

BUFFALO DANCER: THE BIOGRAPHY OF AN IMAGE

by

Kristine K. Ronan

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in the University of Michigan
2016

Dissertation Committee:

Associate Professor David T. Doris, Chair
Professor Philip J. Deloria
Professor Jennifer E. Robertson
Professor Susan L. Siegfried
Associate Professor Rebecca Zurier

© Kristine K. Ronan 2016

DEDICATION

To my daughter, niece, and nephew —

That you may know a kinder, more just world than I;

To my Aunt Thelma and Uncle Chuck —

You demanded racial justice every day of your married lives,
teaching me to do the same;

And to the many souls whose bodies took the violence that lay just outside the purview of
these pages —

Nuníhe'sh. Núkihe'sh.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF APPENDICES	xxxii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxxii
ABSTRACT	xxxv
INTRODUCTION. <u>Mandan Buffalo Dancer (1834)</u>	1
Image Biography	2
Writing the How / Re-Writing the Colonial	8
Chapters	12
Notes on Language	14
CHAPTER 1. Buffalo Dancing, circa 1894	18
The Technological Moment: “The Reproducer”	22
The Political Moment: “Unerring Rapid Fire”	29
Crafting Containment	35
PART I. HAKO'SH	39
CHAPTER 2. 9 April 1834: Fort Clark	39

	Constructing Baron Braunsbergh	46
	“Nothing Remained Hidden”: Telescopes and Rifles	52
	“Whitewashed”: Paintbrushes and Sketchbooks	55
	Mimesis-as-Capture	63
CHAPTER 3.	9 April 1834: <i>Mít uta hako'sh</i>	68
	<i>Piti konika sé ma'ósene.</i> Be-red calf flower.	68
	<i>Míkano'sh.</i> He sells / buys / trades / exchanges.	79
	<i>Kináksa hanak.</i> To be a warrior.	84
	<i>Nuhíto'sh. Ikáhíto'sh. Ímate neko'sh.</i> She tans a hide. She softens a hide. She tans it.	89
	<i>Míh ókahene.</i> Sets-in-motion woman I possess.	91
	<i>Manápe'sh benók onápe.</i> He dances the buffalo bull dance.	93
	<i>Sé'sh.</i> Inhabits-red.	94
	<i>Hókahako'sh.</i> He stands still.	98
CHAPTER 4.	The Middle Ground	101
PART II.	MOTION	115
CHAPTER 5.	Painting Race: A Theory of the Meta-Archive	115
	The Project	115
	The Problem of Motion	119
	The Theory	124
CHAPTER 6.	<i>Okípe</i>	155
PART III.	SURFACING	168
CHAPTER 7.	Print, Valuation, and the Artist's Hand	168

	Moving Images Across the Ocean	170
	“Artistic Mechanics”	176
	Stealing the Aura: The (Re)Production of Native American Forms	183
	Buffalo Dancing at the Savage Club	191
CHAPTER 8.	Capture	194
CHAPTER 9.	“No.46”	203
	The Exhibitionary Complex and the Craft of (Re)Production	207
	“The Scientific Order”: No.46 as Image	212
	The Store: No.46 as Object	231
	“Those White Paper Fellows”: No.46 as Textual Object	251
	The Many Geographies of Buffalo Dancing, circa 1904	262
PART IV.	THE <i>LONGUE DURÉE</i>	268
CHAPTER 10.	Becoming	268
CHAPTER 11.	Indian–Pop–Politics	285
	The Development of Indian Pop (1964–72)	288
	The Indian–Artist–Medium and Indian Pop’s Self-Portraiture	317
	Wounded Knee, Reprise (1973)	331
EPILOGUE.	Present–Past–Future	336
	FIGURES	339
	APPENDICES	533
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	568

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION

2-1.	Prinz Maximilian Wied-Neuwied's plan of Fort Clark.	42
2-2.	Map of Wied's travels, 1832–4.	51
2-3.	Mimesis-as-Capture versus Mimesis-as-Becoming.	64
3-1.	Map of the <i>Awatíkihu</i> (1823).	73
3-2.	Trading centers of the Great Plains and Mountain West, ca.1800.	82
4-1.	Detail, printed version of Lewis and Clark's 1804–6 map (1814).	103
A-1.	Comparisons across eight language sources for recording the Nú'eta words for "Mandan," "First Man," and "Buffalo Bull Society."	546
C-1.	Heart River Confederacy and <i>Awatíkihu</i> Events in Lakota Winter Counts, 1700 to 1920.	558

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

- | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| I-1. | Karl Bodmer, <u>Mandan Buffalo Dancer</u> [now titled <u>Leader of the Mandan Buffalo Bull Society</u>] (5 Apr 1834). Fort Clark. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. | 339 |
| 1-1. | W.K.L. Dickson, kinoscope film print on paper, <u>Buffalo Dance</u> (1894). Source: Dickson and Dickson, <u>History of the Kinetograph,...</u> (1895), p.23. HathiTrust digital copy, original from the Museum of Modern Art. | 340 |
| 1-2. | The Holland Brothers kinoscope parlor at 1155 Broadway, New York City. Source: Dickson and Dickson, <u>History of the Kinetograph</u> , p.53. | 341 |
| 1-3. | W.K.L. Dickson, "Let Me Look," a promotional still for the kinoscope (1895). Orange, New Jersey. Source: Dickson and Dickson, <u>History of the Kinetograph</u> . | 342 |
| 1-4. | James Hilbrandt, upper interior of the kinoscope. Source: George Eastman House. | 342 |
| 1-5. | James Hilbrandt, front interior of the kinoscope. Source: George Eastman House. | 343 |
| 1-6. | The Black Maria studio (5–8 Mar 1894). Orange, New Jersey. Source: National Park Service. | 344 |
| 1-7. | Dickson's designs for the Black Maria, redrawn for Earl Theisen (5 Jul 1933). Source: AMPAS Library. | 345 |

1-8.	Exterior illustration of the Black Maria studio, showing the pivot turn and the open roof for shooting. Source: <u>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly</u> (February 1895).	346
1-9.	Drawing of the Black Maria interior during the shoot for <u>Annabelle Serpentine</u> (1894). Source: <u>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly</u> (February 1895).	347
1-10.	W.K.L. Dickson, <u>Sadow</u> (1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film still. Source: Hendricks (Gordon) Collection, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, LoC.	348
1-11.	W.K.L. Dickson, <u>Annabelle Serpentine</u> (1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film print on paper. Source: Dickson and Dickson, <u>History of the Kinetograph</u> .	348
1-12.	Frederic Remington, "The Wounding of Lieutenant Hawthorne—The Hotchkiss-Gun Playing on the Cave" (24 Jan 1891). Source: <u>Harper's Weekly</u> .	349
1-13.	Detail, Figure 1-12 .	350
1-14.	Frederic Remington, "In the Trenches at Pine Ridge.—From a Sketch taken on the Spot." Source: <u>Harper's Weekly</u> (24 Jan 1891).	351
1-15.	Detail, Figure 1-14 .	352
1-16.	Unpan Glešká [Spotted Elk] left lying in the snow (ca. 1890). Photographic negative. Source: NARA-II, Signal Corps Photographs of American Military Activity, 1754–1954, #530805.	353
1-17.	Trager & Kuhn, studio-produced photograph of Big Foot's camp three weeks after the Wounded Knee Massacre (ca. 17 January 1891). Lakota bodies wrapped in blankets are visible in the foreground, while U.S. soldiers stand in the background. Source: LoC, Prints and Photographs Division, #15849.	354
1-18.	W.K.L. Dickson, <u>Buffalo Dance</u> (24 September 1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film (15 sec/20fps). Source: LoC, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, #00694114. The film can be watched at < http://www.loc.gov/item/00694114/ >.	355

- 1-19. W.K.L. Dickson, Sioux Ghost Dance (24 September 1894). 356
Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film (21 sec/20fps). Source:
LoC, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division,
#00694139. The film can be watched at
<<http://www.loc.gov/item/00694139/>>.
- 2-1. Prinz Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, page of the original 357
Tagebüch showing ornamentation and face paint of Osakiwugi
[Sauk] men and women (25 Mar 1833). Jefferson Barracks
outside St. Louis, Indian Territory. Ink and watercolor on bound
paper. Source: JAM vol. 1, Figure 0.2 on p.xxxi.
- 2-2. Karl Bodmer, Scene on the Janus (ca. May, June, or July 1832). 358
Atlantic Ocean. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-
Bodmer Collection.
- 2-3. Karl Bodmer, Emys picta [Painted Turtle] (4 Aug 1832). 359
Island in the Lehigh River, near Bethlehem, PA. Watercolor on paper.
Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.
- 2-4. Detail, Karl Bodmer, First Landing (18 Jul 1833). 360
Banks of the Missouri, between Fort Union and Fort McKenzie. Graphite on
paper. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection, 1996.48.7196.
Author's photograph.
- 2-5. Karl Bodmer, plate production copy of Mato-Tópe, Mandan Chief 361
(after original painted in April 1834). Paris. Watercolor on paper.
Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.
- 2-6. Karl Bodmer, sketch of the *Benók Óhata* from *Mít uta hako'sh* (9 362
Apr 1834). Fort Clark. Graphite and watercolor on paper. Source:
JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.
- 2-7. Karl Bodmer, sketch of *Mít uta hako'sh* (ca. Nov 1833–Feb 1834). 363
Vicinity of Fort Clark and *Mít uta hako'sh*, Indian Territory.
Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer
Collection.
- 2-8. Karl Bodmer, sketch of the interior of the *má'ak óti* 364
("earthlodge") belonging to Ni'puh [Broken Marrow; Numak'aki
(Mandan)] (ca. Dec 1833–Apr 1834). *Mít uta hako'sh*. Watercolor
and ink on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

- 2-9. Karl Bodmer, Meshihkêha [Snapping Turtle; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] (25 Mar 1833). Jefferson Barracks outside St. Louis, Indian Territory. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. 365
- 3-1. *Piti konika sé ma'ósene (Pulsatilla vulgaris)*, native to the Northern Plains. 366
- 3-2. Foolish Woman [Numak'aki] winter count, 1844: "A man by the name of Hand was chief of the village and appointed the camp." Source: Martha Warren Beckwith, trans., Myths and Hunting Stories of the Mandan and Hidatsa Sioux (Poughkeepsie: Vassar College, 1930) 311. 367
- 3-3. George Catlin, Bird's-Eye View of the Mandan Village, 1800 Miles above St. Louis (1837–9). *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.502. 368
- 3-4. Pair of calumets (n.d.). Source: Buffalo Bill Center of the West #NA.502.195.1&2. 369
- 3-5. Counting coup marks owned and drawn by Red White Buffalo [Numak'aki] in 1884, and explained by Beaver [Numak'aki] and Butterfly [Minitari] and copied by Gilbert L. Wilson in 1909. Fort Berthold Reservation. Source: Object #12, described in Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson. Author's photograph. 370

FIG. XVII: "Red White Buffalo was leader of a war party that captured horses shown thus."

FIG. XVIII: Same.

FIG. XIX: Same, but the missing hoof marks indicate that the party was only partially successful, with only a few horses captured.

FIG. XX: Red White Buffalo led a war party that killed *ha numák*.

FIG. XXI: A man with the (a) head, (b) legs, and (c) long hair of the *ha numák*.

FIG. XXII through XXIV: "When a man had been on a war party he made a vertical mark; when he had been leader of a war party he made a horizontal mark. Thus, **FIG. XII** means 'I have been member in my life time of four war parties.' **FIG. XXIII** means 'I have been leader of four war parties.' **FIG. XXIV** means 'I was a member of a war party and was sent ahead to spy out the enemy.'"

3-6.	Detail, Lachpitzí-Síhrisch [Yellow Bear; Minitari], tally robe (collected in 1834). <i>Elá-Sá</i> . Earth pigments on buffalo hide. Source: Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, #IV B202. Photograph courtesy of Candace Greene.	371
3-7.	Daughter or wife of Leggings [Numak'aki] scraping hide (1904). Fort Berthold Reservation. Photograph taken by L.A. Huffman. Source: NEW-Ayer, AP3797. Author's photograph. She is likely holding an elk antler, used for scraping hides. Additional tools included stones for scraping water from the hide, a piece of buffalo shoulder bone for smoothing the surface, and a piece of sinew robe over which the hide would be drawn. See the full kit used by Calf Woman [Numak'aki], collected by Gilbert L. Wilson in 1907, NMAI-Coll #01/3787 and 01/3802.	372
3-8.	White paint earth pigment samples from Heart River Confederacy village site. Source: NMAI-Coll #14/0503. Author's photographs.	373
3-9.	[LEFT] Paint bag for red pigment [Numak'aki]. Hide. Source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, #27509. Author's photograph.	374
3-10.	[BOTTOM] Paint bag for yellow, black, and red earth pigments [Numak'aki]. Muslin, dried clays. Source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, #82-45-10/27508. Author's photograph.	374
3-11.	[TOP, LEFT] Paint sticks with yellow, black, and red earth pigments [Numak'aki]. Bone. Source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, #27510. Author's photographs.	375
3-12.	[BOTTOM] Paint stick with black earth pigment [Numak'aki]. Bone with incising. Source: NMAI-Coll #14/5037. Author's photograph.	375
3-13.	[TOP] Effigy stick [Numak'aki] (pre-1781). Yellow Earth Village, Heart River Confederacy. Source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Will and Spinden 1905 dig collection, #67404. Author's photograph.	376
3-14.	[BOTTOM] Detail, Figure 3-13 .	376

- 3-15.** Late Mississippian Shell Mask Gorget (1400–1600). Anton Rygh site, Campbell County, South Dakota. Marine shell (lightning whelk). Source: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art #2004.30. Author’s photograph. 377
- 3-16.** Buffalo Society headdress [Numak'aki] (collected in 1865–8 by Drs. C. Gray and W. Matthews). Dakota Territory. Buffalo hide, red trade wool, buckskin, buffalo horn, tin. Source: NMNH #E-8431. Author’s photograph. 378
- 3-17.** The reconstructed ark of *Numak Máhina* (2014). *Míti O-pa-e-resh / Kamá míti* [At-A-Slant Village]. Source: Author’s photograph. 379
- 3-18.** Detail, Earth Woman [Mrs. James Kipp; Numak'aki], quilled buffalo robe with sunburst design (n.d.; possibly the 1820s or 1830s). *Mít uta hako'sh* or Fort Clark. Buffalo hide, dyed quills, possibly with bird feather quills and grass roots. Source: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology #45-15-702. 380
- 3-19.** The sacred central lodge posts in reconstructed Numak'aki earthlodge, looking “out” of the face (2014). *Míti O-pa-e-resh / Kamá míti* [At-A-Slant Village]. Source: Author’s photograph. 381
- 3-20.** Unknown artist, drawing on cloth (prior to 1905). Possibly collected on Standing Rock Reservation. Earth pigments or inks on cotton. Source: MHS #7059.27.2. Author’s photograph. 382
- 3-21.** Prinz Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, sun dogs (*parhelia*) (ca. winter of 1833–4). *Awatíkihu*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM vol. 3, p.237, Fig. 20.1. 383
- 3-22.** Detail, Numak'aki [Mandan] painted buffalo robe (likely 1830s or earlier). *Awatíkihu*. Source: Buffalo Bill Center #NA.202.839. 384
- 3-23.** Armband [Numak'aki], frontal view (ca.1870s). Fort Berthold. Engraved German silver. Source: NMAI-Coll #19/0634. Author’s photograph. 385

The band has a total of three engraved circles, perhaps reflecting the change to the Three Affiliated Tribes as the organizational structure of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. This change to a symbolism of three is also seen on other Numak'aki and Minitari material

culture objects of the period, such as tobacco bags and moccasins.

The engraver of the band tilted the three rosettes on a directional axis, a quarter turn from the usual “winter camp” orientation of rosettes in the *Awatíkihu* (see **Figures 3-2** and **3-18**).

- 4-1.** Three Villages Robe [Ogahpah (Quapaw)] (ca.1740). Native tanned leather, pigment. Source: Musée de Quai Branly, Paris, France, #71.1934.33.7 D. 386
- 4-2.** Detail, **Figure 4-1**. The words that name the three villages are, from left to right, OUZOVTVOVI, TOVARIMON, and OVOAPPA. The French buildings to the left may represent three churches and a trading post. 386
- 4-3.** Full, **Figure 3-19**. 387
- 4-4.** George Catlin, Hanató Numakshí [Wolf Chief; Numak'aki] (1832). Fort Clark. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.127. 388
- 4-5.** Robert Scot (engraver), obverse (left) and reverse (below) of the Jefferson peace medal (1801). U.S. Mint in Philadelphia. Embossed silver. Source: National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. 389
- 4-6.** Detail, **Figure 4-4**. 390
- 5-1.** Alexandre Damien Manceau (*inc.* after Karl Bodmer *del.*), Mandan Buffalo Dance [Tableau 18] (1838). Paris, France. Aquatint, mezzotint, and etching with handcoloring. Second State. Source: Wikimedia Commons. 391
- 5-2.** Karl Bodmer, early stage plate composition sketch, subsequently titled “*Indiens Corbeaux / 1831.*” Paris. Graphite on paper. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection, #1996.48.7197. Author’s photograph. 392
- 5-3.** Engraved copper and steel printing plate for Tableau 18 (ca.1842). Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. 393

- 5-4. Plate 4, “Catlin’s Certificates of Authenticity,” from Thomas C. Donaldson, “The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U.S. National Museum,” SI Report, 1885, Part II. 394
- 5-5. George Catlin, Buffalo Dance, Mandan (1835–7). Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.440. 395
- 5-6. Detail of Numak'aki child in Tableau 18, **Figure 5-1**. 396
- 5-7. Charles Vogel (*inc.* after Karl Bodmer *del.*) with inked addition of children by Bodmer, Scalp Dance of the Minatarres [Tableau 27] (ca.1837–8). Paris, France. Aquatint, mezzotint, etching, and roulette with ink and wash on paper. Proof between First and Fourth States. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 1. 397
- 5-8. Theodorus de Bry, “Indian Woman and Young Girl,” from America, Volume 1, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia by Thomas Hariot, Plate VIII (1590). Engraving. Source: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. 398
- 5-9. Detail of Mato-Tópe in the audience of Tableau 18, **Figure 5-1**. 399
- 5-10. George Catlin, Máh-To-Tóh-Pa, Four Bears, Second Chief, in Full Dress (1832). Fort Clark or *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.128. 400
- 5-11. Full-length portrait of Mato-Tópe from George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians..., Volume 1 (London: self-published, 1841) Plate 64. Engraving. Source: HathiTrust Digital Library, original from University of Alberta. 401
- 5-12. Embossed covers for the two volumes of George Catlin, Illustrations of the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians: in a series of letters and notes written during eight years of travel and adventure among the wildest and most remarkable tribes..., 2 volumes, 6th edition (London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1848). Source: AAS. Author’s photograph. 402
- 5-13. Frontispiece, “The Author painting a Chief at the base of the Rocky Mountains,” from George Catlin, Illustrations of the manners, customs and condition..., Volume 1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Source: AAS. Author’s photograph. 403

- 5-14. George Catlin, Catlin Feasted by the Mandan Chief (1861/1869). 404
Oil on card. Source: NGA, Paul Mellon Collection, #1965.16.80.
- 5-15. Unknown artist/engraver, “Medicine Arrow and His [Wife]” 405
(ca.1891). From Wild Life on the Plains, ed. W.L. Holloway (St. Louis: Royal Publishing Company). Source: HathiTrust Digital Library, original from University of Minnesota Library.
- 5-16. [LEFT] George Catlin, Duke of Portland souvenir album (ca.1859) 406
#108D. Graphite on paper. Source: Drawings of the North American Indians (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984). Author’s photograph.
- 5-17. [RIGHT] George Catlin, Newberry Library souvenir album 406
(ca.1852) #41A. Graphite on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Catlin Art 1 Box 1. Author’s photograph.
- 5-18. Unknown makers, buffalo hide shirt, with painted designs by 407
George Catlin (ca.1840s). Pigment and beaded appliques on buffalo hide. Source: NMNH, Catlin Collection, #E386505-0. Author’s photograph.
- 5-19. William Emmons (printer), Battle of the Thames and the death of 408
Tecumseh, by the Kentucky mounted volunteers led by Colonel Richard M. Johnson. 5th Oct. 1814. (1833). Boston. Hand-colored lithograph. Source: AAS.
- 5-20. Ferdinand Pettrich (*del.*), details, PLATE III, “6. Two Sacs & Foxes 409
accompanied by Major Hook of the U.S. Army, riding through Pennsylvania Avenue Washington City DC” [TOP] and PLATE IV, “9. A band of Sious [sic] Musicians – in the Captains uniforms, presented by the U.S. Government. – marching to their own music, through Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City U.S.” [BOTTOM]. From his four-sheet series of Native delegates in Washington, D.C. (1842). Edward Weber & Co. (*imp.*), Baltimore, MD. Tinted lithograph. Source: NMAH, Graphic Arts Collection, no. 29,209.
- 5-21. “Torture of Captives taken in King William’s War,” from Earle 410
Wentworth Huckel’s scrapbook (July 1910). Wood engraving. Source: NMAH, Graphic Arts Collection, #11882-12154. Author’s photograph.

The woodcuts of Huckel’s scrapbook come from various publications dated between 1820 and 1840, and are arranged by topic. This woodcut appears in the Native American section. Huckel ended his last term as an undergraduate editor of The Harvard Monthly in July 1910, and may have donated this scrapbook, a potential source of imagery for the Monthly, to the NMAH at that time.

- 5-22.** Detail, **Figure 5-19** in comparison with a detail of the version of the hand-colored print held by the Library of Congress (digital ID cph.3b52018). 411
- 5-23.** Detail, Jean-Joseph-François Tassaert (*del.*), Les Indiens de la tribu des Osages. / arrivant en fiacre à Paris (1827). Paris, France. Lithograph. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Boilly Folder 1. Author’s photograph. 412
- 5-24.** Extreme details, **Figure 5-23**. 413
- 5-25.** Detail, Karl Bodmer, “*jeune garçon*” [U'moŋ'hoŋ (Omaha)] (4 May 1833). Cabanné’s trading post near present-day Bellevue, NE. Graphite and watercolor on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 2. 414
- 5-26.** Detail, Karl Bodmer, frontier portrait of Húttá Maði [Goes About Bellowing; Paŋ'ka (Ponca)] (31 May 1833). Fort Pierre. Watercolor and graphite on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. 415
- 5-27.** Detail, Karl Bodmer, plate composition for the portrait of Húttá Maði [Goes About Bellowing; Paŋ'ka (Ponca)] (31 May 1833). Paris. Ink and wash on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 3. Author’s photograph. 416
- 5-28.** George Catlin, Sha-Kó-Ka, Mint, a Pretty Girl (1832). Fort Clark or *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.134. 417
- 5-29.** Plains shield core of hardened hide with Mi'kmaq quilled trim (ca.1840s). Buffalo hide, pigments, feather, cloth, dyed quills, bark. Source: NMNH, Catlin Collection, #E73337-0. Author’s photograph. 418
- 5-30.** Thomas McGahey (*del.* after George Catlin), Plate 8: “Buffalo Dance,” Catlin’s North American Indian Portfolio. Hunting Scenes 419

and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains and Prairies of
America. (London: Day & Hughe, 1844). Handcolored lithograph.
 Source: NEW-Ayer 250.45 C2 1844.

- 5-31. Detail, **Figure 5-30**. 420
- 5-32. Details, Currier & Ives (*imp.* after George Catlin), Buffalo Bull Dance. "To Make the Buffaloes Come." (1865). New York City. Hand-colored tinted lithograph. Source: SAAM #1985.66.386,594A. 421
- 5-33. Detail, Jean-Joseph-François Tassaert (*del.*), Les Indiens de la tribu des Osages. / arrivant en fiacre à Paris (1827). Paris, France. Hand-colored lithograph. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Boilly Folder 2. Author's photograph. 422
- 6-1. Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak'aki (Mandan)], frontal drawing of *Okípe* buffalo dancer (1834). Fort Clark / *Mít uta hako'sh*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. 423
- 6-2. Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak'aki (Mandan)], profile drawing of *Okípe* buffalo dancer (1834). Fort Clark / *Mít uta hako'sh*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection. 424
- 6-3. Arni Brownstone, graphic illustration copied from a painted Numak'aki buffalo robe collected by Prinz Wied. Source: Arni Brownstone, "European Influence in the Mandan-Hidatsa Graphic Works Collected by Prince Maximilian of Wied," American Indian Art Magazine (Summer 2014) 59. The original *Awatíkihu* robe (dated 1834 or earlier) is in the Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, cat. no. IV B205. 425
- 6-4. Detail, **Figure 6-3**. 426
- 6-5. Detail, **Figure 6-3**. 427
- 6-6. Unknown *ka-ka* (possibly Moves Slowly [Numak'aki]), Little Owl notebook (after 1837?). *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Graphite in bound book. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 2003-05. 428

One reads the *ka-ka* list, which is the bottom two lines of the spread, by first flipping the book 90° to the left, then reading

from the bottom right corner upward. Once at the top, one flips the book 180° and reads the second line, bottom to top.

- 6-7. Unknown *ka-ka* (possibly Moves Slowly [Numak'aki]), Little Owl notebook (after 1837?). *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Graphite in bound book. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 2003-05. 429
- 6-8. Red Bear [Sahnish], untitled (1875). Fort Buford. Graphite on paper. Source: NAA, MS #154064a, 085105.25. 430
- 6-9. Nee si Ra Pat [or Tamina WeWe in Lakota, translated as Bloody Knife; Sahnish (Arikara) / Hunkpapa], untitled (ca.1873). Fort Buford. Ink and colored pencil on paper. Source: NAA, MS #154064b, 085106.19. 431
- 6-10. Poor Wolf [also Lean Wolf; Minitari], untitled (ca.1890). Fort Berthold Reservation. Ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper. Source: NMAI-Coll #4/2446B. 432
- 7-1. Antonion Zeno Shindler, Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] (ca.1876–99). Washington, D.C. Oil on paperboard. Source: SAAM #1985.66.295,538. 433
- 7-2. Original image: Thomas M. Easterly, Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] (ca.1846–7). Likely Missouri Territory. Daguerreotype. (Re)production, seen here: Antonion Zeno Shindler, Kiyo-Kaga (1868). Washington, D.C. Glass plate negative. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 60, Album 2. 434
- 7-3. Theodore Wust, Samuel P. Avery Transporting His Treasures Across the Sea (ca.1875–80). New York City. Graphite, ink, and gouache on gray paper. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, #67.844.2. 435
- 7-4. Page from “Autographs and Sketches from Artist Friends to Samuel P. Avery 1874–1880.” Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art #272.4 Au8. 436
- 7-5. Léon Bonnat, Plaster Cast of Antoine-Louis Barye’s Hand on Barye’s Palette (1897). Paris. Paint on wooden palette. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection. 437

7-6.	Unknown photographer, Alexander Pope painting <u>Emblems of the Civil War</u> (ca.1888). Source: Donelson F. Hoopes, appearing in <u>Art Bulletin</u> 79:2 (Jun 1997) 257.	438
7-7.	John Haberle, <u>Imitation</u> (1887). Oil on canvas. Source: NGA #1998.96.1.	439
7-8.	Details, Figure 7-7.	440
7-9.	Detail, John Haberle, <u>Reproduction</u> (1888). Oil on canvas. Source: Private collection.	441
7-10.	George de Forest Brush, <u>The Picture-Writer's Story</u> (1884). Oil on canvas. Source: American Museum of Western Art, The Anschutz Collection, Denver, CO.	442
7-11.	Painted and decorated Absáalooke [Crow] buffalo robe (ca.1850). Collected at Fort Benton (Montana). Buffalo hide, wool cloth, animal hooves, porcupine quills, glass beads, dyes, sinew. Source: NMAI-Coll #1/2558.	443
7-12.	Detail, Figure 7-10.	444
7-13.	William de la Montagne Cary, "Scalp Dance" with detail, from <u>Harper's Weekly</u> (19 Sept 1874) 773. Source: HarpWeek.com.	445
7-14.	Detail, Figure 7-13.	446
7-15.	Charles Ferdinand Wimar, <u>The Buffalo Dance</u> (1860). St. Louis, MO. Oil on canvas. Source: Saint Louis Art Museum #164:1946.	447
7-16.	Frederic Remington, "The Buffalo Dance," <u>Harper's Weekly</u> 31:1585 (7 May 1887).	448
8-1.	Oakuhhatuh [later named Making Medicine and David Pendleton Oakerhater; Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)], <u>untitled</u> [Drawing of Two White Soldiers with Sabers Inspecting Two Rows of Indian Prisoners in Uniform Inside Building] (1875). Fort Marion, Florida. Graphite, colored pencil, and crayon on paper. Source: NAA, Manuscript 39B.	449
8-2.	Mason Pratt's Fort Marion ledger art book, bound in 1924. Source: Phillip Earenfight, <u>A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion</u> (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007) 140.	450

- 8-3.** John N. Choate, photographs of Chiricarua Apache children [L] upon their arrival at Carlisle Industrial Indian School (4 November 1886), and [R] four months later (March 1887). Published in Our Forest Children 2:10 (Christmas 1888) 10–1. SOURCE: Bound volume of Our Forest Children, NEW-Ayer. Author’s photograph. Sitter identifications from NMAI-Phto. 451
- [LEFT IMAGE] Front row (L to R): Clement Seanilzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatun (Pahgostatun), Margaret Y. Nadasthilah, Frederick Eskelsejah (Fred' k Eskelsijah). Middle row (L to R): Humphrey Eseharzay (Escharzay), Samson Noran, Basil Ekarden. Back row (L to R): Hugh Chee, Bishop Eatannah, Ernest Hogee.
- [RIGHT PENDANT] Front row (L to R): Humphrey Escharzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatun, Bishop Eatannah, Basil Ekarden. Middle row: Margaret Y. Nadasthilah. Back row (L to R): Hugh Chee, Frederick Eskelsejah (Fred' k Eskelsijah), Clement Seanilzay, Samson Noran, Ernest Hogee.
- 8-4.** Details, **Figure 8-3**. Samson Noran is marked with a “4” in both pendant photographs. 451
- 8-5.** Leupp Art Studio, Carlisle Indian Industrial School (ca.1909). Source: NARA-I, Record group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 452
- McKenney and Hall images within the image (L to R):
- Mohongo and child [Mi-Ho'n-Ga; Ni-u-Ko'n-Ska (Osage)]
 - Keesheewaa [Mesquaki (Fox)]
 - Amiskquew [Menominee]
 - Yoholo-Micco [Yoholo, Micco (Chief) of Old Eufaula Town; Creek Confederacy]
 - Weshcubb [Red Lake Chippewa]
 - Neomoni ["Rain Cloud"; Pahoja (Ioway)]
 - unidentified
- 8-6.** Frank A. Rinehart/Alfred F. Muhr, Sentele [Chief Grant Richards, Titska Watitch (Tonkawa)] (1898). Indian Congress, Omaha, Nebraska. Source: OPL, Photographs by F.A. Rinehart Collection, TMI 00624. 453

- 8-7. The Rinehart/Muhr portrait of “Chief Grant Richards” on Indian Congress Poster (1898). Photomechanical print of hand-tinted photograph. Source: OPL, TMI 05050. 454
- 8-8. IOGA Warwick, drinking stein with the Rinehart/Muhr portrait of “Chief Grant Richards,” manufactured for OSIRIS (Masonic) Temple (1904). Source: Phoenixmasonry Online Masonic Museum, <<http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/masonicmuseum/>>. 455
- 9-1. View from the internal hotel entrance to the Indian Hall, Hotel Astor, into one of two “Sioux” alcoves (ca.1905). Broadway and 44th/45th Streets, New York City. Source for all Indian Hall images: The Great Indian Hall, brochure (ca.1905). 456
 The images within the image [R to L]:
- No.51 (on column) – Karl Bodmer, A Skin Lodge of an Assiniboin Chief [Vignette 16]
 - No.52 – unknown photographer
 - No.53 – 3 studio portraits [missing]
 - No.54, No.55 – Frank A. Rinehart, 4 Indian Congress group portraits (1898), Omaha, Nebraska
 - No.56 – Bodmer, The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief [Tableau 19]
 - No.57 – Bodmer, Scalp Dance of the Minatarres [Tableau 27]
 - No.58 – John A. Anderson, “Sioux Indian Dance House” (1893), Rosebud Agency
 - [in part: No.67, the first image of the Algonquins section – unknown photographer]
 - No.59 (on column) – Bodmer, Crow Indians [Vignette 13]
- 9-2. Looking north from the Algonquin section of the Indian Hall (with the Mexico section at the far end). 457
- 9-3. Looking south from the Algonquin section of the Indian Hall (with the Alaska section at the far end). 458
- 9-4. Details of Indian Hall’s north view: prints in wood paneling, Algonquin section. 459
 Images within the image [L to R]:
- No.71 – John A. Anderson, “Indian Travois” (1893)
 - No.72 – John A. Anderson, “Indian Home - Drying Beef” (1893) [No.71 and No.72 feature Sichánǰu [Brulé]

subjects from the Rosebud agency—not Algonquin peoples.]

- No.73, No.74 – unidentified images

9-5.	Floor Plan, Indian Hall, Hotel Astor (1905). The guest entrance to the dining room was through the Old New York section in the center; staff came and went through the doors in the Athabaskan section, which led to the “world’s largest kitchen.”	460
9-6.	“Apache Indian” (ca.1905). Photoengraving.	461
9-7.	No author, “Preserving the Indian” (n.d.). Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 590, Folder 6.	462
9-8.	No.94 – “Types of Navajo.” Albumen prints affixed to paper board. Source: AC-FAM #1937.5.263.94.	463
9-9.	[L] Charles Milton Bell, <u>Haastin Ch'il Haajiní</u> [Manuelito; Diné] (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative. Source: NAA, BAE GN 02390 06394700.	463
9-10.	[C] Charles Milton Bell, <u>Manuelito Segundo</u> [Diné] (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative. Source: NAA, BAE GN 02392 06394800.	463
9-11.	[R] Charles Milton Bell, <u>Juanita</u> (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negatives. Source: NAA, BAE GM 02391 Broken Negative file 06665800.	463
9-12.	“From Hayden’s Survey—No. 133. Navajoe Blanket-maker.” Stereograph card. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 90-1, no. 211.	464
9-13.	Charles M. Bell, fronts, backs, and details of <i>carte de visite</i> cards labeled “Juanita. / Navajo.” and “Manulito. / Navajo.” (1874). Collected by Aleš Hrdlička. Source: NAA, SPC Sw Navaho 4877 02274400, SPC Sw Navaho 4877 02274300.	465
9-14.	Unidentified engraver [after a sketch by A.B. Shults], Charles Milton Bell photographing Sichánǵu [Lakota] delegates in his studio (1881). Wood engraving. Source: <u>Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly</u> (10 September 1881).	466
9-15.	[L] Detail, Charles Milton Bell, Manuelito Segundo (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative.	467

Source: NAA, BAE GN 02392 06394800. [R] Detail, John Trumbull, George Washington (1780). Oil on canvas. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- 9-16.** No.100 – “Types of Navaho.” Albumen prints affixed to paper board. Source: AC-FAM #1937.5.263.100. 468
- Images within the image [L to R]:
- James Mooney, “Old Warrior” [Diné] (1893). Arizona Keams Canyon Reservation. Possible source plate: NAA, BAE GN 02412 06397600.
 - George Hubbard Pepper, portrait of José (also known as Whalus) [Diné] (Jul-Sept 1897). Lantern slide (negative now lost). Image source: NMAI-Phto, George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection 1895–1918, L01532.
Subject notation: #739 in the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), titled “José – Whalus – posing – front view” [NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 188, Folder 10, p.137]. The sitter was a laborer for the HEE, and went by José in 1897 (Jul–Sept) but Whalus in 1898 (Jun/Aug/Sept) [Hyde Expedition Wage Book (1896–8), NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 87, Folder 7].
 - Charles M. Bell, Captain Cayatanita [Diné] (1874). Washington, D.C. Source plate: NAA, BAE GN 02389 06394600.
- 9-17.** Scrapbook of wood engraver H.E. Holloway (1850–60). Source: Author’s photograph, AAS. 469
- 9-18.** Lorenzo Hubbell’s living room (n.d.). Ganado, New Mexico. Source: Museum of New Mexico. 470
- 9-19.** J.E. Standley’s residential Indian Corner on a promotional postcard for Standley’s Ye Olde Curiosity Shop (1905). Seattle, WA. Source: Kate Duncan, 1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000) 117. 471
- 9-20.** Interior of the Crawford residence (n.d.). Fort Craig, New Mexico. Weaving samplers hang under the mantel, and baskets and pottery appear on various shelves of the right-hand hutch. Additional photographs of the room also show large baskets around the parlor’s tables. Source: Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library. 472

- 9-21. Wanamaker Department Store advertisement and detail, New York Times (16 Apr 1901). Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 590, Folder 7. 473
- 9-22. George Hubbard Pepper, original photographs used for **Figure 9-21** (from top right): blanket woven by the wife of Bindijohn; unidentified woman carding blanket; wife of Haastin Tsó cleaning wool; wife of Masselina demonstrating how to spin wool (1896–7). Source: George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection, 1895–1918, NMAI-Phto, Nos. P01658, P01668, P01661, and P01659. Identifications from the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 188, Folder 10, p.133–5. 474
- 9-23. Franz Boas demonstrating position of Inuit harpoon for life group at the AMNH (1904–5). Source: AMNH, Dept. of Library Services, Neg. 3220. 475
- 9-24. [TOP] Franz Boas posing for central figure for U.S. National Museum display, “Hamats'a Coming Out of Secret Room” (ca.1895). Black and white glass negative. Source: NAA, Negative MNH 8300. 476
- 9-25. [BOTTOM] The diorama “Hamats'a Coming Out of Secret Room” at the U.S. National Museum (ca.1895). Plate 29 in Franz Boas, “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,” Report of the National Museum, 1894–5. Black and white photoprint on cardboard mount. Source: NAA, SPC Nwc Kwakiutl NM No.# Boas 09070500. 476
- 9-26. Thomas Lunt, Sigurd Neandross making AMNH models for Northwest Coast ceremonial canoe (October 1910). American Museum of Natural History, New York City, NY. Glass negative. Source: AMNH Library, Neg. no. 33008. 477
- 9-27. J.E. Standley, framed montage of print pages from BAE and National Museum reports (ca.1901). Source: Kate Duncan, 1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000) 21. 478

Papers used for the montage: Franz Boas, “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,” and Walter J. Hoffman, “The Graphic Art of the Eskimos” (both from Report of the National Museum, 1894–5); and Edward W.

Nelson, "The Eskimo About Bering Strait" (Eighteenth Annual Report of the BAE, 1896–7).

- 9-28.** Frank Nowell, *torii*-like [Shinto] south entrance of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (1909). Source: University of Washington Libraries, neg. X1900. 479
- Exhibition planners took the totem designs from Standley's copy of Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the National Museum, 1894–5). The eyes of the figures were light bulbs, which were illuminated at night.
- 9-29.** Julius Kirschner, preparing slide orders for delivery to New York City public schools (Apr 1925). American Museum of Natural History, New York City, NY. Film negative. Source: AMNH Library, Neg. no. 310916. 480
- This 1925 photograph of the AMNH education division shows staff preparing 14,911 slides to fill 340 orders for distribution to 131 public schools in New York City. The division also loaned out films, photographs, and prints, as well as dioramas and casts in specially made carrying cases.
- 9-30.** Pages from The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States series, Volume 1: Adventurers in the Wilderness by Clark Wissler, Constance Lindsay Skinner, and William Wood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p.47, 50, 53, and 54. 481
- 9-31.** "Some of the Famous Generals of the U.S. Army under whom Buffalo Bill Has Served," from the 1907 Buffalo Bill program. General Crook is near Cody's shoulder on the left. Source: HathiTrust, with the original from Princeton University Library. 482
- 9-32.** Thomas Nast, "'News' in Washington," cover illustration, Harper's Weekly 19:964 (19 Jun 1875). 483
- 9-33.** Detail, **Figure 9-32.** 484
- 9-34.** Detail, **Figure 9-32.** 485
- 9-35.** Detail, frontispiece, Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon, Types of Mankind: or Ethnological Researches, Based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races 486

(Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, Grambo, 1854). Source: Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

- 9-36.** Details for comparison, **Figure 9-32** and **Figure 9-35.** 487
- 10-1.** [LEFT] Unknown photographer, Alexander Posey (ca.1900). Source: Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. Collection, American Native Press Archives, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. 488
- 10-2.** [RIGHT] Frontispiece of the first edition of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass (1855). Engraving by Samuel Hollyer after a lost daguerreotype by Gabriel Harrison (1854). 488
- 10-3.** McDougall, "To Settle the Indian Troubles," New York World (30 November 1890). Source: General Research Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. 489
- 10-4.** State of Sequoyah celluloid pinback (ca.1905). Indian Territory, Oklahoma. 490
- 10-5.** George Hubbard Pepper, Masselina and wife combing hair (1896–7). Glass plate negative. Image source: NMAI-Phto, George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection 1895–1918, N02429. 491
- Subject notation: #731 in the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), titled "Masselina + [wife] Hair about shoulders." [NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 188, Folder 10, p.137]. Masselina was a laborer for the HEE in 1896 (Jul–Sept) and 1897 (May–Aug) [Hyde Expedition Wage Book (1896–8), NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 87, Folder 7].*
- 10-6.** Oakuhhatuh [later named Making Medicine and David Pendleton Oakerhater; Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)], untitled [Drawing of Indian Prisoners Being Photographed at Fort Marion] (1875). Fort Marion, Florida. Source: NAA, Manuscript 39B. 492
- 10-7.** Details, from top left, of **Figures 9-14, 10-6,** and **1-12.** [BOTTOM LEFT] Unidentified artist, "The Buffalo Dance," from Seven and Nine Years among the Camanches and Apaches. An Autobiography (Jersey City, NJ: Clark Johnson, M.D., 1873). Source: NEW-Ayer. Author's photograph. 493

10-8.	John Anderson's Rosebud Agency trading post, in a photograph taken by himself (1893). Source: Paul Dyck, <u>Brulé: The Sioux People of the Rosebud</u> (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1971) 23.	494
10-9.	Clarence G. Morledge, Red Cloud's bedroom, Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota (1891). Source: Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, RG2845:119-9.	495
10-10.	Tom Jones [Ho-Chunk], <u>Choka Watching Oprah</u> (1998). From <u>The Ho Chunk People</u> photographic essay. Source: The artist's website.	496
10-11.	MHA Nation tribal logo. Source: MHA Nation website.	497
10-12.	Frank A. Rinehart/Alfred Muhr, Sunghdeska Kte ["Kills the Spotted Horse," Hohe Nakota (Assiniboin)], from Montana (1898). Omaha, Nebraska. Source: OPL, TMI 02149.	498
10-13.	Detail, Figure 10-12.	499
11-1.	Unknown photographer, opening reception, <u>Two American Painters</u> (late Sept 1972). American Embassy, Bucharest, Rumania. Source: <u>Fritz Scholder</u> (New York: Rizzoli, 1982).	500
11-2.	Unidentified photographer (10 Mar 1973). Wounded Knee, South Dakota. United Press International. Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 422, Folder 18.	501
11-3.	Exhibition gallery of <u>Two American Painters</u> (Apr 1972). National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, DC. Source: SIA, RU 448, Box 8.	502
11-4.	T.C. Cannon, <u>Mama and Papa Have the Going Home to Shiprock Blues</u> (1966). Oil, acrylic on canvas. Source: Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico.	503
11-5.	Andy Warhol, <u>16 Jackies</u> (1964). Acrylic, enamel on canvas. Source: Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota.	504
11-6.	Alex Katz, <u>Double Portrait of Robert Rauschenberg</u> (1959). Oil on canvas. Source: Artstor.	505
11-7.	T.C. Cannon, <u>...When They Ask You to Sell Your Land...</u> (1970). Mixed media. Source: Collection of Lloyd Kiva New.	506

11-8.	Details, Figure 11-4.	507
11-9.	T.C. Cannon’s sketchbook drawings after Karl Bodmer. [TOP] Tableau 9 [Dakota Woman and Assiniboin Girl] and [BOTTOM] Tableau 8 [Wahk-Ta-Ge-li, Dakota Warrior] (1976). Cannon labeled the page “Teton Sioux after Bodmer.” Graphite on paper. Source: Collection of T.C. Cannon Estate.	508
11-10.	T.C. Cannon, <u>Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory</u> (1971). Oil on canvas. Source: Collection of U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, Anadarko, Oklahoma.	509
11-11.	Steve Schapiro, “The Jagers,” in “Rediscovery of the Redman,” <u>LIFE</u> (1 December 1967).	510
11-12.	Steve Schapiro, dances at IAIA, in “Rediscovery of the Redman,” <u>LIFE</u> (1 December 1967). All images feature IAIA students, and are described as follows: TOP – Navajo Yebetchai dance; BOTTOM LEFT – Apache devil dance; BOTTOM RIGHT – Plains dance.	511
11-13.	Milton Glaser, cover for <u>LIFE</u> (1 December 1967). The cover folds along the center of the two figures (marked by me at the top), with the right-hand figure folded underneath.	512
11-14.	Graphic by Antonio Lopez and Henry Grossman: Julie Christie from “Rediscovery of the Redman,” <u>LIFE</u> (1 December 1967).	513
11-15.	Wes Wilson, poster for “Tribal Stomp.” Produced by The Family Dog, Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco, February 19, 1966.	514
11-16.	Victor Moscoso, poster for Dance Concert featuring the “tokin’ Native American” logo for The Family Dog. Produced by The Family Dog, Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco, December 9–10, 1966.	514
11-17.	Steve Schapiro, “Tribal Stomp” at Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco (1967), in “Rediscovery of the Redman,” <u>LIFE</u> (1 December 1967). The 1884 military portrait of Taquawi [Sharp Nose; Inuna-Ina (Arapaho)] is projected.	515
11-18.	Billy War Soldier Soza [Soboba Luiseño/White Mountain Apache], <u>Peyote Vision</u> (1968). Colored marker on paper. Source:	516

Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, Department of the Interior, NMAI-Coll #26/2345.

- 11-19.** T.C. Cannon, Big Soldier (1972). Linocut. Source: SIA, RU 453, Box 5, Notebook 112, volume III. Author's photograph. 517
- 11-20.** Installation, Andy Warhol's "Mao" Exhibition in Paris (1973). The exhibition displayed more than 2,000 images of Mao. Source: Artstor. 518
- 11-21.** Francis Bacon, Study After Velásquez's Portrait of Pope Innocent X (1953). Oil on canvas. Source: Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, Iowa. 519
- 11-22.** Fritz Scholder, Super Indian #2 (1971). Oil on canvas. Source: Collection of Richard and Nancy Bloch, Denver Art Museum. 520
- 11-23.** Fritz Scholder, Buffalo Dancer (1971); from the Indians Forever portfolio. Lithograph. Source: Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, Department of the Interior, NMAI-Coll #25/9561.006. 521
- 11-24.** Fritz Scholder, frontispiece, Indian Kitsch (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979). 522
- 11-25.** Fritz Scholder, excerpt from Indian Kitsch (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979). The multiple frames were re-arrangeable, as Scholder reconfigured many of these images for a 4 x 3 grid published in Fritz Scholder, "Indian Kitsch," American Indian Art Magazine 4 (February 1979) 64–9. 523
- 11-26.** Andy Warhol, Self-Portrait (1963–4). Acrylic and silkscreen on canvas. Source: Private collection. 524
- 11-27.** T.C. Cannon, Self Portrait (between 1969 and 1978). Photograph. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon. 525
- 11-28.** T.C. Cannon, four notebook sketches. [CLOCKWISE, FROM TOP LEFT] 4 Self Portraits & A Rabbit (n.d.). Ink. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon. / Double Self Portrait (n.d.). Marker. Source: Private collection. / Self Portrait in 1965 (1973). Brown ink on paper. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon. / In Shadow (n.d.). Ink. Source: Collection of Russell Walker. 526

11-29.	John Loengard, Roy Lichtenstein with <u>Image Duplicator</u> for <u>LIFE</u> (November 1963). Gelatin silver print.	527
11-30.	Dennis Hopper, <u>Andy Warhol at Table</u> (1963). Photograph.	527
11-31.	Fritz Scholder, <u>Self Portrait</u> (1971). Lithograph on silver foil. Source: SIA, RU 453, Box 5, Notebook 112, volume III. Author's photograph.	528
11-32.	Fritz Scholder, <u>Self Portrait</u> (1971), on imprinted cover for <u>Scholder/Indians</u> (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1972). Source: University of Virginia Library. Author's photograph.	529
11-33.	Unknown photographer. 22 March 1973. United Press International. Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 423, Folder 2.	530
11-34.	Wanbli Ohitika [Russell Means; Oglala] (left), Naawakamig [Dennis Banks; Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe] (seated center), and other occupiers of Wounded Knee (1973). United Press International. Source: Obituary of Russell Means, <u>New York Times</u> (22 October 2012).	531
E-1.	National Geographic, screen saver of the "Mandan buffalo dance" from the film <u>Lewis & Clark: Great Journey West</u> (2002). Available at http://www.nationalgeographic.com/lewisandclark/photogallery_16.html .	532

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX

A.	On the Nú'eta Words Used in This Project	533
	A Philosophy of Language	535
	The Generation of Nú'eta on the Page	540
B.	Brief Biographical Notes on This Project's Numak'aki and Minitari Archival Informants	548
C.	Heart River Confederacy and <i>Awatíkihu</i> Events in Lakota Winter Counts, 1700 to 1920	557
D.	A Brief History of the Glass Negatives Collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE)	561
E.	The Founding of <i>Mua-iduskupe-hicec</i> (1844/45)	565

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia
AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
AC-FAM	Astor Collection, Fralin Art Museum, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia
AFC	American Fur Company (active 1808–48)
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York City, New York
APS	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology (active 1879–1965)
BENT	Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
BMA	Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland
BMFA-Pd	Prints Department, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts
CLEM	Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
HEE	Hyde Exploring Expedition (active 1896–1904)
JAM	Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska
LAL-TUL	Latin American Library, Tulane University
LIBCo	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
LoC	Library of Congress, Washington, District of Columbia

MAI Papers	Museum of the American Indian Papers, NMAI-Arch
MHS-Coll	Object Collections, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
MHS-Wilson	Hidatsa-Mandan Reports, Gilbert L. and Frederick N. Wilson Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota
MoMA-Film	Film Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York City
NAA	National Anthropology Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Cultural Resources Center, Suitland, Maryland
NARA-II	National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland
NEW	Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
NEW-Nute	Grace See Nute calendar and index of the papers of the American Fur Company (1922–1925), 6 volumes, held by the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
NMAI-Arch	Archives, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Cultural Resources Center, Suitland, Maryland
NMAI-Cur	Curatorial Files, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Cultural Resources Center, Suitland, Maryland
NMAI-Obj	Object Collections, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Cultural Resources Center, Suitland, Maryland
NMAI-Phto	Photograph Collection, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Cultural Resources Center, Suitland, Maryland
NMNH-Obj	Object Collections, National Museum of Natural History, Museum Support Complex, Suitland, Maryland
NMNH-NAA	National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Museum Support Complex, Suitland, Maryland
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York City, New York
PEA	Peabody Museum of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
SAAM	Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia

SHSND	State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota
SIA	Smithsonian Institution Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia
SMALL	Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia
USGS	United States Geological Survey (founded 1879)
WINT	Winterthur, Winterthur, Delaware

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is the first book-length study to bridge American and Native American art histories and Native studies. To do so, it develops methods of image biography, or following a particular image through space and time. The image in question begins as Karl Bodmer's watercolor portrait of a Numak'aki [Mandan] *Benók Óhate* [buffalo bull society] leader, later titled Mandan Buffalo Dancer (1834). Starting from its creation point in Indian Territory, the narrative subsequently tracks Mandan Buffalo Dancer in and out of various historical and cultural contexts, forms, and genres across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in both Native American and non-Native settings.

Tracing how this story's various agents utilized print (broadly construed as processes of technological image reproduction), I argue that nineteenth-century systems of racial oppression, based on visual criteria of difference, emerged in part through the very mechanics by which print operates. These mechanics underwrote not only a system of racial notation—the very language of “stereotype,” “ cliché,” and “racial typing” belie their sourcing in print technologies—but also a larger, wide-ranging system of knowledge reproduction and distribution that facilitated the containment of Native peoples under the logics of Manifest Destiny. Simultaneously, Native American communities employed print (or auratic cultural practices that reproduce social memory) to promote the continuation of Native societies. These

two long histories of print fed the rise of Native political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, as Native communities and artists worked to transform the historical effects of Manifest Destiny's print enterprise.

Writing these histories in parallel, this project produces an infrastructural study of print image production and valuation. It develops a critical, historical, and cross-cultural language for North American print studies. Finally, in assembling its archive of paintings, prints, drawings, photographs, diaries and letters, advertisements, archaeological artifacts, architecture, journalism, ethnological reports, political cartoons, museum displays, literature, and Native language, this study boldly re-imagines its methodological contact zone, whereby Native histories challenge long-standing paradigms of American art history, visual and material culture take a significant place in Native studies, and Native art history interprets its objects through local languages, histories, and cosmologies.

INTRODUCTION

Mandan Buffalo Dancer (1834)

[Images] are caught up in a movement of ebb and flood, of flux and reflux, now surfacing, now disappearing below the surface again before reappearing somewhere else in the same watery mass. It is an area of knowledge where non-knowledge is commoner than its opposite.

— Peter Mason, The Lives of Images¹

The watercolor features a front-facing figure under full buffalo headdress, his head tilted slightly toward the right of the portrait. **[Figure 2-5.]** He stands with a colorful ceremonial war shield in his left hand and a decorated lance in his right. Two circular disks highlight the eyes; a rectangle with an empty center becomes the mouth. Black stripes of body paint appear on the dancer's upper right leg, and a penciled armband with hanging dyed horse hair or scalp lock trim sits just above his right elbow. A feathered hide tail peaks out from behind. Fur-trimmed moccasins featuring a quilled rosette and triangle—one moccasin unfinished—mark the figure's feet. The footwear's trailing wolf tails with red cloth and dyed hair suggest a supportive ground beneath the figure, but no details of the Fort Clark studio appear.

It is January 1955, and the portrait hangs on the wall of the Smithsonian Institution. The room is crowded; a recent Washington Post review of the show included the image, and

¹ Peter Mason, The Lives of Images (London: Reaktion Books, 2001) 12.

exhibition goers are curious.² Originally painted in Indian Territory along the Upper Missouri River, the portrait has been hidden away at a family estate in Schloss Neuwied in the Rhineland of Germany since 1839.

Many of these visitors, however, have seen this portrait, long before it graced the pages of the local newspaper: the buffalo dancer was one of the most reproduced images of a Native person in the nineteenth century. How to account for this long history, when the portrait itself has been absent for nearly 120 years? This study proposes an image biography.

IMAGE BIOGRAPHY

The kind of form one thinks of when biography is mentioned—a narrative that follows the birth, life, and death of famous figures—does not appear an easy fit when one discusses an image.³ But as early modern art historian Peter Mason has identified, biography is not simply about life stages; it is also a genre that, at its core, provides shape and pattern to an ocean of information. In this sense, biography is a set of narrative choices, a select way to work through a mass of material and create meaning. The result “is a record, in words, of something that is as mercurial and as flowing, as compact of temperament and emotion, as the human spirit itself.”⁴

² Leslie Judd Portner, “Plains Indian as Visiting Artist Saw Him,” Washington Post and Times Herald (9 Jan 1955) J6.

³ Projects that track the origins of works of art, for instance, have become rather suspect as false intellectual projects. As François Brunet has written, “For each image there is always an earlier image—and a later one as well” [Brunet, “Toward a Transcultural History of American Landscape Images in the Nineteenth Century,” in A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century, ed. Cheryll L. May and Marian Wardle (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014) 6]. Thank you to Sarah Monks for this current scholarly caution.

⁴ Leon Edel, Literary Biography (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957) 1.

In the twentieth century, biographers have looked for unconventional methods to push the genre beyond its traditional central hero.⁵ Russian writer Sergei Tret'iakov proposed an alternative model in 1929, suggesting instead that the biographer follow raw material along a conveyor belt.⁶ The resultant narrative would highlight the material's transformation into an object—what we might call its crafting—and the resultant object's travels through “the system of people.”⁷ Calling for biographies of “*The Forest, Bread, Coal, Iron, Flax, Cotton, Paper, The Locomotive, The Factory,*” Tret'iakov suggested that the methodological conveyor belt of the object biography and its resultant “open economy” narrative, by which anyone touched by the object becomes central to the account, produces a heretofore unknown record of the social, economic, and political dimensions of contemporary life.⁸

⁵ For a compact history of biography's development, see Nigel Hamilton, Biography: A Brief History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁶ Sergei Tret'iakov, “The Biography of an Object (1929),” October 118 (Fall 2006) 61, 62. Tret'iakov was specifically addressing narrative fiction, but his critique of the narrative's central “pharaoh,” the form's humanist commitments, and its closed (and thus false) narrative system also apply to biography. Thank you to Andrew Witt for pointing me to this essay.

Tret'iakov's critique emerged in the wake of the genre's own turn from the central hero with Eminent Victorians (1918) by Lytton Strachey. Strachey's psychological analysis of his subjects accompanied disillusion and cynicism in a genre that had largely been built around edification; see James L. Clifford, ed., Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560–1960 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962) Introduction. Emerging alternative forms of biography are best articulated in the edited volume New Directions in Biography (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), where a number of recent genre shifts are discussed, including multiple subjects (Anthony Friedson) and “group biography” (Margot Peters), “non-chronology” (Leon Edel), and postcolonial biography (N.C. Manganyi). For a discussion of biography and postmodern theories of history, see Marilyn L. Brownstein's essay, “Catastrophic Encounters”: Postmodern Biography as Witness to History,” in The Seductions of Biography, ed. Mary Rhiel and David Suchoff (New York: Routledge, 1996) 185–99.

⁷ There are overlaps here between thinking of raw material on conveyors and the New Materialisms (variously labeled thing theory, object-oriented ontology, actor network theory, and assemblage theory). For the New Materialisms' relationship to American art history, see Jennifer Roberts' talk at the Shifting Terrains symposium hosted by SAAM (16 Oct 2015), viewable at <<http://americanart.si.edu/research/symposia/2015/terra/webcast/>> (around the 1:02:00 mark). Scholars given in Roberts' bibliography include Glenn Adamson, Arjun Appadurai, Jane Bennett, Bill Brown, Tim Ingold, Alfred Gell, Bruno Latour, Claudio Lomnitz, Daniel Miller, Tim Morton, Fred Myers, Michael Polanyi, Joshua Shannon, Pamela H. Smith, and Nicholas Thomas.

⁸ Tret'iakov, “The Biography of an Object,” 62. Many of the subjects in Tret'iakov's list have now been published, as major publishing houses have brought out a large number of object biographies within the last twenty years, including Stewart Lee Allen, The Devil's Cup (Ballantine Books, 2003); Paul M. Barrett, Glock (Crown, 2012); Timothy Brook, Vermeer's Hat (Bloomsbury Press, 2008); Robin Brooks, The Portland Vase (Harper Perennial,

Art history, the professional field of experts on images and art objects, has always had some sort of relationship to both biography and the motion of Tret'iakov's proposed object-centric conveyor belt. A mainstay of art history since Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Artists (1550), biography has served as a central approach to understanding a work of art, focused on the work's artist-creator.⁹ Various moments of the art object's journey—particularly the object's formal making, its provenance journey, or the terms of its patronage—have also formed standard approaches of the discipline.

Yet it is something else to put an image at the center of a biography, conveyed along its production line. Images are not necessarily equivalent to their counterpart objects, as various technologies can capture and embed the same images in new objects—a process that I denote

2004); Victoria Finlay, Color (Random House, 2003); Christine A. Finn, Artifacts: An Archaeologist's Year in Silicon Valley (MIT Press, 2001); Simon Garfield, Mauve (W. W. Norton & Company, 2002); Amy Butler Greenfield, A Perfect Red (Harper Perennial, 2006); Beatrice Hohenegger, Liquid Jade (St. Martin's Press, 2007); Dan Koeppel, Banana (Plume, 2008); Mark Kurlansky, Cod (Penguin, 1998), Salt (Penguin, 2003), and Paper (W.W. Norton, 2016); Peter Maass, Crude World (Vintage, 2009); Mark Pendergrast, Uncommon Grounds (Basic Books, 2010); Sarah Rose, For All the Tea in China (Penguin, 2011); Jack Turner, Spice (Vintage, 2005); Edmund de Waal, The Hare with Amber Eyes (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010); Antony Wild, Coffee (W.W. Norton, 2005); and Stephen Yafa, Big Cotton (Viking, 2004).

This publishing trend is the popular parallel of scholarship, where “object biography” or “cultural biography” was recently introduced not through Tret'iakov, but through the ethnohistorical text The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective [ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)]. In the methods utilized by many of the book's authors, one follows the life of an object in order to specifically explicate the commodification systems through which the object passes. Object biography has proven especially viable for cross-cultural and trans-historical work; see, for instance, the recent Native American art historical texts by Aldona Jonaitis [“Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History,” in Janet Berlo, ed., The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) 22–61], Ruth B. Phillips [Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999)], and Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass [The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010)]. The two sessions on object biography at the 2011 Ottawa meeting of the Native American Art Studies Association also reflect the growing influence of this methodology.

⁹ Vasari's work is sometimes considered the first text of art history. Special attention to the role and possibilities for biography in today's art history is especially prevalent in the recent work of Thomas Crow; see his essay in The Life and the Work: Art and Biography, ed. Charles G. Salas (Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2007), and his larger study on Pop art, The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design, 1930–1955 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). Biographical methods are not without their critics, however. As Richard J. Powell notes, black artists often find biographical tropes substituted for rigorous academic work on their oeuvres; see Powell, “Two Paintings by William H. Johnson,” in The Seductions of Biography, 89–97.

by the term “(re)production” in this text.¹⁰ Any attempt to narrate an image’s history can thus require following an entire factory of divergent conveyors, well beyond a single trajectory traceable through a particular physical object. A similarly massive conveyor system exists for those images born of cross-cultural encounters, such as Mandan Buffalo Dancer. These images simultaneously belong to two or more distinct cultural milieus and therefore involve numerous networks of conveyors through multiple and divergent “systems of people.”¹¹

With such a vast labyrinth of possible pathways, an image’s biography quickly becomes impossible—or becomes an ongoing, never-finished telling that frequently doubles back, jumps tracks, and at times loses its temporal and geographic settings altogether. My focus, then, is not the particular path of any conveyor per se, but the motion that overrides the entire conveyor network.¹² As French historian François Brunet writes:

The history of images is broader than the history of art, and not just because it encompasses more pictures. A history of images cannot be built on the formalist

¹⁰ Theoretical approaches within art history and visual culture studies have split the image from its material existence while often treating the disembodied “image” as identical to, or even an equivalent substitution for, the material object. This split has largely been associated with semiotic approaches to image analysis; see Jonathan Harris, The New Art History: A Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 2008) 1–34, and Christopher S. Wood, “Theories of Reference,” Art Bulletin 78:1 (March 1996) 22–5. W.J.T. Mitchell analyzes the “image” as distinct from its materiality, or what he terms the “object,” an approach also followed by Mason; both fail to note that the “life” granted to their images occurs through specific material forms. See Mitchell’s Preface in What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) xiii–xvii, and Mason, The Lives of Images. Print scholars William M. Ivins, Jr. and Estelle Jussim suggest that the split between image and object was critical to the very development of the field of art history; see Ivins, Jr., Prints and Visual Communication (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1953) Chapters 7 and 8, and Jussim, Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1974) Chapter 8.

¹¹ My influences in this area of thinking have been Celeste Brusati and Philip J. Deloria; they each respectively suggested the work of Cecelia F. Klein [“Wild Woman in Colonial Mexico: An Encounter of European and Aztec Concepts of the Other,” in Claire Farago, ed., Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650 (New Haven: Yale University Press) Chapter 2] and Michael Taussig [Mimesis and Alterity: A History of the Senses (New York: Routledge, 1993)] to think through. I will illustrate my notion of simultaneous registers of representation in **Chapters Two and Three**.

¹² The discipline of art history has historically been concerned with motion, especially in the “iconology” and *motifgeschichte* approaches advocated by Aby Warburg, Erwin Panofsky, and Rudolf Wittkower. These scholars’ foundational notion of an image as “symbolic form,” however—following Ernst Cassirer—limits the application of their work to images on the symbolic, cultural, or psychic levels, with limited application to the material crafting of images and image-objects. See also Mason’s discussion of this body of work in The Lives of Images, 11–2.

notion of a self-contained work. Historically, images are found in circulation through various media as pictures and events, rather than mere visual forms. Pictures belong to social practice, economy, history, culture, as much as they belong to aesthetics. A history of images must therefore concern itself firstly with the relations of images, and as such it is transcultural.¹³

For both Brunet and Tret'iakov, the central problem of motion (or “circulation”) propels an image through the various arenas of human life.¹⁴ It is not a question of where the image travels, as such a narrative would fill unread volumes upon volumes of miscellany. Rather, it is a question of how: how an image-object is crafted—with craft itself understood as a process, one that “only exists in motion”—and how that crafting propels the image along its various conveyors, through to the present day.¹⁵ In this biography, I read the crafting of meaning through the material processes of image-object making, particularly those of print.¹⁶ Image and meaning, always in motion, become the narrative threads for the biography that follows.

As Mason reminds those who entertain image biography, the nature of the “watery mass” in which images move is often knowable only through an image’s patterns of surfacing and disappearing, a temporal visibility that ebbs and floods. In this way, the image leads the narrative, its accumulated points of materialization the markers from which one can determine, frame, and analyze the surrounding “relations.” These relations, as François Brunet notes above, fall far outside the traditional boundaries of art history or theories of aesthetics and form. I take up Brunet’s challenge to these boundaries from within the field of art history,

¹³ Brunet, “Toward a Transcultural History,” 6. Emphasis in original.

¹⁴ Tret'iakov's particular arena list is the “economic, political, productive-technical, everyday, biological, or psychological;” see “The Biography of an Object,” 59.

¹⁵ I follow Glenn Adamson here; see Adamson, Thinking Through Craft (Oxford: Berg Press, 2007) 3–4.

¹⁶ In this I follow Michael Gaudio, Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), and Jennifer Roberts, Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) Chapter 2. Roberts specifically calls for an art history that merges the visual and the material in its analytic procedures; see p.161–5.

applying a range of disciplinary tools and sources in concert with art history's "precise instruments" of visual analysis, as named by art historian Andrea Giunta.¹⁷ In this multidisciplinary approach I follow a number of art historians whose methodologies and readings have expanded the subfield of American art history in exciting directions over the last several decades.¹⁸

Finally, as Mason notes, the biographer of an image must find a way to notate the spaces of non-knowledge. This is particularly important in the colonial context, where, as South African writer N.C. Manganyi has asserted, "to be oppressed, subjugated, is to be forced to live without a past."¹⁹ Colonialism works to erase its subjects' cultural identities and practices, historical memories, and language, each of which is interdependent. In the pages that follow I have sought means to express the traces that have survived this process.²⁰ I center Native language as a fundamental expression of Native philosophies. I bundle together and read across various sources when other types of information may be lacking. I listen to the voices of Native

¹⁷ Andrea Giunta, "Notes on Art History in Latin America," in James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 32. Giunta specifically names the painting's surface, brushstrokes, technique, and iconography as these precise instruments.

¹⁸ In this regard, I am particularly indebted to the literary-infused bodies of work produced by David Lubin and Alexander Nemerov, the anthropology-infused work of Margaretta Lovell, and the wide-ranging interdisciplinary readings of Jennifer Roberts.

¹⁹ Manganyi, "Biography: The Black South African Connection," 60.

²⁰ In western art history, the "trace" refers to the imprint of a material object or person, connected to the object or person but not their equivalent. The "index" or an image's "indexicality" then references this link back to an originary object or person (or "index as trace"). This differs from the "index" of semiotic systems, where it references the symbolic ("index as sign"). For an excellent introduction to the western understandings of the term, see Mary Ann Doane, "Indexicality: Trace and Sign: Introduction," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 18:1 (2007) 1–6.

For Native cultures discussed throughout this book, however, the index can extend the referenced person across space and time: to be in the presence of an object made by Grandfather is to be in the presence of Grandfather himself. We might label this "index-as-trace-as-person." For a discussion of this usage, see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) Chapter 4. Various western art forms also call on "index-as-trace-as-person"; see my discussion of portraiture in **Chapter Two**.

In the fact that I think these traces even understandable to some degree, I follow Cecelia F. Klein rather than Stephen Greenblatt; see Klein, "Wild Woman," which was a response to Greenblatt's stance in *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), especially p.7.

elders when I have been able to find them.²¹ Most especially, I look to the tools of art history and visual culture studies to “break the silence” cast over Native material culture through colonial processes.²² My attempts at giving voice to the past will undoubtedly be imperfect, and I look to future generations of scholars to go further than I have here.

Without these traces, this biography cannot be told. What emerges in the following pages is a story of colonialism’s how, but one that only surfaces when we understand the depth and breadth of its image practices and conveyor networks. When we begin to articulate the cultural, historical, and linguistic specificities of Mandan Buffalo Dancer, when we give shape to the multiple systems of knowledge in which it is embedded, then an entirely new account of the how begins to emerge.

WRITING THE HOW / RE-WRITING THE COLONIAL

In this study, I use the common phrase “Manifest Destiny” as shorthand for the manifold non-Native processes, ideologies, and histories that shaped nineteenth-century Native experience in North America.²³ The phrase was coined in 1845 by journalist and newspaper

²¹ For the construction of these methods, respectively, I have been profoundly influenced by David T. Doris and his work with language; Philip J. Deloria’s re-articulation of the work of Peter Nabokov; and the countless Native scholars, curators, elders, artists, and museum professionals who have embodied and modeled this listening in their own work and lives. My language methodologies are discussed below and in **Appendix A**. Note, also, that the term “bundle” here overlaps with the sacred bundle histories kept by various Plains tribes, whereby each bundle element serves as a trace of a living person, mnemonically connected to a very particular part of their history.

²² As art historian Ruth B. Phillips has written, art history “can supply forms of historical explanation that can be retrieved only through archival research, and can bring to [Native object] studies the precision of stylistic and iconographic analysis.” See Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998) xiii.

²³ Other scholars might chose the term “settler colonialism” to connote these intersections, although the term largely references structures rather than historical processes and events; see Patrick Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event (London: Cassell, 1998) 2. Since this project rejects the binaries that have often dominated North American scholarship on Native peoples, I also avoid using this framework, which relies on a stark and continual demarcation between settlers and non-settlers. The findings of this study also counter this binary frame for nineteenth-century North American Native

editor John O’Sullivan, and is often employed to specifically invoke the land grabs, imposed reservation system, and violence that accompanied nineteenth-century westward expansion of the U.S. population and nation-state boundaries. Yet a constellation of ideologies fueled this process: Indian Hating, Vanishing Indians, Primitivism, Noble Savage, Scientific Racism, the Ethnographic, and “coloniology,” to name a few that populate various art historical studies.²⁴ Both expansion and its ideologies are in turn historically dependent; they occur along the lines of local and regional variants that reflect specific histories. Prior to the nineteenth century, for instance, Native land agreements along the eastern seaboard were usually negotiated on the regional, colonial, or state levels; in the 1830s, a uniform federal system established a massive Removal program to relocate entire populations to midwest reservations; yet the attempt to establish similar reservations in violence-prone California largely failed while Removal met armed resistance in the Plains through the 1880s. In this study, then, Manifest Destiny invokes common processes and their underpinning ideologies, as well as the multitude of historically specific variations seen across the North American continent in the nineteenth century.

To date, American art history largely accounts for Manifest Destiny in two ways: as the historical context for the making of an image, or as the ideological belief that animates or explains an image’s content.²⁵ These readings are supported by systems of representation:

experience. For a current art historical project that takes up this framework and its terms, see the Settler-Colonial Art History Project at <http://settler-colonial.strikingly.com/>.

²⁴ The term “coloniology” comes from the work of Mary Campbell; it refers to work that used ethnographic data in explicitly colonial aims but existed prior to the establishment of the discipline at the end of the nineteenth century. See Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, Introduction.

²⁵ For the first, see Lauren Lessing, “Theatrical Mayhem in Junius Brutus Stearns’s *Hannah Duston Killing the Indians*,” *American Art* 28:3 (Fall 2014) 76–103; for the second, see William H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), and Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710–1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

ways of making images as dictated by rules of genre or style.²⁶ In these interpretations, the image reflects larger cultural or social relations; its meanings are determined by the context of its making.

This study contributes a different approach. Over its lifetime, various agents deploy Mandan Buffalo Dancer in a host of meaning-making projects. Created for the printer's plate by an artist trained in print processes, Mandan Buffalo Dancer was always destined to move. To study its meanings, then, demands an infrastructural study, one that ferrets out the underlying foundations of image movement and the various meanings that such movement generates. Meaning is not only found in the image's socio-cultural contexts, then, but in its material making, its locations over time, and its agents' various intents and purposes.

Mandan Buffalo Dancer's movement comes through print processes, whose theory and discourse provides this study's interpretive frame. Print studies consider a print's technical processes alongside its involved systems of representation or subject matter. The work of the artist's hand in contact with the plate, the matrix that holds the image, and the technical limitations of print's materials all directly shape the final print product.²⁷ Print theory also takes into account valuation processes, largely through the terms of theorist Walter Benjamin: "aura" (unique and original) versus *Reproduktionen* (multiples), "cult value" (socially and historically embedded) versus "exhibition value" (removed from such embeddedness).²⁸ These terms

²⁶ Importantly, Native subject matter has often triggered an interpretive default whereby ideological readings trump those of systems of representation. See, for instance, Truettner, Painting Indians, whereby the standards of honorific portraiture give way to the Ethnographic. I work against this default throughout this text.

²⁷ Again, see Gaudio, Engraving the Savage, and Roberts, Transporting Visions, Chapter 2.

²⁸ These terms, along with a teleological account of print history, are generated from Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility (1936)," in The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media, ed. Michael W. Jennings, et al., and trans. Edmund Jephcott, et al. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008) 19–55.

dominate this study. Following anthropologist Christopher Steiner, however, I expand or redefine these terms as necessary to accommodate the project's cross-cultural arenas.²⁹

An infrastructural study focused on the terms and materiality of print cuts across contextual or ideological accounts of North American colonial processes by digging “beneath” such accounts to examine the material, always-in-process, always-in-motion craftblocks upon which these contexts and ideologies are built. To do so, however—to get to and write the how of the colonial system—one has to first re-write the system's products. The mythologies produced by the colonial economy still shape today's scholarship on this study's source materials.³⁰ In the following pages, I assemble a broad archive of evidence: paintings, prints, drawings, photographs, diaries and letters, advertisements, archaeological artifacts, architecture, journalism, ethnological reports, political cartoons, museum displays, literature, and Native language. The results overturn a far-ranging set of assumptions and beliefs across a number of disciplines. Archival evidence expands our knowledge of the Upper Missouri River region with long-view Native histories and material culture studies. Numak'aki elders and Nú'eta language provide detailed accounts of the social structures of remnant people groups, Native approaches to exchange and difference, and a re-examination of the buffalo dance and its connected material practices and cosmologies. Journal accounts reveal an 1830s fur trade

²⁹ See especially Christopher B. Steiner, *African Art in Transit* (1994; Cambridge University Press, 1995), and Steiner, “Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 87–103.

³⁰ For an articulation of the ongoing silences and mythologies of Manifest Destiny, particularly in the stories told by scholars, see Alice Beck Kehoe, *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology* (New York: Routledge, 1998) Introduction. For an account of this historiography within archaeology and its effects on contemporary scholarship, see Severin Fowles, “The perfect subject (postcolonial object studies),” *Journal of Material Culture* 21:1 (2016) 9–27. In the case of Numak'aki peoples specifically, it is primarily the work of Alfred W. Bowers (1950) that informs descriptions of Numak'aki culture, including in the recent Pulitzer prize-winning history by Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014).

that had long relied on portraiture and artistic and diplomatic exchange between Native and non-Native participants. The provided footnotes facilitate this re-writing of scholarship, and form a secondary but essential narrative to that of the biography's chapters.

The end result is a study that boldly re-imagines its methodological contact zone. Native histories challenge long-standing paradigms of American art history. Visual and material culture takes a significant place in Native studies. And Native art history interprets its objects through a rich network of local languages, histories, and cosmologies.

CHAPTERS

Chapter One proposes that print (broadly construed as processes of technological reproduction) is intricately tied to the nineteenth-century project of Manifest Destiny in the United States. This relationship between print and colonial processes is explicated through the making of the 1894 kinetoscope film, Buffalo Dancer. The biography of Mandan Buffalo Dancer (1834), the "raw material" for the very first print image of buffalo dancing, will detail the mechanisms and craftsmanship of this process.

The subsequent biography is then divided into four parts. **Part One** examines the Native and non-Native contexts for Mandan Buffalo Dancer and its studio sitting at Fort Clark, its initial point of *hako'sh* ("inhabits-standing-still-ness"). **Chapter Two** situates the resultant portrait, Mandan Buffalo Dancer (1834), among the journaling, collecting, hunting, and painting practices of the Fort Clark studio's sponsor, German ethnologist Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, and his Swiss staff artist Karl Bodmer. **Chapter Three** constructs a local art history around the complexities of Numak'aki buffalo dancing practices that in turn illuminates Mandan Buffalo

Dancer.³¹ **Chapter Four** then re-situates the narrative and central image within the Middle Ground, the cultural space shared between the French fur trade, the growing bureaucracy of the United States, and the Numak'aki and Minitari [Hidatsa] alliance known as the *Awatikihu* ("Five Villages").³²

Part Two sets Mandan Buffalo Dancer in **motion** along its varied conveyors: as a material object that crosses the Atlantic to Bodmer's Paris studio; as an animated image, published as Tableau 18 in Bodmer's expedition atlas and altered through Bodmer's drafting techniques; and as a print image-object, (re)produced and circulated through print processes.

Chapter Five uses an 1841 letter from Prinz Wied to his London translator to articulate how these various levels of motion operate to create the pool of print imagery that I term the meta-archive. **Chapter Six** then places Mandan Buffalo Dancer within nineteenth-century Upper Missouri warrior culture, which perpetuates *Okipe* ("looks like") through the material forms of Native print.

Part Three takes up the difficult task of making sense of Mandan Buffalo Dancer's various points of **surfacing** across the watery mass of what are, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of images. **Chapter Seven** analyzes a variety of surfacing points within the fine arts realm, all of which share the meta-archive's logics of the artist's hand. **Chapter Eight** examines how educational and penal policies of the period utilized image

³¹ "Local art history" comes from Fred R. Myers, Painting Culture: The Making of an Aboriginal High Art (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002) 19; see **Chapter Three**.

³² *Awatikihu*, the term that I use for the alliance throughout this book, is the Hidatsa language term for the alliance between Minitari and Numak'aki peoples. Hidatsa is the language of Minitari peoples but was mutually understood and spoken between the two groups, as all *Awatikihu* peoples were multilingual. The alliance is detailed in **Chapter Three**, while the complexities of the language research and usage in this book are detailed in **Appendix A**. The Middle Ground comes from Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815 (1991; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); see **Chapter Four**.

(re)production to shape the formation of the captured Native self. In contrast to Chapter Seven, **Chapter Nine** then focuses on a single point of surfacing in the all-male grillroom of the Astor Hotel in New York City (1905–35) to pull out how the various material- and process-based mechanics of print work in layered concert.

Part Four examines the *longue durée* of this uncovered history within Native communities. **Chapter Ten** presents a range of Native responses to and uses of print technologies as communities continue their practices of *becoming* under the restrictions of late nineteenth-century U.S. policy. **Chapter Eleven** then details the rise of the Indian Pop movement in the late 1960s as a response to this long print history. In the **Epilogue**, I take up Indian Pop painter T.C. Cannon’s critique of the meta-archive’s system of knowledge production and its continued operation today.

NOTES ON LANGUAGE

Throughout this project I utilize the Native designations of **Numak'aki** and **Minitari** to name the two people groups that made up the Heart River Confederacy (ca.1400–1781), the *Awatíkihu* (1781–1837), and the village of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (1844/45–1880). I utilize **Nú'eta** and **Hidatsa** to refer specifically to the languages spoken by Numak'aki and Minitari peoples, in order to avoid confusions between referenced peoples and their spoken tongues. In English, Numak'aki peoples have been known as **Mandan**, and this terminology, formally instituted in 1825 by the U.S. government in its first treaty with Numak'aki peoples, has remained the U.S. legal term for Numak'aki peoples to the present day. All of these terms as well as my language methodology require elucidation, which I provide in **Appendix A**.

Orthographies for Native languages are extraordinarily complex systems developed for writing down what were usually oral languages. In North America, such orthographies do not share common development histories, and tribal relationships to these orthographies vary greatly. Nú'eta was never a single stable language; what has appeared in writing over the last 185 years is better thought of as historically and disciplinary specific “tappings” into an always moving, always circling network of meanings, some of which never crystallize as pure language. Such an approach to language has played a significant role in my process of interpretation for both language and material culture in this book.

Native language work is particularly important for producing what anthropologist Fred Myers has labeled “local art history,” or an art history grounded within the terms and beliefs of a specific local community.³³ This methodology forms the backbone of Chapter Three. Yet I am not a Nú'eta speaker; my contribution to its study is combing through the last two centuries of scholarship and creating a level of coherence across the numerous systems in which elder language information was recorded. These records are, by nature of the colonial process and its effects on knowledge, incomplete; my results, imperfect. Additionally, written language from the archives is not identical to the contemporary language written and spoken on Fort Berthold Reservation today, where Nú'eta and its written forms have continued to evolve and change for communal purposes, as all living languages do. What I provide in this study should not be read as authoritative over this community work, though I do hope I complement these local efforts.

Lastly, a few notes on terminology. Writing from the United States, I refer to indigenous peoples of North America as Native Americans. I also strictly use the qualifier “Native” as an

³³ Myers, Painting Culture, 19.

adjective (never a noun). Because Native histories pre-date today's nation-states, and various referenced groups exist on both sides of the U.S.-Canada and U.S.-Mexico borders, I use these terms inclusive of the North American continent.

However, I identify Native individuals by their tribal designations.³⁴ Whenever available, I present this designation as well as an individual's name in their own language. Because these names and designations are not widely known, however, I follow with the more common variants, usually rendered in English or Spanish. This information is uniformly presented throughout the text in the following format: Name [additional name variants; tribal language designation (more common variant)]. I do not present an individual's kin or clan, largely because this information is unevenly available. An exception is made in the case of Creek individuals, whose town is given when known.

Referencing historical sources, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Chapter Eleven, I retain such sources' use of "American Indian" or "Indian." Otherwise, my use of "Indian" in the text refers to the genericized, tribally unspecific non-Native construct of Native peoples.³⁵ These are my personal choices for consistency and ease of meaning; Native individuals self-identify across a spectrum of terms, which may contradict my usage here. Finally, I use this last reference—"non-Native"—to name all those outside the specificities of

³⁴ This information is based on Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Pritzker's work forms the basis for the classification system used at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), which continues to update Pritzker's terminology and designations as needed. I have included these updates as applicable. In some cases I have also checked Pritzker's terms against official tribal websites. Living Native languages reflect long and complex histories; many tribes had various designations over time, sometimes in more than one language or dialect, and what is presented in this study should be held as a particular moment's "tapping" rather than an authoritative, always-applicable label (see **Appendix A**).

³⁵ What Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., termed "the white man's Indian"; see his classic text, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

Native communities. The category is of course a large umbrella term, whose constituents make up a myriad of smaller social groups that could be defined by any number of criteria (language, nationality, ethnicity, race, religion) that themselves can vary across time. My terminology intentionally broadens the positionality too often singularly marked as “white” or “Euro-American” to include these numerous constituencies.

CHAPTER 1

Buffalo Dancing, circa 1894

It is a crisp September morning when three Lakota men step off a train in Orange, New Jersey. Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair Coat have arrived in an entourage of eight other Lakota men, as well as two young boys. Most wear breechclouts, bone pipe breastplates, and warrior feathers; several also have fur stoles or knotted neckscarves. Two members of the party sport cotton shirts with metal armbands and carry drums, and a few hold calumets—elements adding to the group’s dramatic effect, reflected in their fellow passengers’ stares and excited whispers as the group disembarks.

The men and boys are a kind of public performance group, an early form of advertising hawked by John Burke, also with the entourage. Burke serves as general manager of the Buffalo Bill Wild West show, an outdoor arena performance troupe booked for two more weeks at Ambrose Park in Brooklyn. Public appearances in urban spaces by the show’s Native performers are regularly encouraged by Burke as a means to drum up free publicity. Burke has also arranged this visit to Orange to put tour company members before Thomas Edison’s new invention, the kinetograph camera.

The troupe piles into a nearby trolley car and rides directly to Edison’s laboratory compound. A short walk later, they enter the Black Maria studio. Suddenly they are surrounded:

the studio is packed with scores of reporters, compound laboratory workers, and Edison's family members who have been invited to see the "exhibition."

A young Scot named William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson orchestrates the event. Dickson manages the PR, public demonstrations, laboratory testing, and Black Maria production for Edison's new invention. He has a tight filming order planned for the morning: the group will make four films and pose for publicity shots. First up—Bang! Bang! Bang! William "Buffalo Bill" Cody shoots rifle blanks at the Black Maria's walls. Eleven Lakota dancers then squeeze onto the stage for an impromptu Ghost Dance. Usually performing in an expansive communal circle, the many bodies can barely circulate across the small stage. Even more dancers crush in frame as the entire company dramatically enacts a fantasy war council. A quick break for a publicity shot follows: two rows of performers and show personnel gaze at the camera, while Buffalo Bill and Last Horse stage a diplomatic exchange, Buffalo Bill gesturing and Last Horse holding a calumet.

Finally, Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair Coat are up. The troupe's two drummers sit at the back of the stage, their backs against the Black Maria's wall. They begin to play; the three dancers begin to circle, counterclockwise, Last Horse wearing a horsehair tail and leading the group. Parts His Hair and Hair Coat follow in syncopated step, one wearing hip and knee dancing bells, the other sporting a fur neck stole and feather dance bustle. The light comes from directly above, casting strong shadows beneath the dancers' feet.

Dickson's film rolls eventually run empty; the show is over. The entire event has taken three hours—perhaps so technically intense that each fifteen-second clip has taken half an hour to shoot; perhaps a three-hour session full of missed cues and nixed stagings; perhaps as much meet-and-greet and technical display as a film shoot. In any case, Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and

Hair Coat, along with their party, retrace their steps back to the Orange station in time to catch the 12:58 back to New York City.

This historic encounter between Oglala and Sichánǵu professional performers, the Black Maria's inventors and technicians, and members of the New York City-Newark metropolitan media marks only the birth of the men's collective film, Buffalo Dance, and its extensive life in print.¹ Numerous textual traces of this encounter were produced in print form. At least four area newspapers carried stories of the film shoot.² Edison's kinetoscope sales catalogs listed the film with a brief description. Dickson's subsequent 1905 account of the history of the kinetoscope included a paragraph devoted to the morning's shoot and a photographic reproduction of the film's paper print. **[Figure 1-1.]** Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair Coat appear in all thirty-two of the film's reproduced frames.

This last gestures toward the complex nature of the film itself: in Dickson's text a reproduction of the film's frames was printed and bound as a page in a book. This medium is

¹ *Oyate* identifications for Buffalo Bill's Lakota performers in Edison's studio come from "Before the Kinetograph," Newark Daily Advertiser (24 Sept 1894) 3; reprinted in Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) 128.

I have identified Last Horse [Oglala] through a series of photographs in the National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian). Which of the other two dancers is Parts His Hair and which Hair Coat has yet to be determined, though I am now closer: the man who always faces the camera also toured with Buffalo Bill in 1908, and appears in a company photograph taken in Philadelphia of that year. I am in search of a program and list of performer names and/or contracts for 1908.

² Press coverage of the 24th included "Indians Before the Kinetograph," Orange Journal (27 Sept 1894); "Indians Before the Kinetograph," Orange Chronicle (29 Sept 1894); "Before the Kinetograph"; "Red Men Again Conquered," New York Herald (25 Sept 1894) 12. All information on the studio shoot comes from these latter two articles, as reprinted in Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) 128–9.

Press coverage of the larger 1894 Wild West run at Ambrose Park in Brooklyn can be found in "World's Riders with Buffalo Bill," New York Times (2 May 1894) 8; "Daring Feats by Horsemen," New York Times (10 May 1894) 9; "Indians at War on Long Island," New York Herald (13 May 1894) 5B; "The Wild West," New York Clipper (19 May 1894) 166; "High-Bear—Holy Blanket," New York Times (1 Jun 1894) 9; "Two Famous War Chiefs," New York Herald (1 Jul 1894); and "The Wonderful Wild West," New York Times (2 Sept 1894) 11. Details on the Wild West filmography that accompanied this run in Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 125–38.

utterly distinct in nature from either the original film strip or the immaterial patterns of light that brought the film to a viewer's eye, yet each is entitled Buffalo Dance. Once produced and added to the Edison kinetoscope catalog, the film was available for sale to play in any of the existing kinetoscope parlors in the United States and Mexico. The first of these parlors, at 1155 Broadway in New York City, had opened five months before the Black Maria shoot and it is very likely that Buffalo Dance played there soon after its release.³ **[Figure 1-2.]** These parlors typically set up kinetoscopes (the viewing apparatus) in rows, with a surrounding guardrail and suited attendants to guide viewers and re-set machines as necessary. Each kinetoscope was encased in a tall wooden box, and the viewer bent over a lens under which the filmstrip passed, lit from beneath. **[Figures 1-3, 1-4.]** This strip was continuous, weaving back and forth between sprockets before passing beneath the viewing lens. **[Figure 1-5.]**

Parlors spread rapidly, and by the time Buffalo Dance joined the kinetoscope catalog in late 1894, the film could simultaneously be playing in more than fifteen cities in two countries, with the number of possible playing machines swelling to nearly one thousand at the kinetoscope's peak at the end of 1895.⁴ Additionally, the very design of the kinetoscope encouraged multiple plays. A nickel inserted into the machine initiated one complete weave of the strip, which was on average forty feet in length, or roughly fifteen seconds of viewing time.⁵

³ The parlor, owned by the Holland Brothers, had opened on April 6, 1894, with ten kinetoscopes (\$250 each) and ten films (\$10 each) bought from the Edison company—a different film for each machine; Gordon Hendricks, The Kinetoscope: America's First Commercially Successful Motion Picture Exhibitor (New York: The Beginnings of American Film, 1966) 57–9.

