sermon, then how am I going to get it by the surgeons in a first class publishing house? Good Lucullus I pray thee not to lose no sleep about thy wayward friend. If it should come to that, why then they can throw it out if they want to, or they can leave in the Injun talk there like they do the French in novels and cut out the English translation that is there with it, leaving the reader unless he understands Pend Oreille to translate it into anything that pleases his fancy."<sup>43</sup>

In spite of his goal of painting a more sympathetic portrait of native women—or perhaps because of it—Garcia, as he worked on his manuscript, started to



McWhorter Photo Collection. PC 85 3-46, MASC, WSU

**In response to McWhorter's encouragement, Garcia sent reams about his early years and then turned to a new project—a projected three-volume book he called *In-who-lise*. Despite McWhorter's continued urging, however, Garcia stalled when it came to sending out the manuscript for publication. After three years of correspondence, Garcia finally admitted the reason: "[M]y white wife and family are the only enemies In-who-lise has got. . . . Hell will be a popping the day In-who-lise appears in print in the Garcia family." His "white wife" Barbara Voll Garcia is pictured here with Garcia.**

show off glamorous photographs of his three Indian wives, In-who-lise, Squis-squis, and Mal-lit-tay-lay. When McWhorter first contacted Garcia in the summer of 1928, he had asked Garcia for a photograph of himself, and Garcia obliged, sending photos of both himself and his fourth wife. It wasn't until almost five years later, in early 1932, that Garcia also sent McWhorter a portrait of In-who-lise, a calico-dressed young woman, with long braids and placid demeanor, which he said had been taken by a government photographer two weeks before her death. Assuming that Garcia had sent the photograph for use in his history of the Nez Perce, McWhorter had it reproduced and returned the original. To McWhorter's surprise, Garcia protested, claiming the photograph was under copyright and probably "the only Photo in existence to day of one of the Nez Perce women who went over the trail of tears in them long gone years." Eventually he relented, explaining that his main concern was that he did not want the photograph to be "passed around and duplicated as a curiosity." Thus, the photograph appeared in McWhorter's book *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* "courtesy of Andrew Garcia," with the caption that read "This young Nez Perce girl was severely wounded at the Big Hole battlefield. She married Andrew Garcia, white pioneer, but was killed by the Blackfeet in the summer of 1878. Picture by Government photographer, Fort Benton, Montana, summer 1878."<sup>44</sup>

Other historians and journalists have since reproduced the photograph in their own works, using the image of the attractive young woman to bring a sympathetic and human quality to the story of the Nez Perce flight.<sup>45</sup> The problem with using this particular photograph is that the young woman whom Garcia claimed to be In-who-lise may not in fact be her at all. For one thing, no evidence of a government photographer working in Fort Benton at that time has been uncovered.<sup>46</sup> Also notable are Garcia's efforts to direct the historian's interpretation of the image with explanations for the young woman's dress and



Garcia had a purpose in writing *In-who-lise*, which had expanded to include his memories of his marriages to his two Pend d'Oreille wives and his many other encounters with Indian women as well. In it, Garcia hoped to prove to the world that native women were “capable of a beautiful love and affection that no white woman would be ashamed to acknowledge and was not a brute, like some writers would have you believe.” In spite of his goal of painting a more sympathetic portrait of native women—or perhaps because of it—Garcia, as he worked on his manuscript, started to show off glamorous photographs of his Indian wives. According to Garcia, the photograph above, supposedly of *In-who-lise*, was taken by a government photographer in Fort Benton two weeks before her death. However, recent discoveries cast this identification in doubt.

appearance (particularly the scars, which are not readily visible in the photograph).<sup>47</sup> “The scar on her upper lip,” Garcia wrote to McWhorter, “shows up where she was jabbed with the gun butt at the Big Hole. The scar on her lower lip which was faint does not show as the one who done this enlargement not being told to do otherwise done his best to work out both scars. A half breed woman made her this dress which is half white woman and half squaw. She had a bad cut in her left hand and this is the reason she keeps her hand covered with the right hand. This is probably the only photo in existence of that time of the long ago, and of one of the women who went through with Joseph to the Bear Paws. Please return when you send back the Synopsis and other writings to me. This is going to be the Fronterpiece or whatever you call it for my story of In-who-lise.”<sup>48</sup>