⁴ See Hendricks, The Kinetoscope, for a complete list. The kinetoscope was short-lived: Hendricks records no new parlor openings after the end of 1895, with the business shifting to replacement film orders.

⁵ Later machines were adjusted to take almost three times this length, as kinetograph design changed to load larger film cartridges. Due to developmental testing, the early Black Maria films, including those of the 24th, exhibit a range of lengths and speeds. Buffalo Dance, for instance, was filmed at 24fps (frames per second), while the earlier film Sioux Ghost Dance was filmed at 40fps. See Hendricks, The Kinetoscope, 7.

If the film had been extremely popular, this meant as many as 1,900 views on a single machine in an eight-hour day.

Buffalo Dance, then, came to proliferate in the hundreds, if not the tens of thousands.

Yet the film's existence between these various renderings flitted between material objects and immaterial patterns of light; between ontological performance, textual descriptions, and ideational after-images. While their materialities could vastly differ, all of these versions hinged on some form of print: the reproduction of images through technologies. Each version was perceived as occurring some distance from a marked "original." Even the dance on Edison's studio stage, like those performed nightly in the Ambrose Park arena, was part of the Wild West show's "reproduction" of the "original" American West.⁶

To understand what it meant to dance the buffalo dance in 1894, then, one has to understand print, and the ways in which print in Edison's studio was implicated in two simultaneous moments: a technological one, and a political one.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL MOMENT: "THE REPRODUCER"

While it might be tempting to label Buffalo Dance an ethnographic film, or to utilize methods of film analysis for interpretation, Dickson's films of this period are best understood as technological documents, shaped by the Black Maria studio itself in the nascent years of film's

⁶ In 1886, Journalist Brick Pomeroy described Cody's show as "re-reproducing" western life, and framed Cody's work in relation to an "original." See Brick Pomeroy, Editorial, New York Democrat (5 Jun 1886), reprinted in Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World [program] (Chicago: The Company, 1893) 10–1, and Pomeroy's Democrat (3 Jul 1886), cited in Joy Kasson, Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History (New York Hill and Wang, 2000) 61. Pomeroy's various articles were in turn reproduced in the programs that accompanied Buffalo Bill's performances, and their language soon adopted by show personnel and the larger press. The growth in terminology can be seen, for instance, in comparing the above 1893 program with the various articles and reprints in the 1907 program [Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Historical Sketches and Daily Review (Cincinnati: Strobridge Litho. Co, 1907)]. The terminology also appears in the Show's advertising, as seen in Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989).

development.⁷ **[Figure 1-6.]** Designed by Dickson in 1892 and constructed between December of that year and January 1893, the studio was enlarged as various projects required.⁸ An enlargement had happened just weeks before the September 24th performance that produced the ring-side struts visible on the right-hand side of the film frame. Without reliable indoor light, Dickson had designed the Black Maria's roof to open with a series of ropes and pulleys, and the entire studio building sat on a pivot track in order to turn toward the sun. **[Figures 1-7, 1-8.]** Filming on the 24th took advantage of the morning rays, and the direct lighting through the open roof created the strong floor shadows. The name of the studio seemed to connote contained and dark spaces: "Black Maria" referred to a police wagon used to cart arrestees to jail, and at least one reporter thought the building "a huge coffin" due to its complete covering in tar paper and black paint, inside and out, that provided the dark background behind the film's drummers.⁹ Tracks on the interior floor ran perpendicular to the stage front, with the purpose of guiding the camera backward into a sealed and windowless room when changing film rolls. **[Figure 1-9.]** Movement of the camera box while filming was untenable due to its weight of 500 kilos (more than 1,100 pounds). Instead, the camera was set before action commenced, and one hoped for the best. The stage and its edges served as guides to mark the extreme frame in which the performers could move, and Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair

⁷ Film studies considers film history and its connected tools of analysis to begin with the development of narrative cinema, although alternative approaches have been proposed; see fn13.

⁸ Hendricks estimated the size of the Black Maria itself as 48' x 10-14' x 18'; see [The Kinetoscope](#), 23. Hendricks' Black Maria width matches the 10-14' ring dimension given by reporters who attended the Corbett-Courtney fight at the Black Maria, filmed three weeks prior to the 24th; see "The Corbett-Courtney Fight," [New York Sun](#) (8 Sept 1894) 1, reprinted in Musser, [Edison Motion Pictures](#), 115. Details of the Black Maria come from Hendricks, [The Kinetoscope](#); the contemporaneous descriptions appeared in W.K.L. Dickson and Antonia Dickson, "Edison's Invention of the Kinetophone," [Century Illustrated Magazine](#) 48:2 (Jun 1894) 206-14, and Antonia Dickson, "Wonders of the Kinetoscope," [Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly](#) 39:2 (Feb 1895) 245-51.

⁹ "The Corbett-Courtney Fight," 1.

Coat carefully remained within this box. We find these same production patterns—black background, articulated action, and overhead lighting, along with professional performer subjects—in a majority of kinoscope films.¹⁰ [Figures 1-10, 1-11.] The appearance of the right-hand framing struts in Buffalo Dance is unusual within these films, as the preferred framing at Black Maria kept subjects within completely black backgrounds. Such a peek at studio construction may attest to the difficulty that Black Maria personnel had in accommodating both the size of Buffalo Bill’s company, and the large arena in which the dancers needed to move to allow for articulated action.

Edison and Dickson understood the film in terms of this articulated action. Solving “the problem of motion” was an important claim for the kinoscope that consistently appeared in Edison’s and Dickson’s public writings and interviews from 1891 onward.¹¹ Its invention reportedly spurred by an initial meeting between Thomas Edison and the motion photographer Eadweard Muybridge, the kinoscope became, in textual descriptions, the trump card in a history of inventions that had attempted to recreate the depiction of motion through

¹⁰ Outdoor shoots began in 1897, when changes to camera mechanics made camera movement possible; see Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 43. Camera specifics taken from H. Mario Raimondo-Souto, Motion Picture Photography: A History, 1891–1960 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007).

¹¹ Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 69–71, and Hendricks, The Kinoscope. See Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph, for Dickson’s constructed technical history. The stage of invention for what became the kinoscope largely occurred between 1888 and 1893. By the end of 1893, commercial models were the focus of development. However, technical changes were continually made to both the kinetograph and the kinoscope over their entire (albeit short) commercial lives.

For claims regarding the problem of motion, see Edison’s interview for “Edison’s Kinetograph and Cosmical Telephone,” Scientific American 64 (20 Jun 1891) 393; Edison’s interview for the [London] Times (29 May 1891) n.p. [#361E in Hermann Hecht, Pre-Cinema History: An Encyclopaedia and Annotated Bibliography of the Moving Image Before 1896, ed. Ann Hecht (London: Bowker Saur, 1993)]; the description of the kinoscope that appeared in [Mexico City] El Monitor Republica, reprinted in Hendricks, The Kinoscope, 66; and Steve Neale’s discussion of kinoscopic movement in Cinema and Technology: Image, Sound, Color (London: British Film Institute, 1985), esp. 50–5.

imagery.¹² The term “motion” or “moving” pictures reflects this emphasis, as does the shared framing, length, performer subjects, and composition evident amongst early kinetoscope films.¹³

As Edison framed his work on the kinetoscope to a London Times correspondent in May 1891, he had responded to the failure of all previous motion experiments with his “idea that in the reproduction photographic representations would become dissolved in pure motion instead of a series of jerks.”¹⁴ Reproduction was the hinge of his machines, the perfected element of his designs that made them successful and solved previous technological problems. As early as 1891, two years before the kinetoscope was commercially executable, Edison dubbed the machine the “reproducer.”¹⁵ Edison had used these same terms for the earlier promotion of his

¹² Muybridge, who had invented the “zoopraxiscope” to project painted images from a spinning disc onto a screen to produce movement, supposedly met Edison at the Orange compound on February 27, 1888; see Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 69. Edison, in a handwritten account of his kinetoscope development process, added Thomas Anschütz and Étienne-Jules Marey to the technological lineage for the Kinetoscope; the account was reproduced in Dickson and Dickson, “Edison’s Invention,” 206, and in the opening pages of Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph. Anschütz had toured with his “Electrical Tachyscope,” which projected light behind a spinning wheel of images hand-cranked before a viewing peephole to produce a moving picture [see David Bowen Thomas, The Origins of the Motion Picture: An Introductory Booklet on the Pre-History of the Cinema (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1964) 29], while Marey performed stop-motion photography with his “chronophotographic gun.” Dickson and Dickson added the Zoetrope, a children’s toy, to this technological lineage (History of the Kinetograph, p.6).

¹³ The focus on movement is generally understood as part of early film’s technological phase, which “evolved” toward narrative as film developed. For an overview of this process, see Matthew Solomon, Disappearing Tricks: Silent Film, Houdini, and the New Magic of the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010) Introduction, and Charlie Keil, Early American Cinema in Transition: Story, Style, and Filmmaking, 1907–1913 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001) Chapter 3. For the development of a non-narrative-based early film history, see Tom Gunning’s “An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)credulous Spectator,” Art and Text 34 (Spring 1989), and “‘Now You See It, Now You Don’t’: The Temporality of the Cinema of Attractions,” Velvet Light Trap 32 (Fall 1993) 3–12. Within Edison’s film production, narrative did not (with a few exceptions) emerge until 1897.

¹⁴ “The Kinetograph,” (London) Times [#361E in Hecht, Pre-Cinema History]. The “problem of motion” is now understood to have been a false promotional claim of Edison’s, as many motion experiments and public performance devices did create illusions of motions without jerks. Press of the period occasionally countered Edison’s claims for first success; see, for example, “Edison’s Kinetograph,” (London) Engineering 51 (5 June 1891) 678 [#361F in Hecht, Pre-Cinema History].

¹⁵ “Edison’s Kinetograph and Cosmical Telephone,” 393. The article labels the kinetograph the “recorder.” Terms change with later press, though the kinetoscope and its later development, the phono-kinetoscope, remain the

phonograph, whose perforated grooves “reproduced” soundwaves in a tangible physical object for “reproduction at will” in any parlor.¹⁶ Edison intentionally granted the two machines an equivalency of process, where the kinoscope “does for the eye what the phonograph does for the ear.”¹⁷

Edison’s rationale for his invention accomplished two things. First, aligning various media along a central axis according to their ability to hold information for subsequent “reproduction at will” allowed Edison to claim that his work “would revolutionize print,” in the words of media scholar Lisa Gitelman.¹⁸ Reproducibility has been central to conceptions and theories of print in twentieth-century thought, but Edison stands as a precursor to this scholarship.¹⁹ His practice models an expansive category of print, one that crosses media to encompass a wide array of objects—films, engravings, photographs, phonographs, wallpaper, textiles, lithographs, illustrated texts, and so on—within a single intermedial category whose constant is these objects’ central quality of reproducibility.²⁰ Edison’s lens both frames “print

“reproduction machine” and the “reproducing-machine,” respectively, while the counterpart cameras are later termed “taking” machines. See Dickson and Dickson, “Edison’s Invention,” 207 and 210.

¹⁶ Descriptions of the phonograph from “The Edison Speaking Machine: Exhibition Before Members of Congress—The Practical Uses to Which It May Be Applied,” New York Times (20 Apr 1878) 1, and Thomas A. Edison, “The Phonograph and Its Future,” North American Review 126:262 (May/Jun 1878) 527–36. Connections between the kinoscope and the phonograph litter the primary sources used in this chapter, as the link was a common metaphor used by Edison and Dickson.

¹⁷ “The Kinetograph,” New York Sun (28 May 1891) 2, reprinted in Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 77. In “Edison’s Kinetograph,” Edison also drew a sight-and-sound parallel between the telephone and the kinoscope.

¹⁸ Lisa Gitelman, “Souvenir Foils: On the Status of Print at the Origin of Recorded Sound,” in Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree, eds., New Media, 1740–1915 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) 157.

¹⁹ The work of Walter Benjamin, the most cited figure in print studies, has largely shaped this theoretical approach to print. At the core of Benjamin’s conception is a process that moves from an auratic original [*Bild*] to a facsimile [*Abbild*] to a full reproduction [*Reproduktion*]. See Benjamin’s essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility” (1936), in Michael W. Jennings, et al., eds., The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media, trans. Edmund Jephcott, et al. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008), esp. Section II, pp.20–1, 23.

²⁰ “Intermediality” is a term from media studies that implies “a temporary overcoming of a recognized discreteness” between media, allowing for a recognition of sameness even while understanding distinct media boundaries. For intermediality, its definitions, and early film, see Andrew Shail, “Intermediality: Disciplinary Flux or

culture” far in excess of the term’s common connotation of book production and its linked social activities (such as reading, advertising, and education), and highlights a commonality between an otherwise diverse array of cultural practices.

Second, and not independent from the first, Edison’s rationale allowed him to adopt a promotional language that was easily utilized to converse with the public. It would require further study to know if this language originated with Edison, but by the 1890s, Edison was tapping into what were widely used intermedial terminologies. The licensed phonograph demonstrator Lyman Howe, for instance, was termed “a photographer of sounds” in local press—a common term of the period that assumed an interchangeable process between sound recording and photography.²¹ “Reproduction” was one variant of this intermedial discourse. As mentioned above, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show came to be widely described as a form of “reproduction.” The terminology was so widespread as to also dominate various discourses around the fine arts, variants of wild west shows, world’s fairs, and the exhibitionary complex of museum professionals.²²

What met in the Black Maria, then, between Edison’s inventions and Cody’s performers, were two forms of print—two carriers of “reproduction at will.” Even if this was not the case ontologically (one, after all, was a technology and its product, the other a dance performed by

Formalist Retrenchment?,” Early Popular Visual Culture 8:1 (February 2010) 3–15. For a productive example of this reframing that has been highly influential in my thinking, see media scholar Lisa Gitelman’s reevaluation of Edison’s early phonograph foils as “talismans of print culture” in “Souvenir Foils,” 157–73.

²¹ Penny Evening News (23 Nov. 1894), cited in Charles Musser and Carol Nelson, High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) 37. Musser and Nelson suggest this phrase was common; see p.320 fn56. For an account of the phonograph’s development and marketing as a precursor for the kinoscope, see Musser, Emergence, 56–64.

²² See, for instance, “reproduction” as the main descriptor for the 1898 Indian Congress grounds at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska, in Official Guide Book to Omaha, Trans-Mississippi Exposition (Omaha: Megeath Stationery Company, 1898) p.30; digitized in an online (unpaginated) version at <<http://trans-mississippi.unl.edu/texts/view/transmiss.book.guide.1898.html>>. We will meet up with this discourse again in **Chapter Nine**.

human actors), the fact that both sets of agents conceived of their work in these terms attests to a common language centered on print's reproducibility.

The prevalence of such terminology is predicted by the work of early modern art historian Jeanette Kohl.²³ In her studies of the emergence of portrait casts in fifteenth-century Renaissance Florence, Kohl has uncovered a complex relationship between technologies of reproduction, discourse, and power. Death masks, taken indexically through casting techniques and themselves reproducible, were utilized for a variety of sculptural and painted portrait forms. Their popularity was tied to the genealogical implications of the indexical imprints, as power was retained and handed down in Florence through family ties. Such busts acted as “a visually formulated claim to power,” which in turn drove their value as reproducible objects.²⁴ At the same time, a dominant cultural discourse and intellectual framework emerged in Florence that utilized the very terms of the reproductive casting process.²⁵

In other words, if we can extrapolate from Kohl's work, when culturally significant technologies of image reproduction appear, they generate a print-based, culturally wide discourse. What has then marked these technologies' appearance as culturally significant is the role they play in maintaining a specific power structure in a particular time and place.²⁶

²³ See Jeanette Kohl, “Casting Renaissance Florence: The Bust of Giovanni de’ Medici and Indexical Portraiture,” in Peta Motture, Emma Jones, and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., Carvings, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture (London: V&A Publishing, 2013) 58–71, and Kohl, “Notes from the Field: Mimesis,” Art Bulletin 95:2 (Jun 2013) 205–7.

²⁴ Kohl, “Casting Renaissance Florence,” 62.

²⁵ See Kohl, “Notes from the Field: Mimesis,” 205. Kohl specifically identifies the trope of imprinting across artistic practice and social discourse in fifteenth-century Florence.

²⁶ Other early modern print scholars have also explored the role of print as a major player in colonial power relations. In the American context, see especially Michael Gaudio, Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

THE POLITICAL MOMENT: “UNERRING RAPID FIRE”

Motion and its reproducibility seem to have been far from the minds of the journalists present at the Black Maria on the 24th. Under a headline that announced, “RED MEN AGAIN CONQUERED / Easily Subdued Before the Rapid Fire of the Kinetoscope at Edison’s Laboratory,” the reporter for the New York Herald wrote:

A party of Indians in full war paint invaded the Edison laboratory at West Orange yesterday and faced unflinchingly the unerring rapid fire of the kinetograph. It was indeed a memorable engagement, no less so than the battle of Wounded Knee, still fresh in the minds of the warriors.

It was probably more effective in demonstrating to the red men the power and supremacy of the white man, for savagery and the most advanced science stood face to face, and there was an absolute triumph for one without the spilling of a single drop of blood.²⁷

In the press of the day, the Black Maria was now the site of a technological face-off. The Herald reporter equated the Black Maria with a battlefield, specifically recalling the massacre at Wounded Knee that had taken place only four years previous. Months of ghost dancing among various bands of Lakota across their reservations in the fall of 1890 had increased Indian agent and civilian nervousness in the area. Escalations of tensions and fears continued until, under public pressure, President Benjamin Harrison placed the Lakota reservations under military control on November 13, 1890. The military presence brought increased hostilities and fear, and eventually erupted into armed skirmishes, the most notable being the attempted arrest and subsequent death of Hunkpapa leader Tatánka Íyotake [Sitting Bull] at the hands of agency police on December 15th. To exert control over the rapidly deteriorating situation, the military sought out roving Lakota bands. Having intercepted the Mnikhówožu band of Unpan Glešká

²⁷ “Red Men Again Conquered,” 12.

[Spotted Elk] on their journey from Cheyenne River Indian Reservation to the Pine Ridge Agency, the military escorts opened fire on the band's camp at Chaŋkpé Ópi Wakpála [Wounded Knee Creek] on December 29, killing more than 150 men, women, and children.²⁸

At Wounded Knee, the “unerring rapid fire” had come from the four Hotchkiss guns used by the U.S. military to fire upon the Mnikhówožu from a nearby hill. The Hotchkiss was a highly accurate cannon requiring only a single operator crouched behind the barrel, and the gun's mobility and ease of operation made it a terrifying weapon, one of the most advanced of its day.²⁹ The cannons had been used as threats against the band on the days leading up to the massacre, and after the initial engagement on the 29th, when the guns' rapid fire had killed the majority of Mnikhówožu warriors in the first ten minutes, the guns were continually repositioned to pick off any Lakota that remained on the battlefield or in the surrounding ravine—the latter where the majority of women and children had sheltered.³⁰

The “little Hotchkiss cannon” became part of the public lore that surrounded Wounded Knee and frequently appeared in press accounts, poems, illustrations, and photographs authored and circulated after the event. The gun received specific attention from Frederic Remington, for instance, who, in his Harper's Weekly report on Wounded Knee, devoted one of two graphics to a field illustration of the Hotchkiss in action.³¹ **[Figure 1-12.]** The image

²⁸ For an exhaustive reconstruction of the events on Pine Ridge, see William S. E. Coleman, Voices of Wounded Knee (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). 150 was the official military report's tally of victims; the count was likely higher.

²⁹ Technical details of the Hotchkiss can be found in Major Joseph Schott, “Review of Military Technology for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1896,” Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine, trans. Captain Theodore A. Bingham, as reprinted in Journal of the Military Service Institution 19:82 (July 1896) 121; T. A. Brassey, ed., The Naval Annual, 1890 (Portsmouth: J. Griffin and Co., 1890) 372–3.

³⁰ Survivor Dewey Beard [Mnikhówožu] recounted the army pointing a cannon at Unpan Glešká's band at various points in the days leading up to the engagement of the 29th; see Coleman, Voices of Wounded Knee, 245.

³¹ Frederic Remington, “The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota,” Harper's Weekly 35:1779 (24 January 1891): 1, 61–2.

illustrates the moment after Lieutenant Hawthorne, the operator of one of the four Hotchkiss cannons at Wounded Knee and now seated on the ground, has taken a bullet to the groin. His companion, Private Hertzog, reaches down to drag Hawthorne out of the field of action, while Corporal Weimert takes over Hawthorne's position at the Hotchkiss. The non-stop action of the Hotchkiss in the midst of counterattack is presented as heroic in Remington's account, with Captain Capron, commander of the battery, waxing eloquent on his men's performance:

"Oh, my battery was well served," continued the captain, as he put his hands behind his back and looked far away.

...To the captain everything else was a side note of little consequence so long as his guns had been worked to his entire satisfaction. That was the point.³²

If the sexual innuendos of the servicing of Captain Capron's guns is textually subtle, Remington's illustration is not. The Hotchkiss emerges from Corporal Weimert's bent body, the barrel extending, erect, from Weimert's groin. No clear delineation between the gun and Weimert is apparent. The shading, tone, and highlights between Weimert's uniform and the gun barrel are identical, bleeding into one another, and Weimert's left arm can as easily be understood to extend down the barrel, as wrap beneath it. And while Weimert gazes at the supposedly distant Mnikǎwožu in the gun's sights, his companions' sightlines are aimed at Corporal Weimert's well-formed buttocks.³³ **[Figure 1-13.]**

In the Harper's illustration, sexuality and weaponry become intertwined visual metaphors. Hertzog's and especially Hawthorne's stares link up with the Hotchkiss in their directionality, aimed toward the Mnikǎwožu in the gun's sights. The desires implicit in these

³² Remington, "Sioux Outbreak," 61.

³³ Such double entendres appeared in one of Remington's youthful depictions of the Indian Wars, with a cavalry sword taking on the characteristics of a cowardly soldier's sexual organ, dangling between his legs; for a full psychoanalytic treatment of the young Remington's drawing, see Alexander Nemerov, Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America (New Haven: Yale University, 1995) 69–70.

gazes stand in for what Remington's illustration cannot show: soldiers' desires and the lust for battle, the invisible motivations for violence. The Herald reporter then substitutes the camera—specifically, the kinoscope—as the weapon facing down Lakota warriors, its implied gaze full of colonial desires. The reporter's substitution illustrates Susan Sontag's assertion that cameras are wrapped within the metaphors of sex and weaponry, and that those who wield the camera also wield instrumental power and even brute force within society.³⁴ The very language of film—a shot, a shoot, high-speed capture, loading, aiming, or the Herald's “unerring rapid fire”—mimics the language of the Hotchkiss.³⁵

The goal of military action at Wounded Knee was the violent suppression of “The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota,” as Remington had titled his report. Outbreak was a common term of the late nineteenth century, used to describe periods of Indian violence.³⁶ The term, however, referenced not just acts of physical aggression, but also the system of geographical and bureaucratic control against which such violence was perceived to rebel. In this sense, Wounded Knee did not mark the close of the Indian Wars or a paramount military victory, but the perceived achievement of containment enacted by the non-Native settler nation-state.

³⁴ See Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York: Picador, 1977), esp. pp.12–5 (the camera's relation to both gun and phallic metaphors), and pp.175–9 (the instrumentality of the camera within the state). See also Ansel Adams' metaphoric use of the machine-gun to describe his own photographic practice (p.117).

Theoretical approaches that link Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic concept of “the gaze” with the instrumental deployment of mechanical apparatus include postcolonial theory, feminist film theory, and film studies' apparatus theory; see, respectively, Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994); Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” Screen 16:3 (Autumn 1975) 6–18; and Jean-Louis Baudry, “Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus,” Film Quarterly 28:2 (Winter 1974–5) 39–47. Visual culture theory also links machines to viewers through vision, only with Benjaminian referents rather than Lacanian ones; see Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), and Hal Foster, ed., Vision and Visuality (New York: New Press, 1988).

³⁵ Sontag suggests that the terminology of the camera makes the metaphoric relation between weapons and cameras concrete; see On Photography, p.14.

³⁶ I am here taking “outbreak” and its related notion of “containment” from Philip J. Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004) 15–51.

Such containment was literally portrayed in Frederick Remington's cover image for his Harper's Weekly report, whereby lines of soldiers wield shovels and pickaxes to dig trenches—traditionally means by which to contain an enemy's advance—at Pine Ridge. **[Figure 1-14.]**

Native reservations were the products of a centuries-long removal process across North America, whereby Native tribes were moved or restricted to specified parcels of land. Treaties demarcating boundaries between Native peoples and non-Native settlers had been signed as early as 1646, but the nineteenth century witnessed an unprecedented scale and speed to removal under the newly organized nation-state of the United States.³⁷ Additionally, nineteenth-century reservations did not come into being as distinct entities. Their creation was enmeshed in a range of complex public and private social projects, ranging from settlement and speculation ventures to the establishment of federal, state, local, and Indian agency governance, legal and penal codes, financial and real estate markets, education, and religious institutions, all of which aimed to substantially transform or destroy Native cultures. Many of these projects were built on the creation and maintenance of a bureaucratic visibility: encoding Native individuals within bureaucratic record-keeping systems, such that individuals and their lives could then be controlled by and through the various projects.³⁸ Accounting ledgers proved foundational for many of these endeavors, serving as the primary record-keeping form for church registers, trading accounts, census rolls, agency records, allotment rolls, school

³⁷ The 1646 treaty marked the end of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, and was signed by Necotowance and the English in October 1646 [see "The Powhatan Indian World," National Park Service website for Historic Jamestowne, <<http://www.nps.gov/jame/historyculture/the-powhatan-indian-world.htm>>]. Any Indian thereafter crossing the demarcated line into territory held by the English had to display a coat or badge of striped cloth or be shot on sight. Later, Native peoples caught crossing the line were subject to enslavement.

³⁸ See Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places, 26 and 245, fn26.

enrollments, military tallies of the dead, Indian War bond accounts, delegation photographs, and scientific measurements.

Camera technology was also employed to create subject visibility within the larger containment project. In the lower left of Remington's illustration, a series of propped guns form a makeshift triangular tripod, albeit one with extra legs. **[Figure 1-15.]** Remington visually conflates weapons and cameras here, and illustrates their power to contain, not only through their shared space with the soldiers' containment trenches but through the guns' cast shadows, which take on the shape of an elongated Native Plains leader in a feathered crown stretched out across the bank. This shadow echoes that of Unpan Glešká, a man so ill with pneumonia at the time of the first Wounded Knee shots that he could not stand up unaided. Shot at close range, he was left stretched out in the snow, then shot again in what remains the most reproduced image from Wounded Knee. **[Figure 1-16.]** Simultaneously, Remington's tripod of weaponry marks a *tipi* frame, similar to the dozens of architectural frames scattered across the field. **[Figure 1-17.]** Before the shooting had broken out, the Mnikhówožu had been breaking camp, and the still-standing frames testified to the work started and left eternally interrupted. In a single visual element, then, Remington nods toward the violence of Wounded Knee's weaponry as captured through the event's subsequent photographs, while signaling the military's effective containment of Lakota peoples, both ontologically and photographically.

CRAFTING CONTAINMENT

Containment, however, was an incomplete process; this incompleteness was precisely what created the fear and language around “outbreak.”³⁹ As historian Philip Deloria notes, “Family camps and reunions, political meetings, hunting trips, church gatherings, local dance lodges—these all represented opportunities for Indian mobility through a landscape that simultaneously remained and was reasserted as Indian.”⁴⁰ Likewise, ledgers could record names and baptisms, assign Anglicized spellings, and deed allotments, but they could not dictate how such allotments were utilized, ensure a Native child only thought in English, or enforce the discontinuance of Native ceremonies in unregulated spaces. Even as removal and the Indian Wars drew to a close in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the incomplete nature of reservations and their associated bureaucratic visibilities remained.

Remington hints at the unfinished state of the containment project with his placement of the *tipi* and his shadowy figure of Unpan Glešká outside the boundary trenches and lines of uniformed men. In the *Black Maria*, a similar breach of containment can be seen in the films themselves. One of the three Buffalo Dance performers does not keep to either the patterns set by the other two dancers, or to the prescribed manner of the Oglala buffalo dance, with a dancer’s gaze continuously on the ornamented buffalo head (here, Last Horse).⁴¹ **[Figure 1-18.]** Instead, the bell-wearing dancer constantly orients his body to face the camera, even as he

³⁹ It was precisely this failure of complete containment that led California to embark on a campaign of annihilation, rather than one of removal, toward its Native populations. See Tony Platt, Grave Matters: Excavating California’s Buried Past (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2011) 55.

⁴⁰ Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places, 27.

⁴¹ In the Oglala buffalo dance, this gaze was critical; marshals were to watch for this gaze during the dance, and admonish any who failed to keep their eyes on the buffalo head. If any dancer continued to look away, the marshals were to remove him from the dance altogether. See J.R. Walker’s account of the Oglala sun dance (of which the buffalo dance was a part) in “The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota,” Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 16:2 (1917) 114–5. As we will see further on, however, this is not the only version of the buffalo dance by which comparison could be made.

rounds the corners of the group dance path. This gaze appears in each frame of Dickson's paper print reproduction (see **Figure 1-1**). The same pattern is seen in Sioux Ghost Dance, the second film shot earlier in the morning. **[Figure 1-19.]** Starting in the back on the left side, the bell-wearer moves further to the left and then forward, always gazing at the camera, even as the rest of the group forms a rotating circle in the opposite (right-hand) direction.

The visual, in these instances, resists the containment project, as it captures one Native man's agency in his placement, performance, and gaze in relation to the camera. He does not dance the prescribed dances, in line with the film titles and Native tribal practice. Instead, a gap opens up between the textual assignments of "Sioux" and the buffalo or ghost dance, and this man's behavior before the camera.

Other variations between text and image begin to surface. While the Herald reporter presents the dancers in "full war paint"—a claim echoed in the Edison catalog's listing for the Sioux Ghost Dance film—there is no paint visible on any of the Native performers in either surviving film or the PR photograph from the Black Maria session. The Herald reporter's descriptive of "red" Native bodies cannot be confirmed by the visual evidence, due to the fact that no print technology of the period could indexically record Native peoples' skin color. And in his description of the day's films, Dickson refers to the mythology of the "vanishing race," even while the performers appear in thirty-two frames on Dickson's page.⁴² In these frames, the

⁴² The films are "features of aboriginal life which may be historically valuable long after our polished continent has parted with the last traces of her romantic past" (Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph, 37). See also the Edison studio's press surrounding the "phonograph books" of Onondaga and Tuscarora elders, which did not simply preserve—this claim was applied to virtually every practical use presented for the phonograph—but preserved against the "dying out" of both language and elders. This additional phrase effectively uses the common myth of the "vanishing race" to contain Native languages. "The Edison Speaking Machine," 1.

performers' presence and the agency of the returned gaze is amplified with each repetition, belying any notion of absence or disappearance.

Art historian Michael Hatt writes that in the nineteenth century, stable categorizations of bodies—such as those assumed by race or gender—masked the fact that the content of such categories constantly shifted, absorbed contradictory logics, and stood ready to fall apart if subjected to external, scrutinizing pressures.⁴³ The living human body constantly threatened to undo these categorical containments: with its human variance, mutability, and change over time, the body proved difficult to stabilize. In addition, bodies housed agents like the bell-wearing dancer—persons capable of independent action and in constant danger of exerting the very pressures that caused stable appearances and categories—as well as containers, physical and textual—to fall apart.

As Native bodies were subject to ever-greater efforts at ontological containment within geographical spaces, print also worked to contain Native bodies, recruited to the containment project due to those subjects' agencies and unpredictabilities. Print acts as the material "glue" between what is "in the air" and what "hits the ground"—between ideas and the social and cultural forms those ideas take in relation to Native bodies.⁴⁴ Despite our language of living in "an age of images" usually traced to print technologies and their potentiality for infinite repetition, print's reproduction is in fact always controlled and deliberate, always shaped in

⁴³ Hatt looks at both race and masculinity in his article, "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture," *Oxford Art Journal* (1992) 21–35.

⁴⁴ See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Print Culture and Enlightenment Thought*, Sixth Hanes Lecture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), though the phrasings here are my own, combining Eisenstein's notion of "glue" with Michael Omi and Howard Winant's notion of "project," which sits between ideas of race and race active in the daily world. Only through the study of such projects do abstract socio-historical processes like racial formation take on a visible shape [Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 58–60]. As future chapters will make clear, the project of racializing Native bodies is part and parcel of Manifest Destiny's project of containment.

relation to systems of meaning that both employ and limit reproducibility.⁴⁵ If reproduction marked a late nineteenth-century cultural logic stemming from print practices, then that logic was entwined with the logic of containment that accompanied the westward expansion of the United States.

The glue of print exists in measurable, material forms, image-objects that we might also think of as craft blocks.⁴⁶ I choose this term to evoke the printing blocks integral to many print processes, while highlighting their associated craft-as-process—their craftsmanship. The Buffalo Dance of Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair Coat, marking as it does the close of Manifest Destiny’s century of removal, provides the opportunity to follow a specific set of craft blocks made from Tret’iakov’s “raw materials.” Such a trail details the craftsmanship involved in the project of containing Native peoples across the nineteenth century. I begin with the raw materials behind the first print image of a buffalo dance: Mandan Buffalo Dancer, and the portrait’s humble origins in 1834, when an American Fur Company trade fort and a Numak’aki [Mandan] village shared a bluff overlooking the Missouri River in what is now present-day North Dakota.

⁴⁵ Living in “an age of images” was first formulated by Ludwig Feuerbach more than 150 years ago; quoted in David Morley, “Media,” in New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society, ed. Tony Bennett, et al. (London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005) 212. Feuerbach is also discussed in Sontag, On Photography, 153.

⁴⁶ In Bruno Latour’s theory of scientific knowledge, following such craft blocks provides a picture of the nuts-and-bolts “craftsmanship,” or the “precise practice” of how scientific knowledge—what “hits the ground”—is built. See Bruno Latour, “Drawing Things Together,” in Representation in Scientific Practice, ed. Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990) 21]. Thank you to Jennifer Roberts for pointing me toward Latour’s work and its intersections with print.

PART I. HAKO'SH

CHAPTER 2

9 April 1834: Fort Clark

The darkened evening sky threatens to snow as a gentleman takes his seat along the open central square of Fort Clark. He is wan, having been confined to bed, and needs help shuffling from the door of his quarters to his crudely carved bench. His condition will continue to worsen, and in a few weeks the middle-aged man will need to be carried to his boat to make the downriver journey to St. Louis. But now he manages every few days to emerge from his Fort quarters to observe and take brief notes on the local activities.

“Baron, est-ce que tu vas bien?” It is Karl Bodmer, a twenty-five-year-old artist and part of the gentleman’s retinue. His French carries a heavy Swiss accent as a look of concern crosses his face. He slides his bulging artist’s bag onto Baron Braunsbergh’s bench, followed by himself. He still wears his hunting cap and trousers from the day’s shooting expedition, a regular activity Bodmer undertakes with Fort personnel and warriors from the nearby Numak’aki earthlodge village of Mit uta hako’sh.

“Fein, fein,” the Baron answers sharply, waving Bodmer’s concern away. He is tired of being asked.

A crier from Mít uta hako'sh had reached the Fort hours before, decreeing that "The buffalo herds are coming to the Missouri! Everyone come out and see them drink!" It was a ritual proclamation signaling the public dance of the village's Benók Óhate, or Buffalo Society. A host of buffalo-calling rites had begun since the early spring pulstilla flower had appeared on the prairie; this performance would be but one. The Fort square had been filling since the crier's visit, as resident and guest Minitari and Numak'aki men, women, and children assembled for the performance. Some would spend the night in Fort quarters or with their compatriots at Mít uta hako'sh before returning to the Upper Villages the next day.

"Pleased with your view, Baron?" It is James Kipp, the Fort's manager and clerk, and the Baron's eager host. Since arriving at Fort Clark five months earlier, the Baron had regarded Kipp quite highly. He had spent many hours in Kipp's company, visiting local villages, meeting Native dignitaries, supping at his table. Earth Woman, Kipp's Numak'aki wife, had ensured that the Baron or his entourage had never gone hungry, even as she managed a busy household that included the couple's adopted adult son, toddler boy, and new infant girl. The Baron knew he owed them much for the hospitality he had received during his stay. But as the Baron's health had declined so had his generosity. Now he was barely cordial with them; it was difficult to dispel the memory of their poor table manners a few nights before. He nods weakly to Kipp, who disappears into the crowd; he has more important guests to attend to.

Suddenly the Fort gates are thrown open. A cacophony of sounds reaches the Baron's ears. The timed steps of nine men approach. Once inside the gate, the men's rhythmic steps are interrupted by a barrage of gun shots as numerous dancers fire randomly into the air. Others blow their wooden whistles over the deep bass of a large drum keeping time. As the line fills the

square most of the men break from the leader to form a central rotating circle. The leader, marked by a full buffalo headdress and a long hide tail with dangling feathers, remains outside the ring. From time to time a woman in red face paint and a newly dressed bighorn skin proffers him a bowl of water. He ignores the other dancers as he imitates the buffalo bull, bellowing, listing to one side, looking about for signs of danger, pawing the ground, then suddenly charging the crowd, who scream in feigned terror as they move out of the way. From the sidelines Bodmer paints details of the clothing worn by the central dancers while Wied scribbles notes onto small scraps of paper.

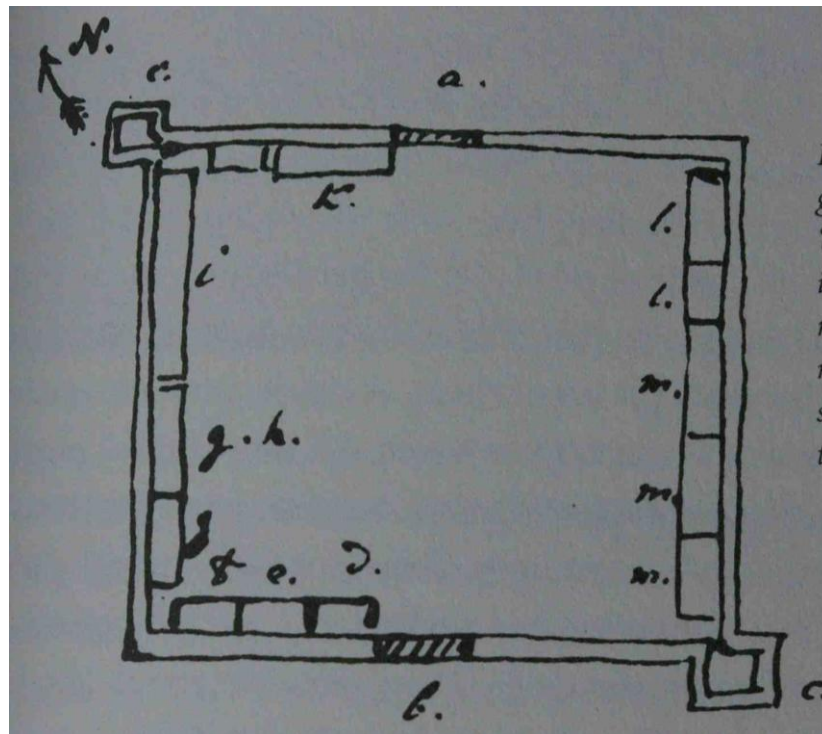
The dance goes on for some time, until Francis Chardon, one of the Fort's clerks, steps up to the circle and tosses a bag onto the ground in the center; it opens, revealing tobacco, knives, and small mirrors from the Fort store. The dancers continue their step, picking up the gifts as they break their circular path and change direction to again line up behind their leader and file out of the Fort gates, headed across the bluff to Mít uta hako'sh and its sacred central earthlodge, their timed paces fading into the vastness of the prairie night.

After the performance, Baron Braunsbergh retired to the one-room shared chamber that housed himself, Bodmer, and David Dreidoppel, the party's huntsman and taxidermist.¹ The whitewashed room and its glass-paned windows provided brilliant light during the day, but at night only candles and a poorly vented fireplace lit the small chamber, providing a modicum of heat in the sub-freezing temperatures. Now the candles cast strong shadows about the room, highlighting the Baron's emaciated form as he hovered over a bound notebook and a

¹ Information on the party's room in Fort Clark is from Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:35 (22 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 72.

series of paper scraps on one of the room's two small tables. A few rough benches and three raised plank beds lined the walls, while a corner stair led to an attic holding some of the Fort's rat-infested corn supplies. Upon the party's arrival the rats had kept them awake at night. Soon after, the Baron's "small, tame Prairie fox" had been given free reign of the trio's quarters. His scurrying paws across the overhead planks broke the room's quiet from time to time.²

Illustration 2-1. Prinz Maximilian Wied-Neuwied's plan of Fort Clark. Wied's legend: (a.) front gate; (b.) back gate; (c.) the two blockhouses; (d.) Mr. Kipp's quarters; (e.) clerks' and interpreters' rooms; (f.) kitchen; (gg.) the new house; (gh.) our quarters; (i.) engagés' room; (k.) blacksmith shop; (ll.) horse stables; (mmm.) stores for merchandise and the traded animal furs. Source: *Tagebüch* 3:65; printed as Figure 17.1 in JAM vol. 3, 125.



Most evenings the Baron sat in these quarters surrounded by his slips of paper, greyed with the written-and-erased notes of previous use.³ He carefully inked his bound volume's

² *Tagebüch* 3:36 (24 Nov 1833) and 3:66; JAM vol. 3, 74 and 126.

³ I understand the Baron's *Tagebücher* to have been constructed during his travels, due to the volumes' temporal meanderings, their illustrations of described objects and peoples, their cross-references to Bodmer's works (discussed below), their detailed accounts of events and conversations, and the Baron's frequent comments regarding his evenings: "Spent the evening, [as] always, writing by candlelight" [*Tagebüch* 1:102 (24 Sept 1832);

pages, sometimes rearranging his day's paper notes for a better textual sequence, occasionally breaking the prose with an ink or watercolor illustration. This evening's work was particularly long, as the dance had motivated the recording of more details than he usually managed for the month of April, his last spent among the Native American communities on the Upper Missouri River:

Beautiful, clear morning. Almost all the ice [was] gone. Seven men went downriver in [bullboats]. [At] seven thirty, 48°F [8.9°C], wind from the north. Mató-Tópe came in his most magnificent clothing. The Indians still fished much wood out of the river.

An anemone is blooming, actually a *Pulstilla*, that the Indians call—in [English] translation—the red calf flower, because buffalo calves are born at this time [of year]. Later the wind blew out of the northeast. [There was] no more ice in the river. At twelve o'clock, 65°F [18.3°C]. Wind northeast.

About evening nine men of the band Beróck-Óchatä (Bulls) appeared in the fort and fired their guns. Only one of them wore the whole buffalo head (see Bodmer's drawing). The others wore just pieces of skin from the bull's forehead; some strips of red cloth; shields decorated with red cloth; [and] buffalo tails. [They carried] spears in their hands. *Picus auratus* was shot today.⁴

The Baron's *Tagebücher* ("day books") entry combined various observations, measurements, and conversations into a constructed narrative. He often gleaned news of Fort and village comings and goings from his meals in Kipp's quarters.⁵ He habitually took temperature and

JAM vol. 1, 166]. This view differs from that of Marsha Gallagher, who posits their possible construction from fieldnotes (which have not been located) once the Baron returned to Europe; see Gallagher and David C. Hunt, "Travels in the Interior of North America: An Account Drawn from the Published and Unpublished Manuscripts of Prince Maximilian of Wied," in John C. Ewers, et al., *Views of a Vanishing Frontier*, exhibition catalog (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1984) 47, and Gallagher, "A Brief Description and History of the Maximilian-Bodmer Collection and the Maximilian Journals Project," in JAM vol. 1, xxix.

⁴ *Tagebüch* 3:162; JAM vol. 3, 280. [Square brackets] mark translator's additions. I have retained Wied's spellings of Nú'eta and Hidatsa in all quotations of his original writings, but altered them in my own text; see my language methodology in the **Introduction**.

⁵ Wied noted that Native peoples were in Kipp's quarters every day [*Tagebüch* 3:25 (8 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 53]. He did not record that meals were regularly taken in Kipp's quarters, as much as noted when the party left Kipp's rooms early or supped alone; see, for instance, *Tagebüch* 3:57 and 3:147 (29 Dec 1833 and 10 Feb 1834); JAM vol. 3, 113 and 254.

Wied records James Kipp's position as clerk and administrator of Fort Clark at the time of Wied's winter stay [*Tagebüch* 3:24 (8 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 51]. Kipp had built the Fort Clark Trading Post in 1831, his second in

wind readings three times a day and recorded the sightings, results, and failures of each day's hunting and specimen gathering.⁶ He detailed his observations of Native life, and nearly always noted the visitors he and Bodmer received in their quarters.

As seen in the above entry, the *Tagebücher* were both factual logs and a creative project. Their dual nature comes through in the last phrase: "*Picus auratus* was shot today." The woodpecker's shooting had certainly happened prior to the evening's festivities. Nighttime presented limited vision and too many risks, from wasted shot to the lethal possibilities of getting lost in the frozen landscape or meeting enemy warriors or armed *engagés*. The Baron's inclusion of the event, doubling back on the day's timeline, evidences the constructed nature of his daily accountings from the various ingredients available to him. Other interruptions on the Baron's *Tagebücher* pages include carefully inked illustrations, their watercolor layers belying his hours with brush in hand. **[Figure 2-1.]** Textual additions, like the one that appears here at the upper left, fill the margins, separated from the main text by a vertical line. Sometimes these marginalia are to be inserted into the main narrative; sometimes they operate as footnotes to correct misinformation that came to light through later conversations or observations. Additionally, the Baron set aside pages in each volume for carefully composed ethnographic essays as well as appended addenda of compiled information and measurements.⁷

the area. For Kipp's work in the region, including his various employers, and the subsequent history of Fort Clark, see C.L. Dill, "Fort Clark on the Missouri: Prairie Post and Field Lab, 1831–1990," in Virginia L. Heidenreich, ed., The Fur Trade in North Dakota (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990) 23–4.

⁶ Weather tables and game lists also appeared in the addenda of each volume.

⁷ Some addenda components, such as temperature charts, lists of rivers and creeks, crate packing lists, mileage charts, language compilations, tallies of game shot, and volume indices are consistent across each volume's addenda. Others are unique to their volume, including conducted magnetic experiments (vol. 2), documents and history relevant to the fur trade (vol. 2), list of steamboats taken (vol. 3), Fort Clark bird migration calendar (vol. 3), ethnographic notes on Osage culture (vol. 3), and latitude and longitude measurements on the homeward journey to Europe (vol. 3). In the JAM edition, the insertions held by addenda but intended for the main text have been

Karl Bodmer sketched the Baron in this task of construction at some point in the group's initial Atlantic crossing aboard their hired boat, the *Janus*.⁸ [Figure 2-2.] Wied in leisure cap and a long overcoat sits before an immense spread of papers that could include maps, books, and nautical navigation texts.⁹ His makeshift desk is a wooden barrel, his chair a niche on the side of their quarter's staircase. A sailor stands to Wied's right, looking out at the viewer. His central position toward the ship's stern suggests he is steering. At the far left, Captain Robbins in vest and straw sun hat stands at the rail with a telescope raised to his eye, presumably gazing at a distant sight.¹⁰ In the bottom right corner a fourth figure is seated below the ship's bell, perhaps a sailor, but impossible to identify with any certainty due to his unfinished penciled state.

The sketch, with its figures of Wied and Robbins on the deck of a ship bound for North America, functions as a visual metaphor for the three men's craft, their "way of doing things" on their travels.¹¹ Himself an experienced huntsman, Wied largely spends his efforts with his papers, his books, and his documents in the subsequent two years of journeying. He leaves the

moved into the main body of material at the appropriate locations and are thus not included in my lists here. See Stephen S. Witte, "Editorial Procedures," JAM vol. 1, xix–xxiv.

⁸ JAM gives a date of the 30th of June for this drawing (vol. 1, 33), while the 3rd of July is suggested in David C. Hunt and Marsha V. Gallagher, eds., *Karl Bodmer's America* (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, 1984) 40. The 19th of May is just as likely, as the Baron's entry records that Bodmer finished multiple drawings that day, and also mentions the view of Dover Castle through the telescope (*Tagebüch* 1:5; JAM vol. 1, 10).

⁹ Wied copied numerous navigation documents from the ship into his *Tagebüch*; see JAM vol. 1, Figures 1.6, 1.13, 1.14, 1.16, 1.17, 1.20, 1.23, 1.24, 1.26, 1.27, and 1.34.

¹⁰ Captain Robbins is identified through an inscription; see JAM vol. 1, 33 fn76.

¹¹ Glenn Adamson, *Thinking Through Craft* (Oxford: Berg, 2007) 3. Adamson's approach counters craft as "a classification of objects, institutions, or people," and thus avoids the material-specific categorizations—silversmithing, weaving, beadworking, carving, etc.—that has historically defined discussions of "the crafts." In the following discussion, after art historian Kenneth Haltmann (discussed below), I also avoid the classificatory labels of natural history or ethnography that have often been attached to the expedition's work by instead focusing on this shared "way of doing things."

hunting to Dreidoppel, Robbins' counterpart once on land.¹² And while Wied inks his *Tagebüch* pages, Bodmer sits some distance away out of the frame, sketching the whole but also creating the very frame that we look through to view the scene—a parallel to the gaze through Robbins' telescope. The three men and their activities act in concert. In the following sections of this chapter I draw out the implications of each man's sphere of activity. I then explore how these activities combined to form a framework for the expedition that can be understood as "mimesis-as-capture."

CONSTRUCTING BARON BRAUNSBERGH

The middle-aged and worn gentleman travelling as Baron Braunsbergh was in fact Prinz Alexander Philipp Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, part of the ruling family of a small principality in the northeast of what would become Germany.¹³ He had taken up the Braunsbergh travelling pseudonym by the time he had booked his passage to the United States, and sources from various stages of his journey suggest that he rarely broke cover.¹⁴

¹² The Captain clearly leads the hunting while at sea, especially since Bodmer and Dreidoppel suffer extreme bouts of seasickness; see *Tagebüch* 1:8 (6 Jun 1832), 1:12 (17 Jun 1832), 1:17 (24–5 Jun 1832); JAM vol. 1, 15, 20, 28, and 29.

¹³ My biographical sources for Wied are Hartwig Isernhagen, "Bodmer–Wied–Amerika: Eine Entdeckungsreise," in *Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika*, exhibition catalog (Zürich: Nordamerika Native Museum and Scheidegger & Speiss, 2009) 18–43; Paul Schach, "An Introduction to Maximilian, Prince and Scientist," in JAM vol. 1, xxxvi–xliii; and Karl Viktor Prinz zu Wied, "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied: Sein Leben und seine Reisen," in *Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, ed. Josef Röder und Hermann Trimborn (Bonn: Dümmler, 1954) 13–25.

¹⁴ On travel arrangements under the pseudonym of Braunsbergh from Rotterdam, see JAM vol. 1, 4 fn7. On Wied's confiding his real identity to a German pharmacist's son in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, see *Tagebüch* 1:49 (27 Jul 1832); JAM vol. 1, 82. On Wied's American Fur Company accounts under his pseudonym, see JAM vol. 3, 16 fn47. And on Wied's alternate identity throughout his Indian Territory travels, see Kenneth McKenzie (Fort Union) to M. Baron de Braunsberg (20 Mar 1834), NEW-Ayer, VAULT box Ayer MS 554; and J.A. Palmer Hamilton (Fort Union) to Henry Langstaff, esq. (25 Oct 1833), NEW-Ayer, VAULT box Ayer MS 355.

Wied's constructed identity signaled his North American project to be of similar manufacture. The two-year journey through North America has largely been understood as a scientific mission, an interpretation in line with the official documentation and letters of introduction that have survived.¹⁵ Yet if Wied's intentions fell along scientific lines, they were circumvented by the American Fur Company (AFC), its personnel, and its relations of influence among those who ran Indian Territory's affairs. Once in New York City, Wied acted on his own personal connection to the Astor family, who had made their family fortune from the American fur trade. The family's patriarch, John Jacob Astor, had grown up near Mannheim, Germany, but had immigrated to the United States and entered the fur trade in 1784. By the 1830s, he was known as the richest man in the United States. His son William Backhouse, now the head of the Astor family's American Fur Company, had been a classmate of Wied's at Göttingen Universität from 1811 to 1812. Wied sought out William to request letters of introduction to AFC officials in Detroit (though a raging cholera epidemic soon caused him to change his planned route), and to officially open and deposit funds against an AFC account, upon which he would draw as he traveled.¹⁶

¹⁵ For Wied's scientific purposes, see his passport through Indian Country (2 Apr 1833) with the stated "purpose of making observations in Zoology and Botany," NEW-Ayer, VAULT Ayer N. A. Ms. 920, as well as William Clark's letter of introduction to General Atkinson (25 Mar 1833), NEW-Ayer, VAULT box Ayer MS 171; his letter of introduction mentioning his "scientific tour through the United States" from William B. Astor to James Abbott (13 Jul 1832), NEW-Ayer, VAULT box Ayer MS 37; and Hamilton to Langstaff, where Wied's U.S. expedition is described as one "exploring this extensive region (having previously passed some years in South America for the like object) purely with scientific views." For an analysis of Bodmer's output in relation to the work of Alexander Humboldt, see Hartwig Isernhagen, "Bodmer, durch Humboldt gelesen," in *Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika*, 94–124.

My argument here, however, is that on-the-ground practicalities shaped Wied's trip, over and above scientific methods, ideas, or convictions. If Wied had planned a comparative trip—and his notes on his first meeting with Native peoples in St. Louis (discussed below) do utilize comparisons to his earlier work in Brazil—this approach quickly gave way within the mediated zones of the AFC.

¹⁶ The letter of introduction is Astor to Abbott (13 Jul 1832). For Wied's day of AFC business, see *Tagebuch* 1:35 (10 Jul 1833); JAM vol. 1, 60. Astor also wrote one to a fur trader in Detroit named Mr. Schwarz. At the time of Wied's

Once in St. Louis, it is clear that AFC men co-planned Wied's travels with him: they booked his transportation on the AFC's *Yellow Stone* steamboat, provided a shopping list, agreed to sell him trade goods, and again deposited Wied's money in an AFC account.¹⁷ Once in the field, Company activities and concerns overlapped with Wied's. Personnel brought him specimens and sponsored many of Bodmer's and Dreidoppel's hunts. The trio's Native village visits coincided with AFC trader invitations.¹⁸ Wied obtained his mail, his transportation, and his research materials through the trade's network along the Missouri, and the various fort stores dictated the team's health and supplies (or lack of), from salt and meat to the candles and firewood that lit Wied's quarters at night.

Many of the characters in Wied's travels overlapped with those in the Upper Missouri River travel accounts of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery Expedition (1804–6), George Catlin (1832), and John James Audubon (1843). William Clark, for instance, served as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to whom Wied had to petition for a passport to "Indian country, etc."¹⁹ Toussaint Charbonneau, Wied's occasional guide and informant at Fort Clark, had served as one of the interpreters for Lewis and Clark and had continued to work for official

North American departure, John Jacob and William had pulled out of the AFC, selling the company to Ramsay Crooks, John Jacob Astor's long-time right-hand man (NEW-Nute, Volume 1).

¹⁷ These conversations and activities were primarily held with Kenneth McKenzie, who directed the AFC's Upper Missouri Outfit, as well as Captain William Drummond Stewart, an adventurer who would share a portion of the northward Missouri River journey. See *Tagebüch* 1:229–37 (25 Mar to 5 Apr 1833); JAM vol. 1, 381–92.

¹⁸ These traders either lived in the villages or, like Kipp, were married to a Native woman whose family dwelled in the village; sometimes both. At Fort Clark, Wied records no village visit without a present trader, although Bodmer and Dreidoppel may have done more wandering than Wied noted. See fn44 below.

¹⁹ Passport issued by William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis (2 Apr 1833); Ayer-NEW: VAULT Ayer N. A. Ms. 920.

U.S. envoys and various visitors to the region, sometimes employed by the AFC, sometimes an independent trader.²⁰

In these few examples, the overlap between government and business interests surfaces. Until the massive national project of Indian Removal required the set-up of a vast bureaucratic system, the U.S. government remained largely reliant on private interests to run and maintain vast swaths of claimed territory.²¹ Many of the involved players in these distant locales mixed private and public interests. Throughout his St. Louis appointments between 1807 and 1838, for instance, Clark invested in a number of fur trade and real estate schemes—a common practice among St. Louis elites and government agents.²² And the American Fur Company had lobbied government officials for years to promote legislation in their interests.²³

²⁰ Charbonneau was the interpreter for the 1825 U.S. treaties with the Numak'aki and Minitari villages, signed 30 Jul 1825 [Indian Treaties 1778–1883, ed. and compiled by Charles J. Kappler (1904; New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1975)]. Charbonneau was hired by General Atkinson—the same General who ran Jefferson Barracks outside St. Louis, discussed below. Accompanying General Atkinson and also signing the treaties was Benjamin O'Fallon, the nephew of Clark who spent a great deal of time with Wied in St. Louis, planning Wied's route. O'Fallon provided Wied with maps of the region—including those drawn by Lewis and Clark.

²¹ On the economic and legal systems put into place to carry out Removal, see Ethan Davis, "An Administrative Trail of Tears: Indian Removal," The American Journal of Legal History 50:1 (January 2008–2010) 49–100, and Joseph T. Manzo, "Economic Aspects of Indian Removal," Southeastern Geographer 24:2 (November 1984) 115–25. On the land grant system employed to fill emptied Native territories, see Malcolm J. Rohrbough, The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); for a regional case study, see David A. Smith, "Preparing the Arkansas Wilderness for Settlement: Public Land Survey Administration, 1803–1836," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 71:4 (Winter 2012) 381–406. And for how Removal underwrote the expansion of the Cotton Kingdom and its slavery system in the American South, see Edward E. Baptist, The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism (New York: Basic Books, 2014), and Walter Johnson, River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013).

²² For details on Clark's and his St. Louis compatriots' land ownership and fur trade schemes, see Shirley Christian, Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier (2004; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

²³ The AFC influenced U.S.-Indian treaties, troop presence, the codes and enforcement of the Indian Territory's passport system, and the laws regarding the licensing and citizenship of personnel. For example: "The manner in which Indian treaties benefitted the [AFC] company appears in Crooks's letter to Samuel Abbott, agent at Mackinac, June 23, 1838. The treaties have been ratified, he writes, and this action will supply funds for the company's Western and Northern outfits. On September 30, 1839, Crooks wrote from the West that the government had paid the Chippewa Indians and [Métis], and that of the \$103,500 thus paid he now had \$59,000 with him. Of course the method of getting such sums from the government was to present claims against the

In other words, if Wied modeled his project after that of Lewis' and Clark's earlier travels, he found the region greatly altered, covered with an extensive network of economic and governmental interests. He himself, unwittingly or not, was a player in these interests: John Jacob Astor and various agents connected to the Upper Missouri River Outfit of the AFC had a habit of showing favor to those figures who could influence public opinion through their art and journalism, including Washington Irving and George Catlin. These favors paid off for the Company. While Irving published Astoria in 1836 and George Catlin talked up Kenneth McKenzie's table at Fort Union in his first dispatch for the New York Commercial Advertiser in 1832, Wied authored an entire chapter on the American Fur Company in his later published account of his travels.²⁴ If Wied had originally intended scientific publications for his travels' findings, his completed work was instead a travelogue, a popular European genre in the decade of Wied's travels.²⁵

Indians for goods never paid for by them in furs and skins as promised when credits were granted them" (NEW-Nute p.16).

For an extended view of the treaty-making process by which Company personnel were regularly consulted before and after negotiations, see the exchange of letters between Ramsay Crooks and Henry R. Schoolcraft between December 1835 and April 1836 (NEW-Nute). For an appeal for troops to quell unrest, see W.B. Astor to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War (30 May 1834; NEW-Nute #19). And for personal negotiations over the licensing and trade good contracts run through the War Department, see Schoolcraft to Crooks (2 May 1836; NEW-Nute #1551), Crooks to Samuel Abbott (7 Jun 1836; NEW-Nute #1675), Crooks to Schoolcraft (7 Jun 1836; NEW-Nute #1676), and Crooks to Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, Secretary of War (6 Mar 1837; NEW-Nute #2420). In this last, Crooks claimed that his personal negotiations with the former Secretary of War Lewis Cass did away with personal applications for trading licenses altogether.

²⁴ See Chapter 17 in JAM vol. 3. Wied based much of the chapter on his conversations with James Kipp and Toussaint Charbonneau [*Tagebüch* 3:50 (12 Dec 1833); JAM vol. 3, 100]. Astor also formed a deep friendship with Irving, who served as one of four executors for John Jacob Astor's will; see "The Will of John Jacob Astor," in Kenneth Wiggins Porter, John Jacob Astor: Business Man, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931) 1271. For Catlin's multiple entanglements with the AFC and its St. Louis business partners and backers, see Benita Eisler, The Red Man's Bones: George Catlin, Artist and Showman (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2013). For a concentrated discussion of Catlin's later alienation of the fur trade and its supporters, see Brian W. Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) 184–91.

²⁵ French travelogue authors of the period included Rene de Chateaubriand, Voyage en Amérique (1827); Michael Chevalier, Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States (1839); and Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (1835/1840). British authors included Charles Dickens, American Notes: For General Circulation (1842). While living in Europe, American author James Fenimore Cooper wrote Notions of the

Illustration 2-2. Map of Wied’s travels, 1832–4. Source: David C. Hunt and Marsha V. Gallagher, eds., Karl Bodmer’s America (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, 1984) 9.



Spending an entire year in the fur trade’s networked system of posts and personnel took an enormous toll on Wied. By the time he witnessed the buffalo dance at Fort Clark, the Prinz was both physically ill and fairly sick of frontier living: “We were extremely tired of life here in this dirty fort. Filth everywhere was the disgusting order of the day.”²⁶ The filth seems to have invaded Wied’s very person. Alexander Culbertson, a young AFC clerk at Fort Union, noted the poor state of Wied’s dress when he passed through in 1833: “His favorite dress was a white slouch hat, a black velvet coat, rather rusty from long service, and probably the greasiest pair of

Americans: Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor (1828). And in Germany, Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, published *Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824* (1835). Humboldt had published a deluxe two-volume folio between natural science and travelogue of the Americas in 1810 (*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l’Amérique*), and a seven-volume narrative of his travels in both French and English editions between 1815 and 1826.

²⁶ *Tagebüch* 3:157–8 (11 Mar 1834); JAM vol. 3, 272.

trousers that ever encased princely legs.”²⁷ Wied cut short the expedition’s planned journeys to Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] country in the northeast, and within three months of leaving Fort Clark, he and his retainers were aboard a steamer headed for Le Havre on the coast of French Normandy.

“NOTHING REMAINED HIDDEN”: TELESCOPES AND RIFLES

To return to Robbins’ telescopic gaze from the deck of the *Janus* is to take up the parallel work of David Dreidoppel, the member of Wied’s team who was along as huntsman and taxidermist. His appearances in Wied’s *Tagebücher* are minimal, always in connection with his hunting, his taxidermy, and his physical ailments. Much of his activity is recorded through the resultant specimens, rather than his direct actions, such as the entry on the 9th—“*Picus auratus* was shot today”—and Bodmer’s records of the stuffed and prepared animals, laid out in the field or on the tables in the expedition’s whitewashed quarters and painted. **[Figure 2-3.]**

The overlap of Dreidoppel’s field activities with both Wied’s narrative work and Bodmer’s visual output was mirrored in the field, where both Bodmer and (occasionally) Wied hunted and collected specimens. As Wied recorded his walk along the Fox River, near New Harmony, Indiana:

Today I saw a large number of turtles sitting on all the old trunks and logs lying in the water.... they were very shy and immediately dived into the water when they saw people at a distance. Some of them were very large and glistened in the sun. I saw three such creatures sitting close to each other on a trunk and tried to capture them with my gun, since there seemed to be no other way to do this.²⁸

²⁷ Cited in Davis Thomas and Karin Ronnefeldt, People of the First Man: Life Among the Plains Indians in Their Final Days of Glory: The Firsthand Account of Prince Maximilian’s Expedition Up the Missouri River, 1833–34 (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1976) 16. No original source given.

²⁸ *Tagebüch* 1:196 (10 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 327.

Wied's walk began with spying an unusual number of very large turtles in and about the river's driftwood. His act of looking quickly turned to a desire to capture, and the tool at hand was Wied's rifle—through which he then again looked before firing off his shots (he hit only one of the three, and then so badly as to damage the specimen).

Art historian Kenneth Haltman has given the visual practice required by the overlapping interests of scientific inquiry, hunting, and visual recording on the frontier the label “predatory looking,” or “a convergence of sighting in the interest of scientific understanding with the view down the barrel of a gun.”²⁹ The gaze shared between the Hotchkiss gun and the kinetograph at the close of the Indian Wars had a precursor among the hunting elites, expeditionary freewheelers, fur traders, artists, and naturalists in the early decades of the century: “What one sights and shoots one frames, both visually and conceptually, translating a living creature into a collected specimen, bringing what is not yet known within the realm of one's control.”³⁰

For Haltman, the tools for this framing are the V- or square-shaped gun sight and its associated artistic counterpart, the *camera lucida*. Wied's North American project adds the telescope to this list. The verbs Wied uses to describe the instrument's work are telling of its power over its sighted subjects, whether landscapes, wildlife, or local inhabitants. The telescope revealed, rendered, studied, and proved, taking on the work of Wied's science as well as Bodmer's brush. Its lens could also see closely or clearly, a visual aid for all three men's work. And the instrument evoked emotion, providing contentment or pleasure through its various sightings.

²⁹ Kenneth Haltman, Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008) 139.

³⁰ Haltman, Looking Close and Seeing Far, 139.

In the margins of his second *Tagebüch*, Wied wrote an anecdote that had been passed to him in the vicinity of Fort McKenzie: “If one viewed the Dakota women on the Little Missouri with a telescope, they all ran away immediately, because they believed that nothing remained hidden from such a glass and that one could see through any kind of clothing.”³¹ The interpretation ascribed to Dakota women’s actions must be read with skepticism, as their responses to telescopes would have been embedded within a system of cultural practice. However, the voicing of a believed power of the gaze by which “nothing remained hidden” is a significant expression of how frontier players viewed their tools of predatory looking.

Predatory looking not only linked the various and distinct practices of the exploratory men, but also shaped the three men’s self-perceptions of their occupations in the field. Bodmer, for instance, took up hunting and was often in the lead boats or hunting parties, even after suffering an extensive hand injury in an early stage of the journey.³² In one field sketch from the summer of 1833, Bodmer sketched one such party from the shore. **[Figure 2-4.]** The incident had occurred along the Missouri, as Wied’s party made their way westward from Fort Union to Fort McKenzie (see **Illustration 2-2**).³³ A pair of grizzlies had been “observed very nicely with the telescope” in the willow thickets along the river banks, with one eventually stopping to feast on a buffalo cow carcass. The party’s keelboat navigated along the current to stay even with the dining bear, while a smaller dinghy carrying Company employees Mr. Mitchell and Deschamps [Métis], as well as Bodmer and Dreidoppel, slid into shore. Bodmer, who remained in the dinghy, potentially sketched the distant keelboat and Deschamp’s slow

³¹ *Tagebüch* 2:215 (7 Aug 1833); JAM vol. 2, 346–7 fn M84.

³² *Tagebüch* 1:94 (13 Sept 1832); JAM vol. 1, 151.

³³ *Tagebüch* 2:178–9 (18 Jul 1833); JAM vol. 2, 282.

approach toward the distracted bear from his vantage point, slightly below the action. But at a later moment, he inserted into his sketch a dinghy with double the hunting party numbers and drew himself as the lead figure, rifle in hand.³⁴ Bodmer, looking through the frame of the page, doubled himself as the hunter and boat captain. This second Bodmer potentially spied the bear through the keelboat's telescope, guided the dinghy, and stood ready to employ the gun's sights at a moment's notice.

As Bodmer's later refinement of his sketch demonstrates, he viewed himself through the doubled position of artist-hunter. The foundational artistic and hunting practice of predatory looking made such doubling possible. The practice also created a shared visual and framing practice among the expedition's participants that allowed their distinct occupations and spheres of activity to mutually co-exist and reinforce each other. Both Dreiboppel's and Bodmer's external products were from the beginning positioned within Wied's work, as signaled through Wied's textual aside: "(see Bodmer's drawing)." To this drawing we now turn.

"WHITEWASHED": PAINTBRUSHES AND SKETCHBOOKS

Five days prior to the Fort Clark performance, Bodmer had completed a watercolor portrait of the *Óhate's* leader—what is now known as Mandan Buffalo Dancer, the portrait introduced at the beginning of this study (see **Figure I-1**).

³⁴ "*Bodmer s'est représenté le 1^{er} debout à l'avant du bateau, tenant un fusil.*" ["Bodmer has represented himself as the first one standing at the front of the boat holding a rifle."] The inscription was written by George A. Lucas, one of Bodmer's collectors in Paris; see **Chapter Seven**. The translation comes from Hunt and Gallagher, eds., Karl Bodmer's America, 196.

Bodmer's work was shaped through the co-creation practices of European portraiture, where both sitters and painters define the finished image.³⁵ To think of the Numak'aki *Óhate* leader posing within a co-creative process casts him as an agent, one who "*gets himself portrayed*; he participates in what, for him, is an act of self-portrayal, or self-presentation, or self-representation. To pose is by definition to portray oneself."³⁶ We do not know much about the leader's walk to Fort Clark for his sitting, but we do know that he was the owner of a sacred bundle that contained many of the objects that he is shown with, that as owner he had the right to don these objects, and that he was the arbiter for how the objects in his care could be treated, including the decision for their presence and subsequent portrayal in the Fort Clark studio.³⁷ In other words, he had the power of decision to "portray oneself" as a leader of the *Benók Óhate*.

Co-creation is also a helpful model when thinking about the Fort Clark studio. It is clear from Wied's descriptions of the Fort Clark quarters that the space functioned as an artist's studio, hosting sitters and housing Bodmer's ever-growing portfolio; an atelier or workshop space for multiple artists' production; a commissioning house that sponsored Native artists and their work; and a gallery where sitters brought their friends and families to view finished works.

Details of this polyvalent role in the expedition's Fort Clark stay best come to light around

³⁵ For the definitive work on a sitter's co-creation of portraiture, see Harry Berger, Jr., *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). Berger's emphasis on the Western-constructed self limits his application in the cross-cultural arena, but his model of portrait co-creation helpfully bypasses the dominant readings of Native portraits as either inherently ethnographic or magical. For a model of ethnographic reading, see William Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires, 1710–1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Catlin stands as the dominant narrative of magical portrait making; see, for instance, Catlin's Letter 15 among the Numak'aki, reprinted in Sarah Burns and John Davis, *American Art to 1900: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California, 2009) 445–6. For an approach to eighteenth-century Native portraiture utilizing notions of self-fashioning, see Elizabeth Hutchinson, "'The Dress of His Nation,'" *Winterthur Portfolio* 45:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011) 209–28.

³⁶ Berger, Jr., *Fictions of the Pose*, 4. Italics in the original.

³⁷ For detailed discussions of these roles, see **Chapters Three** and **Six**.

Mato-Tópe [Four Bears; Numak'aki], a war chief of *Mít uta hako'sh* and one of the studio's most frequent visitors. [Figure 2-5.] Wied's entries record fifty-six visits of Mato-Tópe to their Fort Clark quarters; the visit "in his most magnificent clothing" on the morning of April 9th was the warrior's fifty-second. From the very beginning, the Native leader's interactions with Wied and Bodmer were based on exchange. On Mato-Tópe's first two visits to the whitewashed room, he spent long periods examining Bodmer's portraits, recognizing several of the portrayed warriors; on the next visit, he brought Native-made objects for Wied to examine. Two weeks later, Wied gave Mato-Tópe his first commission and necessary materials for a drawing of the warrior's war deeds and the completion of a bear claw necklace; in March, Mato-Tópe commissioned Wied for a drawing of a bald eagle with a bloody scalp in its claw.³⁸ Over the winter, Wied and Bodmer gifted Mato-Tópe with paper, colors, pencil, tin cups for paint mixing, red crayons, and gum elastic; upon Wied's departure in mid-April, Mato-Tópe presented Wied with a wooden whistle.³⁹ As the relationship grew, Mato-Tópe sometimes brought along his wife and son, while at other times he spent long hours smoking, sharing information on neighboring tribes, and even spending the night on the floor in front of the studio's fireplace. On numerous visits Mato-Tópe carefully watched Bodmer's painting sessions with other sitters, and by April he was accompanying visitors to look at Bodmer's works or sit for the painter. The "most magnificent

³⁸ This necklace is now held by the Linden-Museum Stuttgart, Acc.no. 36110 C. Mato-Tópe borrowed the necklace in January for an adoption ceremony at *Nuptadi* [*Tagebüch* 3:138 (15 Jan 1834); JAM vol. 3, 240]. Wied commissioned a second drawing around the 26th of February, and also provided paints for the task [*Tagebüch* 3:153 (26–7 Feb 1834); JAM vol. 3, 264].

³⁹ The whistle is in the Linden-Museum Stuttgart, #36 082.

clothing” of the 9th, which included his lance and face paint, was donned again three days later for what turned into a three-day portrait sitting, the results of which we see here.⁴⁰

Understanding Bodmer’s studio and practice as one that invited the participation of his sitters, through posing, creating, or viewing, helps us understand the enormous popularity of the whitewashed room as a social space, as well as Wied’s sizeable collection of Native-made objects and drawings. A co-creative practice also accounts for many of the public performance field drawings that Bodmer completed, as well as his figurative landscapes and genre scenes in the local villages. Many of the warriors and leaders who sat for Bodmer’s studio portraits brought their wives and children, potentially clearing the way for Bodmer’s sketchbooks at performances of both men’s and women’s *Óhate*. **[Figure 2-6.]** Bodmer carried his artists’ supplies in a bag, allowing him easy access to his materials for field drawings at critical moments. Completed quickly and often lacking details, field sketches such as the one shown here contain scattered reworked areas, with Bodmer potentially aided through visual descriptions later provided by Fort Clark’s Native visitors.⁴¹

Bodmer’s acceptance in the studio potentially led to his acceptance in the Native landscape. With the trio stranded at Fort Clark from November through April, Bodmer had time to invest in both detailed landscapes and genre scenes, showing various episodes of Native life in the Fort’s vicinity. Bodmer’s watercolor sketch of *Mít uta hako'sh*, for instance, presents the view of Fort Clark (to the far left) and the earthlodge village from the vantage point across the

⁴⁰ I have identified the JAM-owned portrait shown here as a plate production copy due to the inclusion of the detailed ground. No other Fort Clark portraits include such a ground, and the few frontier portraits that do likely had their backgrounds added later (see **Chapter Five**). I also reached this conclusion in comparison with the surviving original portrait (JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection) and the plate production copy (Amon Carter Museum #1988.19) for Päsésick-Kaskutäü, a Hohe Nakota [Assiniboin] man who was painted at Fort Union [*Tagebüch* 3:9 (21 Oct 1833); JAM vol. 3, 21].

⁴¹ See also Hidatsa Scalp Dance, Fig. 322 in Hunt and Gallagher, eds., Karl Bodmer’s America, 311.

Missouri. **[Figure 2-7.]** But Bodmer also captured the constant traffic of women carrying firewood, corn stores, and other supplies between the summer village on the bluff and their temporary winter camp south of Fort Clark.⁴² Wied's notes suggest that if these Native women had not accepted Bodmer's presence atop the river valley with his painting supplies and sketchbooks, word would have spread to Kipp at the Fort, who would have requested that Bodmer curtail his activities.⁴³

Bodmer may have set up over a series of days to complete the details of such a work. This was certainly true of his drawing of the interior of a *má'ak óti* ("earthlodge"), done at *Mít uta hako'sh* in the lodge of Ni'puh [Broken Marrow; Numak'aki]. **[Figure 2-8.]** Bodmer returned to the lodge at least four times from December 1833 through April 1834, although the drawing may have been an excuse for Bodmer to spend time socializing in the village, and other sketches of *Mít uta hako'sh* may have also been completed during these visits.⁴⁴ Bodmer sat at the rear of the lodge facing the door, which was fenced off by the row of planks seen in the background. A visitor emerged from the planked area on the left side of the pictured lodge, where one's horses were kept in foul weather or during periods of feared horse raids. Various household objects for daily tasks—a buried mortar with its pestle club, a pot of water set on its ring, a bullboat oar, and a burden basket—surround the left-hand post. On the right ceremonial

⁴² See **Chapter Three** for details on these activities.

⁴³ An incident of young warriors "teasing" Bodmer occurred shortly after the trio's fall arrival, with Kipp intervening [*Tagebüch* 3:26 (9 Nov 1833); JAM vol.3, 54]. In March, a young man upset with Kipp broke Fort windows, suggesting that action was taken, if not discussed, when various parties grew aggravated at non-Native practices [*Tagebüch* 3:160 (27–8 Mar 1834); JAM vol. 3, 277–8]. For Numak'aki women, this appears to have included the activities of artists: Earth Woman had sent her husband after George Catlin in 1832, to buy back Catlin's portrait of her [*Tagebüch* 3:101; JAM vol. 3, 182]. In the same account, Wied relays that another of Catlin's portraits was perceived to do ill among a community of Dakota, after which no sitters would sit for him. Bodmer's popularity throughout the trio's Fort Clark stay indicates that his work was viewed positively, at least by a number of village leaders and warriors who continued to visit.

⁴⁴ Wied records Bodmer's visits in *Tagebüch* 3:44, 3:143, and 3:163 (2 Dec 1833, 1–2 Feb 1834, and 18 Apr 1834); JAM vol. 3, 88, 248, 249, and 281.

and war objects are propped on several posts. Two women sit to the left of the central dug out firepit, while two warriors and a child are seated to the right. Braced logs form an “X” above the figures, with hides and bags suspended over and behind the pit area.

The centrality of the warrior facing Bodmer, within both the *má'ak óti* and the picture, suggests that this figure is Ni'puh, although we cannot confirm the figure's identity through any corresponding portraits. Likewise, the quilled lance, wolf tail, and buffalo headdress on the far right posts appear to match those worn by the *Óhate* leader. The angle of the headdress and lack of shield designs prevent a definite identification, but as a full headdress was granted to only two men elected by their *Óhate* to serve as leaders, its presence may indicate that Ni'puh was the man who walked to Bodmer's Fort Clark studio on the 5th, as well as the leader of the *Óhate* file line on the 9th, bellowing as he lurched toward the gathered audience around the square.

The portrait of the *Óhate* leader testifies to an historic individual present in Bodmer's Fort Clark studio. This testimony comes from the portrait's status as an index, an image so intimately tied to the body in Bodmer's studio that it cannot function as a portrait without its referent: “The very fact of the portrait's allusion to an individual human being, actually existing outside the work, defines the function of the art work in the world and constitutes the cause of its coming into being.”⁴⁵ Literary scholar Wendy Steiner has named this ability of the portrait to

⁴⁵ Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) 8. The portrait-as-index is one of the basic theoretical tenets of portraiture studies. See also Richard Brilliant, “Portraits: The Limitations of Likeness,” *Art Journal* 46:3 (Autumn 1987) 171–2; Georges Didi-Huberman, “The Portrait, the Individual and the Singular,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, eds. Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998); Anne Collins Goodyear, “The Portrait, the Photograph, and the Index,” in *Photography Theory*, ed. James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2007); Adrian W.B. Randolph, “The Authority of Likeness,” *Word and Image* special issue: “Likeness in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Printed and Medallion Portraits in Renaissance and Baroque Europe,” 19:1–2 (Jan–Jun 2003) 1–5; and Wendy Steiner, “The Semiotics of a

still “[evoked] its referent over time and space,” despite the fact that the referent subject retains no physical ties to the present portrait, as “indexical magic.”⁴⁶

Through this magic a presence is conjured, or what Renaissance art theorist Leon Battista Alberti called the quasi-divine “presence in absence” of portraiture.⁴⁷ Alberti’s “quasi-divine” qualifier denotes the near-supernatural work that a portrait does through this presence: invoke an authority, called upon in the display and distribution of portraits of leaders; extend life well past its subject’s death; and credit both to its creator’s hand, powerful enough to conjure this presence in absence, this life after death.⁴⁸

Presence in absence had a special role in the artworks created on the North American frontier. Art historian Jennifer Roberts describes European notions of the North American west in this period as ones of tall tales, speculation, and wild exaggeration.⁴⁹ One way to cut across these notions, amplified across long distances, was to develop work that relied heavily on its indexical components, or its traces from physical frontier life (“index-as-trace”).⁵⁰ To insure his work against the risks of transatlantic travel, Wied had conceived of his project from the start

Genre: Portraiture in Literature and Painting,” *Semiotica* 21:1/2 (1977) 111–9. Special thank you to Abra Levenson for talking me through portraiture and its indexical nature.

⁴⁶ Steiner, “The Semiotics of a Genre,” 113.

⁴⁷ Cited in Jennifer Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014) 33.

⁴⁸ On political authority and the portrait, see Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), and Randolph, “The Authority of Likeness.” For discussions of the portrait, life, and death, see Didi-Huberman, “The Portrait, the Individual, and the Singular”; Marcia R. Pointon, “Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge,” *Art Bulletin* 96:2 (Jun 2014) 170–95; David Rosand, “The Portrait, the Courtier, and Death,” in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 91–129; and Steiner, “The Semiotics of a Genre.” And for portraiture’s qualities of life-after-death and presence-in-absence within the structure of early American families and local communities, see Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) Chapter 5, and Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, Chapter 1.

⁴⁹ Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, 114.

⁵⁰ Roberts specifically discusses the presence-in-absence of transatlantic portraiture and the indexical transfer method developed by John James Audubon; see Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, Chapters 1 and 2.

as built upon a host of indexical practices. Specimen collection and measurement was one; portraiture was another. Portraits like Mandan Buffalo Dancer would verify Wied's and Bodmer's frontier accounts regardless of distance and would turn the men's marks on paper into "I was here" tags for their North American travels, through these works' indexical links to the Native bodies in Bodmer's studio.

Yet Wied's and Bodmer's work had to convince their future audiences of their intense accuracy when few originals were available for comparison. Their indexical traces relied deeply on Bodmer's superior mimetic skills, or the realism with which he seemed to record the details of his portrait sitters and environments. The two elements are difficult to separate. Maximilian would praise repeatedly the accuracy and "great truth" of Bodmer's images throughout his later published narrative.⁵¹ Such accuracy was housed in Bodmer's mimetic detailing, from feathers to hair to clothing, and the viewer's trust in these elements then produced a magical belief in the indexical presence invoked by Bodmer's depicted bodies. The indexical, in turn, underwrote the mimetic. As Bodmer later wrote to Wied, "As the buffalo dance and the bear and buffalo hunt etc., this action is drawn and conceived from nature and contains less conventional aspects than most such objects in other travel accounts."⁵² Despite the blank spaces, incomplete details, lack of faces, and absence of environment in **Figures I-1, 2-4, 2-6, and 2-9**, Bodmer still claimed an overwhelming accuracy for the works based on their "I was here"-ness, "drawn and conceived from nature." This accuracy would then transfer to the later

⁵¹ See, for instance, Wied-Neuwied, Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. With Numerous Engravings on Wood, and a Large Map. Translated from the German, by H. Evans Lloyd. To Accompany the Original Series of Eighty-One Elaborately-Coloured Plates (London: Ackermann and Co., 1843) vi.

⁵² Bodmer to Maximilian (5 Feb 1840), cited in Brandon K. Ruud, ed., Karl Bodmer's North American Prints (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2004) 196.

images built on these original sketches and portrait—the very works that Wied touted for their truth and accuracy, bringing us round again to Bodmer’s mimetic skills.⁵³

MIMESIS-AS-CAPTURE

On the frontier, married to the frames of predatory looking, Bodmer’s practice is one that we can think of as mimesis-as-capture, the fundamental strategy beneath Wied’s entire knowledge project in North America. In the published account of his North American travels, Wied described his first sighting of a Native American man:

We were now in the free Indian territory, and felt much more interested in looking... We examined the country with the telescope, and had the satisfaction of seeing the first Indian, on a sand bank, wrapped in his blanket.⁵⁴

The mentioned telescope frames the vision of the three men as they gaze from the deck of their steamboat. Wied’s use of “we,” rather than the singular self-centered position of “I,” is particularly important, as he signals a metaphorical construct in addition to the physical tool that the three men may have taken turns looking through. That construct suggests an overall vision shared between the three men—each, presumably, seeing the same sights through the same frame—as well as “we” the readers.

This metaphorical framing and the belief in its shared vision underwrote Wied’s North American project. The ontological experience of the frontier was simply too vast, multi-dimensional, and multi-sensory; it could only be recorded and captured through a multitude of

⁵³ Wied’s claims here were common tropes of portraiture discourse in the nineteenth century; they will appear again in **Chapter Five**. Such claims were the basis for portraiture’s second-class status within nineteenth-century art academies; see Joshua Reynolds’ discussion cited in Roberts, Transporting Visions, 16, and Steiner, “The Semiotics of a Genre,” 111.

⁵⁴ Wied-Neuwied, Travels, 120. The text carries the 1841 English translation of Wied’s account; see **Chapter Five** for more on the publishing history of Wied’s and Bodmer’s work.

mediations.⁵⁵ Such intercessions act as bite-sized filters, curtailing one’s vision and cutting the frame down to a manageable and consumable size. The creation of and participation in such mediations then constitute “a fundamental form of sense-making activity.”⁵⁶ Predatory looking and its actual and metaphorical telescopes both aided and represented this filtering activity.

The telescope also reminds Wied’s readers that the filtering process requires an aim or direction on the part of the mediational agent. Wied’s and Bodmer’s gazes were trained on the Native peoples around them, exemplified by Wied’s published description of his first sighting. The object of this gaze—its sited Native peoples—was then recorded in a variety of forms: images, objects, records, and data. These forms together create a pool of information, or what I term a meta-archive. [Illustration 2-3.]

Illustration 2-3. Mimesis-as-Capture versus Mimesis-as-Becoming.

ONTOLOGICAL DIMENSION [the experiences and mysteries of the universe]		
ARTIST [Bodmer] ⇒ ⇒	AGENT (gaze)	SITTER ↑ ↑
MIMESIS-as-CAPTURE <i>“Why is he a buffalo?”</i>	MAPPING STRATEGY	MIMESIS-as-BECOMING <i>“Why am I a buffalo?”</i>
images, objects, records, data	META-ARCHIVE	ritual, tradition, dreamings, images, architecture, objects, songs, dances
<i>“What we once were and where we came from, mapped through what they once were and where they came from.”</i>	OBJECT OF KNOWLEDGE	<i>“What we once were and where we came from.”</i>

⁵⁵ This framework follows the approach of art historian Rebecca Zurier, who frames the city as one such unknowable ontological entity. Representation then becomes “a form of mediation through which urban knowledge is constituted... an individual may know parts of the city intimately but never experience the place as a whole except as mediated through other people’s representations.” See Zurier, Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) 8.

⁵⁶ Zurier, Picturing the City, 8.

The gazes of Wied and his retainers were always pointed at Native peoples. In contrast, their Native subjects gazed at the surrounding natural world; their mediation system was developed in response to their ontological experience of that world. In building their meta-archive, Wied and Bodmer recorded Native systems of mediation, depicting and notating the material culture and language interpretations surrounding Native ritual, tradition, dreamings, songs, and dances. But the men had little or no desire to experience the surrounding ontological world through Native systems of mediation. What Wied wanted to know was not Native life in and of itself, but that life as a means to map out an answer to the overriding Enlightenment question of human origins, his object of knowledge: *What we once were and where we came from, mapped through what they once were and where they came from.*⁵⁷

This object of knowledge was built, or mapped, using the gathered pool of mediations—the meta-archive. Wied’s printed account of his first encounter with a Native man in Indian Territory, which opened this section, drew on the expedition’s textual and visual records from St. Louis. The morning after Wied’s party first reached the settlement, a steamboat brought thirty to forty Osakiwugi [Sauk] and Meskwaki [Fox] warriors and their wives to town.⁵⁸ Led by Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi], the group had come to negotiate for the right to visit the imprisoned leader Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa [Black Hawk; Osakiwugi], who was being held

⁵⁷ This object of knowledge, its assumptions, and its language are described in great detail in the literature on primitivism; see Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch, eds., Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Sally Price, Primitive Art in Civilized Places (1989; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); and W. Jackson Rushing III, Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

⁵⁸ For the group’s arrival in St. Louis and their negotiations with William Clark, see *Tagebüch* 1:223–9 (25 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 372–81. For their journey to Jefferson Barracks, see *Tagebüch* 1:229–31 (26 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 381–3.

with eleven other Osakiwugi captives at Jefferson Barracks outside St. Louis.⁵⁹ Spending the morning at the waterfront building that had been assigned to the group as temporary quarters, Wied filled the pages of his *Tagebüch* with drawings and various observations of the party (see **Figure 2-1**) while Bodmer painted and drew a series of men’s portraits, including that of Meshihkêha [Snapping Turtle; Osakiwugi], a tall and handsome warrior that Wied also described as “the most interesting of all the Indians.”⁶⁰ **[Figure 2-9.]** The printed 1841 description of the warrior that Wied supposedly spies in the wilds of Indian Territory through the telescope instead matches Wied’s frontier *Tagebüch* description of Meshihkêha exactly, including the blanket and visible teeth of Bodmer’s portrait.

Once mediations entered the meta-archive of Wied’s project, they could be (and were) pulled out at will. They were, in other words, set into motion. The portrait of the Mandan buffalo dancer, along with the later performance field drawing and Wied’s dance descriptions, can tell us a great deal about how such mediations were created, the tools that were used, and the attitudes and ideas behind their production. But it is the motion later imposed on these mediations—how they were re-packaged and sent out into the world in print form—that created the larger knowledge products expected from Wied’s travels.⁶¹ Wied moved the St. Louis waterfront encounter with Meshihkêha, a military delegate participating in post-war negotiations, to an untamed, untouched forest, producing a wildly different map of the frontier

⁵⁹ Clark to Atkinson (25 Mar 1833).

⁶⁰ His descriptions of Meshihkêha appear on *Tagebüch* 1:225 and 1:229 (25–6 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 374–5 and 381.

⁶¹ My thinking here is profoundly influenced by the work of geographer Katherine T. Jones, who connects scale and its “strategies of presentation (how they present—what is left in and what is left out)” with epistemological purposes that “construct a particular form of knowing” [Katherine T. Jones, “Scale as Epistemology,” *Political Geography* 17:1 (1998) 27]. My use of “mapping” as a descriptor is intended to reinforce these epistemological outcomes.

than the day-to-day one that sponsored, sheltered, and shaped Wied's and his compatriots' work.

Craft, as already discussed, "only exists in motion."⁶² The craft of print and its associated maps of knowledge occur through the movement of its components. How, then, will the portrait of the Numak'aki *Óhate* leader move away from Fort Clark, across the Atlantic, and into print? What maps will he center, what knowledge will he generate?

To fully answer these questions, comparable information for the Numak'aki man who walked to Bodmer's studio under a full buffalo headdress must be presented. Numak'aki women and men were also skilled crafters of mediations, transforming raw materials with tools to employ and use within their own knowledge system. I address this process by presenting what anthropologist Fred Myers has termed a "local art history" in the next chapter.⁶³ Local art histories are grounded within a specific local community, using that community's specific terms and mediations for its analysis. For what follows, I rely on language to set forth a series of relationships through which Mandan Buffalo Dancer can be interpreted. This local art history investigates the Native-created meta-archive and its object of knowledge—*what we once were and where we came from*—beginning from the small anemone that had recently appeared among the still thawing snow drifts on the Missouri River bluffs.

⁶² Adamson, Thinking Through Craft, 4.

⁶³ Fred R. Myers, Painting Culture: The Making of an Aboriginal High Art (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002) 19.

CHAPTER 3

9 April 1834: *Mít uta hako'sh*

*Piti konika sé ma'ósene.*¹
Be-red calf flower.

For Numak'aki peoples, the blooms of the *piti konika sé ma'ósene* peeking out of the now-melting snows across the winter prairies marked the arrival of the buffalo calving season.

[Figure 3-1.] It was common across the Plains to mark time through the cycles of natural phenomena, and the small but hardy prairie rhizome that Wied had spotted was synonymous with the arrival of the year's first red-coated buffalo calves who would not gain their heavier brown hide for another three months.²

Calving also marked a change in buffalo behavior. As the weather warmed and storms abated, buffalo herds left their winter shelters in the Missouri River bottoms and headed onto the eastern prairies where the water of small sloughs and shallow lakes along the river bed sustained them. It was on these eastern prairies that the calves were born. Eventually, when

¹ Here I worked backwards from Wied's translation to write the Nútadi phrase, according to the language rules established by Hollow (1970) and Mixco (1997); see **Appendix A**. This phrasing may or may not match what Wied heard.

² Wied records April as *pató kuh mínaki* ("moon of the returning ducks") and *hóde mápe mínaki* ("moon of the floating ice"). See the language appendices in JAM, vol. 3, p.466.

My information on buffalo behavior comes from the website for the Northern Buffalo Ranch Ltd. <http://keikewabic.com/northern_buffalo_ranch/>, as well as details from Tsakákasaki [also called Edward Goodbird; Minitari], *Goodbird the Indian: His Story* (1914; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985), Maxidiwiac [also written as Waheenee-wea or Mahidiweash; Minitari], *Waheenee: An Indian Girl's Story told by herself to Gilbert L. Wilson* (1927; Lincoln: Bison Books, 1981), and Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014).

the hot summer sun evaporated these water sources, the buffalo would cross westward and follow the Missouri's ever-flowing source streams toward the Rocky Mountains, until winter set in and sent them back toward deeper valleys and the Missouri River bottoms, completing their migratory cycle.³

Wied complained of intermittent meat shortages starting the second of January, and had fallen severely ill from the imbalanced diet by the Ides of March.⁴ The massive movement of the buffalo herds replenished diets so long reliant on dried foods. *Kamá*, or float bison, drowned in their late autumn river crossings and preserved in the ice, had recently begun to appear among the floes in the spring break up. Young warriors now tested their athletic abilities

³ Alfred Bowers received these buffalo migration patterns from his Numak'aki and Minitari informants; see Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948) 51–2. Bowers also found these patterns noted in the journal of Charles MacKenzie, a fur trader along the Missouri River in 1804 (Bowers, "A History," 52 and fn1).

⁴ By March 16th, Wied noted that he sometimes spent entire days in bed. This coincided with a complete lack of meat in the Fort and the *Awatikihu*. While the Fort Clark cook suggested he had scurvy, it is more likely that Wied suffered from pellagra (the result of a corn-only diet) or protein poisoning (he detested the locally available corn and may have stopped eating it); see Fenn, *Encounters*, 241–3, and JAM vol. 3, 285 fn7. It was Minitari and Numak'aki warriors and chiefs who provided meat through the end of Wied's stay, and Kipp may have even ordered hunts in order to supply Wied with meat during his illness. See the entries from the 16th through the 30th of March, Wied 3:159–61; JAM vol. 3, 275–8.

Wied noted that Old Garrot, a French trapper that had lived near the earthlodge villages for several decades prior to Wied's visit, complained about the lack of game: "It gets worse here every year for game." See Wied (16 Jan 1834) in *Tagebuch* 3:139; JAM, 241. Like Old Garrot, Francis Chardon, the proprietor of Fort Clark, noted that the winters were seeing less and less buffalo, with no float bison gathered in the winter of 1836–37 (Fenn, *Encounters*, 310–4). However, the winter counts of Foolish Woman [Numak'aki] and Butterfly [Minitari] do not record a *maáritimatä*, or time of great starvation, until the late winter/early spring of 1866. It is possible that non-Native perceptions of a lack of meat, differing conditions between Fort Indians and residents of the villages, as well as exchange relationships (see **Chapter Four**), left Chardon with more extreme impressions of a lacking food supply than was actually felt in the villages. On the term "starvation" in fur trade journals and its semantic variance, see Mary Black-Rogers, "Varieties of 'Starving': Semantics and Survival in the Subarctic Fur Trade, 1750–1850," *Ethnohistory* 33:4 (1986) 353–83.

Foolish Woman's and Butterfly's winter counts were each begun, like many Lakota counts, with "the year the stars fell," or the meteor shower in November of 1833; see Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). As is standard, each count is named for their last *ka-ka*, or keeper, and I reference each through the appropriate year, but they are both available in published form as Martha Warren Beckwith, trans., *Myths and Hunting Stories of the Mandan and Hidatsa Sioux* (Poughkeepsie: Vassar College, 1930) 308–20, and James H. Howard, "Butterfly's Mandan Winter Count: 1833–1876," *Ethnohistory* 7:1 (Winter 1960) 28–43, respectively.

by leaping among the ice to fish the frozen carcasses out of the river.⁵ These animals still carried their fall heft, in contrast to the sinewy winter bison roaming in early spring, and were highly prized in breaking the late winter's spare diet.⁶ As the herds moved out onto the prairies, so did the peoples: throughout the month of February, known to Numak'aki as "the moon of wolf breeding," Wied had recorded the breakup of Minitari and Numak'aki river bottom winter camps as families relocated back to their summer *má'ak óti* ("earthlodge") village, located on the bluffs overlooking the Missouri (see **Figure 2-7**).⁷

Changes in dwelling places meant changes in leadership. Winter camps had temporary single leaders. Only men who owned sacred bundles and possessed great *hó'pini* ("medicine") that could be used for the good of the camp were eligible for the role. Wintertime leadership carried significant honors, much higher than those available to summer village leaders. This came with a cost, as the penalties of failure were severe: any death occurring under the watch of winter leaders was attributed to them, and they could even be killed if perceived to fail their camp.⁸ The weight of winter leadership shows in the *Awatíkihu* winter counts, where nearly every entry records the chosen leader and location for the winter's camp but only a small fraction mentions summer events. **[Figure 3-2.]**

⁵ Hollow (1970) 126; Maxidiwiac, *Waheenee*, 26; Fenn, *Encounters*, 68–9. Hollow gives *Kamá míti* ("Village of the Float Bison") as one of the names for the Heart River Confederacy village now known as On-A-Slant. Villagers watched for *kamá* through the early 1880s; see Tsakákasaki, *Goodbird the Indian*, 44–5.

⁶ Besides being considered a delicacy, eating these fattened buffalo also ensured a healthy population: a diet of only lean meat, if the winter's stores of corn and dried vegetables were gone by spring, would have caused protein poisoning. The fat content of meat was one way to avoid this condition. See Fenn, *Encounters*, 242–3.

⁷ Wied records a constant traffic of women taking loads from the lower forest village (one of the Numak'aki winter camps) to *Mít uta hako'sh* throughout the month of February. The early winter months had seen extremes in both cold and warm temperatures, with several periods of thaw, and Nuptadi residents had completely moved back to their summer village by the 9th of February, out of fear of high water. About twenty families had also returned to *Mít uta hako'sh* by the same date. All Minitari winter camps broke and returned to their summer villages on the 20th of February. See Wied (4, 9, 11, 15, and 16 Feb 1834) in *Tägebuch* 3:145–7, 149–51; JAM, 250–1, 253–4, 258, 260.

⁸ "The Lodge at Old Ft. Berthold," told by Hairy Coat [Minitari]; Volume 11 (1912), MHS-Wilson.

In contrast, each summer village operated under both war and peace chiefs. Wied lists at least three leaders per village in the *Tagebüchen*.⁹ The word for one in a chiefly role—*numakshí*—translates as “man to be good”; that of village leader, or *miti ko-mne-ka*, as “the one who is the village door.” Both word-phrases refer to the chiefly role as one of obligation to care for one’s people, often through hunting, and Wied’s party and Fort employees had been included in these chiefly patterns of provision during periods of lack throughout the winter.¹⁰ In the latter title the *-ka* suffix denotes an action that is habitual or constant, implying that a leader does not occasionally perform or put on this role, but continuously inhabits the required character. This inhabitation was exemplified by a leader’s “open door” policy, with food always at the ready for visitors who could enter a leader’s lodge without invitation.¹¹ Such a policy potentially allowed Bodmer repeated access to the *má'ak óti* of Nip'uh [Broken Marrow; Numak'aki] at *Mít uta hako'sh* for his drawings (see **Figure 2-8**).¹²

The *numakshí* and *miti ko-mne-ka* operated on the village level, but also led within a larger governance structure known as the *Awatíkihu* (“Five Villages”), a political and military

⁹ The peace chief was a kind of “first chief,” qualified for leadership as a *ka-ka* and a well-liked personality. The war chief served as “second” chief, and was always the villager with the best military record. On war and peace chiefs, see Bowers, *History*, 177.

Unfortunately, Wied does not distinguish between war and peace chiefs. There were likely different behaviors or obligations associated with each, but it is difficult to delineate these roles from his notes. Additionally, because he did not associate behaviors with these roles, only titles—a common mistake made by non-Native visitors to the *Awatíkihu*, including Meriweather Lewis and William Clark as well as George Catlin—many of his Native visitors may in fact have held leadership positions but not appear in his lists or with appropriate titles. The Numak'aki chiefs list appears in *Tägebuch* 3:77 [JAM vol. 3, 144], and the Minitari chiefs list in *Tägebuch* 3:115 [JAM vol. 3, 211–2].

¹⁰ See fn4 above.

¹¹ “‘If a man would be chief,’ we [Minitari] said, ‘he should be ready to feed the poor and strangers’” (Maxidiwiac, *Waheenee*, 51). While anyone could enter a leader’s lodge, visitors could only be seated when asked.

¹² Bodmer went to Nip'uh’s lodge in *Mít uta hako'sh* “to draw its interior precisely” on the 1st and 2nd of February [*Tägebuch* 3:143; JAM vol. 3, 248–9]; Wied notes that he is still drawing on the 13th of April [*Tägebuch* 3:163; JAM vol. 3, 281]. The finished print is Tableau 19.

alliance of the five Numak'aki and Minitari earthlodge villages along the Knife River.¹³ The *Awatíkihu* was formed after the smallpox epidemic of 1781. Sukshí (“Good Boy”), *numakshí* of the Heart River Confederacy village now known as On-A-Slant, brought Numak'aki survivors northward to a new village site along the *Máhi pasás*, or Knife River.¹⁴ During the years of the *Awatíkihu*, between 1781 and The Smallpox Year of 1837, Numak'aki peoples dwelled with the Minitari in five villages on the banks of the Knife and Missouri rivers: *Núitadi* in the First Village, founded by Sukshí; *Nuptadi* (who did not arrive at the Knife River until 1797) in the Second; *Amahámi* in the Third Village; *Amatihá* in the Fourth Village; and *Big Hidatsa* (or *Hidatsa* proper) in the top, or Fifth, village.¹⁵ The first two were Numak'aki peoples, the last two Minitari, while the middle village of *Amahámi* had a mixed population drawn from both people groups.¹⁶ The sites sometimes shifted in response to military pressures and access to river

¹³ My pursuit of the history and structure of the *Awatíkihu* came from my study of Numak'aki material culture: when cataloguing what art historians refer to as sunburst robes, I discovered that Wied and Bodmer not only portrayed or noted these robes across both Numak'aki and Minitari groups, but always in connection with a man identified as a chief. I thus began to wonder if the robes might have carried symbols of an overarching political organization that was recognizable to both tribes, as well as to those peoples that came to trade at the *Awatíkihu*.

To date, Native art history has underplayed political possibilities in its analyses of most Plains warrior material culture, instead favoring explanations of personal war honors and visions. This may stem from the strong anthropological and archaeological tradition within the subfield that casts Plains nomad bands and villages as fiercely independent within larger tribal entities [see Mark Mitchell, *Crafting History in the Northern Plains: A Political Economy of the Heart River Region, 1400–1750* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013) Chapter 3]. In contrast, my research turned up plentiful references to the *Awatíkihu* and its council and village-bands (see below) as an entity in its own right, especially in the histories and stories recorded from Numak'aki and Minitari elders.

¹⁴ On-A-Slant has two recorded Nú'eta names: *Míti O-pa-e-resh* (no available translation; Potter, *Sheheke*, 21) and *Kamá mítí* (see fn4 above). Sukshí led the remnant village-band of *Núitadi*, which may have included remnant members of *Istópe* (“Those Who Tattoo Themselves”) and *Amagaha* village-bands; see Fenn, *Encounters*, 166. Native elders, however, stated that these last two village-bands had already disappeared by 1781; see fn28. The village-band survivors of Yellow Earth (archaeologically known as Double Ditch) and Larson villages did not move north until 1797, originally forming *Nuptadi* on the east bank; see Potter, *Sheheke*, 63. The Yellow Earth and Larson village-bands had already likely formed a combined village prior to the 1781 smallpox epidemic; see fn28.

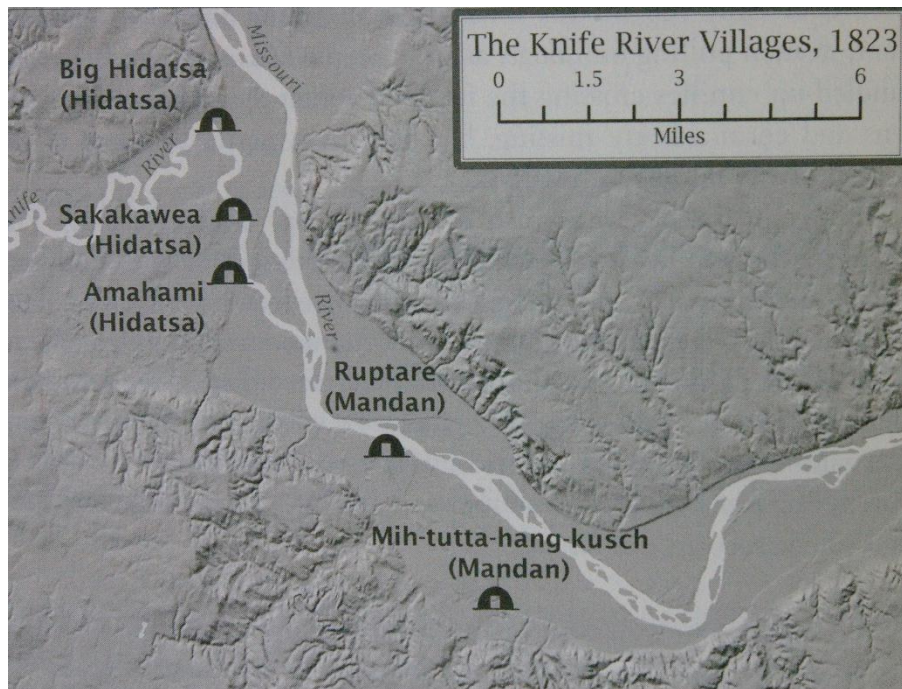
¹⁵ Minitari peoples referred to 1837 as The Smallpox Year, and I have adopted this usage; see “How Maxidiwiac Got Her Name,” Volume 14 (1914), MHS-Wilson. The epidemic appears as a summertime note for 1837 in both Butterfly's and Foolish Woman's winter counts.

¹⁶ Throughout this chapter, I work against the historical homogeneity usually assigned to the *Awatíkihu*'s residents; see Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, “For an Anthropology of Gaps, Discrepancies and Contradictions,” *Antropologia* 3:1 (Mar 2016) 111–31.

resources; by 1822 they were all on the west bank of the Missouri, on or near the Knife River

(Illustration 3-1).¹⁷

Illustration 3-1. Map of the *Awatíkihu* (1823). Source: Fenn, *Encounters*, 278. The village names inside the *Awatíkihu* in 1834, in ascending order, were *Mít uta hako'sh*, *Nuptadi*, *Amahámi*, *Amatihá*, and *Elá-sá*; they were always numbered from the bottom up. Each location also had name variants based on the language and/or dialect of the speaker. Wied recorded, for instance, that Minitari referred to *Mít uta hako'sh* as *Äwa-Ichpawatí*, or “Last Village,” and *Nuptadi* as *Awatirá-Tácka*, or “Hilltop Village” [Wied, JAM vol. 3, 465].¹⁸



The various people groups associated with each of the Five Villages point to the much older and vast organizational system and history that underlay the *Awatíkihu*. A Numak'aki leader known as Oki'sh (“Head Ornament”) had originally divided the Numak'aki and Minitari

¹⁷ *Mít uta hako'sh* had originally been on the *Nuptadi* site shown in Illustration 2-1, but had relocated about three miles southeast in 1822; the new location put the village within walking distance of Fort Clark, also built in 1822. *Nuptadi* then moved from its east bank location to the deserted west bank site (Fenn, *Encounters*, 276–7). Resiting villages could happen due to flooding, poor access to the Missouri's supply of driftwood and float bison, exhaustion of local wood resources, depleted populations from disease, conflict within a village-band (see below), or attacks from marauding enemies.

¹⁸ In 1911, elder Hairy Coat [Minitari] also gave these names for the Numak'aki villages, but translated them as “Village on Top of the Hills” and “Second Village,” respectively. See “Origin of Hidatsa Bands,” by Maxidiwiac and Hairy Coat; Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson.

peoples into twelve bands, named for various elements of Oki'sh's successful war parties.¹⁹

These bands then dwelled each in their own village, and the hyphenated "Numak'aki-" names that Wied encountered in 1834 referenced the historical practice of identifying oneself through one's village-band.²⁰

But villages were not entirely independent entities. Oki'sh also established a council over the whole, setting various small bands into two larger council groups—the *Nakitopa* ("Four

¹⁹ "Hidatsa and Mandan Bands," given by Good-Is-His-Way [Good Road; Minitari], whose father was Long-Tail [Numak'aki], a *ka-ka*; Volume 7 (1908), MHS-Wilson. Good-Is-His-Way's account is a martial account, interpreting each band name in relation to Oki'sh's military expeditions. Such an account certainly suggests that military needs may have originally inspired the creation of the village-bands and their cooperative council, and might point to a correspondence between the leadership period of Oki'sh and the intensive fortification of Heart River villages in the 1400s. This fortification period accompanied the formation of what archaeologist Mark Mitchell has termed the Heart River confederacy, or an inter-village economic system that would have also required an inter-village political system (Mitchell, *Crafting History*, Chapter 8). The same period also saw the arrival of various Minitari village-bands on the Upper Missouri River, which would account for their inclusion in Good-Is-His-Way's list (Fenn, *Encounters*, 21–2). Good-Is-His-Way gave nearly all the village-band names in Hidatsa, though at the time (1908), all of these bands had both Numak'aki and Minitari members.

Oki'sh's name referred to the plume (*oki*) of sweet grass that young warriors earned for their hair after successfully spying their enemy on their first war party, suggesting that Oki'sh was quite young when he became a *numakshí*. For the meaning of the *oki*, see "Story of the Burnt Arrow," told by Tseca Matseitsi [Wolf Chief; Minitari]; Volume 7 (1908), MHS-Wilson.

²⁰ By Wied's visit, this village-band system had in part given way to a matrilineal clan system, and the hyphenated identities Wied recorded in 1834 matched only a few of the village-band names given in Good-Is-His-Way's tale of Oki'sh; see Wied, *Tägebuch* 3:77 [JAM, 143]. Yet references to the importance of village-band identities continued through the early twentieth century. In February 1805, a Numak'aki elder requested from his death bed that he be placed on a hill facing "towards his old Village" down the River so that he might join his brother there [Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, vol. 3 (August 25, 1804–April 6, 1805) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987) 298]. Tseca Matseitsi stated that each of the *Awatíkihu* villages maintained their own band [Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson]. And when Gilbert Wilson interviewed Maxidiwiac in 1913, she identified her "tribe" (Tsakákasaki's translation) as Amatihá, her father's as Amahámi, and her husband's and grandfather's as Hidatsa [Volume 13 (1913), MHS-Wilson]. These labels named the villages of their birth; they also matched three of the village-bands given in Good-Is-His-Way's account of Oki'sh (see fn19).

In other words, village identities were historically, at the earliest point of a Numak'aki and Minitari confederacy, the most important element of organization. These villages aligned with specific remnant groups and their dialects (see below); they also marked one's ties to one's kin, who remained buried beneath the earthlodges of the village of one's birth (see Potter, *Sheheke*, 61–2; more below). Matrilineal clan systems, first contained within the village, later developed across villages as historical events or cultural practices relocated residents. Both clan and village-band systems of identification remained (even if difficult to distinguish) through Maxidiwiac's generation, which was the last born in multiple Numak'aki and Minitari villages. With later generations born in the single village of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (the Hidatsa name, meaning "Like-A-Fishhook"), the need to identify via village disappeared, potentially leading twentieth-century anthropologist Alfred W. Bowers to believe the clan system had been the only system (he termed the historical accounts of band and clan origins via village mythological; see *History*, 200).

Bands”) and the *Nakidáwi* (“Three Bands”)—while he left the five remaining bands alone, out of fear that their large numbers would lead to quarrels. Representatives from the *Nakitopa* and *Nakidáwi*, along with leaders of the remaining five village-bands, then conferred in council for political and military decisions. Village police societies called the Black Mouths enforced council policy.²¹

What, then, was Numak'aki? The literal translation of the term is “man above.” *Aki* (“above”) is a positional term; it marks a relationship between things. Numak'aki peoples lived above their historical relations, who had been trapped beneath the earth when the vine that the people were climbing snapped under the weight of an ascending woman, heavy with child.²² This above-ness was symbolized by village architecture, whose dome-shaped *má'ak óti* roofs were built to support the weight of residents who climbed above to keep watch, court their sweethearts, view ritual and community performances, fast, and pray. **[Figure 3-3.]** Villagers also lived above their dead, who were buried beneath village streets and earthlodges. The dead’s spirit or ghost selves were believed to live below each village. In Numak'aki histories, the “below” could refer to a village’s mirrored underworld version, below (meaning

²¹ This council is discussed in “Hidatsa Bands,” told by Tseca Matseitsi, Volume 7 (1908), MHS-Wilson. Bowers (*History*, 148) also discusses this council, though he mistakenly believed it to be distinctly Minitari: it “was a policy making body; they determined when war parties could leave the villages; bargained with white traders in setting prices of goods; reconciled differences between groups of individuals or between rival war leaders. Each village in turn had a Black Mouth or police society to enforce the decisions of the council, the leader of the police society being the announcer for the council in his village.” Black Mouths were present in both Numak'aki and Minitari villages by Wied’s time. Today Fort Berthold residents still identify themselves via these council groupings, as well as by clan; see Tressa Berman, *Circle of Goods: Women, Work, and Welfare in a Reservation Community* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003) 33–4.

²² There are multiple variants of the origin story recorded, and this version is specific to those Numak'aki village-bands connected with Missouri or Mississippi River origin points. Several versions appear in Beckwith, *Myths and Hunting Stories*, 1–17. Another appears, summarized, in Fenn, *Encounters*, 4–6, and two versions of the emergence from under the earth are given in Potter, *Sheheke*, 41–2. Numerous versions are also given by Wilson’s informants. That of Packs Wolf [Minitari with a Numak'aki *ka-ka* father, Iron Eye] attributes the emergence on a vine at the mouth of the Mississippi to the *Núitadi* village-band; see “Genesis of the Hidatsas,” Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson.

south of) the Heart and Knife River villages, or (with the former possibilities combined) downstream and underground at the mouth of either the Missouri or Mississippi rivers.²³

But *aki* also referred to the political structure and social philosophy of the Numak'aki as a remnant people group whose various identity structures worked to incorporate smaller, independent culture groups that joined over time.²⁴ The histories of both Numak'aki and Minitari peoples tell of multiple meetings between groups of people, often recognized by a mutual or intelligible language but distinct via dialect or cultural practices.²⁵ Villages retained

²³ One has to read across traces to place burial practices in a larger context. Numak'aki Heart River villages show interment in the ground beneath each village, with a body's feet usually pointed south or southeast—the direction from which Numak'aki peoples had originally traveled via river from their emergence point at the mouth of the Mississippi (see Potter, Sheheke, 61–2). One's home village potentially served as a point of access to the original Numak'aki underworld home, and to one's kin who already dwelled there; see the Lewis and Clark elder quotation in fn18, above. Minitari believed in “the ghosts' village...a big town of earth lodges, where the dead lived very much as they had lived on earth,” also down the Missouri/Mississippi waterway system (Tsakákasaki, Goodbird, 35). Tsakákasaki's grandfather Itsidišídi-itákaš [Old Yellow Elk; Minitari] had come back from the ghosts' village during The Smallpox Year, traveling under the Missouri (Goodbird, 35–6). Chardon's note on two bodies sent downstream on a raft in The Smallpox Year may have acted on this notion of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers as “highways” to the underworld, even as the devastation of the epidemic made elaborate burial rituals impossible (1 Sept 1834, cited in Fenn, Encounters, 321).

By 1833, both Numak'aki and Minitari peoples placed their dead on scaffolds, facing east, until their flesh decomposed; the skulls were then placed in mourning circles on the prairie. For Numak'aki, who had left their buried kin at the Heart River villages and were, with the Minitari, increasingly visited by epidemics and enemy raids, such a change in practice would have kept the dead with them and transportable, should a mass migration again be required. For the preparation of the body, see Tsakákasaki's account of the details given by Many Woman [Minitari], which match those observed by Wied [Volume 16 (1914), MHS-Wilson, and Wied, Tägebuch 3:113; JAM vol. 3, 206–7].

²⁴ Lewis and Clark noted the same evidence of remnant peoples among the Sahnish: “The Ricaras Are about 500 men...and the remains of ten different tribes of Panias [Chahiksichahiks (Pawnees)] reduced by the Small Pox & wares [wars] with the Sioux.... Their language is So corrupted that many lodges of the Same village with dificulty under Stand all that each other Say—” [William Clark (12 Oct 1804) in Moulton, ed., Journals, vol. 3, 161]. Contemporary Sahnish elders talk of both “bands” and “clans” as social structures, and the majority of Sahnish peoples today claim membership within the Left Behind band; see Berman, Circle of Goods, 34.

Remnant people patterns may have been widespread. The French planter Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz (1774) tells of visiting the Natchez in the Lower Mississippi River valley, who related that “they there found several nations, or rather the remains of several nations” when they had moved to the region, many of whom identified as the “Red People”; cited in Shoemaker, A Strange Likeness, 132.

²⁵ See especially “Origin of the Mandans and of the Okipa Ceremonies,” told by Tseca Matseítsi; “Genesis of the Hidatsas,” by Butterfly and Packs Wolf; and “Story of Good-furred Robe and Corn Ceremonies of the Goose Society,” by Wounded Face [Numak'aki]. The Numak'aki and Minitari understood each other via sign at their first meeting. Numak'aki and Minitari peoples potentially held language as the marker of people groups throughout their histories; informants told Wilson that they did not understand the battles waged during WWI, as they were against one's own language group (albeit a misunderstanding of many European nation-state language

their own ceremonies, stories, and societies, but regularly attended each other's festivities.²⁶ In the nineteenth century, winter counts recorded a shared overall history dotted with village-band or clan specifics.²⁷ In this sense, the *aki* of Numak'aki marks a group identity that operates above its individual village-level constituents, binding them together in survivance structures.²⁸ *Numakshí* like Sukshí and the *Awatíkihu* council relied on these structures to move into new geographical spaces or political formations while continuing language, culture, and social institutions, even as entire village-bands disappeared or populations collapsed from disease or warfare.²⁹

differences): enemies spoke languages that one did not understand. A similar definition of people groups according to language also appears in the Rosebud Lakota winter count for 1763–4 and 1764–5, marked as the “They who talk alike fought each other winter” (Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 91). This recognition of polities through language potentially adds a political dimension to the multilingualism of Heart River Confederacy and *Awatíkihu* residents.

²⁶ For an example of village-specific ceremonial variance, see Bowers' descriptions of the Numak'aki Red Stick versus Snow Owl ceremonies, which belonged to *Mít uta hako'sh* and *Nuptadi*, respectively; Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, Chapter 14. For cross-village attendance at dances in the early 1830s, see Interlude 1 fn27.

²⁷ While the Foolish Woman and Butterfly winter counts have always been labeled Numak'aki winter counts, they more heavily relate events and individuals connected to Minitari peoples. Many of these individuals can be matched to the Informants list in **Appendix B**, and a number of their events correspond to the biographies of Tsakákasaki (*Goodbird the Indian*) and Maxidiwiac (*Waheenee*). The counts are thus better labeled *Awatíkihu* counts, begun in the Five Villages before The Smallpox Year of 1837 and continued through the founding and habitation of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. In both village formations, Minitari peoples outnumbered those of the Numak'aki, which would account for the disparity between tribal affiliations in the events given. Specific events that differ between the two counts seem to point to the village-band or clan experiences of each keeper, clearly retained (at least at first) in the new village structure. No specifically Sahnish people or events are recorded in the winter counts, despite their arrival at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* in 1862, also suggesting that the structures of the *Awatíkihu* remained intact and distinct for generations after The Smallpox Year.

²⁸ “Survivance” is a concept from Native Studies and literature scholar Gerald Vizenor. I here use the term to frame the social and political structures of remnant peoples that created “active presence” and histories of continuation, rather than stories of “dominance, tragedy and victimry.” See Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), esp. p.vii.

This philosophy and structure is also seen with the Nú'eta term for “Indian”: *akinumak'aki*, or “above the Numak'aki.” Like *Numak'aki*, the term names what was important about the category of “Indian”: a larger collective identity that sits *aki* (“above”) multiple groups, each of which retain their own culture, physical space, language, ceremony, and identity. Importantly, the term references a pre-contact Native political and social structure.

²⁹ See, for instance, the story of the establishment of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*, where various levels of governance—the *Awatíkihu* council, the *Benók Óhate*, and the *numakshí* chosen by the council—were all involved in its establishment, according to the protocols of previous remnant group structures [“Old Fort Berthold Indian Village”

To speak of this buffalo dancer, then, is to place him within a centuries-old society at a time of massive change. He likely identified with his home village of *Mít uta hako'sh*, and he would participate in the *Núitadi* way of doing things in the village. How did he pronounce the village name? This is unknown. If he was on the upper end of the age cohort in the *Benók Óhate* (“Buffalo Bull Society”), his early childhood had likely been spent in a Heart River village, learning its corresponding dialect, ceremonies, histories, and stories.³⁰ He was possibly a

by Tseca Matseitsi and Butterfly, Volume 10 (1911), and “The Lodge at Old Ft. Berthold described by Hairy Coat,” Volume 11 (1912), both MHS-Wilson; see also **Appendix E**]. Both Minitari and Numak'aki residents were present at its establishment; see the early resident lists given by the Tseca Matseitsi and Butterfly account, as well as “Mandans Who Came to Old Fort Berthold” by Maxidiwiac, Volume 11 (1912), MHS-Wilson.

In their 1908 accounts of the village-bands and council groups, Good-Is-His-Way names *Midahahúa* and *Awahítsi* (both part of the five) as extinct, while Tseca Matseitsi gives the *Apókawika* (of the *Nakidáwi*) and the *Ijtícuka* (of the *Nakitopa*) as no longer in existence. Various historical events could cause a village-band to disappear from the overall structure. Yellow Earth, whose survivors become associated with the *Nuptadi* village-band, was destroyed by Dakota attackers around 1722; one adopted captive child named Fire was later met by Small Ankle [see “Origin of the Mandans and of the Okipa Ceremonies,” told by Tseca Matseitsi, who was recounting an 1868 conversation between *ka-ka* Small Ankle (Minitari) and Chief (Numak'aki); Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson]. *Ohu wicayapi* [“They (Lakota) burned out”] the *Miwatani* at Apple Creek in 1771 [Fenn, *Encounters*, 145; No Ears winter count for 1771, in Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Years the Stars Fell*, 95; see **Appendix C**]. Tattooed Village and its associated band disappeared prior to The Smallpox Year, with tracks leading from the village to the Missouri River [“Story of Good-furred Robe and Corn Ceremonies of the Goose Society,” told by Wounded Face, Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson]. This last was possibly a village secession: it was custom that major disagreements between bands were handled by a village removing itself and settling on one of the regional buttes (see Bowers, *History*, 139; Potter, *Sheheke*, 21, 162–3; and Fenn, *Encounters*, 117–8, 274–6). The social, cultural, and political structures of remnant peoples contained protocols for the incorporation of exterior groups, so small numbers of band members may have been absorbed into other bands according to various rites, such as marriage, kinship, adoption, and so on. Before its disappearance, for instance, Tattooed Village had taken in remnant members of *Amigaha* (also spelled *Amikáha*), a distinct dialect group of the Numak'aki (Bowers, *History*, 139; also “Story of Good-furred Robe”). One of the *Awatikihu* was known as *Awatikáti* in Hidatsa (translated by Tseca Matseitsi as “Really Village”), which “was made up of movers, remnants and accretions from the other villages who gradually gathered into one village” (“Five Villages,” by Tseca Matseitsi; Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson). And after the 1837 smallpox epidemic, Rushing War Eagle and Eagle Woman, the surviving children of Numak'aki *numakshí* Mato-Tópe, were adopted by Minitari parents; Taylor, *Catlin's O-kee-pa*, 30.

³⁰ Recorded dialect versions of the village name *Mít uta hako'sh* include *Matootonha* (Lewis and Clark), *Mih-Tutta-Hangkush* (Wied), *Mekutahanke*, *Mitutaanka*, and *Mi-ti-was-kos* (Mrs. Mattie Nagel Grinnell [Numak'aki] in 1974, as recorded by Colin F. Taylor). Because non-Native visitors, even through the twentieth century, did not seek word-by-word specifics on the languages and dialects that they were recording—and usually lacked the knowledge that their informants spoke both Nú'eta and Hidatsa, as well as distinct dialects of each—it is impossible to know if their recorded variations were misunderstandings of the original term, products of bad spelling, or the result of the multilingual environment of the *Awatikihu*.

I tend toward the latter explanation because of the high number of closely related terminology variants, even with systematic orthographies. For instance, Hollow (1970) records the phrase “he exchanges/buys/sells it” (below) as having four different forms: *mímakano'sh*, *minakano'sh*, *míkano'sh*, and *numíkanko'sh* (see the entry for

survivor of the 1781 smallpox epidemic, in which he would have lost many kin. He would have given his identity to any visitor in a hyphenated form, but the corresponding village-band or clan term that he would have used is unknown. He had many battle honors, and had possibly served as war *numakshí* multiple times, in summer or winter villages. As part of the *Benók Óhate*, he and his fellow society members had likely been called on by the *Awatíkihu* council to confer when various decisions had to be made. And now, in April, they had certain ritual ceremonies to perform to ensure plentiful buffalo herds through the summer months—ceremonies whose distinct elements continued to reflect *Núitadi* historical practices, even as they possibly combined various village-band, clan, or cross-*Awatíkihu* elements.

Míkano'sh.

He sells / buys / trades / exchanges.

In the *Awatíkihu*, the *Benók Óhate* was one of the highest age-graded societies that a man could gain.³¹ When a ten- to twelve-year-old boy, the buffalo dancer and his family had spent months preparing for the purchase of society rights into the lowest-level boys' *Óhate*.³²

í-kan, p.102). There are many other examples throughout Hollow's dictionary, which he reads as likely traces of previous dialects.

³¹ Wied does not mention the ages of the *Óhate's* members [Wied, JAM vol. 3, 166]. Hairy Coat told anthropologist Robert Lowie that the *Óhate's* members did not exceed thirty years old, while Poor Wolf said that members were both old and young [Robert H. Lowie, "Societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians," in Clark Wissler, ed., *Societies of the Plains Indians*, vol. 11, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1916) 291]. In contrast, Tseca Matseítsi told Gilbert Wilson that the members were about sixty ["Men's Age Societies," Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson]. The given age differentials in accounts may reflect adaptation strategies of the *Benók Óhate* when facing the dearth of elders after The Smallpox Year.

³² For accounts of society transfers in the 1830s that have informed my description, see Tseca Matseítsi's account of his joining the *Mi'maúpaki* ("Stone Hammer Society") of Minitari boys in "Men's Age Societies," and Wied's journal entry for the third of December, 1833, when he attended the "high point" of the forty-day transfer process of what he called the Numak'aki *Kau'a Karakáchka* (more likely *Kinákxa Hanak Óhate* or "Warrior Society," known among the Minitari as the Black Mouths) in the winter village of *Mít uta hako'sh* [3:44–6; JAM vol. 3, 89–93]. For additional generalized descriptions of society transfer processes, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 102–9, and Lowie,

These preparations had been undertaken with an age cohort of about forty boys. The *Óhate* purchase process could take a month or more, during which time large payments of goods were made by the cohort's families to the current *Óhate* owners. In exchange, the properties of the society—its songs, dances, ceremonies, stories and histories, *hó'pini* bundles, garments, and sacred objects—were transferred to the cohort through a variety of rites, trainings, and public performances. The buffalo dancer and his cohort had potentially gone through this process seven times to reach the rights of the *Benók Óhate*, although the numbers of active *Óhate* and their orders of rank could vary over time.³³ *Óhate* prepared both civil and war leaders, and trained *Awatikihu* youth in the basic cultural practices of song, oral history, dance, counting coup, ceremonial procedure, and the like. *Óhate* also took on various village responsibilities.³⁴

While scholarly precedent describes the transfer of *Óhate* rights as one of purchasing and selling through goods, *mikano'sh*, with its root verb of *í-kan*, is more accurately understood within a circle or network of goods along which all movements constitute the same action.³⁵ Nú'eta does not have separate verbs for what western economics would divide into distinct behaviors of buying, selling, or bartering; one term covers all goods in motion.

This distinction is important, because *í-kan* then defines a practice that does not place the seller or the buyer in separate realms of activity or distinct social classes. Likewise, *í-kan*

"Societies," 264, 275, 291–2, 301. For a description of the transfer of an individual bundle and its rights, see Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, 228–31.

³³ See the comparison chart by Lowie, which compares Wied's descriptions with Lowie's interview information ("Societies," 295). Maxidiwiac told Wilson that there had been as many as thirty to forty societies in previous periods of time; "Story of the Grandson," Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson.

³⁴ The *Benók Óhate* participated in the *Awatikihu* council. This role was articulated by Hairy Coat, who, as a junior member of the society at age seven or eight, was present with the *Benók Óhate* at the council meetings that decided where and how to build *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*; see fn29, above, and **Appendix E**. For a description of the social duties of the Black Mouths, see Maxidiwiac, *Waheenee*, 51–3.

³⁵ Economic interpretations of *mikano'sh* are particularly strong in Fenn, *Encounters*, where she links these cultural practices to the economic dominance exerted by the Heart River Confederacy and the later *Awatikihu*.

objects could carry overlapping meanings, rather than singular categorical distinctions. The ceremonially exchanged goods in *Óhate* transfers, for instance, carried both spiritual and market values, easily moving between the two, and the easy distinction one might make between “market” and “ceremonial” objects.³⁶

Í-kan played a major role in the *Awatíkihu*. Numak'aki and Minitari villages had served as trading centers since the formation of the Heart River Confederacy in the late 1400s, when specialized craft production emerged.³⁷ Such specialization intensifies relationships between people groups and community structures, requiring systems of mediation, and an inter-village polity arose in this period to determine the shared standards of *í-kan* processes, while possibly also providing military, social, or political partnerships. This polity continued with the Numak'aki and Minitari re-formation as the *Awatíkihu* on the Knife River, a trading power in the Native networks of the western continent (see **Illustration 3-2**).

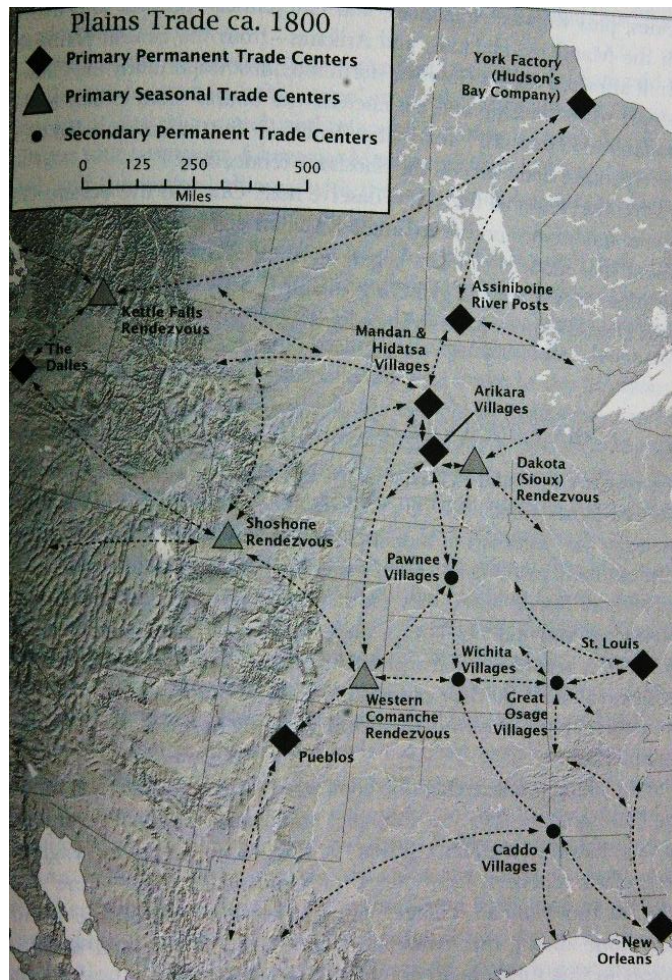
These networks shaped much of the material culture recorded during Wied's visit. The Chinookan sheep horn bowls that were common in the *Awatíkihu* by Lewis and Clark's visit in 1804 had arrived on the Knife River from the Dalles trading center at the eastern foot of the

³⁶ Maxidiwiac, *Waheenee*, 122, 125. Another example comes from the eagle feathers received in the Sacred Child adoption ceremony, which had simultaneous *í-kan* values; “Descriptions of the Sacred Child's Robe.” From the perspective of the life of the object (after Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things*), such overlapping object categorizations trouble the notion that an object's motion neatly falls within a singular narrative or category at any given time.

³⁷ I take the label of the Heart River Confederacy from Mark Mitchell, who defines confederacies as “regional political institutions that integrated clustered communities” (*Crafting History*, p.193). For a summary of Mitchell's craft specialization findings, see *Crafting History*, p.178–90. Mitchell's work critically points to a “multiscalar, multilateral trade network” (p.206) that counters the long-held belief that Missouri River earthlodge villages operated independently. If these sites had operated as independent villages, one would expect unique cultural developments to appear per village in the archaeological record, instead of their “material homogeneity” (p.168–70).

Cascade Mountains—a distance of more than 1,200 miles.³⁸ The hides, feathers, and paints used by the buffalo dancer may have been obtained via these *i-kan* networks, while other elements of his ceremonial dress, such as the stone-carved lance point, may have reflected the much earlier trade specialties of the Heart River Confederacy.

Illustration 3-2. Trading centers of the Great Plains and Mountain West, ca.1800. Source: Fenn, Encounters, 235, based on the work of John C. Ewers.



The dealings of the *i-kan* networks were mediated through complex social negotiations.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Missouri River peoples commonly used the calumet,

³⁸ I am indebted to Bridget K. Johnson for the identification of these bowls, technically known as Columbia River Style mountain sheep horn bowls. See Johnson, "The Cuthlasco of the Long Narrows: An Historical, Stylistic, and Functional Analysis of Mountain Sheep Horn Bowls and Ladles" (MA Thesis, University of Washington, 2014).

a ceremonially powerful smoking pipe, as a means to create adoptive kin relations.³⁹ [Figure 3-4.] Some calumet ceremonies involved few officials or family members and occurred within villages; others involved complicated layers of *i-kan* movements between entire villages over multiple days. As archaeologist Donald Blakeslee describes these more complex negotiations:

Exchange events typically began with advance messengers giving notice to a host community that a group planned a trading visit. Following a period of preparation on both sides, the host community extended an invitation to enter the village and feasts were held, along with a council to fix prices. After several days the calumet ceremony itself was held, cementing a fictive kinship relationship between leading men of each group, and by extensions their followers, both men and women. The event concluded with social dances, dancing for gifts, and gambling. Goods changed hands at each step of this complex process.⁴⁰

The involved parties could thereafter invoke such relations and their kinship obligations to create alliances, smooth negotiations, or receive hospitality and aid.

Even in spaces of negotiation to set the rules by which *i-kan* occurs, objects constantly moved along the *i-kan* networks. So too did their immaterial counterparts: goodwill, stories and dances, rights and obligations. Ceremonies themselves seem to have been viable *i-kan* objects.⁴¹ One day the buffalo dancer would *míkano'sh* his rights and receive a pile of goods in

³⁹ For the calumet's history, see Donald Blakeslee, "The Calumet Ceremony and the Origin of Fur Trade Rituals," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1977) 759–68. For the role of the calumet in creating the *pays d'en haut*, see White, *The Middle Ground*, Chapter 1. And for a brief summary of its appearance in Numak'aki and Minitari histories, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 36–9.

⁴⁰ From Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Plains Interband Trade System: An Ethnohistoric and Archaeological Investigation" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1975), cited in Mitchell, *Crafting History*, 89. For comparison between this description of a trade negotiation versus a political one that goes badly, see the detailed account of the 1806 treaty negotiation between Minitari and Tse-tsehese-staestse [Cheyenne] peoples in Alexander Henry the Younger's journals [Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, vol. 1 (New York: F.P. Harper, 1897) 367–96].

⁴¹ Wied recorded that the Dog Societies of Nuptadi and the Minitari villages had bought the *Madáda'sh Óhate* from its Sahnish keepers shortly before Wied's visit; see Wied *Tagebüch* 3:91 (JAM vol. 3, 168). Wied translates the term as "Hot Dance" and describes a very particular ceremony of Dog Society members, but the Numak'aki phrase actually translates as a Society (*Óhate*) name, rather than the name of a particular dance. *Madáda'sh* may have

exchange. He would then become a Stink Ear, his *Óhate* service completed.⁴² He would continue to receive invitations to various *Óhate* events and ceremonies, but his days as a warrior were over.

Kináksa hanak.
To be a warrior.

To be a member of the *Benók Óhate*, one had “to be a warrior”—*kináksa hanak*. And *kináksa hanak*, one had “to make war” and “be brave,” the two verbs that make up the phrase. *Kináksa hanak*, then, was a status marked by both action and character.

It is thought that the construction of wooden defensive palisades around Heart River Confederacy villages in the early 1200s marked the introduction of warfare to the region, a response to new migratory groups who fiercely competed with earthlodge peoples for area resources.⁴³ In the 1500s, non-Native settler populations began to force Native groups westward as colonizers settled lands and evicted Native tenants along the eastern seaboard.⁴⁴ By the early eighteenth century, the arrival of the horse from the Spanish southwest brought additional networks, peoples, and patterns of war to the Missouri River region.⁴⁵

been a form of “hot coal” [*mató ta néh*, literally “bear possesses hot”; Hollow (1970) 285]. The phrase may describe the ceremony, in which members dance among a fire’s coals and reach in to grab cooking meat.

⁴² Tseca Matseísi, “Men’s Age Societies.” Tseca Matseísi believed this transition happened around 70 years old.

⁴³ This explanation comes from the work of archaeologist W. Raymond Wood. See Mitchell, *Crafting History*, Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ These patterns are too vast to detail here. For an account of refugee and war patterns in the *pays d’en haut*, see White, *Middle Ground*, Chapter 1. For a broad overview of people movements in the western half of the continent, see Colin G. Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003). And for a summary of the migrations affecting Upper Missouri peoples before the nineteenth century, albeit through some speculation and debatable sources, see Fenn, *Encounters*, Chapters 1 and 2.

⁴⁵ See John C. Ewers, “The Indian Trade of the Upper Missouri before Lewis and Clark” (1954), reprinted in *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (1968; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) 14–33, and Fenn’s specifically Numak’aki update in *Encounters*, Chapter 6.

At the time of Wied's visit, earthlodge village peoples were most often at war with Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota groups that Numak'aki peoples knew as *ha numák* ["people of the grass (*ha*)"], named for their nomadic lifestyle across the Great Plains. Lakota winter counts began to mark conflicts with Upper Missouri earthlodge peoples in the 1770s, and the animosities lasted for more than a century.⁴⁶ At various points during his winter stay, Wied noted that villagers sought the safety of their palisades in response to enemy sightings in the area.⁴⁷

As shown in a decoded set of warrior coup marks by Red White Buffalo [Numak'aki], *Awatíkihu* warriors denoted *ha numák* peoples with a single long ponytail or braid. **[Figure 3-5.]** A tribe- or band-specific formulaic scheme of representation governed the visuality of Plains warrior culture, and *Awatíkihu* material culture across the nineteenth century shares this system of signs. The *ha numák* ponytail drawn by Red White Buffalo in 1884, for instance, had appeared fifty years earlier on the coup tally robe of *Elá-Sá* chief Lachpitzí-Síhrisch [Minitari], collected by Wied in 1834.⁴⁸ **[Figure 3-6.]** And the vertical bars that Red White Buffalo drew to

⁴⁶ See **Appendix C**. For Sahnish accounts of continued Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota attacks through the 1870s, see Alfred Morsette's various accounts in Douglas R. Parks, ed., Traditional Narratives of the Arikara Indians, vols. 1 and 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991). These historical animosities led many earthlodge warriors to serve as U.S. military scouts in the campaigns against Lakota, Dakota, Nakota, and Tse-tsehese-staestse [Cheyenne] peoples in the 1870s; see **Chapter Six**.

⁴⁷ On the 8th of February, a party of hunters returned to the *Awatíkihu* and Fort Clark after 300 *ha numák* were reportedly in the area, and the next day one winter village began to move back to *Mít uta hako'sh*, feeling "too scattered in the proximity of their enemies" [*Tagebüch* 3:146; JAM vol. 3, 252–3]. Horses were stolen from the *Awatíkihu* on December 31st and February 2nd.

Toussaint Charbonneau and James Kipp narrated a series of encounters between *Awatíkihu*, Sahnish [Arikara], and *ha numák* warriors that Wied relates in detail in his narrative of the American Fur Company on the Missouri River [JAM vol. 3, 121–4]. The roughly sketched dates and Kipp's assertion that there had been no population changes in the *Awatíkihu* during his eleven years of residence do not match the tallies given in Lakota winter counts for the same period, although some of the events may correspond (see **Appendix C**; see also Fenn's account of a 1797 battle in Encounters, 195–7). More work is needed to thoroughly evaluate these correspondences.

⁴⁸ Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:41 (28 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 84. The extraordinarily large number of captured horses on Lachpitzí-Síhrisch's robe reflects *Awatíkihu* practice whereby leaders of war parties counted all successes under

mark his leadership of a successful war party (**FIG.XXIII** of **Figure 3-5**) have their barely visible counterparts on the right thigh of the buffalo dancer (see **Figure I-1**). The origins of this shared warrior visuality across the Plains are difficult to pinpoint, but *Awatíkihu* histories recorded in the early twentieth century still identified their leaders from previous centuries through common nineteenth-century warrior referents, even as various words, weapons, or songs had slipped into the memories of the “old language.”⁴⁹

Such adherence to a widely read system provided instantaneous recognition on the battlefield, as well as a shared visual language for communal retellings. During Wied’s visit, Numak’aki warriors discovered that three Hohe Nakota [Assiniboin] warriors had lain in ambush behind a lodge in *Mít uta hako’sh*; they had recognized their enemies from a knee garter left behind, and counted three from their positions on the ground.⁵⁰ Such sharp and instantaneous identifications of the numbers of friend or foe, in chance meetings or organized battles, were necessary skills in life-and-death encounters. In addition to coded clothing and hair styles, body paint, weapons, and horse adornment, a warrior’s tally robe like that of Lachpitzí-Síhrisch or a warrior shirt like that of Mato-Tópe (see **Figure 2-5**) would have provided visual depictions of their owners’ strength, battle *hó’pini*, bravery, and age, potentially intimidating an enemy or preventing an attack.

their leadership, in addition to their own personal coup. See Arni Brownstone, “European Influence in the Mandan-Hidatsa Graphic Works Collected by Prince Maximilian of Wied,” *American Indian Art Magazine* (Summer 2014) 61–2.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, “Hidatsa and Mandan Bands” told by Good Road. For prehistoric rock art’s connections with warrior depictions, see the work of James D. Keyser, and the exhibition catalog for *Indian Art of the Northern Plains* (9 Apr through 12 May 1974), The Art Galleries, UC Santa Barbara. See also Pauketat, *Cahokia*, for connections between rock art figures and their warrior elements, and a range of later Missouri and Mississippi River peoples.

⁵⁰ *Tagebüch* 3:143 (1 Feb 1834); JAM vol. 3, 248.

Within any given Plains community, the shared language of warrior tallies and battle accounts also allowed for strict accountability and identification within the community's "standardized degrees of honor."⁵¹ The recounting of war honors, always given by the owner of such honors in public dances, private lodge re-tellings, and *Óhate* ceremonies, was an "elaborate boasting," "carefully rehearsed,... an expression of studied dramatic effect."⁵² One's verbal telling had to match the visual records of such events, and both had to match the accounts of one's compatriots who had gone on the same ventures. The public nature of these tellings and records, as seen in the buffalo dance that Wied witnessed, kept a warrior honest regarding his deeds. Many of this buffalo dancer's public tellings can be read from his portrait. The horizontal coup bars each represented a war party that he had led. The wolf tails trailing at the heels marked his first and second kills at the head of a successful war party, made before his compatriots reached the site.⁵³ Each dancer carried the weapons by which they had struck down their enemies in battle, although the leader pictured here is likely holding the *Óhate's* ceremonial coup lance.⁵⁴ The numerous dyed strands at the sitter's ankles, knees, and elbows marked some of his successful horse raids, or stood in for scalps taken.⁵⁵

A warrior's battle successes were closely tied to his *hó'pini*. Translations of the term tend toward possessions like "power" or "medicine," but the Nú'eta word is actually a verb—

⁵¹ Marian W. Smith, "The War Complex of the Plains Indians," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 78:3 (31 Jan 1938) 429.

⁵² Smith, "The War Complex," 434, 451.

⁵³ Wied, JAM vol. 3, 201. Some members recorded in Bodmer's sketch of the 9th record only a single wolf tail, representing their single kill accomplished as first on the scene; see **Figure 2-6**.

⁵⁴ Those warriors holding guns fired them off upon entering the dance arena; see the dance description in **Chapter Two**. The Hidatsa term for this lance is *méita ícu i'tíe*, or "arrow-feather-long" (Lowie, "Societies," 292).

⁵⁵ In 1910, Lowie's Minitari informants described these strands as dyed horsetails, but it is unclear if this would have held true for the material culture of the dance in the 1830s (Lowie, "Societies," 292). It was common, as scalping became rarer, to substitute horse hair for human locks on Plains warrior culture objects like war shirts, shields, and weapons.

“to be holy”—that expresses a state of being, as well as the work associated with that state.⁵⁶ A pipe, for instance, could *hó'pini'sh* (“inhabit holy”) in and of itself; such a pipe could also depart a to-be-holy-ness to those who possessed or accepted the rights and rites associated with the *hó'pini* object, provided that one kept it (becoming the object’s *ka-ka*, or keeper) in the correct manner.⁵⁷ Every warrior of the *Benók Óhate* inhabited holy, having “sought his god” as a teen, and his *hó'pini'sh* state was prominently and uniquely displayed on each warrior’s war shield (see **Figure 2-6**).⁵⁸ In Mandan Buffalo Dancer, a number of *Níshkana ínoke* (“medicine bags” or bags that held the leader’s *hó'pini* bundles) are tied to the top third of the man’s shield. The centered outline of a gunstock club denotes battle strength, while three pierced pieces of blue-dyed hide (with a fourth suggested but hidden at the far left) mimic the blue-painted nose of the buffalo headdress, their strung dyed horsetail hair potentially making visible the buffalo’s life breath and strength.

This dancer was an “officer” of the *Benók Óhate*.⁵⁹ Chosen by their compatriots as the bravest of the *Óhate*’s warriors, such officers wore the full buffalo headdress. In turn, these two

⁵⁶ Hollow (1970) 320. Wied’s translation of the concept with the American English term “medicine” first appears on the 31st of May, 1833, with a definition of “superstitious protective or sacrificial devices” appearing on the 18th of June (2:102 and 128; JAM vol. 2, 157 and 200); he uses the English term thereafter. For Elizabeth Fenn’s understanding of *hó'pini* as a kind of stored and spent power, see Encounters, 105–6.

⁵⁷ It is clear from elder accounts that objects could both be owned, extending *hó'pini* on a continuous basis to and through its owner, and extended on a case-by-case ritual basis. An example of the latter, common in the *Awatíkihu*, was the bringing of a pipe to a lodge, whereby the resident would accept the ritual or communal leadership offer by agreeing to smoke with the bringer(s).

⁵⁸ Tsakákasaki explains the Minitari process of “finding one’s god” and the relationship between dreams, visions, one’s protective spirit, humility, and power in Goodbird the Indian, 23–7. For the social standards of employing one’s *hó'pini* for the good of the community, see the account of the founding of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* in **Appendix E**.

Numak’aki shields had hardened hide cores around which painted hide covers were stretched and tied; see an example hanging on the right-front post in Ni’puh’s lodge (**Figure 2-8**). This construction may have allowed varied ceremonial and warrior use, with different private and public designs.

⁵⁹ I have not located the Nú’eta term for this position, so it is difficult to know what “officer” means in the local context. My description here comes from Lowie, “Societies,” 315, who in turn based his on Wied’s. I have noted Minitari variants from Lowie’s 1910 informants in the following footnotes.

took a vow to stand in the face of any and all dangers. During the buffalo dance, a ceremonially dressed woman offered the officers a special bowl filled with water.⁶⁰ This gifting potentially enacted the obligation relationship taken on by these men, whose vow would protect the villagers or injured warriors who could not defend themselves.⁶¹

Nuhíto'sh. Ikáhito'sh. Ímate neko'sh.
She tans a hide. She softens a hide. She sews it.

Women's creative acts—processing hides, sewing, quilling, beading, painting—were integral to any *Óhate's* material goods. Women had prepared the buffalo, deer, or antelope hides utilized for the dancer's shield cover, moccasins, tail, and *Níshkana ínoke*. Women had also quilled the designs on the moccasins, potentially integrating grass roots or bird quills in addition to those taken from a porcupine.⁶² Various handiwork elements, such as the wrapped quills, dyed horse tails and clipped feathers, and attached furs, may have all been produced by women.

In general, women of the *Awatíkihu* were responsible for turning the community's raw materials—its hunted animals, skins, wood, seeds, fields, and foodstuffs—into finished products. **[Figure 3-7.]** Such processes were often long and labor-intensive, punctuated by

⁶⁰ In the Minitari version, food was also placed with the water in the center of the village; those who had saved villagers from various dangers could come forward, narrate their acts, then partake of the water and food. Lowie, "Societies," 293.

⁶¹ On the 31st of March (with details confirmed on the 1st of April), Wied writes that a party of Minitari and Numak'aki hunters deserted a woman when pursued by a party of Hohe Nakota [Assiniboin] warriors, and she was subsequently captured (*Tagebüch* 3:161; JAM vol. 3, 278). A *Benók Óhate* officer would have been obligated to stay with the woman, and thus may have been highly valued and provided for by the women in the village.

⁶² For new research on plant fibers used in embroidery or quillwork, see Candace S. Greene, "The Use of Plant Fibers in Plains Indian Embroidery," *American Indian Art Magazine* 40:2 (Spring 2015) 58–71. Ishókikuash [Leader; Minitari] describes using bird and porcupine quills as well as the roots of prairie grass in "Grass Work, Ornaments on Leggings," Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson.

ceremonial rites, communal labors, and teaching the young.⁶³ Internally, finished goods were made within what anthropologist Tressa Berman calls “ceremonial relations of production.”⁶⁴ A woman’s work usually responded to or anticipated future ceremonial, kin, and clan obligations such as food for a *numakshi*’s guests, objects and feasts for burials, or the gathering of goods for *Óhate* purchases. Externally, a woman’s goods moved along the rules and networks of *í-kan*. The *Awatíkihu* council set the terms of *í-kan*, but in the matrilineal villages of the *Awatíkihu* where a child’s clan and inheritance line was determined through the mother, women owned and negotiated the values of all non-ceremonial property, including earthlodges, tools, garden products, and dressed hides.⁶⁵ As the *Awatíkihu* held a prominent position as a major trade center of the continental west, it was largely the villages’ women who created and managed the alliance’s goods.⁶⁶

⁶³ Some women’s activities fell into the realm of sacred crafts, whereby women owned rights and held connected ceremonial responsibilities. These included tent cutting, raising the four great posts of the earthlodge (see below), and the fish trap. See the remarks of Maxídiwiac and First Sprout [Numak’aki] in connection to Object #22, purchase list, Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson. For more on fish traps, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 102–6. And for a detailed account of the labors and cycles that shaped Minitari women’s lives in the latter half of the nineteenth century, see Maxídiwiac, *Waheenee*.

⁶⁴ Berman uses the concept to understand contemporary women’s work on the Fort Berthold reservation; see Berman, *Circle of Goods*, Chapter 2.

⁶⁵ For a demonstration on how Minitari matrilineal lineages shaped familial ties, see the introduction to Carolyn Gilman and Mary Jane Schneider, *The Way to Independence: Memories of a Hidatsa Indian Family, 1840–1920* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987).

⁶⁶ *Awatíkihu* women’s eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade is described in Fenn, *Encounters*, 229–34. Wied noted that Minitari women painted and sold beautifully decorated hides during his stay at Fort Clark (JAM vol. 3, 117). In 1738, Pierre de la Vérendrye also noted a trade in “painted buffalo robes” and dressed hides in the Heart River Confederacy; see Fenn, *Encounters*, 92. These were potentially very old *í-kan* patterns: as early as the 1200s, storage caches for agricultural surpluses appeared beneath village avenues and earthlodges, suggesting *í-kan* potential.

Mih ókahene.

Sets-in-motion woman I possess.

The *Awatikihu* hosted numerous buffalo-calling rites over the course of a year, each prescribed for a particular season.⁶⁷ The most written about of these was not the dance that Wied and Bodmer had seen at Fort Clark, but the *mih ókahene*. Often described by non-Native observers as the “wife-giving ceremony,” *mih ókahene* actually translates as an action, with – *hene* a causative element, setting its attached nouns—here, a woman (*mih*) possessed or claimed (*–ka[n]*, the same state of preconditional rights for *í-kan*) through kinship—into motion. The village-specific ceremony enacted older histories, whereby young warriors ceremonially “offered” their wife or kinswoman to the men’s elders.⁶⁸ Elders could refuse these offers, stopping their young counterpart at the lodge door, or they could exit with the proffered woman to act on the proposition of sex.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ The mimetic buffalo-calling ceremonies of the Numak’aki calendar were the *Okípe* (see **Chapter Six**) and Small Hawk ceremonies performed by men (June to August), and the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies performed by women (December to March); see Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Life*, 108. Non-Native accounts, as we will see, merged aspects of these distinct ceremonial events together, which has continued across subsequent scholarship.

⁶⁸ *Mih ókahene* in *Mít uta hako’sh* was part of the Red Stick Ceremony, while in *Nuptadi* it was part of the Snow Owl Ceremony. Ceremonial descriptions and their foundational stories come from Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, Chapters 14 and 11, respectively. Wied relates a Minitari version of the ceremony that he and Bodmer attended in November of 1833, saying that Minitari villages practiced this “medicine festival...in precisely the same way” as Numak’aki ones. See Wied’s entry for 26 November (*Tagebüch* 3:39–40; JAM vol. 3, 81–3) and his narrative summary of the ceremony (JAM vol. 3, 191). For additional non-Native descriptions of *Mih ókahene*, see Clark’s journal entry for the 5th of January, 1805, in Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 268, and Catlin’s description of a version that was given at the close of *Okípe* for the *Benók Óhate*. *Mih ókahene* was danced at the close of *Okípe* whenever the *Óhate* aided the *Okípe* Maker in preparations (George Catlin, *An Account of an Annual Religious Ceremony practiced by the Mandan Tribe of North American Indians* (London, 1865) 33–7, consulted as NEW-Ayer MS 150; with its purpose explained in Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, p.32 fn21). And for an account of the influence that *Mih ókahene* may have had on other Plains tribes, see Alice Beck Kehoe, “The Function of Ceremonial Sexual Intercourse among the Northern Plains Indians,” *Plains Anthropologist* 15 (1970) 99–103.

⁶⁹ Only married women participated in *Mih ókahene*, which was held for four consecutive nights. For an account of the shy young wife of Tseca Matseitsi unable to carry through with her role for the entire four nights, see Virginia Bergman Peters, *Women of the Earth Lodges: Tribal Life on the Plains* (1995; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000) 40–1.

Mih ókahene may have contributed to the Heart River Confederacy's high birthrates, which archaeologists and historians believe led to the trade dominance of earthlodge peoples by the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ Oral accounts attest to high populations: when the Minitari crossed the Missouri to join the Numak'aki, the crossing took three months "as there were so many people."⁷¹ Large populations meant high garden yields and product processing above and beyond sustenance levels. The stability of the Missouri River villages and their *í-kan* supplies then provided a source of constancy for their nomadic buffalo hunting visitors, who were more susceptible to the effects of poor hunting, natural calamities, epidemics, or enemy attacks.⁷²

The open sexuality of *Mih ókahene* was deeply uncomfortable for many of the ceremony's non-Native observers, who in their embarrassment often wrote in Latin when describing such practices.⁷³ But at their core, such rituals were moments of "magical mimesis," where "the copy takes power from the original."⁷⁴ In mimetic transformations, the copy becomes difficult to distinguish from its precursor; it becomes that original. In *Mih ókahene*, as in the other four buffalo-calling ceremonies of the Numak'aki villages, participants become Numak'aki buffalo, "more powerful than what [they are] an image of."⁷⁵ The twelve women of *Mih ókahene*, set in motion, effect this transformation, telling their proposed partners that "I am a heifer, a young buffalo heifer." The elders, now twelve *Benók*, respond and fulfill the act

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Bowers, "A History," 147, where he figures the male population of the Three Affiliated Tribes in the 1870s to be less than 38 percent. Ensuring high birthrates through polygamous marriages and ceremonial intercourse may have offset this sex imbalance, which had potentially been even higher in previous decades and centuries. For overall fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Numak'aki and Minitari population estimates, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 24–6 and 22, respectively.

⁷¹ Butterfly, "Genesis of the Hidatsas."

⁷² This *í-kan* pattern, termed the "aboriginal intertribal trade pattern" by John C. Ewers, was first described in Ewers' article, "Indian Trade before Lewis and Clark," 18–23.

⁷³ Latin descriptions appear in various printed editions of Lewis and Clark and Catlin, while Gilbert Wilson transcribed his notes on various ceremonial and story elements into Latin for his filed reports with the AMNH.

⁷⁴ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 59.

⁷⁵ Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, 62.

of replication—becoming replicas of buffalo, replicating their own species.⁷⁶ Such images, existing within the holistic sensorial complex far beyond the mere visual, then bounced their power back into the earthlodge’s ceremonial present, as Numak'aki heifers and bulls affected their world, calling the winter buffalo to their villages while ensuring plentiful herds and hunters into the future.⁷⁷

Manápe'sh benók onápe.
He dances the buffalo bull dance.

Mimesis-as-becoming is inscribed within Numak'aki language, cultural practice, and cosmologies. Bodmer’s portrait of who Numak'aki knew as *benók haté'sh* was not the capture of a “buffalo dancer” but of a “buffalo imitator,” a translation given to Wied by Numak'aki elder and *ka-ka* Ni'puh.⁷⁸ *Benók* itself was a variant of *benón*, or husband, spilling the infused *Mih ókahene* relationship between buffalo bulls and husbands into the everyday marriages of the *Awatíkihu*, potentially impossible to sort out and distinctly separate.⁷⁹ Such fusion between opposites is described by anthropologist Michael Taussig as “a kind of electricity, an ac/dc pattern of rapid oscillations of difference” whereby “the necessary impossibility is attained,

⁷⁶ “Walking with the Buffaloes” was the phrase that Bowers’ female informants used to describe their roles in buffalo-calling rites. “They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare.” Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Life*, 336.

⁷⁷ For descriptions of *Mih ókahene* as the transfer of *hó'pini* (understood as possessed power) between men through the conduit of Numak'aki women, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 130, and Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, 335–7. I am here focused on the location of *hó'pini* within mimetic practices.

⁷⁸ This term comes from Wied’s information on the *Okípe* from Ni'puh, who corrected and elaborated Catlin’s printed account of the ceremony in conversation with Wied and Kipp; see **Chapter Six**. I am extending the term to all ceremonial male buffalo dancers, which may or may not have reflected specific Nú'eta vocabulary of the period. Lowie records the Hidatsa term *kírup i'ké* for the members of the Minitari Buffalo Bull society (Lowie, “Societies,” 291).

⁷⁹ *Benók* is a noun formed through *benón + /-ka/*, the latter operating as an agentive suffix. */-ka/* as agentive suffix turns verbs into nouns, implying that “husband” was, at one point, understood as an achieved state of being or action—a condition potentially reached through mimesis-as-becoming.

when mimesis becomes alterity.”⁸⁰ Where Wied saw “a Mandan...wearing a buffalo head” in the rooms at Fort Clark, his Numak'aki guest stood as a vacillating entity somewhere between a man, a husband, a warrior-hunter, and a buffalo bull.

In the *benók onápe*, the leader's position was likewise one of sustained mimesis-as-becoming. His enormous buffalo headdress had been sized to a human head through slits and stitchings, especially around the snout and ears; the horns had been shaved down and re-attached with buckskin strings through drilled holes. Throughout the public performance, the leader would remain outside the circle of dancers, imitating the sounds and actions of “shy bulls, looking around in all directions, and bellowing.”⁸¹ His sewn and stuffed hide tail had been cured to curve upward, displaying a buffalo's anger.⁸² The *haté'sh* with such tails would come forward, then back, and holding their right horns in their hands, run at the assembled crowds as if to gore them. At some point in the proceedings, they would address the crowd: “You see my tail in the air because I am brave. Once the enemy were pursuing us. I got so angry that my tail rose erect, and I turned about to chase the enemy.”⁸³ Buffalo anger is highly unpredictable and deadly, and so now too were the leading warriors of *Mít uta hako'sh*.⁸⁴

Sé'sh.
Inhabits-red.

⁸⁰ Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, 191–2.

⁸¹ Wied, JAM vol. 3, 166.

⁸² Numerous members of the *Benók Óhate*, not just the leader, carried such tails, though only the leaders seem to have had such elaborately made ones, as opposed to actual dried buffalo tails; see **Figure 2-6**. See also Lowie, “Societies,” 292.

⁸³ Lowie, “Societies,” 292; the angry bull information comes from Minitari informants.

⁸⁴ A former teacher once told me that her favorite horse, left to pasture overnight in the Dakota Badlands, had been discovered in the morning to have been charged, for an unknown reason, by a buffalo: the horns had gone straight through and punctured the horse from side to side. The horse died a short time later.

Red predominates the dancer's displayed material objects. Red wool trade cloth hangs from the shield's circular edge in rectangular panels, appears in at least two bundles tied in the upper third of the shield face, and lay in the wolf tail bundles tied at the warrior's heels. Wrapped strips of red fabric mark the two ends of the quill-wrapped and feather-adorned lance, the top also adorned with red-dyed feathers and horse hair strands or scalp locks. Strands or locks also hang from the warrior's arm bracelet. Red was used to paint the shield's central gunstock war club. Attached on either side are two squares of woolen trade stroud, their salvages retained. Finally, the moccasin and tail hides have been stained red and feature additional red-dyed dangling leather strands and quills.

Awatíkihu colors came from clays gathered along the Missouri River and its surrounding buttes.⁸⁵ **[Figure 3-8.]** The clays were dried, then ground and stored in hide or cloth paint bags carried by the men in each family. **[Figures 3-9, 3-10.]** The men would apply face paint every morning, followed by their wives and children, by rubbing a little oil, fat, or water on their fingers, then gently touching the sides of the bag to pick up a light dusting of the dried clay.⁸⁶ For larger projects, a batch of color would be mixed and applied to a surface with bone paint sticks.⁸⁷ **[Figures 3-11, 3-12.]** Designs might first be dotted on a surface with pigment or

⁸⁵ White, yellow, blue, red, and black clays all came from area buttes. Numak'aki and Minitari peoples would continue to use local clays for their painting through the 1910s; see "Hidatsa Bed" by Maxidiwiac, Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson.

⁸⁶ This description was given by Maxidiwiac of the "olden times"; Notes, Volume 16 (1914), MHS-Wilson. See also Leader's [Hidatsa] description of making *Amasípisa* ("earth black") in connection to object #57 [AMNH #50.1/5402] in Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson.

⁸⁷ Maxidiwiac, "Hidatsa Bed."

impressed into leather with tiny peeled sticks.⁸⁸ A glue sizing made from boiled hide scrapings was then applied over painted areas to permanently set them.⁸⁹

Ón, the Nú'eta word for paint, marked only the substance and form of paint; the term did not reference its hue.⁹⁰ Color, in contrast, was *ónone*. *Ónone* was not in paints; it was instead a state of being, a reduplicative word whose repetition of *ón* indicated a continuous and intensive condition. Individual colors then took the form of verbs. *Sé* is best translated as “be-red”; *sé'sh* marks its object as inhabiting its color, living and breathing within it.⁹¹ To talk of a be-red calf, then, is not to simply describe its coat, but to reference its being born; a buffalo calf wore the marks of its passage through *sé* for its first three months of life. This call-to-inhabit has no English-language equivalent.⁹²

⁸⁸ Maxidiwiac used the vermilion worn on her hair part to mark hides for cutting, suggesting that this common Plains practice may have also had a practical component; unset with glue liquor, the pattern pigment would eventually rub away. See “Making a Tent,” Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson. For the impress of a hide design with a small peeled stick, see Maxidiwiac, “Hidatsa Bed.” This technique was found on all of the early nineteenth-century hides examined for this project.

⁸⁹ Leader, notes on object #57; Maxidiwiac, “Hidatsa Bed.”

⁹⁰ Hollow (1970) 129.

⁹¹ The first translation strategy comes from Mixco, Mandan; the second from Potter, Sheheke, 20.

⁹² My interpretation here implies that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Native invocations of colors carry with them cosmological referents. Consequently, speeches given by Native leaders invoking “red,” “white,” and “black” to name distinct groups of people (if the surviving translations are accurate) must be understood in relation to Native cosmologies, and not simply as referents to non-Native skin color categories. For arguments about the development of race based on the latter, see Ives Goddard, “I AM A RED-SKIN”: The Adoption of a Native American Expression (1769–1826),” European Review of Native American Studies 19:2 (2005) 1–20; Nancy Shoemaker, A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Chapter 6; and White, The Middle Ground, Chapter 10.

For another example: the Nú'eta term for African Americans, *mashí psi*, was created to describe York, the slave owned by William Clark who visited the *Awatikihu* with the Corps of Discovery. A literal translation of the word would be “inhabiting-black whiteman.” The term for whiteman (*mashí*) did not reference a color, but mystery (*ma*) and the verb “to be good” (*shí*). Hollow (1970) did not break *mashí* down in this manner; he records the prefix *ma-* as unknown in meaning. The associated words that he records, however, all reference living entities (Virginia deer, stink bug, dragonfly) or places and practices that are associated with tribal mysteries (Red Butte, singing corn songs). *Ma-* appears, then, to be parallel to the Lakota term *wa*—a term that also appears in the Lakota compound for whiteman (*wasichu*; see also the term *wakan* discussed in **Appendix A**). The connection between the terms used to name European peoples and cosmological mysteries may have been a regional practice: Jean Baptiste Truteau, hired in 1794 to lead the first upriver trip of the Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri, wrote that Indians of the Missouri River region referred to Europeans by general terms for “White

To apply color in the mornings was to mark members of the *Awatíkihu* distinct from the otherwise ever-present ghost land, mirror-villages beneath the *Awatíkihu* where the departed now dwelled.⁹³ The inhabitation of *ónone*, then, was a practice that set a daily boundary between the otherwise easily mingled present of the living and the past-futures of the departed, even as each particular *ónone*, such as *sé*, called their bearers to inhabit very specific relationships to the surrounding ontological world.

For Numak'aki peoples, *sé'sh* things inhabited sacred spaces. The red cloths on the shield had been prayed over and offered as sacrifices to the buffaloes, a practice that preceded every buffalo hunt.⁹⁴ The goggle or “power” eyes of the buffalo headdress recall much older patterns of making, appearing on both a gorget and an effigy stick found at two village sites of the Heart River Confederacy.⁹⁵ [Figures 3-13, 3-14, 3-15.] On at least one surviving buffalo dancer headdress, these eyes’ circular centers are filled with *sé'sh* trade wool, the same type of

Men or Spirits,” suggesting the two phrases were interchangeable [in A.P. Nasatir, ed. and trans., Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785–1804, vol. I (1952; Lincoln: Bison Books, 1990) 296].

In the Numak'aki context, *shí* may have referenced a given promise from their first *mashí* encounter or a creation story of how the *mashí* came to be; its use also seems to mark an expected standard of behavior, as the same phrasing appeared in the Nú'eta word for chief (*numakshí*). Tsakákasaki stated that Minitari peoples named every stranger who came among their people, “either from some singularity in his dress or appearance, or from something that he says or does” (Goodbird the Indian, 38).

⁹³ “In these days, we no longer follow this custom, and, although living, we walk about with our unpainted faces looking just like ghosts.” Maxidiwiac, notes, Volume 16 (1914), MHS-Wilson. “Ghost land” and “ghost’s village” were Tsakákasaki’s translations; see Maxidiwiac, “How the Turtle Went to War,” Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson, and Goodbird the Indian, 35, respectively.

⁹⁴ Tsakákasaki, Goodbird, 51. These prayer cloths gave way to clipped feathers in late nineteenth-century Sahnish and Minitari drawings of *Benók Óhate* leaders (see the figures of **Chapter Six**).

⁹⁵ Power eyes have a long history in Mississippian (800–1600CE) material cultures of the American southeast, the historical homeland of various Numak'aki village-bands, where such appearances on representations of supernatural culture heroes carry associations with power, histories, origins, sacred numbers, and orientations of the elements and the earth. I have made these connections by comparison to Figure 4.3 (p.129) of Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, Native North American Art, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); the Mississippian gorgets of the Eugene and Clare Thaw Collection of American Indian Art, Fenimore Art Museum; and the images of Richard F. Townsend, ed., Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). For an archaeological approach to the potential links between Numak'aki and Mississippian cultures, see Pauketat, Cahokia. These connections deserve a study in themselves, and go far beyond what this chapter is able to do.

material attached to the sitter's war shield, tied to his lance, and trailing at his heels. **[Figure 3-16.]** In at least some villages, the officers of the *Benók Óhate* were understood as "blind," their eyes masked by powerful *ónone*.⁹⁶ A buffalo bull *sé'sh* life, *sé'sh* power, and *sé'sh* vision.

Hókahako'sh.
He stands still.

To stand still as the *benók haté'sh* in Bodmer's studio was to take stock of one's place in the world. *Hako'sh* ("to inhabit a standing position") was the base term for each of the four cardinal directions, seen already in "east"—*uta hako'sh*. The terminology implies and literalizes a standing-still anchor from which each bearing is measured.

Numak Máhina ("Lone Man," sometimes "First Creator") sat in the center of every Numak'aki village: a *sé'sh* post recalling the culture hero, encased within a circular enclosure of wooden planks. **[Figure 3-17.]** Each village was built outward from this central ark and surrounding plaza. The symbol for *má'ak óti* villages and winter camps marks this center with an "X" inscribed within a circular perimeter (see **Figure 3-2**).⁹⁷ Rosettes on numerous *Awatikihu* buffalo robes mimic the design, always marking diagonals crossing through a center. **[Figure 3-18.]**

The "X" in these designs also echo the architecture of each *má'ak óti*, constructed around four central sacred posts. **[Figure 3-19.]** Minitari peoples believed that "an earth lodge

⁹⁶ Lowie's Minitari informants describe these headdresses with blue glass for eyes, and the nose and lower half of the head painted blue. These elements and their usage were attributed to a personal vision (Lowie, "Societies," 291–2). Bodmer's blue paint on the sitter's nose suggests that such elements may have been village-band specific, rather than tribally assigned, and of course may have changed over time.

⁹⁷ For this construction process, see **Appendix E**.

was alive, and that the lodge's spirit, or soul, dwelt in the four posts."⁹⁸ In turn, the front was the creature's face, the door its mouth. Raising these spirit posts was a sacred right acquired by women through *í-kan*. The rights-bearer ensured that the appropriate offerings and ceremonies were observed in their building.⁹⁹ These posts became visual signs of earthlodges, even as their placement at the corners of an "X" could also signify the larger village architecture of the open plaza or outer palisade.¹⁰⁰ **[Figure 3-20.]**

These were aerial symbols, imagining their signs from above; they had their counterparts imagined from the ground. A firepit was dug between an earthlodge's posts, sometimes made "in the sacred design of a rainbow," or two circles inside each other.¹⁰¹ The circular design echoed the sun dogs seen in the heavens when the rainbow spirit accompanied the sun.¹⁰² **[Figure 3-21.]** And on some Numak'aki sunburst robes—their central designs depicting a *numakshí's* feather bonnet from the viewpoint of the sun (see **Figure 3-18**)—the central four or ark are surrounded by softly undulating curves. **[Figure 3-22.]** These curves suggest the roofs of the surrounding *má'ak óti* or the sightline of Missouri River bluffs, buttes, and hills viewed from the village plaza (see **Figure 3-3**).¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Tsakákasaki, Goodbird the Indian, 14.

⁹⁹ Maxidiwiac, "The Building of an Earth Lodge," Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson.

¹⁰⁰ I first had this overlaid symbolism confirmed in the published winter count symbol for the burning of Painted Woods village in 1780 at At-A-Slant interpretive center. To date, I have been unable to find the original winter count source for this image, although it bears strong resemblance to various other Lakota winter count entries (Greene and Thornton, eds., The Year the Stars Fell). There are also five sets of four posts/corners visible on the calumet stem held by Péhriska-Ruhpa in Bodmer's finished Tableau 17, potentially a visible symbol of the *Awatikihu*. Finally, this symbol of four is incorporated into the Thunder Turtle shield, ca.1850 (NMAI-Coll #22/8539).

¹⁰¹ Nikasimihe [Calf Woman; Numak'aki with Minitari father], "The Mandan Sacred Lodge," Volume 11 (1912), MHS-Wilson.

¹⁰² *Tagebüch* 3:94; JAM vol. 3, 173.

¹⁰³ Maximilian wrote that these robes portrayed a "feather cap, under the image of a sun," which has since formed the dominant interpretation of these robes. This quotation actually comes from the reprint of the 1843 English translation of Wied found in Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels 1748–1846, vol. 23 (Cleveland: Arthur

Looking down and looking out—each expanded from *aki*. In the Fort Clark studio the *benók hate'sh hókahako'sh*, unnaturally paused. He stood, like his people, in a web of relations, perhaps visualized through the *aki* center of the Numak'aki world. [Figure 3-23.] Its central circle is the sun and the earthlodge, the rainbow and the ark of *Numak Máhina*, the *hatésh* in the studio and the Numak'aki peoples still trapped beneath his feet, each looking down and looking out—like the little suns of the newly blooming *piti konika sé ma'ósene* across the winter prairies, peeking out of the melting snows, marking the arrival of buffalo calving.¹⁰⁴

H. Clark Company, 1904) 261. In the surviving account of the establishment of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (1844/45), the village leader set out the central square or circle by walking “with the sun”; see **Appendix E**. Thank you to Emil Her Many Horses for the initial encouragement to follow the links between the “suns” of bison robes and Plains cosmologies.

¹⁰⁴ Sunflowers were known as *mapé ósene*, or “below flower,” describing the relationship between the flower and the sun; Hollow (1970) 271.

CHAPTER 4

The Middle Ground

“Káma-Kapúska! Káma-Kapúska!”

— Man-sín Kíkan [Flying War Eagle; Numak'aki],
calling at the gate of Fort Clark on the 11th of January, 1834.¹

In the courtyard of Fort Clark, however, neither the expedition's nor Numak'aki peoples' mediation systems met and stayed intact. The *Benók Óhate* did not perform a ritual version of the buffalo dance. They did not offer up non-public *Óhate* elements for capture through Wied's and Bodmer's brushes and inks. Likewise, Wied and Bodmer did not seek membership in the *Óhate*. They did not pursue for themselves the ontological mysteries or experiences behind Numak'aki mediations. Instead, the courtyard of Fort Clark and Bodmer's studio apartment were part of the Middle Ground, or the co-created “single field of action” that existed “in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the non-state world of [Native] villages” in colonial North America.²

The Middle Ground's “single field of action” was a product of the French fur trade in the *pays d'en haut* (“upper country”) that extended from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River,

¹ Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:138 (JAM, 239). This spelling of the name taken from Mixco in JAM, p.239, fn97. Wied recorded the name as *Máhchsi-Karéhde*.

² Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 68, x.

then south to the Ohio. Unable to ignore or control the region's Native peoples, the French instead developed a co-operative system of trade that was jointly built on the customs and social practices of Native and non-Native peoples. When the French expanded into Louisiana Territory the Middle Ground expanded as well, and its cultural and social patterns continued even as the Territory changed hands between the French and Spanish empires and the American republic.³ The Western outfit of the American Fur Company within which Wied traveled was run by French-speaking families out of St. Louis.⁴ The outfit still conducted its business in French and hired mostly French and Métis employees, many of whom represented multiple generations of fur trade employees.⁵

³ Based on the available evidence of Wied's *Tagebücher*, my reading here extends Middle Ground practices past the 1812 end date that White provides in his narrative of the *pays d'en haut*. Louisiana transferred from the French to the Spanish in 1763, then reversed back to the French in 1800, who soon sold the Territory to the U.S. in 1803.

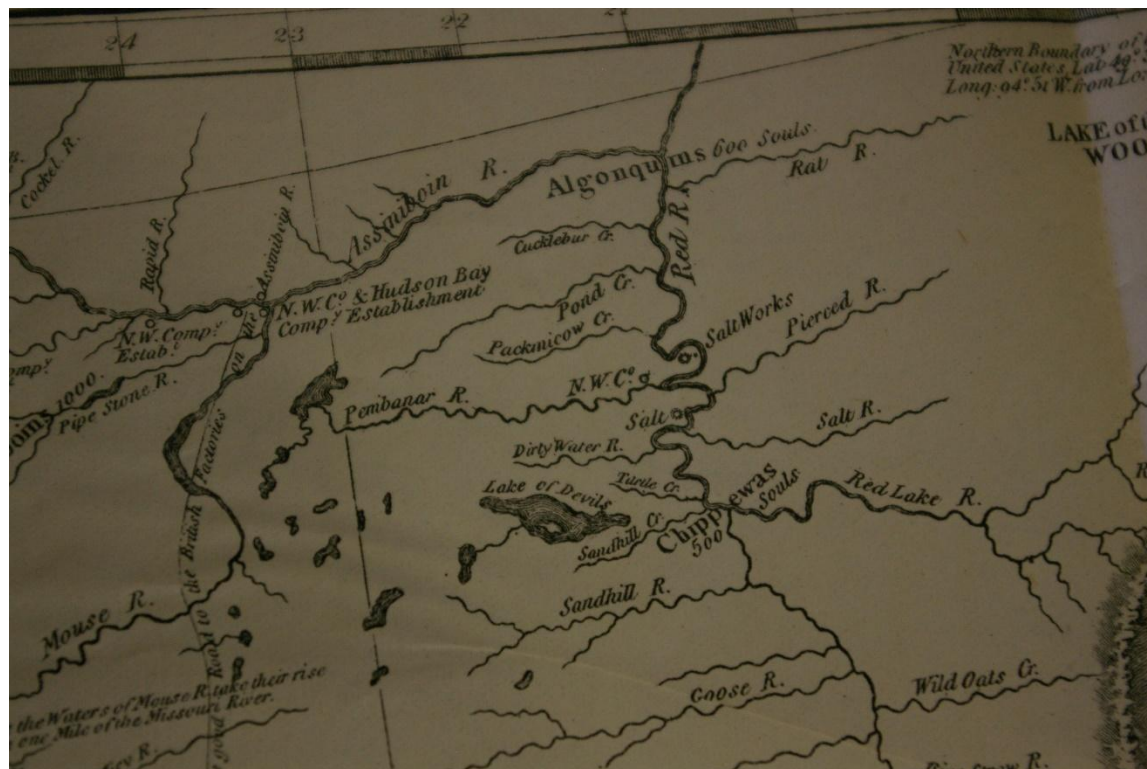
⁴ This was the Chouteau family dynasty, run out of what would become St. Louis beginning in the 1760s. See Shirley Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier* (2004; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

⁵ See, for instance, Pierre Chouteau to H. Moore at Fort Pierre on Wied's behalf (5 Apr 1833) [Ayer MS 159, NEW]; Ramsay Crooks to Charles A. Cottrell at La Baie St. Antoine with confirmation that all workmen contracts should be in French (22 Mar 1836) [#1396 in NEW-Nute]; and the 1836 trading license issued to Pratte, Chouteau & Co. by Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clarke [Ayer MS 172, NEW]. On the latter, nearly all employee surnames are French.