## Why would Garcia show photographs of his wives if none of them were the women he claimed them to be?

In the early 1930s, Garcia also started carrying photographs he identified as Mal-lit-tay-lay and Squis-squis. In light of what can be surmised about these two photographs, it is possible that Garcia’s In-who-lise even may not have been Nez Perce.<sup>49</sup> She may, in fact, have been one of the many Native Americans photographed by southwestern photographer Carl Moon. The portrait Garcia claimed to be the beautiful Mal-lit-tay-lay is definitely Loti-kee-yah-tede, or Laguna Girl, whom Moon photographed a number of times. In a 1904 photograph, for example, Loti-kee-yah-tede wears the same dress and beaded cumerbund as in the photograph of Mal-lit-tay-lay later reproduced in *Tough Trip through Paradise*.<sup>50</sup> The photograph of Squis-squis in *Tough Trip* also appears to be a Moon portrait. More intriguing, this person bears a striking resemblance to one of the young Navajo men Carl Moon was fond of photographing.<sup>51</sup> Although it is unlikely Garcia would have recognized it at the time, the model in this photograph wears the same beaded necklace worn by the young Navajo men in other Moon photographs and appears to have the same pierced ears as Moon’s other male models. If one and probably two of the photographs Garcia carried with him were actually professional portraits

taken by Carl Moon, it is reasonable to suspect the third photograph Garcia shared with McWhorter years after first meeting him.<sup>52</sup>

**In view of these** serious questions about Garcia’s photographs, should historians also doubt the authenticity of his memoir? After reading the lengthy correspondence between McWhorter and Garcia, with their mutual penchant for detail, their squabbling about specific dates and places, and Garcia’s continued insistence on clarifying those events he experienced and those he only heard about secondhand, it is hard to believe that Garcia did not live the life that he claimed. While Garcia clearly embroidered a small part of his story for effect, most historians agree that “Garcia was there.”<sup>53</sup> And yet, a nagging question lingers: why would Garcia show

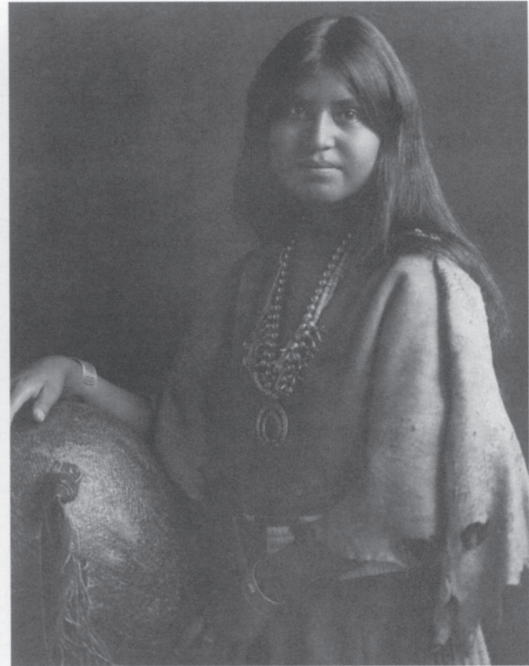
photographs of his wives if none of them were the women he claimed them to be? As William Bevis once wrote about Garcia’s manuscript, we may never know, but we can guess.

In 1931, Garcia received an invitation to attend the Billings convention of the Eastern Pioneers of Montana, a group that met to celebrate the so-called settling of the West and to reminisce about the good old days. Garcia could not afford to travel across the state, but the following summer, when the Pioneers met in Missoula, Garcia attended a convention for the first time, reporting that he “had the time of my life.”<sup>54</sup> It may have been coincidence, but at around this same time Garcia sent McWhorter the photograph of In-who-lise. Garcia also had a professional photograph of his own taken, exchanging his Tom Mix-like buckskins for a serge suit and a well-steamed sombrero, his long hair falling around his shoulders, his gray beard trimmed to a neat point.

For the next ten years, Garcia enjoyed the status of a Montana celebrity of sorts. “Pioneer as Teamster with Howard and Sturgis Saw Stirring Incidents of Nez Perce Campaign” announced one article in which Garcia related his experiences in the various campaigns. As McWhorter wrote in his “Message



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Reference Collection



Tom Driehs. *In Search of the Wild Indian: Photographs and Life Works by Carl and Grace Moon* (Moscow, Pa., 1997), 106

The photograph that Garcia claimed was of his wife Mal-lit-tay-lay (left) is definitely an image of Loti-kee-yah-tede taken by Carl Moon (above). Moon sold similar photographs for years in the Fred Harvey headquarters at the Grand Canyon and later from his studio in California.

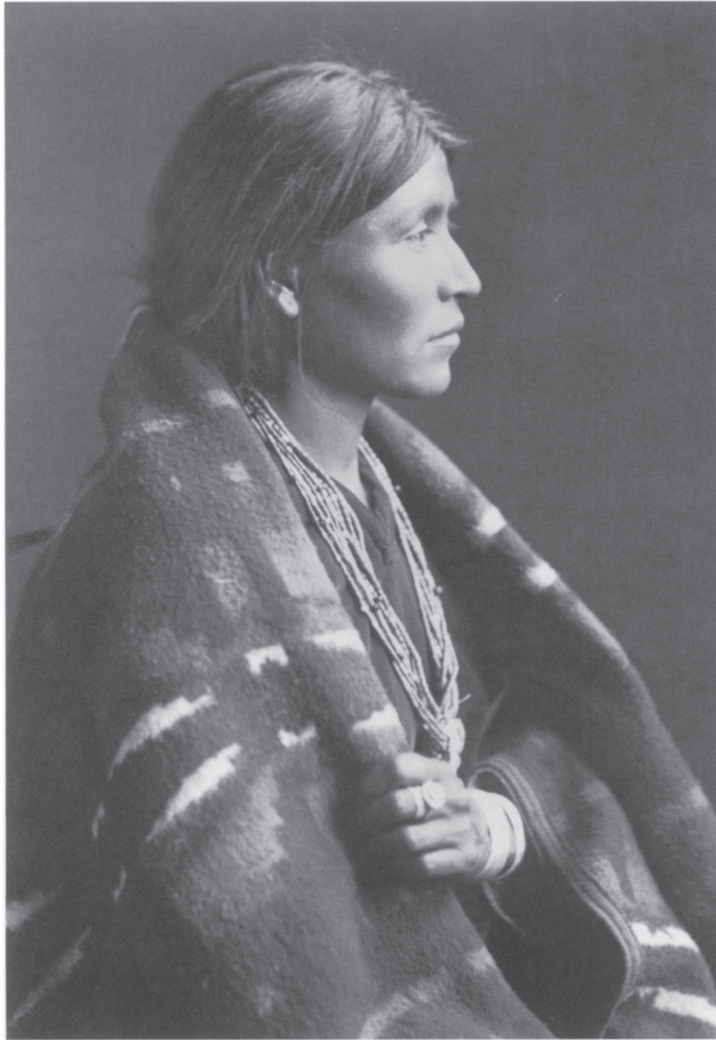
from Garcia,” the Squaw Kid had once been falsely “branded a renegade and outlaw . . . [and] made to suffer [humiliating] indignities unwarranted.” With Garcia’s acceptance into the Society of Montana Pioneers, his life took on new meaning, reflected in part in the stunning photographs of his Indian wives that he carried with him and apparently showed to all he met.<sup>55</sup>

That Carl Moon sold similar photographs for years in the Fred Harvey headquarters at the Grand Canyon and later from his studio in California did not seem to worry Garcia. Nor did it appear to concern him that Moon’s idealized portraits of Indians sold products as diverse as Stetson Hats and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show to American Lumber and Seneca Coal. Garcia had something of his own to sell: he wanted to “combat this Idea of most white writers . . . that the wild squaw of them days had no [feelings] or honor, and [was] no better than a brute.”<sup>56</sup> The portraits, with their own individualized dignity, may not have pictured his actual wives, but they apparently represented the way in which Garcia wanted his wives to be remembered. More significantly, they

appear to be the lens through which he wanted the “Squaw Kid” to be viewed.