Métis life falls along an enormous spectrum of experiences and cultural variations. The first French traders based in St. Louis began summering with Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska [Osage] villagers in the 1760s; they often educated their Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska offspring in European schools, had them baptized, and used their influence to create positions for them in U.S. economic or military life. Many of these traders also negotiated for special cash or land claims for (or in the name of) their Métis children in early U.S. treaties. See, for instance, the Chouteau family relations to their many Métis children in Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark*, and the discussion of the Métis provisions in the Treaty of Fond du Lac (1826) in Watts, *In This Remote Country*, 130. See also Ramsay Crook's series of letters (21 May to 3 Jun 1835) attempting to collect such treaty payments for several fur trade employees; #500, 513, and 523 in NEW-Nute.

Some Métis, especially those connected to the Red River fur trade, formed self-sufficient and politically powerful communities by the mid-nineteenth century, claiming parliament seats in the Minnesota Territory and eventually making armed stands for separate territories under Métis leader Louis Riel (1844–85); see Gregory S. Camp, "The Chippewa Fur Trade in the Red River Valley of the North, 1790–1830," and Jacqueline C. Peterson, "Gathering at the River: The Métis Peopling of the Northern Plains," both in Virginia L. Heidenreich, ed., *The Fur Trade in North Dakota* (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990) 33–46 and 47–64. Other Métis peoples emerged from the conditions of slavery; see the larger discussion in Watts, *In This Remote Country*, and for one particular case, see Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark*, 238–49. By Wied's time, Métis peoples could also be several generations removed from an original Native/non-Native union, and participation in the fur trade could

Illustration 4-1. Detail, printed version of Lewis and Clark’s 1804–6 map (1814). Source: NEW Graff 2484 vol. 4.⁶ Author’s photograph.



While the French and their Middle Ground practices dominated the Upper Missouri River trade by the nineteenth century, the *Awatíkihu* had had a centuries-long engagement with fur traders that crossed all three colonial empires, British, French, and Spanish. The archaeological record suggests that European trade objects reached the Knife River villages around the middle of the seventeenth century.⁷ Groups of “Mountain Indians” (possibly a corruption of the Hohe Nakota [Assiniboin] term for Numak'aki peoples, *Mayatáni*) had travelled north to Hudson’s Bay York factory (factories being a government-run trading post)

mean living in Native villages, at fur trade posts, or serving as mobile agents between frontiers and city ports—all of which created different cultural alignments in relation to their Native and non-Native backgrounds.

⁶ “A Map of Lewis and Clark’s Track, Acrofs the Western Portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; by order of the Executive of the United States. in 1804, 5 & 6. / Copied by Samuel Lewis from the Original Drawing of W.m Clarke. / Sam.l Harrison fc.t.” This version is a facsimile of the edition printed in Philadelphia by Bradford and Inskip in 1814.

⁷ Mitchell, *Crafting History*, 92.

for several years around 1715.⁸ Spain launched a variety of efforts to establish trade connections with the *Awatikihu* in the 1790s.⁹ And the so-called Assiniboin Road, a Native route from the Upper Missouri River region to the British factories in Canada, was so well-travelled by fur traders in the late eighteenth century that it appeared in Lewis and Clark's 1804 map of the region (**Illustration 4-1**), along with three Northwest Company posts, one Hudson's Bay post, and two salt works vital to fur trade life.¹⁰ The map's extended and gently curving line testifies to the long history of Native networks in the region, and their well-established interconnections with settler trade economies. With the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the young United States inherited these networks and economies, as well as their cultural Middle Ground.¹¹

The importance of understanding the Upper Missouri River fur trade in the 1830s as an extension of the Middle Ground is two-fold. First, Middle Ground politics were negotiated through face-to-face interactions within localized territories, Native villages, and non-Native trade forts, as opposed to the seats of distant empires. Second, Middle Ground political dynamics were negotiated through relationships, and particularly through a system of gifting and exchange that locked the various players into social obligations and induced the terms of

⁸ These trips, if "Mountain Indians" meant Missouri River peoples, happened a few years after Heart River Confederacy peoples travelled to the factory as war captives of the Hohe Nakota and Cree. See Fenn, *Encounters*, 79–82.

⁹ Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, 2 vols.; Fenn, *Encounters*, 179–204.

¹⁰ W. Raymond Wood gives trader usage of the road at a fairly late date, suggesting no less than 69 trips appear in the fur trade records between 1785 and 1818; Wood, "Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains," in Virginia L. Heidenreich, *The Fur Trade in North Dakota*, 6–7. For the relatively brief tenure of the Northwest Company in the Red River region, see Peterson, "Gathering."

¹¹ For a documentary history of the Missouri River region prior to and coincident with the Louisiana Purchase and Corps of Discovery, see Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, 2 vols. For these documents woven into historical accounts of the Missouri River region, see Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark*, and Fenn, *Encounters*. And for an analysis of the nineteenth-century Anglo-American cultural turn away from the cross-cultural mix of the French Middle Ground, see Edward Watts, *In This Remote Country: French Colonial Culture in the Anglo-American Imagination, 1780-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

conditional friendship; to end or refuse the gifting was in effect to end the friendship.¹² A host of material and visual culture practices then developed around these dynamics. An early eighteenth-century Ogahpah [Quapaw] robe literalizes the local sites of the Middle Ground, depicting three Ogahpah villages and a French settlement along the right side and bottom of the robe's central pictorial box.¹³ **[Figure 4-1.]** The three villages are denoted through a line of wickiups with Latinized Ogahpah village names inscribed above each, the Latin suggesting a Catholic influence in either the making or the receiving of the robe. **[Figure 4-2.]** Three of the buildings of the French settlement, topped with crosses, appear to confirm this Catholic presence, while the fourth might suggest a trading post. The villages and settlement are not simply depicted, however, but are drawn in relationship: the line that runs from the three villages to the settlement, then around to a drawn battle scene, binds the Ogahpah and the French in an alliance against a third party that is associated with a fourth depicted village.¹⁴ This binding was enforced through the Adoption Ceremony and its transferred calumets (represented at the neck of the design) that accompanied the giving of this robe, which would have not only recalled this past alliance but in turn created kinship obligations for the future.¹⁵

In the *pays d'en haut*, a host of exchange ceremonies and practices functioned like the

¹² White, *The Middle Ground*, 98.

¹³ These interpretations of the robe and its elements in George Horse Capture, *Robes of Splendor: Native North American Painted Buffalo Hides* (New York: New Press, 1994), and the catalog entry for the robe in Gaylord Torrence, ed., *The Plains Indians: Artists of Earth and Sky* (New York: Skira, 2014). To date, these interpretations largely come from linguistics.

¹⁴ It is possible that the robe marks the 1729 alliance of Ogahpah peoples and the French against the Natchez. Drawn lines to literalize movements or relationships remain a Plains iconographic element through the nineteenth century.

¹⁵ Numerous adoption robes from the Missouri River regions have survived in France, now housed in the Musée de Quai Branly, Paris; see Horse Capture, *Robes of Splendor*. I identified these robes' likely creation and use as adoption robes through Good Voice's [Minitari] making of one for anthropologist Gilbert L. Wilson in 1911, now AMNH #50.1/6021. Good Voice explained that both Numak'aki and Minitari peoples had received the Adoption Ceremony from Sahnish peoples, a Caddo-speaking remnant peoples group with close relations to Chahiksichahiks [Pawnee] peoples, with whom the calumet and its ceremonies are believed to originate. See **Chapter Three**.

Ogahpah robe. Native peoples received access to gunsmiths, blacksmiths, and missionaries, and annual presents and peace medals were regularly given. French officers, trappers, and traders participated in calumet ceremonies, war feasts, “eat all” feasts, the giving of war belts, the accepting of the hatchet, war dances, and various ritual ceremonies, including those of mourning and covering the dead; some even sang their own war songs.¹⁶ Traders and fort personnel married local Native women, some of whom were offered as brides to cement local kin and obligation relationships.¹⁷

These practices bound the *pays d'en haut* together, part of the conscious and visible framework by which peace, alliance, exchange, and free movement were achieved and maintained throughout French (and later Spanish and British, then American) North America. They also abounded in the 1830s *Awatikihu*, attested to through Wied’s journal entries. Wied’s host, clerk and Fort Clark administrator James Kipp, was married to Earth Woman [Numak'aki], the daughter of *Mít uta hako'sh ka-ka* (knowledge keeper) Manek Suk Hó'pini [Medicine Bird; Numak'aki].¹⁸ Earth Woman played a major role in the hospitality practices of the Fort, and was likely the means by which Kipp had learned his vast store of local languages and cultural

¹⁶ White details much of the material culture of the *pays d'en haut* fur trade in Chapter 3. See also White’s description of Hamilton’s march south from Detroit in the fall of 1772 (p.372), and the British competition for North America under William Johnson, which also had to occur on the Middle Ground to be successful (p.248). For detailed discussions of the ritual exchanges at which Johnson became exceptionally adept, see Fintan O’Toole, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* (New York: Farrar and Farrar, 2005), with a poignant example of the Iroquois mourning ritual in Chapter One.

¹⁷ For the landmark study of fur trade marriages, focused on western Canada, see Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (1980; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

¹⁸ Earth Woman was identified by John C. Ewers in “Mothers of the Mixed Bloods,” *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (1968; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) 67. She and her parents appear numerous times in Wied’s notes, though she and her mother appear without names. George Catlin painted her portrait in 1832, but Earth Woman had her husband buy the painting back from Catlin; it is unknown if it has survived [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:102; JAM, 182].

practices.¹⁹ Her quilled sunburst buffalo robe may have marked Kipp's standing within the *Awatíkihu* council, which would have occurred through his Native kinship network.²⁰ [Figure 4-3.] Kipp had adopted and raised Sí-Sé [Be-Red Feather; Numak'aki], a young warrior who split his time between caring for the Fort's horses, hunting, and village activities.²¹ Wied also spent time with Toussaint Charbonneau and Old Bijou (Louis Bissonet), both Frenchmen and current Fort employees who had lived in the Minitari villages of the *Awatíkihu* for decades.²²

Native men of the *Awatíkihu* clearly extended their own leadership expectations to the non-Native men among them. Kipp, Wied, and Bodmer were expected to keep the "open door" of the *numakshí*, and Wied records large numbers of Native men coming and going, staying the night, smoking the pipe, sitting for portraits, bringing their families, and viewing Wied's and

¹⁹ Wied declared Kipp to be fluent in Nú'eta and that he "knows perfectly all their manners and customs" [*Tagebüch* 3:25 (8 Nov 1833); JAM, 54]. Kipp spent some evenings relaying his knowledge to Wied. I suspect that Earth Woman, through Kipp, was also the source of much of Catlin's information, although Catlin's recordings are fairly incomplete (see Chapter Four).

²⁰ Two council meetings, held in 1804 and 1823, appear in non-Native writings; see Fenn, *Encounters*, 280–1. Wilson's Minitari elder interviews, however, suggest that an overarching *Awatíkihu* structure existed prior to their separation from the Absáalooke [Crow] peoples, and that this structure came to include Numak'aki peoples by the latter half of the eighteenth century; see Tseca Matseitsi's accounts of "Five Villages" (1908) and "Origin of the Mandans and of the *Okipa* Ceremonies" (1909). My research on these robes and the possibility that they attest to leadership positions within the *Awatíkihu* is beyond the scope of this project. See my writing on one such robe in the Thaw Collection held by the Fenimore Cooper Museum in the [Otsego Institute Alumni Review](http://www.otsegoinstitute.org/kristine-ronan.html) <www.otsegoinstitute.org/kristine-ronan.html>.

²¹ What adoption meant is not clear in Wied's notes: Kipp may have adopted Sí-Sé as an orphan or as his own Métis child, or his adoption may have followed calumet, kinship, or clan obligations via Earth Woman's position at *Míh uta hako'sh*. Regardless of the relationship specifics, Sí-Sé was clearly integrated into both spheres of life. He spent a good deal of time managing the Fort's horses and going on Fort business. He also wore Native dress, spoke both Nú'eta and Sahnish, knew various Numak'aki sites and practices, participated in ritual body painting, spent a good deal of time with Earth Woman's kin, and was part of a Society cohort. Traversing cultural lines was not necessarily easy: when Kipp was not at Fort Clark, Sí-Sé usually left for the Numak'aki winter camp or village, as the Fort's provisioner would not give him an adequate ration of food. This suggests that he may have faced non-Native discrimination when outside Kipp's sphere of influence. See Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:57 (30 Dec 1833); JAM vol. 3, 113.

²² Bijou (or Louis Bissonet, 1774–ca.1836) lived in *Elá-Sá* (Fifth Village), while Charbonneau (ca.1758–1840?) resided in *Amatihá* (Fourth Village). Charbonneau is most famous as the husband of Sakakawea, the Shoshone guide for the Corps of Discovery, but had also served as translator for the Long Expedition and Prince Paul of Württemberg, and had worked for the United States during the War of 1812 and the treaty expeditions of 1825. He is likely pictured in Métis dress in Bodmer's Vignette 26. For summaries of his and Sakakawea's lives, see Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3, 228 fn1 and 229 fn2.

Bodmer's objects. Each visit entailed gifting, according to village protocol, and Wied's bill records large purchases of the required *í-kan* food, tobacco, and trade objects.²³ In turn, *Awatíkihu* leaders extended their roles as providers for their people to cover Fort personnel.²⁴

The provisionings and material exchanges that enveloped Wied and Bodmer were closely tied to the long-established *í-kan* networks and hospitality practices of the Heart River Confederacy and the *Awatíkihu*. Some material objects attested to their travels along these far-flung paths, and their transformations within the economies of the Middle Ground. Nitsiitapix [Blackfeet Confederacy] chiefs at Fort McKenzie arrived for trade negotiations in military coats that had been given to them by David Mitchell, Fort McKenzie's founder, and their donning of the coats enforced their contract with Fort personnel.²⁵ Adoption robes like the Ogahpah robe were taken back to France and sold to museums and curiosity cabinet collections, while the metal of corn grinders and whale oil lamps—the latter's bases forming the goggle eyes of the buffalo dancer's headdress (see **Figure I-1**)—could be taken apart and reshaped into Native cultural objects.²⁶

²³ Wied was often overwhelmed by these expectations, which seemed to increase after a portrait sitting [see *Tagebüch* 3:138 (11 Jan 1834); JAM vol. 3, 329], and he sometimes employed their door's lock to keep Native visitors out of their quarters.

²⁴ The most famous example of this extension was issued by Sheheke [White Coyote; Numak'aki], *numakshí* of *Mít uta hako'sh*, to Lewis and Clark on November 1, 1804: "if we eat you Shall eat, if we Starve you must Starve also" (Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3, 225). Wied notes dozens of gifts of meat and corn and hunt invitations throughout his stay.

²⁵ For Wied's account of the full negotiations, see Wied, *Tagebüch* 2:224–6 (10 August 1833); JAM, 362–5. The importance of these military coats remained despite the massive geopolitical shifts of empires that had occurred by 1803, and as late as 1835, the American Fur Company was having them specially manufactured for use in the Middle Ground [Ramsay Crooks, order placed with Alexander Watson (3 Jun 1835), #545 in NEW-Nute]. Understanding such coats as markers of Middle Ground policies potentially transforms the scholarly interpretations of their presence in early nineteenth-century portraiture; see, for instance, John C. Ewers' essay on Ajanjan [The Light; Hohe Nakota (Assiniboin)], "When the Light Shone in Washington," in *Indian Life*, 75–90.

²⁶ The identification of the lamp bases is my own. The steel corn mill was given to the Numak'aki as part of the medal ceremonies of Lewis and Clark, and later found broken up by Alexander Henry the Younger in 1805; see Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3 (29 Oct 1804), 209, 210, 213 fn3.

Like objects, cultural practices were often changed to fit the Middle Ground. When Wied attended Native dances given at the Fort, knives, mirrors, and tobacco from the Fort store were thrown into the dance circles by Fort personnel at the conclusion of each performance, and this was likely done at the end of the *Benók Óhate* dance on April 9th.²⁷ The inclusion of non-Native men in the line of elders at the *Núitadi* Red Stick Ceremony may have been a trade adaptation (though one possibly made for any man outside the Confederacy and *Awatíkihu*, pre-dating the region's arrival of non-Native traders).²⁸

The co-created genre of portraiture seems to have been a particularly fruitful object of exchange in the Middle Ground. When Lewis and Clark brought Washington and Jefferson peace medals to bestow upon the leaders of the *Awatíkihu*, days of ceremony and arranged meetings preceded the visit. Invitations and gifts of tobacco were sent via young men to the upper three Minitari villages of the *Awatíkihu*, while Lewis and Clark personally met and smoked with the Numak'aki chiefs of the lower two villages to demonstrate their peaceful intentions and request their council presence.²⁹ When rough weather delayed the announced council for two days, Lewis and Clark consulted with Púskapsi (“Be-Black Cat”), the first (civil)

²⁷ See, for instance, the Fort performances of the *Ptin-Tak Óhate* (White Buffalo Cow Society) from *Nuptadi* [*Tagebüch* 3:142 (29 Jan 1834), JAM 246], a Minitari *Zúhdi-Arischí* (scalp dance) [*Tagebüch* 3:147 (11 Feb 1834), JAM 255–6], and the *Ísha Kakó'sh Óhate* (Society of the Half-Shorn Heads) from *Mít uta hako'sh* [*Tagebüch* 3:161 (3 Apr 1834), JAM 279]. With the *Zúhdi-Arischí*, many Minitari from the Upper Villages attended and, after the Fort performance, spent the night at the Numak'aki winter village, suggesting that public performances for outside groups may have been used within the *Awatíkihu* to cement one's political and social ties.

²⁸ Non-Native attendees to the ceremony included men of the Corps of Discovery (4 Jan 1805) and Wied and Bodmer, who participated in a similar Minitari ceremony at the winter camp of *Elá-Sá* in November 1833, along with traders Charbonneau, Durand, and (Joseph) Dougherty (see fn29). Catlin also attended the Red Stick ceremony with James Kipp, but as the last ceremonial portion of the larger *Okípe* summer festival (July 1832). Importantly, non-Native attendance and participation at such events remained within village control: the Minitari equivalent was held on four successive nights beginning 26 Nov 1833; Bodmer, Dougherty, and Durand were not extended the invitation on the 29th, and spent the evening fretting over what the rejection might have meant [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:42–3; JAM 86].

²⁹ Moulton, ed., *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3 (27 Oct 1804) 203–4.

numakshí at *Nuptadi*, to compose their list of *Awatíkihu* leaders.³⁰ When the council was finally convened, Lewis and Clark gave a long speech on behalf of “their Father,” had the Sahnish chief in their midst smoke the calumet of peace with the *Awatíkihu* chiefs, handed out presents “with much Seremoney”—military coats, hats, and flags for the “1st Chief” of each village, a Jefferson medal to each tribal “Grand Cheif”—and shot off the air guns in military salute. These complex ceremonies reflected Native patterns of diplomatic exchange (smoking the calumet, speeches, kinship language, and gifts) with incorporated elements of American military honors (uniforms, medals, and gun salutes).

Bodmer’s and Wied’s studio and its practices were embedded in this Middle Ground exchange system.³¹ Gifts were required for most sittings and informant sessions. Sometimes Bodmer’s sitters expected a copy of their portrait in exchange for their likeness.³² Bodmer and Wied also executed drawings on shields, hides, or paper for their guests, depicting desired subjects such as eagles or soldiers.³³ A number of visitors drew themselves for Wied, focused

³⁰ Lewis and Clark considered Púskapsi to be a “Grand Chief” of the Numak’aki, and they considered Le Borgne [One-Eye; Minitari] to carry this title for the Minitari; Moulton, ed., *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3 (28 Oct 1804 and 9 Mar 1805) 207–8, 310–1. Evidence for the notion of a single *numakshí* over each people group of the *Awatíkihu* comes only from Lewis and Clark, and may or may not accurately portray the *Awatíkihu*’s political structures.

³¹ My thesis here overturns that of John C. Ewers, who authored the still-dominant proposition that Catlin and Bodmer brought Western-style portraiture to Numak’aki peoples. Ewers’ original statement is found in his 1957 essay, “Early White Influence Upon Plains Indian Painting: George Catlin and Karl Bodmer Among the Mandans, 1832–34,” reprinted in Ewers, *Indian Life*, 98–109. For the continued influence of Ewers’ thesis on contemporary scholarship, see Arni Brownstone, “European Influence in the Mandan-Hidatsa Graphic Works Collected by Prince Maximilian of Wied,” *American Indian Art Magazine* (Summer 2014) 58–70, and Ron McCoy, “Of Forests and Trees: John C. Ewers’s ‘Early White Influence upon Plains Indian Painting’ Re-Examined,” *American Indian Art Magazine* (Winter 2001) 62–71.

³² Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak’aki], a warrior from *Mít uta hako’sh*, liked his portrait so much that he requested a copy [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:48 (7 Dec 1833); JAM 96]. Bodmer also copied the portrait of Mánú Nik [Turkey Child; Numak’aki], when the warrior demanded that his portrait be destroyed [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:148 (12 Feb 1834); JAM 256].

³³ See Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:42 (29 Nov 1833) JAM 86; 3:126 (Ch.19) JAM 225; 3:155 (7 Mar 1834) JAM 269; and 3:157 (9 Mar 1834) JAM 271.

on their warrior deeds and often painted on hides that Wied bought at the Fort store or on paper that Bodmer provided.³⁴

It is difficult to know what these Native men invested in these portraiture exchanges, but Wied recorded one suggestive incident just weeks before the European trio departed for St. Louis. Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi (“Chief of the Sharp Horn”), a Minitari war party leader, visited the Fort Clark studio on an afternoon in early March, because he “wished to have Bodmer drawn, because the latter [Bodmer] would take his [Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi’s] portrait to Europe, and he would be with a war party at that time.” When Wied refused the Minitari warrior’s request, “he [Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi] started to work himself and drew Bodmer.”³⁵

It is noteworthy that Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi knew that his portrait would be traveling “to Europe.” Given the long histories of trade networks with representatives of Europe’s empires, Europe was likely an historical if geographically distant locale in the minds of *Awatíkihu* residents. Portraits, in turn, were missives sent to the *Awatíkihu* from these distant spaces to establish colonial leaders’ presence, despite their absence. This certainly had been the mission attached to the Jefferson medal, possibly still worn by *numakshí* in the 1830s: Catlin’s 1831 portrait of Hánate Numakshí (“Wolf Chief”), the first (civil) *numakshí* of *Mít uta hako’sh*, shows him wearing a peace medal hung on a leather thong around his neck.³⁶ **[Figure 4-4.]** If the

³⁴ For a detailed list of the eight extant works attributed to Sí-Sída, see Brownstone, “European Influences,” 70 fn16. One of these drawings was given to Wied on the 16th of November, with Sí-Sída finishing the drawing in the Fort Studio the next day; Bodmer had given him the paints [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:31–2 (16 and 17 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 65–6]. Wied later commissioned Sí-Sída for an additional number of drawings [Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:154 (1 Mar 1834); JAM vol. 3, 265]. He also bought materials for a number of works by Mato-Tópe.

³⁵ Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:154 (2 Mar 1834) JAM 266. The name, which refers to a young two- or three-year-old buffalo, is given as Wied recorded it in an earlier entry; see *Tagebüch* 3:149 (12 Feb 1834) JAM 256 fnM11. Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi was from *Elá-Sá*, and likely a war chief.

³⁶ Hánate Numakshí’s name has been variously recorded as *Ar-rat-ta na-mock-She* (Lewis and Clark), *Shan-sa-bat-say-e-see* (1825 treaty, with names recorded in Hidatsa), *Ha-Na-Tá-Nu-Maúk* (Catlin), and *Cháratä-Numakschi* (Wied). He appears in Lewis and Clark’s list of recommended chiefs for *Nuptadi*, possibly qualifying as their rank of

tanned central circle lying against the coup flap of Hánate Numakshí's warrior shirt was in fact the Jefferson medal, the front would have displayed Thomas Jefferson's profile while the reverse showed two hands clasped in a handshake under a crossed ax and long-stem pipe with the phrase "PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP."³⁷ [Figure 4-5.] The medal's two sides had been engraved separately, and were joined by a silver ring, as the United States Mint lacked the technologies needed to stamp a large thickness of metal without breaking. This technical binding echoed the medal's design to bind the receiver to the giver through its invoked kinship obligations, symbolized most potently through the included "peace pipe"—what Native peoples knew as the calumet.³⁸

It is important here that Hánate Numakshí, along with dozens of Catlin's and Wied's other Native sitters, prominently displayed the calumet in their portraits. Calumets not only declared the sitter's power to negotiate and cement relationships through the calumet ceremonies, but as these portrayals travelled out of Indian Country, they also sent the "peace

"3rd Chief" and receiving a "Washington Season Medal" showing a man sowing wheat; those perceived to be "1st Chiefs" received the Jefferson medal [Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 3 (29 Oct 1804) 212, 214 fn15]. At the time of Catlin's and Wied's visits, he was First (civil) Chief of *Mít uta hako'sh*. He may have inherited the First Chief medal with his office, or received a presidential peace medal as part of the 1825 treaty process. In the print version of Catlin's portrait, the medal is detailed with a portrait bust, though a specific individual cannot be ascertained and this may have been Catlin's artistic fancy.

³⁷ Tsakákasaki describes these attached fabric or hide components of Minitari warrior shirts, with warrior deeds marked on the underside, in his interviews with Wilson. I am not at present sure of what to call these components, having not found any references to them in the literature on Plains warrior shirts to date.

³⁸ For details on a range of colonial empire peace medals, see Robert B. Pickering, ed., *Peace Medals: Negotiating Power in Early America*, exhibition catalog (Tulsa: Gilcrease Museum, 2012). The French Middle Ground certainly also included the movement of Catholic icons, sculptures, and catechisms, but little work to date demonstrates if or how these objects may have proliferated in the French territories along the Missouri River. On the archaeological recovery of Catholic material culture in the *pays d'en haut*, see Michael Nassaney, "Michigan Before Statehood as Revealed through the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project," talk given at the Clements Library, University of Michigan (29 Oct 2013); accessible online at <www.clements.umich.edu/event-videos.php>.

pipe” of the Jefferson medal back to Grandfather, re-tracing these medals’ routes, this time bearing a Native leader’s presence-in-absence to the distant seats of empire.³⁹

These portraits thus became calumets, and in their becoming, produced their inverse, the “magnificent excessiveness” of “magical effect.” As the portrait-calumet was bound into Bodmer’s notebooks and packed for foreign travels, *Awatíkihu* warriors like Ahschüpsa-Masihichsi and Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak’aki] drew and kept portrait-calumets of Bodmer and Wied for themselves.⁴⁰ They doubled Wied and Bodmer, not only on the page, but in the very act of drawing them. Bodmer’s own acts of doubling earned him the name *Kapúska*, or “Forcefully Makes Marks.”⁴¹ He was not named for paint or brushes, canvas or paper, but for his inhabitation (*-ka*) of his forceful, mark-making craft (*kapús*)—a mimetic doubling of Numak’aki mark-makers.

What has usually been conceived as distinct Native and non-Native mimetic operations were in fact completely blurred in the Fort Clark studio. Wied noted as much, when he wrote that Sí-Sída’s making and taking of his portrait of Bodmer was the mirror of Bodmer’s portrait of Sí-Sída.⁴² Who then was sitter and artist, who the capturer and who the becomer? The 1834 portrait of the Numak’aki buffalo dancer was himself already a mimetic double, magically producing a Numak’aki *benók*. Did the *haté’sh* double himself yet again, through Bodmer’s hand? Is Bodmer himself dabbling in magical mimesis with his doubling of a Numak’aki double?

³⁹ Numak’aki peoples knew the U.S. president as *ma’at-his*, “the Old Father,” or Grandfather. Hollow (1970) 60–1.

⁴⁰ Sí-Sída drew Bodmer and Wied on the 13th of November, and Bodmer again on December 27th [*Tagebüch* 3:28 (13 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 59 and 3:55 (27 Dec 1833); JAM vol. 3, 110].

⁴¹ In a personal communication to John C. Ewers (16 Aug 1983), Hollow translated the term as “the one who makes pictures” [NAA, John Canfield Ewers Papers, Series V, Box 1, Folder Bodmer 1983]. I broke down the term after Mixco’s spellings in JAM to arrive at this translation.

⁴² Wied, *Tagebüch* 3:55 (27 Dec 1833); JAM vol. 3, 110.

The blank surface of Catlin's peace medal around the neck of Hánate Numakshí hangs as a remainder of these conditions, made so obvious in the act of *hako'sh*. **[Figure 4-6.]** Its lack of figurative commitment matched the mimetic blur of the Middle Ground, where peace medals and calumets, portraitists and sitters, constantly flitted in and out of their opposites.

PART II. MOTION

CHAPTER 5

Painting Race: A Theory of the Meta-Archive

THE PROJECT

In February of 1841, Maximilian sat down at his desk in the study of the Wied-Neuwied familial manor to pen a letter to his London translator, Hannibal Evans Lloyd. He was surrounded by shelves stuffed with his North American specimens, Native-crafted objects, notes, and reference volumes. Wied spent most days at this desk, crafting a narrative from his *Tagebücher* for his planned three-volume work on North America.¹ He also took the necessary time to manage the work's planned publication, sending letters like Lloyd's in a far-flung correspondence that traversed Europe:

Sir

Your letter arrived today, and my answer follows immediately [sic]. I am very sorry you did not hear of Mr. Bodmer and Mr. Hoelscher, but I can tell you our work

¹ Details of the publication project can be found in Ron Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," Karl Bodmer's North American Prints, ed. Brandon K. Ruud (Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2004) 18–23. The surviving correspondence and contracts from the publication project, including those footnoted below, can be found in JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

goes well, and we hope to see it finished next spring, in May or June. Mr. Bodmer tells us, he will send number 15,–16 and 17 of the plates immediately, and we expect every day to see arrive these plates. He told us, in spring he would have finished the three last numbers–18–19 and 20.—The letterpress sheets are finished till inclusive page 600 of the second volume, myself having the sheets till to that page in my hands. Mr. Hoelscher should have sent them to you, but I do not know which is the reason of such a retardation, as you told me of. I wrote today directly to Mr. Bodmer, as well as to Hoelscher, and I am certain they will send you directly the sheets. The description of the voyage is entirely finished in the printing office, and we have now to finish the appendix, containing the vocabularies of about 23 indian languages, of meteorology and a few corrections. In two or three months the whole of the letterpress must be finished. I shall send to you a few pages in english original, by instance some meteorological observations, which Mr. Madler, professor of astronomy, wrote in english for your edition. You do not want them to make a translation of these sheets, by which you will gain some time.

I know very well the labours of Mr. Catlin on the Missouri, he was the year before me in that country, but he went not farther up till to Fort Union. His drawings are very poor, not at all good likenesses. Mr. Bodmers portraits of the indians are excellent, and a person of the country would directly know every one of these indians. Mr. Catlin in an american newspaper gave a description of the Okippe of the Mandans, an interesting medicine feast, but my description of the same transaction is much more complete, and I will give a copy of Catlin's description in the appendix, to which I will join my remarks. The english original of Catlins description will be sent to you, and you have purely to copy it. I hope Mr. Ackerman will be sure of the good continuation of our work, and will begin to colour the plates, of which in a short time Mr. Bodmer must send him a great number.

I have the honor to be sir

Your most obedient—
Max Prince of Wied²

By the winter of 1841, Wied was nearing the end of the production process for his ambitious book project, which would include two letterpress volumes of Wied's text, broken by quarto-sized illustrative Vignettes at the head of each chapter. A sumptuous third volume atlas of Bodmer's full-sized aquatint Tableaux would accompany the text volumes. Wied had signed the first project contract with Bodmer as early as 1836, guaranteeing the artist a monthly

² Maximilian Wied Neu-Wied to H.E. Lloyd (7 Feb 1841), transcription, NEW-Ayer MS 3215.

stipend to work on the publication's plates in Paris and oversee the French and English editions.³ Wied then contracted Jacob Hölscher of Koblenz, Germany (the "Mr. Hoelscher" of the above letter) to print a German edition of the text and handle subscriptions and sales.⁴ Bodmer subsequently contracted Arthus Bertrand of Paris for the French edition and Rudolph Ackermann of London for the abridged English one.⁵ Ackermann was to arrange for his own translation, publication, and plate coloring; he had hired Hannibal Lloyd as translator. Clearly awaiting his work, Lloyd had sent a direct inquiry to Wied regarding the location of the needed "letterpress sheets."⁶

As Wied's letter shows, Bodmer's visual work was also behind in production, with the contracted London agents waiting for "number 15,–16 and 17 of the plates im[m]ediately." Living in Paris since 1836, Bodmer had been working on the atlas plates for more than four years. In his studio, he copied or combined his North American drawings into compositions for the final plates.⁷ When information or subject matter was missing from his frontier portfolio, Bodmer sketched from nude studio models or Wied's ethnographic collections. He also engraved sixty wood blocks to accompany Wied's text volumes.

³ The contract was signed 7 Nov 1836. Bodmer's oversight of the English and French editions was to include arranging the necessary translation and publication contracts and production schedules, in addition to sales; Wied's letter above suggests that Bodmer was not the most able manager of such work.

⁴ For a list of Hölscher's subscribers, see Ruud, ed., [Karl Bodmer's North American Prints](#), Appendix F.

⁵ Bodmer to Maximilian (11 Jun 1838).

⁶ Lloyd, a philologist by training, is also listed as translator for the London editions of the German texts [Travels in India, Egypt under Mehemet Ali](#) (also by a German prinz), [England in 1835](#), [England in 1841](#), and [Travels in Brazil, in the Years 1817–1820](#).

⁷ Bodmer's studio practice as determined through the surviving sketches and compositions now held at NEW and BMA is best detailed in W. Raymond Wood, Joseph C. Porter, and David C. Hunt, [Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection](#) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

Bodmer had chosen a copper- or steel-plate aquatint engraving process for the *Tableaux* and *Vignettes*.⁸ Aquatint was a complex tonal process, favored by European landscape artists over the line-based processes of engraving even as numerous intaglio techniques were also used to enhance or build areas of aquatint plates.⁹ Due to the length of plate production, as well as the complexities of work flow over the project's five years, Bodmer enlisted twenty-nine Paris engravers to produce the forty-eight imperial folio *Tableaux* and thirty-three *Vignettes* for the final volumes.¹⁰ The various plates were produced in stages, sometimes moving from engraver to engraver. Bodmer approved and corrected the designs, often in consultation with Wied.¹¹ The finished prints, published with trilingual captions, were held by Bodmer's Paris printer, who shipped them as needed to the three production houses in Koblenz, Paris, and London—with the latter clearly delayed by February 1841. The costly and time-consuming printing process, spread out over a vast multinational network, challenged Bodmer's promised

⁸ The aquatint process had been used by Robert Havell and Sons in London for printing John James Audubon's subscription project, *The Birds of America* (1827–38), and that project's success may have influenced Bodmer's choice of media.

The French print market developed in the 1810s and 1820s, largely pedaled by artists (like the Bodmer brothers) and businessmen. During the 1830s and 1840s, this market swelled in size and sophistication, developing an international set of arrangements between publishing houses and printsellers, who received prints for resale *en masse*. Another market shift occurred in the 1850s and 1860s, when French companies like Goupil's opened branches in London and New York City. For detailed studies on the expansion of this French market, see Beatrice Farwell, "Introduction," *The Cult of Images [Le culte des images]: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion*, exhibition catalog (6 Apr–8 May 1977), UCSB, 7–15, and the essays by Georgia B. Barnhill, Lauren B. Hewes, and Marie-Stéphanie Delamaire in *With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860*, ed. Georgia B. Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012). Delamaire's work on the French print market in the United States is also found in her text, "An Art of Translation: American Art and French Prints (1848–1876)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2013).

⁹ Brandon K. Ruud, "'A Faithful and Vivid Picture': Karl Bodmer's North American Prints," in *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, 57–8.

¹⁰ For the full list of involved engravers and their biographies, see Ruud, ed., *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, Appendix C.

¹¹ The number of plate variations and their re-worked and reprinted plates is high—all of which would have added process delays. Print runs also indicate that some prints were likely lost in transit, ultimately increasing the production timeline. These bibliographic details can be found in David C. Hunt, "A Publication History of Karl Bodmer's North American Atlas," in Wood, et al., *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art*, 99–122, as well as Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," Ruud, "'A Faithful and Vivid Picture,'" and the individual plate annotations in *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*.

completion dates. While “he [Bodmer] told us, in spring he would have finished the three last numbers—18—19 and 20,” it would not be until November of 1842 that Hölscher would finally write Wied to notify him that the last copperplate engraving was completed, and only in May of 1844 did Bodmer present a bound atlas to King Louis Philippe.

THE PROBLEM OF MOTION

Tableau 18 was among these last printed plates.¹² The scene depicts the buffalo dance that Wied and Bodmer had witnessed at Fort Clark in April 1834, but relocates the performance to the central plaza of *Mít uta hako'sh*. **[Figure 5-1.]** Crowds line the plaza's adjacent *má'ak óti*, some waving or firing guns in the air. Spectators gaze down upon thirteen buffalo dancers, each marked by a partial or full buffalo headdress. A press of background onlookers appears to the right and center of this central action, while a line of musicians stands at the far left. All are partially blocked by the dancers' central circle. Some of Bodmer's dancers balance on one foot, their other hovering off the ground, suggesting mid-step movement. The crouched central front figure twists his horns to the side and out, mimicking the “shy wheeling over to one side” recorded by Wied. Raised and lowered weapons reinforce the notion of captured action, as do the two guns pointed to the sky on the right. A small poof of smoke above the *má'ak óti* indicates that at least one weapon has just been fired.

¹² The production dates for the three editions, as determined by Hunt, were 1839–43 for the German; 1840–3 for the condensed French; and 1843 for the abridged English (Hunt, “A Publication History,” 105). In some cases, Ruud has been able to use the surviving Bodmer and Wied correspondence, like the cited letter to Lloyd, to determine more precise date ranges for particular prints; see the annotations per plate in Ruud, ed., Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Tableau 18 was vetoed by Wied and subsequently re-worked into the published image, adding time to the process; see Ruud, ed., Karl Bodmer's North American Prints, First State remarks on p.136–8.

The action of Tableau 18 has been highly exaggerated from the six figures captured in Bodmer's original field sketch (see **Figure 2-6**). Here, the bent knees and slightly uneven feet suggest a common rhythmic shuffle step, rather than the wildly varied poses and crouches that appear in the final print. Half-way between this sketch and the finished plate is a surviving plate composition sketch from Bodmer's Paris studio. [**Figure 5-2.**] In this intermediate composition, the six dancers of Bodmer's field sketch circle the *Óhate* leader's portrait, although Bodmer takes some liberty in shifting the shield designs among figures (compare with **Figures 1-1** and **2-6**). The bend and stretch of the circling dancers' limbs have been further exaggerated into deeper crouches, wider steps, and greater extensions. Meanwhile, the central *Óhate* leader has been shaken from the moment of *hako'sh* and extended across the page, both hands raised, his head turned to the lower left corner, his right leg crouched as his left diagonally stretches toward the bottom right corner of the page. The finished plate pushes the circling dancers' range of motion even further while reining in the central *benók haté'sh*, with Bodmer returning to a reversed original portrait with just enough lift and tilt to the hand, legs, and head to suggest a disciplined raised mid-step.

The movement added to Mandan Buffalo Dancer in its transference from original to Bodmer's plate composition was only the beginning of the portrait's journey. Bodmer broke down his planned image into the various components needed for the production process: plate and color separations, plate proofs, engraved surface, and so on. The finished prints then moved along the networked paths that Wied's agents had set up, trackable through a series of letters, agreements, contracts, advertisements, printer prospectuses, subscriber lists, and

biographies.¹³ By November of 1843, for example, Wied's and Bodmer's completed text and atlas of the London edition had arrived in New York City, when booksellers Wiley & Putnam advertised the availability of a preview copy at their Manhattan shop from which customers could place orders.¹⁴

Yet years before the completed texts hit the market and moved in a multitude of directions, many of Bodmer's images had moved into distinct printing processes elsewhere. A scientific colleague of Wied's named Heinrich Rudolf Schinz, for instance, borrowed three Bodmer frontier portraits to be engraved for inclusion in his 1835 text Natural History and Illustrations of Humans and Mammals, producing a secondary set of plates for the same images in the corresponding time period.¹⁵ In 1842, Thomas McKenney's and James Hall's lavish History of the Indian Tribes of North America included a re-engraved version of Bodmer's published Tableau 43, along with two plates after paintings by St. Louis artist Peter Rindisbacher. Wied had seen advertising prints for the publication in Philadelphia's print shop windows during his visit, and had purchased the two Rindisbacher works directly from the artist during his first stay

¹³ Filling out these networks is currently the approach of most print studies, which rely heavily on constructing histories around their featured works. See, for instance, Barnhill, ed., With a French Accent, and Delamaire, "An Art of Translation." The giant in this approach is Elizabeth Eisenstein's work on the printing networks that underwrote the Enlightenment; see her two-volume work, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹⁴ The advertisements appear in Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 25. The shop was located at 161 Broadway.

¹⁵ The full account of Schinz's editions and correspondence with Wied appears in Peter Bolz, "Karl Bodmer, Heinrich Rudolf Schinz und die Veränderung des Indianerbilds in Europa," in Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika, exhibition catalog, Nordamerika Native Museum, Zürich (Zürich: Scheidegger & Speiss, 2009) 66–87; a brief mention also appears in Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 29. Schinz continued to update his included Bodmer plates in the second (1840) and third (1845) editions by re-engraving images from the now-published atlas plates.

in St. Louis; he had likely sent the two paintings and Bodmer's print to Philadelphia for their use in the long-running subscription series.¹⁶

It is possible to conceive of the movement of the *benók haté'sh* within Wied's and Bodmer's project along Tretiakov's conveyor belt network, passing through the hands of all involved. But once outside the project, the ability to follow particular conveyor belts quickly diminishes. There are too many players, too many pilfered or re-engraved plates, too many unrecorded publisher conversations and lost sales records—and simply too many printed images. Hölscher had himself originally offered five different versions of Wied's text, and most Bodmer plates were issued in print runs of 355, with roughly sixty-five of these produced in color; it has taken the Joslyn Museum of Art a four-hundred-page text to bibliographically document all of the "original" publication's variations via production networks and international archives.¹⁷ In 1844, the Philadelphia-based Graham's Magazine ran the first of its eighteen images from Bodmer's atlas, each re-engraved by the publication's network of firms. By 1842, the magazine's print-run had reached 40,000, subsequently flooding the American illustrated magazine market with versions of Bodmer's works through 1850.

¹⁶ Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 23–4 and 43 fn72. For Wied's Philadelphia viewing of the McKenney and Hall prints, see *Tagebüch* 1:42 (17 Jul 1832); JAM vol. 1, 72, and for his purchase of the Rindisbacher works, see *Tagebüch* 1:231 (28 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 384. The McKenney and Hall publication, like Wied's and Bodmer's, utilized an extensive network of agents over many years: Henry Inman, who painted the McKenney collection copies for Inman in Philadelphia, began work in 1831, while a popular royal octavo-sized version of the portfolio was issued as late as 1865–9; see the correspondence in AAS, Henry Inman Papers, and the edition in the AAS holdings, #G460 M155 H865 F. Bodmer delivered Tableau 43 to Hölscher as early as September and November of 1839, making the print easily available for purchase and copy by 1842.

¹⁷ Ruud, Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Even the four hundred pages are technically not enough for a complete bibliographic inventory, as no two sets of the printed atlases were identical (!) due to print delays and re-issues; at least nineteen plates were re-issued during the seven-year publication process. For publication numbers, see Hunt, "A Publication History," 106; for Hölscher's subscription variations, see Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 20.

How to pull meaning from the tens of thousands of copies of Bodmer images that populated and were carried along an international network of conveyors in the 1840s? The printmaker's matrix might serve as a useful frame through which to understand the various levels of motion applied to Mandan Buffalo Dancer. In printmaking terms, a matrix is any underlying physical material that holds the image prior to printing, such as stones, sheets of metal, or plates of glass. [Figure 5-3.] Agents in the printing process work on this matrix, directly or indirectly; the matrix receives and holds the products of their labor.¹⁸ This material record of labor remains tied to any matrices' physical properties, as well as the mechanical processes and limitations of print production.¹⁹ In the nineteenth century, for instance, one could not print full-color images; one could only print an underlying tint or add colors by hand.

But a matrix, in what has become the term's more common usage, also marks something new, "something that constitutes the place or point from which something else originates, takes form, or develops."²⁰ We can aggregate the thousands of printed images popping up over miles of conveyors into this "something new" that emerges from the physical matrix and its connected material processes. How? This process is a somatic one in which the physical matrices' involved bodies—those of its maker-agents and its subject-objects—are set in motion.²¹ This motion, however, is restricted by the matrix: its physical properties dictate the

¹⁸ For an approach to print as labor within its mechanical processes, see Michael Gaudio, Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). Jennifer Roberts also takes up labor in her current project on print and American art.

¹⁹ For an extraordinary reading of the engraver's copper plate, its surface, its engraver's labor, and its materiality's relation to image production, see Gaudio, Engraving the Savage. See also my **Introduction**.

²⁰ "matrix," Dictionary.com Unabridged, Random House, Inc. <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/matrix>> (accessed 20 Mar 2016).

²¹ My approach here contrasts those of visual culture historian Vanessa Schwartz and art historian Michael Leja. Vanessa Schwartz offers the "scopic regimes" of a Benjaminian- and western-based visual culture to understand the explosion of imagery in the nineteenth century; see Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, "Visual Culture's History: Twenty-First Century Interdisciplinarity and Its Nineteenth-Century Objects," in The Nineteenth-

terms of its own making.²² These terms then shape the content and meaning of the “something new” produced *en masse*. This chapter breaks down the motion and craft of what goes in and what comes out of print processes, using Tableau 18 and its connected bodies. Part III of the manuscript will then take up the cultural logics of the resulting meta-archive and its deployment, as “what comes out” becomes a socially wide “something new.”

THE THEORY

Eye

As Wied’s 1841 letter to Lloyd attests, the print publication networks of Britain had put the work of Bodmer and Wied on the same conveyors as that of contemporaneous American painter and showman George Catlin. Catlin had arrived in London in January of 1840, accompanied by his traveling Indian Gallery and its eight tons of materials that included paintings, Native-crafted objects, a full Absáalooke [Crow] *tipi*, and two crated live bears.²³ One year later, Catlin was raising funds through subscriptions for the self-publication of his first travel memoir, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians written during eight years’ travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in

Century Visual Culture Reader, Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, eds. (Milton Park: Routledge, 2004) 3–14. Michael Leja proposes an “ecology of images” to describe image proliferation; see his articles “Fortified Images for the Masses,” Art Journal 70:4 (Winter 2011) 61–83, “Scenes from the History of the Image,” social research 78:4 (Winter 2011) 999–1028, and his talk “Mass Modern” at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago (23 Apr 2012), currently available at <<http://www.terraamericanart.org/what-we-offer/american-art-resources/mass-modern-by-michael-leja/>>. The foundation of my approach is Michael Gaudio’s work on the engraver’s “scratch” and its parallel in Native tattooing practices (Engraving the Savage).

²² See again the **Introduction**.

²³ Details on Catlin in this chapter come from Brian W. Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), and William H. Truettner, The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin’s Indian Gallery (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979). Benita Eisler’s more recent biography of Catlin [The Red Man’s Bones: George Catlin, Artist and Showman (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013)], while incorrect or speculative on a number of points, has also been consulted as a resource to cross-check current knowledge regarding Catlin’s itinerary and activities as well as the involved figures.

North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39.²⁴ His socialite friend and benefactor Charles A. Murray had obtained the royal commitments of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and the Queen Dowager for the project. The news had sent Bodmer's English printer Ackermann into a panic, as he feared that Catlin's efforts would preempt and ruin sales of his Wied edition.²⁵ He futilely urged Wied to beat Catlin's production schedule, and Bodmer may have gone to London to ease Ackermann's fears and to view the competition.²⁶ If so, it is likely that he sent an assessment of Catlin and his Indian Gallery to Wied, leading to Wied's confiding in Lloyd that Catlin's drawings were "very poor." Bodmer certainly assured Ackermann in later correspondence of the superior quality of his work over and above that of the American.²⁷

In his letter to Lloyd, Wied invoked the "indexical magic" of the portrait discussed in Chapter Two: "a person of the country would directly know every one of these Indians." In his *Tagebüch*, Wied privately acknowledged that Catlin also had this indexical magic, as a few of Catlin's paintings in O'Fallon's collections "were interesting and [resembled their subjects]," but once in Europe Wied reversed course and claimed such magic for Bodmer's "excellent" work

²⁴ All subsequent references to Letters and Notes refer to this first self-published edition unless otherwise specified; the copy utilized is available through HathiTrust (original from University of Alberta Library).

²⁵ Publication details for Letters and Notes appear in Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries, 68–71.

²⁶ For Ackermann's concern, see Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 21; for the possibility of Bodmer's travels to London and his meeting with Catlin, see Hunt, "A Publication History," 102. This last lacks documentation, so I here present it only as a possibility pending confirmation.

²⁷ Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 21. An astute marketer throughout his career, there is always the possibility that Catlin worked to beat Wied's English edition on the British and U.S. market, if he, like Ackermann, was prone to listening to publishing rumors.

Wied saw several of Catlin's paintings in his travels, in the personal collections of Major Benjamin O'Fallon in St. Louis [*Tagebüch* 1:231 (29 Mar 1833); JAM vol. 1, 384, and again on the return trip, *Tagebüch* 3:190–1 (27 May 1834); JAM vol. 3, 328] and on a shield "painted very miserably" in the possession of Mató Óhka [Crazy Bear; Numak'aki] in the *Awatikihu* [*Tagebüch* 3:156 (8 Mar 1834); JAM vol. 3, 271]. Wied may have made his "very poor" judgment from these viewed objects, but included any drawings, if the translation here is accurate.

alone.²⁸ The project's transatlantic transit aided this strategy, as few to none could verify the likenesses themselves. Bodmer tried to capitalize on this fact when the portrait of the warrior Wêtapinata [Eagle's Nest; Meskwaki (Fox)] was lost by the engraver: Bodmer suggested substituting another under the same name, for no one, he wrote, would know the difference.²⁹

It is important to acknowledge the power of the index that Wied's and Bodmer's claims established for their work.³⁰ Despite the various distances involved in the production of Tableau 18, for instance, the indexical links to the original sitter in Fort Clark were assumed to hold. This assumption held even as the work crossed an ocean, was copied, re-traced, animated, re-framed, and then divided across multiple plate separations, printed, shipped, bound, and delivered—sometimes back across the Atlantic. This indexicality then transferred to Tableau 18's "action...drawn and conceived from nature," as Bodmer claimed: the print's implied motion of the dancers became indexical through association, assumed to have been transferred to the matrix through the artist's eye and hand like the central figure had been.

By his own admission, Catlin could not access Wied's and Bodmer's claims to mimesis-as-capture:

The world will surely be kind and indulgent enough to receive and estimate [my Indian Gallery paintings] as they have been intended, as true and fac-simile traces of individual and historical facts, and forgive me for their present unfinished and unstudied condition as works of art.³¹

²⁸ *Tagebüch* 3:190–1 (27 May 1834); JAM vol. 3, 328. The bracketed half of the translation comes from the JAM editors.

²⁹ Bodmer to Wied, 22 Feb 1840; see Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," 19.

³⁰ My use of index and indexicality is again "index-as-trace," rather than the "index-as-sign" of Charles Sanders Peirce and semiotic theory; see the **Introduction** and my discussion in **Chapter Two**.

³¹ (London) *Athenæum*. Reprinted in *Opinions of the English and United States Press on Catlin's North American Indian Museum; exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London* (London: C. Adlard, 1841) 6.

Catlin claimed the same indexical links and “true and fac-simile traces” to frontier individuals and experiences as Bodmer and Wied. Largely self-taught as a painter, however, he could not access the reinforcing cycle of mimetic ability and accuracy that Bodmer had so ably tapped. His paintings’ likenesses and depicted objects and dress, “unfinished and unstudied” as they were, did not guarantee a reading of authenticity.

In response, Catlin developed a variety of tactics to work against this potential uncertainty in viewers’ responses to the accuracy of his works. He developed an extensive system of “certificates,” or printed and sworn statements signed by frontier figures of note. **[Figure 5-4.]** These statements usually declared that the signatory knew the depicted subject, or had been present at the work’s creation. The certificates were appended to the back of each work, while their texts and signatures were reproduced in Catlin’s printed gallery guides.³² The trace left by the hand of the signatory presumably testified to the veracity of Catlin’s hand. So too did the Native-crafted objects scattered about the Gallery. Many of these could be cross-referenced with their inclusions in his hung portraits.

The compiled testimonies and cross-referenced objects, along with Catlin’s own published narratives and public lectures, led a London reviewer to express his conviction that

³² See, for instance, “A Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin’s Indian Collection; containing Portraits, Landscapes, Costumes, Etc., and Representations of the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians,” reprinted at the end of volume 1 of Catlin’s Notes of Eight Years’ Travels and Residence in Europe, with His North American Indian Collection (London: Published by the Author, at His Indian Collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place, 1848) 248–96. For the U.S. version of the catalogue, see George Catlin, Catalogue of Catlin’s Indian Gallery of Portraits, Landscapes, Manners and Customs, Costumes, &c. &c. (New-York: Piercy & Reed, Printers, 7 Theatre Alley, 1837). My examined copies of all published Catlin materials are housed at NEW-Ayer and AAS, with additional versions of the print portfolios (discussed below) at SAAM and NMAH.

Catlin's images were "all painted on the spot."³³ Similar conclusions ran throughout British and American reviews of the Indian Gallery:

The great and unshared merit of these sketches lies in the circumstance that there is nothing either in the grouping or the detail in anywise imaginary, but that every scene which his collection contains was copied by him from life, while the original was before him. [United States Gazette³⁴]

As works of art their merit depends chiefly on their accuracy, of which no doubt can be entertained. [Art-Union (London)³⁵]

These scenes are all accurately depicted, not in the finished style of modern art, but with a vigour and fidelity of outline which arises from the painter having actually beheld what he transmits to canvas. [Times (London)³⁶]

This notion of witness and transfer through Catlin's skilled hand onto the painter's surfaces was so successful for Catlin that those works constructed later in his studio remained indistinguishable from his frontier work by reviewers and audiences. As art historian William Truettner has pointed out, all of Catlin's dance scenes are variations of one another, relying on the same composition and "lively repetition" of dancers.³⁷ This later body of work, composed three to five years after Catlin's Missouri River excursion in 1832, included a version of the Numak'aki buffalo dance. [**Figure 5-5.**] Thirteen dancers in full buffalo headdresses and colored breechclouts form a circle. Each holds a Native-made weapon, with at least four ceremonial lances, three bows, one war club, and one war hatchet in view; two calumets also appear amid the mix. Only one figure, crouched just off center and facing the viewer, holds a ceremonial

³³ (London) Spectator, reprinted in Opinions of the English and United States Press on Catlin's North American Indian Museum; exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London (London: C. Adlard, 1841) 1. The reviewer specifically mentions the objects on display, and states that "numerous certificates attest the accuracy of the portraits and views" (p.2). Another London reviewer mentions the certificates appended to all of Catlin's painted works and such works' "manifest correctness"; see (London) Court Journal, reprinted in Opinions of the English, 8.

³⁴ Reprinted in Opinions of the English, 13.

³⁵ Reprinted in Opinions of the English, 8.

³⁶ Reprinted in Opinions of the English, 1.

³⁷ Truettner, Natural Man Observed, 117.

shield. One standing figure aims a bow and arrow at a doubled over dancer on the circle's far right side. Catlin uses parallel bent legs and bent waists to connote movement, leading Truettner to call Catlin's dance figures "essentially static" as they miss the mid-step and constant leg-to-leg shift of many Native dances.³⁸

When compared with the local Numak'aki art history of Chapter Three, however, many of the work's inaccurate visual elements and accompanying textual descriptions come to the fore.³⁹ There was no single Numak'aki buffalo dance, but a seasonal slate of buffalo-calling dances and ceremonies performed by *Óhate*—male and female—throughout the year. Some, such as the one witnessed by Wied and Bodmer, had publicly performed versions that became part of the shared Middle Ground culture of the fur trade. We might be able to connect Catlin's version with a public performance by the *Benók Óhate*, similar to that seen by Wied and Bodmer, but for the donning of full buffalo headdresses by each dancer—an element contrary to Numak'aki practice, who only awarded the full headdress to two *Óhate* leaders at any given time. Catlin's featured headdresses with tails also do not resemble those of the *Benók Óhate*, which were not made with a long fur strip down the back, and whose tails were separate components.⁴⁰ Catlin imagined that every man of the village kept a full buffalo headdress at ready in his lodge, "hanging on a post at the head of his bed," so that he could don it and dance any moment "the chiefs" asked.⁴¹ The poised bow and arrow was supposedly used to shoot tired dancers who then were "captured" and dragged out of the circle by bystanders; this

³⁸ Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 117.

³⁹ Catlin included a brief text on the buffalo dance in his Indian Gallery guides (#440, on p.286 of the reprint in volume 1 of *Eight Years' Travels*), and a longer description in *Letters and Notes*, volume 1, Letter 18, 126–30.

⁴⁰ Catlin's own collected buffalo dance headdress only has a mane that extends down the back to the waist. See NMNH, Catlin Collection, 386,558.

⁴¹ Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, volume 1, Letter 18, 128.

allowed replacement dancers to take their places and “easily [keep] up night and day” the ceremony. Such an element is not verified in any other accounts of the Numak'aki dance. Its logics interrupt the *mimesis-as-becoming* of such ceremonies: as a Numak'aki buffalo, how could one then use a bow and arrow?⁴² Additionally, Catlin’s extended timeframe would have proven a danger on the Plains: continuous celebrations would have risked the well-being of an entire village, leaving it without its protective warriors and active hunters for days (or in Catlin’s account, weeks) at a time.⁴³ Instead, ceremonies in the *Awatikihu* ran for a series of nights, while personal vision quests could last for days, usually outside one’s village.⁴⁴ Catlin conflated a host of specific Numak'aki practices into one, with other elements fully imagined or pulled from other tribes’ customs or fur trade rumors.

Despite their inaccuracies Catlin’s writings on the Numak'aki buffalo dance have remained married to this picture. Both have become standard sources of information on the Numak'aki rite.⁴⁵ Wied and Bodmer are also commonly believed to have seen a ceremonial (as opposed to public) buffalo dance in *Mít uta hako'sh*, as shown in Tableau 18. These longstanding beliefs are tied to the effectiveness of the three mens’ eyewitnessing claims,

⁴² Catlin, Letters and Notes, volume 1, Letter 18, 128.

⁴³ Clark Wissler, for instance, records a hunting scene between a “shaman” in full buffalo headdress and skin and a warrior who shoots the Oglala-buffalo with a bow and arrow as part of a “buffalo dreamers cult” among the Oglala; the two figures clearly dress and act in manners distinct from one another. See Wissler, “Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota,” in Clark Wissler, ed., Societies of the Plains Indians, vol. 11, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1916) 91–2.

⁴⁴ Besides Wied’s careful accounts, see the various descriptions of ceremonies and spiritual quests in both Waheenee and Goodbird the Indian.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, the description for the picture and Catlin Collection headdress on p.133 of the Smithsonian American Art Museum’s exhibition catalog, George Catlin and His Indian Gallery, ed. George Gurney and Therese Thau Heyman (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), as well as the painting’s current Luce Center (SAAM) label at <<http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/?id=3962>>.

backed by their works' and objects' indexicalities.⁴⁶ But it takes more than their supposed eyewitness to explain such beliefs' persistence through to the present day.

Face

In the upper right corner of Tableau 18, amongst the gathered *Awatikihu* residents on the *má'ak óti* roof, a woman holds the hand of a young child. **[Figure 5-6.]** The woman, wearing a hide dress, gazes down at her small charge, who is dressed in only a breechclout. He has been captured mid-step, his left foot carrying him forward even as he gazes over his left shoulder toward something away from the central action and out of frame.

A similar child in breechclout and frozen mid-step, one arm stretched upward, appears in a reworked proof of Tableau 27. **[Figure 5-7.]** Bodmer had apparently tried out changes to the plate's composition between the First and Fourth States of the print, although no surviving correspondence details why.⁴⁷ The changes were pasted onto the surface, with the lighter sepia-toned edges of Bodmer's separately inked figures revealing where his replacements attached to the original proof.

The model for Bodmer's pasted-in child appears to have been the doll-carrying child from engraver Theodor deBry's "Indian Woman and Young Girl" of 1590. **[Figure 5-8.]** Bodmer

⁴⁶ I do not mean to suggest that every viewer believed these claims, especially around the Indian Gallery. In his letter to Lloyd, for instance, Wied clearly criticizes the work—although when Catlin later asks for a letter of endorsement, Wied backs away from this critique [Catlin to Wied (2 Dec 1866) and Wied to Catlin (20 Dec 1866); NEW-Ayer]. Later artists Alfred Jacob Miller and Rudolph Friederich Kurz apparently thought of Catlin as a "charlatan" [Peter H. Hassrick, "Introduction," in *Drawings of the North American Indians* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984) n.p.], while John James Audubon considered Catlin's romantic picture of Plains life and Native peoples to be a hoax (see his Missouri River journals of 1843). For an approach to nineteenth-century art and mass culture that might frame Catlin's viewers within a culture of skepticism instead of willing belief, see Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

⁴⁷ Ruud, *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, 170–2.

keeps the child's breechclout, beaded necklace, upstretched arm and mid-stride foot; the tresses trailing behind the girl are removed in favor of shoulder-length ends. In Tableau 18, Bodmer fills out the hair and lowers the outstretched hand, now opposite the striding foot, to snugly fit the watching woman's grasp.

The availability of the image for Bodmer's early nineteenth-century usage came from the deBry image's iconicity: its repeatability over space and time. When Wied and Bodmer visited North America, the image was circulating in popular wood engravings, with the child now a boy and the held objects now a rattle and a club instead of the original girl with rattle and doll.⁴⁸ Yet Bodmer likely chose the deBry image for its indexicality: its claims as the product of an eyewitness artist. The print had been based on an original watercolor by John White, an English artist who had first landed off the shores of present-day North Carolina in 1585 and subsequently created a body of work around local Roanoac life.⁴⁹

The iconicity and indexicality of a given print image are products of its material print processes. The matrix records the traces of its laborers' hand(s) while holding and, when run through a press, employing what print scholar William Ivens has termed "exactly repeatable pictorial statements."⁵⁰ As the resultant prints circulate far and wide, they retain their involved indexical magic even while they "empty" and genericize their subjects. Bodmer pulled on both

⁴⁸ See the numerous proofs based on deBry's images in the proof albums of wood engravers Albert Alden [AAS, Z640 A358 Snd PF] and Richard P. Mallory [AAS, Alfred Jones Papers 1837-1904, Mss. Boxes J]. The albums' proofs cover the mid-1820s through the mid-1830s. The child's gender and objects changed with the version that appeared in Robert Beverley's The History and Present State of Virginia, In Four Parts (London: printed for R. Parker, 1705) 8-9.

⁴⁹ Annotated commentaries on the White watercolors and deBry plates can be found in Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn, American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964). The original White watercolors had been "rediscovered" in 1788 and would be again in 1865; see Gaudio, Engraving the Savage, Chapter Four, and Kim Sloan, A New World: England's First View of America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁵⁰ Ivens, Jr., Prints and Visual Communication, 1.

sides of this dynamic in his choice of the deBry child. He desired (or Wied insisted on) the indexical authority of the artist's eyewitness. But Bodmer also wanted the fictionalization afforded by the image's iconicity: he wanted to transport the deBry child from the Algonquin-speaking Roanoc peoples along the Chesapeake Bay in 1585 to *Mít uta hako'sh* in the spring of 1834.⁵¹ He desired the image's emptied-out, generic, and movable copy even as he called on its historically specific conditions of making. Bodmer's previous suggestion of substitution for the lost Wêtapinata portrait took advantage of this same dynamic.⁵²

In his creation of the atlas prints, Bodmer continuously re-arranged his portraits from the frontier expedition.⁵³ Mato-Tópe (see **Figure 2-5**), for instance, appears as a chiefly observer in Tableau 18, standing near-center on the edge of the *má'ak óti* with a rifle resting across his arm. **[Figure 5-9.]** His identifier in both the portrait and Tableau 18 is the carved and painted knife attached to the crown of his headdress (in this print visible as the small circle of white between the two horns). The knife serves as one of Mato-Tópe's warrior coup marks, an element of dress that connotes a warrior's deeds in battle.⁵⁴ Campaigning with Minitari warriors against Tse-tsehese-staestse [Cheyenne] forces, Mato-Tópe was challenged to a field combat by a Tse-tsehese-staestse chief. The two shot at each other and missed. They then dismounted and ran at each other. The chief threatened Mato-Tópe with his knife, but Mato-

⁵¹ Such movement, importantly, was not simply a product of the print processes of the nineteenth century: see, for instance, the Mughal watercolor *The Hunter and His Wife* (1620–30) at the British Museum, 2008,6014,0.1.

⁵² This dynamic also informed Bodmer's later prints of Indian scenes done with Jean-François Millet, where Native figures bear dress elements from Mesoamerica and the Great Plains in historical scenes of eastern seaboard tribes. See Helena E. Wright, "Some French and American Lithographs at the Smithsonian: A Retrospective View," in *With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860*, ed. Georgia B. Barnhill (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 2012) 92–3. See also De Cost Smith, "Jean François Millet's Drawings of American Indians," *Century Illustrated* 80:1 (May 1910) 78–84. Thank you to Helena for walking me through the Bodmer/Millet works in the Graphic Arts Collection of the NMAH.

⁵³ Many of these cross-references are listed in Ruud, *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, Appendix B, although I suspect the list is far from exhaustive, based on my analysis of Tableau 18.

⁵⁴ See **Chapters Three** and **Six** for more on counting coup and related material practices.

Tópe was faster and grabbed the weapon, wounding his hand; he then turned the knife on his opponent.⁵⁵ Thereafter Mato-Tópe wore a carved wooden knife in his headdress, painted with vermilion on the blade and handle to mark his and the chief's injuries from the encounter.

Mato-Tópe makes five appearances across Bodmer's Tableaus and Vignettes, with two of these being transpositions into village scenes.⁵⁶ The anxiety-riddled Catlin also employed the indexical-iconic dynamic around Mato-Tópe, relying on the chief's presence in his narratives to verify Catlin's western experiences even while Catlin exploited the man's iconicity across his body of work. Like Bodmer, Catlin had painted full and half portraits of Mato-Tópe, which hung in the Indian Gallery through the 1840s.⁵⁷ [Figure 5-10.] Catlin then engraved the full-length portrait for Letters and Notes, which went through ten editions by 1866. [Figure 5-11.] The embossed covers on the sixth and seventh London-printed editions and the 1857 Philadelphia edition also featured this full-length portrait, albeit without identification apart from the carved knife. [Figure 5-12.] In the book's plates, Mato-Tópe makes additional appearances in the frontisplate's public portrait sitting of "a Chief at the base of the Rocky Mountains" and as Catlin's host in his *má'ak óti*.⁵⁸ [Figures 5-13, 5-14.] By 1857, Ackermann's fears of market

⁵⁵ Wied retells this account in *Tagebüch* 3:26 (9 Nov 1833); JAM vol. 3, 55, and explains the related coup marks in JAM vol. 3, 148 fn M8. Catlin also retells the tale in Letters and Notes, 151–3.

⁵⁶ Tableaus 13 and 14 are a full and half portrait of Mato-Tópe, respectively, while Tableaus 18 and 27 show him in the audience of *Awatíkihu* village dances. Tableau 27, admittedly, does not mark his figure with the trademark knife, potentially differing that figure from Mato-Tópe's person; I include him due to the fact that in the *Awatíkihu*, only Mato-Tópe appears in Wied's journal wearing a chief's trailing feather bonnet. Mato-Tópe also appears two other times (Tableaus 21 and 22), drawn by himself; these are discussed in more detail below.

⁵⁷ These hung as #128 and 131 in the Gallery; see the reprint in volume 1 of Eight Years' Travels.

⁵⁸ I use "imagines" here intentionally, as there are a number of details from Catlin's accounts of these events that contradict what we know conditions to have been. In the first account, for instance, Catlin describes a "magical" portraiture practice that earns him the title of medicine man, while Wied's painting sessions reveal *Awatíkihu* residents to be quite sophisticated about portraiture and the exchange processes of the Middle Ground, with Bodmer admired as a "mark maker" rather than any sort of medicine man (see **Chapter Four**). And Catlin's portrait of the interior of Mato-Tópe's *má'ak óti* shows the interior of the *tihó'pini* ("medicine lodge"), absent the markers of the domestic lodge shown in **Figure 2-8**.

conflation rang true, as Bodmer's and Catlin's images appeared together in an edition of Letters and Notes, with three different full-length portraits of Mato-Tópe (one labeled "Wi-jun-jon," another historical Native leader that makes repeat appearances across Catlin's works) included in the book's hodgepodge of plates.⁵⁹ And in an illustrated 1891 edition of General George Armstrong Custer's memoir of the Indian Wars, Mato-Tópe appears as a Tse-tsehese-staestse chief named "Medicine Arrow."⁶⁰ **[Figure 5-15.]** This last use is quite ironic, given the Numak'aki leader's death in The Smallpox Year some three decades earlier than Custer's time on the Plains, as well as the tribal switch to that of his noted enemy.

With this last example, we can begin to see the political potentials of the indexical-iconic dynamic. As art historians William Truettner and Stephanie Pratt have both argued, picturing Native peoples in the Americas from 1700 onward was embedded in processes of statecraft.⁶¹ Images of Native peoples changed in relation to British and American military conflicts and their larger empire- or nation-building campaigns. The "presence in absence" of portraiture carried an authority useful to both its sitters and its benefactors, Native and non-Native, in these endeavors. Delegation portraits served to honor Native leaders who visited the U.S. capitol. Peace medals and Catholic icons continued to carry portraits to Indian Territory as they had for

⁵⁹ George Catlin, Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indians: Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, with one hundred and fifty illustrations..., 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1857). Bodmer's images were re-engraved for the text, which was published at quarto size.

"Wi-jun-jon" was A'ózazą [literally "Shines," sometimes translated as "The Light"; Hohe Nakota (Assiniboin)]; for his biography, see John C. Ewers' essay, "When the Light Shone in Washington," in Indian Life, 75–90. In Catlin's work A'ózazą largely operates as a metaphor for Catlin's version of cross-cultural contact, rather than an historical personage. Wied also met A'ózazą; see Tagebüch 2:157 and 159 (30 Jun–1 Jul and 3 Jul 1833); JAM vol. 2, 246–7 and 249.

⁶⁰ General George Armstrong Custer, Wild Life on the Plains, ed. W.L. Holloway (St. Louis: Royal Publishing Company, ca.1891).

⁶¹ Stephanie Pratt, American Indians in British Art, 1700–1840 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); William Truettner, Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710-1840 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

centuries, and by the early nineteenth century these objects were often enmeshed in complicated processes of political exchange and shifting ideologies.

With the massive acceleration of removal policies in the 1830s, however, and the overlay of what historian Philip Deloria has termed the “reservation regime,” political tides turned.⁶² The goal of Indian policy was no longer the demarcation of a single boundary line between Indian Territory and that of the United States, but of containing Native peoples within ever-shrinking land parcels overlaid by “spatial, economic, political, social, and military restrictions.”⁶³

This containment of Native peoples was a constant, ever-renewing project, one in which print became a critical tool. Print contains its depicted bodies through their suspension between the iconic and the indexical. Bodmer’s and Catlin’s work made Mato-Tópe one of the most reproduced Native leaders across the nineteenth century. Today, few would recognize him. Once afloat in the indexical-iconic sea, the *numakshi*’s portrait could be pulled out and utilized to support a range of contexts, from portraiture to political cartoons—from the historically specific to the generic. Over time, the image’s fictional elements or attached texts become impossible to discern from its historical traces. Names and persons are forgotten.

Hand

Bodmer’s inked deBry child was both an original work of art and a (re)production: a reproduced image, but one reproduced by hand. I hereafter mark this process of moving images from the matrix back into the realm of hand-produced image-objects with the term

⁶² Philip J. Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) 21.

⁶³ Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places, 21.

“auratic (re)production.” I take “auratic” from the work of Walter Benjamin, where aura connotes an original or unique image-object.⁶⁴ (Re)production highlights a print process that produces a new object even as the image remains the same. Certainly processes of copying and imitation have a long history in western art and art historical discourse. What I take up here and in the last section of this chapter is the work of the artist’s hand as an extension of the print process.

Catlin, always short on cash, developed a complex system of quickly (re)producing his images and texts in what are now known as his Souvenir Albums.⁶⁵ Utilizing a mechanical replication process or specially prepared tracing paper, the uniquely drawn graphite images hew so closely to an apparent studio copy that they are difficult to tell apart, save for their reversals on the page.⁶⁶ [Figures 5-16, 5-17.] Each portrait had an accompanying text that cribbed various sections of the published Letters and Notes. These hand-drawn, hand-written,

⁶⁴ Aura is “a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be” (Benjamin, “Work of Art,” Section 3). I here use the term in its most common connotation of a unique, hand-crafted original. See **Chapter Six** for another dimension to the term, namely an object’s historical and cultural embeddedness.

⁶⁵ My comparative examination of the Duke of Portland album (1859; now only available as a whole in its published form, Drawings of the North American Indians) and the Newberry album (ca.1852; NEW-Ayer) is the basis for this discussion. The Gilcrease Souvenir Album, quite different from the penciled versions discussed here, can be found in William Truettner, George Catlin’s Souvenir of the North American Indians: A Facsimile of the Original Album (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum Association, 2003).

⁶⁶ See Truettner, Natural Man Observed, 139 fn7 on the discovery of tracing paper between sheets of identical cartoon drawings at the Library of Congress. For Catlin’s experimentation with and use of photographic transfer methods, albeit later than the 1850s when the majority of Souvenir Albums were made, see George Catlin to (his brother) Francis Catlin (29 Aug 1870), reprinted in Marjorie Catlin Roehm, The Letters of George Catlin and His Family (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966) 403. John C. Ewers believed he had identified a collection of glass slides made by Catlin and used for image transfer, at the time held by the Bancroft Library at the University of California Berkeley; at the time of this writing I have not been able to ascertain the current identification and location of this collection. See Ewers to Orrin W. June (1 Mar 1967), NAA, John Canfield Ewers Papers, Series IV Box 3, Folder: Catlin Paintings – Correspondence 1967.

and hand-bound volumes were then proffered to institutions and wealthy patrons, usually with a pitch for the work's originality.⁶⁷

What does moving print back into the auratic—meaning original, unique, handcrafted—accomplish for Catlin, besides a faster means for raising cash? On the most basic level, auratic (re)production swings print's dynamics back toward indexicality, originality, and the witnessing claims connected to specific art works. By emphasizing their positions as eyewitnesses, Bodmer's version of deBry's child and Catlin's Souvenir Albums interrupt the iconicity that threatens to overtake these images when (re)produced in such large numbers over space and time. This iconicity would render these images unusable for the specific historical claims that both artists want to make. Such claims were clearly important for the success and sale of both artists' works.

On another level, auratic (re)production lifts images from the matrix and sends them back toward the artist's and laborer's hands. To date, print theory has not accounted for this "backwards" motion toward an originary hand, wedded as such theory has been to the Benjaminian split between an auratic original and mass-produced *Reproduktionen*.⁶⁸ Yet even in a contemporary art context, prints involve this simultaneous turn toward an originary hand through their signatures.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 134.

⁶⁸ Section 7 of Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility" [in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008) 22] particularly situates original works of art and their reproductions as opposites. For pressures against this split that have been formative in my own thinking, see Christopher B. Steiner, *African Art in Transit* (1994; Cambridge University Press, 1995), and his essay "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 90–3.

⁶⁹ Today, a print's inscriptions—*incidit* or *incisit* ("engraved by" or "cut by" for the plate engraver), *impressit* ("impressed by" for the printer), and *delineavit* ("drawn by" for the artist)—are usually signed, although prints of the 1840s commonly printed this information. Prints also mark their edition numbers and artist's proof (A/P)

Moving iconic print images back into the auratic allowed Bodmer and Catlin to perform various sleights of hand. With the deBry image, for instance, Bodmer mixed Native cultures that were separated by geographical space, language, and time.⁷⁰ Catlin created or added to a number of his Gallery's already mentioned "Native-made" objects.⁷¹ While he may have originally owned a warrior hide shirt painted by Mato-Tópe, for instance, the one in his collection when its entirety was seized for debts in 1852 was one that carried Catlin's own pictographs. **[Figure 5-18.]** The shirt hung on a life-sized figure in the Indian Gallery, allowing visitors to cross-reference its marks with those appearing in Mato-Tópe's portrait on the Gallery walls (see **Figure 5-10**).⁷² The shirt was also used in Catlin's programs of *tableaux vivants*, instituted to answer the pressing need for "real Indians" during his London run.⁷³ Twenty male actors dressed and posed in a variety of scenes from Catlin's writings. Mato-Tópe was #2 on the bill of "Domestic Scenes," as two actors, dressed in "the same that were worn on the occasion,"

designations by hand. Monotyping involves an indexical transfer from the artist's hand to the plate, which is then usually only pulled in a single print. Fritz Scholder, discussed in **Chapter Eleven**, sometimes used this method. The increasing role of the artist's hand in printmaking across the century is further discussed in **Chapter Seven**.

⁷⁰ The work of Swiss artist Rudolph Friedrich Kurz (1818–71) also informed my interpretations here. Ironically, the images he auratically (re)produced and inserted into his own works were Bodmer's (!); see his work in the Prints and Drawings Department, BMFA; and NAA, John Canfield Ewers Papers, Series 3 Box 5, Folder 52. See also Rosa Bonheur's copies of Catlin's work in Truettner, *Natural Man Observed*, 138.

⁷¹ While I focus here on Mato-Tópe's warrior shirt, Bill Holm has detailed the construction of numerous other "Native-made" objects in the Catlin Collection; "Four Bear's Shirt: Some Problems with the Smithsonian Catlin Collection," in *Artifacts/Artifacts: The Proceedings of the 1984 Plains Indian Seminar* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1992) 43–59.

⁷² In George Catlin's 1846 Memorial before Congress, Catlin claimed that the Gallery contained forty such figures, "the heads of which are facsimile casts." Cited in Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries*, 111.

⁷³ Catlin discusses his *tableaux vivants* beginning on p.90 of *Eight Years' Travels*, volume 1, with the full programs given on pp.96–7. On the craze for *tableaux vivants* in the United States in the 1840s, see Robert M. Lewis, "Tableaux vivants: Parlor Theatricals in Victorian America," *Revue française d'études américaines*, 36 (Apr 1988) 280–91, and Monika M. Elbert, "Striking a Historical Pose: Antebellum *Tableaux Vivants*, 'Godey's' Illustrations, and Margaret Fuller's Heroines," *New England Quarterly* 75:2 (Jun 2002) 235–75. Thank you to Monique Johnson for these sources.

Catlin's *tableaux vivants* can be framed as playing Indian, or the adoption of Native practice, dress, and culture by non-Native peoples [Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)]. The link that one begins to see here and below between the practices and logics of (re)production and playing Indian will be further explored in **Chapter Seven**.

played out “*Mr. Catlin at his Easel, in the Mandan Village, painting the portrait of Mah-to-toh-pa, a celebrated Mandan chief*” (see **Figure 5-13**). Between his iconic prints and handmade objects, Catlin created what art historian Kathryn Hight has termed his “artful fictive construct.” Within that construct, Catlin seamlessly wove together images, artifacts, ideology, and his own “serious fiction” of life in the North American west.⁷⁴

Shortly after Catlin reached London, he claimed that his Native subjects “yet phoenix like they may rise from the stain on a painter’s palette and live again upon the canvass.”⁷⁵ The power he ascribes to the painter’s hand exceeds witnessing on its way toward resurrection. Now sourced in the oils of his palette, his painted Native bodies no longer originate in a frontier studio presence, but in Catlin’s own artistry. He literally claims for himself and his hand portraiture’s power of granting life in the face of its subjects’ deaths.

This move collapses the distance between an original and a copy, between the “true” and the “fac-simile,” leaving few gaps for an audience to discern one from another—a fort from a village, warrior marks from an artist’s replicas, a full headdress from a half. Beyond mere witness, the artist’s hand is now poised as a knowledge producer—a position required by the print process itself, as no print technology of the nineteenth century could indexically capture and record color. Instead, the process relied on this exalted originary and auratic hand.

Body

In his 1841 letter to Lloyd, Wied expressed concern that the German letterpress pages and French atlas prints had not yet arrived in London due to the work Ackermann had yet to

⁷⁴ Kathryn S. Hight, “‘Doomed to Perish’: George Catlin’s Depictions of the Mandan,” *Art Journal* 49:2 (Summer 1990) 123.

⁷⁵ Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 16.

undertake, both in translation and in “begin[ning] to colour the plates.” As noted above, roughly sixty-five plates of each print run were sold as colored editions. In the 1840s this coloring was done by hand, usually by women, in either assembly-style workshops or, for finer editions like Wied’s, by piece work performed in homes.⁷⁶ Hand-colorists would have had Bodmer’s coloring models to follow, and a lead colorist—if not the artist himself—usually performed quality checks and necessary touch-ups before the prints were released. Because of the artist’s model (and sometimes his direct supervision or painting), “hand-coloring was the gold standard of natural history illustration,” as the link to the eyewitnessing artist’s model, supposedly produced indexically on sight, “enhanced the value of the plates as works of art and their authority as scientific documents.”⁷⁷

Yet naturalists could be wary of color in scientific illustration, due to the resistance of color to indexical transfer.⁷⁸ The many animal specimens that Bodmer and Dreiboppel shot, for

⁷⁶ For hand-coloring by assembly line in the U.S. firms of Kellogg Brothers (Hartford) and Currier & Ives (New York City), where each woman would be responsible for a single color, see Catherine Wilcox-Titus, “Napoleon and Lafayette in the Print Culture,” in *With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860*, ed. Georgia B. Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012) 55, Frederic A. Conningham, *Currier & Ives Prints: An Illustrated Check List* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949) v–vi, and H.I. Brock, “Currier & Ives, Printmakers to America,” *New York Times* (22 Jan 1939) 100. For a fuller description of the Currier & Ives process based on the accounts of their artists Louis Maurer and Thomas Worth, including details of the forewoman finisher, piece work, and artist models, see H.I. Brock, “Printmakers to the American People,” *New York Times* (1 Jun 1930) SM7.

Chromolithography, the major color printing process of the nineteenth century, was patented in Europe in 1837; the process crossed to the United States in 1840. However, it was several decades on both sides of the Atlantic before its production time and costs made it commercially viable; for France, see Farwell, *The Cult of Images [Le culte des images]*, and for the U.S., see Georgia B. Barnhill, “Introduction,” in *With a French Accent*, 5–7. Chromolithography’s basic crayon base could also not take on the fine detailed line work that had been developed by engravers (see, for instance, **Figure 5-19**). For the fine arts status of engraving in France, which certainly would have affected Bodmer’s choice of printing media, see Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁷⁷ James Green, “Hand-Coloring versus Color Printing: Early-Nineteenth-Century Natural History Color-Plate Books,” in *Art and Science in Philadelphia, 1740-1840*, ed. Amy R.W. Meyers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011) 254.

⁷⁸ Green, “Hand-Coloring versus Color Printing,” 255–6. Green specifically mentions Mark Catesby in this regard.

instance, began to lose their living colors upon the instant of death.⁷⁹ Nature's colors were themselves subject to change and mutability. Unspoken in these discussions, but just under the surface, was the relation of print processes to the documentation of the human body and its variants, particularly with regard to skin colors.

Wied's *Tagebüchen* entries let us know that there was little to no fine art or natural history print imagery of Native peoples available in the United States in the 1830s, as he had attempted to locate informative prints of Native peoples in the bookshops of Boston, Philadelphia, and St. Louis without success.⁸⁰ In Philadelphia he found several print portraits of Native leaders in a bookshop's windows, but these proved to be only the advertising prints for the anticipated volumes of McKenney's and Hall's History of the Indian Tribes of North America (1836–44), as mentioned above.⁸¹

Print images of Native peoples circulated in the United States in this period but they were of a very different ilk than those of the Wied and Bodmer collaboration. Battle of the Thames and the death of Tecumseh... (1833), for instance, illustrates the turning point of the War of 1812 in the tradition of early American broadsides and political prints.⁸² **[Figure 5-19.]** Part of the American forces under the command of future president William Henry Harrison, a handful of volunteer militia in top hats, overcoats, and green trousers engage in hand-to-hand

⁷⁹ For this reason, Jennifer Roberts declares John James Audubon's Birds of America project to be near-indexical; see Roberts, Transporting Visions, Chapter 2.

⁸⁰ For each, respectively, see *Tagebüch* 1:27 (5 Jul 1832), 1:42 (17 Jul 1832), and 1:235 (4 Apr 1833); JAM, volume 1, 46, 71–2, and 390.

⁸¹ For a sample sales prospectus used to enlist subscribers for a later work by Thomas McKenney, see AAS, G845 M113 M846.

⁸² For a summary of the War of 1812 from the perspective of Tecumseh's Confederacy, see Colin G. Calloway, The Shawnees and the War for America (2007; New York: Penguin, 2008), and Sami Lakomäki, Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). For a helpful comparison of this early American imagery, see Henry Pelham's (*del.*) and Paul Revere's (*inc.*) The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th, 1770 (1770).

combat with Native warriors. Some fire rifles into the forest while reinforcements march in from the left. In red tunics, Native warriors of the British-allied Tecumseh's Confederacy return fire from the right, under cover of a treeline. Four injured warriors sprawl across the forest floor, while two inert soldiers lie among the volunteers. A line of cavalry chases a group of warriors on horseback in the far distance. In the near center of the composition, Colonel Johnson has just fired a fatal blow to Tecumseh, who reels backward.

The handcolored editions of Battle of the Thames... are important markers for the visualization of the Native body in early nineteenth-century America. Tecumseh's Confederacy warriors wear the classical military dress of Roman legionaries: short red togas with classical pteruges at the shoulders, with Tecumseh wearing a brilliantly colored pteruge skirt. Warrior mohawks stand in for a Roman helmet crest of bristles or feathers. This military dress reflects the classicizing tendencies of the period, whereby Native leaders were depicted in classical forms, poses, dress, and hairstyles.⁸³ An 1842 tinted lithograph series of Native delegations to Washington, D.C., depicts its various figures in combinations of military uniforms and horseback. **[Figure 5-20.]** Importantly, the visual details that identify the visiting leaders as Native do not include skin color, as the same lithographic tint shown here is used for the flesh of Major Hook as well as his accompanying Osakiwugi [Sauk] and Meskwaki [Fox] riders. Rather, it is hair (roaches), ornamentation (earrings), weapons (battle ax, gunstock club), or dress (buckskin leggings, bared chests) that mark difference.

⁸³ The garb also appears on a range of characters in melodrama theater of the period; see Figure 7, for instance, and Lauren Lessing's larger discussion in "Theatrical Mayhem in Junius Brutus Stearns's Hannah Duston Killing the Indians," American Art 28:3 (Fall 2014) 76–103.

These same elements mark Native identity in wood engravings of the period. **[Figure 5-21.]** Largely illustrations in periodicals and books and printed solely in black ink, wood engravings had a limited capacity to mark Native difference via skin color.⁸⁴ Their visual syntax consisted solely of lines, and these lines were used to express all aspects of the image. This engraver employed his lines to represent shadow and light evenly across the bodies in his image. He instead relied on elements of dress and brutal behavior to mark Native bodies.⁸⁵

Here, difference is embedded in mutable elements. Dress or weaponry or their associated behaviors could be replaced, discarded, or abandoned under various teachings, governmental systems, and educational opportunities. The notion that race was married to the unchangeable feature of skin color is not present in most depictions of Native peoples through the 1840s—or is so slight, as seen in the War of 1812 military print, as to suggest a continuum of bodies, rather than separate categories. **[Figure 5-22.]** The “red” that became associated with Native peoples’ skin is nowhere visible in these prints as skin color. When skin tones appear through the hand-coloring process, the results are in line with the historical descriptors of brown, tawny, or shades of white—not red.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ What I put forward here is specific to the visualization of Native difference. The black body, for instance, holds its own relationship to difference and the technical limitations of print. For the seminal study of print imagery and its (in)capacities to depict the black body within the system of slavery, see Marcus Wood, Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865 (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁸⁵ These same patterns dominate the visualization of Native figures in sheet music of the period; see the sheet music holdings of AAS and NMAH, Graphic Arts Collection.