When Garcia first corresponded with McWhorter in 1928, he seemed reluctant to relate too many details about his life with the Pend d’Oreille and his marriage to In-who-lise, preferring to tell about the time he worked as a packer and teamster in Montana or rode along the Rio Grande. As he finally admitted, his family and particularly his wife were sure to object if he began publicizing his previous marriages and his life with the Indians. But Garcia made another confession that might be even more helpful in explaining his initial reluctance to relate this part of his past and why he may have transferred the memories of his Indian wives to those represented by Carl Moon’s captivating portraits.

Not long after the two men met, Garcia wrote to McWhorter that he fondly recalled his life with the Indians when he was “one of them and [knew] them better than most white men do.” And yet, when Garcia “saw them abused and deprived of their rights by unscrupulous white men” and tried to intervene on their behalf, as McWhorter himself had done on



MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Reference Collection



Tom Driehle, *In Search of the Wild Indian: Photographs and Life Works by Carl and Grace Moon* (Moscow, Pa., 1997), 173

The photograph that Garcia identified as his wife Squis-squis (left) may actually be Do-bazin (above), one of the young Navajo men photographed by Moon.

many occasions, Garcia was “called a low-down, despised squawman.” Worse yet, “just because I was a squaw man, any act of lawlessness or devilry committed in the land was laid on my head by unscrupulous white men to cover up their own dirt, though I knew no more than you do about it.”<sup>57</sup>

When Garcia broke free from the military, casting his lot with the hard-drinking Beaver Tom, he “turned down good, friendly advice that would have made me somebody, and a good respected citizen.” Instead, he chose to leave “the white man and his ways forever . . . [becoming] inoculated with the wild life of the old-time Indian and be one of them.” Garcia eventually left this life to “follow the white man’s ways and have a good home,” marrying his fourth wife and raising a family. And yet, as he sat down to write his memoir, he appears to have become more keenly aware of his so-called renegade status as a “squaw man,”

or “Squaw Jack” as one newspaper referred to him. His response to an invitation to attend the Society of Montana Pioneers convention is a case in point. Garcia considered the Pioneers as a venerable group and assumed that his life with “three Squaws and a white woman . . . would be a black mark again [*sic*] me joining this sedate and august body of Montana’s most respected citizens.”<sup>58</sup>

It is clear from his writings that Garcia believed that history is a lie written by white men to hide “the dirty truth” about themselves. And yet, Garcia appears to have been torn when it came to telling the truth about himself. He did not intend to spare himself when telling his story, and yet, when he had an opportunity to actually publish his memoir, he hesitated, realizing the book would make people “say this shurley cannot be the good old man they call Garcia today.”<sup>59</sup>



**Garcia began circulating the three glamorous photographs of his Indian wives at about the same time he first attended a meeting of the Society of Montana Pioneers in Missoula in 1932. The 1932 Pioneers group is pictured above with Garcia in the center row toward the right end, silhouetted by the white dresses of the ladies behind him.**

Historians often ask what is at stake when discussing someone like Andrew Garcia, a man who participated only on the margins of history and who appears to have been unafraid to embellish certain facts to make himself more acceptable to his peers. But *embellish* may be too strong a word to describe Garcia's actions. As the McWhorter correspondence reveals, other than glamorizing the portrayal of his Indian wives, Garcia never appears to have romanticized his own role in history. In fact, Garcia could turn downright ornery when pressed for information that he did not know. As he told McWhorter when questioned about a specific date, "I would be only [too] glad to help in this matter but I . . . was in the Yellowstone country and Musselshell in 1876 and . . . could not very well be in two places at the same time without being proved a liar."<sup>60</sup>