⁸⁶ Skin color descriptions in some of the earliest records are “copper” (Columbus, Puerto Rico) and “tawny” (John Smith, Virginia). Skin painting practices were also, from the very first records, in multiple colors; see Jean-François Lozier, “Red Ochre, Vermilion, and the Transatlantic Cosmetic Encounter,” in The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400–1800, ed. Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin, and Beth Fowkes Tobin (London: Ashgate, 2012) 119. See Lozier, p.132 fn4 for important notes on the “red” myth connected to early explorers in Newfoundland, perpetuated through the “Beothuk” entry of the Smithsonian Institution’s Handbook of North American Indians (volume 15, pp.101, 107).

Certainly Bodmer and Wied would have been influenced by the prints popular in Europe, especially in the transatlantic French print market of the 1830s.⁸⁷ When a party of Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska [Osage] performers arrived in Paris in August of 1827, a slew of lithographic prints of the troupe enjoying Parisian life were generated.⁸⁸ One of the most popular of these depicted the troupe in a horse-drawn carriage. **[Figure 5-23.]** As in the American prints, it is dress, ornamentation, and hair styles that indicate Native identities. A Parisian belle appears in the background, her curly hair, softly layered dress, and towering feathered hat emphasizing the troupe's difference on these very points. She appears quite white in comparison to the carriage's occupants, yet it is a difference of perception only: her skin tones equate to those of the print's paper, also used for highlights on the central Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska warrior figure. **[Figure 5-24.]** The two figures' parallel shadow lines utilize the same crayoned layers.

These early prints demonstrate that the visualization of the Native body through nineteenth-century racial theories of biological difference, coded onto the body's skin, was in fact non-existent in the 1830s and early 1840s.⁸⁹ The works of Catlin and Bodmer came into

⁸⁷ For the basics of the French print market, see Farwell, *The Cult of Images*. From the 1820s to the 1840s, many American print firms employed French lithographers or sent Americans to France to learn the trade; see Georgia B. Barnhill, "French Technology and Skills in the United States," in *With a French Accent*, 15–32. Many French publishers also sent prints to the U.S., especially as the French market became oversaturated; this transatlantic market is detailed in Lauren B. Hewes, "'French Lithographic Prints: Very Beautiful'—The Circulation of French Lithographs in the United States before 1860," in *With a French Accent*, 33–47.

⁸⁸ Twenty-seven prints of the Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska performers were registered and deposited in the *dépôt légal* system at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, between 25 Aug 1827 and 28 Aug 1830. The online database of *dépôt légal* registrations is at <<http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/image-france>>. This particular image is database #17659 (29 août 1827) no.711. Every print collection that I viewed for this project contained this or a related Louis-Léopold Boilly print, *The Osage Indians* (1827), suggesting the availability and popularity of these particular French prints in the United States in the 1820s. This finding also suggests that these prints may have served as some of the only widely available fine art visualizations of Native bodies available in the period.

⁸⁹ I am not here saying that the development of these scientific theories was not in fact well underway by this period, but that their underlying notion of race as an immutable biological trait, usually married to skin color, did not widely impact the visualization of difference of Native peoples until the 1840s and after. For an intellectual history of the idea of race, in which Wied's teacher Johann Blumenbach plays a significant role on both sides of the

being within this void, but did so in radically different ways. Bodmer's studio practices endorsed and recognized the importance of Native body paint for his sitters. He and Wied regularly exchanged vermilion and verdigris pigments, and their open-door policy allowed numerous men to come in and paint for sittings as well as various tribal events elsewhere.⁹⁰ At one particular sitting, Bodmer allowed an U'moŋ'hoŋ [Omaha] father of a young boy to mix cinnabar with spit and paint the child's body before proceeding with the sitting.⁹¹ **[Figure 5-25.]**

Bodmer developed a subtractive technique for recording these bodily paints, in both his frontier portraits and his later transference process to the matrix. Where the vermilion ringed the U'moŋ'hoŋ boy's face, for instance, Bodmer had left the underpaper untreated so that its received red watercolor would retain its red hue. His frontier portrait of Húttá Maði ("Goes About Bellowing"), a Paŋ'ka [Ponca] man that the trio encountered upon their arrival at Fort Pierre in May of 1833, performs this subtraction more starkly, leaving open paper for the seashell and the downward drip of white clay from Húttá Maði's forehead.⁹² **[Figure 5-26.]** In other areas of the portrait, to achieve the dusting or colored chalk effect of Húttá Maði's yellow ochre face paint, Bodmer laid down the yellow washes beneath the other tones, a process opposite the sitter's surface application. This subtractive process became even more pronounced when Bodmer translated the frontier sketch into ink and wash for plate production.⁹³ **[Figure 5-27.]**

Atlantic, see C. Loring Brace, *"Race" Is a Four-Letter Word: The Genesis of the Concept* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹⁰ Both vermilion and verdigris appear on Wied's bill at Fort Clark; see Fig. 16.11, JAM vol. 3, 75. For the open-door policy, see for instance Mato-Tópe's visit where he used Wied's and Bodmer's colors and mirror to paint himself for ceremony [*Tagebüch* 3:143 (22 Jan 1834); JAM, vol. 3, 243].

⁹¹ The account of the sitting is in *Tagebüch* 2:52 (4 May 1833); JAM vol. 2, 83.

⁹² The sitting is described in *Tagebüch* 2:102 (1 Jun 1833); JAM vol. 2, 158.

⁹³ Húttá Maði is included as a figure in Tableau 43.

In leaving areas blank or open in order to represent applied Native body paint, Bodmer prevents his own body and hand from taking over that of the Native subject.⁹⁴ Bodmer does not equivocate the roles of the U'moŋ'hoŋ father in dressing his child, or of Húttá Maði in applying his face paint. His painterly techniques instead put Native body paint on the level of the paper or base layers of paint, distinct from the ontological practice of painting one's skin. The representative spaces of the page and the matrix remain illusionary, separate from the body whose image they hold.

Yet Bodmer complained to Wied about this labor-intensive process, saying that he would have been completing twice as many sketches had he not needed to leave the open spaces required by the watercolor medium.⁹⁵ Oils in particular allowed one to paint on or over one's surfaces, especially when mixed with quick-drying solvents, saving time and the extensive layers needed to achieve one's desired effects in watercolor. Oils were Catlin's medium of choice. In Catlin's portrait of Sha-Kó-Ka (translated by Catlin as "Mint"), a Numak'aki girl around twelve years old, Catlin paints her vermillion part and cheeks just as she would have, patting (or brushing) the oiled dust into place.⁹⁶ **[Figure 5-28.]**

Catlin, then, becomes not simply a portraitist with Native sitters, but the painter of Native bodies, ornamenting his illusionary bodily surfaces just as his sitters adorned their real ones. This conflation of his own artist's hand with those of his sitters is seen most powerfully

⁹⁴ Exceptions in Bodmer's work are sitters' tattoos, where the black ink appears to be painted directly over skin tones. This is, again, opposite the actual process of tattooing, where ink is rubbed into or beneath the upper layer of skin.

⁹⁵ Wied to (his brother) Carl (3 Sept 1832), cited in Orr, "Karl Bodmer: The Artist's Life," 354.

⁹⁶ For the vermillion part, see Maxidiwiac, "Making a Tent," Volume 8: Hidatsa-Mandan reports, 1909, Gilbert L. and Frederick N. Wilson Papers, MNHS; for Minitari facing-painting patterns at the end of the nineteenth century, see Maxidiwiac, notes, Volume 16: Hidatsa-Mandan reports, 1914, Gilbert L. and Frederick N. Wilson Papers, MNHS.

when he paints himself. In London, Catlin, his benefactor Charles Augustus Murray, and Catlin's nephew Burr played Indian at the Caledonian Ball, wearing "the finest costumes [that] were taken from the walls of my Room—weapons, head-dresses, scalping-knives, scalps, &c."⁹⁷ The trio used the classical set of Native identifiers—behaviors, weapons, dress, language—throughout the evening, but they had also "painted our faces and hands of a copper colour, in close imitation of the colour of the Indian, and over and across that, to make the illusion more complete, gave occasional bold daubs of vermilion and green or black paint." In the course of the evening this paint was sweated off by the three men, revealing their non-Native identities before the ball was over. Several weeks later, playing Indian at a Polish ball, the group (along with Clara Catlin, George's wife) "kept the paint on our faces, and by understanding no questions, answered none, and passed off with everybody as real Indians."⁹⁸

In these stories, Catlin positions himself and other white men as controllers of this body paint. They could paint themselves and become "real Indians" at will, retaining the paint as long as the disguise was desired; their paint was easily removable with mere water. White women did not fair so well. Indian colors were for them "indelible," and Catlin gives countless accounts of Native paint ruining British women's dresses and lace when these women got too close to the Indian Gallery's Native male performers. Some suffered the bad fortune of being publicly labeled a "hussey" by spectators in the Indian Gallery upon sight of their paint streaks:

"Why, girls, you husseys, you have been kissing those Indians! Bless me, what a pretty figure you cut! why, your faces are all covered with one side of your face, and on your neck! Oh, look at your beautiful new lace!" And it was even so; but

⁹⁷ The entire incident appears in Eight Years' Travels, volume 1, 69–78. On playing Indian, see fn72.

⁹⁸ Eight Years' Travels, volume 1, 87–8.

how it happened, or where, or in what part of the excitement, or by whom, is yet to be learned.⁹⁹

These transferred streaks, difficult or impossible to remove, marked these British women, literalizing their sexual desires through the transfer of color. Such unfortunate women hid their soiled clothes in the backs of their closets out of shame.

In his writings, Catlin conceptualizes race as paint. And he, as the painter, controls the paint. Once the boundary between the illusionary spaces of his canvases and the ontological world had been transgressed, his artist's hand expanded that paint to all sorts of surfaces. Many of the surviving objects from Catlin's Indian Gallery carry a red paint—the same red paint—splashed, daubed, and streaked across their surfaces. **[Figure 5-29.]** It is the same red paint found on most of his portraits, which are known for their singularity of red tone, a quality that Baudelaire found overwhelming in their display at the *Salon de 1846* in Paris.¹⁰⁰ Catlin even came to think of red pipestone (now called Catlinite) as equivalent to Native flesh, supposedly so ordained by the "Great Spirit."¹⁰¹

With this last example, Catlin's links between red as a color and red as biologically determined Native skin color are literalized. Yet Catlin's race-paint operates along a spectrum—Catlin the author is never one to remain consistent with his metaphors or stories—with stone-

⁹⁹ Eight Years' Travels, volume 1, 169.

¹⁰⁰ "Red, the color of blood, the color of life, so abundant in this dark museum, that it was an intoxication;... red, this color so dark, so thick, more difficult to penetrate than the eyes of a snake,..." <<Le rouge, la couleur du sang, la couleur de la vie, abondait tellement dans ce sombre musée, que c'était une ivresse;... le rouge, cette couleur si obscure, si épaisse, plus difficile à pénétrer que les yeux d'un serpent,....>> Charles Baudelaire, "VI. De Quelques Coloristes," from Curiosités Esthétiques, Notice, Notes et Éclaircissements de M. Jacques Crépet, reprinted in Ouvres Complètes de Charles Baudelaire (Paris: Louis Conard, 1923) 127–8.

¹⁰¹ Catlin to Charles T. Jackson (1839), cited in Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries, 40. Native cultures did attach bodily metaphors to the stone; Minitari and Numak'aki peoples avoided using it, for instance, in part due to its connotation with blood. See Butterfly's notes on his Minitari pipe in the AMNH collections (#50.1/5347), found in Wilson Papers, volume 8 (1909) MNHS. For a larger meditation on color and its cultural connotations through biological processes, see Michael Taussig, What Color Is the Sacred? (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

hardened conceptions of race only forming one end of its range. Instead of racial determinism, the real damage done by Catlin's race-paint was its required artist's hand and a matrix on which to imagine and paint. Catlin expanded these requirements in two directions at once. As Catlin moved his hand and paint into ontological real-world spaces, he also invited his viewers to take up their own brush, real or imagined: "I regret exceedingly that I cannot do justice to the subject that is now before us; but, knowing the facts, I will simply give them, and not aspire to the picture, which the reader's imagination will better paint than my black lead can possibly draw."¹⁰² Catlin acknowledged the print medium's limitations in conveying images to the viewer; he called upon the viewer to intercede, to read color when his own marks—and the technical limitations of print—fail.

In other words, Catlin conceived of the Native body in its matrix state of potentiality, held but unrealized, upon which he and his viewers can paint and mark according to their imaginations. This matrix-as-screen quality emerges when one examines various versions of Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio.¹⁰³ First published in 1844 in London and privately sold by Catlin at the Indian Gallery, the portfolio's plates were loosely based on Catlin's original oil paintings, with a number of compositional changes. In "Buffalo Dance," for instance, a number of the dancers now wear only partial headdresses, including the foreground figure whose exposed face turns toward the viewer. **[Figure 5-30, compared with Figure 5-5.]** Clothing and ornamentation are much more detailed, and the central figure with shield and lance now resembles Bodmer's central dancer, taller and caught in mid-step motion. Bodmer's works may

¹⁰² Eight Years of Travels, volume 1, 176.

¹⁰³ The information on the various plates and editions of the North American Indian Portfolio comes from Gregg Walla's meticulous research and subsequent presentation to the American Historical Print Collectors Society; thank you to Gregg for sharing his materials.

have influenced the lithographer's changes: as Catlin was given an Ackermann edition in February of 1844, it is entirely possible that Catlin's Portfolio project was conceived in answer to Bodmer's atlas.¹⁰⁴

Importantly, no lithographic marks indicate where and how the buffalo dancer's paint should be applied, leaving hand-colorists free to mark the body at will. **[Figure 5-31.]** When Catlin, losing money on the Portfolio, fire-sold twenty editions to a London publisher in March of 1845, it is also likely that he sold his lithographic stones to raise cash.¹⁰⁵ Shortly after, a second edition of the Portfolio was produced by James Ackerman in New York City. Without guides for the face and body paint, entirely new patterns were applied to the printed plates. **[Figure 5-32.]** These new patterns became the norm thereafter, utilized when the mass-market edition of the Portfolio was published by Currier & Ives in 1865.

The movement of Catlin's physical print matrices (his printer's stones) facilitated the subsequent re-imaginings of the Native body. Such re-imaginings attended the movement of all of Catlin's published works. There are patron-colored versions of plates from Catlin's Letters and Notes and enough variations in Currier & Ives Portfolio plates to suggest that those who could not purchase professionally colored editions sometimes bought untinted ones and filled them in at home. In general, archival professionals treat hand-coloring very carefully, as plates can be doctored, tinted, or painted from scratch at any point after their publication. Sometimes these later practices are easy to detect. At some point after its purchase, a handcolored version

¹⁰⁴ This copy is now held by the William L. Clements library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. It was gifted to Catlin by British publisher and editor Samuel Carter Hall on 5 Feb 1844. Hall was the editor of the Art Union Monthly Journal at the time, which would be renamed The Art Journal in 1848; the gifted edition suggests that Hall may have held conversations with Catlin about (re)producing his works for the Journal, spawning the idea of the Portfolio. For more on Hall's life and work, see Hazel Morris, Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and The Art Journal (Wilby, Norwich: Michael Russel Ltd., 2002).

¹⁰⁵ The March 1845 sale of the Portfolio editions is documented in Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries, 106.

of the Tassaert print was given additional layers of skin color and painted stripes across several performers' foreheads, neither of which appeared in the print's lithographic shadings or in the original painted model.¹⁰⁶ [Figure 5-33.] And numerous painted versions of Mato-Tópe's full-length portrait from Letters and Notes available on the private market and in digitized library copies across North America bear an uneven range of colors, from the rainbow of late-nineteenth-century Plains quillwork to washed out tones of yellow.

Certainly all black-and-white prints of the nineteenth century stood as invitations for their audiences to imagine and color. But for Native peoples, such practices were not only intentionally created and called for by influential figures such as Catlin, but had dire political consequences as they put non-Native peoples in charge of imagining and defining Native bodies, sight unseen. Thus, the moving matrix is where Kohl's three-pronged relation of print processes, cultural rhetoric, and political power met, arising from the "coloring craft" generated by the matrix surface. In the assertion of witness and authority in the 1840s, "one more inscription, one more trick to enhance contrast, one simple device to decrease background, or one coloring procedure might be enough, all things being equal, to swing the balance of power and turn an incredible statement into a credible one that would then be passed along without further modification."¹⁰⁷ Such statements were rapidly taken up and woven into larger public discourses, visualization projects, and institutional archives. Yet their foundation lay in the craftsman's infinitesimal changes that also, just out of view, crafted knowledge. Once in the

¹⁰⁶ Compare with the handpainted version in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-201 (164)-FOL. This version carries all the same paint colors and areas, suggesting a close copying from the original artist's model colors.

¹⁰⁷ Latour, "Drawing Things Together," 42. My results here strain against Latour's assertion that inaccuracies in the flow of inscriptions will gradually work themselves out, suggesting that his theory may not account for the effects of colonialism on such flows.

flow of information, such sleights of hand became difficult to detect, leaving “how it happened, or where, or in what part of the excitement, or by whom,” extremely difficult to puzzle out.

On a weekday in 1885, another self-trained ethnologist sits down at a desk. The profession is professionalizing: his desk is in an office in a public governmental building designated for various collections, he wears a suit and tie, and the work is a paid job for the federal government in Washington, D.C. Otis Tufton Mason had begun his work as Curator of Ethnology at the National Museum the year before, combing through the National Museum’s collections and records to set up a formal Ethnology Department. This year has been a year of re-organization, with Mason authoring several articles on key object types held by the Museum and issuing new policies for collections and display.

He now prepares to write a memo. Mason had realized several weeks earlier that the Museum’s photographic records of Native peoples did not document skin color. He plans to ask the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) to help remedy this problem by lending him their staff artists. These men will help tint the skin and dress of hundreds of Native sitters in the Department’s photographic collections. The work would be done not in the field or in proximity to the dozens of Native men and women who arrived in delegations to the U.S. capitol every year, but at the desks in the BAE’s illustration studios.

Mason’s request testifies to the spread of the meta-archive’s print dynamics: the lack of an artist’s documentation of skin color in the print process was now considered a failure and liability within a major scientific collection. And despite his scientific position, in his written

reasoning Mason intentionally lined up this plate-coloring project within the lineage of the illustrious galleries of George Catlin and the delegation portraits of Charles Bird King. The visualization of race as something beyond print technologies' capabilities, anchored instead in the artist's hand, had taken hold on a national scale, broadened into larger cultural logics that were built on the (re)production dynamics of the meta-archive. To these logics we now turn.

CHAPTER 6

Okípe

“*Okípe* means... uh, if this was the same color as this here [holding up two differently colored pieces of cardstock]—maybe it’s not a good illustration but—if this was the same color as this here, it looks like one another. They’d look like each other.”

— Madoke Wades'she [Iron Bison, also known as Edwin Benson; Numak'aki (b.1931)], elder and *ka-ka* (knowledge keeper)¹

Buffalo dancers were harbingers of motion. A *benók haté'sh* donned his weapons and honor marks to perform them, his buffalo headdress to effect a mimetic transformation. This kinematic potentiality of buffalo dancers explodes the Fort Clark studio's captured *hako'sh*: if one takes one's bearings while standing still, it is to mark a point from which to orient one's subsequent actions and direction.

In a literal sense, the physical portrait of Mandan Buffalo Dancer was packed into a crate, hoisted onto steamers and wagons, and stowed in cargo holds or Bodmer's lodgings to make the transatlantic journey to Bodmer's Paris studio. The work was not the only portrait of a *haté'sh* to make the trip. Numak'aki warrior Sí-Sída, a frequent visitor to the Fort Clark studio, had completed two watercolors of an *Okípe* buffalo dancer, one a frontal view and the other a

¹ From the six-part interview series with Edwin Benson, posted to YouTube by panaritisp, Enhanced Audio version (2010), Part 5, 3:15+.

profile.² [Figures 6-1, 6-2.] Perhaps Sí-Sída had gotten the idea for a frontal and profile pair of drawings from Wied's collections or Bodmer's previously completed portraits.³ Yet as he moved from frontal to profile, Sí-Sída activated his dancer, taking the standing figure with outspread arms to a stepping crouch, a single foot in contact with the edge of the page, bent arms and knees rustling the attached brush bundles in the wind.

More than a paired pendant of physical motion, however, Sí-Sída's *haté'sh* is activated through a range of Numak'aki cultural practices, sitting at the crossroads of its "sense of totality," where "history, song and dance, visual art, and ritual use all come together."⁴ One cannot divorce the physical motion of the *haté'sh*'s body from this surrounding totality; his movement attested to the *haté'sh*'s becoming, and to what "came together" through that bodily becoming. Centuries earlier, Kinu Mashí ("First Worker") and Numak Máhina ("Lone Man") had gone out walking. The two beings, who had just met the recently emerged Numak'aki peoples, had decided to effect a transfer of the *Okípe* ceremonies and objects from

² The *Okípe* contained buffalo *haté'sh* but only as some of many participants; they are often confused with the *haté'sh* of Bodmer's portrait but are quite distinct, as is the four-day *Okípe* from the *benók ónape* ("buffalo bull dance"). The source of this confusion is Catlin's writings on buffalo dancers in Letters and Notes and later, on the *Okípe*. This chapter looks to correct these confusions by expanding the scholarly account of the *Okípe*.

³ Sí-Sída's choices match later ethnographic norms for subject capture, but it is unclear if these norms would have been visible in the materials that traveled with Wied and Bodmer and had thus affected Sí-Sída's choices. Sí-Sída brought "Indian figures" to Wied and Bodmer on the 16th of November, "giving them to us as a present" [Wied (16 Nov 1833) 3:31; JAM, vol. 3, 65]. He brought works again on the 18th [Wied (19 Nov 1833) 3:32; JAM, vol. 3, 67], and did a pair of portraits for the *Okípe* figure of Óki-Hdé ["Foolish One," or, more literally, "Causes Foolishness"; Wied translated the name as "Devil"] on the 9th of March [Wied (9 Mar 1834) 3:157; JAM, vol. 3, 271].

⁴ I am here expanding curator Nora Marks Dauenhauer's "sense of totality" from her original concept around a danced object; see her brilliant description in Dauenhauer, "Tlingit *at.óow*: Traditions and Concepts," in The Spirit Within (New York: Rizzoli Press, 1995) 21. For additional work that places dance in relation to cultural "senses of totality," see the online essays for the exhibition Circle of Dance (NMAI, 6 Oct 2012–8 Oct 2017; <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/index.html>), and Mique'l Askren, "Dancing Our Stone Mask Out of Confinement: A Twenty-First-Century Tsimshian Epistemology," in Aaron Glass, ed., Objects of Exchange: Social and Material Transformation on the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast (New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d.) 37–47. For a potentially comparative concept of "dancing the mask" found in African art history, see Z.S. Strother, Inventing Masks: Agency and History in the Art of the Central Pende (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) Chapter 1, and Robert Farris Thompson, African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White (Berkeley: UC Press, 1979).

the Sahnish [Arikara] peoples to the Numak'aki, judging the Numak'aki to be more suitable keepers for the *Okípe* rites and objects.⁵ At this moment of decision, the pair discovered a caterpillar in a nearby tree, and ordered the *Okípe haté'sh* thereafter to don the red, white, and black painted patterns and single horn of the insect, as well as the bundles of brush to mark the creature's home.⁶ The *Okípe* dancer became a buffalo, a caterpillar, and a tree simultaneously, and in so doing merged a series of past events into and with his present.

Okípe, the ritual process of resembling and becoming, of “looking like” something else, can be understood as a form of Native print: a collection of practices that facilitates the continuance of cultural and historical knowledge in a visual form. In their practice, these forms then (re)produce auratic Native culture. Aura, in this usage, assigns value and authority to the object through its embeddedness within community and tradition—what structuralist sociology terms a society's “deep structures.”⁷ As artist and curator Gerald McMaster has noted,

⁵ Tseca Matseitsi, “Origin of the Mandans and of the Okipa Ceremonies,” Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson. Kinu Mashí and Numak Máhina gave the Sahnish the Prairie Dog Curing Ceremony in exchange; see Tseca Matseitsi's extended account in Bowers, Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization, 158.

The cultural superiority claim that appears with these given histories by elders at the turn of the twentieth century may reflect long-standing enmity between the two groups; see Fenn, Encounters. Today, claims of cultural superiority counter the Sahnish origin given in Tseca Matseitsi's story, stating that the *Okípe* has always only been a ceremony of the Numak'aki-Nuptadi (Potter, Sheheke, 44). This alteration over time may reflect the legal processes by which tribal entities are recognized by today's governments, which dictate that tribes present provable historical claims to unique cultural and geographical lineages in order to achieve legal recognition. For an exploration of the gaps between legal, historical, and cultural realities in defining Native tribal entities, see James Clifford's discussion of the 1976 case of Mashpee Wampanoag peoples in The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) Chapter 12.

⁶ Bowers (Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization, p.132) notes that the stomach painting changed if the Red Stick Ceremony was included at the end of the *Okípe*, to thank society members for their help in organizing the four days of ceremonies, with the face of First Pretty Woman painted on their abdomens instead.

⁷ I take this usage from Benjamin, “Work of Art,” 22. Benjamin's own terms for this embeddedness are often translated as “cult value.” Literary scholar Philip H. Round invokes sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of “habitus” as a replacement for Benjamin's value-laden language; see Round, Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663–1880 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010) 217, 221–2. See also the work of anthropologist Christopher Steiner on the African art market's copies and its implications for a re-evaluation of Benjamin's theories of aura and reproduction in non-western cultural contexts [African Art in Transit (1994; Cambridge University Press, 1995) esp. 35 and 103; and “Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in Unpacking Culture: Art and

“Aboriginal people in the nineteenth century saw the problematics of replication not so much in terms of objects, but in terms of access to and ownership of ideas,” expressed through “ritual, ceremony, and experience.... complete with stories, songs, and prayers.”⁸ The replication of these ideas guaranteed the continued production—and thus the continued reproduction—of Native societies.⁹ Replicated in material and immaterial forms, these ideas became auratic (meaning original and unique as well as socially embedded) objects or experiences, even as they “looked like” objects or experiences of the past.

One such object, a Numak'aki hide painting, carried another pair of *Benók Óhate* leaders across the Atlantic with Wied. The entire hide includes twelve figures, thirty-seven animals, one dragonfly, and four horses bearing riders. **[Figure 6-3.]** Thrown spears, bucking horses, and animal defecation denotes action in some areas of the composition, putting various elements into relationship, although any overarching narrative is impossible to detect from the visual

Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 87–103]. For “deep structures,” see Elise Boulding, “Deep Structures and Sociological Analysis Reflections,” American Sociologist 14 (May 1979) 70–3.

In Benjamin’s theory, reproduction specifically creates a mass public and proves the decline of the West because it removes objects from their originating deep structures. It is important to note that Benjamin reduced his discussion of this historical and communal embeddedness in partial response to Theodor Adorno’s critique of the essay’s early draft, which disparaged the implication of spiritual practices, experiences, and beliefs inherent in Benjamin’s theory of aura [see Theodor Adorno, “Letter to Benjamin” (18 Mar 1936), trans. Harry Zohn, in Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996) 520–3]. Likewise, the history of art has come to connote aura with an object’s authenticity as a unique hand-crafted object (see **Chapter Five** fn62), and has largely dropped the religious and cultural implications of Benjamin’s argument.

⁸ Janet C. Berlo and Gerald McMaster, “Encyclopedias of Experience: A Curatorial Dialogue on Drawing and Drawing Books,” in Janet Berlo, ed., Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1996) 22, 24. McMaster was specifically offering a Native response to Benjamin’s notions of aura and reproduction in the nineteenth century, which I further here.

⁹ As theorist Louis Althusser wrote, “every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year. The ultimate condition of production is therefore the reproduction of the conditions of production.” See Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation),” On Ideology (1971; London: Verso, 2008) 1. See also discussions of social (re)production through objects in Melanie Benson Taylor, “Unsettling Accounts: The Violent Economies of the Ledger,” in Colin G. Calloway, ed., Ledger Narratives: The Plains Indian Drawings of the Lansburgh Collection at Dartmouth College (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012) 199, and “Materiality: An Introduction,” in Daniel Miller, ed., Materiality (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) 4.

elements alone. In the bottom right corner of the composition, however, are a pair of officers of the *Benók Óhate*, authorized to bear their ceremonial lances, central painted shields with prayer cloth borders, and full headdresses. [Figure 6-4.] The figure on the right also displays the buffalo's erect tail of anger.

The presence of these two officers suggests that the robe may narrate another episode in Numak'aki history, specifically the account of Dog Den Butte.¹⁰ Speckled Eagle, a resident of the Butte, grew angry at the Numak'aki villagers, for they gave one of Speckled Eagle's possessions to Numak Máhina. In his revenge, Speckled Eagle staged a buffalo dance—the very first—that drew all of the region's animals to the Butte, where he held them captive. Without game, the Numak'aki peoples starved. To trick Speckled Eagle into releasing the animals, Numak Máhina, whose hunting had also been disrupted, taught the Numak'aki-Nuptadi village-band the *Okípe*—a buffalo dance that resembled the one conducted at Dog Den Butte. The dance's loud drums lured Speckled Eagle from his home to the Nuptadi village. There, the performers' perfect mimesis of the original dance convinced him to release the captured animals, ensuring the survival of Numak'aki peoples.

Okípe was a cultural practice that embodied mimesis-as-becoming. In its mimetic performance of an "original," the annual four-day event replayed and renewed Numak'aki history, tying the present always and continuously with the past. Villagers also *became* the original dance's participants. A young boy had served as Speckled Eagle in the first Nuptadi dance. When Speckled Eagle questioned the boy's suitability in the role, the young boy answered that he was Speckled Eagle's son, and released dragonflies from his eyes to mimic the

¹⁰ For a telling of the Dog Den Butte origin story of the *Okípe*, see Fenn, *Encounters*, 119–20.

lightening that flew from Speckled Eagle's own. Speckled Eagle, who was seeing a doubled (re)production of himself in the boy—Speckled-Eagle-as-dance-leader and Speckled-Eagle-as-progeny—fell for the ruse, and his heart was softened toward his Numak'aki neighbors. This never-ending mimetic cycle, reenacted annually in the summers, is arguably imaged in the hide's figure who wears a shield sporting a version of himself. **[Figure 6-5.]** Such a shield traditionally bore a depiction of one's god or power creature, the being that came to a warrior or spiritual leader in a dream or vision and thereafter became one's personal source of power—the being that one had permission to become. This depicted being-warrior on the hide has thus been caught in a never-ending cycle of mimetic (re)production, having the rights and power to become himself, his head and fringed or feathered arms so perfectly drawn in parallel by the hide's creator.

(Re)production and auratic culture were entangled at the deepest levels of Numak'aki senses of totalities. The man who had painted this Numak'aki hide had owned the rights to (re)produce the episode in pictographic terms—to set the dances and animals in motion through the episode's verbal and pictorial forms.¹¹ Such rights also entailed the responsibility to protect one's knowledge by mastering its (re)produced forms. Sometime after The Smallpox

¹¹ It is possible that the robe was drawn by Nip'uh [Broken Marrow; Numak'aki] during one of his many sessions in which he explained Numak'aki cosmology to Wied. In particular, on the evening of the 13th of February, Nip'uh both explained various kinds of animals and gave Wied “an extensive description” of the Okípe [3:149 (13 Feb 1834); JAM 257]. The two men understood each other “with the aid of signs” and Kipp's translation skills. The German term *Zeichen* [“signs” (n.)] refers to both marks and traces, as well as those symbols used in sign language, leaving open the possibility that the “signs” referred to may have been written, potentially on this hide.

Nip'uh's narration of the tribal information and history around the *Okípe* may have paved the way for the Buffalo Society leader to sit for his portrait by granting a sort of “permissions” for sharing Society information; it is also possible that the sitter was Nip'uh himself, who, if this robe was painted by him, had the rights to (re)produce the leader's honor marks and society regalia.

Year, a *Benók Óhate* leader began to fill the pages of a small notebook.¹² The notebook became part of a *hó'pini* bundle, and the name glyphs at the far left side of one of the notebook's spreads provide the history of the bundle's owners.¹³ [Figure 6-6.] These lists did not simply detail ownership (or what art history knows as provenance) but, linked mnemonically to each owner's addition to the bundle—a feather, a bone, a bead, and so on—also cued the list's *ka-ka* to relate important events connected with each owner's life.¹⁴ Aurally (re)producing the lists of bundle owners had been done for centuries, but with The Smallpox Year, written forms such as this one may have come into being, or taken on new importance, to record a *ka-ka*'s knowledge and ensure the list's (re)production into a future that was growing increasingly unstable.¹⁵

¹² Two of the Little Owl notebook's pages are reproduced in Greene and Thornton, eds., *Time when the Stars Fell*, 315, while a full reproduction of the pages and family ownership details appear in Russell Thornton, "A Report of a New Mandan Calendric Chart," *Ethnohistory* 50:4 (Fall 2003) 697–705. I take the notebook's association with the *Benók Óhate* from its depicted leader (see **Figure 6-6**): only such a leader would have had the rights to (re)produce the figure on the page. This association lines up with the associated clans of the notebook's family on Fort Berthold, as given in Thornton, p.702–3.

¹³ My date of post-1837 and analysis of its uses comes from comparison to the object *ka-ka* list authored by Moves Slowly [Numak'aki], kept by his daughter Mópinte [Scattered Corn Woman; Numak'aki], and photographed by Edward Curtis in 1908; see Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 5 (1908) 20–1 and the sandwiched plate, "Record of custodians of a turtle drum—Mandan." This list was associated with one of the Numak'aki *pke* ["Turtle Drums"] of the *Okípe*. The Little Owl notebook contains two different object *ka-ka* lists (one is shown in **Figure 6-6**), and these both differ from that associated with Mópinte's *pke*. However, the similarity in glyph style and repeated elements suggests that the Little Owl notebook may also have been drawn by Moves Slowly. Specifically, the name glyph of Páhu-Hót [Gray Nose; Numak'aki]—a curved ink-washed line—ends all three lists. Páhu-Hót was not a Corn Priest, but he kept the *Okípe* and Corn Priest bundles after The Smallpox Year until Moves Slowly came of age. If authored completely by Moves Slowly, these records were all made after 1837.

¹⁴ Exactly how the narration of history happens in relation to an object's *ka-ka* list is illustrated by Good Voice [Minitari], *ka-ka* of the Numak'aki *Manaduse-wisek* ["One-Enemy-Killed"] ceremony bundle in 1910, who narrated the bundle's history upon its sale to Gilbert L. Wilson on 29 Aug 1910. See "Origin of the *Manaduse-wisek* Ceremony...", Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson.

¹⁵ By the time that amateur ethnographers Edward Curtis and Gilbert Wilson were interviewing Numak'aki residents of Fort Berthold in the first decade of the twentieth century, Numak'aki women such as Mópinte, as well as Minitari men and women such as Packs Wolf and Good Voice, owned object bundles that had historically been inherited along Numak'aki male lineages.

Literary scholar Philip Round has documented how Native knowledge keepers developed society-only orthographies to write *hó'pini* secrets into bound volumes.¹⁶ One such orthography can be seen in the lines at the top of the Little Owl notebook spread. On later pages of the book these potentially orthographic marks seem to turn into a river. [Figure 6-7.] Taking reading cues from the object *ka-ka* list, which was to be followed from the bottom to the top, the line and its incorporated symbols, circles, and “flow” up the page may mnemonically detail a Numak'aki history of travel, islands, village sites, and stays along the Missouri River.¹⁷ This history, (re)produced in a visual but oblique form on the page, was then passed down as part of the *Okípe* bundles and lore to those few who had the rights and power to be such bundles' *ka-ka*.

While Native print practices (re)produced auratic culture, they often did so across variant forms. *Ka-ka* lists could also be sung; hides and notebooks recorded visual forms of aural histories that were also danced.¹⁸ In this sense, “new” forms developed in the mid-nineteenth century, such as *ka-ka* notebooks and ledger drawings, reincarnated already existent patterns of Native print. In one ledger drawing, U.S. military scout Red Bear [Sahnish

¹⁶ Round, *Removable Type*, 148–9. It is unclear, however, if the Little Owl notebook only contains nineteenth-century written orthographies: the alignment of the *ka-ka* list on the page—one is to read from the right bottom of the two strands; when one reaches the top, one flips the entire book and reads the left-hand column, now also from bottom to top—suggests a way of reading far from European book cultures, and may point to much older indigenous sources. Additionally, the language of these elements was very old, without translations by Tseca Matseitsi's lifetime: Gilbert Wilson noted that the “old language” of an *Okípe* song was unintelligible, recorded on wax records in the field in 1909 [see his notes on the recordings in Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson], while Alfred Bowers stated that numerous elements in Tseca Matseitsi's account of the *Okípe* “was unintelligible to the listener” (Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, 157 fn41).

¹⁷ See Maximilian's retelling in JAM vol. 3, 174–81, “First Creator and Lone Man” in Beckwith, *Myths and Hunting Stories*, 1–17, and Tseca Matseitsi's late (1930) version related to the giving of the *Okípe* in Bowers, *Social and Ceremonial Organization*, 156–8 for comparative versions of this early history.

¹⁸ Curtis states that Moves Slowly also composed a song version of the *pke ka-ka* “to aid his memory”; Curtis, *North American Indian*, volume 5 (1908) 20. See Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, Chapter 4 for the complete *Okípe*, compiled across a variety of sources, and its enactments of various Numak'aki histories.

(Arikara)] drew himself as a Buffalo Society leader who wears his warrior coup marks in addition to his position's regalia.¹⁹ [Figure 6-8.] Honor marks, as described above, were carried into the dance arena on the body of each dancer. Like each name in a bundle's *ka-ka* list, each mark triggered the telling of an event. These tellings happened often, in a variety of ceremonial and society contexts as well as public arenas, and as a result of their repetition, coup marked an individual warrior as much as did names and clans.²⁰ In 1911, for instance, Tseca Matseitsi and Butterfly accounted for each member of their *Mi'maúpaki* ("Stone Hammer Society") cohort through their accumulated coup marks of kills, wounds, strikes, and horses shot in battle, while they struggled to answer their interrogator's questions about their friends' exact ages.²¹ Such recountings demonstrate how coup marks carried the potential for "reproduction at will," and in their deployment, (re)produced warriors whose character, status, rights, and communal roles were defined by their deeds.

Ledger books like the pair that hold Red Bear's drawing began to emerge as Native (re)production processes became ceremonially more difficult to perform due to U.S. policy, encroaching reservation controls, and reduced populations. By the 1870s, many of these

¹⁹ Red Bear was identified by Candace Greene from the name glyph above the figure; Greene, "Arikara Drawings: New Sources of Visual History," *American Indian Art Magazine* (Spring 2006) 81. Thank you to Candace for informing me of the existence of the ledgers of which Red Bear's and the following drawings are a part, and sharing her own thoughts on the works with me.

I believe Red Bear to be the author of the work due to the common tribal practice that only the owner has the right to draw one's warrior marks. In a contemporaneous Minitari example, this right may have been extended to one's wife, sister, or son but only after one's death, via clan rules [see Wilson's notes for collected objects #17 and #44 in Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson]. Red Bear died in the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, after this drawing was made.

²⁰ See Steiner, "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality," for more on the role of repetition and duplication as social cues (p.100), forming notions of "truth" told through standard conventions and adherence (p.93). For the system of coup, see Marian W. Smith, "The War Complex of the Plains Indians," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 78:3 (31 Jan 1938) 425–64.

²¹ Tseca Matseitsi (with Butterfly's aid), "Men's Age Societies," Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson. The cohort was roughly forty boys who had purchased the society around 1865. At the time of the interview, Tseca Matseitsi was still a member of the Kit Fox Society, for young men ages seventeen to twenty, as no cohort had emerged to purchase the society from his cohort.

knowledge-(re)producing ceremonies had a visual counterpart in ledger books, where warriors continued to mark their deeds in the historical manner (with coup marks, leggings and warrior shirts, weapons, painted hides, and painted skin) on the page, instead of the body.²² These books continued to function in their original social and warrior contexts. By 1877, nearly every boy in Plains communities had a book of his own, drawn in by his society cohort of friends. Older boys and men wore their books into battle, where they were often picked up, drawn or written in, and collected by U.S. soldiers.²³

Even as ledger books functioned internally, however, they began to circulate and move outside Native communities and their age-graded societies. Another buffalo dancer, this one done by Sahnish and Hunj papa scout Nee si Ra Pat, appears in the second of the pair of books that holds Red Bear's drawing.²⁴ **[Figure 6-9.]** The elements of Mandan Buffalo Dancer appear here in duplicate, with penciled versions of the ceremonial shield and lance, the goggle eye, the full headdress, and dragging wolf tails. In fact, it is the similarity to the *benók haté'sh's* earlier portrait that is of note here: eight pages of this notebook mimic Bodmer's atlas prints in subject and composition.²⁵

²² Janet Catherine Berlo, "Drawing and Being Drawn In: The Late Nineteenth-Century Plains Graphic Artist and the Intercultural Encounter," in Berlo, ed., Plains Indian Drawings, 12–8. Ledger art has sometimes, as in Berlo's writings, been posed as the "first Native histories" of nineteenth-century colonial change. My approach here counters this short historical view, not only due to the centuries of colonial encounters recorded in hides and winter counts, but also the long Native engagement with book history (see Round, Removable Type).

²³ These descriptions of ledger art usage come from Berlo and McMaster, "Encyclopedias of Experience," 19–20. Tseca Matseitsi says that one's society cohort became one's friends, which may provide a clue for how various artists in a single book were related; see "Men's Age Societies." For more on ledger drawings as elements in the constitution of Native age-graded societies, see Michael Paul Jordan, "Striving for Recognition: Ledger Drawings and the Construction and Maintenance of Social Status during the Reservation Period," in Colin G. Calloway, ed., Ledger Narratives: The Plains Indian Drawings of the Lansburgh Collection at Dartmouth College (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012) 20.

²⁴ Identification again by Greene, "Arikara Drawings," 74–7.

²⁵ The eight pages are .02 [Bodmer's Tableau 31]; .07 [Vignette 16]; .12 [Tableau 36]; .13 [Tableau 27]; .19 (shown here) [Tableau 18]; .21 [Tableau 23]. In addition, there are fourteen full-length portraits across the two notebooks

Society identities like those depicted in the drawings of Red Bear and Nee si Ra Pat continued to play a major role in Native military life during the Indian Wars.²⁶ But many ledger drawings also responded to the motions of non-Native print. Such (re)productions likely circulated to Native communities in the belongings of mobile military officers, if not appearing in locally (re)produced or sold newspapers, periodicals, missionary literatures, print editions, and military memoirs. Ledger drawings such as Red Bear's and Nee si Ra Pat's thus sit in a position of "doubleness," simultaneously adopting and rejecting non-Native print practices even as they continued their own cultural patterns, retaining their capabilities for "reproduction at will."²⁷ Such doubleness can be seen in Minitari chief Poor Wolf's 1890 construction of a Bull Dance, potentially done in response to Bodmer's own print.²⁸ **[Figure 6-10.]** At the bottom center is a *Benók Óhate* leader in full headdress, drawn in near-resemblance to that of Nee si Ra Pat. His feet continue the movement patterns of each of this Double Back's buffalo dancers, highlighting the stillness of Bodmer's likeness as something imposed, even false. Three spectators are drawn: one each at the left and right of the *haté'sh*, and a third at the top right of the page, looking out at the viewer. The latter takes on the Native sitter's frontal gaze at the photography studio camera, a norm of Native Plains cultures by 1890 that

that could be considered call-and-response answers to the ten sets of full-length portraits that appear in Bodmer's atlas, many of which feature warriors in their dress garb and honor marks. Two of the book's pages—.02 and .09—depict buffalo hunts that bear an eerie resemblance to Catlin's work, with .09 including the handpainted (here, hand-penciled) blood.

²⁶ Greene, "Arikara Drawings," 81–3.

²⁷ This position of "doubleness" is identified by Round, who presents it as a spectrum along which sit various Native print practices, from developed and printed syllabaries to *ka-ka* notebooks; see [Removable Type](#), 147.

²⁸ My examination supports a Minitari identification for the work, and draws the artist identification from its paired collection painting on which Poor Wolf is named in the collector's captions [NMAI #4/2446(1)]. Much of the overall style of this second sheet, as well as the colors and inks, match the first. Additionally, various warrior elements on the second sheet support the identification of a Minitari author and subjects: three figures don Minitari clay-daubed hair extensions; one figure sports late-nineteenth-century Minitari warrior coup marks on his leggings; two figures bear *Awatikihu* winter camp rosettes on their robes' quilled or beaded blanket strips; one carries a Minitari drooped sunflower lance, regalia of the Kit Fox Society; and one holds a Three Affiliated Tribes tobacco bag.

anticipates the dancer in the Black Maria studio by only a few years. Unlike Bodmer and Wied, Poor Wolf felt no need for village details; village-band and clan identities for the dancer and his spectators may have been evident to him and his community viewers. This was Poor Wolf's Native print—his original and hand-crafted object that (re)produces auratic Native culture—in answer to Tableau 18, the two pointing hands in the uppermost corners not only drawing the viewer's gaze toward the assembled figures but also citing a regular nineteenth-century visual motif of print culture.

Okípe had dangerous limits. Round notes that many Native cultures in the nineteenth century were brought to the brink of civil war in the process of constructing new public cultures—new ways of *becoming*—through print processes.²⁹ In 1908, the young Minitari man Rabbit Head posed as an *Okípe* dancer for Edward Curtis's camera. He did so secretly, as he and Packs Wolf [Minitari], *ka-ka* of the *Okípe* bundles and two of the *pke* at the time, were not to offer such knowledge for (re)production in the context of Curtis's encyclopedic print project.³⁰ Within several weeks of the session, Rabbit Head had died.

Warnings of unauthorized *looking like* had long been part of *Okípe*. Before there was *okípe*, there was a powerful ceremony in which priests would cut off the sick or injured parts of those who needed healing. In returning these parts to their source bodies, the priest healed his Native patient. One day, it was a Native man's head that needed healing. The priest cut off the head but, laying it on the altar, found himself unable to reattach the appendage. The man bled to death. The Great Spirit, seeing this, said, "This is not going to work. You're not like me, you're

²⁹ Round, *Removable Type*, 224.

³⁰ For an account of Curtis's time at Fort Berthold and his secret project of photographing the remaining *Okípe* objects—which he himself described as an "unethical affair"—see Florence Curtis Graybill and Victor Boesen, *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) 37–40.

doing it wrong. You want to be like me, you can't be." The *numakshí* heard this voice and told the people, "Don't do that no more." And the people were afraid for a long time. Then one day the priest gathered the people, and made a suggestion: "We can do something similar to it, that looks like it. And that's where the word become *okípe* dance."³¹

³¹ My re-telling is based on Madoke Wades's account (see fn1); all of the quotations are his phrasings.

PART III. SURFACING

CHAPTER 7

Print, Valuation, and the Artist's Hand

When Otis Mason requested the help of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in adding skin tones to the National Museum's anthropological photographs of Native Americans in 1885, one of the artists likely employed in the coloration project was Antonion Zeno Shindler. Shindler had taught drawing at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia before taking over a Washington, D.C., photography studio then later joining BAE staff, where he painted (re)productive casts and tinted photographs.¹ While working at the BAE, he continued his fine arts studio work, producing numerous portraits of Native delegates. **[Figure 7-1.]** Many of these portraits were painted (re)productions of his studio's photography work. His portrait of Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi (Sauk)], now in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, was based on Shindler's glass negative (re)production of an earlier daguerreotype of the leader.²

¹ Shindler managed the McClees Studio from 1867–71, when its original owner, James E. McClees, returned to Philadelphia in 1867. Shindler eventually broke out on his own. For studio street addresses and activity of McClees and Shindler, see the listings for McClees Studio, McClees & Beck, McClees, Shindler & Company, and Shindler in Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (New York: Dorset Press, 1988) Appendix 1, p.231. Some of Shindler's BAE work is defined in SI Report 1885.

² The original portrait was taken by itinerant daguerreotypist Thomas M. Easterly around 1846–7, and copied by Shindler in 1868. Unlike many of the studio portraits taken in Washington, D.C., Easterly's early images were not taken through delegation arrangements. See Fleming and Luskey, *North American Indians*, 195, Figure 8.8 (p.200), and Easterly listing, Appendix II, p.235–6.

[Figure 7-2.] Further complicating this pictorial loop, Shindler’s photographic work was often completed on contract to the U.S. government. This means that his photographic models like Kiyo-Kaga had also migrated into the very archives that Mason was in the process of re-categorizing and coloring.³

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Bodmer’s Tableau 18 traveled similar routes. The image-object was purchased by fine arts collections and institutions, photographically copied into scientific archives, (re)produced in transatlantic publications, displayed in popular exhibition formats, and transformed by artists and museum staff into auratic (re)productions.

Part III has the difficult job of making sense of these broad image migration patterns. This is where Peter Mason’s “surfacing” metaphor for the “movement of ebb and flood” of an image’s life is especially helpful. Bodmer’s original portrait of the *benók haté’sh* does not leave Wied’s study in the family manor until his great-grandnephew, Karl Viktor Prince zu Wied, discovers his great uncle’s expedition papers in the 1950s and arranges for their travel and show across Europe and the United States.⁴ Tracing only this particular image-object, then, would elide a century of the buffalo dancer’s continued movements through its connected print processes. Yet the image’s connected physical prints number in the thousands, too many to follow. Instead, what is visible in the archives are various moments of *surfacing*, where Tableau

³ This photographic loop is further detailed in **Chapter Nine**.

⁴ The exhibition, “Carl Bodmer Paints the Indian Frontier,” went on view at the Smithsonian Institution and then traveled across the U.S. from 1953–57; see SIA, Smithsonian Institution, Traveling Exhibition Service, Records 1952–1981, Record Unit 290, Box 111, and National Collection of Fine Arts (U.S.), Office of the Director, Records 1912–1965, Record Unit 312, Box 36. The lead image for the exhibition’s press and posters: Mandan Buffalo Dancer, as seen in Leslie Judd Portner, “Plains Indian as Visiting Artist Saw Him,” Washington Post and Times Herald (9 Jan 1955) J6–J7. The watercolors and expedition materials never made it back to Europe: they were purchased by the Omaha Natural Gas Company (later known as Enron) and presented to the Joslyn Art Museum on long-term loan, where they remain today.

18 and its variants are located and often traceable in their physical movements. In this chapter, I read across a number of these archival locations and routes to define the multivalent role of the artist's hand within the period's developing fine arts and market economies. Chapter Nine then reverses this frame and focuses on a single location.

MOVING IMAGES ACROSS THE OCEAN

One of these archival locations is Bodmer's plate sketch for Tableau 18 in the collections of George A. Lucas, now housed at the Baltimore Museum of Art (see **Figure 5-2**). Born in Baltimore, Lucas had gone to Paris in 1857 after his father's death left him a regular allowance.⁵ He quickly became immersed in buying various objects and artworks for his friends and family, and within a year word had spread among Baltimore's elite that Lucas was an able and efficient agent for their long-distance art collecting.⁶ By the fall of 1859, Lucas had become a major buying agent for William Thompson Walters, a wealthy Baltimore businessman whose collections formed the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. By 1866, Lucas was the European purchaser for Samuel Putnam Avery, an American fine art dealer, collector, and philanthropist in New York City.⁷ Lucas kept a daily, abbreviated journal during his fifty years as an American

⁵ Details of Lucas' life and collections come from Lilian M.C. Randall, "Introduction" and "Chronology," *The Diary of George A. Lucas*, ed. Lilian M.C. Randall, volume 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) 3–42, and *The George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute*, exhibition catalog (12 Oct–21 Nov 1965) Baltimore Museum of Art.

⁶ For a list of Lucas's American clients, see *The Diary of George A. Lucas*, vol. 1, Appendix E.

⁷ Walters introduced Avery and Lucas via contract in 1864; the three men originally ran auctions in New York City, with Lucas procuring with Walters' funds the consignment lots sold by Avery. Details of the three men's partnership between 1864 and 1866 can be found in Randall, "Introduction," 10–3, and Madeleine Fidell Beaufort, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Introduction," in *The Diaries 1871–1881 of Samuel P. Avery, Art Dealer*, ed. Madeleine Fidell Beaufort, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Welcher (New York: Arno Press, 1979) xv–xix. Art auctions were a major sales mechanism of late nineteenth-century New York; Avery, once in business for himself, ran two a year. See John Ott, "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market: Blockbuster Auctions and Bourgeois Identity in Gilded Age America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42:2/3 (Jun 2008) 133–58. And for Avery's

art agent in Paris. Just a few of Lucas's thousands of entries over his lengthy career paint an extraordinarily detailed picture of the period's Europe-U.S. transatlantic art market. The following specifically concern Lucas's relationship with Bodmer in the late 1880s, when the artist re-settled in Paris after many years in the artist's colony at Barbizon⁸:

25. Wednesday [Apr 1888]

Slight headache – At Egusquizas 32 rue Coperne to see about stuff for Avery - At Bodmers & bought lot of eaux fortes for Avery –
To dinner with Marks at Restaurant de Londres with Child & P. Sichel –

27. Friday [Apr 1888]

Visit from Bodmer to whom paid (check) S P A – 290 fs for eaux fortes. Visit from Gouneutte to whom paid check (S P A) 270 fs for 7 eaux fortes & 4 drawings –
In rue Duphot –
Visit from Mrs Stott bringing me eaux fortes (for S P A) from Maud –

11. Tuesday [Dec 1888]

At Kratkes who came to Pottiers & signed his edition of the Colza Breton Plate –
At Bodmers – At Mlle Blerys – At Pottiers –

16. Sunday [Dec 1888]

At home all day –
Visit from Bodmer bringing four large lithographs which I bought S. P. A. for 125 fs – Call from Portier to show me gilt bronze Barye Gaston de Foix

9. Thursday [Jan 1890]

At Bingen who was soon in a few days to have ready 3 cire perdu Walters bust –
Ordered 4 ordinary green at 300 fs each – At Bodmers & off'd 100 fs for his lithograph with Millet figure – At Salmons & bought lot of etchings for S. P. A – At Chaplains (out) – At Pottiers to arrange Walters & S P A bills – Maud to dinner –
M in bed –

5. Wednesday [Feb 1890]

At home all day with kind of migrain – Call from Bonnat – At Martins for information Hervier, stopped at Diots – At Meyers & took 5 large Litho Bodmer

accounts of his annual European buying trips, during which Lucas often accompanied him, see The Diaries 1871–1881.

⁸ Bodmer appears in Lucas's journal entries as early as 1867, but the frequency of contact between the two men increased to every few months once Bodmer re-located to Paris in 1884. Prior to this, Lucas largely saw Bodmer during his irregular visits to Barbizon, Bodmer's cherished home since 1849.

@ 40 each & 10 small @ 60 = The lot 190 fs – Eugene in after dinner – Call from Deville rue Copernic 25 showing me his eau fortes of Kittens & Butterflies after

9. Sunday [Feb 1890]

At Moreau-Vauthier – At Bodmers who signed lot of lithographs – At Decks (out), left drawing and note to go on plaque A. In rue de Rennes & bought 2 books, Leopold Robert & Manon Lescaut – also 2 Eaux fortes Norblin & Bodmer – At Mme Fatouts –⁹

These entries detail Lucas’s daily duties, largely consisting of the buying and returning of works, regularly calling on artists and dealers, commissioning artworks, paying bills, negotiating prices, and packing client crates. In the 1860s the American art market changed dramatically with the establishment of New York City branches of Paris-based galleries like Goupil, Vibert and Company (later Goupil & Cie) and Durand-Ruel.¹⁰ These New York City galleries specialized in French prints, paintings, and the decorative arts, making them widely available to a U.S.-based clientele for the first time. Avery’s American-owned gallery followed the same art importation trends, largely stocking contemporary French works and material culture through Lucas.¹¹

Creating Valuation

As noted in the Lucas entries, Bodmer’s prints—from both the Wied project and his subsequent years in Barbizon—made their way to Avery’s New York City enterprise in large quantities, often purchased in what Lucas notated as “lots.” The volume of material making its

⁹ The journal entries quoted here come from *The Diary of George A. Lucas*, vol. 2, pp.668, 681, 702, and 704.

¹⁰ This expanding transatlantic French print market is covered in **Chapter Five**, fn8. Michel Knoedler, who established the New York City branch of Goupil, Vibert and Company in 1846, later went independent, selling contemporary French art from A.T. Stewart’s mansion at 772 Broadway; Stewart in turn was one of Avery’s major clients.

¹¹ Lucas is particularly noteworthy in this regard, as one of the only Americans working as an agent for American buyers in these decades; see Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, “Introduction,” xxviii.

way from Paris to Avery's shop was enormous: a few pages later in Lucas's journal, he prepares case 680 for Avery (212 and 213 for Walters). This volume is caricatured in an ink and gouache sketch of a suited Avery perched atop a stack of his crates. **[Figure 7-3.]** Each box carries a label or visual aid to mark its contents, and the foremost crate, tipped forward as a foot rest, advertises their end destination in Avery's Fifth Avenue store. Avery declares his allegiance to his most renowned artists by flying a pennant of their names topped with a palette. At the prow is a carved female figurehead, the traditional portage amulet of sea-going vessels. Here, she also marks the world of fine art, posing as the traditional female nude while also denoting an older symbolic form of "America" herself.

The image of Avery's sea voyage, indicated by the lighthouse in the back left, introduces one of the major problems of a transatlantic art market, one already encountered: How does one retain artistic authority across an ocean? How does one verify a work's accuracy and authorial claims?

Lucas and his fellow collectors addressed these problems through the artist's hand. Lucas, Avery, and Walters often purchased an artist's original sketches. For Lucas, this included Bodmer's sketchbooks and plate preparatory sketches (see **Figures 2-4** and **5-2**). Lucas also requested that Bodmer sign the works if not already done so, as seen in his February 1890 visit to Bodmer's studio with a lot of unsigned lithographs.¹² Lucas, Avery, and Walters collected autographed letters, available to verify a signature as needed. Lucas recorded these letters in

¹² This collecting practice likely explains the inaccurate label of "Corbeaux, 1831" on Bodmer's preliminary plate sketch for Tableau 18 (**Figure 5-2**), and Lucas's detailed explanation of Bodmer in the boat in the field sketch of First Landing (**Figure 2-4**).

his print inventory, putting them on an equal footing with his collected printed works.¹³ Avery collected autographed photographs, as well as the autographs and autographed sketches of artists he personally considered his friends.¹⁴ **[Figure 7-4.]** Lucas's counterpart to Avery's autograph book was his collection of palettes, including Bodmer's, that preserved his collected artists' working methods through the indexical dabs and ordering of colors.¹⁵ In one example, he hired Léon Joseph Florentin Bonnat to auratically (re)produce through paint the (re)produced hand casting of Antoine-Louis Barye onto Barye's palette. **[Figure 7-5.]**

Even as objects in their respective collections, these items served as tabulations of value: each item could be used to cross-check the veracity of signatures, canvas colors, and finished prints to ascertain the unique value granted through the artist's hand. These items were also mobile forms, small enough to travel with collections as accompanying documents. As the books, photographs, sketches, and palettes moved across the ocean, they preserved their indices of each artist's hand across long distances and cross-cultural boundaries. They acted, in essence, as intentional countermovements: they limited the loss of knowledge and value across the market's ever-expanding routes of motion. The popularity of such auratic

¹³ The handwritten, seventy-three-page inventory is part of the George A. Lucas Collection, BMA Archives. Lucas appears to have borrowed letters at times to verify existing signatures: "Returned Bodmer [Rudolph, Karl's son] his letter Sensier to K Bodmer —" (1 Oct 1895; *The Diary of George A. Lucas*, p.814).

¹⁴ Both men's sales practices also involved photographs. Avery produced photographs of works of art as part of his own print practice, prior to working as a dealer, and later collected many; Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, "Introduction," xv, xxx. Lucas sometimes sent Avery photographs of works for possible purchase.

¹⁵ Bodmer's palette is BMA #1996.45.299. Another palette indicative of these collectors' practices is that of Francisco Domingo y Marques (BMA #1996.45.321), which is jointly dedicated to Lucas and Avery. For a closer look at Lucas' palette collection, see "BMA Voices: Painters and their Palettes" at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mVgNBO6-PXU>>.

indexical “proofs” grew to manic heights just as the market and its associated networks expanded at unprecedented rates in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶

In this case, the opposite of aura, or an object’s unique historical testimony, is not Benjamin’s many *Reproduktionen*, per se, but image-object motion. Such motion, as examined in the last chapter, underwrites print processes. Motion is also “a condition intrinsic to the artifacts at the core of colonial ventures” as well as art markets.¹⁷ As print, collections, and

¹⁶ Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher describe a “mania for artist’s autographs” in France in the 1860s and 70s (p.xxx), the very period in which the French market expanded across the Atlantic. Ironically, beyond what this chapter can treat, the autograph then crossed back into print through a periodical like *L’Autographe du Salon*; the parallel movement of the signature back into American print periodicals is discussed in Gaudio, Engraving the Savage, Chapter Four.

These valuation forms could quickly outgrow their usefulness and validity. By 1901, the valuation technique of the “signed proof,” for instance, had become something of a market joke. Originally “supposed to furnish the buyer with a visible guarantee that his proof was one of the earliest pulled from the plate, or at least one which the artist considered a thoroughly satisfactory impression of his work in its best state,” enormous numbers—sometimes hundreds—of signed “proofs” of a single print could be found on the early twentieth-century market. Because plates and their pulled prints deteriorated during the printing process, many of these so-called proofs were in fact inferior late-run prints. See an anonymous review of Alfred Whitman’s The Print-Collector’s Handbook (London: G. Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan, 1901) in Folder 12, Alfred Jones Papers 1837–1904, Mss. Boxes J, AAS.

While I am here looking at the practices around three major players in the transatlantic creation of the fine arts market, one could also approach valuation of this period through the movement of genre [see Peter Bermingham’s work on the Barbizon School, for instance: Barbizon Art in America: A Study of the Role of the Barbizon School in the Development of American Painting, 1850–1895, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan, 1972); American Art in the Barbizon Mood: A Visual History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976)] or iconography (see Marie-Stephanie Delamaire’s work on Thomas Nast prints that utilized French painting’s iconographies in An Art of Translation). I am also omitting here the valuation practices of artists, dealers, and collectors in controlling the movements of their works, such as withholding an artist’s works until after their death; see Orr, “Karl Bodmer,” 370, for this practice among Bodmer’s dealers and publishers at the end of his life.

¹⁷ Wendy Bellion and Mónica Domínguez Torres, “Editor’s Introduction,” Winterthur Portfolio 45:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011) 103. These two can also overlap, as art markets can form one of the mechanisms by which colonial image-object motion happens.

My analysis in this chapter follows recent turns in transatlantic and colonial North American art histories and material culture studies toward “objects in motion” and “networks” of picture flows. For “objects in motion,” see both the special issue of Winterthur Portfolio 45:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011), edited by Wendy Bellion and Mónica Domínguez Torres, and Roberts, Transporting Visions. For network studies on art in the very period under discussion, see Melody Barnett Deusner, “Wall to Wall: Zones of Artistic Engagement in Late Nineteenth-Century America,” in Michelle Facos and Jayne Fagnoli, eds., A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016); “Whistler, Aestheticism, and the Networked World,” in Linda Merrill and Lee Glazer, eds., Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013); and “‘In seen and unseen places’: The Henry G. Marquand House and Collections in England and America,” Art History 3:4 (September 2011) 754–73.

colonial ventures move image-objects, a correlative investment in the artist's hand emerges to counter the effects of such image-object travel.

“ARTISTIC MECHANICS”

At the end of the nineteenth century, the fine arts market and its emerging arts institutions developed a still-dominant logic of value tied to the artist's hand, whereby the indexical link between a unique auratic object and its artist or artisan primarily drives the object's market price. Yet the market and its institutions were simultaneously embedded in a variety of print processes. Both Lucas and Avery had been involved in print industries since childhood. Lucas's father was a successful Baltimore publisher; Avery had apprenticed to an engraver in his teens.¹⁸ By 1841, Avery had established himself in the trade as an independent contractor, eventually working for the major illustrated press of the day including the Herald and Harper's Monthly.¹⁹ At the time of Avery's career switch from illustrator to art dealer in 1864, however, the engraving profession was facing intense pressures from technological change as practitioners began to feel the pinch of developing photographic print processes that required little to no handcrafting of their various matrices.²⁰ Wood engravers then developed a

¹⁸ Avery first apprenticed to a bank-note company to learn the trade. For details on Avery's engraving career, see Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, "Introduction," x–xii, and Ruth Sieben-Morgen, Samuel Putnam Avery Engraver, Ph.D dissertation (Columbia University, 1942).

¹⁹ For Avery's business specimen scrapbook (defined in **Chapter Nine**), see the Metropolitan Museum of Art's "S.P. Avery, Engraver on Wood" (#201.9Av3 Av32).

²⁰ Wood engraving had developed in the United States in the 1790s, largely in a journalistic context, as engraved woodblocks could be set and run among composite typeface. In 1832, Richard March Hoe, an American inventor, completed the single small cylinder press, while Hippolyte Michaud-Marinoni simultaneously invented a rotary press in Paris. Unlike platen (bed) presses, the cylinder or rotary press operated by feeding paper into a rotating cylinder that was lined with a curved plate. Previous platen and hand presses had turned out a maximum of 400 impressions every hour; the single cylinder press turned out 1,000 to 1,400 impressions an hour. By 1844, when Hoe registered the invention of his industrial steam-powered six-cylinder rotary press, the printing capacity

professional rhetoric that positioned the engraver's hand in an "ambiguous" space between art and machine.²¹ These New School engravers "saw themselves at once as true artists and perfect machines," whereby their finished pictures were both mere technological (re)productions—projects of "self-effacement" in which human creativity was not visible—and testimony to the engraver's singular hand, bearers of "the aura of inimitability that attached to the unique scratch."²² Through such a positioning, engravers could both create for a fine arts market and compete with emerging technological processes.

This ambivalence toward the crafting hand can be seen in a range of fine arts debates in the same period, "an era in which the role and status of the hand [in artisanal labor] were subjects of intense and impassioned debate."²³ American *trompe l'oeil* ("eye-deceiver") painters of the period thrived in this ambiguous space where handicraft met machine.²⁴ As

registered in the tens of thousands per hour—a large-scale development that made printing the modern newspaper and novel possible, relationally increasing the engraving profession.

For more on the development of photographically aided halftone processes in the 1880s and 1890s, see Neil Harris, "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Halftone Effect" (1979), in Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 304–17, and Estelle Jussim, Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1974) Chapter Four.

²¹ Gaudio, Engraving the Savage, 137. This rhetoric accompanied the movement known as the New School of Engraving; the suspension of the hand is critical to Gaudio's approach to representations of Native peoples in this period, as discussed in Chapter Four of his text.

Numerous public debates on engraving carried these tensions; for my study I have relied on "A Symposium of Wood-Engravers," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 60:357 (1 Dec 1879) 442–53; a series of articles on engraving in The Century: A Popular Quarterly 38:4 (Aug 1889) 576–89; and the anonymous commentary, "The Outlook for Wood-Engraving," in The Century: A Popular Quarterly 40:2 (Jun 1890) 312–3.

²² Gaudio, Engraving the Savage, 140, 144.

²³ Emily Dana Shapiro, "Machine Crafted: The Image of the Artisan in American Genre Painting, 1877–1908," Ph.D. dissertation (Stanford University, 2003) 88. In her project, Shapiro examines debates around the artist's hand in the period's etching revival, Arts and Crafts movement, photographic pictorialism, and *trompe l'oeil*. See also Shapiro, "J.E. Chalfant's Clock Maker: The Image of the Artisan in a Mechanized Age," American Art 19:3 (Fall 2005) 40–59.

²⁴ Translation from Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, "*Trompe l'Oeil*: The Underestimated Trick," Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe l'Oeil Painting, ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, exhibition catalog (13 Oct 2002–2 Mar 2003) 16. American *trompe l'oeil* fits within Ebert-Schifferer's category of "classical *trompe l'oeil*," whose defining elements are (1) no visible traces of the painting process on the work's surface, and (2) the plausible size of the depicted objects (p.18).

American art historian David Lubin has pointed out, *trompe l'oeil* painters erased their own labor by erasing any visible trace of their works' production from their paintings' surfaces.²⁵ To complete such erasure ironically required superior handcrafting skills, as *trompe l'oeil* painters so perfectly depicted their subject-objects as to deceive the eye, if only temporarily.²⁶ This demonstration of craft then accrued esteem and market value to the artist's hand, effecting the transformation of "artisanal skill into social and commercial values."²⁷ It is no surprise that this transformation sometimes occurred in public, or what art historian Paul Staiti has termed *trompe l'oeil*'s "theater of spectatorship," as witnesses could then verify the skilled operations of the artist's hand. William Harnett, for instance, often demonstrated his visual acuity in painting bank notes to collectors or crowds of friends, while Alexander Pope had himself photographed at work.²⁸ [Figure 7-6.]

The Market Dynamics of Print

The skilled erasure of the hand puts *trompe l'oeil* paintings on par with these decades' rapidly advancing "many marvels" of "reproductive technologies" and print processes—including those invented by Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, and George Eastman.²⁹ Framed within these terms, *trompe l'oeil* painting of the period can be viewed as a form of

²⁵ Or what Lubin terms "the craftsmanship of the crafter"; see Lubin, *Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 291.

²⁶ Whether *trompe l'oeil* painters actually deceived their viewers or not has been a major thread of the genre's analysis in American art history; see Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011) Chapter 4; Leja, *Looking Askance*, Chapter 4; Paul Staiti, "Con Artists: Harnett, Haberle, and Their American Accomplices," in *Deceptions and Illusions*, 90–103; and Cécile Whiting, "Trompe l'oeil Painting and the Counterfeit Civil War," *Art Bulletin* 79:2 (1997) 251–68.

²⁷ Celeste Brusati, "Capitalizing on the Counterfeit: *Trompe l'Oeil* Negotiations," in *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550–1720*, ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, ca.1999) 69.

²⁸ Staiti's concept and the Harnett examples come from John Davis, "Notes on a Harnett Collector: The 'Mysterious W.J. Hughes,'" *Archives of American Art Journal* 32:2 (1992) 20.

²⁹ Lubin, *Picturing a Nation*, 266–7, 276–7.

auratic (re)production.³⁰ No one better illustrates this than New Haven painter John Haberle. Haberle rose to fame with his inclusion of money in his compositions, controversial due to the cease-and-desist orders issued to *trompe l'oeil* money painters by the U.S. Secret Service under counterfeiting laws.³¹ One of the first of these works was Imitation. [Figure 7-7.] In his painting, Haberle (re)produces various forms of print: several cast coins, two engraved bank notes, a tintype photograph of the artist, four engraved postage stamps (or their torn fragments), and, on the central lower frame, a printed directory listing for “J Haberle” with a partial given address.³² The objects are produced through paint, as a close inspection of the surface reveals: the edges of the bills and coins, as well as the nail heads holding the topmost coin in place, emerge in relief from the canvas as layers of paint, producing an effect of reflected light at the edges of these objects. [Figure 7-8.] Stepping back, however, these accumulated layers fuse to give the effect of actual objects pasted or nailed in place.

Haberle rejected the French term *trompe l'oeil*, instead referring to his work as “artistic mechanics.” The very titles of Imitation and Reproduction (1888) specifically refer to his play with mechanical print processes, and the terms “reproduction,” “imitation,” and “counterfeit”

³⁰ While I specifically follow here the suggested frameworks of David Lubin and Emily Shapiro in the American context, such positioning is by no means an historically unique one. Historian Dror Wahrman, for instance, examines how the letter rack paintings of British-Dutch *trompe l'oeil* painter Edward Collier (ca.1640–1710) intersected with the late seventeenth century’s “new media regime” (p.221), whereby Collier’s inconsistent spellings, dates, line breaks, titles, and royal stamps comment on the “chaos of variants” found in the sudden explosion of ephemeral printed literature; see Wahrman, Mr. Collier’s Letter Racks: A Tale of Art & Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). See also Brusati, “Capitalizing on the Counterfeit,” for the overlapping market and power positions of Dutch *trompe l'oeil* in the same period. Thank you to Celeste Brusati for these sources and broadening my perspective on the genre.

³¹ Haberle took up painting currency after fellow *trompe l'oeil* painters William Harnett and John Frederick Peto dropped the subject in response to such orders.

³² This last tidbit deals with the variants of print, Collier-style (fn29): the artist’s family spelling was Häberle in the original German, but his name appears in various city directories as Haberle, Haberly, Haberlee, and Haeberle; the directory of the Peabody lists Haebele. See Jennifer Greenhill, Playing It Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 151.

sometimes appear in the works themselves. In Reproduction, for instance, a torn newspaper clipping at the bottom left of the composition bears the headline “THE COUNTERFEIT.” [Figure 7-9.] Next to it, another clipped newspaper heading reads “John Haberle, the Counter[feiter].” Haberle’s inclusion of these clippings refers to the Secret Service accusations that Haberle was counterfeiting currency. Their presence certainly underlines the power and success of Haberle’s sleight-of-hand mimetic skills, suggesting that even currency experts could not tell his auratic (re)productions from the real thing.³³ Yet the clippings also maintain his hand’s ambiguous position within mechanized print processes, as Haberle’s self-portrayal beneath the latter headline presents him at an engraver’s table rather than a painter’s easel.

Haberle’s first occupation had in fact been within the print industry: he had apprenticed to an engraver at age fourteen. Even as he took up painting he worked as a contract engraver and illustrator, and was employed for many years as an artist-preparator (like Antonion Zeno Shindler, above) at the Peabody Museum of Ethnology at Yale University, (re)producing numerous museum objects for display and publication.³⁴ Many of Haberle’s *trompe l’oeil* compatriots also had connections to print industries. William Harnett apprenticed to an engraver at age seventeen and developed a successful career as a silver engraver before starting to paint full-time in 1875.³⁵ Alexander Pope produced two chromolithography

³³ These painted newspaper clippings also center Haberle within the culture of “widespread clipping and reprinting” that created the very success of American *trompe l’oeil* painters; see Greenhill, Playing It Straight, 153.

³⁴ Details on Haberle’s life and work come from William H. Gerdts and Russell Burke, American Still-Life Painting (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) 157; Greenhill, Playing It Straight, Chapter 5; and Gertrude Grace Sill, John Haberle: American Master of Illusion, exhibition catalog (11 Dec 2009 to 11 Mar 2010) New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, CT.

³⁵ Details on Harnett’s career come from Davis, “Notes on a Harnett Collector”; Gerdts and Burke, American Still-Life Painting, 133; and Lubin, Picturing a Nation, 291. See also the scrapbook on Harnett’s career kept by his engraver friend and co-worker William Ignatius Blemly (Metropolitan Museum of Art, #192H221 B61).

portfolios of his work before taking up *trompe l'oeil* subject matter.³⁶ And Jefferson David Chalfant invented a machine compositor in the early 1890s that set print typeface “without reference to human operations.” His invention sought to remove the human hand from the typeface setting process in order to achieve greater accuracy.³⁷

In other words, many American *trompe l'oeil* painters doubled as artisanal laborers and as machines seeking to erase the very hand upon which their work depended. They were not only aware that their hands ambiguously rested between these two poles, but they, like New School engravers, nurtured that ambiguity. Their professional positions required it. The doubled position of Haberle’s “artistic mechanics” was not simply a discourse, but an articulation of the market conditions under which a wide range of artists labored in the second half of the nineteenth century, dependent as they were on mechanical and print processes to impart value to their artisanal craftsmanship.

Here, a return to Avery is illuminating. One of engraving’s main functions in the second half of the nineteenth century was the (re)production of original artworks. The success of these print (re)productions then often increased the market value of the associated originals. In this context, as print scholar Martha Tadeschi has written, “the painting was no longer viewed as a finished product,” but “a stage in a sequence of events that would lead to a national, and even international, public.”³⁸

Journalists and publishers made up eight percent of Avery’s total clientele, potentially buying paintings that would then re-circulate through print sources; the list included such

³⁶ See the artist’s biography at Dorchester Atheneum, a website devoted to the local history of Dorchester, MA: <<http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org/index.php>>.

³⁷ Shapiro, “J.D. Chalfant’s *Clock Maker*,” 52.

³⁸ Martha Tadeschi, *How Prints Work: Reproductions, Originals, and their Markets in England, 1840–1900*, Ph.D. dissertation (Northwestern University, 1994) 19, cited in Shapiro, “Machine Crafted,” 85.

illustrious print publishers as Frank Leslie and Louis Prang.³⁹ Avery was himself well aware of the relationship between (re)productions, motion, and value. He had (re)produced a number of original works by leading painters of the period, including Thomas Cole, Frederick Church, and Asher B. Durand.⁴⁰ When Avery opened his first Art Rooms, he continued to advertise for engraving and publishing, potentially continuing this involvement in fine art (re)productions.⁴¹ And his later collecting included the purchase of paintings that had been popularized through their (re)productions.⁴²

Artistic mechanics, then, also marked a common professional position in these decades: artists who were employed within mechanized fields of artistic labor. Artist-preparators like Shindler and Haberle and engravers like Avery fit this professional category, applying their craft within the (re)productive processes of print. It is clear from Avery's activities that a sizable portion of the market's image-objects, motion, and valuation processes was centered in these discourses and professions, even as auratic valuation emerged as the dominant discourse and legacy of the period's art markets. (Re)presentations of Native peoples, so heavily caught in the dynamics of the meta-archive, sat between both.

³⁹ Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, "Introduction," Graph 4.

⁴⁰ Paintings into print was not the only (re)productive technique on the market: one of Avery's shop specialties was the (re)production of metalwork masterpieces, possible through the recently perfected technique of electrotyping.

⁴¹ Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, "Introduction," xix. An interesting image to examine here is a (re)productive engraving of an 1860 pencil portrait of Avery, now in the Cooper-Hewitt Collections (#1896-6-77), that shows Avery at his engraving table surrounded by framed and hanging artworks—potentially (re)produced through his own hand.

⁴² For example, he purchased Durand's Ariadne, an image popularized through Durand's subsequent (re)productive engraving, and later donated the work to the Metropolitan Museum of Art; see Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, "Introduction," xiv–xv. Jennifer Roberts treats (re)productive engraving through the career of Durand and Ariadne in Transporting Visions, Chapter 3. Details of the American Art Union's lotteries of popular painting (re)productions can be found in Delamaire, "An Art of Translation."

STEALING THE AURA: THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF NATIVE PRINT

The painting The Picture-Writer (also known as The Picture-Writer's Story) by academic genre painter George de Forest Brush had successful lives as both a painting and a print (re)production.⁴³ [Figure 7-10.] Brush's painting was displayed at the Seventh Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists in New York City. The following May, the painting was (re)produced to accompany an article on Brush in the Century.⁴⁴ At the time, the Century was the most popular periodical in America, exposing Brush's work to a quarter million subscribers.

The painting shows a central male warrior pointing to various figurative images on a suspended painted hide. Two young boys, lounging comfortably against what appears to be a pile of hides, are presumably taking in the warrior's knowledge by visual or aural notation. In the far right shadows a woman carries a bundle of firewood. Highlights suggest various material culture objects in the background, including a hanging hide, cloth pennants, and the hide-covered bed frames common in upper Missouri River earthlodges. A blackware *olla* sits on the dirt floor at the left, while several dead birds lie among a pile of tanned and decorated hide objects on the bottom right.

In the Century article's text, Brush explained that The Picture-Writer takes place inside a Numak'aki *má'ak óti* ("earth lodge"). The image's depicted material culture, however, references a variety of Native American peoples. The foregrounded *olla*, for instance, comes from Santa Clara Pueblo, the home of southwestern blackware pottery. And the robe's

⁴³ This painting's alternate title is The Picture Writer's Story; to avoid confusions, I use the title that appeared in the Century in 1885 (discussed below).

⁴⁴ "An Artist Among the Indians," 30:1 (May 1885) 54–7. These two stages of the image's life were connected through the Century's editor-in-chief, Richard Watson Gilder, who, along with his wife Helena de Kay, was one of the founders of the Society of American Artists.

pictographs, taken from a robe that hung in illustrator William de la Montague Cary's New York City studio, had been painted by an Absáalooke [Crow] warrior.⁴⁵ [Figures 7-11, 7-12.]

The Picture-Writer sits at the convergence point of a series of image-object conveyors. The first are those that moves Native material culture objects from their community creation points into distant collections. In an early showing shortly after its completion, The Picture-Writer was on display for an "at home" or informal studio showing in the Holbein Studio building at 154 W. 55th Street in Manhattan.⁴⁶ Viewers could see the original buffalo robe hung in Cary's studio elsewhere in the building. This display of the painting's featured material object reinforced the mimesis-as-capture of an artist's hand. Recalling Alexander Pope's studio photograph of the artist at work, for instance, the close correspondence between the model board and Pope's in-progress painting convinces the viewer of Pope's exceptional mimetic skills (see **Figure 7-6**).⁴⁷

In the case of Native material culture objects, however, such mimesis-as-capture aligns with auratic (re)production. In his painting, Brush had selected but a few of the original hide's pictographic figures, scattering them across his robe's painted surface. In so doing, consciously

⁴⁵ This object identification from Mary Lublin in her essay, "Living for Art: Brush and His Indians," in George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings, ed. Nancy K. Anderson (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2008) 64. The robe had been collected by William Schieffelin from a Plains Cree warrior at Fort Benton (Montana) in 1861, then given to his traveling companion Cary soon after.

The robe appears to be a composite object: the warrior tally and pictographic figures are by an Absáalooke warrior; the beaded ear, power eye, and power streak may match Minitari designs (see NMAI #20/2920); and NMAI records identify the blanket strip as Niimiipu [Nez Perce] (Lublin, p.80 fn36). Absáalooke and Minitari peoples lived together in the Heart River Confederacy, and retained close cultural ties thereafter. At least one of the pictographic figures wears the daubed clay dreads that marked both Minitari and Absáalooke warriors.

⁴⁶ Lublin, "Living for Art," 64.

⁴⁷ Whiting, "Trompe l'oeil Painting," 256–7. This is not the only photographic example. Looking at a photograph of John F. Peto's house, R.S. wrote that "one is led to ask if we don't have here an example of how Form influences Life, for the room looks exactly like a 'Peto.'" R.S., "John F. Peto's Studio," Archives of American Art Journal 4:1 (Jan 1964) 8. For a discussion of artists' studios of the period as marketing tools, see Sarah Burns, Inventing the Modern Artist: Art & Culture in Gilded Age America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) Chapter 2.

or not Brush replaces the original Native-authored system of signs with his own. He changes the very nature of the original Native print. The means by which the pictographs had (re)produced the original warrior's coup count is now erased, as Brush deleted the various figures' weapons and social relationships, as well as the rifle tally. These original marks would have been recognized by the original artist's fellow warriors, his *Óhate*, and his larger community. Instead, the Native print that (re)produces Native auratic culture has been replaced by Brush's own auratic (re)production.

(Re)production underlay a host of professional relationships to Native material culture in this period. Ethnologist Frank Cushing, whose illustrated reports also appeared in the pages of the Century, was commended by BAE director John Wesley Powell for his superior (re)production skills, as "there was nothing that a Zuni could make that he [Cushing] could not reproduce with greater skill."⁴⁸ Brush and many of his fellow artists and artistic mechanics laid claim to the skills of Native material culture production. In the Century article, Brush claimed that he had "got familiar with their [Indian] life and habits and dances and so forth"; his daughter later wrote that the artist had "learned how to cut out a moccasin pattern, build a tepee, or make a bow and arrow according to Indian rules. He knew how a birch canoe was made, and always had one."⁴⁹ Brush also encouraged his Brush Guild potters to replicate Mexican Indian or Pueblo pottery designs, perhaps even giving them his portfolio sketches of pots to emulate—his own auratic (re)productions to in turn be (re)produced.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ From "Remarks by J.W. Powell," in Frederick W. Hodge, "In Memoriam," American Anthropologist 2 (1900) 366, cited in Shapiro, "'A Purpose in Every Stroke': Brush's Images of Indian Artisanry," in George de Forest Brush, 88.

⁴⁹ Both cited in Shapiro, "'A Purpose in Every Stroke'," 88.

⁵⁰ For discussions of the work of the Brush Guild, see Shapiro, "'A Purpose in Every Stroke'," 94–5.

One can be skeptical of Brush's claims for his knowledge of Native print processes, as they were made within a general "Indian" material culture where tribal specifics disappeared. As seen previously, even newer Native forms such as ledger drawings continued to (re)produce Native material culture within specific communal, clan, *Óhate*, or kin criteria.⁵¹ The strict rules of Native (re)production sometimes allowed knowledgeable viewers and critics to catch the culturally mixed or inaccurate objects and spaces visible in canvases like Brush's.⁵² More often, however, artist-made objects—like Brush's referenced canoe—sat in artists' studios to reinforce the authorial accuracy of the artist's hand, their own means of (re)production erased from view.

It is here where the conveyors of Native material culture intersect with a second set, the ever-moving matrices of print. Brush's image, potentially due to the enormous circulation of its (re)production through the Century, inspired a host of similar paintings by other genre painters, including Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, E. Irving Couse, and John White Alexander.⁵³ Many of these images then flowed (back) into the print meta-archive, available as models for additional auratic (re)productions or prints. One of Couse's versions appeared in an early

⁵¹ These decades also see the development of a large-scale Native handicraft market, as discussed in the next chapter; for the role of tourist markets in colonial encounters and object motion, see Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, eds., Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), as well as Ruth Benedict Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.

⁵² See specifically the reviews connected to An Aztec Sculptor (1887) and The Sculptor and the King (1888); Lublin, "Living for Art," 64, 73, and George de Forest Brush, catalog entries, 154, 166.

⁵³ Remington did several versions (see below); one hangs at the Art Institute of Chicago [Historians of the Tribe (1890s), #1982.801]. Russell painted a version entitled The Kindergarten in 1893. Couse did several versions (also below), with one in the collections of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts [Indian Painter (19th c.), #80.30]. And John White Alexander's version is the "Picture Writing" panel of his Evolution of the Book murals (1896) in the Great Hall of the Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Building.

Perhaps not irrelevant here is the fact that each of these painters was active in print industries: Remington began his career as an artist-correspondent for Harper's Weekly in 1886; Russell also worked as an author and illustrator; Couse's works circulated regularly through their inclusions in the annual illustrated calendars produced by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Company; and John W. Alexander first apprenticed to Harper's Weekly as an illustrator and political cartoonist.

twentieth-century children's encyclopedia.⁵⁴ Remington painted a version for his illustrated edition of Wordsworth's epic poem The Song of Hiawatha (1891)—one of the text's numerous images cribbed from print sources and non-Anishnaabe material objects.⁵⁵

This last, like The Picture-Writer, also demonstrates a reliance on a third set of conveyor networks, these carrying prior print (re)productions. Brush, for instance, could only imagine and illustrate an earthlodge interior through the descriptions of Lewis and Clark, Catlin, and Wied; the only existent (re)productions of a *má'ak óti* interior were Bodmer's (Tableau 19, after **Figure 2-8**) and Catlin's (**Figure 5-14**). The paintings of Remington and Brush are, as Tadschi has pointed out, only one stage in a long series of image-making processes. Sometimes these series can be distinguished and traced; sometimes the image network is so thick that one cannot sort out the genealogy of sources and influences at any given time.

A helpful example is one of Cary's illustrations for Harper's Weekly. [**Figure 7-13.**] Supposedly of the "scalp dance," Cary's image actually depicts a circle of Lakota buffalo dancers, like those who later appear in Edison's Black Maria studio (see **Figure 1-18**), distinguished through their attached horse tails. Numerous other elements come from Bodmer's prints of Numak'aki cultural practices. The cluster of tall poles in the background resemble Numak'aki effigy poles that are erected to communicate with various spirit-heroes [Tableau 25]. In Cary's image, their *hó'pini* bundles are now replaced with enemy scalps. The two dancers with feathered headdresses come from Bodmer's print of the dance of the *Ísha*

⁵⁴ Couse's The Historian (1902) appears as the opening plate of Eleanor Atkinson's The How and Why Library: Little Questions that Lead to Great Discoveries (Chicago: F.E. Compton & Company, 1919), available via HathiTrust Digital Library.

⁵⁵ Remington's Hiawatha illustration is found on p.166 of the reprint edition of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Song of Hiawatha (1891; Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc., 2008). The text is a microcosm of all of the issues around the artist's hand discussed in this chapter.

Kakó'sh Óhate from *Mít uta hako'sh* [Vignette 25]. And the painted bars on all visible leggings reference *Awatíkihu*-specific coup counting methods, seen in the Mandan Buffalo Dancer's portrait (**Figure I-1**; see also **Figure 3-5**).

These material culture changes do more than confuse or *pastiche* their image-object sources.⁵⁶ Each change specifically obliterates aspects of communal practice around warrior culture. For instance, a Numak'aki man or woman would construct a *hó'pini* "device" or effigy on poles as "sacrifices to their gods," in Wied's interpretation; sometimes these were done to honor the dead.⁵⁷ By turning these *hó'pini* poles into scalp poles, Cary banishes the relational Numak'aki gaze that looks down and looks out. Now, Numak'aki cultural practices reference only their own visible violent behaviors. This self-referential circle is seen again in Cary's buffalo imitators, who now imitate their own warrior acts of scalping rather than buffalo behavior. The culturally embedded relationships between Numak'aki cosmologies, histories, and practices are completely absent. Cary goes even further as to re-interpret the Native body, turning the painted *Awatíkihu* coup honor bars into raised scars on the legs of the two right-hand dancers. **[Figure 7-14.]** The placement of the frontal dancers' visible knives, just at the edges of their legging coup bar and raised scar respectively, suggests that such scars are self-inflicted. Native material culture has been merged with the Native body; both are violently (re)defined by the ever-powerful artist's hand.

These changes emerge from the matrix. Just as Bodmer set his original portrait into motion on the printer's plate, so Brush, Cary, and a host of other image (re)producers

⁵⁶ I specifically avoid the notion of *pastiche* as a framework here, not only because of the heavily postmodern associations with the term but because the stakes for artists here are not located in style or imitation but in access to and claims of historical or first-person knowledge.