His commitment to telling the truth about the limited role he played was confirmed when, years later, he traveled to the site where In-who-lise had been shot and her family members killed. In *Tough Trip through Paradise*, Garcia writes that many times he thought he should revisit the Big Hole battlefield, but he "kept putting it off, as I thought, 'What is the use in going there—it will only make me more sorry for her.'" In the fall of 1930, however, Garcia did revisit the monument to refresh his memory and to search for

the buffalo lance he and In-who-lise had left behind when they had visited the battlefield more than fifty years before.<sup>61</sup>

An unidentified employee at the Big Hole battlefield made an unusually lengthy diary entry on September 27, 1930, that recorded the visit and described the seventy-five-year-old Garcia in great detail: "The old gentleman was small slight straight. His hair reached his shoulders and was still quite dark. He was active on his feet. . . . He wore a broad [brimmed] hat with [braided] hair band—not a cowboy hat but one such as is sold by the stores at the Indian agencies." Most importantly, the diarist noted, "Garcia wanted it understood that he made no pretensions of being at the battle. That he was not here till two years later and that all he knew about it was what his Indian woman told him."<sup>62</sup>

That said, Garcia insisted that the battlefield was not where the monument commemorated it, "where the white men dug in after the Nez Perces kicked the hell out of them." Rather, Garcia regarded "the camp site as the real battle field. And that the Indians drove the whites out three times. Said the Indians were wholly surprised. That the Indian women [pleaded] for mercy in all the ways known to them. That some of them were killed while standing in the river holding their babies up to the soldiers."<sup>63</sup>



Despite his efforts to correct certain facts, Garcia never claimed to approach the Big Hole battle as a historian of the Nez Perce. Instead, he wanted to relive his early life and loves while communicating what he had learned about the taking of Indian lands and what he considered to be the outright murder of women and children. Thus, Garcia's desire to write his life story should be viewed not as an attempt to represent himself as someone he was not but rather as an outsider's

attempt to write in the tradition of Frank Linderman, George Bird Grinnell, and other elites who worked to "shape Americans views of the Indian cultures in their midst, [insisting] on a nuanced, sympathetic, and humane vision that went well beyond the limits of earlier centuries' expressions of noble savagery."<sup>64</sup> The continued and widespread use of In-who-lise's story and her now almost iconic photograph suggests Garcia's success in this regard.

But Garcia had an additional, more personal motivation. As a former "squaw man" with no standing in the world of letters or history, Garcia believed that by elevating the image of his former wives, he could improve his own. Thus, Garcia starting carrying photographs that romanticized the life he lived as the



Samuel Theodore Melander, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Pac 74-100

Garcia continued his membership in the Montana Pioneers for the rest of his life (in the photograph at left he wears a Pioneers lapel pin and an annual meeting name tag), becoming well-known in Montana through speeches and newspaper interviews. While it is clear that Garcia's three portraits of Indian women may not have pictured his actual wives, they apparently represented the way in which he wanted his wives to be remembered, as well as the lens through which he wished the "Squaw Kid" to be viewed.

Squaw Kid, hoping the photos would set him apart and free him to tell his story in full. As the employee who recorded Garcia's visit to the Big Hole battlefield confirmed, "Andrew Garcia is the picturesque type of Squaw Man [who] . . . in his old age is living his early life over. . . . He has a pleasant voice and when reciting his poetry or talking an Indian dialect it is musical." As the entry in the Big Hole battlefield diary concludes: "He is sure one of the few."<sup>65</sup>

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## Notes

### Tough Trip to Publication

1. Andrew Garcia, *Tough Trip through Paradise, 1878-1879*, ed. Bennett H. Stein (Boston, 1967). All page numbers cited here are from this edition.

2. Garcia's memoir is routinely on the list of best books about Montana. See "Best Books about Montana: A Reader's Guide to the Treasure State," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 32 (Winter 1982), 52-62; and "Best Books about Montana, Twenty-first-century Edition," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 52 (Fall 2002), 73-77.

3. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 63.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, 79.

6. Nineteen sixty-seven, the year Houghton Mifflin published Garcia's memoir, was a time of "alternative west-erns," as Richard Slotkin has referred to them—novels and films that questioned the nation's foundational myth of the West (as well as the nation's involvement in the Vietnam War) while also reexamining the nation's history of conquest and native-Anglo relations. Garcia's memoir fit perfectly into this reevaluation of the West, raising the possibility that the book might not have been as well received had it been published in the 1930s or early 1940s, when Garcia originally worked on it. As Ken Egan noted in *Hope and Dread in Montana Literature* (Reno, Nev., 2003), "Garcia's narrative embodies in particular two strands of Montana writing: a deflating, satirical, realistic voice that repeatedly undercuts highfalutin' legends of the West; and an almost prophetic vision of a world destroyed, in part through the writer's own transgressions" (p. 9). It is worth pointing out that the story of a marriage between "the Squaw Kid," as Garcia was known, and a Nez Perce teenager would likely have raised eyebrows in the 1930s and 1940s given the era's concern with "cultural difference, miscegenation, and interracial families." For discussion of this issue, see M. Elise Marubbio's *Killing the Indian Maiden: Images of Native American Women in Film* (Lexington, Ky., 2006), 30.

7. In "I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War (Seattle, 1963), Merrill D. Beal claims that In-who-lise, or In-Koho-Lio as he refers to her, "married Andrew Garcia

and bore him two sons." Beal's undocumented reference apparently came from an Apr. 1, 1959, story in the *Dillon (Mont.) Examiner*, in which Dr. Asa Willard of Missoula shared a photograph of In-who-lise and related the story of how she was killed protecting her two young sons from the Blackfeet. According to Willard, one of Garcia's sons with In-who-lise became a minister and the other an engineer. While it is certainly possible, even probable, that Garcia had children with one or more of his Indian wives, he never mentioned children to McWhorter or in *Tough Trip through Paradise*.

8. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 6. Andrew Garcia spoke to the Society of Montana Pioneers a number of times and gave numerous newspaper interviews late in life. Early biographical details in this article have been drawn from these speeches and interviews.

9. *Missoula (Mont.) Missoulian*, Nov. 6, 1966, p. 12A. The manuscripts are still controlled by the Rock Foundation established by Stein.

10. William W. Bevis, *Ten Tough Trips: Montana Writers and the West* (Seattle, 1990), 37; Dave Walter to author, Nov. 14, 2002. About his real interactions with Bennett Stein, Bevis wrote that Stein "kindly answered a number of my questions [but] he has not allowed anyone to look at the original copy, leading to speculation that the book is a hoax." The other alternative, raised by Ken Egan, is that Garcia "embellished his account," particularly when relating his relationships with "various native females contending for his favors." Bevis, *Ten Tough Trips*, 36-37; Egan, *Hope and Dread in Montana Literature*, 9.

11. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, xiv.

12. See Steven Ross Evans, *Voice of Old Wolf: Lucullus Virgil McWhorter and the Nez Perce Indians* (Pullman, Wash., 2000).

13. McWhorter to Garcia, Aug. 21, 1928, folder 42, box 6, Lucullus Virgil McWhorter Papers, 1848-1945, Cage 55, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman. All letters and other primary source material cited by folder and box number here can be found in this collection.

14. *Butte (Mont.) Daily Post*, Aug.

27, 1938, p. 2. Garcia recalled the Battle of Canyon Creek in the Aug. 14, 1932, *Billings Gazette* article, p. 9. His experiences in the Bears Paw Mountains are also related in *Tough Trip*.

15. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 3-4.

16. *Ibid.*, 6.

17. *Ibid.*, 154. Garcia privately referred to his first wife as Susan (or Susie) Garcia, Susan being the name she assumed, or more likely was given, when she attended a mission school in Lapwai. See Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 155.

18. *Ibid.*, 157.

19. *Ibid.*, 337-38.

20. *Ibid.*, 344.

21. *Ibid.*, 446.

22. McWhorter to Garcia, Aug. 21, 1928.

23. See Garcia to McWhorter, Aug. 28, 1928, folder 42, box 6.

24. Historian quoted in Bevis, *Ten Tough Trips*, 42; Garcia photograph, folder 18, box 2.

25. Garcia to McWhorter, Aug. 28, 1928.

26. McWhorter to Garcia, Sept. 1, 1928, folder 42, box 6.

27. Garcia to McWhorter [McWhorter typed transcription], Feb. 7, 1929, folder 91, box 13.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.* A similar version of the lynching story appears in *Tough Trip through Paradise* as "A Prank Backfires."

30. McWhorter, foreword to "A Message from Garcia," folder 255, box 28. In his Feb. 7, 1929, letter to McWhorter, Garcia also claimed to have traveled in "wild west shows in [the] east and on across the ocean to the Nile river, through the desert on . . . camels, and to the Sudan and Khartoum in the Gordon expedition." Garcia never expanded on these claims to McWhorter since this was not an area of interest to the historian. But these claims do fit generally within the time frame of Garcia's life and seem consistent with the rest of what he related to McWhorter and others.

31. Garcia to McWhorter, Jan. 17, 1931, folder 103, box 14.

32. Garcia to McWhorter, Dec. 23, 1931, *ibid.*

33. Garcia to McWhorter, Jan. 15, 1932, folder 88, box 12.

34. Garcia to McWhorter, Mar. 3, 1932, *ibid.*

35. Garcia to McWhorter, Nov. 18, 1930, *ibid.*

36. McWhorter set out to write a history of the 1877 Nez Perce War from the Indian's point of view after a chance meeting in 1907 with Big Hole veteran Yellow Wolf, who was looking for a place to board his horse. This "field history" resulted in two books: *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story*, published in 1940, and McWhorter's magnum opus about the Nez Perce war, *Hear Me, My Chiefs!* published in 1952, eight years after his death at the age of eighty-four. McWhorter's work with Yellow Wolf was not his only collaboration, however. In 1914, McWhorter offered to help Cristal McLeod, also known as Christine Quintasket and Mourning Dove, edit her semiautobiographical novel. Through McWhorter's persistence, and some claim heavy-handed editorial presence, McLeod's book was published as *Cogewea, The Half Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range* in 1927. That following summer McWhorter met Andrew Garcia.

37. L. V. McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* (1940; repr., Caldwell, Id., 2000), 147.

38. Garcia to McWhorter, Dec. 23, 1931, folder 103, box 14.

39. Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, June 5, 1932, both *ibid.*

40. Garcia to McWhorter, July 21, 1932, folder 103, box 14; Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, 1932, *ibid.*

41. Garcia to McWhorter, Jan. 30, 1931, folder 103, box 14; Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, 1932; Garcia to McWhorter, Jan. 30, 1931; Garcia to McWhorter, Nov. 18, 1930. Garcia, in keeping with the language of the times, referred to native women as "squaws," although in one aside in *Tough Trip through Paradise*, he quipped that "some people who are vulgar called [them] squaws. Highly educated high-brows of the plains like Beaver Tom and I called them lady Injuns." Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 75.

42. For example, McWhorter pressed Garcia for more details about In-who-lise "in order to portray the devotion and love of the Indian for their ancestors and kindred gone. . . . It adds pathos to your wife's truly pitiful story." McWhorter to Garcia, Mar. 29, 1929, folder 42, box 6.

43. Garcia to McWhorter, Dec. 23, 1931, box 14, folder 103.

44. Garcia to McWhorter, Apr. 26, 1932, folder 91, box 13; Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, 1932; McWhorter, *Yellow Wolf*, 136. This date appears to be incorrect. In at least one interview he gave, Garcia said In-who-lise was killed in June 1880. See *Billings (Mont.) Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1932.

45. For example, Bruce Hampton's

book *Children of Grace: The Nez Perce War of 1877* (New York, 1994) features In-who-lise's portrait on the book's dust jacket.