⁵⁷ Wied discusses these poles in *Tagebüch* 3:105; JAM vol. 3, 194.

continued this image re-shaping to make new images—which in turn returned to the printer’s plate and continued the cycle. These matrices and their (re)produced image-objects are always embedded in the market—and here we again return to Avery and Lucas. The already mentioned eight percent of Avery’s clientele that were publishers and journalists controlled the ownership and content of the matrices of print. A further fifteen percent were artists, who might (re)produce images as artistic mechanics. And another twenty-one percent were art dealers, who potentially re-circulated image-objects into various collections—or back into their own clientele lists of publishers, journalists, and artists.⁵⁸ Lucas privately collected 15,000 prints (including Bodmer’s) that, upon his death, went to the Maryland Institute, College of Art, available to train generations of artists.⁵⁹ Lucas also helped Avery amass 17,775 prints (including Bodmer’s), books, and relevant objects, whose donation to the New York Public Library instigated the founding of its Prints Department in 1900.⁶⁰ Numerous artists and artistic mechanics used the collections for their own image work: Louis Maurer, one of the leading staff artists for the Manhattan print firm of Currier & Ives, related how Mr. Ives took him to Avery’s Print Library to show him Bodmer’s atlas as a model for Maurer’s western scenes and Native figures.⁶¹

⁵⁸ All sales statistics from Beaufort, Kleinfield, and Welcher, “Introduction,” Graph 4. These figures come from Avery’s auction data; they do not necessarily reflect his shop clientele the rest of the year. Lucas also bought for the collections of two prominent journalists in Paris, William H. Huntington and Theodore Child.

⁵⁹ For details of Lucas’s collections arrangements, see Randall, “Introduction,” 29–32.

⁶⁰ See [A Handbook of the S.P. Avery Collection of Prints and Art Books in the New York Public Library \(1901\) and its Supplement \(1921\)](#) for details of the donation and the collection inventory. Additional groupings of Avery’s collections went to the Cooper-Union Museum (1898; 111 objects), Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia University (1890; over 20,000 books and printed architectural materials), and National Museum of American History (now Graphic Arts Collection).

⁶¹ Maurer suggests Currier & Ives artist Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait also relied on the Avery print collections; Brock, “Printmakers to the American People,” 21. Even here, with direct testimony, it is difficult to limit the network of image influences to a single tract: Tait had also visited Catlin’s Indian Gallery and met the artist in Liverpool in

Buffalo dance images were entrenched in these networks of motion as early as 1860, when painter Charles Ferdinand Wimar produced his version of the performance. **[Figure 7-15.]** Wimar's painting has been understood as a reflection of his own experiences at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*, the artist having traveled up the Missouri River in the late 1850s. Yet Wimar's figures are Catlin's *Okípe* "night," "day," and *benók haté'sh* figures (this last incorrect; see Sí-Sída's versions in **Figures 6-1** and **6-2**). Wimar also moved the *Okípe* to nighttime for added drama, lighting the scene with a large central bonfire. The campfire—a small smoldering pit—effectively replaced the cosmological and architectural *Numak Máhina* center of the Numak'aki world (see **Figure 3-17**). Nearly thirty years later, Wimar's altered auratic culture appeared in Frederic Remington's published version.⁶² **[Figure 7-16.]** Here, Wimar's changes were re-combined with Catlin's original version of the dance (see **Figure 5-5**), as well as a generic book illustration (see the detail in **10-7**). This latter removed the Numak'aki practice of sizing the buffalo headdress to the human head, erasing one of the material traces of mimesis-as-becoming.

While the artist's hand existed in the ambiguity between craft and machine, its authority to (re)produce auratic objects and culture also grew stronger. Artists who had gone west early in their lives retained an eye-witness authority all of their careers. Others made such claims but had never left their urban east coast environs. Eye-witness authority, actual or not, elevated the artist's hand, which could then perform any number of sleights in transferring auratic Native culture to the artist's own image-objects. Cary's, Remington's, and Brush's images illustrate how far the period's (re)productions of Native life could move beyond the

1843; Patricia C.F. Mandel, "English Influences on the Work of A.F. Tait," in A.F. Tait: Artist in the Adirondacks, exhibition catalog (15 Jun–15 Oct 1974) The Adirondack Museum, 15.

⁶² "The Buffalo Dance," Harper's Weekly 31:1585 (7 May 1887) 334.

Native traces present in these artists' source materials. It was then only a matter of degrees to move these (re)productions back into the ontological.

BUFFALO DANCING AT THE SAVAGE CLUB

Austin. Well, I should like to see the buffalo dance.
Could not we manage one on the lawn, Brian?

Brian. But where are we to get the buffalo masks from?
The Buffalo hunt did very well, but I hardly think we could manage the dance.

— From The Book of the Indians of North America, ed. John Frost (1845)

In 1883, a group of men belonging to London's private, all-men's Savage Club decided to throw a Buffalo Dance Costume Ball.⁶³ The artist and art critic T.J. Gullick was head of the committee charged with carrying out the theme, and in a newspaper editorial Gullick detailed his sources for the Ball's Royal Honor Guard and entertainments a fortnight later. Gullick retained a working memory of his boyhood visits to Catlin's Indian Gallery. He had acquired Catlin's North American Indian volumes for the Club's library in time for the Ball. He retained illustrator Sydney Prior Hall and journalist, author, and Sunday Times editor Philip Stewart Robinson as consultants, each having been to the American west. He visited the object collections at Christy's, the British and South Kensington Museums, and the homes of the Lords Dunraven and Castletown. He borrowed taxidermied animals from Rowland Ward Limited at Piccadilly. And at the British Museum, a curator had shown Gullick the printed works of Henry Schoolcraft and the print portfolios of Catlin and McKenney and Hall.

⁶³ My descriptions are based on two London Illustrated News articles: T.J. Gullick, "The Savage Club Buffalo Dance" (7 Jul 1883) 11, and "The Savage Club at the Royal Albert Hall" (21 Jul 1883) 67.

If the illustrations that graced the Ball's subsequent write-up in the Illustrated London News are accurate, the evening's "Barbaric Procession" resembled Vikings more than nineteenth-century Native peoples. Still, Gullick claimed that the costumed Club members "were either genuinely Indian, or as close an imitation as could be desired." They had pulled off the "pantomimic execution of the Buffalo Dance" perfectly, and the Club had "spared no pains to organize an exact representation" of the ritual. They had, in essence, played Indian for the evening, (re)producing the dance in London's Royal Albert Hall.

On one hand, the Savage Club's Buffalo Dance Ball can be viewed as an extension of Catlin's own London performances in Native dress, discussed in Chapter Four. Not only was Gullick familiar with the Indian Gallery of the 1840s, but Catlin's print portraits and his portfolio version of the buffalo dance (see **Figure 5-30**) were among Gullick's contemporary sources. And like Catlin, Gullick took on the authorial artist's hand in re-combining, re-painting, and(re)producing his source images, objects, and behaviors.

But on the other hand, Gullick's expansive list of involved agents, private collectors, curators, journalists, illustrators, publishers, artists, and even taxidermists reads like a who's who list of the period's image-object motion networks in Britain. The Buffalo Dance Ball was held in Kohl's triangulated relationship between ever-increasing print technologies, a socially wide print-based discourse (seen in the reviewer's "imitation," "fac-simile," and so on), and the power structure of the period—this latter itself a reflection of ever-increasing print technologies, as many of those now at the top of the social pyramid were journalists, illustrators, and publishers.

Furthermore, Gullick and the Savage Club operated in the thick image environment of Brush, Cary, and Remington, where the cosmological and material centers of Native cultures were now continuously overwritten. This environment propelled Gullick and his two thousand guests to believe what the boy Austin believed in John Frost's popular children's readers: that one could simply self-(re)produce auratic Native culture in one's own yard, provided that one had the right material ingredients. Gullick's research list reflects the ingredients utilized.

The stakes for Native peoples were high. Playing Indian replaced the ontological gaze of mimesis-as-becoming with that of mimesis-as-capture; its (re)produced Native peoples and cultures no longer looked toward their experiences of the natural world, but toward their own (captured) material culture practices. This change completed the self-referential circle drawn by the artist's hand. Looking down, looking out—non-Native versions of Numak'aki *haté'sh* now only gazed at and imitated themselves, dressed in the trappings of the meta-archive and its (re)produced images.

CHAPTER 8

Capture

“Well, so Big Man at Washington was made another rule like that one about making the Injin cut his hair off short like a prize fighter or saloon keeper. Big Man he was say this time the Injin was had to change his name just like if the marshal was had a writ for him. So, if the Injin’s name is Wolf Warrior, he was had to call himself John Smith, or maybe so Bill Jones, so nobody else could get his mail out of the post office. Big Man say Injin name like Sitting Bull or Tecumseh was too hard to remember and don’t sound civilized like General Cussed Her or old Grand Pa Harry’s Son.”

— Alexander Posey [Creek, Eufaula town], “Letter No.18” of the Fus Fixico Letters¹

“We all had to strip down naked, and then they put the DDT on us. They line us up and they’re cutting our hair. You have long hair, you have braids, and then that gets cut off. And I would say within a matter of an hour and a half we’re standing there, all looking alike.”

— Naawakamig [Dennis Banks, Ojibwe], remembering his arrival, at age five, at the Indian School in Pipestone, Minnesota²

As the dynamics of print shaped fine arts and mass media approaches to the Native body, they also shaped U.S. policy and education efforts aimed at Native peoples. In 1875, the U.S. military set up a prison in the seventeenth-century Spanish-built Castillo de San Marcos (now Fort Marion) near St. Augustine, Florida. Seventy-two warriors had been captured in connection to the Red River War (1874), a series of military actions aimed at enforcing

¹ All letters and their annotative notes come from Alexander Posey, The Fus Fixico Letters, ed. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Carol A. Petty Hunter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

² From the transcript for We Shall Remain: America through Native Eyes, Episode 5: Wounded Knee (Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 2009) 14.

reservation control and curtailing Native raiding parties across the southern Plains. After various plans to criminally try the warriors proved fruitless, the group was exiled via train to Fort Marion under the supervision of Lieutenant Richard Pratt.³ Pratt quickly adopted a scheme to “civilize” the Native prisoners, or, as he would famously later write, a project to “kill the Indian in [each prisoner] and save the man.”⁴

Many of the incarcerated warriors were proficient ledger artists and pictographic letter writers. A number of their ledger drawings visually chronicle their experience of Pratt’s project.⁵ In one drawing by Oakuhhatuh [later Making Medicine and David Pendleton Oakerhater; Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)], two lines of Native prisoners stand for their inspection, carried out by two officers in full military dress. **[Figure 8-1.]** Yellow blocks of color with exposed pencil outlines mark the boundaries of the interior space, while warriors stand at attention, facing each other across the interior.

Here Oakuhhatuh turns the symmetrical mark-making practices of Native pictographic forms (see **Figures 3-5** and **3-6**, for instance) to the Native warriors themselves, as he produces feet, impeccable dress uniforms, hands, and facial profiles that in line and color are nearly indistinguishable from one another. The individualized honor marks earned over each unique lifetime of deeds and service, previously rendered on each warrior’s clothes or bodies, are

³ For fuller descriptions of the Fort Marion project, see David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875–1928 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995) Chapter 2, and Karen Daniels Petersen, Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971) Chapter 1.

⁴ Cited in Adams, Education for Extinction, 52.

⁵ For Native art historical studies of Fort Marion ledger art, see Phillip Earenfight, A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); Petersen, Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion; and Joyce M. Szabo’s numerous texts, including Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), and Imprisoned Art, Complex Patronage: Plains Drawings by Howling Wolf and Zotom at the Autry National Center (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011).

gone. Such marks have been replaced by standard-issue military uniforms and short haircuts. The near duplication of figure that Oakuhhatuh employs is governed by his lines—not simply lines of bodies, but lines of boots, pant and jacket bottoms, hands, uniform buttons, ears, eyes, and hats, all of which run virtually parallel across each row of men. These carefully aligned parallels produce an effect in which each individual is indistinguishable from the next. Oakuhhatuh has drawn a group portrait where the visual coding of each subject’s language, age, honors, and rank vanishes. Instead, Oakuhhatuh not only records an everyday moment of his daily life at Fort Marion, but he also lays bare Pratt’s project goal in visual form: to (re)produce Native warriors as interchangeable doubles of each other, erasing cultural distinctions among Native collectives.

Previously, I discussed Phillip Round’s notion of a position of “doubleness” whereby Native peoples have simultaneously adopted and rejected non-Native print practices even as they have continued their own print practices of (re)producing auratic Native culture. I here posit the non-Native “double” as the counter-position to this Native position of doubleness and its agency. The non-Native double relies on print processes to create mirrored versions of the Native self. These mirrors, however, reflect back a self whose connections to auratic Native culture have been severed.

(Re)producing the Native double involved both a Native and a non-Native viewer’s gaze, each working in relation to the other. At its most basic, a Native viewer could see the simultaneous images of and labels attached to oneself. Oakuhhatuh’s drawing, for instance, placed Oakuhhatuh in relation to his fellow warriors. From his position outside the frame, he was able to see and gauge the distance between himself and his “civilized” doubles in their

dress uniforms and orderly lines. He was also able to measure the distance between himself and the two non-Native officers. Pratt encouraged this Native gaze at non-Native models, as he regularly admitted non-Native visitors, educators, and journalists to the prison and instituted a day-pass and labor system by which the warriors left the prison walls.⁶

Oakuhhatuh's drawn gazes between Native subjects and their doubles—the implied gaze between the drawing's doubles, looking at each other, and the gaze of Oakuhhatuh and his fellow prisoner-warriors looking at their own image on the page—were not simply residual by-products that recorded or attested to the civilizing project launched against Native peoples in the late nineteenth century. Rather, these gazes were part and parcel of that project, one of its primary tools for Native subject formation. As Naawakamig described his boarding school entrance process above, students who looked around after their initial forced haircut and showers found they “all looked the same”—a look that repeated Oakuhhatuh's gaze at his compatriots more than six decades later.

Pratt's “civilizing” experiment at Fort Marion birthed the Indian non-reservation boarding school system, which institutionalized a variety of practices that encouraged Native doubles. Besides haircuts, many Native children saw themselves doubled onto ledger rolls under new names. Oakuhhatuh himself took on several ledger names over the course of his lifetime, while other children became renamed doubles of famous historical figures.⁷ These policies had print counterparts. “Before” and “after” photographic portrait pendants were created at Fort Marion, whereby photographs of the warriors shortly after their intake at the prison were posed against their military images months later. **[Figure 8-2.]** Fort Marion's

⁶ Adams, Education for Extinction, 41.

⁷ See the photograph of one school's ledger roll in Adams, Education for Extinction, Chapter 2.

successor educational programs also arranged for “before” photographs as soon as pupils arrived at school, with successive “after” portraits in school uniform taken several months later.⁸ **[Figure 8-3.]** Numbers could be etched onto each Native body through the printing plate to aid viewers in making the correct visual identifications across the two photographs’ temporal distance. **[Figure 8-4.]**

In these examples, published or pasted together in the same media, the photographs created a gaze between their photographic subjects along what Allan Sekula has termed the “shadow archive,” or the entire body of nineteenth-century portrait photography along which a subject “gazed out” of and at one’s portrait to socially position one’s self in relation to one’s peers.⁹ Native subjects, however, did not need a separate comparison point for mapping oneself into the social continuum: they served as their own standard, through their doubles. These doubles also circulated to serve as standards for a subject’s Native kin and community. Carlisle school officials and students sent portraits home to students’ family members. Native students and teachers also prepared and sold copies of Carlisle studio class photographs through the Leupp Art Studio, the Carlisle gift shop. **[Figure 8-5.]** These class portraits sat side by side with honorific delegate portraits (here, prints from McKenney’s and Hall’s Indian Tribes of North America) and the school’s athlete and sports team shots. The specific publication

⁸ Hampton Institute’s Indian program began in 1878, while Carlisle Industrial School was begun by Pratt in the fall of 1879. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the principal and founder of Hampton, worked briefly with Pratt from 1878 until Carlisle’s establishment in 1879; the photographic pendant project was initiated during this brief period, and both men utilized it for their respective institutions thereafter. For the series of events and educational arrangements that followed the closing of Fort Marion and ended with the founding of Carlisle, see Adams, Education for Extinction, 44–51.

⁹ Allan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” October 39 (Winter 1986), esp. p.10. See also Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley, From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 1986).

pictured in **Figure 8-3** circulated widely across North America to missionaries and reservation churches, likely seen by Native church leaders and their congregants.

In these spaces and uses, the Native double was also aimed at an external, non-Native gaze. Even as Oakuhhatuh's drawing recorded his own experiences of Pratt's project, he concurrently recorded in visual terms the success of Pratt's methods through his transformed Native bodies. It is thus not surprising to see the Native doubles of Oakuhhatuh's drawings and the pendant photographs of boarding schools circulate among the project's non-Native advocates.¹⁰ These doubles granted those in distant viewing locales the ability to gauge the distance between themselves and the imprisoned Native men or boarded students along the shadow archive. Doubles also served to mark the distance between Native subjects and their previous Plains or reservation self—these distances being the heart of the nation's "civilizing" project at large, as well as the very measure by which Pratt could boast of his specific success.¹¹

Native doubles served a second function, one in relation to the mechanics of the meta-archive. The increasing rate of change in print technologies in the nineteenth century relationally amplified the size and spin of the meta-archive's indexical-iconic cycle. In turn, ever-increasing numbers of (re)produced honorific portraits swelled political and ideological pressures on image-making. For Native subjects, however, these pressures failed to register

¹⁰ Rave reviews and stories of what visitors to the prison had visually witnessed spread word of Pratt's success among education and social reformers and policy makers, and ensured the funding necessary to launch the successive educational projects. Adams describes the funding for the establishment of the boarding school system coming from individuals who had seen the warrior-students (and later, young students) firsthand; see Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 44. Passionate evaluations of the various projects also came from first-hand observations; see pp.42–3, 49.

¹¹ Karen Daniels Petersen's work tracked a large number of Fort Marion notebooks to the collections of visitors, philanthropists, and reformers, as well as military officials and policymakers—the last two groups receiving works sent by Pratt himself. Oakuhhatuh's own education after Fort Marion was paid for by Alice Key Pendleton, who had visited the fort and was later sent multiple notebooks drawn by Oakuhhatuh. See Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, Chapter 3, esp. pp.68–70.

within portraiture's iconography. Instead, Native doubles served as a "relief valve" that allowed honorific portraiture to continue unchecked for Native sitters.

See, for instance, Frank A. Rinehart's and Alfred F. Muhr's photographic portraits taken at the 1898 Indian Congress, the government-sponsored Indian gathering held at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska.¹² Among the many Rinehart/Muhr sitters was Sentele [Chief Grant Richards, Titska Watitch (Tonkawa)], whose three-quarter profile portrait shows Sentele holding a turkey feather fan. **[Figure 8-6.]** He wears a bone breastplate over a long-sleeved shirt and a punched brad vest. His parted hair is bound by beaded clasps and an elaborately beaded headband bound with an honor feather. Rinehart/Muhr's photographic portrait is detailed enough to capture the scars and pock marks of Sentele's face, a likely trace of small pox in his younger years.

Rinehart utilized such images in his photography studio's promotional literature, published books, celluloid pinbacks (the precursors to today's pinned buttons), posters, and handpainted photographs at the fair.¹³ Many of these items were also available via order in the decade following the Congress.¹⁴ However, a number of these portraits were changed by Rinehart in their (re)production, specifically through the addition of hand-coloring. The

¹² Rinehart appears to have been too busy to take the studio portraits, leaving them instead to his assistant Muhr. See Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey, *Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993) 82–5. Rinehart is still believed to have taken the outdoor portraits at the Congress.

¹³ One hundred of the Indian Congress images were copyrighted and retained by Rinehart; see James Mooney to John Wesley Powell (20 Oct 1898), NAA, BAE, letters received; cited in Fleming and Luskey, *Grand Endeavors*, p.172, fn28. These one hundred prints were paid for by Exposition management, and thus did not supposedly overlap with the BAE's commissioned collection of the images, although the relationship between various sittings and what ended up in each of the two subsequent collections would take a detailed investigation. The BAE's Photo Lot 60 at the National Anthropological Archives (NAA), for instance, contains Sentele's frontal and full profile portraits from the same sitting as shown here, but does not have the profile used for the poster. Such an investigation is complicated by the lack of surviving negatives (see **Chapter Nine** fn36).

¹⁴ Advertisements and order directions appeared at the back of *Rinehart's Indians* (1899), Rinehart's self-published book of Indian Congress photographs.

employed artist's hand opened Sentele's portrait up to a re-imagining of the sitter, who now appeared with face paint. **[Figure 8-7.]** This paint was not based on any photographic evidence, and no portraits from the same sitting, Sentele's additional sitting, or other Titska Watitch portraits from the Congress included face paint. Yet the paint was added and remained through multiple iterations. Rinehart sold Sentele's (re)productions as a commemorative Indian Congress poster (shown here) and as part of a hand-tinted and framed set of six Indian Congress portraits.¹⁵ Rinehart also licensed the hand-tinted image to other users who could (re)produce the painted portrait independent of any historical ties to Sentele—on a drinking stein, for instance, (re)produced to mark an OSIRIS (Masonic) Temple's 1904 tourist trip to Atlantic City. **[Figure 8-8.]**

Studio photography's honorific standards did not need alteration for Native sitters because print's (re)produced doubles would appear simultaneously and widely. Stripped of their names or dates, and/or altered by the artist's hand, these doubles register on the repressive end of the shadow archive. They then in turn facilitate the already discussed gaze between the Native subject and his or her double. It is almost certain that sitters like Sentele were able to see their altered and genericized doubles across the 1898 fairgrounds, if not in public spaces, stores or trading posts, schools, books, or photography studios in the years following the Congress.¹⁶ By the century's end, the meta-archive encompassed the near-

¹⁵ These sets were advertised in the back of Rinehart's Indians (1899), and seem to have been very popular, as many of these framed multiples abound both on the private market and within archival collections.

¹⁶ The extent to which the Muhr/Rinehart portraits and photographs migrated into the publication world begs a project unto itself. See, for instance, Horace M. Rebok, The Last of the Mus-qua-kies and the Indian Congress, 1898 (Dayton, OH: W.R. Funk, 1900), available through HathiTrust Digital Library. Rinehart maintained a studio in Omaha and appears to have been sought out by Native leaders traveling to Omaha after the Congress; see, for instance, his group and individual portraits of Oglala leaders in 1899—a group that included Last Horse, the Oglala buffalo

simultaneous (re)production of a single Native sitter's body into diverse media. The systematized 1904 policy adopted at the BAE, for instance, encouraged consenting Native delegates to be simultaneously photographed, physically measured, and cast, creating numerous doubled bodies throughout the BAE's archives that could then be employed in a variety of contexts.¹⁷ These developments occurred as the "Big Man at Washington" instituted haircuts, uniforms, and Westernized name changes in prisons, schools, and reservation communities nationwide—extending Oaikhhatuh's captured gaze far outside the walls of Fort Marion.¹⁸

dance leader in Edison's studio. Any of these leaders may have seen their own portraits, hand-tinted or not, in his studio's displays.

¹⁷ This became delegation policy at the BAE in 1904–5. The laboratory was set up in partnership with the National Museum, who had the appropriate space and technologies; this may explain the various BAE materials located at the National Museum in later years, such as Photo Lot 60. Details of the project appear in the 1904 BAE annual report, which gives statistics on numbers photographed, measured, and cast. Such numbers continue to appear in reports for several subsequent years. Andrew Johns [Iroquois] worked as translator for the delegations on the project; his notes can be found in NAA, Series 17: Division of Ethnology MS/Pamphlet File, Box 32, Folder 442. The project was directed by Aleš Hrdlička; the archived notebooks—ironically, leftover ledgers produced for the Hyde Exploring Expedition, discussed in **Chapter Nine**—are inconsistently filled out, with complete measurements rarely taken, regardless of the marked-out categories on the original ledgers [NAA, Aleš Hrdlička Papers, Box 112].

¹⁸ Adams discusses haircutting as a continuous practice in the non-reservation boarding schools that followed Fort Marion, though it is not until 1902 that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued a formal haircutting directive to federal school officials; see Adams, Education for Extinction, 101–3. For a public discussion around this policy directive, see the Comment section of Harper's Weekly (8 Feb 1902) 163–4, and a response, "Cutting Indians' Hair," Harper's Weekly 46 (22 Mar 1902) 357. Prison practices were less institutionalized, but there exists a noted difference among warrior photographs between the 1880s and the 1890s. Compare, for instance, the Mescalero Apache recruits escorted by Captain Crawford to the exposition at St. Joseph in 1889 [Darlis Miller, Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993) Chapter 6], and the San Carlos and Mescalero Apache prisoners photographed by Rinehart/Muhr at the 1898 Indian Congress. The most noted figure of comparison is Goyaałé [Geronimo, Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache], who was one of the military prisoners at the 1898 Indian Congress. Alexander Posey also discusses such a prison policy carried out among arrested Creek warriors, with a Creek legal response, in Letter 18 (pp.86–9).

Wilson notes that elder and *ka-ka* Hairy Coat [Minitari] was arrested for violation of BIA policy against traditional spiritual practices, and in the guard house had his hair cut [Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson]. Hairy Coat went on to own and keep the last earthlodge on Fort Berthold; see **Appendix B**.

While I focus here on the military-sponsored practices of the last decades of the nineteenth century, it is important to recognize that creating a Native double through portraiture had held a place in military practice from the first decades of the century. See, for instance, Wied's and Bodmer's visit to Jefferson Barracks, discussed in **Chapter Two**, and Black Hawk's tour of the eastern United States in **Chapter Ten**.

CHAPTER 9

“No.46”

It is late January 1905, and Jack Crawford, the Poet-Scout of New York, steps out for lunch.

Crawford sports a Western-flavored suit with buckskin fringe, cowboy boots, and hat. His dress, towering height, and mane of graying locks command attention among the crowded Manhattan streets. At the Hotel Astor Crawford turns in, grabs the lobby elevator, and heads down one floor. The doors open onto a decorated “Old New York” parlor filled with gilded chairs, china cabinets, and topographical maps. Crawford checks his looks in a nearby mirror, adjusts his cravat, and enters the Hotel’s Indian Hall.

Male diners and cigar smoke thickly fill the long, narrow grill room. Native-made weapons, baskets, clothing, and other cultural objects crowd the walls and ledges. Taxidermied animals hang along the main corridor, marking each table- and object-stuffed alcove. Prints of Native scenes and persons, recessed into the Hall’s wood paneling, form an eye-level frieze throughout the space. Southwest-inspired tile patterns decorate the floor while roughly carved chairs provide a touch of the rustic in the midst of the heavily crafted interior. Overlooking the whole scene are twenty-five sculptural busts of Native individuals.

For a former scout of the Indian wars the Hall provides the perfect fodder, and Crawford, a renowned storyteller, soon regales his companions with tales of the surrounding objects and

images. Suddenly, he pauses: Can it really be...? Crawford rises, upsetting his chair, his napkin sliding to the floor. Nearby diners turn. Oblivious, Crawford strides across the room and peers upward. Yes, by golly, I think it is, he mutters in the falling silence. He turns abruptly, and with the persona and voice that have made him famous, Crawford declares the bonnet sitting astride the bust above his head to be the very one that he had captured from an Apache chief twenty-five years earlier.

Jack Crawford's dramatic encounter with the war-trophy Apache bonnet opened a 1905 Washington Post review of the new Indian Hall.¹ Located in the Hotel Astor's male-only basement, the Hall was a late addition to the Hotel's plans.² Originally announced for Longacre Square in 1900 (renamed Times Square in 1904 when the New York Times building was constructed at 42nd Street and Broadway), the Hotel dominated headlines due to its advanced technologies and the feuds of the prominent hotel-owning Astor family (the descendants of

¹ The review appeared as "Indian Room His Fad," Washington Post (29 Jan 1905). Prose descriptions for the Hall are based on this review; the Hall's brochure, The Great Indian Hall (New York City: Hotel Astor, ca.1905); "Plans of the Hotel Astor," New York Times (24 Mar 1902) n.p.; "Seven Millions Built This Huge Hotel Pile," New York Times (10 Jul 1904) n.p.; and "Dinner Under Ground at New Astor Hotel," New York Times (29 Aug 1904) n.p. The visual evidence utilized to present the Indian Hall comes from the photoengravings in the Indian Hall brochure, as well as the William P. Muschenheim Papers, BENT [specifically Box 7, Folder Astor Hotel, and Box 10, Folders Astor, Bar + Café, Old Ext. Views].

William P. Muschenheim grew up in the Hotel Astor; his father and uncle (discussed below) were the Hotel's proprietors. He later served as the lead architect on the Hotel's 1935 remodel. Items from his papers utilized for this chapter include photographs of the Indian Hall in 1935, floor plans and photographs of the original Hotel Astor structure and its 1935 remodel, the report on the Hotel for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. NY-5464), and Muschenheim's various letters in response to articles or reports on the Hotel. Specifics taken from the letters and articles in his papers receive individual citations below.

² Common social practice at the time dictated separate dedicated spaces for men and women. The right side of the hotel (toward Forty-Fifth Street) was originally designed as "the ladies' side," and included a sex-specific dining room, cloak room, reception room, reading and writing room, telephone booths, and a separate entrance from Forty-Fourth Street. Male spaces included a bar, dining room, billiard room, and lounge, as well as a barber with manicuring and chiropodist parlors next to the grillroom in the basement. The women's spaces took on French design; the men's, English and German. See "The Hotel Astor," Architects' and Builders' Magazine 6:2 (November 1904) 57-61; William Hutchin, "New York Hotels. II. The Modern Hotel," Architectural Record 12 (November 1902) 627-8; and "Plans of the Hotel Astor."

John Jacob Astor, founder and manager of the American Fur Company that had run Fort Clark in 1834).³ Brothers William and Frederick Muschenheim, the Hotel's proprietors, generated most of the Hotel's headlining technologies while overseeing the multi-year building process.⁴ The Indian Hall—thought up by William but carried out by Frederick—was added just months before the Hotel opened to much fanfare on September 10th, 1904.⁵

³ For the Astor family feuds and their architectural fall-out, see Harvey O'Connor, The Astors (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), and Rem Koolhaas, "The Lives of a Block," in Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan (New York City: Monacelli Press, 1994) 132–51.

⁴ The Muschenheim brothers were themselves figures of some repute, having owned the Arena hotel before taking up the Astor project; George Hubbard Pepper used this link in introducing the Indian Hall project to his colleagues at the BAE (see below). Later press suggests that William convinced the Astors to finance the building of the hotel for him and his brother; they then leased the property from the Astors through 1944 (though William died in 1918) ["The Astor Estate Leases Hotel Astor," New York Times (4 January 1921); "Hotel Astor Builder Anticipated Growth," New York Times (12 January 1930)].

The hotel's advanced technologies included the largest hotel kitchen "in the world" (ca.1905), hidden plumbing in its kitchens and bathrooms, multiple sets of conveyors between the basement kitchens and the various dining rooms, an incinerator, courtyards for all interior windows instead of air shafts, 14,000 light bulbs (the most of any hotel in its time), rooms mechanically ventilated with in-room thermostats, air conditioning, electronic notification systems for both housekeeping and guest messaging, the highest capacity ballroom in New York City (seating 2,500), and a dual-sensing fire alarm system with automatically closing stairwell doors. Frederick, who had an engineering degree, was responsible for most of these innovations. The guest notification system is still seen in the flashing lights on hotel room phones. Details from James Dougan, "Engineering Features of the Hotel Astor," New York Architect 3 (December 1909) 15–6; "Editorial," Stevens Alumni Review (November 1966) n.p.; "George Washington Would Have Slept Here," Progressive Architecture 47 (March 1966) 56–7; and Hutchin, "New York Hotels." The kitchen innovations received the greatest early press, though in part unintentionally: Frederick busted up a swindling scheme run out of the hotel's dining rooms by spying on the suspected waiter criminals from inside the cutting-edge ventilation system ["What a Woman Saw in the Hotel Astor Kitchen" [illustration], New York Times (30 April 1905); "Muschenheim Went Sleuthing in the Soot," New York Times (23 Sept 1905)].

Many of these innovations gave the Hotel Astor an edge in "apartment-hotel living," or hotel-style rooms and services available for long-term residents. Apartment-hotel living was highly controversial in the decades that it emerged, not least for fear of its accompanying social changes: women no longer had households to run, resulting in their having free time to spend outside the home. For a summary of these debates, see Jefferson Williamson, The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930) 118–36. For the development of apartment-hotel living, see Molly W. Berger, "The Rich Man's City: Hotels and Mansions of Gilded Age New York," Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 25 (2005) 47–71; Andrew S. Dolkart, "Millionaires' Elysiums: The Luxury Apartment Hotels of Schultze and Weaver," Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 25 (2005) 11–45; Betsy Klimasmith, Urban Domesticity in American Literature and Culture, 1850–1930 (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005) esp. Chapters 4–5; and Robert Stern, et al., "Apartment Houses," in New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999) 531–5.

⁵ The Indian Hall brochure credits William with the idea for the Hall, while Frederick was charged with carrying out the plan. The Great Indian Hall, 1.

Originally built as a German rathskeller, a popular architectural style with vaulted ceilings and dark wood paneling, Frederick's last-minute re-design adapted the original architecture through the overlay of the objects and embedded images that Crawford encountered on his visit to the Hall in 1905. **[Figures 9-1, 9-2, 9-3.]** The only change to the room's rathskeller finish were additions of framing borders on the room's paneling, with image prints then inserted into the frames behind a glass cover to create the room's extensive frieze. **[Figure 9-4.]** The busts, objects, animals, and prints changed for each alcove, which was themed according to a particular tribe and/or linguistic group.⁶ **[Figure 9-5.]** Frederick produced a brochure that walked the interested viewer through the entire Hall, pointing out object highlights and presenting a caption and information for each image.⁷

These techniques unified and converted the space into what Frederick and subsequent press termed an "American" room which, unlike hotel trends of the period, drew on elements of North America for its decoration.⁸ The scheme was clearly unique for New York City, and allowed the Muschenheims to proclaim themselves the generators of "a new 'époque'" marked

⁶ The names given these eight sections were highly inaccurate and anachronistic to today's understanding of Native history and complexity: the chosen terms wavered between tribal, linguistic, and geographical designations, and they did not always match the various sections' corresponding objects or images. The sections were: Alaska; Shoshone; Sioux (which occupied two sections); Algonquin; Iroquois; Athapascan; Pueblo (which also occupied two sections); Mexico. The emphasis on the Sioux and Pueblo sections were due to (1) the concluded Indian Wars in Siouan-speaking territory, and (2) anthropologist George Hubbard Pepper's specialization in Pueblo and Diné peoples of the southwest, as Pepper served as co-organizer for the Hall. Both of these emphases, as well as Pepper's role, will be discussed below.

⁷ The Great Indian Hall brochure also seems to have worked as a public relations tool, as the brothers mailed copies to involved parties. Frederick A. Muschenheim to GHP (23 November 1905), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 266, Folder 8.

⁸ European or colonial-themed interior design was a common feature of luxury hotels and private homes in the period, and the Hotel Astor certainly included plenty of these, including Spanish, French, English, German, Italian, Chinese, East Indian, and "Oriental" themed spaces. For the most complete descriptions of the Hotel's interior design themes, see the articles "The Hotel Astor" and "Dinner Under Ground."

by the Hall's "novelty and originality of idea and perfection of taste."⁹ While seemingly grand in its self-promotion, such prose was echoed in the Hall's press and visitor response. As socialite Talbot Hyde wrote after his September 1904 visit, "[the Indian Hall] is certainly different from anything in the city."¹⁰ This uniqueness appears to have made the place a wild success. As the Washington Post reported, the Indian Hall had "established itself as one of the popular resorts of the city."¹¹ We can thus imagine Crawford as a celebrity joining his friends at one of the trendiest and most discussed social spots in American metropolitan life, circa 1905.

The Numak'aki buffalo dancer who had posed for Karl Bodmer in 1834 dances two sections away from Crawford's table, on the back wall of the "Sioux" section (the left-hand recessed areas partially shown in **Figure 9-3**), with Mato-Tópe looking on in Bodmer's Tableau 18 (see **Figure 5-1**). The Hall's brochure labels the scene "No.46."¹²

THE EXHIBITIONARY COMPLEX AND THE CRAFT OF (RE)PRODUCTION

A former military scout and Civil War veteran, Crawford was, in 1905, at the height of his popularity within the lecture, performance, and Wild West show circuits. His reputation stemmed from his constant transformation of his military experiences, such as his involvement in the campaigns against Apache peoples in the southwest in the 1880s, into the exhibitionary

⁹ The Great Indian Hall, 1.

¹⁰ (B.) Talbot (B.) Hyde to GHP, 24 September 1904, NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 12. Hyde and his brother Frederick had a personal connection to the Indian Hall material, discussed below.

¹¹ "Indian Room His Fad."

¹² My references to images within the Indian Hall utilize their 1905 brochure number as "No.#." References to potential source images in other archives in the footnotes utilize those archive's specific referent system.

sphere, where public notoriety and press access then fed his recruitment for key military campaigns and government positions.¹³

In other words, Crawford's career and Indian Hall encounter challenges the neat binary of what scholars have defined as the exhibitionary and the disciplinary complexes. The latter has been most famously defined in the work of Michel Foucault, which traces the gradual privatization, discipline, and surveillance unleashed on the body by instruments of the state in order to exercise social control.¹⁴ In contrast to this disciplinary apparatus, cultural studies scholar Tony Bennett has conceptualized the "exhibitionary complex," or the emergence of display in ever-growing public spaces.¹⁵ The power of this exhibitionary complex lay in "its ability to organize and co-ordinate an order of things and to produce a place for the people in relation to that order" in full view, accessible to a broad range of publics.¹⁶ The publics visiting the complex then participated by absorbing and expressing that order in their own lives—a form of social control that aimed at "winning hearts and minds," rather than disciplining and supervising the body.¹⁷

¹³ Darlis Miller, in her biography of Crawford, suggests that both William Cody's and Crawford's re-engagement as scouts for the Fifth Cavalry after Custer's death in 1876 was in part due to their public reputations. See Miller, Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993) 52.

¹⁴ Foucault's concepts are epitomized in the development of the modern-day asylum, hospital, and prison, where the body gradually disappears from public view and is subjected to disciplinary measures—with "disciplinary" indicating both corporal punishment and the disciplinary structures of the modern university. Foucault's key texts in this area are History of Madness in the Classical Age (1961), The Birth of the Clinic (1963), and Discipline and Punish (1974).

¹⁵ Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," new formations 4 (Spring 1988) 73–102. Bennett's concept is exemplified by public museums, world's fairs, and industrial expositions.

¹⁶ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 80.

¹⁷ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 76.

In North America, when it came to the Native body, these two complexes were linked across the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Numerous examples have already appeared across this narrative: Wied and Bodmer at Jefferson Barracks in 1833; the military-style boarding schools and prisons that both disciplined and displayed Oakuhatuh and his artwork; the illustrations, prints, paintings, and stories that artistic mechanics like Remington and Cary (re)produced to cover the Indian Wars front.

Thus, Crawford, like many of his Indian War compatriots, moved seamlessly between the interlinked spheres of the disciplinary and the exhibitionary. In addition to his military service, Crawford spent twenty-two years as a New Mexico miner, rancher, and trader, with various stints as amusements director at two world's fairs, a special agent on Native reservations for the Justice Department, journalist, poet, performer, and gold rusher in both Dakota Territory and the Yukon.¹⁹ Likewise, the Apache man's bust in the Indian Hall, on whom Crawford's gaze came to rest, occupied an unsettled position between the exhibitionary and the disciplinary, or between the subject, who owns the externally ordered gaze, and the object, who is disciplined, ordered, and gazed at. **[Figure 9-6]** The man's facial casting had been taken by an anthropologist on staff with the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). An artistic mechanic had then cast the work, sculpted the eyes, hair, and shoulders into "a conventional

¹⁸ Instead of the exhibitionary's beginnings marked by the Great Exhibition in London (1851) and the disciplinary's with Mettray prison in France (1840), as given by Bennett and Foucault, respectively, we could mark the culmination points in North America with the passage of the Dawes Act (1887) and its creation of an allotment system for Native reservations, the Wounded Knee Massacre (1890) that marked the last military campaign of the Indian Wars, and the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893), which became the model for dozens of fairs in the subsequent decades.

¹⁹ Miller, Captain Jack Crawford. He served as a director of the 1889 "New Era Exposition" in St. Joseph, Missouri for which he developed an Indian village, arranged Native demonstrations, and created and participated in re-enactments of Custer's last stand. He also served briefly as the amusements director at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in 1904. Crawford's special agent stint was in the late 1880s.

bust portrait,” painted the surface, and chosen the *Daagohighá* cap and beaded strands to adorn it.²⁰ There is little to distinguish the AMNH artists’ studio from centuries of artists’ workshops and studios that specialized in bust portraiture since the revival of the sculptured portrait bust in fifteenth-century Florence, especially since the same casting and sculpting processes (and same staff members) were utilized for busts of AMNH presidents and trustees.²¹ Yet an article from the 1890s heralded the making and inclusion of such busts within the AMNH displays as a scientific project.²² [Figure 9-7.] As the full headline reads, “PRESERVING THE INDIAN. / Types of the Primitive American To Be Represented by Faithful Models. / ANTHROPOLOGISTS' WORK. / Specimens of the Different Tribes To be Secured and Placed Before the Sculptor.” The sitter had been admittedly (and proudly, on the part of the AMNH)

²⁰ For the AMNH bust-making process, see Douglas J. Preston, *Dinosaurs in the Attic* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1986) 189–91; for a brief description of fieldwork casts that were later refined into busts, see Laurel Kendall, Barbara Mathé, and Thomas Ross Miller, *Drawing Shadows to Stone: The Photography of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897–1902* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) 27. Eyes were blank on the original casts, and objects were sometimes part of the finished sculpture, rather than additional ornamentation.

Apache cultural object identifications come from Alan Ferg, ed., *Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987) 133–5 and 144–9. *Daagodighá* [literally, “rising upward” or “they will be raised up”] was a religious movement on the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations that followed the teachings of medicine man Daslahdn [Cibecue Apache], and member men made and wore beaded caps such as these. The caps were based on Apache medicine or warrior caps; *Daagodighá* followers adopted the form and added cross-and-crescent motifs. See also Alan Ferg, “Cross-and-Crescent Motifs among the Western Apache. Part 1: Daagodighá,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 23:2 (Spring 1998) 70–83. Thank you to Nicole M. Guidoitti-Hernández for her help with this identification, and her encouragement to pursue the content of this chapter.

²¹ Portrait busts disappeared from the western Roman empire with changes in burial practice, but were revived in the medieval period to serve as relic casings. As freestanding sculptures taken from life, they made their reappearance in the Renaissance, specifically in fifteenth-century Florence. For a brief history of these practices, see Nicholas Penny, “Bust,” *Grove Art/Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 5/27/14, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T012680>>. For an examination of the revival in Florence, see the work of Jeanette Kohl, which has been influential in my thinking through the Indian Hall busts and their processes of (re)production: “Casting Renaissance Florence: the bust of Giovanni de’ Medici and indexical portraiture,” in Peta Motture, Emma Jones, and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Carving, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013) 58–71, and “Notes from the Field: Mimesis,” *Art Bulletin* 95:2 (June 2013) 205–7. And for an intensive examination of related death masks and their height of (re)production in the nineteenth century, see Marcia Pointon, “Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge,” *Art Bulletin* 96:2 (Jun 2014) 170–95.

²² No author, “Preserving the Indian,” n.d. NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 590, Folder 6.

the subject of artistic portraiture, faithfully and individually modeled through the artist's hand. At the same time, his likeness sat in the Indian Hall as an object or "specimen" of science.

Importantly, it is the same (re)producing craft and (re)produced craftblock that sits beneath these opposing subject-object labels of the honorific and the scientific. Craft—a shared way of doing things, a process-in-motion—lies beneath the "ideological economies," or grand narratives, that have become synonymous with the exhibitionary complex.²³ What emerges as an ideological economy is in fact a surface, overlaid on thousands of flexible and often contradictory craftblocks.²⁴ In the case of the Vanishing Race referents employed by the media and Edison's staff around the Black Maria film of buffalo dancing in the first chapter, for instance, the ideological glosses of "vanishing" and "red" countered the craftblocks recorded and (re)produced through Edison's print technologies. Such surface glosses masked the jumble of sites and discourses at stake—technological, military, political, journalistic, ethnographic, historical—that could contradict one another.

If the purpose of the exhibitionary complex was to organize an "order of things," but craftblocks themselves lay beneath specific ordering messages, then No.46/Tableau 18 in the framed frieze of the Indian Hall allows us a glimpse into how this massive organizational project

²³ This term comes from Bennett. Critical studies in this vein that have been influential for this chapter include Annie E. Coombes, Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997), Elizabeth Hutchinson, The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (1982; New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), and Trachtenberg, Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930 (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

²⁴ What Bennett depicts as underlying "linked sites" that represent "an intersecting set of institutional and disciplinary relations" ("The Exhibitionary Complex," 73). For an account of the disciplinary portions of the complex that gradually emerge as institutional museums and discourses, see Steven Conn, Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

was carried out. Looking at how a single image-object moved through the exhibitionary complex as a whole inverts our investigation of the last chapter, which examined specific structures of valuation put into place to counter print's motion. The purpose of such structures was to corral image-objects into their object status, limiting their networks of motion to those tracked via physical movement. In contrast, No.46 exists in a wild free-for-all. Its ability to move between its image, object, or textual object status creates an incredibly flexible ingredient in a host of ordering projects. This flexibility is amplified through the craftblock's (re)production processes that unhinge the image-object from its historical tissue.²⁵

The flexible microcosm of No.46 serves as a measure of the "precise practice" of knowledge (re)production that the exhibitionary complex at the turn of the twentieth century claimed for itself. It was this knowledge-making activity that Mason had called on, when writing to the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). And it is this knowledge making that formed the powerful core of Manifest Destiny's containment project.

"THE SCIENTIFIC ORDER": NO.46 AS IMAGE

The specific conveyor networks involved in moving No.46 into the Indian Hall are largely trackable. In early May 1904, W.C. Witte wrote to anthropologist George Hubbard Pepper at the AMNH to set up a meeting at the still-in-progress Hotel Astor. Witte served as clerk at the New York City branch of Benham's Indian Trading Company, a retailer and wholesaler of Native-

²⁵ The corpus of images in this chapter thus poses a challenge for recent art historical projects that propose to account for image-object movement on the register of iconography. See, for instance, Robin Kelsey, [Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850–1890](#) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), and Jennifer Roberts, [Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America](#) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). These studies have been highly influential in the content of this chapter, but on this point my findings diverge from theirs.

crafted objects. Located just off Broadway at 138 West 42nd Street (a two-block walk from the Hotel Astor), the company had been hired by Frederick Muschenheim to procure the Indian Hall's decoration, and Witte had then called on his friend Pepper.²⁶

Pepper's later account of this meeting provides a glimpse into the three men's discussions at this early stage of Indian Hall planning. Frederick, Pepper wrote, "decided finally to have everything on the scientific order, and our Museum has therefore, been able to help him in every way possible."²⁷ The term "finally" suggests that a variety of options had been on the table. Choosing "the scientific order," however, was linked to resources, presumably acquired through Pepper himself, as the AMNH then followed up Muschenheim's decision by selling him "at cost" twenty-five "life size busts showing the various tribes of the United States" and providing access to their drawings and negatives for enlargement and inclusion in the Hall's print frieze. The trade-off for the AMNH's generosity was a scientifically informed discourse as the organizing principle for the Indian Hall's arrangement and brochure content—a discourse that allowed Pepper to claim the Hall "[with]in the interest of our scientific work."²⁸

The AMNH resources, which included Pepper's personal collection of fieldwork images from the American southwest, proved insufficient: Pepper could not find enough images at AMNH that, when reprinted, would appropriately fit the large panoramic format (9" x 23")

²⁶ Pepper (hereafter in citations as GHP) is specifically named as one of the Hall's "expert archaeologists" consulting on the project in "Indian Room His Fad." I confirmed Pepper's involvement through his surviving correspondence in the Museum of the American Indian (MAI) Papers Collection [NMAI-Arch]. The various addresses for Benham's New York City branch between 1903 and 1905 also come from this correspondence, and were confirmed in part through surviving issues of The Papoose (cited in detail below). Witte seems to have acted as the Hall's project manager, as demonstrated through his recruitment of Pepper and follow-up correspondence, and his receipt of the BAE materials and associated bills.

²⁷ GHP to Frederick W. Hodge, BAE anthropologist and archaeologist, and executive assistant in charge of International Exchanges at the Smithsonian Institution (1 Jun 1904), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 9.

²⁸ GHP to Hodge (1 Jun 1904).

required to fill the retrofitted paneled frames of the frieze (shown in **Figure 9-4**). Muschenheim then offered to pay for Pepper to travel in search of more images, and Pepper subsequently wrote to his colleagues at the BAE in Washington, D.C.²⁹ When the request was approved, Pepper visited the BAE offices to compile a list of images that were then submitted on order, along with specific printing instructions.³⁰ On July 1, DeLancey Gill, the official Illustrator and lead artistic mechanic of the BAE, signed off on a final package of fifty-seven prints that were subsequently sent to Witte for the walls of the Indian Hall.³¹ No.46 may have been included.³²

(Re)Production and the Archive

The BAE collections that Pepper utilized for the Indian Hall concern circulation, rather than image creation. The three Diné portraits that make up the Indian Hall's No.94, for instance, were all taken in the portrait studio of Charles Milton Bell in Washington, D.C. [**Figure 9-8.**] Bell was a contracted government photographer, who took portraits for large numbers of

²⁹ GHP to Hodge (1 Jun 1904). Pepper's initial inquiry mentioned both the National Museum (Smithsonian) and the BAE as possible image sources, and the two components of the Smithsonian shared various resources when it came to visual production, even as they operated independently of one another. Some materials discussed in this chapter were found at the National Museum in the early twentieth century, though they are now incorporated with and thought to originate from the BAE; I have noted these cases in the footnotes.

³⁰ GHP to William H. Holmes, chief of the BAE (1 Jul 1904), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 9. The requested list of prints and negatives is now lost, having been sent back with the finished prints.

³¹ Gill recorded the order fulfillment in handwritten script at the bottom of Pepper's original request letter. The positives were actually printed by J.K. Hillers, Gill's assistant at the BAE. They were charged at \$1.25 each. GHP to Holmes (1 Jul 1904) [original], NAA, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Box 111, Folder: Peirce-Pepper, G. The delivery address was confirmed in Gill to GHP (18 Jul 1904).

³² A number of the Indian Hall's Bodmer prints correspond to contemporaneous images within the Glass Negatives Collection of the BAE (see **Appendix D**): Tableaus 11, 16, 19, and 26. Several of these plates have "Tab.#" visible in the upper right, suggesting they were photographed from an original Bodmer print atlas. Current markings on the digitized negatives also suggest pictorialist marks to correct shading, line, and so forth. Additionally, a few Bodmer engravings have survived in the BAE collections, which suggests that there may have been more in the past. Several of these are from Graham's Magazine, and were recovered from the National Museum.

Native delegates on business in Washington, D.C.³³ In 1874, a Diné delegation travelled to Washington to meet with President Grant, and included chief Haastin Ch'il Haajini [also known as Manuelito], his wife Juanita, and their son Manuelito Segundo. [Figures 9-9, 9-10, and 9-11.] The group sat for Bell during their visit, and negatives were subsequently produced that entered the BAE Glass Negatives Collection through the Hayden Survey's photographic sourcing practices.³⁴ Once connected to the Survey, the portraits could move in any number of directions, and Juanita's portrait became an anonymous promotional stereograph for the Survey, simply labeled "Navajoe Blanket-maker." [Figure 9-12.] Simultaneously, however, Bell retained his copyright over the images and produced his own *carte de visite* of Juanita's and Haastin Ch'il Haajini's portraits, with his studio's trademark on the reverse and Juanita's and Haastin Ch'il Haajini's names burned directly onto his plates. [Figure 9-13.] Ironically, these *carte de visite* ended up back in the BAE through the personal collecting activities of Aleš Hrdlička, the first curator of physical anthropology at the National Museum (now Smithsonian Institution).

As craftblocks, Juanita's and Haastin Ch'il Haajini's portraits support an incredible range of projects: geographical surveys, congressional and fine arts studio promotional materials, scientific institution and personnel archives—to say nothing of their movement into print

³³ The indoor rocks with fake vines and painted backdrops featured in the portraits often characterize Bell portraits. Bell photographed delegates for the Hayden survey, the Department of the Interior, and the BAE during his studio's existence (1873–1909), and a separate study would be needed to determine how much overlap exists between Bell's work for the three entities and his studio's stock. For a summary of Bell's work, see the Glenn Guide, entry #148, p.87–8. For studio addresses and dates, see listings for Bell & Bro. and Bell, Charles Milton, in Fleming and Luskey, North American Indians, Appendix 1, p.230.

³⁴ For the history and details of this collection, see **Appendix D**.

publications.³⁵ And regardless of the historical specificities at the moments of their making, the craft blocks can move independent of that historical tissue, at the extreme serving as generic and anonymous “Types” on the walls of the Indian Hall.

This flexibility flowed from the (re)production processes that built Pepper’s archival sources. Pepper’s main image sources during his visit were a series of small and large albums kept in the office of the BAE chief, William Holmes, as well as a free-floating set of archival vintage prints.³⁶ While the albums in Holmes’ BAE office and the collection of prints could perhaps be understood as three archives unto themselves, in reality they acted as interfaces: each album image had a counterpart negative plate in the BAE Glass Negatives Collection.³⁷

This source Collection contained the products of layered (re)production practices. Antonion

³⁵ Manuelito Segundo’s portrait, for instance, was engraved and captioned “A Navajo Indian Boy” for Enoch Conklin’s *Picturesque Arizona* (1878); unidentified, the image is reproduced in Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*, 286.

³⁶ The small albums included some volumes of BAE-sponsored fieldwork, but by-and-large consisted of the commissioned Muhr/Rinehart delegate photographs from the 1898 Indian Congress (see **Chapter Eight**). These are now Photo Lot 60 at the NAA [see James R. Glenn, *Guide to the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution* (1996), 83]. They were found among the National Museum collections, but were originally put together by the BAE; for a large portion of Smithsonian history, photographic and illustration services were run through the National Museum, as the BAE did not take on a full-time staff illustrator until 1898, with the hire of DeLancey Gill. Additionally, with the 1904–5 delegation project (discussed below), the BAE’s delegate photographic activities were moved to the National Museum’s facilities. The albums are currently taken apart, with their pages kept in folders that remain organized via the album’s tribal titles. My comparisons between the surviving images of the Astor Collection [AC-FAM] and these albums suggest that there were more small albums at the time of GHP’s visit, due to the number of Muhr/Rinehart images in the Astor Hall without correlatives in Photo Lot 60.

The large albums are now Manuscript 4420 [Glenn, *Guide*, 220]. See also entry #84, “Glass Negatives of Indians Collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology,” in Glenn, *Guide*, 67. My thanks to Gina Rappaport for bringing this second set of albums at the NAA to my attention.

On the vintage prints and the BAE Glass Negatives Collection, see entries #85 and #84, respectively, in Glenn, *Guide*, 67–8; see also **Appendix D**. #85 is thought to contain duplicates from #84; Pepper’s use of the prints to pull images for the Indian Hall suggests that they may have served as reference prints for easy exhibition, publication, or public access. Further research is needed to determine if Shindler’s hand-colored prints in #85 are the remnants of Mason’s race documentation project.

³⁷ The interface of the large albums specifically utilized the matrix of the 1877 Jackson catalog (see **Appendix D**), with the catalog’s captions cut out and pasted beneath the corresponding image on the albums’ pages. Today, the small albums do not appear to have many corresponding negatives at the NAA. This seems to have changed over time, since Mooney and the corresponding BAE and SI reports declared that the BAE owned the original negatives from Rinehart’s portrait sessions. We also know that all BAE images produced for the Indian Hall were made from BAE-owned negatives, not prints [Gill to GHP (1 Jul 1904)].

Zeno Shindler, the same artistic mechanic hired by the BAE and anthropologist Otis Mason to tint photographs in the previous chapter, had been the original keeper of this Collection; as such, Shindler acquired or (re)produced copies of early delegation photos from Washington studios, made copies of images in private collections, and (re)produced and added his own photographic portraits. All of these activities were centered in Shindler's studio darkroom—or later, that of Pepper's contact DeLancey Gill when the BAE creation in 1879 shifted these activities—even as the production sites of the original images could vary widely across space and time.³⁸ In these darkrooms, honorific portraiture collided with the flow and standardization of print's (re)production processes.

"Galleries of the Illustrious"

The BAE's portraiture practices were a product of the BAE's long-term policies toward Native delegations in the U.S. capitol. Upon its 1879 founding, the BAE subsumed and continued the collection activities of the previous U.S. geographic surveys, including the purchase, (re)production, and commission of Native delegation portraits. By 1888, the BAE's arrangements concerning delegation visits became an official branch of work detailed in the Bureau's annual report:

For several years past it has been part of the work of the Bureau to take advantage of the frequent presence in Washington of parties styled "delegations," of the several Indian tribes visiting the capital, for the purpose of photographing all the individuals composing them. These are generally the prominent men of the tribes represented by them and their photographs have biographic and historic interest as well as anthropologic importance. Mr. J.K. Hillers has been in charge of this branch of the work, and during the past year

³⁸ For details on Shindler's darkroom and the BAE shift, see **Appendix D**.

has secured ninety-nine photographs of prominent Indians in both full face and profile, in order to exhibit to better advantage all their facial characteristics....

In connection with the name of each Indian photographed it has been the practice to note his age, status in the tribe, and such biographic information as could be obtained.³⁹

The cross-over between this description of BAE work and the BAE process followed in Rinehart's Indian Congress studio in 1898 (see **Figure 8-6**) suggests that a consistency in pose—the “full face and profile”—and information gathering had developed as standard protocol among the civilian studios and government contract and staff photographers across the delegation work in Washington, prior to the BAE's formation and its scientific discourses.⁴⁰

This “full face and profile” was bound to the honorific codes of photography studio portraits. As Alan Trachtenberg has detailed, the honorific Roman standards that shaped

³⁹ 1888 BAE report, SIA, William J. Rhees Collection, RU 7081, Box 11, Folder 4. Rhees, the chief clerk for the SI between 1855 and 1891, separated the annual SI reports by topic, pasted into a scrapbook form. In practice, the BAE's yearly administrative report was printed twice: once in the BAE's annual report, and again in the reports to the Smithsonian Regents printed after the fiscal year had closed. In citations, I simply refer to the larger reporting agency (BAE or SI) and the year; citations from the Rhees Collection refer to the reports in his scrapbook pages.

According to the BAE annual reports, responsibility for the delegation work alternated between John Karl Hillers and DeLancey Gill. Both had previously worked for the U.S. Surveys.

An exploration of the layers of meaning attached to the “biographic” is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is important to note that the lines between the biographic and biologic blurred frequently in the archival materials. In the 1889 BAE report, for instance, it was noted that “a record has been preserved of the sitter's status in the tribe, the age, biographic notes of interest, and in case of mixed bloods the degree of intermixture of blood” [SIA, William J. Rhees Collection, RU 7081, Box 11, Folder 4]. This “degree” would have been reliant on biographical information, or the tracing of a family tree. Such blood discourse in a space like the BAE is often assumed to play a purely scientific function, but by the end of the nineteenth century, a wide variety of communities, including Native ones, used blood references to mark political, cultural, physical (biological), and even specifically visual culture dimensions of Native life. In the primary research for this chapter, I have encountered blood terminology among Native bureaucrats and politicians, Indian agents, Native and non-Native journalists, and exhibitionary complex personnel, in addition to scientists. The 1890s became a particularly tense period in Native communities with regard to blood discourse, due to the legal debates that surrounded allotment policies. For a Creek period source, see Alexander Posey's *Fus Fixico Letters* [ed. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Carol A. Petty Hunter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993)]. For a discussion of Posey's use of blood descriptors, see Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) 242–6.

⁴⁰ Though how closely the resultant photographic archive aligns with this policy requires a study of its own. Group photographs were also common at these sessions, but are not listed here as standard procedure. Records associated with these sessions also show inconsistent categories of biographic data—sometimes so detailed as to show addresses on home reservations, other times to simply note gender and numbers; see, for instance, the registers for the 1904–5 delegation project [NAA, Aleš Hrdlička Papers, Box 112] compared with the BAE lists of subjects [NAA, Records of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Box 290, Folder: Delegations Photographed at the U.S. National Museum 1903–1905].

neoclassical profiles and portraits through the early nineteenth century also served as the model for early studio photography.⁴¹ These standards dominate early delegate photography. Many sitters appear in neoclassical profile, over and above frontal views. Other sitters were posed looking out of the frame, exhibiting the “guise of introspection or reflection” utilized for gentlemen of repute.⁴² These practices were especially prominent in the studios of Alexander Gardner, Charles Milton Bell, and Mathew Brady, the dominant delegation photographers from 1867 to the 1890s.

Just as delegate portraits followed the formulas of studio photography, they were created and exhibited within these studios’ codes of what Trachtenberg terms “galleries of the illustrious.” Daguerreotype and photography studios developed public galleries whereby rows upon rows of pictures of their illustrious sitters—“the great and the good”—lined the walls in salon-style hangings.⁴³ Such galleries not only displayed the studio’s photography skills and presented visual models for civic emulation. They also became social draws, where crowds and sitters admired each other as much as any hanging portrait—seen, for instance, in the press of visitors at the threshold of Charles Milton Bell’s operating room in 1881.⁴⁴ [Figure 9-14.]

⁴¹ My readings here come from hundreds of examined early delegate photographs in comparison to Alan Trachtenberg’s description of photographic portraiture studio tropes in early American photography; see Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History—Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989) Chapter One, esp. 32–48. Trachtenberg credits this conversion of painting’s rhetoric to that of photography to early daguerreotypists’ desire to be seen as artists—a desire still expressed on Bell’s 1874 *carte de visite*, where his logo contains the descriptor “Artist” (see **Figure 9-13**).

⁴² Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 46.

⁴³ Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs, 30.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Trachtenberg’s detailed descriptions of Matthew Brady’s various photography studios in New York City and their attached practices of social looking; Reading American Photographs, 39–43.

The role of Native subjects in early nineteenth-century galleries of the illustrious have yet to be fully explored. Galleries which focused exclusively on Native portraiture are sometimes now referred to as “Indian Galleries” and are often understood through colonial and ethnographic terms; see, for instance, Elizabeth Hutchinson’s lecture, “Teaching McKenney and Hall’s Sequoyah” (2009; available at <http://vimeo.com/32226168>). The “Archives” of Thomas L. McKenney in Washington, D.C., the offices of western Indian agent William Clark in St.

Placing the Indian Hall within this lineage of honorific spaces, in both their production formulas and their display techniques, helps make sense of the prominent honorific portraiture conventions still visible in a majority of the Indian Hall's photographic portraits. If we compare Bell's portrait of Manuelito Segundo and the central figure of George Washington in John Trumbull's 1780 portrait, we see a striking number of similarities. **[Figure 9-15.]** Both men prominently display their military weapons and dress. Both stand with one leg firmly on the ground, the other raised on a rock. And both present a gentleman's demeanor: Manuelito wears a "guise of introspection or reflection" aimed toward the right of the frame, while Washington holds a letter, a mark of his literacy and education.

What is difficult to account for, however, is the continuation of these honorific conventions for Native sitters in what was a vastly different political and historical landscape. The political arguments made by honorific portraits—the authority connoted by their "presence in absence"—were by 1874 violently under attack for Native sitters, as Native bodies became increasingly subject to the physical containment and violence associated with removal, reservations, and the Indian Wars. Prior to his portrait sitting, Manuelito Segundo had, like most of his clan, been pursued, starved, and rounded up by the U.S. military; walked the Long Walk to *Hwéeldi* ("Land of Suffering" at the military prison Bosque Redondo, 1864–6) from Diné territory under armed escort; been imprisoned with his family; and been allowed to return to Diné homelands on pain of reservation agent control. In 1871, Congress had voted to cease

Louis, the later halls at the National Museum, and Catlin's touring exhibitions are primary examples. The honorific links mentioned here, however, suggest that another set of possibilities are also active for portrait makers, collectors, and/or visitors involved with such spaces, and that such galleries must also be understood through the larger gallery practices of the period. These links may in turn shed light on the political uses of these spaces, particularly the ways in which portrait spaces were utilized as spaces of state by both Native and non-Native participants.

treaty-making with Native nations altogether, and subsequent Native delegation visits like Manuelito Segundo's carried an indeterminate political and legal weight—an indeterminacy marked by scare quotes when the above BAE report mentions "the frequent presence in Washington of parties styled 'delegations,' of the several Indian tribes visiting the capital..."

Given the massive late-nineteenth-century political and military maneuvers to contain Native peoples legally and physically, how did honorific portraiture practices, with their political claims through presence, continue virtually unchanged within the exhibitionary sphere? What relieved the need for portraiture's reinvention around the Native body? As already discussed, by 1874 the key was (re)production and its Native doubles. This process was managed through the darkroom.

The Darkroom's "Universal Currency"

What emerged from Shindler's and Gill's darkrooms were two simultaneous processes. One was (re)production: producing new objects, even as one replicates the same images. Pepper knew this activity was at the core of his image requests, as he reported to Holmes that Mr. Gill had received Pepper's directions for "the work of reproduction."⁴⁵ He also knew that Gill would not be the only photographer on the project: to blow up the ordered prints to the appropriate dimensions, Muschenheim had engaged a second photography studio in Manhattan.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ GHP to Holmes (1 Jul 1904).

⁴⁶ GHP to Holmes (1 Jul 1904). All BAE images of photographs in the Astor Collection [AC-FAM] are reversed to the BAE originals. However, the BAE images of prints in the Hall are not reversed, suggesting that either the BAE (re)prints of the prints were large enough to transfer directly into their panoramic frames, or that the (re)prints of the prints were sourced from another archive altogether.

Prior to this process, however, was another: different objects were converted into the same medium in a procedure of standardization. The BAE put all visual materials—“paintings, prints, illustrations, and photographs”—into the same inventory property class.⁴⁷ Gill’s work included the photography of maps and objects, transforming these three-dimensional material objects into images that flowed in and out of his darkroom.⁴⁸ No.46 suffered the same fate: fine arts prints, drawings, publication illustrations, and paintings were all transformed into photographic plates for the Collection of Glass Negatives.⁴⁹ The archive used and categorized all of these images equally, using the same archival numbering system across the plates.⁵⁰ Photography was also not the only standardization medium, as images could be transformed into stereotype or electrotype printing plates that were then utilized both within the BAE and across the larger Smithsonian for a variety of publications.⁵¹ These typing processes were also performed and/or overseen by Gill.

⁴⁷ “Property,” 1904 BAE annual report. In the 1903 BAE annual report, the description included rubbings, and in 1906, drawings and engravings.

⁴⁸ More than 200 object negatives and nearly two dozen maps can be found among the current collection (via SIRIS), created mostly in the 1890s through 1912. Some of the object negatives included photographs of printed object illustrations, and others captured objects in various display settings. These tasks are specifically listed as Gill’s job description in the 1903 BAE report.

⁴⁹ An online SIRIS search of the current collection pulled up graphic works by A. De Batz, Karl Bodmer, Samuel M. Brooks (also listed as Brookes), George Catlin, S.D. Coates, Pierre Le Dru, Du Pratz, Seth Eastman, Charles Fenderich, A. Hamlin, George A.P. Healy, Gustavus Hesselius, Thomas Hovenden, Paul Kane, Charles Bird King, R.F. Kurz, H.B. Mollhausen, Carl Moon, Le Moyne, George Mullett, John Neagle, Titian Raphaele Peale, Saint-Mémin, Samuel Seymour, J.M Stanley, Gilbert Stuart, R.M. Sully, John Verelst, John White, and Andres Zorn. Some of these artists’ works—especially Karl Bodmer, Seth Eastman, Le Moyne, and John White—are represented by their published versions (i.e., prints) of original paintings or drawings. Included BAE-hired illustrators, whose works were based on BAE or other government-owned collection images, include David I. Bushnell, Charles Craig, Albert Ernest Jenks, Mary M. Leighter, and Mary Irwin Wright (Gill).

⁵⁰ The original collection system simply assigned sequential numbers to added plates.

⁵¹ A particularly interesting set of letters concerns requests for the electroplates of Catlin’s images from the 1885 publication of the Donaldson report (referenced below). The letters demonstrate how often a single set of images, once standardized, could be utilized for research across the SI—despite the time gap between Catlin’s original image creation and research publication. See memos sent from the office of G. Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of SI, to Rhees (10 Aug 1889, 28 Dec 1889, 21 Apr 1891), SIA, William J. Rhees Collection RU 7081, Box 40, Folder 6. Inventories and varied correspondence surrounding the later storage and movement of these plate collections can be found in SIA, William J. Rhees Collection RU 7081, Box 40.

In early promotional essays for stereographs, Oliver Wendell Holmes imagined photographic images as a kind of “universal currency.”⁵² The metaphor implies both a standardization process and, as a result of that process, a wide disbursement as an accepted form of exchange. Once standardized, the image flowed, and that flow could operate on larger and larger scales as “the work of reproduction” evened out other considerations and created easily transferable and highly mobile craft blocks. It is clear from the BAE’s practices that other forms of print media and their technologies could also serve as “universal currency,” and the BAE built and organized its archives through and around this potential.

The results of such currency can be seen in the complex movement of images out of the archives and into the work of colleagues (both amateur and professional) and institutions in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.⁵³ Images were conveyed from Pepper’s file cabinet and the larger AMNH vaults into the AMNH darkroom, then across scientific and commercial divides as well as national borders.⁵⁴ The BAE archives that Pepper utilized for the Indian Hall evince image circulation loops between departments of the larger Smithsonian, from the

⁵² Holmes’ currency metaphor is utilized in Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 127; Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, 110–5; Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” 17; and Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 18–20. Holmes’ writings were in support of his own stereoscope invention and marketing, and appeared in three articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* between 1859 and 1863. Not all photography could carry this “currency” potential, as early photographic forms such as daguerreotypes and tintypes were unique images that could not be reproduced. Various printing techniques, such as etching, engraving, and lithography, also had limited applications with the extensive artistic labor involved. It was only with later photographic and print technologies that Shindler and Gill could make the (re)producible image-objects discussed here.

⁵³ George Frederick Kunz, an amateur geologist, wrote to Pepper to borrow some of Pepper’s publication plates [Kunz to GHP (7 Nov 1903), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 4]. Aleš Hrdlička’s contract for the Hyde Exploring Expedition (of which Pepper was the head archaeologist) specified that Hrdlička be furnished with a list of all negatives taken during expeditions, as he had contractual permissions to use any of the required images for his HEE-based publications [“Agreement between the Hyde Exploring Expedition and Doctor A. Hrdlicka,” NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 188, Folder 12].

⁵⁴ See, for instance, a letter to GHP from H.C. White Co., a Vermont-based major producer of stereoscopes and stereographs [(14 July 1903), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 1] and the request of Brunswick, Germany professor Richard Audree to GHP for a set of Pepper’s images to accompany a reprint of Pepper’s article [(10 May 1902), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 264, Folder 12].

Smithsonian to inter-governmental agencies, and, in response to image requests from the American public, to untold numbers of homes, public exhibitions, Indian agents, reservation residents, scholars, and amateur historians and genealogists.⁵⁵ Pepper's home institution of the AMNH, and later the Museum of the American Indian (MAI), also had formal public image distribution programs.⁵⁶

Many of the BAE's image circulation routes trace back to Gill's darkroom and illustration studio. Such circulation met the larger goals of the Smithsonian Institution, as articulated by its Board of Regents in their 1872 report: its primary missions were "1st, to increase, and 2d, to diffuse knowledge among men."⁵⁷ The two missions were distinguished from each other in the 1872 SI annual report using the words of British naturalist William Swainson:

...we must remember that diffusion and advancement are two very different processes; and each may exist independent of the other. It is very essential, therefore, to our present purpose, when we speak of the diffusion or extension of science, that we do not confound these stages of development with discovery or advancement; since the latter may be as different from the former as depth is from shallowness.⁵⁸

Swainson's language of "depth" and "shallowness" underlines the extreme difference in registers between the activities of knowledge production and knowledge diffusion. Swainson

⁵⁵ See, for instance, NA-ID#523558, a collection of BAE copy negatives made for reports and exhibits and deposited in the National Archives as a coherent collection in the 1930s [NARA-II]. Once deposited, the duplicate collection has been subject to NARA's archival processes, including their retention of many 1830s BAE captions as per their accompanying documentation. There are currently no mechanisms by which such data would be updated or "original" BAE records linked. Requests for images from the public are not systematically archived by the NAA, but the range of requests received at the BAE can be gleaned by reading the BAE correspondence books [NAA, Bureau of American Ethnology, Records—Letterbooks] or the correspondence filed under various BAE (and later NAA) chiefs.

⁵⁶ Such programs included lecturer requests [MAI Papers, NMAI-Arch], by which a set of lantern slides would be arranged by the AMNH or MAI for delivery or pick up. Lecturers would then return the slides upon the completion of their events.

⁵⁷ 1872 SI annual report, p.1.

⁵⁸ From "Natural History," Cabinet Cyclopaedia (London: n.p., 1834) 314, as cited in the 1872 SI annual report, p.13. The textual emphases appeared in the report.

posits these activities as opposites whose characteristics cannot simultaneously apply to the same object. Yet darkrooms and their connected illustration studios produced both sets of activities, without distinction.⁵⁹

Another of Oliver Wendall Holmes' metaphors in his early essays was that of the "Imperial, National or City Stereographic Library," where "a man who wishes to see any object, natural or artificial, will go...and call for its skin or form [as captured in the stereograph], as we would a book at any common library."⁶⁰ Such libraries were to be created through a "comprehensive system of exchanges," possible only through the stereograph's currency status—its standardization and flow.⁶¹ Indeed, when Pepper wrote to the BAE in search of images, the (re)production of BAE (and AMNH) collections fell "[with]in the interest of our scientific work"—not within a distinct project of diffusion.

Thus, late nineteenth-century darkrooms and illustration studios at scientific institutions functioned on a continuum with Wied's hired printers' workshops. Both (re)produced images and conveyed those images outward across far-flung networks. The studio's glass negative or electrotyped plate held each image like the matrix at the heart of these earlier spaces. The focus of Wied's North American expedition as well as later scientific institutions centered around knowledge production. And through their respective print processes, each severed the connections between an image and its specific historical tissue as needed.

⁵⁹ The Smithsonian did institutionalize a distinct project of diffusion through its international exchange office, whose activities were regularly tracked in SI annual reports. However, Hodge, Pepper's BAE contact and himself a working ethnologist, was also in charge of international exchanges when Pepper visited the BAE in 1904, his very appointments blurring the lines between the two projects.

⁶⁰ Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Atlantic Monthly* 3 (June 1859) 748, quoted in Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 16.

⁶¹ Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 748, quoted in Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 18.

As knowledge disappears from an image's lexicon, becoming inaccessible to both the users and the audience of an image, the range of possible contexts and deployments for an image proportionately increases.⁶² The scientific order relies on this. At its most anonymous extremes sit racial types.

Crafting Types

Like No. 94 (see **Figure 9-8**), all of the multiple portrait plates that hung in the Indian Hall were labeled "types." Surviving correspondence testifies to how some of these plates were constructed. At the end of July, just over a month before the Hotel Astor's opening in early September, Witte wrote to Pepper for "extra pictures" that the two men had discussed earlier. Witte specifically requested what became the right and left panels of No.100: "one figure of a Navajo to go with the negatives you selected in Washington, the old warrior with the lance and shield, the other showing full figure Navajo with the bow."⁶³ **[Figure 9-16.]** According to Witte, these images were in Pepper's files.

Only the central Diné man of No.100 can in fact be traced to Pepper's personal photography files: Jose (also known as Whalus), a laborer on the Hyde Exploring Expedition (HEE) during the summers of 1897 and 1898, had posed for Pepper for side and front shots in one of those two HEE seasons. The other two images would have come into Pepper's (or the larger AMNH's) files by way of the BAE, as part of a larger pool of imagery utilized by Pepper for

⁶² My findings here dovetail with recent studies that chronicle the removal of Native subjects from nineteenth-century historical writing; see Steven Conn, History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), and Jean M. O'Brien, Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010).

⁶³ Witte to GHP (26 July 1904), NMAI-Arch, Box 265, Folder 11.

lecture and exhibition work on Diné culture.⁶⁴ These two images again source to the larger BAE Collection of Glass Negatives, but from separate production sites: the “old warrior” had been photographed by ethnographer James Mooney during his fieldwork in Arizona’s Keams Canyon Reservation (1893), while the right-hand image appeared in the albums alongside Juanita and Haastin Ch’il Haajini, as this is Haastin Ch’il Haajini’s brother, Cayatanita, also photographed in Bell’s studio during the 1874 delegation trip.

No.100 is thus a composite collected and filtered through at least one archival interface, two major collections, and four darkrooms that had variously gathered and (re)produced work from three distinct production sites. The darkrooms’ standardization created equivalent parts that were comparable via medium (all print/photographic negatives), then put into the flow of the meta-archive pool—until Pepper pulled them out and, on either Pepper’s or Witte’s end, assumed all parts equivalent to display as comparative types. Distinct photographic genres and their specific messages disappear, as the central physical anthropology-styled full body shot subsumes the honorific qualities of the other two photographs. In turn, the anonymity of Mooney’s “old warrior” absorbs the individual specificity connoted by Jose’s and Cayatanita’s original identifications. Across all three images, geographical and temporal context disappears, and the cultural, clan, or social differences evident in dress remain unacknowledged. A Diné man is a Diné man is a Diné man, as Gertrude Stein might say.

The typing of the Indian Hall, then, relied on the Native double, and the currency and flow that underwrote that double’s (re)production—a double produced through the mechanics and connected logics of print. The “precise practice and craftsmanship” of knowing, as

⁶⁴ If they were once a part of Pepper’s photo collection, they did not remain there, as they are no longer attached to the collection of his photographs now located at NMAI-Phto.

presented by the Indian Hall, involved a series of bureaucrats who managed various archival file cabinets and official requests for (re)produced imagery, over and above any scientific or archival promise of the meta-archive.⁶⁵ (Re)production had not simply served as the means by which the distribution of knowledge could be achieved, as Wied or Swainson had imagined, but as the generator of craftblocks whose proliferation then had to be managed.

Typing was one management technique. The concept, as applied to human bodies, first appeared in the English language in the 1843 text The Natural History of Man by English ethnologist James Cowles Prichard.⁶⁶ Prichard's ethnographic use of the term expanded on the term's usage in the field of natural history, where the "type" denoted the premiere example or specimen against which all other specimens were thereafter described.⁶⁷ Prichard applied this notion of type to mark and hold the "undeviating phenomena" that characterized a particular group, which he pieced together through others' printed accounts. For the work, Prichard constructed his "Mandan" type through Catlin's texts and images. His published work included a hand-colored (re)production of Catlin's half-portrait of Mato-Tópe.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ The power of the keeper of the file cabinet is discussed in both Latour, "Drawing Things Together," 54–6, and Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 16–7.

⁶⁶ The terminology that I present here is based on the entry for "Type, N.," in OED Online, March 2014, Oxford University Press, <http://www.ed.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/entry/208330> (accessed April 22, 2014). It should be noted that the OED tracks the printed usage of terms, and that proverbial usage could predate any term's given appearance date. Prichard's original English-language edition is The Natural History of Man: Comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the Different Tribes of the Human Family (London: H. Baillière, 1843).

⁶⁷ Prichard in fact gets to his theory of human variety through the work of naturalists on varieties of sheep and dogs, whereby categories of varieties are created against a main type; see Sections 3–9. This usage is in contrast to the word's much older etymology connected to character and literary sources, which in the nineteenth century was manifest in theories of *physiognomie*.

⁶⁸ Prichard's discussion of Mandan peoples appears on p.400–2. He also included Catlin's portraits of Shakola, Mineeek-ee-sank-ee-ka ["The Mink," wife of Mato-Tópe], and a composite of three unnamed Mandan individuals. On a side note: Catlin's translation of "The Mink" is one of the places that causes great doubt in Catlin's naming of his subjects. *Miní* is the word for water; *mini suk* is the term for "flood." One possible reading, though by no means an authoritative one, is *Minikisukteka*, or "Always Standing When Water Exits (i.e., Floods)." Numak'aki pronunciation would likely put an /e/ sound between the –k and the –t.

Mato-Tópe's capacity to perform as Prichard's Mandan male type was a direct corollary to Mato-Tópe's (re)production through print. Prichard (or his publisher, H. Baillière) had pulled Mato-Tópe and dozens of other indigenous peoples' portraits out of the meta-archive for the completed text: produced in quarto size, the plates may have literally moved from one publisher to the next in London. Such usage points (once again) not to science, but to the standardization and flow of Native portraiture and the resulting Native copy.

Nineteenth-century ethnographic typing is thus best understood as a print practice. Prichard's text coincided with an explosion of print technologies centered on the invention of the rotary press.⁶⁹ A mass of printing terms accompanied these developments in the 1830s and 1840s.⁷⁰ Printers came to call their exemplar works "specimens," and created corresponding specimen albums or broadsheets.⁷¹ These visual forms documented a print artist's or technician's repertoire, held samples for customers to choose from, or tracked examples from various sources for artists to sample.⁷² Wood engraver H.E. Holloway, for instance, collected his various early experimental engravings, his work for various clients, and clipped prints credited to a range of other engravers—all mixed together on various album pages. **[Figure 9-17.]** The

⁶⁹ See **Chapter Seven** fn20.

⁷⁰ Two of the most important were "type-form" (the setting of type locked into a chase for the printing of an impression; 1839) and "type-cylinder" (a cylinder that held a circular type-form; 1839). Additional compound forms using printers' "type" from this period include "type-mould" (1843), "type-printing" (1839), and "type-wheel" (1849). Related natural history terms that also appear in this period include "type-genus" (1840) and "type-species" (1840). Age-old printing practices like type-founding (the craft of forming individual type blocks; 1839) and typesetting (the practice of setting type in the chase; 1846) were simultaneously given their modern lexicons.

⁷¹ This terminology appears throughout the letters of Henry Inman, an artist who took on many printing commissions in collaboration with his patron and later printer-partner Colonel Cephas Grier Childs, who ran a lithography firm with various partners in Philadelphia. Inman used "best specimen" to refer to published prints that he ranked as the most well-executed, and "specimen" to refer to the work examples that his recommended lithographers would bring to Childs in application for employment with Childs' firm. See Henry Inman, *Letters, 1828–45*, AAS, Mss. Misc. Boxes I (Manuscripts)—Folder 4. For a broadsheet example, see the "specimen sheet" for bank note engravers by printer Bald, Cousland & Co. (1850–9), AAS.

⁷² I based these observations on a series of scrapbooks held at the American Antiquarian Society, which included scrapbooks of bank note vignettes in addition to Holloway's album and the collections of Alfred Jones.

mix of prints in these albums seems to match the larger notion of a pool of imagery: no surviving specimen books create topics, dates, or authors by which their content is organized. Furthermore, one can observe a currency of imagery that moves across these early print albums. Various versions of the Native portraits of Thayendanegea [Joseph Brant, Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk)] and Sagoyewatha [Red Jacket, Onotowaka (Seneca)] populate the pages repeatedly, as do a wealth of (re)productions based on de Bry's 1598 Algonquin prints (see **Chapter Five**). Such repeated imagery emphasizes the role that these albums likely played in circulating various images to image makers and their patrons and publishers, across a range of print media and sources.⁷³

In this context, Pepper's examined BAE albums were not scientific records, but forms essential to the print craft from the 1820s on. Such albums secondarily came to feed the crafting of scientific knowledge, which in the nineteenth century was dependent upon and subsequent to technological developments and forms of print. Pepper's act of looking over and choosing various prints from an album's pages was a common scientific practice by the 1890s, but one inherited from bank officials, print studio patrons, printers, engravers, lithographers, artistic mechanics, and publishers of the preceding decades; each album's page held specimens of Holmes' imagined currency.⁷⁴

⁷³ The albums thus represent a possible way to approach the study of print culture in the period, as what appears most often in these album pages may be a fairly accurate measure of what appeared most often in the view of the public—over and above any artistic or market success. One of these bank note vignette books [Graphic Arts Bound Volumes 31, AAS] includes a Goupil's sticker on one of its pages, also suggesting a possible connection between bank note engravings and print albums, and the larger fine arts print market.

⁷⁴ By the time of Franz Boas' Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902), albums were the primary means by which photographic collections were viewed in scientific institutions. See Kendall, et al., *Drawing Shadows to Stone*, 22–3.

The very terminology of typing reflected the language of print. By 1840, the “type” of natural history was specifically defined as “the specimen on which the first published description of a species is based.”⁷⁵ “Types” and “specimens” of human beings entered scientific theory and practice soon after.⁷⁶ By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the language of print had become a dominant cultural discourse that fed parallel intellectual frameworks of the period.

THE STORE: NO.46 AS OBJECT

Tracking No.46/Tableau 18 into the Indian Hall also concerned various conveyor networks concerned with the image-object’s materiality. While Crawford’s 1905 tale of object recognition and original capture evokes battle and the frontier as the source of the Indian Hall’s material culture elements, most of the Hall’s objects, including those displayed on the busts, had come through Witte and his position as clerk at the New York City branch of the Benham Indian Trading Company.⁷⁷ The Company had recently been reorganized, and by 1904 was largely run out of Arizona, with New York one of four sales stores that were supplied through the company’s reservation posts.⁷⁸ J.W. (William) Benham, who had founded the original

⁷⁵ See “type, n.,” OED.

⁷⁶ All uses of “specimen” in connection to typing practices date from the 1840s or later; see OED, “specimen,” definitions #4b(b), #5, #8. Thus, Inman’s use of “specimen” as a printing term (see fn75) predated the application of either “type” or “specimen” to human beings.

⁷⁷ The exception was the Iroquois display, which consisted of Harriet Maxwell Converse’s private collection of Onotowaka [Seneca] objects. Converse, an amateur ethnologist and major supporter of the AMNH, had recently passed away; her death is mentioned in a number of Pepper’s letters.

⁷⁸ The letterhead in December 1905 lists four main stores in New York, Albuquerque, Phoenix, and Los Angeles, with twelve trading posts located on reservations. See the letterhead on A.M. Benham to GHP (2 December 1905), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 266, Folder 8. The NYC address on the 1903 letterhead was 26 West 23rd, though Witte writes at the time that they are actually located across the street at 21 West 23rd while waiting for a new store at 138 W. 42nd Street to be completed. McNitt gives the West 23rd Street address as The Store’s original

company in Phoenix, came on as manager in New York City, while his father A.M. Benham headed up west coast operations out of Los Angeles.⁷⁹

The Benham Indian Trading Company's reorganization occurred near the height of what has become known as the "Indian Craze," or the widespread consumption of Native-manufactured objects by non-Native individuals around the turn of the twentieth century.⁸⁰ While promoted on many fronts by various professionals, from dry goods merchants and arts educators to social reformers and politicians, the Craze was driven by newly developed markets that linked distant object creation points, often on rural reservations or in pueblos, with trade networks that both shaped and responded to national demand.

Indian Craze dealers did not simply meet demand; they also created and promoted the aesthetic formulas that guided the consumption and display activities of Indian Craze consumers. The Benham Indian Trading Company, for instance, offered "A Starter for an Indian Corner" kit that included a Tesuque clay pipe, an A:shiwi [Zuñi] fruit basket, Apache bow and arrows, a small Diné loom with incomplete textile (or sampler), three pieces of Pueblo pottery,

location at its 1899 opening, with an in-between location at 40th St. and 6th Ave. in 1900 [Frank McNitt, Richard Wetherill: Anasazi (1957; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966) 191].

⁷⁹ The Los Angeles branch was located at 421 South Broadway. A.M. Benham's assistant L.L. Burns held a share in the company and, upon A.M. Benham's death, bought him out. The L.A. store was then reorganized into the Burns Indian Trading Company. With the advent of Hollywood, Burns also formed a film arm, the Western Costume Company, by which he serviced the early film industry. See George Wharton James, Indian Blankets and Their Makers (Chicago: A.C. McClure and Co, 1920), Appendix IV, 207—8, and the Benham Indian Company ad at the end of Old West 19 (1903) 731.

⁸⁰ The preeminent text on the Indian Craze is Hutchinson, The Indian Craze. In contrast to Hutchinson's work, which situates the Craze within discourses of aesthetics, I here follow Jonathan Batkin, who specifically redresses the invisibility of traders in scholarship concerning the development of Native-crafted object markets. See Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880–1910," in Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, eds., Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 282–97. Batkin's emphasis is in line with Arjun Appadurai's assertion that traders become the major brokers between a commodity's connected knowledge systems (discussed below); see Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 42.

a small hand drum from Isleta (Pueblo), a Nunt'z [Ute] war club, and “a tinted photograph of an Indian in a leather frame with burned designs”—all for \$3.75.⁸¹ Lists of basic Indian Corner objects also appeared in various articles in The Papoose, an Indian trade journal produced by and distributed through Benham's New York City store.⁸²

Such promotional formulas dominated the visual displays of the trade's commercial and public spaces. Trading giant Lorenzo Hubbell's living room in Ganado, New Mexico included baskets and Diné samplers hung from the walls, with several Indian portraits “framed” by hanging textiles.⁸³ **[Figure 9-18.]** J.E. Standley, a Pacific northwest trader based in Seattle, produced postcards from photographs of his private residential Indian corner. **[Figure 9-19.]** Crawford himself widely circulated photographs of his family's New Mexico parlor, taken during the trading and ranching phase of his career. **[Figure 9-20.]**

These formulas, carried out in traders' commercial and residential spaces, represent a spatial framework against which to analyze the framed frieze of the Indian Hall. Unlike the galleries of the illustrious, where displays of (re)produced portraits presented subjects to both emulate and be seen among, these galleries transformed portraits of Native sitters into objects among other objects. Once the required image met the sole criteria of containing “an Indian,” the material nature of the print image-object came to the fore—a nature emphasized in the

⁸¹ Details from a 1905 Benham Indian Trading Company mail-order catalog, as cited in Batkin, “Tourism Is Overrated,” 295.