46. According to Ken Robison, historian at the Overholser Historical Research Center in Fort Benton, "the Nez Perce were 'systematically' photographed after their sad defeat in 1877, [but] Fort Benton had no resident photographer in the late 1870s." Robison to author, Oct. 18, 2008. Since In-who-lise was not one of those captured at the Bears Paw Mountains, she could not have been one of those photographed after the Nez Perce surrender there.

47. Being told by Garcia that the photograph shows the scar seems to have convinced those who viewed the photograph that the scar was indeed there. As a writer at the *Butte Daily Post* reported on Aug. 27, 1936: "In a handsome photograph, which Garcia carries of the picturesque little squaw, the injured lip still shows after several years." For more on how words influence photographs, see filmmaker Errol Morris's provocative blog entry, "Do pictures provide evidence? And if so, evidence of what? And, of course, the underlying question: do they tell the truth?" posted on July 10, 2007, at the *New York Times* online, <http://morris.blogs.nytimes.com>.

48. Garcia to McWhorter, n.d., folder 91, box 13. Garcia's first dated mention of the photograph appears in Garcia to McWhorter, Apr. 26, 1932.

49. At the same time that he corresponded with McWhorter about the portrait of the woman he claimed to be his first wife, Garcia also related a story about finding the buffalo lance he and In-who-lise had left behind at the Big Hole battlefield (see *Tough Trip*, pp. 364–65). Not realizing that he might be undermining his story about the photograph, Garcia wrote to McWhorter that the rusty piece of steel was "the only thing I have got left, to bring back the sweet memories of long ago.—For every time I look at it I can see the face of a little Squaw, with a scar on her face and a broken tooth smiling at me, with sad wistful dark eyes.—That makes the Squaw Kid indulge in sweet pipe dreams of the happy days of his youth." And, as Garcia had written about the photograph, he did not want the buffalo lance treated "as a curiosity to show every one." Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, 1932.

50. See Tom Driebe, *In Search of the Wild Indian: Photographs and Life Works by Carl and Grace Moon* (Moscow, Pa., 1997), 106.

51. *Ibid.*, 173.

52. While none of the three photographs Garcia carried with him have been positively identified as exact matches with



Myrtle Wright Stevens, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena, Maloney Collection

**Bitterroot Mountains, 1890s**

other images, the author continues to investigate possible matches in photography collections around the country. Thanks to Lory Morrow and Glenda Bradshaw at the Montana Historical Society for confirming the similarities of Garcia's photographs with those taken by Carl Moon.

53. Bevis, *Ten Tough Trips*, 42. Ken Egan agrees: "Since he does not impose an obvious moral on the bizarre, disjointed events recorded in his account, Garcia comes across as ultimately credible, even revelatory, despite the apparent tall-tale qualities of the book made out of his jumbled manuscript." Egan, *Hope and Dread in Montana Literature*, 14.

54. Garcia to McWhorter, Feb. 23, 1931, July 21, 1932, both in folder 103, box 14.

55. *Billings (Mont.) Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1932, p. 9; McWhorter, foreword to "A message from Garcia."

56. Garcia to McWhorter, May 18, 1932.

57. Garcia to McWhorter, Feb. 17, 1929, folder 91, box 13.

58. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 6; Garcia to McWhorter, July 21, 1932.

59. Garcia to McWhorter, Nov. 18, 1930.

60. Garcia to McWhorter, Oct. 1, 1929 [McWhorter typed transcription], folder 255, box 28.

61. See Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 364–65.

62. "Big Hole Battlefield Diary," folder 1, SC 2060, Montana Historical Society Research Center, Helena.

63. Garcia, *Tough Trip*, 364; "Big Hole Battlefield Diary."

64. Sherry L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940* (New York, 2000), 14.

65. "Big Hole Battlefield Diary."

### Thomas Savage, Forgotten Novelist

The author is especially indebted to three members of Thomas Savage's family for their kindness and generosity. Sandy James, his nephew, who still runs cattle