⁸² See, for instance, “Indian Decorations in the Home” (The Papoose, January 1903), which presents one object list in the first paragraph (p.10), another several pages later (p.11–2), and a specialist discussion of basket finishes that suggests a complete Corner contains examples of each.

⁸³ The second visible portrait (left) appears to be a painting on a Native-crafted object. Such Native-created images could also serve as the required image element in corners. Prominent examples are included in Molly Lee, “Tourism and Taste Cultures: Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” in Phillips and Steiner, Unpacking Culture, 267–81; see p.274, 279. The Diné items highlighted Hubbell's specialty of Diné blankets.

Benham formula by the detailed frame. The built-in frames of the Indian Hall's print frieze served to limit a subject's presence in the Hall by emphasizing each print's material nature and objecthood, especially when considered distinct from the Indian Hall's catalog numbers and descriptions. Two of Edward Curtis's photographic portraits highlighted the Indian corner formula within the Hall: an 1896 portrait of Kick-is-om-lo [Princess Angeline, Duwamish] and a 1903 portrait of Hinmuuttu-yalatlat [Chief Joseph, Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé)] hung without corresponding labels in the Indian Hall brochure (the 1903 portrait can be seen in **Figure 9-2**, the distant right-hand white square near the bar at the far end).⁸⁴ Before Curtis' North American Indian project had even begun, it is unlikely that either portrait would have been recognized, even by the most discerning and attentive Indian Hall patron, and each simply hung as "an Indian" in a frame.

When Witte organized the objects for the Indian Hall, he also requested copies of the Hall's images from Pepper to include among Benham's New York store inventory.⁸⁵ Whether these (re)productions were displayed in the store's own Indian Craze displays or sold as an Indian Corner essential is unknown, nor do we know if No.46/Tableau 18 was among them. But in moving from scientific archives into the commercial spaces of Benham's Indian Trading Company, these (re)productions create yet another conveyor route from Gill's darkroom, and point to the interrelated network of scientific archives, the open market, and the exhibitionary complex along which Native-crafted objects and Native portraits moved.

⁸⁴ Both would have likely been produced by Curtis for the Hall, potentially through Frederick Hodge, a Curtis supporter and GHP colleague at the BAE, and the eventual editor of Curtis' multi-volume The North American Indian (1907–30).

⁸⁵ Witte to GHP (26 Jul 1904); NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 11.

Underwriting the Exhibitionary Complex

Witte's image request to Pepper desired the (re)prints for "The Store," an affectionate moniker that appeared throughout Pepper's and his associates' correspondence from the late 1890s through the creation of the Indian Hall. "The Store" had originally come into being in 1898 as the incorporated trade arm of Pepper's Hyde Exploring Expedition (HEE)—the same expedition under which Pepper took some of the Hall's photographs, as discussed above. Run under the collective management of trader and relic hunter Richard Wetherill, Frederick Ward Putnam and the AMNH, and socialite backers Talbot and Frederick Hyde, the HEE sponsored annual digs at Chaco Canyon (Four Corners region), whose unearthed artifacts were then sent east to join the AMNH's collections.⁸⁶ Pepper had been hired by the AMNH in 1895 to specifically oversee the Chaco Canyon digs and organize the resulting artifact collections.⁸⁷

Trading food goods for Diné workers' labor had surfaced as a means for Pepper to settle HEE fieldwork debts as early as 1896. The trade demonstrated to Expedition personnel the need for a local source of goods within the Chaco Canyon region. In particular, Richard Wetherill, the Expedition's field agent who remained in the southwest year round, was keen to expand this trade into a series of posts across Diné territory. These posts then came to feed a network of wholesale stores and trade relationships in urban centers—including Manhattan—

⁸⁶ Putnam ran the Peabody Museum at Harvard, while spending one week a month in New York City overseeing the AMNH's anthropological department. In May 1894 Wetherill, with the backing of Benjamin Talbot Babbitt Hyde (called Talbot), had approached Putnam about his newly organized "Hyde Exploring Expedition" and offered Putnam a role. Putnam eventually offered the AMNH as a home for the discovered artifacts, and thus began a three-way partnership between Wetherill, Talbot Hyde and his brother Frederick, and the AMNH under Putnam. See James E. Snead, Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001) Chapters 1–2, and Chapter 1 of Snead's unpublished research notes, "The American Museum of Natural History and Southwest Archaeology, 1895–1917" (1997), on file at the AMNH.

⁸⁷ Snead, Ruins and Rivals, 37.

by 1901.⁸⁸ The entire network took the Hyde Exploring Expedition name, its HEE moniker featured in the diamond-shaped logo designed to evoke a woven Diné textile. Such textiles centered the HEE's inventory prior to the trade arm's later reorganization under Benham.⁸⁹

A 1901 HEE exhibition notice from the New York Times testifies to the complex interweavings between science, the open market, and the exhibitionary complex exemplified by The Store and the larger HEE/Benham enterprise. [Figure 9-21.] The ad targets Indian corner consumers, and includes an etching of the formulaic Indian Corner in the top left.⁹⁰ A woman of leisure reclines against custom-made benches, her face largely hidden behind her reading material. Diné-woven pillows and bench covers surround her, even blending with the etched lines of her dress fabric. Above and to the left hang additional Native textiles and objects, although the heavy etching and dark printing make specific object identifications impossible.

The hidden face, central angled floor rug, and half-drawn table with reading materials invite the

⁸⁸ The southwest network of posts, by 1901, came to include Ojo Alamo, Farmington, Thoreau, Largo, Raton Spring, Manuelito, and Albuquerque. The extensive network of HEE outlets is currently undocumented, but HEE sold to both Fred Harvey and Wanamaker's and ran their own company store in Manhattan starting in 1899. See McNitt, Richard Wetherill, 191–2. For a detailed description on the "flamboyant" southwest activities and network of the HEE circa 1901, see Snead, Ruins and Rivals, 46–8.

⁸⁹ The short-lived period of the HEE (1894–1903) saw intense competition for archaeological territories in the southwest, and the confusion generated by the single HEE moniker housing both an extensive market operation and a scientific expedition made the HEE an easy target for its competitors. Additionally, Richard Wetherill's relic-hunting days meant he had an eye for the market without attached professional ethics, sometimes buying unproven objects sourced from area sites. A federal investigation of the HEE into charges of plundering antiquities from Pueblo Bonito and Chaco Canyon began in 1901. The fall-out of the HEE's tarnished reputation and eventual ban from the region effectively ended the company and forced its 1903 sale to Benham's, with its subsequent reorganization. See Snead, Ruins and Rivals, p.42–3 for details on Wetherill's buying activities.

The HEE ran articles in The Papoose critical of the theft and abuse of archaeological sites in Arizona and Colorado, potentially to distance themselves from the accusations. See their "Notes" regarding the Arizona governor's recent remarks on archaeological theft (February 1903, p.21); "Vandals Destroy Our Treasures of Science" (March 1903, p.9–14); and "To Fix the Blame" (March 1903, p.23–4). 1905 letterhead for the Benham Indian Company specifically stated that Benham's objects were "manufactured for the Trade" as a rebuttal to the previous charges that had plagued the HEE, yet the negative publicity seems to have remained, as the HEE was never mentioned in the pertinent photograph captions of the Indian Hall. See the letterhead used by A.M. Benham to GHP (2 Dec 1905). Only No.99 in the Indian Hall catalog acknowledged its connection to the HEE.

⁹⁰ For more on the Wanamaker's Department Store marketing of Native goods, see Hutchinson, Indian Craze, 40–8; and for Wanamaker's expansion into various educational, social, and cinema projects around Native peoples, see Trachtenberg, Shades of Hiawatha, Chapter 5.

ad's viewer into the depicted scene of leisure, while at the same time exemplifying the possibilities and needed ingredients for an Indian Corner.

The remaining images of the ad, however, had come from scientific archives: the original photographs had been pulled from Pepper's file cabinets, and depicted HEE laborers' wives. **[Figure 9-22.]** Pepper shot the plates during his HEE fieldwork, and an artistic mechanic or printer's studio had transformed the images into etchings for the ad. Pepper's anthropological specialty became Diné blankets and their construction, which he had documented fastidiously during his summers at Chaco Canyon through these HEE laborers' wives and their willingness to share their craft with him. While Pepper's logbooks identified the women in most of his photographs, however, they appear anonymously in the ad.⁹¹ In contrast to the woman of leisure, the three weavers look "out" of the ad toward the viewer. Their full faces, frontal gazes, and accompanying textual labels put the three workers on display as demonstrations of the weaving craft itself—an equivalence emphasized by the fourth image's loom and strung beginnings of a blanket. The laborers also looked out from photographic (re)prints of these images on display at Wanamaker's department store, the site for the HEE exhibition and sale, as part of an "Educational Exhibit" aimed at "students of Ethnology."

The photographs at Wanamaker's were employed to both market HEE inventory and scientifically document and illustrate production processes. The first of these activities moved around Wetherill; the second around Pepper. Yet it was the same images in the same spaces that promoted both. In other words, these women's positions were heavily mediated through

⁹¹ I am in the process of recovering the names and identities of the Diné workers and their families involved in the HEE, as available from HEE and GHP archive materials. All women involved with the HEE were named as wives of their husbands; no individual names are recorded.

the production-distribution networks of both science and the market—and these production-distribution networks were not easily separated, as embodied by the fact that the same images performed within both modes. The 1901 ad, both visually and textually, jumbled together the “specimens” of science with product descriptions and home uses of “rugs, couch covers, cushion covers, hangings for dens and cozy corners.” One would be hard-pressed to identify a single specific consumer or student based on the ad’s text, as various turns of phrase and aspects of the project (fundraising, educational exhibition, marketing display, and collection) were specifically but simultaneously geared toward merchants, social scientists, craft connoisseurs, reformers, home decorators, and educators.

The marriage between the HEE’s underlying science and market networks and the resulting tangle of discourses surrounding Native-made objects appeared at every scale of the HEE, from a single newspaper advertisement and department store exhibit to the entirety of a world’s fair.⁹² Nowhere was this market-science marriage more evident than at the 1904 St. Louis Fair, when J.W. Benham became Pepper’s near-constant companion: Benham and his wife picked up Pepper and Pepper’s wife at the train station, and delivered them to lodgings that Benham had found for the couple—next door to the Benhams; the Benhams attended the fair every morning with the Peppers; Benham organized The Store’s work at the fair with the Peppers’ help; Benham allowed Pepper to measure and study Benham’s stock of Diné blankets

⁹² Once established in New York City, The Store took on a support role for AMNH’s operations well outside The Store’s specific connection to the HEE. Pepper’s letters reveal that The Store secured donor and holiday gifts for AMNH staff and donors, as well as Diné weavings for Pepper’s studies. Pepper in turn connected Store personnel with his professional colleagues, and advised on content, authored new work, or allowed reprints of his material in The Store’s commercial contexts, as seen in the run of The Papoose. See NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265.

on hand at the fair for Pepper's scientific research⁹³; Benham bid on a basket—"one of the finest pieces of ancient work that the Southwest has ever produced"—that Pepper wanted for either the AMNH or the Heye Collection in New York⁹⁴; and the Benhams put together Room 116 of the Anthropological Exhibit building, again with the Peppers' help.⁹⁵ As Pepper later wrote to friend and HEE funder Talbot Hyde: "I wish I could have spent about two weeks with [Benham] to help him with some of the work that he now has to do himself. The result of such help would be to the lasting benefit of all concerned."⁹⁶

Pepper clearly conceptualized his own work in tandem to that of Benham, Witte, and The Store. The language in his 1904 letter from St. Louis echoes that of his initial inquiries to the BAE on behalf of the Hotel Astor Indian Hall project, and betrays an ease with crossing the boundaries between science, the market, and the exhibitionary complex. Pepper exhibited this ease on all levels of professional activity, from his personal relationships to his buying and research at world's fairs. Pepper's career was not the only model by which scientists of the period shaped their relationships to collecting activities, when professionalization and the strict institutionalization of disciplines were still emerging.⁹⁷ Yet the curio trade underwrote a wide

⁹³ Pepper also studied those on display with the Fred Harvey Company, a hotel and restaurant firm that promoted itself through "Indian Detours" and the souvenir trade in the American southwest. For more on the Harvey enterprise and the Indian object trade, see Dilworth, *Primitive Visions*.

⁹⁴ Around 1904, Pepper began an extensive correspondence with collector George Heye that would continue until Heye convinced Pepper to work for him in 1910. My own reading of the correspondence suggests that Pepper not only liked Heye personally, but felt comfortable with Heye's ways of working across this commercial-scientific-exhibitionary network, which for all of Heye's career would resemble Pepper's early professional years with the HEE. It is clear from Pepper's basket request at the St. Louis Fair that by this point, Pepper was as mindful of the development of Heye's collections as he was of his own museum's.

⁹⁵ The objects of the display as described by Pepper included war shirts, beaded baby carriers, and moccasins. Pepper states that Benham had paid at least one moccasin maker \$3,000 in cash since the fair had opened to order enough supply. Benham also sold leather pillow covers done to order during the fair.

⁹⁶ All letter details in GHP to Hyde (31 Aug 1904), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 265, Folder 5.

⁹⁷ Franz Boas, for instance, is also mentioned in the Indian Hall press as advisor on the project. Boas had worked at the AMNH since 1896, and briefly served as head curator over Pepper in 1905 [Hermon Carey Bumpus to GHP (27

array of scientific activities, as evidenced not only in Pepper's career, but in the collection object lists in BAE and SI reports, whereby large numbers of objects came from dealers, as well as Native artisans, private collectors, and working artists all selling on the open market.⁹⁸ In turn, science provided narratives for traders, from evolutionary descriptions of tribal development and marketing categories to the scarcity of objects touted by sellers.⁹⁹

Why this coziness between the market and science? Pepper and The Store's traders got along so well because they were engaged in the very same activity: the movement of Native-crafted commodities from producers to consumers. We can think of scientists like Pepper and traders like Witte and Benham as occupying the same space along their conjoined production-distribution networks. As they conveyed objects through this space, scientists and traders alike critically shifted the production knowledge attached to each and every Native-crafted commodity from Native craftsmen to themselves—a shift that happened through processes of (re)production.¹⁰⁰

Feb 1905), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 266, Folder 4], but he left in 1905 for a post at Columbia; he never returned to full-time museum work out of a growing dislike for museum methods.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, the objects added lists in the 1904 SI annual report. Pepper's letters detail a much wider relationship between traders and scientific activity than I can here examine. Pepper often mentions the difficulties of fieldwork funding, and Pepper initially told Hodge that he would take on the Muschenheim project to have a trip to Washington paid for [GHP to Hodge (1 Jun 1904)]. The help of traders was thus a possible necessity in the field, where trade stores also served as communication depots and expedition outfitters, and provided meals, a bed, and a field address when necessary. Additionally, many dealers positioned themselves to be object "finders" on behalf of institutions. Pepper's correspondence from the period is littered with nearly a dozen stores' letterheads, and it is clear that trade stores variously filled all of these roles in Pepper's own career and the early years of the AMNH collections and field activities. These stores were concentrated in the Pacific northwest and American southwest. See Pepper's correspondence, NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Boxes 264 through 266.

⁹⁹ Batkin notes that a logic of scarcity was touted by dealers as a selling technique, though they in fact had access to a constant supply of objects (p.294). The scarcity of historic museum-quality objects can be noted with regularity in Pepper's correspondence with dealers, suggesting that dealers may have received notions of scarcity from their institutional clients.

¹⁰⁰ My framework for commodities and their bodies of knowledge comes from Arjun Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," in The Social Life of Things, 3–63, esp. 41–56.

Collecting Commodities, Collecting (Re)Productions

In 1885, the same year that he requested photograph tinters from the BAE, Otis Mason articulated his mandates for the collection of Native-made objects in a memo aimed at the National Museum's field agents. In the document's draft, Mason detailed five sets of queries that the field agent was to make to ensure "the perfect museum specimen" of indigenous art.¹⁰¹ These queries required the agent to detail an object's maker, her tools, her materials, and her methods, in addition to the function of the finished object. While the required materials and tools were collectible by museum staff, methods were not. Rather, methods were reproducible, recorded for the express purpose of enabling museum personnel to "reproduce" the collected object in the institutional setting.¹⁰²

Mason's memo articulates the notion that Native objects in museum collections carried with them the quality of reproducibility. Each object simply needed the appropriate accompanying descriptions and talented staff member to enact an object's subsequent "reproduction at will"—the quality that animates Edison's intermedial notion of print.

Practically, Mason's memo advocated the transfer of cultural (re)production techniques from an original Native laborer to a second set of (re)producers. This transfer was the exhibitionary complex's counterpart to the non-Native artist's hand, who through print processes replaced the Native hand with his own. Mason's original document even borrowed

¹⁰¹ Otis T. Mason, handwritten memorandum, "Directions for Collecting Specimens of Aboriginal Art," 10. NMNH-NAA, Records: Division of Ethnology, Department of Anthropology, United States National Museum/National Museum of Natural History (est. 1897), Box 36, Folder 503: O.T. Mason. The memo indicates that it was intended as an appendix for the 1885 annual report of the National Museum, but I have not found a print version; it may have been nixed for publication in favor of Donaldson's extensive report on the Catlin gallery (published as Part II of the 1885 National Museum report). In his Anthropology Department report in the 1885 SI Annual Report, Mason notes the difficulties of "false location" and "insufficient data" for many of the objects in the Anthropology collections (p.90). His memo may have been a response to fix these weaknesses that had been noted within the collections, and may have become standard instructions for the department's field agents at the time.

¹⁰² Mason, "Directions," 10.

trompe l'oeil's language when he later crossed out “reproduce” and inserted his alternate word choice of “counterfeit.” Importantly, the personnel Mason relied on for this process were artistic mechanics, employed full-time in scientific institutions’ exhibition departments, illustration and print studios, and darkrooms. Mason’s outlined system of documentation was to assist these museum personnel in (re)producing field objects for museum display.

While not named specifically by Mason, print came to play a major role in this system. For a series of photographs taken of anthropologist and AMNH curator Franz Boas in 1904 or 1905, Boas posed in Inuit dress holding a harpoon to demonstrate Inuit hunting techniques. **[Figure 9-23.]** The photographs had been made to assist museum preparators in creating life group displays for the renowned Northwest Coast galleries at the AMNH. Boas was in charge of the project until his departure from the AMNH in 1905.

The AMNH archive photograph evinces complex layers of (re)production. Boas’ ontological body, frozen on a table in a Manhattan building, knees drawn up, arm bracing the clasped harpoon, was itself a (re)production: a (re)creation of witnessed Inuit hunting methods through a non-Native body. The assumption behind this pose was that Boas, through his body, could serve as an adequate and accurate stand-in for Inuit hunters on the northwest coasts. Boas’ captured pose somatically enacts Mason’s desired fieldwork queries—that Native methods and processes, if properly recorded, could then be (re)produced by museum personnel.

Even as Boas served as one of these personnel (re)producers, a set of artistic mechanics (re)produced him. They utilized a variety of techniques, from painting to (re)productive castings, prints, and paintings to (re)produce photographic bodies and/or scenes such as Boas’

in two- or three-dimensional display forms.¹⁰³ One example can be seen in an earlier photographic series created by Boas for preparators at the National Museum. **[Figures 9-24, 9-25.]** National Museum staff paid such close attention to Boas' photographed body as to (re)produce almost exactly in their central figure the angles of Boas' spread-eagle arms, his facial expression, turn of head, and open mouth, and his curled-up knees and feet poised on the circle opening's edge.

The techniques utilized to build these completed displays embodied multiple levels and forms of (re)production. In creating the Haida ceremonial canoe for the AMNH's 77th Street entrance, staff artist Sigurd Neandross utilized a miniature wooden canoe model and an original Haida garment for his work on the final life-size (re)production. **[Figure 9-26.]** The 1910 photograph has caught Neandross posing with a life-size plaster head for the canoe, seemingly in the act of painting the disembodied head for final display. His pointed paintbrush, so near the surface as to cast a shadow on the head's neck, emphasizes Neandross's originary auratic hand and his attached artistic agency in producing the finished work. Yet Neandross would have (re)produced the head in his lap from an AMNH collection cast, and that cast may or may not have matched the correct Haida cultural designation. Likewise, for the standing figure at the far right Neandross may have (re)produced the various assembled body part casts from the same model's casts, or he may have assembled the various body parts from the stacks of discarded casts (again, regardless of cultural origin) found in the AMNH attics. He may also have created new (re)producible casts from AMNH staff or visitor volunteers. The beginnings of this figure's

¹⁰³ Photographs of Native subjects could also be used as the originary print source; see, for instance, the Jesup North Pacific expedition photograph of a woman tanning deerskin (27 Apr 1898; AMNH Library Neg. No.42930), and the resulting AMNH display case (AMNH Library Neg. No.333415). This match is discussed in Kendall, et al., [Drawing Shadows to Stone](#), [PAGE #](#).

held ceremonial object and painted garment may have been carved and sewn replicas—or they may have been cast doubles of collected museum objects, now subject to Neandross’s (re)producing brush.¹⁰⁴ The very fact that the photograph hides from us the precision of Neandross’s (re)producing techniques testifies to Neandross’s skill and talent in (re)producing collected commodities, much as the photograph of Alexander Pope’s studio testified to Pope’s skill even as it bewildered viewers about the precise nature of Pope’s sources (see **Figure 7-6**).

(Re)production did not stop with the completed exhibit: displays and their originary objects and peoples alike were standardized through print and entered the flow of the darkroom and illustration studios. The (re)produced image of the completed display case in **Figure 9-25**, for instance, was published in the National Museum’s 1895 report.¹⁰⁵ Images from this report, as well as a contemporaneous BAE report, were cut out and pasted into an advertising montage by the above-mentioned trader J.E. Standley, who mounted the board outside his Ye Olde Curiosity Shop in Seattle. [**Figure 9-27.**] Standley also brought these reports to the Native artisans in his employ, who based their designs on the pages’ (re)produced objects. These completed object doubles then circulated back into collections, from whence they could re-enter the circulation process.¹⁰⁶ Standley also circulated these reports to various committees for Seattle’s exhibitionary complex events, who utilized the reports’ images as

¹⁰⁴ See Preston, *Dinosaurs in the Attic*, 190–1 for a description of Neandross’s processes, which included casting objects as well as incorporating collection objects. Preston describes the Haida canoe as perhaps “the most comprehensive use of life casts in a museum exhibition” (p.190).

¹⁰⁵ Franz Boas, “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,” USNM Report, 1895, Plate 29.

¹⁰⁶ Duncan details the loop of these creating/collecting activities with the story of two specific masks now in the Horniman Museum (London); see *1001 Curious Things*, p.13–4. The AMNH and the MAI were both customers of Standley’s shop, as detailed in Duncan’s text. George Heye in fact bought all of Standley’s displays from the AYPE for the MAI—displays that had themselves been modeled for Standley in the AMNH and BAE reports’ printed illustrations and coded caption keys. Materials and letters from the Ye Olde Curiosity Shop appear in Pepper’s correspondence; MAI-Arch.

models for their own displays of Native cultures—including on the *torii*-like [Shinto] south entrance of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYPE, 1909), whose carved *hashira* (re)produced the report’s recorded totem pole designs.¹⁰⁷ [Figure 9-28.]

By the time we arrive at the AYPE entrance *torii*, we are many, many layers of (re)production away from any original Native laborer sitting in a lodge or under a patch of shade trees, carving or weaving the desired and collected commodity. Frederick Putnam’s introductory note to Washington Mathew’s The Night Chant text, the only scientific text published under the HEE, noted this distance between the HEE’s Native laborers and producers, and the Expedition's scientific and market personnel:

In the prosecution of this [scientific HEE] research a large number of Navajo Indians have been regular employés of the expedition in New Mexico. Gradually there has been brought about a permanent settlement in the Chaco Cañon, where a number of Navajos are constantly employed as workmen, teamsters, herders, and blanket makers, thus affording opportunities for the study of the life and customs of this interesting and industrious people.¹⁰⁸

Putnam’s description centers the Diné women of Pepper's HEE photographs within a Native laboring community. Their days are full: gathering and making dyes, harvesting and processing wool, weaving blankets and cushions, running the HEE and home kitchens, watching their

¹⁰⁷ Standley had lent his AMNH report to the planning committee for what would become the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, who also used the reports to organize their anthropological displays. The totem pole designs of the report continued to replicate in Seattle, as Standley passed the report in 1911 to the Seattle Potlatch committee—it was from this Potlatch event that Seattle’s totem poles became “standardized,” taken from the report’s prints rather than any living cultural practice. For more on this specific history, see Duncan, 1001 Curious Things, Chapter Seven. And for a broader account of the process of creating the idea and form of the totem pole, see Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁸ See Washington Matthews, The Night Chant, A Navaho Ceremony, vol. 6, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History (New York: AMNH, May 1902) iii. George Pepper’s expedition report, not published until 1920, mentions the Diné workers once; see Pueblo Bonito, vol. 27, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York: AMNH, 1920).

children, and washing and mending their husbands' work clothes.¹⁰⁹ Around these women and their daily lives are a host of networked paths along which both their (re)produced commodities and the (re)producible records of their physical and daily lives flow out and away.¹¹⁰ And when commodities move, knowledge moves.

(Re)producing Knowledge

As conceptualized by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, every commodity travels from the realm of production knowledge to the realm of knowledge that informs and guides consumption. Those who have a stake in knowledge movement sit in the middle of these object flows, serving to bridge the distance between producers and consumers. Traders traditionally populate these spaces, but as the case of the HEE makes clear, both traders and scientists had a stake in this knowledge movement, and both acted as knowledge middlemen.¹¹¹ Traders like Benham became consumers' (including scientists') guides through the mass of collected objects. Field agents like Pepper and Boas transferred (re)production knowledge from Native laborers to themselves; they then (re)produced this knowledge for publics (including traders) through lectures, texts, exhibitions, and collections.

¹⁰⁹ This list reflects the subjects of Pepper's HEE photographs; doubtless there were also many dimensions to these women's lives at Chaco Canyon hidden from Pepper's camera.

¹¹⁰ Putnam specifically notes that the laborer's physical measurements are "being recorded by observations, measurements, photographs, and life masks." He was likely describing the work of Aleš Hrdlička, whose stay with the HEE resulted in his article "Physical and Physiological Observations on the Navaho" [*American Anthropologist*, New Series 2:2 (Apr–Jun 1900) 339–45].

Hrdlička took specially printed ledgers with him to the field for this study, which headed the columns with the various measurements that should be taken. Hrdlička later utilized the leftover HEE ledgers for the 1904–5 delegate project of the National Museum, mentioned above; see fn40. Other ledgers created around these women and the HEE laborers include Wetherill's and Pepper's photography logs; Wetherill's inventory and trade ledgers; Pepper's craft notes; the HEE wage book; and the HEE artifact ledgers.

¹¹¹ For more on traders, see Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," 42–7.

Appadurai's description of a commodity's movement from production to consumption and the accompanying changes in knowledge is also a description of No.46/Tableau 18 as it has meandered and multiplied along the course of this study. Birthed in a co-created and shared fort on the banks of the Missouri, No.46 came to life in a moment of contact and exchange between Native leaders and European gentlemen. Packed in a crate, hauled thousands of miles, and translated into print, however, the initial image was severed from its indexical links—claimed and tangible—to its Numak'aki sitter's body. The knowledge connected to the original portrait thereafter flowed through Bodmer and Wied, the image's keepers, who made changes, morphed descriptions and visual elements, and subjected the image to their own visual re-imaginings as they translated the portrait into print.

Once in a standardized (re)producible form, No.46 could then be deployed along any point of the production-distribution networks by any of the networks' middlemen—and these uses could co-exist or even conflict. No.46 was written up in the 1905 Post review of the newly opened Indian Hall as a perfect example of pre-evolutionary Native life, while Witte potentially hung the image as an Indian Corner ingredient that purportedly connected surrounding Native-made objects to historical Native communities. Simultaneously, William Waldorf Astor, who funded the building of the Hotel Astor, may have endorsed—even provided—No.46 for the walls of the Indian Hall, as his grandfather had written the original 1832 letter of introduction that secured Wied's and Bodmer's passage along the Missouri: No.46 authenticated William's links to the family fortune and the American Fur Company's middlemen who had built it.

In Wied's original project, the collection, motion, and (re)production of objects—including the portrait-as-object—served as the foundation for his “precise practice of knowing.”

But the distances that such objects traveled from their original creation points left them vulnerable to “culturally formed mythologies,” or untruthful elements of knowledge “generated because of the detachment, indifference, or ignorance of participants as regards all but a single aspect of the economic trajectory of the commodity” and subsequently attached to the original object.¹¹² Objects in motion require middlemen, whose deployed mythologies work against any hope for a “precise practice of knowing.” Wied’s hoped-for knowledge—*what we once were and where we came from, mapped through what they once were and where they came from*—subsequently moved further out of reach the further his objects traveled.

Operative in all instances of object motion, however, is the belief that a (re)production retains some level of indexical producer knowledge. As motion potentially separated each object from its surrounding art historical and material culture frameworks and their attendant epistemologies, Mason’s notes and the museum’s later (re)productions were thought to retain the Native producer’s knowledge—at least enough knowledge to substitute for the “authentic” or “real” Native object or person in articles and museum displays. This belief held, even as these (re)productions were employed in the subsequent knowledge projects determined and controlled by a network’s middlemen. As demonstrated by Neandross’s studio techniques, such knowledge projects were sometimes reduced to the level of an Indian Craze formula where (re)productions of Indians could substitute for other Indians, regardless of specific cultural origins.

¹¹² Appadurai, “Commodities and the Politics of Value,” 48, 54. Production knowledge in particular tends to be “quickly subordinated to more idiosyncratic subcultural theories about the origins and destinations of things” (p.54).

And so a return to the dreamed-of library of Oliver Wendall Holmes' imaginings, where (re)production underwrites an entire system for knowing the world. No.46 and any collected Native-crafted object could be (re)produced at will, making them available for both standardization and circulation at any time. As already discussed, this "(re)producibility at will" and the amassed collections underwrote distribution programs at the largest scientific institutions. Each institution's print currency—slides, casts, dioramas, films, photographs, and prints, in addition to institutional reports and texts—was dispersed widely and made available to numerous public and private institutions of learning.¹¹³ **[Figure 9-29.]** Most of this labor was done in-house, as these institutions set up print shops, education departments, and exchange programs to disseminate their (re)produced objects.

While the exhibitionary complex created a publicly displayed order of things, then, it also (re)produced this order through print, and undertook the distribution of this order far outside the walls of the exhibitionary complex itself. These institutionally developed distribution systems fulfilled Holmes' predictions, the logical outcome of print technologies now at their zenith of (re)producibility.

But the exhibitionary complex of the last decades of the nineteenth century was also the generative space for subsequent twentieth-century systems of (re)producing knowledge. The identically (re)produced boxes in the AMNH's education department, themselves filled with (re)productions, depict one system quite literally. The kinetoscope filming events in the Black Maria birthed another. In both spaces, the "depth" and "shallowness" of knowledge production and knowledge distribution collapse into the single stream of print's technological output.

¹¹³ At the National Museum, these programs included the distribution of collection object doubles; see the work of anthropologist Catherine A. Nichols (Loyola University, Chicago).

These systems did not operate within strict boundaries of form or genre. Consisting of (re)producible prints, any system's craftblocks could easily fit with another's. In 1925, No.46/Tableau 18 appeared in the first published volume of The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States series. **[Figure 9-30.]** Spearheaded by Ralph Henry Gabriel, an historian at Yale University, the fifteen-volume series pioneered the use of visual documents as historical sources while also producing a broad historical narrative geared toward popular audiences.¹¹⁴ No.46 represented "The Bull Dance" in a chapter devoted to Plains Indian life before the creation of the United States (already an anachronistic falsehood). On surrounding pages, the image was joined by a mass of other (re)productions whose originals existed along distinct ontological categories: Native-crafted objects, pictographs, and signatures; museum displays and dioramas; prints and paintings by various canonical American artists. Regardless of their ontological categories and attendant epistemologies, however, these originals were transformed through print into standardized (re)producible forms of knowledge. Standardization provided an equivalence among things and images that worked like an Indian Craze formula: objects among objects, Indians among Indians. Every object that could be standardized was assumed to (re)present in the same way, becoming a valid source for knowledge creation—a creation process that was intimately dependent on the very craftwork and logics of (re)production.

Gabriel's text illustrates how, by the turn of the twentieth century, one could speak of wild west shows, Indian villages at world's fairs, kinetoscopes, dioramas, elders' recordings, and museum objects in the very same terms: they were all held to be forms of (re)produced

¹¹⁴ Information for the series comes from the record for The Pageant of America photograph archive at NYPL. See <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/explore/dgexplore.cfm?col_id=187>.

knowledge, equivalent through print processes. Thus, the print logics that underwrote the exhibitionary complex came to generate models for knowledge creation that remain with us to the present day.

Gabriel's methods for The Pageant of America series had involved collecting and organizing an archive of prints from various sources and time periods, all of which passed through institutional darkrooms and illustration studios before making their way into Gabriel's files. Today this archive remains intact at the New York Public Library. Like many of the archives out of which this chapter has been drawn, Gabriel's composite serves to source the knowledge (re)production of the last century. Yet the layers of knowledge that such print archives were created to illuminate—their originary events, objects, and peoples—remain largely obscured. This obscurity is due to the fact that print, like all mediations, exists in the gap between experience and knowledge—between the ontological world and the meta-archive used to map and mediate that world, to use the terms of Chapter Two. In the political economy of the Indian Wars, this gap was exploited to advance the project of containment. And where images and objects failed, there was text.

“THOSE WHITE PAPER FELLOWS”: NO.46 AS TEXTUAL OBJECT

To return to where this chapter began: Crawford's object encounter in the Indian Hall likely never happened.

Crawford certainly could have visited the Indian Hall, or met with the Post reporter, but he had never served with Crook in the southwest, had never seen battle with Apache warriors, nor had he captured a bonnet and sent it to Harriet Converse, the amateur ethnologist and

collector named in Crawford's account.¹¹⁵ In other words, the Post's tale of Crawford's encounter resembles the Herald reporter's account of the Native buffalo dancers in the Black Maria studio: textual objects that produce a fiction around its described or depicted Native bodies.

Textual objects became a major tool for the public face of the disciplinary complex during and after the Indian Wars. These objects represent the unusual meeting point of career military men, Native peoples, artistic mechanics like Remington and Cary, and the journalist and publisher clientele of Avery's shop. William "Buffalo Bill" Cody and Crawford were two of this meeting point's most prominent figures. An examination of their involvement with print sheds light on the seamless merging between the disciplinary and the exhibitionary, and their intertwined relationship to the Native body.

Faming the Indian Wars

The inaccuracies of Crawford's Post account circled around a small coterie of military men, nearly all Indian War veterans, who created public reputations through the iconicity and indexicality of print. Crawford's mentions of "Crook" in the printed account, for instance, referred to Brigadier-General George A. Crook. Crook had gained a reputation as an Indian fighter, and his name regularly appeared in the voluminous press accounts of various Indian

¹¹⁵ Crawford had served under General Crook during the Great Sioux War (1876–7), and then only for the few months between Custer's defeat (June) and the Battle of Slim Buttes (September) in 1876. In New Mexico, Crawford volunteered his services to track Apache leader Victorio to Colonel Edward Hatch. Crawford served in this capacity between June and October of 1880, when Victorio was killed by Mexican forces; Crook did not arrive in New Mexico to fight Geronimo's War until 1882. The existent account of Crawford's New Mexico duty comes from his own hand. Harriet Converse's specialty was Onotowaka [Seneca] culture. And there was no "bonnet" in Apache culture: in media accounts of the period, feathered bonnets referred to the Plains tribes' elaborately feathered chief headdresses.

War engagements.¹¹⁶ But Crook was primarily a household name in 1904 due to the bestselling book Campaigning with Crook (1890) by Charles King. King was himself a former Indian War general who had served under Crook, and upon his forced retirement due to injury in 1874, turned to a life of writing. Over the course of nearly sixty years, King authored more than sixty books, with a large number of these recounting aspects of the Indian Wars or centered on tales of Native life.

Books, newspaper articles, cited quotations, magazine stories and reports, poems, letters leaked to the press, performance programs, plays, and dime novels—these all offered sites (cites) of textual currency, or what literary scholar Paul Nolan has termed a “complex” of “inscriptions.”¹¹⁷ Such inscriptions would link the author or performer with a compatriot, often one more successful or widely known than himself. King’s book on Crook had included a turn by Crawford, serving as scout; the press account of Crawford’s Indian Hall encounter cited Crook in return.¹¹⁸

Scholars largely understand Crawford’s failure to achieve more than a minor footnote in America’s theatrical, wild west, or literary canons as the result of his failure to navigate the

¹¹⁶ See, for instance, the details of Crook’s earliest postings in California in Lindsay, Murder State, 304–10. Like many of these military figures, however, much of the knowledge of Crook’s career, as seen in Lindsay, was created through the textual objects that surrounded him. My own reading of several of these texts around Crook, Crawford, Cody, and Custer (like Catlin before them) is enough to show that the line between fiction and non-fiction in many of these texts is blurred. As a result, I do not use the term “non-fiction” to distinguish the discussed works.

¹¹⁷ Paul T. Nolan, John Wallace Crawford (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981) 40. Note, that Nolan’s usage of the phrase pre-dates that of Bruno Latour’s in “Drawing Things Together.”

¹¹⁸ Nolan’s complex of inscriptions around Crawford is much more complex than I can detail here, involving book credits, published and unpublished poems, public performances, performed and published plays, programs, press interviews, and authored articles. Crawford also carried on contentious correspondence with King that eventually ended up in gossip columns and articles. Crawford’s debate with King was due to King’s attempt to recruit Crawford to back him in a libel suit against a Herald reporter; Crawford ended up publishing an account of events that backed the reporter.

demands of this textual print world.¹¹⁹ In contrast, Cody (Crawford's once-friend-and-later-nemesis) presents a gold standard, whose wild west show utilized programs, advertising, newspapers, photographs, plays and dime novels, gossip columns, and posters en masse.¹²⁰ It was not simply the volume of print that made Cody's career, but the network of references that connected Cody to nearly every other major Indian War veteran of public repute. A program graphic from Cody's 1907 Wild West tour put this textual network in visual form. **[Figure 9-31.]** Fifteen honorific bust portraits of leading Indian War officers wearing military dress uniforms surround a larger central portrait of William Cody. Several pages later, letters from these military men appeared, usually testifying to Cody's character or service.¹²¹ Those who were authors also had citations or excerpts of their texts appear in the program's pages.¹²²

The published portraits utilized by Cody were known by Cody's public through the indexical-iconic dynamic: their suspension between the auratic claims of originality and

¹¹⁹ Crawford attempted to reach, but never attained, the success of his nemesis Cody, and scholars usually credit this shortfall to Crawford's campaign against dime novels, arguably the most successful aspect of Cody's print empire. See Nolan, John Wallace Crawford, Chapter 1.

¹²⁰ Joy Kasson estimates that Cody utilized as many as 8,000 posters per engagement; see Kasson, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, 56–61. The print portion of Cody's celebrity machine became synonymous with Cody himself over time. When Remington illustrated the Harper's Weekly report on Buffalo Bill (3 Sept 1892), he included patrons examining the show's enormous poster as part of his visual report. Emily Burns has also found a number of late nineteenth-century French sources that satirized or complained of the numbers of Cody posters on the streets of Paris when Cody's Wild West show came to town (Burns' SAAM Fellows talk, April 2013). There was a strong component of currency to all of this material, as Kasson has noted the repetition of imagery across Cody's show production. Any internet search for "portrait Buffalo Bill Cody" images will in fact bring up large numbers of photographic and poster portraits that can be visually cross-referenced.

¹²¹ These figures included S.W. Drum, Adjutant-General; General W.T. Sherman; James B. Fry, Brevet Major-General; P.H. Sheridan, Lieutenant-General; W. Merritt, Brevet Major-General; George Crook, Brigadier-General; Nelson A. Miles, Brigadier-General; Eugene A. Carr, Brevet Major-General; H.C. Bankhead, Brigadier-General; W.B. Royall, Colonel; N.A.M. Dudley, Brevet Brigadier-General; W.H. Emory, Major-General; James W. Forsyth, Colonel; and John H. King, Brevet Major-General.

Cody's technique here echoes that of Catlin and his military figure inscriptions. This connection may have been intentional: the introduction of the 1907 program states that Cody has specifically modeled his practice on "Catlin the great painter and chronicler of the aboriginal life."

¹²² In 1907, these included Colonel Dodge, Thirty Years Among the Indians; General Phil Sheridan's autobiography; King's Campaigning with Crook and Stories of Army Life; and the various private writings of Brevet Major-General E.A. Carr.

eyewitness, and their exact sameness over multiples (re)produced over space and time. As discussed previously, this dynamic forms the basis of modern celebrity, whose roots lie in the print technologies of the second half of the nineteenth century. Indian War participants simply turned these dynamics to their advantage. They produced many accounts of their first-hand experiences (true or not) to increase their eyewitness authority as narrators of life in the American west. They simultaneously (re)produced these accounts and their honorific portraits as widely as possible to gain iconic status.¹²³

But Indian War veterans also built their fame on that of their Native opponents, particularly as the Wars came to a close and newspapers (re)printed stories from the front nationwide. Portraits of Native warriors from the areas of conflict appear in large numbers starting in the 1870s. Especially prominent are those of Haastin Ch'il Haajini (the same Diné warrior and chief featured in the Indian Hall's No.94; see **Figure 9-8**) and Goyaałé [Geronimo; Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache] from the southwest, and the many noted Lakota, Dakota, and Tse-tsehese-staestse leaders from the northern Plains. Cody's press constantly celebrated his role in Wounded Knee (true or not), and the histories and status of his Native performers.¹²⁴

Numerous Native warrior portraits from the meta-archive graced the pages of Cody's

¹²³ Buffalo Bill and his generation of entertainers and literary figures thus appear as precursors to the modernist celebrity machine of the twentieth century, as detailed in Loren Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880–1980* (New York: New York University Press, 2004) and Aaron Jaffe, *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Of interest here, Glass specifically examines the presentation of the self through famous authors' autobiographies, while Jaffe investigates both networking (Chapter 4) and the complex role of print and portraiture (Chapter 5) in the rise of what we now think of as the publicity machine.

¹²⁴ In Cody's 1893 program, mentions of Wounded Knee included a reprinted article on Major John Burke's role in the affair (Burke served as Cody's show manager in this period, and was included in the 1894 Black Maria shoot); an essay on the role of Native performers in reservation life after their contracts with the show ended; a reprint of the Interior Department's note of permission to Cody, to recruit among the captured warriors from Pine Ridge; an essay on the Ghost Dance on Pine Ridge; and a series of references to Cody's actions at Pine Ridge, including reprinted orders from General Nelson Miles and an executive order from the Governor of Nebraska, allowing Cody to intervene at Pine Ridge.

programs.¹²⁵ And Cody brought his Native performers to publicity hotspots like the canals of Venice and the Black Maria studio from which (re)productions would abound.¹²⁶

In other words, the larger political economy of the Indian Wars operated on faming and containing its Native participants simultaneously. Print's Native copies were employed for fame and celebrity at the same time that they were used repressively within other portions of the military complex. As discussed previously, a swing of print's dynamics toward the honorific required "relief valves" when the subject was Native. Textual objects were yet another means to contain Native bodies. In Edison's studio, Cody boosted his own reputation through his connection to the many (re)produced Lakota bodies on film, even as carefully constructed textual objects were also deployed to contain these same performers.

The meta-archive's effectiveness, then, was that it could simultaneously produce both the honorific and its opposite, repressive containment. On the level of craft, these dynamics produced a jumbled set of operations. Yet it was specifically this operational incoherence that built the political economies of the Indian Wars.

The Halls of Power

The Lakota men in Edison's Black Maria studio had come of age during the years of war between Lakota peoples and the U.S. government.¹²⁷ With the discovery of gold in Montana and the influx of settlers and gold seekers along the Bozeman trail through Lakota territory,

¹²⁵ Photographers who made their name with Native portraits also demonstrate this use of the meta-archive's portraits; see the letterhead for D.M. Barry's photography studio (1928; Denver Public Library), which carried reproduced engravings of his photographic portraits of warriors from the Great Sioux War.

¹²⁶ See, for instance, "Buffalo Bill in Europe," a short essay with photographs from the 1893 program.

¹²⁷ See Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (2010; New York: Penguin, 2011). Various battles and skirmishes in these war years also involved bands of Tse-tsehese-staestse and Inuna-ina.

area tribes joined together to defend their lands from encroachment. Red Cloud's War (1866–8), a series of small-scale attacks on the military garrisons and settlers of the Powder River Region, forced the U.S. to settle with Native leaders. The resulting Fort Laramie Treaty (1868) created the Great Sioux Reservation. Loopholes in the treaty, however, left Lakota claims vulnerable to usurpation, and by 1875, in the face of another gold discovery, the U.S. military no longer opted to prevent settlers and prospectors (including Crawford) from flooding into treaty-protected lands. Tensions rose, and in a last-ditch effort to avoid violence, U.S. leaders invited prominent Lakota to the capitol for talks. The visit ultimately failed and the Great Sioux War (1876–7) soon commenced.

Political cartoonist Thomas Nast responded to the Washington talks and the reportage surrounding them with an image that appeared on the front page of Harper's Weekly in June of 1875. **[Figure 9-32.]** Nast includes three distinct figural groups. In the center, President Grant stands next to the leaning figure of a Native man dressed in buckskin and blanket with peace pipe in hand. The included quotation from the "Daily Papers" to which Nast was responding identifies this figure as Siŋté Glešká [Spotted Tail; Sichánǵu], one of the leaders of the Lakota delegation, and the man's hand raised behind his mouth by Grant's ear suggests a shared confidence between the two figures.¹²⁸ In the back right, a second group of figures face away from Grant and Siŋté Glešká. Several hold writing implements, and the foremost figure wears dark glasses as he leans over the sheet of paper on which he is writing, braced against another

¹²⁸ ".....SPOTTED TAIL then advanced toward the President, and looking toward the representatives of the press, who were taking notes, made a short explanation in relation to published statements, to the effect that the Indian had stigmatized the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Indian Affairs as liars. He said such charges were not made by him, and whoever put them in the papers made them up themselves, as he did not call his strongest friends liars."—*Daily Papers*.

man's back. A third group appears in the back left, and shows two Native men presumably contemplating a framed portrait of George Washington hung on the wall.

Nast's caption, a textual object, provides a context for the drawing:

"NEWS" IN WASHINGTON.

PENETRATING INDIAN. "Those White Paper fellows tell Black Ink lies."

THE GREAT FATHER. "Can such things be?"

The words attributed to the "Penetrating Indian"—presumably the text of Siŋté Glešká's whisper into President Grant's ear—calls out the complex of inscriptions for its role in creating fictions in Native affairs. Its authors, "Those White Paper fellows," stand in the right-hand door, indicated both by Siŋté Glešká's effort to shield his whisper from them and their hands holding implements of "Black Ink" over sheets of white paper.

Who exactly were these fellows? The "Daily Papers" quotation suggests that the group represented members of the press, known for their habit of printing fictionalized sentiments as direct quotations from Lakota leaders.¹²⁹ But Nast leaves the vague scribbles of the man in glasses visible in a few places between his hatchmarks. **[Figure 9-33.]** The scribble at the top right of this page resembles a hastily written "LAW," suggesting that the group could also represent lawmakers. Lawmakers, specifically those involved in treaty-making and its subsequent interpretations, were certainly central figures in the Lakota-U.S. disputes.

¹²⁹ See, for instance, the words given to Red Cloud during his 1870 visit to New York City in the published account of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, reprinted in Goodyear III, Red Cloud, p.14. In his autobiography, Ota Kte [Luther Standing Bear, Oglala] tells of a similar discrepancy between a speech given in Philadelphia by Tatánka Íyotake and the translator's version, suggesting that such textual fictionalizing may have been widespread. See Standing Bear, My People the Sioux (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928) 184–6.

Nast's background figural group suggests an equivalence between the acts of reporting and lawmaking, or at least a difficulty in identifying which is which.¹³⁰ This conflation of distinct realms of activity operates across the image. Above the left-hand men, for instance, Nast suspends an ax. Is the ax connected to Washington, a reference to his fabled cutting down his father's beloved cherry tree, and painted in the hanging portrait's foreground? Is Washington's actual ax suspended in front of the frame's edges? Or is the ax a collected (re)producible Native object crafted in a Native community, perhaps even in the two men's own? Each possibility suggests the mythologies of Appadurai's commodity flows. Unresolved, the three elements—Washington's portrait, the ax-tomahawk, and two Native viewers—remain bound together.

This unresolved nature of depicted activity continues with the central grouping of President Grant and Siŋté Glešká. Nast's drawing of the whisper-framing hand places it awkwardly between Siŋté Glešká and Grant; its patterning continues that of Grant's suit, rather than Siŋté Glešká's. **[Figure 9-34.]** The arm's elbow sits oddly detached from either figure, and the lack of Grant's arms—presumably clasped behind his back—allows for the possible connection between the awkward arm and Grant's own body. Like the ax-tomahawk, the disambiguated arm ties Grant and Siŋté Glešká together.

In his image, Nast not only demonstrates an awareness of the complex of inscriptions (as carried out by "Those White Paper fellows") and the effects of (re)production in creating mythologies (connoted through the Washington/ax-tomahawk/Native warrior trio), but an understanding of the power dynamics that result from the craftsmanship of these activities.

¹³⁰ The role of print in a variety of aspects of the Manifest Destiny machinery is just now beginning to be investigated. See, for instance, O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, for a study of the operative ideological framework in local printed histories of southern New England between 1820 and 1880, and Brendan Lindsay, *Murder State*, Ch.8 on the printed advice literature for California-bound pioneers which in turn shaped racial attitudes toward and violence against encountered Native peoples.

Laws, binding treaties, and ledger books literally contained Lakota peoples. Fictionalized media accounts ascribed untrue words to Lakota leaders. Display cases framed Lakota-crafted objects. In the very same space, iconic image (re)production created a president's celebrity.

Fictionalized accounts of leaders birthed national mythologies. Presidential positions were created and given power through legal code.

This was the faming and containing economy of the Indian Wars writ large—not least because Grant had himself served at posts in Oregon Territory and California during the genocidal gold rush years of the 1850s, when the military largely condoned violence against Native peoples of the west.¹³¹ The meta-archive was not by nature repressive. Rather, its mechanical operations were managed and employed by a host of individuals. In Nast's image these operators are "Those White Paper fellows" and presidents. Throughout this biography, the list has also included military men, traders, scientists, museum staff, artistic mechanics, journalists, fine arts dealers, publishers, press agents, artists, performers, filmmakers, inventors, photographers, and world's fair organizers. The power of the meta-archive was available to both the few and the many.

Even if the meta-archive was in itself neutral, the scale and speed at which it was employed in the nineteenth century undermined this neutrality. Nast appears to have modeled his grotesquely exaggerated depiction of Siŋté Glešká after the "American" type that appeared in Josiah Nott and George Gliddon's text of 1854, Types of Mankind.¹³² **[Figure 9-35.]** It is

¹³¹ For an account of the military's relationship to settler violence in California, see Lindsay, Murder State, Chapter 7.

¹³² It would take a much larger study to determine the place and context for Nast's racialized exaggeration here. Nast's characterizations are often considered in line with both his liberal politics and the formal requirements of political cartooning [see Fiona Deans Halloran, Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons (Chapel Hill:

particularly the profile outline of the type that Nast appears to have copied, along with the hair roach and ear ornaments, though Nast instead inserts Lakota ear loops and heavily exaggerates Siŋté Glešká's lips in the manner of Nott and Gliddon's "Negro" man to the right of the American type.¹³³ [Figure 9-36.] The type's facial marks become a series of scarring strokes across Siŋté Glešká's cheek in Nast's version, the white highlight marking a raised area between gouges similar to William de la Montagne Cary's scarring of warrior legs (see Figure 7-14).

At this point, the craftsmanship of the containment project gets the better of even a self-aware craftsman such as Thomas Nast. Nott and Gliddon's American type worked like the types found in Prichard's text and the later Indian Hall: a label marking a foremost "specimen" against which all others are to be compared, attached to the portrait of an historical Native person whose specificity counters the very notion and use of type. Nott and Gliddon had (re)produced Bodmer's portrait of Meshihkêha (see Figure 2-10). Meshihkêha's portrait figured prominently in Bodmer's prints, altered with the roach. He travelled the same routes as Mato-Tópe and the Numak'aki *benók haté'sh* into the meta-archive and, like his compatriots, hung anonymously in the Indian Hall (seen in Bodmer's Vignette 10 on the foremost column in Figure 9-3).¹³⁴

University of North Carolina Press, 2013)], yet today's scholarship on race would also hold him accountable for using racial stereotypes. From an art historical standpoint, these tensions have not yet been fully analyzed.

¹³³ The roach, in particular, appears to be unusual; I could not find a roach in any of Siŋté Glešká's existent portraits.

¹³⁴ Bodmer included Meshihkêha by name in Tableau 3, but also modeled one of the figures of Vignette 10 after him, this time leaving him unidentified. The two prints were modeled on two different drawings: Tableau 3 on a watercolor of Meshihkêha's left side [Joslyn Art Museum], Vignette 10 from a pencil sketch of Meshihkêha's right [private collection of W. Graham Arader III, Philadelphia]. This latter connection is particularly seen in Bodmer's preparatory watercolor for the Vignette's plate [Phillip Anschutz Collection, Denver]. See Ruud, North American Prints, 93–6 and 259–63.

By the time Nast employed Meshihkêha's profile, it was nearly impossible to match the image with the man. What one saw in Meshihkêha's portrait and what one knew about the portrait's subject had been completely separated from each other. Nast's image serves as a gauge for how deeply buried but ever-present Native portraits had become by the last quarter of the nineteenth century—only forty-three years after Bodmer had first applied brushes and pencils to paper in the Americas.

THE MANY GEOGRAPHIES OF BUFFALO DANCING, CIRCA 1904

No.46/Tableau 18 was the only Indian Hall image to have a textual counterpart in the Hotel Astor's press. By 1904, buffalo dancing had become an emptied, genericized Indian custom widely discussed in the press, performed at wild west shows, and included in accounts of life on the frontier. In 1887, for instance, Harper's Weekly published a lead story on the buffalo dance:

Among the Indian of the Northern plains is a custom called "dancing the buffalo." It is resorted to when the hunters have great difficulty in finding buffalo—a difficulty which has been growing more pronounced every year, until of late the poor Indian finds his "buffalo medicine dance" fail universally, and he has all but lost faith in it. And yet it has but rarely failed before, for the peculiar strength of the "medicine" lies in the fact that when the medicine dance is once started it is kept up religiously night and day until the outriders discover buffalo, and, as the Indian reasons, the dance brought them. The Crows had a dance recently. They believe that the Great Spirit has secluded the buffalo temporarily, but that as soon as he recovers from his sulk he will send them back again. The crow dance did bring a half-dozen old bulls to the Crow hunters; not much meat, to be sure, but a sure sign of the strength of the medicine.

Ten or a dozen men dance at a time, and as they grow weary and leave their places, others take them, and so keep up the ceremony. They wear the head or mask of a buffalo, which each warrior is supposed to keep in his outfit; the tails are often attached to these by a long piece of hide. Drums are beaten, rattles shaken, and the usual Indian yelling is kept up. The hunters all have their arms ready, and the outlying hills are patrolled. These dances have been kept up

in certain villages for two or three weeks on a stretch without stopping an instant. When a man becomes fatigued, he signifies it by bending quite low, when another draws a bow and hits him with a blunt arrow. He falls to the ground, and is dragged off by the spectators, who proceed to butcher him in play, much after the fashion of children; for the Indian in his sportive moods is for all the world like an overgrown boy.

In all the different dances the Indians have a special step. It reaches the zenith of muscular exertion and extravagance in the war dance, and is very quiet in certain medicine dances, the bodies seeming scarcely to move. In the buffalo dance they follow around in a circle, lifting their feet, and undulating their bodies much as the illustration shows. Alas for the buffalo, and alas for the poor Indian too, the buffalo dance will no more bring the countless thousands of bison to the sight of the hunter, and the only meat he will ever eat ranges between government steers and sage hens.¹³⁵

The article was accompanied by Frederic Remington's buffalo dance image, already discussed in Chapter Seven (see **Figure 7-16**). Both the image and text were composites of various meta-archive buffalo dance sources. Remington and Harper's Weekly had (re)combined a variety of mediations to map out their own geography of the buffalo dance. Their source mediations had in turn been crafted from a variety of other maps and their craftblock components, all viewed as interchangeable by the end of the nineteenth century.

As set out in the first chapters of this text, the original Numak'aki buffalo dance had mediated between Native communities and the ontological experience of Northern Plains life in the natural world. In turn, Numak'aki leaders had changed this representation to mediate between their communities and the French and American fur traders in their midst. When Wied mistook this Numak'aki mediation as his own target object of knowledge to be plotted through images, objects, and texts (i.e., mimesis-as-capture), Wied created his own map of the buffalo

¹³⁵ "The Buffalo Dance," Harper's Weekly 31:1585 (7 May 1887) 334. "Poor Indian" phrases appeared continuously in the press of the day, and referred to an original line—"Lo! The poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind / Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind"—from Alexander Pope's epic poem, "An Essay on Man" (1733–4), Epistle I, part III.

dance, crafted out of print. Wied's map then became available for any subsequent middleman to employ in crafting their own (re)produced geographies.

Unlike the "grand narratives" attached to exhibitionary complexes, however, these many geographies did not need to align or form one cohesive picture of Native peoples. The larger Manifest Destiny project succeeded precisely because of its operational non-coherence on the level of its craftblocks. Image-objects and textual objects could move in any number of directions across space and time, creating a plethora of combinations in print. Once severed from its originary Numak'aki ontologies and epistemologies, No.46-as-craftblock was mapped into authoritative accounts of Lewis and Clark, editions of Catlin, and turn-of-the-century archaeological dig reports. In these same years, the image-object also entered archives that ranged from Indian Craze and anthropological collections to the military library of the Army War College.¹³⁶

This foundational flexibility meant that the buffalo dance could be used to fit any of the cultural mythologies generated out of the dominant political economy. By 1904 the genericized buffalo dance mapped out both a "pre-civilized" Native life (the Indian Hall brochure) and the last of Native Americans' distinct cultural practices to survive into the last decades of the nineteenth century (Harper's Weekly). The ritual had mystically come to stand as the *alpha* and

¹³⁶ While Lewis and Clark both drew in their journals, virtually none of their images were included in published accounts of their journey. Rather, Bodmer's drawings came to represent Lewis and Clark's stay among Numak'aki peoples beginning with the 1904 illustrated edition [Olin D. Wheeler, ed., The Trail of Lewis and Clark 1804–1904, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904)]. Starting with the 1857 edition of Catlin's Letters and Notes (Philadelphia), Bodmer's prints were (re)produced and incorporated into various editions of Catlin's text. Archaeological dig reports of the Missouri River region often compare their findings to Bodmer's images; see J.V. Brower, Mandan, vol. 8, Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi (St. Paul, MN: Mc-Gill-Warner Co., 1904). And No.46 can be found in the collection of prints from the Historical Section, Army War College of the War Department [ARC Identifier: 530978, Series: Signal Corps Photographs of American Military Activity, 1754–1954, Record Group 111: Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860–1985, NARA-II]. This last location potentially means that Tableau 18 was used in training army officers in the twentieth century.

the *omega* of Native life, both its beginning and its end. Its images, descriptions, and performances underpinned the period's contradictory ideological vocabularies surrounding the Indian in racial thought: its primitivism and trope of the noble savage (*alpha*), as well as the Indian Wars' discourse of the vanishing race (*omega*).

As the buffalo dance surfaced in these decades' maps of the mythological there emerged a very real geography of the buffalo dance's (re)production. Many of this study's exhibitionary complex and image-object production locations—artist's studios, museums, darkrooms, publication offices, kinoscope parlors, galleries—were centered along Broadway in Manhattan, with their outer rings in surrounding burroughs and suburbs.¹³⁷ Similar maps could be created around a handful of other U.S. locales that have popped up repeatedly in this study, such as St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

These locales mark the Indian Wars' centers of (re)production. No system of production can continue without (re)producing itself, and the production of the United States through its continued (re)production of its foundational colonial relationships was no exception.¹³⁸

Centered in its bureaucrats and middlemen, this (re)production was underwritten through

¹³⁷ These locations are: **(1)** Hotel Astor, Broadway between 44th and 45th Street; **(2)** The Store (pre-1903), 26 W. 23rd Street; **(3)** The Store (after 1903), 138 West 42nd Street; **(4)** world's first Kinetoscope parlor, 1155 Broadway; **(5)** Astor Library (1849–95), 425 Lafayette Street; **(6)** New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations (1911 to the present), 5th Avenue, between 40th and 42nd Street; **(7)** G.P. Putnam's Sons (after 1874), 182 5th Avenue; **(8)** Harper's Weekly offices, 331 Pearl Street; **(9)** New York Herald offices, Herald Square at Broadway, 6th Avenue, and 34th Street; **(10)** Wanamaker's, Broadway and Fourth, between 9th and 10th Street; **(11)** George de Forest Brush studio, NYC (before 1901), 126 W. 104th Street; (after 1901) 6 Astor Place **(12)** E. Irving Couse's studio, NYC (1899), 939 8th Avenue; **(13)** American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 79th Street; **(14)** Avery's Fine Art Rooms (first location), 694 Broadway; **(15)** Avery's Fine Art Rooms (second location), 88 Fifth Avenue; **(16)** William de la Montague Cary's studio, Holbein Studio Building, 154 W. 55th Street; **(17)** Frank Leslie's Weekly Illustrated, 110 Fifth Avenue; **(18)** Cody's wild west performances, Ambrose Park, Brooklyn, 3rd Avenue and 37th Street; **(19)** Remington's studio (pre-1890), Brooklyn; and **(20)** Remington's studio (after 1890), 301 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, NY.

¹³⁸ See again Althusser in **Chapter Six** fn9.

print.¹³⁹ The mechanics of print built craftblocks of tremendous flexibility that could move in multiple directions, untethered from historical specificities. Such flexibility created a project difficult to detect or define: beneath the grand narratives, no single rhetoric, ideology, method, or visual stereotype dominated. The sources have remained difficult to detect, with the routes of image-object motion all but erased. It was specifically this lack of cohesion at the level of its craftsmanship that created the long-term success of the containment project.

But why the buffalo dance? Before Wounded Knee, the end of the buffalo was widely believed to herald the end of Native cultures in North America due to the extermination of Native peoples' major food source. What lay at the heart of Numak'aki buffalo dancing, however, was a complex system of (re)producing auratic culture. The system encompassed not only the food, clothing, and shelter provided by the buffalo, but the warrior culture created around the buffalo, and that warrior culture's protection of and integration with the communal. Becoming Numak'aki buffalo mediated between the Numak'aki communities of the past, present, and future, as well as the surrounding natural world; this becoming guaranteed cultural (re)production.

And so Last Horse, Parts His Hair, and Hair Coat (re)produced a mediated version of the buffalo dance in the Black Maria as textual weapons took aim. It was indeed a memorable engagement, but not for the reasons of superior technology or battle prowess recorded by the New York Herald reporter. Rather, in 1894, Native cultural (re)production and buffalo dances still happened, as the Black Maria film testified. Desperate years followed Wounded Knee.

¹³⁹ For provocative studies on the relationship between book (re)production and the development of the nation-state, see Michael Warner, The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); Meredith L. McGill, American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); and Trish Loughran, The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

Allotment policies took hold on reservations and social programs aimed at (re)producing Native peoples as acculturated doubles gained momentum, funding, and supporters. Still, Native (re)production of auratic culture continued, dispelling any reporter's claims of "absolute triumph" for either Wounded Knee's merciless Hotchkiss or the exhibitionary complex's technological prowess.

PART IV. THE *LONGUE DURÉE*

CHAPTER 10 Becoming

After you get home, will give good cloud, and give you chance to make you feel good. and he give you good spirit. and he give you ^{al} a good paint.

— “The Messiah Letter,” as given by Wovoka [Jack Wilson; Numa (Northern Paiute)] to Casper Edsen [Inuna-Ina (Arapaho)], August 1891¹

And Tookpafka Micco he say, “Well, so you think we was ready for statehood?”

And Hotgun he say, “Good and ready. We was ready for the Government to keep its promise and fence us off to ourselves. We was give up all our bad habits, like wearing breech clouts and feathers on the head. We wear hand-me-downs now all the time and live in box shacks with a side room to it instead of log huts daubed with mud. We was give up the simple life, and buy fine buggies and lightning rods and calendar clocks and had our forefathers’ pictures enlarged and be civilized citizens instead common fullblood Injins. So we was ready for statehood.”

— Alexander Posey [Creek, Eufaula town], “Letter No.56” of the Fus Fixico Letters²

¹ Reproduced in James Mooney, “The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890,” Part 2 of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1892–93 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896) 780. An additional translation of Edsen’s text was also given to Mooney, done by the daughter of Black Short Nose [Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)]. Mooney’s text reprints both versions, and adds his own. Between the three versions, there is some room as to whether the “he” of Edsen’s text refers to the Great Spirit or Wovoka; the Tse-tsehese-staestse and Mooney versions change both “he” and “I” to be synonymous with Wovoka’s narrator position (p.781). Mooney explains this change as a translation of Edsen’s “Carlisle English,” which he claims Edsen would have used as a Carlisle graduate; I have not yet confirmed the validity of his interpretation via published sources.

² All letters and their annotative notes come from Alexander Posey, The Fus Fixico Letters, ed. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Carol A. Petty Hunter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

Becoming, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, was extraordinarily complex for Native individuals. How did one remain connected to those who had walked before, but also create a present and future for one's community and children who faced an ever-shrinking range of choices within the containment project?³ Print is one lens through which to understand the mosaic of Native creativity, choice, trauma, leadership, and survivance in this period.

Take, for instance, the tragically brief work and life of Alexander Posey, a Creek writer, poet, educator, journalist, and editor. While the Hotel Astor and New York Times buildings were going up around Times Square, Posey's work in Indian Territory appeared in newspapers across the country, including the Times.⁴ How to situate the life and career of Posey in relation to the internal (tribal) and external (non-Native) gazes of print? Posey's journals record that he often read aloud with kin and friends, turning print practices into oral ones.⁵ His personal library included texts of every major nineteenth-century American author (one of his favorites was Washington Irving) as well as BAE reports.⁶ He filled ledger books with poetry and journal

³ A special thank you to Elayne Silversmith for crystallizing this point for me through the story of her father and his decisions for his children during the Red Power era.

⁴ See "An Indian Daily Paper. Edited by the Only Indian Humorist, Who Is an Advocate of State Rights for His Race," New York Times (5 Jul 1903) 3; "The Indian Daily Journal. A Newspaper Interesting to the Tribes in the Indian Territory," New York Times (1 Sept 1903) 2. This latter was reprinted from the Chicago Journal. Additional newspapers and news syndicates that have been identified as carrying stories on Posey or asking him for information include the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, New York Herald, New York Tribune, Guilliams Press Syndicate; Union Bureau of News, Philadelphia Ledger, Pittsburgh Leader, Indian's Friend, Boston Transcript, and Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph.

⁵ Multiple journal entries mention reading aloud in Alexander Posey, Lost Creeks: Collected Journals, ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). Posey in fact read Washington Irving's Tour of the Prairies—which includes a mention of Irving's visit to the captive Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa outside of St. Louis—in a day of collaborative reading.

⁶ The full listing of Posey's library at the time of his premature death in 1908 can be found in Posey, Lost Creeks, 139–59.

entries.⁷ His poems and columns referenced Native historical leaders, contemporary Native politics, Indian Territory places, and Creek origin stories, even as he modeled his poetry after Robert Burns. His studio portrait resembles the iconic frontispiece of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.⁸ [Figures 10-1, 10-2.]

Can Posey's portrait neatly fit a reading of the author's assimilation into non-Native society, or of his bold re-imagination of American literature through the mind and body of a Creek man? The portrait's complex visual positioning between internal and external gazes has a verbal counterpart in Posey's Fus Fixico letters, a collection of fictional letters written in dialect that chronicle and critique Creek politics around the turn of the twentieth century. The first Fus Fixico letter appeared in response to a published editorial by Posey's friend and fellow Creek author Charles Gibson. Gibson had declared that non-Native attempts at creating Native speech in print to be

the poorest dialect stuff that was ever forced upon the reading public. Don't dodge behind 'Este Charte,' white man, but get up your rot in straight English, if you can write it.... Get from behind 'Este Charte' and wash the paint off your pale face. Take off the turkey feathers. They don't become you.

Posey responded

Those cigar store Indian dialect stories being published in the Checotah papers and the Hoffman Herald Auxiliary will fool no one who has lived 'six months in the precinct.' Like the wooden aborigine, they are the product of a white man's factory, and bear no resemblance to the real article.⁹

⁷ A detailed description of Posey's poetry ledger, now held by the Gilcrease Museum, appears in Alexander Posey, *Song of the Oktahutche: Collected Poems*, ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008) 241–3.

⁸ This comparison needs an article unto itself, especially when one considers the role of this portrait within Whitman's poetry and text; see Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989) 60–70.

⁹ Cited in the Introduction to Posey, *The Fus Fixico Letters*, 17. Both of these editorials originally appeared in the *Indian Journal*, published in Checotah, Indian Territory (1 May 1908) n.p.

Gibson's and Posey's statements on non-Native attempts to represent Native peoples are steeped in the dynamics of print, including the involved artist's hand (ironically painting and dressing the white body) as well as print's (re)production and manufacture "in a white man's factory." Throughout Posey's work, attacks on the external uses of print to oppress Native peoples continue, but they register through internal reference points, specific to life in Indian Territory. A distinct separation between external and internal uses of print becomes virtually impossible. As Hotgun points out above, owning photographs of one's forefathers could represent a Native person's assimilation to non-Native ways, similar to the use of other non-Native commercial goods within the home. Yet Hotgun's list of non-Native objects is also delivered as a critique of assimilation policies, highlighting the irony that such policies measured Native peoples' abilities to self-govern through their possession of physical objects.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most photographed or filmed Native adults were accustomed to cameras and prints. Native responses to these technologies were never a direct reaction to non-Native "magic," as Catlin had imagined in the 1830s and the Herald reporter had emphasized in the Black Maria, but were choices informed by their communities, leaders, and kin in relation to print's internal and external gazes.

The Lakota men in Edison's studio had commonplace knowledge of cameras and photo shoots. Print publicity played a major role in the promotion of wild west performing troupes. Native performers were involved in scheduled visits to studios, as well as on-site photography sessions; photographs of tour casts, performers' tourist activities, action shots of performances,

and daily life in the Indian camps set up on performance grounds appear in various archives.¹⁰ Many of these performers traveled on multiple tours or appeared with different troupes across the exhibitionary complex.¹¹ Men and women new to the circuit would likely have been prepped beforehand through previous performers who, at contract's end, returned to reservations or city neighborhoods with tales of their experiences or prints from their travels.¹² Such knowledge potentially created a business-savvy cohort of performers. When Tatánka Íyotake [Sitting Bull; Hunkpapa] contracted with Cody for the 1885 summer season, for instance, he negotiated to retain his rights over the sale of his own images and autographs.¹³

The media that surrounded Native performers also traveled to rural and reservation communities and their agencies. A political cartoon published shortly before the culmination of events that led to Wounded Knee, for instance, shows a host of non-Native camera-toting men and one woman surrounding a small group of Native warriors. **[Figure 10-3.]** Many of these Native men hold their hands up, as if to ward off the camera shots; one man on the bottom

¹⁰ Gertrude Käsebier, for instance, hosted studio photography shoots of Cody's Native performers in both April 1898 and April 1899; see Elizabeth Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, Chapter Four, and Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2007). Photographs of Native performers' visits to the Rome Coliseum, the Papal palace, and around Venice in a gondola appear in both the 1893 and 1907 programs for Buffalo Bill's wild west show. What were perhaps spur-of-the-moment shots between audiences, performers, and/or photographers in the Indian camps appear in archives in Europe (see the in-progress works of Emily Burns and Emily Voelker), and in some of the 1898 Indian Congress images published by Rinehart.

¹¹ This included the Lakota man turned toward the Black Maria camera, who also appears in photographs of Buffalo Bill's 1908 tour, and Last Horse, who traveled to the 1893 world's fair to take part in festivities. Lists of Native performers with Buffalo Bill's stage company can be found in Sandra K. Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008) Appendix I.

¹² Buffalo Bill had hired Native performers as early as 1877—nearly twenty years before the Black Maria shoot [Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage*, 101]. Newspaper articles describing New York City's Native community (see fn23) describe performers touring out of and returning to New York City on a regular basis. For an account of how Native cultural practice may have prevented this knowledge sharing in some cases, see Eunice Nelson-Bauman's [Penobscot] forward to Bunny McBride, *Molly Spotted Elk: A Penobscot in Paris* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1995) ix–xi.

¹³ Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000) 174.

right of the group kneels in supplication. The group is successfully contained at the center of the image, suggesting, like the Herald reporter in the Black Maria would a few years later, that cameras were equivalents for military weaponry. But the cartoon also spoofs the hordes of reporters and cameramen who swarmed over Indian War territories, certainly a familiar sight to Native warriors on the battlefields and to captives detained at military posts.¹⁴

Picture making had been used by the military against its Native opponents across the nineteenth century. In the 1830s, Catlin and Bodmer were given permission to enter prisons in order to take Native warrior likenesses.¹⁵ These portraits doubled their Native sitters, as previously discussed: they were honorific in their iconography but repressive in their links to containment and colonialist display. Two months after Wied and Bodmer visited Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, military captive Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa [Black Hawk, Osakiwugi (Sauk) and his entourage of fellows prisoners were taken on a tour of the eastern United States. The group was entertained in various painters' studios for portrait sittings. In the U.S. capitol, they were taken on a tour of McKenney's Indian Gallery of Charles Bird King portraits, housed at the time in the War Department—the very branch of administration that controlled Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa's tour and captivity conditions.¹⁶

¹⁴ How closely the military transferred its earlier painting practices (see fn7) to photography is an open question, but at least one body of military-sponsored photographs surrounds Tasunka [Plenty Horses, Sichąŋǵu], on trial for shooting a soldier after Wounded Knee; see Philip J. Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) 28–36. The cartoon shown here bears a striking resemblance to the later iconographies around tourists and press in the American southwest; see, for instance, John Sloan's Indian Detour (1927).

¹⁵ Catlin, as well as Bodmer and Wied, visited Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa [Black Hawk; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] and his imprisoned warriors for military-approved portraits. American author Washington Irving also stopped to see the group, and included descriptions in his book Tour of the Prairies (1835). Catlin later painted the portrait of imprisoned warrior and leader Asi-yahola [Osceola, born Billy Powell; Creek, Talisi village] at Fort Marion under a formal commission from the War Department. See Eisler, Red Man's Bones, 155–8, 223–8.

¹⁶ According to the 1885 Donaldson SI Report, the visitors “expressed more surprise and pleasure at the portraits than at any thing else that was shown them in Washington, recognizing many of them” [Thomas Donaldson, “The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) with Memoir and

Even as painting practices gave way to photography studios, official portraits of Native sitters continued to operate somewhere between a non-Native containment tool and the tricky work of Native statecraft. Oglala statesman Maḥpíya Lúta [Red Cloud], like Siḡté Glešká in Grant's hall, was well aware of "a complex dance between him and the Euro-Americans" who filled the photography studios and audience halls in which he appeared; many surviving photographs testify to these complexities.¹⁷ As presented in Alexander Posey's Fus Fixico letters, written and published in Creek Indian Territory between 1902 and Posey's premature death in 1908, photographs could connote political ties to figures inside or outside tribal political structures. They could also serve as ironic markers of imposed U.S. policy, as Posey's fictional Creek leader Hotgun articulates above.¹⁸

Maḥpíya Lúta and Alexander Posey were two of hundreds of Native men and women who played a role in establishing late-nineteenth-century Native politics, or the arenas in which Native peoples negotiated with and within the U.S. bureaucratic machine. By 1900, there were established "Indian hotels" that regularly hosted delegates and well-traveled delegation circuits along the eastern seaboard.¹⁹ Even conservative Native factions like the Creek Snakes funded lobby efforts in Washington, D.C., while the town of Muskogee in Indian Territory hosted the

Statistics," Appendix, Part V, 1885 SI Annual Report, Part II, p.795]. Native delegations and galleries of the illustrious in the nation's capitols of Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., have a long, still-to-be-written history, stretching from the late 1700s through the end of the nineteenth century. McKenney's portrait gallery itself moved from his offices to the War Department to the Smithsonian, where it was lost to fire in 1865. Many of the gallery's portraits have a second life (and secondary copies) through the printing processes for McKenney and Hall's History of the Indian Tribes of North America (discussed briefly in **Chapters Five** and **Eight**).

¹⁷ Frank H. Goodyear III, Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003) 16. See Goodyear's Introduction for an excellent summary of the analytical issues at stake in the photographic image construction around Maḥpíya Lúta and Native leaders at large.

¹⁸ See Letter No.29, for instance, in which "Secretary It's Cocked [Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock] was had a tintype taken of himself and was send it to Clarence Dug Last [Clarence Douglas, editor of the Muskogee Phoenix]," implying a strong political partnership between Douglas in Indian Territory and federal bureaucrat Hitchcock [Posey, The Fus Fixico Letters].

¹⁹ One of these hotels for Creek delegates was the National Hotel; Posey, The Fus Fixico Letters, 156 fn3.

largest number of federal bureaucrats in any municipality outside the U.S. capitol.²⁰ Native elections and political parties utilized the full range of campaign tools: photographs of candidates, studio visits, publicity tours, political cartoons in local newspapers, and promotional materials like banners, posters, released publicity shots, and celluloid buttons. The button in **Figure 10-4** promoted the 1905 Native-authored bid for Indian Territory's statehood as the State of Sequoyah.²¹ A number of the Rinehart/Muhr 1898 Indian Congress sitters donned celluloid buttons that attested to their personal political connections or party alignments.²²

As reservations and agencies were established across Indian Territory, Native residents populated urban neighborhoods. In New York City, many arrived with extended family, and patterns of summer migrations back to reservations seem to have been the norm.²³ This community of Native laborers served vital roles in the city: skyscraper construction workers, crafters, seamstresses, costumers, artist models, performers, teachers, activists. Did they regularly view various New York City papers and magazines? Did they visit the Indian Hall or the displays at the AMNH, or work at these institutions?²⁴ Did they author their own tracts, plays,

²⁰ Posey, The Fux Fixico Letters, 57, 121 fn1. The Snakes' lobby was working to have Creek claims from the Treaty of Cusseta (1832) reinstated.

²¹ Posey's letters contain many, many descriptions of Native politics and processes in Indian Territory from 1902 through 1908. One particular campaign stop is described where the candidate, Chief Porter, pinned badges on the 1,200 present supporters (Letter No.30).

²² I have identified various buttons for both President William McKinley and Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, then in office.

²³ See, for instance, press articles on New York City's Native community, based along Broome Street between Hudson Square and Thompson Street in the lower west side of Manhattan: Cromwell Childe, "The Indians of New York City," New York Times (12 Sept 1897) SM6; "New York Indians," Washington Post (14 May 1907) 6. The small population numbers attributed to this community in these articles, however, are not trustworthy, especially given the described fluid flow of household members.

²⁴ Articles on a New York City Abenaki woman known in mainstream press as Morning Star can be found in Pepper's scrapbooks at the MAI, suggesting that she (and others of the Native community in New York City) possibly worked for Pepper and/or his affiliated institutions [NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Boxes 590 and 591].

articles, and posters in support of Native politics or performances?²⁵ Print certainly appears to have moved from this community back to originating reservations. In response to the published fictions in an 1897 New York Herald article, an incensed Kwakwaka'wakw community in British Columbia barred George Hunt, Franz Boas's Tlingit collaborator, from viewing their ceremonies.²⁶

As the North American non-Native population was on the move, so was photography. Rural studio entrepreneurs and itinerant photographers popped up across the United States.²⁷ Many Native peoples left complex photographic archives across these sites. Many Native community members resisted photographer Edward S. Curtis's obsession with capturing objects and ceremonies that had been protected from the camera lens. Some subverted their performances or narratives around his sought-after objects. Other sitters made careful choices about their presentation before Curtis's camera.²⁸ And while George Hubbard Pepper widely published and advertised his photographs from Chaco Canyon, many of his file images that did not make it into the Indian Hall demonstrate an intimacy between photographer and subject

²⁵ A wonderfully suggestive article in the Washington Post indicates that Native performers took advantage of New York City's "Indian Craze," and at one of their invited appearances at a Press Club Fair publicly protested allotment policies—including one actress's several-hours-long public lecture on settler injustices against Native peoples. The article posits the possibility that Native participation in the exhibitionary complex could carry explicitly political opportunity. See "New York's Indian Craze," Washington Post (5 Jun 1893) 7.

²⁶ "Fierce Kwakiutls Who Practise Cannibalism in North America, As Seen By Dr. Boas," New York Herald (31 Oct 1897). The fallout of the article is discussed in Kendall, et al., Drawing Shadows to Stone, 11. The article appears in Pepper's collected press albums [NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Boxes 590 and 591], suggesting a near-total disconnect between the values that staff at scientific institutions placed on these media accounts and the tribal values and perceptions in the original communities.

²⁷ See the list of selected frontier studios and photographers compiled in Appendix 2 of Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, The North American Indians in Early Photographs (New York: Dorset Press, 1988). For a wide-ranging survey of how photography functioned in the nineteenth-century American West, see Martha A. Sandweiss, Print the Legend: Photography and the American West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

²⁸ For one account of a Native sitter's agency in Curtis's body of work through the biography of Absáalooke [Crow] participant and translator Alexander Upshaw, see Shamoan Zamir, "Native Agency and the Making of The North American Indian: Alexander B. Upshaw and Edward S. Curtis," American Indian Quarterly 31:4 (Fall 2007) 613–53. See also Zamir's larger reassessment of Curtis's project, The Gift of the Face: Portraiture and Time in Edward Curtis's *The North American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

that, by all reports, Pepper himself did not generate among the Hyde Exploring Expedition's Diné community of laborers.²⁹ **[Figure 10-5.]** Were Native photographers or informants possibly trained in image making in the field?³⁰ If so, would any of these collaborative image makers have influenced future generations, who by the 1910s and 1920s included professional Native photographers, painters, and filmmakers, as well as Native ethnographers?³¹

Last Horse, the lead buffalo dancer in the Black Maria studio, features in photographs that attest to travels as far-ranging as Chicago, Omaha, and Buffalo.³² A member of the Kiyaksa band led by ǂháópi Chík'ala [Little Wound; Oglala], Last Horse appeared in the Crazy Horse surrender ledger (Red Cloud Agency) of 1877. By the 1880s, he had settled with his band on the Pine Ridge Agency near Medicine Root Creek and served as a Pine Ridge policeman, even as he

²⁹ In his biography of HEE field agent Richard Wetherill, McNitt cites many of Wetherill's letters that complain of Pepper's lack of project management in the field, due in part to Pepper's lack of language skills. I have ruled Wetherill out as the photographer of Pepper's HEE file photographs, as their characteristic framing, lighting, and technical skill do not resemble those taken by Wetherill, who was in charge of photography for the 1896 summer season; they are also not listed in Wetherill's 1896 photographic log [NMAI-Arch, Box 188, Folder 6].

³⁰ For a model exploration of how a collection of archival photographs can be analyzed to push assumptions of both pictorial conventions and a photographer's cultural or social identity, see Anthony Lee's unpacking of the "8000 photographer" in Chapter 3 of *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

³¹ Some of these later figures include photographer Horace Poolaw [Ka'i gwu, 1906–84], filmmakers James Young Deer [Nanticoke?, 1876–1946] and Lillian St. Cyr [Red Wing; Ho-Chunk of Nebraska, 1884–1974], and ethnographer Anpétu Wašté Wiŋ [Ella Deloria; Iháŋkthunwan (Yankton), 1889–1971].

³² These include both an individual portrait and a family sitting taken at Fort Sheridan (Chicago; 1893), several portraits from Rinehart's studio in Omaha (released with dates of 1899, 1900, and 1901—this last in connection to the Indian Congress at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo), and several 1899 images from Heyn's Omaha studio: one with a group of Oglala chiefs, and two solo portraits in full war paint with a horse effigy stick, shield, and war lance.

This small body of photographs suggests a number of questions that such collected archives around Native individuals could answer: travel routes, dates, and destinations for Native delegates and leaders; the effect that tribal knowledge and status had on determining performances and roles within the exhibitionary complex; the potential overlap between Native political arenas and the exhibitionary complex; the extent to which families, kin, and clan traveled together along these routes; the reputations that particular studio photographers may have had among Native communities; the deliberate choices that Native sitters made regarding their associated material culture, and what such items may have meant in their particular historical moment; and, of course, how such photographs may have circulated and functioned once home, within Native families and bands.

was a Thunder Dreamer and keeper of Sun Dance knowledge.³³ In the 1890s, Last Horse traveled along a number of exhibitionary complex circuits and political arena routes, as his surviving photographs testify.³⁴

Each of these roles within Last Horse's life testifies to his constant negotiation between the internal and external gazes to which he was subject. Even the most internal of roles—the keeper of Sun Dance knowledge—can be understood in complex internal-external terms: keeping such knowledge not only (re)produced internal Native culture but did so against the extreme external pressures of the containment project, especially as the U.S. government banned the Sun Dance and other Native ceremonial practices in 1883.³⁵

The example of Last Horse returns the discussion to the two sets of gazes located around Oakuhhatuh's drawings—those of its Native subjects observing their doubles, and those of its non-Native viewers and patrons marking their distance from the drawings' acculturated Native subjects. In another image from Fort Marion, Oakuhhatuh again draws a parallel line of uniformed Native warriors, this time facing a non-Native cameraman accompanied by a military guard. **[Figure 10-6.]** In the lower right a pipe-smoking onlooker gives the group a thumbs-up.

³³ This history appears in the MB, with posters citing various census records. See Luther Standing Bear, Land of the Spotted Eagle (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933) 73–4 and 206–7 for a description of Last Horse as Thunder Dreamer.

³⁴ Leaders from a broad spectrum of Native communities potentially shared wide-ranging travel; see, for instance, Gregory A. Cajete's [Tewa, Santa Clara Pueblo] account of his great-grandfather Pedro Cajete in Simon J. Ortiz, Beyond the Reach of Time and Change: Native American Reflections on the Frank A. Rinehart Photograph Collection (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004) 88–91.

³⁵ This ban was created and carried out by the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. An original letter from Secretary M. Teller to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price had been drafted in December 1882, regarding religious and marriage practices; rules governing and establishing the court of Indian offenses" were then put forth by the Department of the Interior in March of 1883. It thereafter became a crime to participate in any tribal feast dances or serve as a "medicine-man," punishable with imprisonment or the withholding of rations. The full text of the 1882 and 1883 documents can be found online at <http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Code_of_Indian_Offenses>.

Oakuhhatuh's drawing utilizes a host of ledger art conventions, including dotted lines to mark the prisoners' march to their present positions and the overlapping bodies of the cameraman and guard to mark depth of space. But do these conventions also enter a dialogue with non-Native iconographies, available through print and scattered throughout the images (re)produced in this study? **[Figure 10-7.]** Did Oakuhhatuh utilize the iconography of desire, like Remington's later illustration, to mark the non-Native military complex? Did he make his own private sexual joke about non-Native men? Was his choice a critique of the many image distortions at the hands of non-Native artists who had altered the Native body through sexual commentary? And do Oakuhhatuh's artistic choices possibly testify to the widespread access of Native viewers to (re)produced non-Native image-object distortions?

These questions reflect the complicated internal and external gazes involved in Native-crafted image-objects during historical periods when Native peoples (re)purposed non-Native print and its iconographies. Flowing from the trading posts of the late nineteenth century, for instance, prints were often given new lives in tribal contexts. **[Figure 10-8.]** Curio trader Jake Gold obtained his stock of Native-crafted objects by trading Germantown yarns and chromolithographs of saints. The latter were valued, displayed, and utilized within Native religious practices.³⁶ Numa [Northern Paiute] prophet Wovoka turned mechanically produced tomato paste cans that lined trading post shelves by the hundreds into containers of sacred red ochre. He gifted these re-christened cans to those who visited him, sending them on their way

³⁶ Henry Russell Wray, "A Gem in Art: Henry Russell Wray's Jolly Portrayal of a Visit to Gold's Curiosity Shop," Weekly New Mexican Review (21 Jun 1894), cited in Batkin, "Tourism Is Overrated," 292.

with his benedictive blessing, “he give you al[l] a good paint.”³⁷ Wovoka continued this practice until his death in 1932, not only preserving indigenous practices around the sacrality of red paint but transforming the cans’ (re)produced images of indigenous-to-North-America tomatoes into markers of the sacrosanct.

Late nineteenth-century Native homes were also sites of print culture and its internal-external gazes. Displayed image-objects often mediated between private Native life and inquisitive or regulatory non-Native eyes. This can be seen in Maǰpíya Lúta's bedroom, where religious images and plentiful flags may have been tacked up to appease reservation missionaries or appeal to agency leaders.³⁸ [Figure 10-9.] Hotgun’s quip that includes family portraits in the list of non-Western items forced on conservative Creeks certainly links such print practices to forced assimilation. But Maǰpíya Lúta also collected and displayed photographs of himself in his home, and wrote to request photographs of friends that he had made in his delegation travels.³⁹ By 1914, descendents of Mahkate:wi-meši-ke:hke:hkwa

used photographs as a way of controlling representation by allowing Hauberg [a local historian] to take pictures while selectively withholding other information, displaying images in their homes to construct kin relationships, and borrowing images originally produced for white viewers in order to unfix and remake them in ways that tell different stories.⁴⁰

³⁷ For a description of how Wovoka’s red paint was prepared and used by both the Prophet and Ghost Dance adherents, see Mooney, “The Ghost-Dance Religion,” 778–9. See also Alice Beck Kehoe and her important re-reading of the ethnography of the ghost dance in her text, The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization (ca.1989; Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2006), especially p.7. Kehoe states that Wovoka simply chose the red-tinted cans to match the red paint inside.

³⁸ Outside of Goodyear’s study of Maǰpíya Lúta, lines of inquiry that follow the specific uses of print by Native leaders remains virtually untapped, from Quannah Parker [Nʌmʌnʌ (Comanche)] to Lili’uokalani, queen regent and last monarch of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

³⁹ Goodyear, Red Cloud, 8.

⁴⁰ Jane Simonsen, “Descendants of Black Hawk: Generations of Identity in Sauk Portraits,” American Quarterly 63:2 (Jun 2011) 302. Simonsen’s article, with its focus on Native women and domestic spaces, is a particularly helpful counterbalance to the public and more readily available narratives of mostly male leaders in shaping image making and meaning.

Many of these earlier internal visual culture practices link to those of the present, with photographs of kin or prints of historical figures given pride of place within the offices or homes of many Native peoples, as captured by contemporary Ho-Chunk photographer Tom Jones.⁴¹

[Figure 10-10.] Closer to this story's subject, Bodmer's portraits of Mato-Tópe and Péhriska-Rúhpa [Two Ravens; Minitari] have been reclaimed from Wied's project of mimesis-as-capture to appear in the tribal logo for the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation (also known as the Three Affiliated Tribes), the recognized governmental body in charge of Fort Berthold Reservation.⁴²

[Figure 10-11.]

These last examples connect across a long historical period, a *longue durée*. They emphasize the extensive histories of internal print practices among Native communities—not only engaged with for centuries, but sharing gazes across centuries. A surprisingly large number of Indian Congress participants were photographed wearing a particular two-sided celluloid pinback or mirror.⁴³ **[Figure 10-12.]** These were official Indian Congress buttons, likely produced by a Washington bureaucrat from the BAE or Department of the Interior.⁴⁴ They may have served as tickets to the Indian Congress grounds for participants, or been worn as marks of

⁴¹ See also the filmed interviews with Naawaakamig [Dennis Banks, Ojibwe] in his daughter's kitchen, surrounded by historical photographs and prints, in *A Good Day to Die* (2010), and numerous mentions of photographs of kin in homes of writers' childhoods in Ortiz, ed., *Beyond the Reach of Time and Change*.

⁴² My thanks here to Angela K. Parker for her wise words in the earliest stages of this project. Her insightful comments not only profoundly affected this project's methodology, but alerted me to the internal and external gazes of print in relation to Bodmer's and Catlin's images.

⁴³ Thank you to dealer Ted Hakes for his help in identifying the likely format/media. Further study is required to detail the patterns of wear among the Rinehart/Muhr Indian Congress photographs. Many San Carlos and Mescalero Apache, military prisoners held within the Indian Congress camp, appear with the button. Another photograph captures a young Assiniboin family from Montana, with the buttons shared between father and son; the father's coat may be the same worn here by Sunghdeska Kte. This button or mirror is extraordinarily rare—Ted has never seen one—and to date I have not been able to locate one.

⁴⁴ The text along the bottom rim of the button appears to read: "U.S. INDIAN CONGRESS / OMAHA, NEB."

pride for participation.⁴⁵ But they also prominently displayed Mato-Tópe.⁴⁶ [Figure 10-13.] Is it possible that Indian Congress participants knew who he was?

It is the 20th of June, 1858. Artist Karl Wimar arrives at the twin trading forts of Berthold, an American Fur Company fort, and Atkinson, an opposition post being constructed by trading rival Frost, Todd and Company. Nearby, Numak'aki and Minitari residents have consolidated their populations in their last má'ak óti ("earthlodge") village of Mua-iduskupe-hicec.⁴⁷ Wimar had attached himself to traveling government agents, who are stopping via steamboat at various posts up the Missouri to convince Native leaders to accept their annuities. Many had refused these payments in an act of protest against U.S. government policy. Wimar, however, is interested in visiting Native peoples for artistic purposes. He brings out his

⁴⁵ While Indian villages and midways are the dominant subjects of nearly all literature on Native participation at world's fairs (and thus pride might appear misplaced), Native peoples also participated across the exhibitionary complex as visitors, funders, and presenters. The Indian Territory Press Association traveled to the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis in 1904 to participate in the World's Press Parliament. Collections had been taken up across Indian Territory to pay for Indian Territory's exhibitions at St. Louis, while the Department of the Interior also sponsored Native education exhibitions as well. We also understand very little about how separated kin in the era of assigned and tightly controlled reservations may have used such travels to visit each other. Finally, it can also be helpful to remember that Indian Territory boasted its own exhibitionary complexes, such as Hyde Park in Muskogee that contained a restaurant, an automatic vaudeville, a skating rink, a theater, and "pike" or midway. These examples all appear in Posey, *Fus Fixico*, Letter No.24, Letter No.48, 191 fn13, 215 fn3.

⁴⁶ While Catlin drew, painted, or authorized print versions of his Indian portraits in the thousands, there are very few figures that match what is visible in detail in the high-resolution digital scan of Sunghdeska Kte's portrait: a feathered Plains headdress that extends to the ground; buffalo horns on the cap; battle lance; and Plains dress with fringe and quilled leggings. In particular, the lance is held in the figure's left hand with the elbow crooked and pointing down. This stance only appears in Catlin's full-length portraits of Mato-Tópe in the Gilcrease Souvenir Album [see Truettner, "Vanishing with a Trace," Fig. 18] and the Cartoon Collection version of Catlin's portrait session with Mato-Tópe in a fictional village [NGA, 1965.16.184].

⁴⁷ This historical moment is reconstructed from Rick Stewart, "An Artist Among the Indians," *American History Illustrated* 26:2 (May/June 1991) 38–55, and Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014) 327–31. There is some confusion in Stewart's (or Wimar's, as Stewart's account is taken from Wimar's published narrative of his 1858 journey) geography and tribal assignments between the posts and Native residents; I have corrected the Stewart through the Fenn when necessary. Sahnish [Arikara] co-residents would arrive in the village after an 1862 bout with smallpox. Thank you to Pamela Reister and the University of Michigan Museum of Art for the initial opportunity to research Wimar's work.

photographic equipment and sketchpads at each stop. He expects the results to inform his future paintings—including his future *Buffalo Dance* (Figure 7-15).⁴⁸

Wimar is warned by a fellow traveler, a fur trapper, to leave his camera behind at this stop; he shoulders it anyway and begins to set up. Yet his photographs are soon spoiled. He later writes the details: “One of the chiefs watched my proceedings and uttered a few words to his people which had the effect of dispersing them immediately, nor would they again reassemble until the photographic apparatus had been put aside.”⁴⁹ The crowd re-assembles, and a second attempt is made; this one comes to a halt when warriors threaten to shoot Wimar through with arrows.

Later conversations with Fort personnel leave Wimar with the impression that the affair stems from “the belief of these Indians, that had I secured their portraits they would have perished with the small pox.”⁵⁰ Yet in Catlin’s and Wied’s time, Numak’aki villagers had made no connection between non-Native portrait makers or visitors and the devastation of small pox, despite their severe sufferings from the disease in 1781. Rather, it was Mato-Tópe who had, in his death agonies in the 1837 small pox epidemic, “dressed himself in his fineries, mounted his war-steed, and, fevered and in agony, rode among the villages, speaking against the whites, urging the young warriors to charge upon them and destroy them all.”⁵¹ Mato-Tópe specifically cursed the hospitality that he had formerly shown his non-Native visitors. Had Mato-Tópe’s last

⁴⁸ Wimar’s ambrotypes from this journey and a subsequent trip he took in 1859 seem to have been lost; two of his sketchpads are now at the St. Louis Art Museum [60:1941.1–.38 / 61:1941.1–.29].

⁴⁹ Stewart, “An Artist Among the Indians,” 50.

⁵⁰ Stewart, “An Artist Among the Indians,” 50.

⁵¹ John James Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, ed. Maria Rebecca Audubon and Elliot Coues (New York: Scibner’s Sons, 1897) 2:45, cited in Fenn, *Encounters*, 319 fn. Audubon’s information had come from his discussions with Francis Chardon at Fort Clark, who had also recorded Mato-Tópe’s speech in his journals. His journal text potentially represented the oral version of the speech held by Chardon’s Numak’aki wife, suggesting that Mato-Tópe’s words were absorbed into tribal knowledge.

words connecting the “White Dogs” to the sufferings of his people framed a social practice of refusing those they had previously welcomed? Might Numak'aki survivors have turned their backs not on Wimar’s camera, but on the Middle Ground and its print portraiture proffered by non-Native interlopers? Might this practice still have appeared among the Numak'aki twenty years later, both in honor of the former leader and in view of their futures? Perhaps Mato-Tópe’s words still resonate fifty years later among those attending the Indian Congress: Listen well what I have to say, as it will be the last time you will hear Me. Think of your Wives, Children, Brothers, Sisters, Friends, and in fact all that you hold dear,...

CHAPTER 11

Indian–Pop–Politics¹

Late September, 1972. A buffalo dancer's close-up—wide snout, darkened eyes, horns and mane disappearing into a fur coat—numbers in the dozens in the American Embassy in Bucharest, centered on the programs in visitors' hands. It is opening night for exhibition Two American Painters and it is packed. Enormous canvases of distorted or ghosted Native bodies tower above the suited guests. The torso of a grotesquely frozen warrior extends upward from the sea of state department dress ties and ambassadorial balding pates. Another canvas touts an enormous ten-foot-tall warrior, with only rough brush strokes for his warrior markings.

Mid-March, 1973. A photograph of an American Indian Movement activist appears in the pages of newspapers nationwide. The young man has been photographed in a discussion with the national press in the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota—only he hasn't been doing the talking. Instead, the activist has referred reporters to the head of the wooden Indian poking out of his denim jacket while he shields his own mouth, face, and hair with his hand, a bandana, and a pair of sunglasses. In the context of demanding cameras, boom mikes, and

¹ I borrow this hyphenated word structure from Tommy (T.C.) Wayne Cannon [Caddo/Ki'a gwu (Kiowa)], one of the subjects of this chapter, who utilized this structure to create a continuum between triads of words. One of Cannon's own triads appears in the Epilogue.

reporters, all waiting for quotable prose, the mute “fake” Indian is given center stage while the “real” Indian is so muffled that his features disappear.

These historical moments are two sides of the same coin. [Figures 11-1, 11-2.] The news photograph captured a bit of Pop Art performance on the part of the American Indian Movement (AIM) during their Occupation of Wounded Knee over February, March, and April of 1973.² The performance was only one among many of the occupation: moments in which AIM activists played with the historical imaging of American Indians in order to generate new images that would be (re)produced in a variety of media sources. Most Wounded Knee occupants were not artists, but they did enact the image play and techniques developed almost a decade earlier by Native American artists at the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) in Santa Fe.³ These practices solidified into what was called “Indian Pop” in the professional arena, particularly in connection to its two most visible practitioners: T.C. Cannon [Caddo/Ki'a gwu (Kiowa)] and Fritz Scholder [Luseño], the stars of the international exhibition Two American Painters.⁴ The

² Details on the Wounded Knee Occupation come from Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee (New York: The New Press, 1996), chapters 10–2, and the press clippings found in NMAI-Arch, MAI, Box 422, Folder 1; Box 423, Folders 1–4; and Box 427, Folder 12.

³ I include IAIA students in my category of “artists” here, due to the fact that the IAIA sold their works for school profit at the Hookstone shop set up specifically for that purpose. For details on Hookstone, see Joy Gritton, The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000) 145–7. T.C. Cannon had already sold works through his local Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) cooperative before arriving at IAIA; see Joan Frederick, T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing Company, 1995) 16.

In contrast, Nancy Marie Mithlo argues that the work emerging from the IAIA student body in these years is best understood as “personal examples of individual growth and tribal self-empowerment,” distinct from art historical or professional categories. See Mithlo, “IAIA Rocks the Sixties: The Painting Revolution at the Institute of American Indian Arts,” Museum Anthropology 24:2/3 (Sept 2000) 63–8.

⁴ Biographical details for Cannon come from Frederick, T.C. Cannon, and the brief biography in the Two American Painters catalog [Two American Painters: Fritz Scholder and T. C. Cannon, exhibition catalog (7 Apr–29 May 1972), National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.]; for Scholder, from Lowery Stokes Sims,

exhibition debuted Scholder's and Cannon's "Pop, protest, and put-on" work at the National Collection of Fine Arts (now the Smithsonian American Art Museum) in April 1972—less than ten months before the Occupation of Wounded Knee commenced.⁵ [Figure 11-3.] A ten-month embassy tour followed under the sponsorship of the U.S. Information Agency and included the Bucharest stop.⁶

This chapter analyzes the two artists' displayed works through the Two American Painters' category of Indian Pop. The genre was a sophisticated subset of the Pop Art movement that took its cues, like the AIM activists, from the long history of imaging Native Americans through the meta-archive.⁷ In so doing, Indian Pop artists both utilized Pop Art

et al., eds., Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian, exhibition catalog (2008), National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC, 179–83.

⁵ "National Collection of Fine Arts will Exhibit Protest, Put-On Paintings by 2 American Indians," press release, Office of Public Affairs, Smithsonian Institution (10 March 1972) 1. SIA, RU 448, Box 8.

⁶ The international tour was co-planned with the original exhibition; see loan letter, Breeskin to Mr. and Mrs. Gordon L. Clark (17 September 1971), SIA, RU 453, Box 5, Notebook 112, Volume I (A–K). The eight-stop embassy tour was later extended, much to Scholder's dismay. Stops were mostly in Europe, but the exhibition also traveled to Turkey, and the Scholders made a special detour to lecture in Cairo. Details can be found in SIA, RU 315, Box 12, though stop-by-stop specifics outside of the Cairo detour are missing. For current work on Scholder's tour, see Jessica Horton, "Painter/Traveler/Diplomat," in Fritz Scholder: Super Indian, 1967–1980, ed. John Lukavic (Munich: Prestel and Denver Art Museum, 2015) 41–53, as well as Horton's current book project.

⁷ Art history has allowed image play in fine art practice to define a very small group of American and British artists as "Pop," while the wide range of artistic practices described as Pop by critics, museum professionals, artists, and popular media throughout the 1950s and 60s demands a wider arena for the term than is usually invoked. Scholarship began to draw strong demarcations around Pop art in the mid- to late 1960s, influentially divided into "hard-core" and "soft-core" groups by Lucy Lippard [Pop Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966)], and categorized by John Russell and Suzi Gablik as "simple, direct, and immediately comprehensible images" in line with Minimalism and hard-edged abstract art [Pop Art Redefined (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969)]. The results have been the reification of Pop as either a particular historical moment (falling roughly between 1953 and 1969), or an art historical product animated by an "artworld"; see Dick Hebdige, "In Poor Taste: Notes on Pop," in Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988) 77–86. Sylvia Harrison reads this "hardening" of Pop categories as the result of critics' inability to deal with Pop Art's source materials, its methods of construction, and its suspension of fine arts categories; see Harrison, Pop Art and the Origins of Post-Modernism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Recently, a number of art historians have turned their attention toward Pop in order to re-address the movement's existent art historical frameworks. See Thomas Crow, The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, + Design, 1930–1995 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), "The Absconded Subject of Pop," RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics 55/56 (Spring/Autumn 2009) 5–20, and "Lives of Allegory in the Pop 1960s: Andy Warhol and Bob Dylan," in The Life and the Work: Art and Biography, ed. Charles G. Salas (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007) 108–47; Hal Foster, The First Pop Age: Painting and Subjectivity in the Art of Hamilton, Lichtenstein, Warhol,

elements and developed a print-based visual language in response to the meta-archive. This new language harnessed the political potential of Pop to transform the meta-archive.⁸ For Indian Pop, this potential played out against the increasing image visibility of Native political activism in the 1960s and 70s.⁹ Could the creation of alternative images to those of the meta-archive succeed and create alternative distributions of power? Indian Pop presented one of the first national test cases.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POP (1964–72)

T.C. Cannon: Looking through Wied's Telescope

In his essay in the Two American Painters' catalog, Robert Ewing, then-Curator of Fine Arts at the University of New Mexico Museum, labeled T.C. Cannon's Mama and Papa Have the

Richter, and Ruscha (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Kobena Mercer, ed., Pop Art and Vernacular Cultures (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); and Cécile Whiting, Pop L.A.: Art and the City in the 1960s (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), and A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender, and Consumer Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁸ Pop Art's critical definition, usually wedded to commodification processes, inherently renders Pop apolitical within late capitalism's (theoretical) lack of alternative or resistant spaces. Kobena Mercer has responded to this narrow (and Western) definition by expanding Pop to the use of everyday imagery, making the form available, and even embedded, within "the vernacular dialects of the post-colonial condition." See Mercer, "Introduction," in Pop Art and Vernacular Cultures, 7–35. Recent re-evaluations of Pop Art's political possibilities have also been held by the Whitney Museum of American Art ("Sinister Pop," 2012–13), the Walker Art Museum ("International Pop," 2015), and the Tate Modern ("The World Goes Pop," 2015–16).

⁹ While I specifically deal with AIM at Wounded Knee in 1973, due to AIM's successful image mobilization during the Occupation, I do not read AIM and its associated notions of Red Power or Indian militancy, or even this event, as adequate stand-ins for the whole of Indian activism in these decades. For an example of the complicated politics in play between various Native organizations and federal policy of the period, see Vine Deloria, Jr., "The War between the Redskins and the Feds," New York Times (7 Dec 1969); and for broader scholarly frameworks on Indian activism and its conditions and histories, see Like a Hurricane, Ch.3; Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne, eds., American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, eds., Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900 (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007); and Daniel M. Cobb, Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

Going Home to Shiprock Blues (1966) as pure “Indian Pop Art.”¹⁰ [Figure 11-4.] Ewing’s essay marked the first application of the term by a critic and art historian to an intended national audience, and presented Cannon’s painting as the genre’s foremost example.¹¹

Mama and Papa... primarily shows central male and female figures side by side. The pair presumably sits, due to their bent legs and postures, but no sitting device is visible, with the background’s wide swaths of color instead spreading into the foreground around the two figures’ outlines. The man smokes a cigarette, and his hand lazily draped over his crossed legs suggests a calm and deliberate posture. This calm is echoed by the woman’s huddled form and hidden hands. While the couple’s clothing implies the long shirts, silversmithed jewelry, knee-high moccasins, skirts, and shawls worn by Diné men and women, it is the stenciled “DINEH” in the upper left that confirms a tribal identity for the couple otherwise only hinted at through the semi-abstract dress. Slight changes in paint tones suggest the man’s facial features, while the woman’s face is largely defined by a pair of white-rimmed sunglasses. Cannon presents a scene of timeless waiting, the couple frozen in a moment that does not have a clear narrative: How or when did they arrive? And what event will bring this scene to a close?

The two are not the only couple sharing Cannon’s painted canvas. Below the couple appears another. These two figures sit separately, set apart by borders. Elements of the foreground’s colors change as they cross these borders: a white patch of ground becomes a

¹⁰ Two American Painters, 14. Ewing was curator at the UNM Museum during the IAIA exhibitions of the 1960s, and was familiar with the larger category of New Indian Painting and IAIA student work—if not Cannon’s specifically—before this essay was penned.

¹¹ Fritz Scholder had originally used the term in press interviews for several years before Two American Painters opened. Scholder’s term “Pop Indian Art” first appeared in Vincent Price’s opening catalog essay for Three from Santa Fe: Fritz Scholder / James McGrath / Otellie Loloma [exhibition catalog (6 May–28 June 1965), Center for Arts of Indian America, United States Department of Interior Building, Washington, DC, n.p.]. It was then picked up by Robert Ewing, starting in regional publications in 1969 [“The New Indian Art,” El Palacio: A Quarterly Journal of the Museum of New Mexico 76 (Spring 1969) 38].

wall element or window behind the man, while the foreground becomes a wall between the two figures. Their poses, clothing, and outline echo those of the primary couple above, but take only penciled shape, and their faces have now been reversed: he wears sunglasses, while she has no facial features at all. Finally, we can see that the woman's form is etched in a third time in the painting's upper left, her body nearly blending into the background save Cannon's use of white to mark her silhouette.

Multiplying the's subject within a single work was a common Pop portraiture technique. In 16 Jackies (1964), Andy Warhol silkscreened four different shots of Jackie Kennedy into an even sixteen-grid composition. **[Figure 11-5.]** Taken from LIFE magazine, the four photographs represent four distinct moments around the assassination of John F. Kennedy.¹²

On the obvious level, 16 Jackies presents the "exactly repeatable syntax" of print. The four images' repetition serves to indicate the endlessness of print's potential (re)producibility. But Warhol also makes visible the radical fluidity of print across space and time. He freezes and pastes together what would have appeared on different pages, in different issues of LIFE. This is the invisible work of print, its mechanics that produce iconicity.¹³ As seen in Chapter Four, iconicity emerges when the exactly repeatable statement travels over space and time, creating a remarkably stable image across numerous locations. In the mid-twentieth century, this

¹² The four represented moments are the Kennedys' arrival at Love Field, Dallas; on Air Force One while Lyndon B. Johnson is sworn into office; after the assassination in the Capitol, with a visible military escort; and smiling from the fated car during the parade. These details from the label text for 16 Jackies in the Walker Art Center's exhibition, Art in Our Time: 1950 to the Present (5 September 1999–2 September 2001). Accessed on the Walker website at <www.walkerart.org/collections/artworks/sixteen-jackies>.

¹³ I offer this reading in contrast to the physical mechanics of printmaking that Warhol employed in his working methods, and verbally flirted with in interviews and statements. For a summary of Warhol's pursuit of "reproducible painting" that drew on auratic (re)production techniques, see Roberta Bernstein, "Warhol as Printmaker," in Andy Warhol—Prints—A Catalogue Raisonné, ed. Frayda Feldman and Jörg Schellmann (Munich: Editions Schellmann, 1989) 4–19; and for a reading of Warhol's 1960s work based on his print- and (re)production-based metaphors, see Caroline Jones, Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) Chapter 4.

iconicity was (re)produced in an ever-collapsing zone of space and time through direct sources specifically designed for print's repeatable statements (like Warhol's source-generating LIFE magazines). Within days of the President's assassination, Jackie Kennedy circulated and became the always mourning widow, forever grieving.¹⁴ The frames between each image then come to stand in for these invisible qualities of the printed image, the operations we cannot see.¹⁵

Print is central to many of the analyses of Warhol's Pop portraits like 16 Jackies.

Warhol's choice of public image makes him the selector and (re)producer of imagery, rather than its creator, as he presents what was "already captured" in a heavily circulated photograph. His print techniques—specifically through the lightening of his silkscreen process that reduces shadow and heightens contrast—keep viewers on the surface of his paintings. Left on these surfaces, without an original for comparison, the viewer can only find meaning through the repeated images in relation to each other. Slight differences then emerge, such as altered registrations, squeegee streaks, and color bands along the rows—all of which circle back to Warhol's original print techniques, rather than to the portrait's supposed subject.¹⁶

¹⁴ 16 Jackies captures traumatic loss and death in Thomas Crow, "Saturday Disasters: Trace and Reference in Early Warhol," in Modern Art in the Common Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) 49–68, and Foster, The First Pop Age, Chapter Three.

¹⁵ This study is itself a parallel to this process—a scholar's version of a Warhol portrait, if you will—with its (re)produced Figures the only way to concretize the buffalo dancer's fluidity across space and time.

¹⁶ For Warhol's focus on "already captured" public selves, see Roberta Bernstein, "Warhol as Printmaker," in Andy Warhol—Prints—A Catalogue Raisonné, ed. Frayda Feldman and Jörg Schellmann (Munich: Editions Schellmann, 1989) 7, Whiting, A Taste for Pop, Chapter Four, and Mercer, "Introduction," Pop Art and Vernacular Culture, 26; for Warhol's image changes due to his mechanical processes, see Taro Nettleton, "White-on-White: The Overbearing Whiteness of Warhol Being," Art Journal 62:1 (Spring 2003) 19–20; and for seriality, surface, and the dominance of the sameness-difference continuum in Warhol's work, see Jennifer Dyer, "The Metaphysics of the Mundane: Understanding Andy Warhol's Serial Imagery," Artibus et Historiae 25:49 (2004) 33–47.

In contrast, Pop portrait painter Alex Katz engaged painting to specifically push against the photographic portrait's "exactly repeatable syntax" and its assumed trustworthiness.¹⁷ In Double Portrait of Robert Rauschenberg (1959), Rauschenberg appears twice in the same brown shirt and white pants. **[Figure 11-6.]** At first glance, the two Rauschenberg sitters appear as mirror images. Atop folding chairs, the two rest a forearm on their respective chair backs, tilting their back shoulders toward the center. Yet various scattered details break the mirrored spell. The same leg stretches into the center. A lighter brown right shoe appears. Darker outlines mark a shirt collar and cuff. Both figures part their hair on the left. Seamlessly pieced together, without boundaries marking temporal or spatial difference, the scene appears natural even as we are faced with a physical impossibility: there cannot be two Robert Rauschenbergs in Katz's studio. In creating such seamless spaces, Katz challenges us to choose where we are: suspended in an impossible world, or worked into one where we must consciously remind ourselves of its distinct parts and underlying ingredients.¹⁸

Like Warhol and Katz, Cannon sought a way to visualize the mechanics of print. The photographic sources marked by Warhol's frames but melded into Katz's single-frame world of temporal impossibility became central to Cannon's explorations. The 1970 media collage ...When They Ask You to Sell Your Land... moves the viewer in time from left to right, panning across an Indian dressed in a suit; an Indian with a bone pipe breastplate, calumet, eagle

¹⁷ Diana Tuite refers to Katz's early work as "reduplicative portraits," which signal that Katz "is not trafficking in temporally bound images, but rather running counter to the prevalent and photographic notion of the portrait.... [I]n their very implausibility, the reduplicatives lay bare painting's access to imagination and persuasion" [Tuite, "Grounding the Figure, Reconfiguring the Subject: The Cutouts of Alex Katz," Pop Art: Contemporary Perspectives, exhibition catalogue (2007), Princeton Art Museum, 42]. Tuite borrows "reduplicative portraits" from critic Edwin Derby.

¹⁸ For a reading that sources the atemporality of Pop portraiture in postwar comic and filmic structures, see Albert Boime, "The Postwar Redefinition of Self: Marisol's Yearbook Illustrations for the Class of '49," American Art 7:2 (Spring 1993) 6–21. I would subsume comics and films within the category of print.

feather fan, and blanket; and three figures now made of bones, although also holding calumets and covered with blankets. [Figure 11-7.] The far left figure issues a warning not to sell land when the “whitemen” come calling, as “this country holds your father’s body. Never sell the bones of your father!” The change in the striped foreground from “grass” green on the left to dirt brown “earth” on the right suggests that the three right skeletons are “the bones of your father” buried in “this country.” Their blankets, fur stoles, and facial features match the paper hue of the sky and border, suggesting a transparency or decay. Furthermore, the three skeletons’ colored moccasins echo the vertical orientation of a stop light (though out of color sequence), suggesting a downward layering of earth even as the figures expand horizontally across the frame. With the text—a citation from Hinmuuttu-yalatlat [Chief Joseph; Nimi’ipuu (Nez Percé)], recalling the charge he received from his dying father Tuekakas—this continuum stretches to include the viewer, the addressed son warned about selling his father’s bones.¹⁹

In ...When They Ask..., Cannon turns the (re)production of the meta-archive around, situating its oppressive multiples within a merged present–past–future. Cannon recalls the image archive without citing its frames, as the two photographic figures make such frames unnecessary. The figures are then “released” into a temporal free zone, one in which relations—fathers to sons, generation to generation—bleed into the connoted “your land” of the viewer. The shared size of the five figures and their similarly placed feathers and text bubble stem present the sitters as multiples of one. Yet figural differences through flesh and dress also connote temporal distinctions, as elements of the pre-photographic past, the pre-

¹⁹ The original quotation first appeared in print in the “co-authored” article by Hinmuuttu-yalatlat and the Right Reverend W.H. Hare, “An Indian’s Views of Indian Affairs,” North American Review 128:269 (April 1879) 413. The original reads “bones of your father and mother.”

transition period, and the reservation period are all visible.²⁰ The addressed “son” extends the timeline into Cannon’s present as well as into the viewer’s future. This is a unique temporal space, one in which the portrait’s subject is constructed not through the artist, but through the present–past–future as accessed through the meta-archive. “Original” and “reproduction” subsequently lose their meaning, as the fluidity of print expresses Native American concepts of time, relations, and honor.²¹

With this work as a model, we can revisit the repeated figures and frames of Mama and Papa.... [Figure 11-8.] On one hand, Cannon retains the distinct frames of Warhol’s portraiture: one couple is clearly set apart within similarly sized frames. This is the photographic studio portrait of the meta-archive. Yet its distinction as separate—as Warhol’s (re)produced image repeated across frames—is threatened by Cannon’s use of paint. The framed woman flips the color scheme of the primary waiting couple: brown for her robe and face, now in outline; orange for her background. In addition, the contemporary sunglasses now appear on the framed man, erasing a temporal distinction between the two couples. The third figure is simply etched in through line; the central figure’s background canvas wash makes up her substance, just as the background bled through the skeletal figures above. Again, Cannon has frozen the (re)producible statements of print within a temporal free-zone. What emerges is a visual

²⁰ The “transition period” generally refers to the decades of the nineteenth century when various Indian nations were forced to adapt to reservation boundaries and lifeways. However, transition was not a uniform process, and happened in different ways and at different moments for various Indian nations.

²¹ For a succinct but rich introduction to the complex relation between pasts and presents/presence within Native cultures, see the Introduction to Peter Nabokov, A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 1–28. Cannon wrote letters to “non-living” friends and ancestors as part of his writing and poetry practice; see his letter to Lloyd Kiva New (22 October 1971), as cited in William Wallo and John Pickard, T.C. Cannon, Native American: A New View of the West, exhibition catalog (1990), National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 58.

allegory for the meta-archive, one in which reproduced and original, past–present–future, cease to be easily distinguished.

Cannon developed his pictorial strategies through intensive interaction with the meta-archive. Those who knew Cannon describe his extensive practice of “looking at historical photos or objects”: visits to Indian markets and museums, attendance at tribal events and dances, and the creation of a personal library on Indian culture that often traveled with him.²² These practices continued those established by IAIA students—himself included—who had often used photographic (re)productions as models for their early paintings.²³

At some point, (re)productions of Bodmer’s prints or paintings were a part of Cannon’s library. Two partial images marked “Teton Sioux after Bodmer” appear in one of Cannon’s notebooks. **[Figure 11-9.]** Cannon had clearly zoned in on various details of dress and patterning. His pencil marks highlight the patterned quillwork on the top figure’s moccasins, leggings, and hide, while he only lightly sketches in the outer shape of the figure’s clothing. Below, his focus is on Wahktägeli’s [Gallant Warrior, also known as Big Soldier; Yankton] feathered hairpiece. Cannon’s shading of Wahktägeli’s face and hair replicates Bodmer’s own

²² On Cannon’s library, see June Cartwright (friend) in Frederick, *T.C. Cannon*, 77; for Cannon’s process of looking at old photographs, see Bill Wallo (former instructor at Central State University) and Marvin Embree (fellow student at Central State University), Frederick, 103; and for Barbara Warner Cannon Ross [Pan’ka (Ponca)], Cannon’s ex-wife, on historical photographs as well as Cannon’s object-looking expeditions to markets and museums, see Frederick, 68 and 103.

²³ Alfred Young Man and Billy Soza recall sourcing many of their images from history books that reprinted nineteenth-century images, and Fritz Scholder admitted in his early press that (re)produced imagery formed the basis for his work. Identified texts for IAIA students include Martin Ferdinand Schmitt and Dee Brown, *Fighting Indians of the West* (New York: Scribners, 1948) and Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indian* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1964). Cannon later utilized Paul Dyck’s *Brulé: The Sioux People of the Rosebud* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1971). Young Man and Soza also recall using photographic (re)productions. Soza identified these (re)productions as coming from the Smithsonian Archives and the Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation in New York City; see Wasserberger, *Demystification*, 27–9, 53. So far, I have been unable to uncover archival evidence to confirm these sources, but it is admittedly searching for a needle in a haystack.

process on the frontier, when he often completed areas of dress detailing and faces while leaving the rest for completion in his studio.

Cannon's notebook sketch demonstrates that Cannon peers through Wied's expedition telescope to detail nineteenth-century Native sitter-subjects. Cannon's interactions with nineteenth-century material and photographic objects bore out this gaze, as he looked through "an Anglo eye...to the material culture of the Native American."²⁴ Many of Cannon's paintings in the 1972 Two American Painters exhibition demarcated the edges of this gaze for the viewer.²⁵ In Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory (1971), Cannon portrays an old warrior in the center of a round frame. **[Figure 11-10.]** The frame resembles many anthropological field images taken with the Kodak No.2 round-lens box camera around the turn of the twentieth century.²⁶ Yet the decorated background potentially transforms the lens' image into Native material culture, establishing a different kind of objecthood for the canvas, as the image takes on many of the visual aspects of Plains warrior shields: the top third a blue band of color, the center warrior where a warrior's emblematic spirit animal might be placed. This transformation

²⁴ Bill Wallo in Frederick, T.C. Cannon, 103. This term and practice can be quite problematic for Native viewers, and Cannon's first show in Oklahoma, at the Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko, Oklahoma, did in fact receive very negative reviews; he afterward swore he'd never show in Oklahoma again [see Scholder's letter in Edie Scott, "T.C. Cannon, 1946–1978," Southwest Art 11 (June 1981) 79].

²⁵ In addition to Mama and Papa... and Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory discussed in my text, other works depicting the source image's frame include Cross the Powder...and It Is War! (1971) and Kodelpa' Kinago (1971). The frame of the original viewing lens is also suggested in the cut-off of figures on canvas edges in Waiting In Hospital (ca.1967) and Arapaho Sun Dancer (1971).

²⁶ These cameras were used by early anthropologists James Mooney for many of his Plains ghost dance images, and Matilda Stevenson in the southwest. When completed, the entire box was shipped to the Eastman Company in Rochester, New York for processing. Groundbreaking research into the Mooney photographs (which, like so many images within this study, have a life of their own in print) done by Thomas W. Kavanagh, "Reading Photographs: Imaging and Imagining the Ghost Dance: James Mooney's Illustrations and Photographs, 1891–1893," published online at <<http://php.indiana.edu/~tkavanag/visual5.html>>. These photographs also possibly inspired Cannon's Three Ghost Figures in the 1972 exhibition, and several also serve as sources for Scholder's work.

of the lens' edge points to what Cannon believed the lens could do for contemporary Native viewers: recover the Native past, and put that past into dialogue with the Native present.

Yet Cannon also recognized himself as the sitter-subject of that pointed lens: that Wied and Bodmer were looking at him. To both look at and look back, in the context of the meta-archive, has historically been problematic. To gaze at oneself through the Native copy became a primary tool for Native containment. Cannon prevents this abuse by blocking his subjects' gazes through a variety of means: blindness, shadow, patches, or sunglasses are repeated elements.²⁷ In Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory, heavy, closed lids appear over an old warrior's eyes. The closed lids turn the warrior's gaze inward, with an outlined buffalo on the horizon suggesting the subject of the man's thoughts. The shaded sky over the warrior's head takes the shape of a nuclear mushroom cloud, a common motif in Cannon's work that equates moments in Native history with nuclear annihilation. Suddenly, a figure taken from a nineteenth-century delegation photograph concerns larger nineteenth-century historical patterns of cultural genocide and starvation.²⁸

²⁷ Barbara Ende, "T.C. Cannon," *Kunst und das schone Heim* 95:4 (1983) 259.

²⁸ I intentionally stay away from the term "appropriation" in describing Indian Pop's play with images, although the term is often found in recent literature on Pop. Within social science, appropriation names the taking of another's culture, and inherently involves power relations; see Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds., *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), Introduction. Despite the difficulty of naming cultural boundaries, appropriation has become a potent tool for Native cultural watchdogs; see, for instance, Jessica Metcalfe's [Turtle Mountain Chippewa] blog on the fashion industry, or the series of videos on Indian sports mascots by the 1491's.

In contrast, art historical understandings of the term emerged around the "Pictures" generation of artists in the 1980s, whose image appropriation was understood to provoke the postmodern subject's condition as mediated through photographic imagery. Most analyses with the term thus involve probing this condition through the movement of imagery, rather than cultural politics. Key texts include Douglas Crimp, "Pictures," in *PICTURES*, exhibition catalog (24 September–29 October 1977), Artists Space, New York City; Hal Foster, *RECODINGS: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1985); Craig Owens's essay "Representation, Appropriation, and Power" (1982); and Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993). For a critique of the assumptions and theory behind this body of work, see Caroline Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) Chapter 8.

Thus, Cannon used the blocked gaze and frames to denote both the limits of Wied's frameworks and the sitter's own temporal continuum within a present–past–future. This continuum in turn linked up to Cannon's own. As he recorded in one of his notebooks during his painting of Beef Issue at Fort Sill (1973):

One particular painting last year was influenced by a frontier photographer. It passed beyond the stage of initial impetus and became a new vision realized, with risks taken with every passing moment that I worked. From its demure and historic birth it quickly became a behemoth of possibilities best left to its own growth. Lines became memories, masses became kisses and soon I was painting histories of the previous weeks. Those histories that I paint are not older than my twenty seven years.²⁹

The photograph that gave rise to Beef Issue at Fort Sill was (re)produced again and again in Cannon's notebooks. In his own description, working with the source photograph merged the past with the present, to the point where the memories lodged in the minds of the photograph's original subjects entered his own. Cannon's early student days saw him representing this merging of time and bodies quite literally, with half an outlined contemporary figure in sunglasses, beaded choker, and long hair completing the (re)produced figure of a nineteenth-century warrior.³⁰ The present-day doubled the past, completing its formal symmetry. Cannon rejected such literal presentations of the present–past–future after his student days, but he never stopped reclaiming the visual materials that fed his own experience of the past. Cannon's re-drawing of Bodmer's image was a dance with his own historical double.

²⁹ A note in Cannon's notebooks, dated November 1974, as cited in Wallo and Pickard, T.C. Cannon, 86.

³⁰ This temporal "cyborg" appears in an undated sketch (reproduced on the cover of My Determined Eye) and Cannon's IAIA painting Made in Japan with the Exception of One (1966); this figure then formed the basis for the painting Soldiers (1970) as well as its undated preparatory sketch.

Dancing with the Double

If IAIA was any kind of gauge, Cannon was not unique in turning to print and the past. IAIA had been set up as a site for Native youth to explore through art their unique place as members of “strong tribal culture[s]” and “member[s] of contemporary society”—a goal articulated by Arts Director Lloyd Kiva New that fit into the larger policies of the period, but also reflected the needs of contemporary students.³¹ As Donna Mae (Whitewing) Vandall [Ho-Chunk (Winnebago)/Lakota] wrote in her IAIA application, “I know we [Indians] have a place in society. Some of us must find it. Through your school...I believe I can find my place in the world.”³² A former student and classmate of Cannon’s reflected that “IAIA was a vision, an idea of how to be in contemporary society. They were teaching us how to survive, how to be artists and

³¹ The two terms were used by New in his arts educational program statement in the IAIA student handbook, The IAIA, A Basic Statement of Purpose (1962; updated in 1963 and 1964). New’s language reflects the fact that nearly all policy and programs of this period viewed Native Americans as “living in two worlds.” For New’s complete statement, see Garmhausen, History of Indian Arts Education, 78. Policymakers included the BIA and the IACB, both of which in the 1950s and early 60s emphasized job skills for urban employers and the formation of viable arts markets for Native artisans. Private institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Museum of Modern Art were also involved, largely due to Rene d’Harnoncourt’s overlaps between the public and private sectors. See Garmhausen, History of Indian Arts Education, and Gritton, The Institute of American Indian Arts, esp. Chapter 1.

The IAIA was developed as a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding school. For detailed histories of the IAIA and its establishment, as well as its historical precursors, see Winona Garmhausen, History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe: The Institute of American Indian Arts with Historical Background 1890 to 1962 (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1988), and Gritton, The Institute of the American Arts. For the historical policies that served as backdrop to the IAIA discussions on the federal level, see Jennifer McLerran, A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933–1943 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009). And for the specific relationships between pre-WWII BIA schools and Indian art production in Santa Fe that set the stage for the IAIA and the New Indian Painting at large, see Michelle McGeough, Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945, exhibition catalog (2009), Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe.

Even as New Indian Painting and Indian Pop would appear a productive outcome of the educational approach of the IAIA, it is important to remember that the school and its policies remained controversial within many Native communities into the 1980s; see Bertram Gabriel, “Politics, Pride and Real Estate in Santa Fe,” ARTNews 80:10 (December 1981) 92–6, and Bruce Bernstein, “Contexts for the Growth and Development of the Indian Art World in the 1960s and 1970s,” in W. Jackson Rushing III, ed., Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories (London: Routledge, 1999) 57–71.

³² Letters from student applications were released to the press in advance of IAIA’s opening. Cited in Garmhausen, History of Indian Arts Education, 78.

leaders, too. They gave permission for us to get out there and survive and enjoy it.”³³ At IAIA, elements from the tribal and the contemporary were all jumbled together. Classes covered Indian arts and cultures as well as Abstract Expressionism and Pop. Students worked to recover the old-style moccasin making of their grandmothers and brought gear from home to dance tribal dances. They also filled their studios with postcards of art historical (re)productions and the sounds of Bob Dylan. As cultural critic Paul Chaat Smith has written, IAIA in the 1960s was “where Indians were beautiful and mod and happening and traditional all at once.”³⁴

The two poles of “tribal” and “contemporary” articulated by New structured the school and its language, and subsequently its press, exhibitions, bureaucratic reviews, and goals.³⁵ When LIFE covered the Institute in 1967 as part of its article series on “The Rediscovery of the Red Man,” a major portion of its text focused on the “cultural conflict” suffered by students, supposedly so palpable that a visitor to IAIA could “even hear the cultures colliding” as toms and chants competed with the Supremes.³⁶ And despite the fact that students had formed rock bands such as the “The Juggers” and “The Fauves,” decked out in Mod fashion and named for European inspirations, LIFE never presented students without their visual counterpart from the meta-archive. Behind the Juggers, for instance, a (re)produced nineteenth-century warrior

³³ From the exhibition research interviews (2005–7) for Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian, NMAI-Cur.

³⁴ Paul Chaat Smith, “Meaning of Life,” Everything You Know about Indians Is Wrong (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009) 129; reprinted from Gerald McMaster, ed., Reservation X, exhibition catalog (1998), Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, 31–40. Course lists and student requirements in Garmhausen, History of Indian Arts Education, 79–80; descriptions of student life from Robert M. Coates, “Our Far-Flung Correspondents: Indian Affairs, New Style,” New Yorker 43:17 (17 June 1967) 102–12.

³⁵ Joy Gritton’s work particularly picks up on the dual-edged “two worlds” logic in and around the IAIA; see Gritton, The Institute of American Indian Arts; “Cross-Cultural Educations vs. Modernist Imperialism: The Institute of American Indian Arts,” Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 28–35; and “The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies,” in Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century, exhibition catalog (1991), Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona, 22–9.

³⁶ “Rediscovery of the Redman,” LIFE 63:22 (1 December 1967) 52–71. Original analysis of this LIFE issue, including links to IAIA and Operation Wounded Knee, in Paul Chaat Smith, “Meaning of Life.”

sits on horseback. **[Figure 11-11.]** The (re)produced warrior certainly could have been part of the Jagers' stage show. As discussed above, the meta-archive was a rich resource for IAIA students in their many-faceted arts practice. But the context of LIFE puts this image on the edge of the meta-archive: the Native bodies of the Jagers are doubled, marking the distance that their bodies have traveled historically—a distance, like that between Oakuhhatuh and the Fort Marion prisoners, that also codes their bodies as the meta-archive's Indian. The historical double signals an identity that, in contemporary dress, becomes difficult for LIFE's readers to visually distinguish.

It is not surprising, then, to find doubles of the Native body throughout the 1967 issue of LIFE. The majority of photographs taken at IAIA feature tribal dances, and most of the photo editor's choices feature similarly dressed and posed bodies cropped in each frame. **[Figure 11-12.]** This somatic symmetry was literalized on the issue cover, where a single form encapsulated two nineteenth-century-style figures in psychedelic color bands and simplified lines. **[Figure 11-13.]** These two figures were themselves meta-archive doubles, an updated version of Charles-Balthazar-Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin's delegate portrait of Le Soldat du Chêne [Osage] (1804; New-York Historical Society) by modern-day advertising guru Milton Glaser. But if the meta-archive reference was not clear to the viewer, LIFE included a central (re)production of Taquawi's [Sharp Nose, Inuna-Ina (Arapaho)] 1884 military portrait. These doubles were critical for LIFE's central message: that Native peoples were being (re)discovered twice over—by hippies, and by themselves.

What did it mean to be (re)discovered, 1967-style? The psychedelic merging of past into present on the cover of the LIFE issue points to the counterculture content in its pages. Inside,

Julie Christie was photographed in a modern breechclout, surrounded by posters for The Family Dog concerts in San Francisco, the Sierra Club's 1967 Wilderness Conference, and Betsey Johnson's recent Native-inspired fashion line for the Manhattan boutique Paraphernalia.

[Figure 11-14.] The text describes hippies' love affair with Indians: their self-organization as tribes with chiefs (such as The Family Dog in San Francisco), their powwows and peace pipe smoking, their visits to reservations, their "ritualistic gatherings" in dance clubs and social halls. Two so-called tribes in New York were in the midst of shooting "a psychedelic film" entitled Indian Givers; the Indians were hippies and the cowboys were the Establishment. High fashion had recently jumped on the bandwagon, with St. Laurent, Betsey Johnson, and Norell all designing Native-inspired items.

The LIFE issue illustrates how 1960s counterculture mined the meta-archive for larger cultural purposes that had little to do with Indian daily life, families, or communities, particularly as the hippie drug culture claimed Native spiritual practices as a parallel for their own psychedelic trips. When The Family Dog began producing concerts and their promotional materials in San Francisco in 1966, meta-archive photographs appeared on dozens of their early posters. **[Figures 11-15, 11-16.]** Their logo, "the tokin' Native American," was a transformed delegate photograph with a marijuana joint in his mouth.³⁷ The name played off "token," a term that suggests an already-emptied representation, now only a gesture or a stand-in for something else. Vacuous, the "tokin' Native American" delegate was blinded (see **Figure 11-16**),

³⁷ The phrase "May the Baby Jesus shut your mouth and open your mind" was eventually added as dialogue to the logo—an assignment of speech to Native delegates not unlike nineteenth- and twentieth-century practices in non-Native culture. See, for instance, Chief Seattle's "speech" created for television by the 1972 Southern Baptist Convention, discussed in Rudolph Kaiser, "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," in Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature, ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 497–536.

replaced with The Family Dog chief Chet Helms, reduced to bones, and the like on various posters.

These non-Native uses of Native doubles sat on the edge of the exhibitionary complex, an extension of the complex's wild west shows, world's fairs, and midways. Hippie life was the pursuit of Wied's object of knowledge, 1960s style: *What we once were and want to be again, through what they once were* (see **Illustration 2-3**). Only this complex was lived twenty-four hours a day, and its environments and borders became fuzzier, broader, and more encompassing than ever before as participants settled themselves into living patterns and community houses, feathered headdresses and regular "Tribal Stomps." These spaces and practices were shaped in relation to the meta-archive. At the 1967 Tribal Stomp captured in LIFE's pages, Taquawi's 1884 portrait—now doubled in the pages of the magazine issue—towers above the crowd, a larger-than-life projected flash of image behind shadowed bodies dancing to Native drumbeats. **[Figure 11-17.]**

The Tribal Stomp and its associated countercultural visuality formed the background for the extensive use of Native copies and bodily distortion that simultaneously emerged at IAIA.³⁸ These visual techniques developed across student work as ways to claim or mark one's own historical copy. In later discussions, student Billy Soza described his IAIA methods as

³⁸ IAIA students undoubtedly read the press around the Institute, and many of them had connections to San Francisco during these years. Specific links between IAIA and Indian activism of the period—specifically that of San Francisco—have yet to be explored. Bill Witherup, a former student and then IAIA instructor, moved to San Francisco and served as a host for former IAIA students. IAIA student remembrances mention road trips to San Francisco, including living rooms full of Beats and beauties. Richard Ray Whitman [Yuchi/Creek] was an IAIA student who participated in the Occupation of Wounded Knee. Specific to Cannon's time, a number of IAIA graduates attended the San Francisco Art Institute (SFAI) on scholarship, including Cannon; Victor Moscoso, one of the major graphic artists for The Family Dog, taught graphic arts at SFAI at the time. Might the two have crossed paths? I have located one printed poster from San Francisco's political scene ["Support self-determination: vote Socialist Workers," Yanker Poster Collection, LoC, 1970] that mimics T.C. Cannon's strategies.

“distorted,” done because Native Americans “are distorted people” who “have been distorted around.”³⁹ In his student drawing Peyote Vision, we can see the distortion in his presentation of his subject’s Native body. **[Figure 11-18.]** Hands are simply outlined, held forward. The oversized dress elements cover the figure’s disproportionate and misaligned limbs and trunk. A sense of agitation emerges, enforced by the visible line-making of Soza’s marker and the uneven “stenciled” letters across the bottom third of the image. But most importantly, the subject’s face is only partially visible, the rest in shadow. Such facial distortion was common across work at IAIA.⁴⁰

Cannon’s own breakthrough with regards to the historical copy came with his Big Warrior linocut for Two American Painters. **[Figure 11-19.]** Cannon’s prints for the exhibition were created at the last minute, and arrived rolled in masking tape too late to make the catalog.⁴¹ Big Warrior is the best of the three that he exhibited, and the work breaks from the frames and blocked gazes that characterize his work of the period. Instead, the central subject floats on the page. The work’s title and the subject’s name, “Big Soldier,” appears in the upper left corner followed by an “*X” just below. The subject’s dress reflects that of nineteenth-century Plains warriors, complete with a cross from which hung two crescent moons.⁴²

The very (re)production of print made its way into Cannon’s design, as he repeated the circles of the warrior’s printed trade fabric. These repetitive circles are then reversed in the singular signatory “*X.” Native leaders signed numerous treaties in the nineteenth century, and

³⁹ Interview with Billy War Soldier Soza, cited in Wasserberger, Demystification, 31.

⁴⁰ After looking at hundreds of IAIA student works from the period, W. Jackson Rushing III found one of the most prominent features of the works to be blurred, indistinct, and/or fragmented facial features. Rushing, “Authenticity and Subjectivity,” 17.

⁴¹ From various internal memos of the NCF; SIA, RU 448, Box 8.

⁴² I have found this specific object in the 1877 Lakota delegation photographs taken by Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner.

these treaties were in turn (re)produced and distributed by the government. Through (re)production, an original “X” on the treaty document was translated into the phrase “marked with an X” after each anglicized name.⁴³ Here Cannon reverses the (re)phrasing, returning Big Soldier’s mark to his original “X”—the indexical and auratic signature that is then (re)produced in print.

As already discussed, (re)producing aura was the drive behind the development and continuance of various forms of Native object-making: to continue cultural and historical knowledge in a visual form that, in its practice, (re)produced auratic Native culture. Starting with Big Soldier, Cannon turns print into a vehicle for (re)producing aura. The circles of his patterned trade fabrics become “sun-dots” or “vision-dots,” expressions of the spotted vision of Sun Dancers after staring at the sun.⁴⁴ And what were textual patterns in the (re)produced government treaties here become Cannon’s individual surface cuts that return treaty signatures to the traces of the present Native leaders. After the 1972 exhibition, Cannon would continue to transform (re)produced elements of the meta-archive’s portraits into auratic ones, a practice

⁴³ See, for instance, the U.S. Government’s printed treaties with Ricara Tribe [Sahnish], signed 18 July 1825 at Ricara Village; United States Treaty with Belantse-etoa or Minnetaree Tribe [Minitari], signed 30 July 1825 at Lower Mandan Village. See also the bound book of U.S. Government published treaties, no.1–82, Ayers collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. For the fullness of what the “X” connotes, historically and culturally, see Scott Richard Lyons, X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

⁴⁴ “Circles” are Native cultural expressions that are much wider than the literal sun: circles can also express the four directions and seasonal flow, the Great Spirit (in whatever specific tribal form it is named), and the patterns of communal life—and these in turn are entwined in a circle. Additionally for Cannon, the circle takes on the symbology of his name Pai-doung-u-day [“One Who Stands in the Sun”] as well as an expression of his life’s meaning: “the circle is the only tangible reason i have for continuing the work. it is the only impetus for my life and its supporting roots of religion, arts, music and literature. it is an intensely burning red or green...purple...or sun yellow and as truthful as a mirrored glow. there are no angles or unkind directions within a circle. the melodies of the song of harmony and life echo round and round and round and round. there is a beautiful honesty about the presence of a circle in Artworks of man and the Godworks of nature” [from Cannon’s notebooks; Wallo and Pickard, T.C. Cannon—Native American, 54]. For a description of the “vision-dots” based on the recollections of Cannon’s friend Mike Lord, see Frederick, T.C. Cannon, 53. This terminology is continued throughout Wallo and Pickard’s text.

that would reach its zenith with his painted wallpapers.⁴⁵ The handpainted backdrops of photography studio settings became the (re)produced patterning of wallpaper through a photographic print. These wallpapers were (re)produced with each portrait's (re)production, and often appeared in multiples across all portraits from a particular photography studio. Cannon would reverse this process, forming his wallpapers through hand-painted mark-making across his canvas, often utilizing his vision-dots.⁴⁶

Thus, Cannon's re-drawing of the Bodmer portrait or print was part of his larger practice that moved the (re)produced and the decorative back toward the auratic. It is no accident that Cannon's painted wallpapers develop in tandem with Indians' so-called (re)discovery and Andy Warhol's wallpaper exhibitions. **[Figure 11-20.]** Warhol began producing and exhibiting wallpaper in the mid-60s. If Warhol's auratic (re)productions on canvas had not erased the line between auratically produced fine art and print's (re)production, Warhol's wallpapers were specifically designed to do so. Warhol visited wallpaper printers in pursuit of flatness, and his various image-bearing objects for the wallpaper exhibitions were designed and produced simultaneously. Final exhibitions displayed dozens, then thousands of his images in a complete environment.⁴⁷ Yet Warhol's merging of his art objects into the surface of the gallery wall marks more than a personal challenge to the artworld. As Benjamin Buchloh has pointed out,

⁴⁵ See, for instance, *Chief Watching* (n.d.).

⁴⁶ Rushing addresses these patterned backgrounds briefly, as well as the photography studios of the late nineteenth century; see "Authenticity and Subjectivity," 18. A more thorough discussion of these patterns would need to include their simultaneous citation of Western art history; the influence of design class at IAIA; and Cannon's repertoire of admired artists, including Vincent van Gogh, Pierre Bonnard, Friedensreich Hundertwasser, and Winold Reiss.

⁴⁷ 76 "Cows" were displayed at Castelli's in 1966, Warhol's first wallpaper show; Mao in Paris contained more than 2,000 images. See David Antin, "Warhol: The Silver Tenement," reprinted in Madoff, *Pop Art*, 287; printing details from "Interview with Rupert Jasen Smith," in Feldman and Schellman, 24 (Smith worked as Warhol's printer from 1977 until the artist's death in 1987); and Mao exhibition details in Bernstein, "Warhol as Printmaker." Ironically (or not), the work for the 1973 Mao exhibition also marks more painterly hand manipulation on the surface of Warhol's prints, which comes to characterize Warhol's work from this point forward.

Warhol's "paintings vanish as artistic objects to the same degree as the option to sustain dissent disappears within an organized system of immediate commercial and ideological recuperation."⁴⁸ It was this same realization—that dissent was no longer an option within the larger social system—that promoted the growth of the counterculture, with younger generations taking up Indians as the only way to "opt out" (and beat up) the cowboy Establishment. But what LIFE understood as a (re)discovery was historically old news: this was round two, three, ten of Native peoples' distortion through the meta-archive. Cannon's reversals—the (re)produced into the auratic, and vice versa—(re)envision each portrait's environment, pulling each sitter back from the edge of (re)produced surface and entertainment.

Fritz Scholder: Destroying the Red Body

In 1970, Fritz Scholder began to narrate his first encounter with the work of Francis Bacon for press interviews: "When I got to the Tate [in 1969] it was too much. I just sat down there and had to absorb him."⁴⁹ One can imagine Scholder in the gallery, hit by the force of Bacon's work as he turns a corner, then slides down the closest wall, entranced. Bacon had appeared in connection to Scholder's work in press accounts just a year earlier, but Scholder's tale gave that connection a very particular significance: that of affect.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Andy Warhol's One-Dimensional Art: 1956-66," in Kynaston McShine, ed., Andy Warhol: A Retrospective (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1990) 57. "Incipient disappearance" connected with Warhol's wallpapers also appears in David Antin, "Warhol: The Silver Tenement," reprinted in Madoff, Pop Art: A Critical History, 287.

⁴⁹ Rosalind Constable, "The Vanishing Indian," Art in America (January–February 1970) 45.

⁵⁰ The first reference to Bacon can be found in Robert Ewing's 1969 essay, "The New Indian Art," which makes a number of mainstream art historical connections for the New Indian Painting. Scholder's students, however, mention Scholder's obsession with Bacon as evident in his IAIA classroom; see the exhibition research interviews (2005–7) for Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian, NMAI-Cur.

Affect connotes an interaction between a work of art and its viewer; it grants the work of art an agency in the world in relation to that viewer.⁵¹ While Scholder was up front about his sources and inspirations throughout his career, only Bacon was described in affective terms.⁵² It was specifically Bacon's Pope series, on exhibit at the Tate during Scholder's fateful encounter, which Scholder singled out for comment. **[Figure 11-21.]** Bacon had based the series on Diego Velázquez's Portrait of Pope Innocent X (ca.1650, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome), in addition to a film still from Sergei Eisenstein's silent epic Potemkin (1925). While Bacon took the dress, pose, and chair architecture from the former, he overlaid these with elements of the latter, which portrayed a bespectacled woman in an implied scream, her mouth open wide while blood poured from a bullet through her left eye.⁵³ The resultant painting connotes a sense of bodily agony, as much from the gaping mouth as from the subject's dematerialized body. Many critics and viewers describe the Pope paintings and Bacon's approach as violent. How is such violence achieved, especially in relation to a portrait?

One way to think about the depicted body in a portrait is as a completion of its viewers.⁵⁴ As Roland Barthes has summarized about photography, "you are the only one who can never see yourself except as an image...: even, indeed especially, in the case of your body,

⁵¹ Recent work on affect in the humanities has turned to human emotions as ways to represent or interject the subjectivity of human experience into intellectual analysis. For the relation between affect theory and current art historical thinking, see Erika Doss, "Affect," American Art 23:1 (2009) 9–11.

⁵² Scholder named a very wide stylistic range of inspirations, ranging from Pop to San Francisco figuration.

⁵³ Bacon had seen Potemkin around 1935. This particular film still was widely available by 1949, when it was included in Eisenstein's book on film theory, Film Form: Essays in Film Theory, trans. and ed. Jay Leyda (1949; San Diego: Harcourt, Inc., 1977). Bacon's citation of images from the art historical canon would have had Pop parallels in Marisol, Robert Rauschenberg, Larry Rivers, and Andy Warhol.

⁵⁴ My source for this line of thinking is "Bacon's theory of affective embodiment" in Ernst van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994). van Alphen specifically reads the self-other relationship through Mikhail Bakhtin and Roland Barthes—the former construing the two as a positive dyad, the latter as a rather horrifying dependence.

you are condemned to the repertoire of its images.”⁵⁵ As the body breaks down in Bacon’s work, the depicted subjectivity of the portrait’s sitter breaks down. The expected Barthesian image—the one that completes or reflects the viewer’s own body—never materializes.⁵⁶ Scholder felt the violence of this incompleteness through his own body, as he walked into the Tate and forcibly sat down.

Scholder’s narration of this affective encounter changed Bacon’s artistry from a stylistic reference point to one that claimed an agency or action in the world through painting.⁵⁷ Scholder’s painting then did something—and did something disagreeable. The first work on display in Two American Painters was Super Indian #2 (1971), Scholder’s most cited and controversial work. [Figure 11-22; see Figure 7-3 above for the painting in *situ*.] The painting encompasses an enormous scale, with the sitting figure filling a seven-and-a-half by five-foot area. He sports two buffalo horns in what we can presume is a buffalo dancer headdress, although its edges and shade of brown bleed into the dancer’s arms and trunk. Only a lighter shade of brown demarcates the dancer’s face under the buffalo hide, its features simplified to single lines or dots for eyes, nostrils, and lips. White loops under the face suggest beaded necklaces, while the breechclout is a simplified white square, and the Pueblo dancer’s hide boots consist of a minimal brown-and-white sock and shoe.⁵⁸ On his left hand, the dancer holds

⁵⁵ Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida (1980), as cited in van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self, 164; no page given.

⁵⁶ “Instead, the viewer’s subjectivity is forced to engage in a confrontation with figures that block the very possibility of subject construction.” See van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self, 162–3.

⁵⁷ I offer this in contrast to a stylistic interpretation of Scholder, which connects him to Bacon through expressionist brushwork; see Rushing, “Authenticity and Subjectivity,” and Lowery Sims Stokes, “Scholder’s Figuration: Art and Culture in American Art,” in Indian/Not Indian, 77–101.

⁵⁸ The original dancer was from Santo Domingo Pueblo, according to Scholder in SCHOLDER/INDIANS, 16.

an ice cream cone—a “double-dip strawberry.”⁵⁹ Yet most of these elements border on the abstract, as rough brushwork, absent shadows, and awkward outlines articulate the monstrously sized figure.

What confronted viewers when they entered Two American Painters was a painting titled an Indian, yet one with a distorted body. The elements that visually coded and clarified the Native body across the nineteenth-century—red paint, historical dress and adornment, a warrior’s athletic body, weapons, or violent behavior—are all absent, ill-defined, or directly contradicted. Scholder had aligned his work with Bacon’s to emphasize how a distorted painted body never completes that of the viewer, threatening the viewer’s own subject formation. Controversy then becomes a gauge for Scholder’s ability to pull off this project, and Scholder sets up Super Indian #2 as the penultimate controversy generator. Critics described negative viewer responses to Scholder’s work, full of “repulsion,” and Scholder himself estimated that eighty percent or more of viewers did not like his work.⁶⁰

While Super Indian #2 held the title of the most controversial work in Two American Painters, it was not the most (re)produced. That title belonged to the smallest work in the show, Buffalo Dancer—the image that had graced the exhibition materials in Bucharest. **[Figure 11-23.]** No historical specifics accompanied this image. Instead, it was the most generic of buffalo dancers. Its two horns and fur headdress are visible, but the face is now simply outlined, its eyes only two blackened areas. No historical or tribally specific dress items appear, with only

⁵⁹ SCHOLDER/INDIANS, 14. The reference is then used in various subsequent press accounts.

⁶⁰ Taylor, “Essay,” Fritz Scholder/The Retrospective 1960–1981, n.p.; Lynne Waugh, “Will Success Spoil Fritz Scholder?” New Mexico Magazine (May–June 1971) 38. Note that Native responses in opposition to Scholder’s work are voiced not in terms of violence but of ugliness, or perceived negativity toward Native peoples; see, for instance, exhibition research interviews, NMAI-Cur; Alfred Young Man’s comments in “Scholder’s Legacy: A Roundtable Discussion,” in Indian/Not Indian, 151–75; or Waugh’s summary of older Indian responses.

a textured fabric or garment covering the lower face to the edge of the frame. Closely cropped, the body is now absent altogether. What of Scholder's affective project?

If Cannon looked to re-connect with Bodmer's sitters and their cultures, Scholder's Indian Pop worked to override the object of knowledge captured by Bodmer and his fellow meta-archive artists (*who we once were and where we came from, through what they once were and where they came from*). He went about this by severing the first supposition from the second. The latter half of that meta-archive object—*through what they once were and where they came from*—was navigated through the Native body. Scholder severs this connection by returning to the meta-archive's visual sources and then obscuring, covering, or distorting them. To loosen the lines of the captured Native body is to undo the articulation of that body through the archive. The completion of a viewer's sense of self through the Native body never happens, as he or she "cannot effect an identity, escaping the image by becoming it."⁶¹

Buffalo Dancer takes this severance a step further, and cuts off the Native body altogether. Buffalo Dancer serves as an Indian Pop double of Bodmer's original Mandan Buffalo Dancer, the full-circle opposite that disarticulates the Native body as completely as possible. And through print, this disarticulation travels the same circuitous routes as Bodmer's buffalo dancer. It appears on most every Two American Painters program and poster.⁶² It enters spaces of state in Washington, D.C., crosses the Atlantic, and covers the streets of Paris. And it hovers in a small corner of the American Embassy in Bucharest, refusing the searching gaze of state agents.

⁶¹ Joshua C. Taylor, "Essay," Fritz Scholder / The Retrospective 1960–1981, exhibition catalog (10 May–10 July 1981), Tucson Museum of Art, Tucson, Arizona, n.p.

⁶² An exception is the London catalog, which combined the silver foil of Scholder's Self-Portrait (1971) with a reproduction of Indian at the Bar (from Indians Forever portfolio, 1970–1); both were lithographs on display in the exhibition. Catalogs from tour in SIA, RU 315, Box 12. See below for a reading of the foil in Scholder's Self-Portrait.

Yet Indian Pop also produces something new out of Mandan Buffalo Dancer's original circuit. With a proliferation of machine (re)productions, common street appearances, and rapid global travel, Buffalo Dancer now becomes a comment on Indian *kitsch*.

Kitsch Bodies

In the frontisplate to Fritz Scholder's photo essay Indian Kitsch (1979), a wooden Indian stands behind the counter of a southwest curio store.⁶³ [Figure 11-24.] Two feathers are stuffed upside down into his red bandana headband. He wears a cowboy-style collared shirt with two front pockets and a turquoise beaded choker around his neck. The figure stares straight ahead if slightly down, unsmiling and stock still. This stillness emphasizes his objecthood, which he shares with the decorative mirror and so-called "Bambi" tourist art behind him.⁶⁴ He stands somewhere between a portrait and a still-life, seemingly ready to help the viewer-customer, his right hand encircling a reminder to sign up for the store's mailing list and drawing attention to the nearby business cards.

This conflation of subjects and objects, or objects as subjects, or subjects as objects, continues throughout Scholder's essay. The "kitsch" of the project's title came from critic

⁶³ The photo essay accompanied an exhibition of the same name that toured nationally, but also served as a freestanding visual statement, published as "Indian Kitsch: Photographs by Fritz Scholder," American Indian Art Magazine 4 (February 1979) 64–9.

⁶⁴ The term "Bambi art" referred to the Native genre scene painting developed in the southwest, characterized by its flat surfaces, visual motifs (such as deer, thus the reference to Bambi), high color, and stylized designs. The term was common within IAIA and New Indian Painting discourse, and was taken up in the catalogs and press of Two American Painters. The category served as a point of rebellion for the New Indian Painting: given to southwest Indians through white patrons and anthropologists, the genre was not fully Native-created. A subtext was the genre's domination of the Native arts markets through the sixties. For a wonderful summary of the development of the genre and its major painters, see McGeough, Through Their Eyes; for the most complete articulation of the "Bambi Art" concept, see Scholder, "Native Arts in America," esp. 193–5; and for a "Bambi" artist's re-situating of the New Indian Painting discourse, see Solomon McCombs [Creek], "Letters to the Editor: Indian Art Struggle," Washington Post Times Herald (3 April 1972) A23.

Clement Greenberg's conceptualization of urban mass culture, published in his 1939 essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch."⁶⁵ In Greenberg's formulation, kitsch is understood to be "productive culture," or that which can be made by machine and thus widely available. Nearly all of Greenberg's examples parallel this study's list of print: "...chromeotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc., etc." (533) While the Pop debates equated the arena of kitsch with the "mass-produced" (artist Richard Hamilton), the "democratic" (early critic Lawrence Alloway), or the "everyday" (artist Claes Oldenberg), Scholder harnessed the term as critical language for the condition of Native peoples in relation to the work of the meta-archive.⁶⁶ In Scholder's interpretation, Greenberg's description of kitsch's preying on the culture of an avant-garde became a descriptor for the colonial pillage of Native cultures and practices:

The precondition for kitsch, a condition without which kitsch would be impossible, is the availability close at hand of a fully matured cultural tradition, whose discoveries, acquisitions, and perfected self-consciousness kitsch can take advantage of for its own ends. It borrows from it devices, tricks, stratagems, rules of thumb, themes, converts them into a system, and discards the rest. It draws its life blood, so to speak, from this reservoir of accumulated experience. (534)

Much of kitsch's "borrowings" ended up translated into or onto Native bodies, and it is these bodies that dominate Scholder's visual essay. **[Figure 11-25.]** Five pages of Scholder's texts

⁶⁵ Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 4:5 (Fall 1939) 34–49; reprinted in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996) 529–41. Page numbers indicated in brackets hereafter.

Kitsch makes specific appearances in Max Kosloff, "Pop Culture, Metaphysical Disgust and the New Vulgarians," *Art International* (February 1962), reprinted in Carol Anne Mahsun, *Pop Art: The Critical Dialogue* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1989) 22, and John Russell and Suzi Gablik, *Pop Art Redefined* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969) 14.

⁶⁶ Greenberg included multiple references to indigenous peoples in his essay. He posited that kitsch was wiping out Native cultures around the world, and he specifically named the South American Indian and the Polynesian as victims—though his proof of their taste for "magazine covers, rotogravure sections and calendar girls" is based on a primitivist notion of an unchanging Native culture. See Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," 533.

follow Warhol's gridded compositions, each square centered on a photographed Native body, carved, molded, sewn, stuffed, painted, decorated. On one hand, then, we can read Scholder's text in parallel with Warhol's freeze-frames of print's mechanics. However, Scholder's frames reveal distinctive forms: materials, facial features, skin colors, sizes, proportions, hair, eyes, clothing, head gear. Very little is repeated between the frames, with a startling array of body types and materialities displayed. Yet, like 16 Jackies, each component links to an overarching icon: "the American Indian." This iconicity transforms Scholder's unique images into a single subject (or subject-object), and thus turns the distinctive portraits (or distinctive still-lives) into interchangeable (re)productions, or copies, of each other. Scholder emphasized this operational quality of the work by altering the gridded arrangements in each of the essay's two published forms, and again in its travelling exhibition.⁶⁷

Joshua Taylor's forward in the Two American Painters catalog pointed out that Scholder's work involved stock image play, "a fact of mind," for both Native and non-Native peoples.⁶⁸ Taylor later placed this "fact of mind" as a "background" already existent "in the public mind," against which Scholder's work was seen.⁶⁹ Scholder had been very careful at the beginning of his success to state that his images were based on photographs.⁷⁰ Eventually, however, Scholder discovered that he did not need direct quotations from the meta-archive.

⁶⁷ I make this statement based on the differences between the book and Scholder's photo essay. I have not seen any photographs of the touring exhibition, though I do have a later press reference to various objects from the exhibition displayed in Scholder's home as part of his collections. The Foreword to Indian Kitsch, however, describes the exhibition as one of photographs (Patrick Houlihan, "Foreword," n.p.).

⁶⁸ Two American Painters, 7.

⁶⁹ Taylor, "Essay," Fritz Scholder/The Retrospective 1960–1981, n.p. This essay shares textual overlap with Taylor's later essay, "Paintings, Drawings and Graphics," in Fritz Scholder (New York: Rizzoli, 1982) 35–42.

⁷⁰ The first mention of Scholder's photographic sources appeared in Three from Santa Fe, n.p. These first statements about Scholder's photographic sources carefully situate these sources as replacements for Scholder's own experience of being Indian: "...taken from old photographs, for I have no direct identity with my Indian heritage." See also Susan Littlewood, "New Indian Art," Christian Science Monitor (7 May 1973) n.p., for Scholder's use of photographs as a defense against critics.

The image of the Native American had remained so stable, yet had traveled so widely across space and time, (re)produced in so many different contexts, that it had coalesced into a single generic image, one that could be rightfully assumed to be in the mind of virtually every viewer and thus painted against. The meta-archive had done its work. So instead of discussing photographs, Scholder came to discuss clichés: “The Indian series...makes people aware of their own cliché view of the American Indian.”⁷¹

A basic term of Pop, “cliché” came from the realm of (re)production. The word was the onomatopoeia for the stereotyping process of print, the sound of molten metal hitting the matrix when a plate of type was cast from a plaster or papier-mâché mold: *cliché, cliché, cliché, cliché*.⁷² The term thus referenced print’s substitution for the original in the process of (re)production, and while we could view the wooden Indian at the counter—like the AIM activist’s “talking head”—as a substitute for a living Native person, Scholder’s interest in the cliché was its location and activation not within or between images or objects, but within the non-Native citizen-viewer, who was herself (re)produced by and in turn (re)producing the conditions by which the cliché was formed. It was not simply the absence of a body that negatively affected Bacon’s or Scholder’s viewer; it was that viewer’s conditioned need for

⁷¹ Lynne Waugh, “Will Success Spoil Fritz Scholder?” New Mexico Magazine (May–June 1971) 38. Note, that Scholder attempted to describe all of his series subjects as clichés, after his initial success: landscapes, flowers, women, dogs, cats, horses. None of his other attempts at breaking clichés were as successful as his work focused on Indians; I suspect that none of his other series could break from the body of its subject as completely as his Indian series did.

⁷² Stereotyping emerged with the demand for the novel, as the process saved a publisher the intensive labor costs that went into typesetting when reprints were demanded. Printing information from Harris B. Hatch and Alexander A. Stewart, “History of Stereotyping,” Electrotyping and Stereotyping (Chicago: United Typothetae of America, 1918) 45–9. This connection between stereotypes and print processes made for me in William Wilson, “‘Prince of Boredom’: The Repetitions and Passivities of Andy Warhol,” Art and Artists (March 1968), reprinted in Madoff, Pop Art, 291.

bodily completion, as Western subjects are formed around a visual canon of bodies.⁷³ In North America this subject formation has been utterly dependent on the (re)produced Native body of the meta-archive. That dependence, as well as its conditions, must in turn be (re)produced for society to (re)produce itself.⁷⁴

With Indian Kitsch, Scholder connected the affective controversy generated by his paintings to the (re)production of citizen-viewers under the conditions of colonialism. His photo essay presented a visual and textual statement on North America's dependence on the (re)production of the racialized Native body, and it sited that (re)production squarely within the viewer. This dependence explains Taylor's conditioned "state of mind" in every viewer. And it explains the affective work of Scholder's paintings, as affective imagery in the model of Bacon attacks "conventions that are so much a part of our way of seeing that attempts to touch them, touch us."⁷⁵

Scholder positioned himself in relation to this affective work in complicated ways. With Indian Kitsch, he hoped the images "will force the viewer to reconsider the subject."⁷⁶ He occasionally made strong statements indicting his viewers, who he thought

...really don't like Indians—not Indians the way the majority of them are, poor, outside the social value system, sometimes derelicts. People like their romanticized conception of the Indian, noble and handsome and inscrutably embodying wisdom and patience.⁷⁷

⁷³ van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self, 163.

⁷⁴ "As Marx said, every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year. The ultimate condition of production is therefore the reproduction of the conditions of production." From Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)," On Ideology (1971; London: Verso, 2008) 1. Thanks to Katie Lennard for making this connection in her work on the mass production of Ku Klux Klan robes and its work in the cultural (re)production of racism and its violence.

⁷⁵ van Alphen, Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self, 11.

⁷⁶ Scholder, "Indian Kitsch," 64.

⁷⁷ Lynne Waugh, "Will Success Spoil," 38.

But the political work underlying Scholder's strongest statements was something Scholder simultaneously backed away from. In the press, he increasingly painted in trances and was "surprised" when he came to. By the 1980s, Scholder stated that he had no idea of how loaded the subject of the Indian was. His work, he said, set off a lot of "nerves and everything else and immediately became controversial" simply because no one else had previously painted like him. His example: Super Indian #2.⁷⁸

THE INDIAN—ARTIST—MEDIUM AND INDIAN POP'S SELF-PORTRAITURE

Self-portraiture was an extremely troubled genre for Cannon and Scholder. If Indian Pop intentionally worked to frustrate the portraiture of the meta-archive and its distortion of the Native body, what did it mean to portray one's own Native body? Could a Native artist use that body to escape the meta-archive? Or did every depiction of the self add to it, building its size and ensuring its continued growth and power?

Self-portraiture served as the consummate genre within the Pop movement. At the extreme limits, it becomes difficult to separate self-portraiture from an artist's works—such as

⁷⁸ William E. Busta, "Scholder: His Art & Magic," SCHOLDER, exhibition catalog (11 September–2 November 1980), Plains Art Museum, Moorhead, Minnesota, n.p.

It is important to note that it was IAIA students who showed Scholder that representations of Indians could in fact be reclaimed from their cliché status. There is now no question that many of Scholder's original concepts for his Indians series originated with his students at IAIA, including Cannon, Billy Soza Warsoldier [Iviam (Cahuilla)/White Mountain Apache], Alfred Young Man [Cree], and Austin Rave [Cheyenne River Lakota/Ho-Chunk (Winnebago)]. These students had generated their ideas in at least partial response to the materials and techniques presented in Scholder's art history and studio classes, though there were many other IAIA influences as well, including studio mates, library materials, visiting artists, group exhibitions, and other IAIA instructors. See Leslie Wasserberger, "An American Expressionist," in Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian, 37–75, and her earlier M.A. thesis, The Demystification of Fritz Scholder (San Francisco State University, May 1987) for a detailed cross-reading of IAIA student works, including some by Cannon, with early Scholder paintings. Scholder eventually developed very different techniques of paint application and figural distortion than his students, and these were in full swing by the time of his inclusion in Two American Painters.

Jasper Johns' Targets with plaster casts, potential stand-ins for his own appendages; Warhol's films and photographs featuring his Factory Superstars and visitors; or Marisol's sculptural portraits whose various faces, hands, or feet are cast from her own body. Such somatic substitutes were certainly not new within fine art—think of the palettes collected by George A. Lucas—but the ability of artists to perform for the popular media machine accelerated the collapse of the Pop artist into her or his work. Novels, fashion photo shoots, interviews, happenings, “appearances,” film roles, staged encounters—these all became additional methods of production, or mediums, in which to work.⁷⁹

This statement could also be reversed, or seen in transverse: the artist becomes the medium through which his or her work is produced. Warhol applied his canvas grids, silkscreening techniques, and his selection of pre-made imagery to his own Self-Portrait of the early 60s. **[Figure 7-28.]** At first glance, Warhol would seem to be subject to the same mechanics of iconicity as his portrait sitters. As Taro Nettleton has noted of the Factory portraits, however, “Warhol served as the medium through which others took on a recognizable identity.”⁸⁰ He became the substance that articulated the bodies of his sitters. And if we look carefully at his Self-Portrait, Warhol has granted himself an agency not given to his

⁷⁹ Andy Warhol stands as the consummate example: “Nowhere else in the literature of art can one encounter such a seamless unity posited between (1) the subject’s self-description, (2) the observer’s claim to comprehend the subject, and (3) the meaning of the art that the subject produced in the service of (1)—and round it goes in an endless, self-confirming circularity” (Crow, “Lives of Allegory,” 108). See also Whiting, A Taste for Pop, Chapter Four, and Jones, Machine in the Studio, Chapter Four.

While Warhol remains the artistic exemplar in this regard, other lesser-known examples abound. Marisol achieved international acclaim in the 1960s, whose multi-media presentation of self included fashion shoots, studio shoots and educational films, Happenings, a masked appearance at an artist’s panel at MoMA, several Warhol Factory films, and regular social appearances with Warhol.

⁸⁰ Nettleton, “White-on-White,” 19.

sitters or subjects like 16 Jackies, as each of Warhol's four images are different from the others, echoed by the four different tones applied to each component of the grid.

As Nettleton notes, the agency and visibility attached to Warhol's artist-medium stopped at the edges of his white male body. The fact that white males still make up the majority of today's critical Pop Art canon suggests that the boundaries of the Pop artist-medium also stop at the edges of the white male's body. Marisol, an enormously popular and visible compatriot of Warhol's throughout the 1960s, could not escape the feedback loop of her own racialized female body's involvement in dozens of her three-dimensional tableaux and portraits, as critics nearly always read her work as the artist's self-portraits:

[The Stable Gallery is] full of Marisols—plaster Marisols, photographed Marisols, wooden Marisols...⁸¹

And not untypically, the faces, male and female are all Marisol's: pencilled Marisols, plaster Marisols, painted, photographed and carved Marisols.⁸²

[The Sidney Janis Gallery is full of a] new group of portraits of Marisol by Marisol...⁸³

Clearly, a kind of slippage occurred around Marisol's body, as each work of art was now equated with her self in ways that no longer allowed it critical viability. As art historian Cécile Whiting writes, Marisol served as the outer boundary of Pop, marking a "soft periphery" and "feminine" Pop.⁸⁴ These limits appeared not only in response to her sex, but also to the coding of her body as foreign ("Latin" and "Spanish" in the press) and therefore racialized. Thus, the artist-self collapse for Marisol proved ultimately detrimental, as that self was physically marked in ways that interrupted or altogether refused her status as an artistic agent.

⁸¹ Brian O'Doherty, "Marisol: The Enigma of the Self-Image," New York Times (1 March 1964).

⁸² Grace Glueck, "It's Not Pop, It's Not Op—It's Marisol," New York Times (7 March 1965).

⁸³ John Canaday, "Art: Constructions on the 'Tensegrity' Principle," New York Times (16 April 1966).

⁸⁴ Whiting, A Taste for Pop, Chapter Five. Marisol's use of her body was ultimately cast as narcissism—also a dangerous gaze onto oneself.

What does it mean, then, that Joshua Taylor, in his essay for the Two American Painters catalog, described the Indian as Scholder's and Cannon's "medium"—especially when "medium" connotes a pliable substance used for creating images?⁸⁵ Taylor's use of the term is profound, given the findings of this study: that the Native American body does in fact become mendable-bendable in the hands of nineteenth-century non-Native artists, and in being pliable, becomes racialized. What can then be done to break this referential turn back into the reddened Native body of the meta-archive?

"Color Me Red": The Archive Re-Made

Cannon was a prolific poet, musician, novelist, composer and lyricist as well as painter.

In 1966 he penned a poem on the ironies of the Indian artist self:

On a Self Portrait⁸⁶

the apathetic Indian still as his father sits...
wrapped in a beaded membrane
un-penetrable
to whooo...

not himself
 it's left to empiricist of
 expression

his archaic smile doesn't shield his
bitterness

his mind is destitute of the contemporary
his songs still retain the drumbeat
yet,
 but,

⁸⁵ Two American Painters, 7.

⁸⁶ My phrasing here comes from My Determined Eye, 23; the date comes from Frederick, T.C. Cannon, 16. There is no way in the texts themselves to distinguish which of Cannon's poems were meant solely as poems, and which may have also served as song lyrics.

maybe,
 sometime,
 somehow,

he just might make the scene at the
Guggenheim

Cannon’s struggle over the poem’s title—he had alternately titled the piece “On a Portrait”—poignantly puts the two genres into unending play, provocatively suggesting that there is no fine boundary between a Native portrait and a Native self-portrait.⁸⁷ Cannon’s text presents this co-mingling through a confused subject within a confused temporal frame: Is the poem about the father, or about the sitting son? Is it the father or the 1960s-styled son who sits “wrapped in a beaded membrane?” Both participate in the present (“sits”). At which point, then, do we enter the past, and at which point do we return to the present? And how can we tell if the speaker is the sitter, or is himself looking at the son’s (self) portrait?

Cannon’s poem does not attempt to settle these questions within itself. Even in the last two stanzas, written as a visual descent from a mind “destitute of the contemporary” to the most contemporary of markers, the final “Guggenheim,” it is an historically grounded Native drumbeat that we follow along the way: “YET, / but, / MAYbe, / SOMETIME, / SOMEhow.”⁸⁸ Instead, the father and son, the past and present, remain mutually constitutive, with historical creative practices shared between them: beads, portrait sittings, music.

Cannon’s photographic Self-Portrait, composed after his return from service in Vietnam, wrestles with his earlier poem, and the sitter’s framing by the “empiricist of expression.”

[Figure 11-27.] Such an “empiricist” refers in the text to either the (self)portrait’s maker, or to

⁸⁷ Frederick, T.C. Cannon, 90.

⁸⁸ The syllabic stresses of Cannon’s text follow the basic Native drumbeat—DUM dum DUM dum—that mimics the beat of the human heart. See Deloria, Indians in Unexpected Places, 192, as well as his larger chapter on Music (183–223).

the Wied-like viewer who will make sense of the world through what the portrait visually reveals (the phrase connotes scientists in lab coats, writing down their observations after watching a patient's facial expressions). Cannon's staging of such a visual revelation consists of his four Vietnam service medals in a horizontal line above his head; a Ki'a gwu war lance made by his friend Sherman Chaddlesone; photographic (re)productions of Bob Dylan, Cannon's musical model; a rifle resting across his lap; and two nineteenth-century photographs from the archive: on the left, David F. Barry's portrait of Tatánka Íyotake [Sitting Bull; Huŋkpapa], and on the right, a bare-breasted Native woman lounging across a studio's floor pillows. Seated, Cannon wears a denim cowboy-style shirt with two beaded chokers at the neck, a beaded strand across his chest, and a southwest-style blanket wrapped about his waist.

With poem and photograph paired together, Cannon becomes the son in his poem, Tatánka Íyotake his historical but ever-present father. The two figures copy each other—their stock still postures, their frontal and unblinking gazes, Tatánka Íyotake's warrior feather parallel to Cannon's feathered war lance, their button-down shirts accented by strands of beads. These figures then repeat again, as the edge of Cannon's portrait echoes and then steps in for the white poster border around Tatánka Íyotake. The doubled frames return us to the multiple frames and images of Warhol's Self-Portrait. Like Warhol, Cannon has frozen the dynamics of print around himself, but these dynamics look quite different from Warhol's serial imagery. Instead, Cannon's multiples draw from the meta-archive. The constitution of his self through these multiples depicts the present face of history and the historical roots of the present.

But the results, as he notes in the poem, leave Cannon or his forebear “not himself.” It is telling that Cannon does not paint self-portraits until the mid-1970s, and then only a few.⁸⁹

Instead, his self-portraiture is largely private, worked out in poetic statements and drawings.

[Figure 11-28.] In his notebooks, one finds dozens of self-portraits that bear elements of his mature style: blocked and shaded gazes, doubled figures, his present self drawing his past and future selves. As he writes in another poem entitled “Thots (thoughts)—Two”:

there is a fire burning behind my eyes...
a lexicon of past and future reference points,
a spiritual map of places to be,
an emotional insistence without
caution
a vantage point suffered by me alone.⁹⁰

As Cannon’s “thot” suggests, he understood himself to be “a lexicon of past and future.” While his poem goes inward, or “behind,” to locate that lexicon, Cannon’s artistic work sought visual mechanisms by which to portray his conception of his Native self. Cannon’s portraiture, explored earlier in this chapter, came out of this private self-portraiture: that it was working through the presentation of his own Native body, in relation to the meta-archive, that spurred Cannon’s creation of the pictorial means to depict the present–past–future, to find expression for the “lexicon” of reference points that the meta-archive had subsumed and tainted.

But if the present-day Cannon mapped himself through the past and future, he also mapped himself through the meta-archive, as indicated by the portraits within his Self Portrait.

What then happened to the meta-archive’s racialization of the Native body in relation to

Cannon’s own? Just as he had re-made the meta-archive’s oppressive multiples into Native

⁸⁹ In addition to Collector #5, Cannon includes himself within the span of Indian history in his penultimate mural, Epochs in Plains History: Mother Earth, Father Sun, the Children Themselves (1977), for the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Educational Center, Seattle, Washington.

⁹⁰ My Determined Eye, 15; phrasing taken from Frederick, T.C. Cannon, 139.

expressions of time, community, and self, Cannon re-made the archive's racialization into a political tool. Cannon's poetic alter-ego John American Horse, an American Indian veteran of Vietnam, issues a challenge to his listener: "color me red, white and blue / ...i am colored red / color me red."⁹¹ In the poem, to be "colored red" transformed the oppressive work of the meta-archive and its animating State. Coloring the archive's millions of bodies created a similarity across those millions—and thus created a political potential, the possible foundation for a bloc identity that could move into the political arena.⁹² The command form of the poem—"color me red"—marked a position of agency. Racialization was now an invitation, and the archive's sitters its originators.

"Real, Not Red": The Archive Continued

On an ordinary Scottsdale, Arizona morning in 1981, Fritz Scholder opened his front gate to find an unsigned portrait of himself. Despite Scholder's private residential listing, a fellow artist had gone to the trouble of locating Scholder's home to leave the offering. It did not surprise Scholder, nor disturb him: "For some reason," he told reporter Ed Montini, "people have always enjoyed doing my portrait."⁹³

Montini's article in Arizona Republic appeared several weeks before the opening of Scholder by Scholder and Others at the Scottsdale Center for the Arts.⁹⁴ The exhibition featured Scholder's self-portraits next to Scholder's collection of other-authored Scholder portraits,

⁹¹ T.C. Cannon, "The Near-Ponca City 'Massacre'," in My Determined Eye, 84–5.

⁹² For a description of this process among African Americans, see Michael D. Harris, Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 21.

⁹³ Ed Montini, "Four Sides of Fritz," Arizona Republic (22 February 1981) n.p.

⁹⁴ The exhibition ran from 18 March to 24 April 1981; details from Scholder by Scholder and Others, exhibition catalog (1981), Scottsdale Center for the Arts, Scottsdale, Arizona, and "Gallery Roundup," Phoenix Gazette (11 March 1981) n.p.

including the anonymous work “salvaged from the desert.”⁹⁵ Scholder had completed his first self-portrait when he was seventeen, and he had continued the practice annually, as he later explained, “to paint my autobiography.”⁹⁶

Scholder by Scholder and Others marks a small portion of Scholder’s much larger practice around the production and circulation of self-based imagery. Two Scholder self-portraits had been included in the Two American Painters exhibition: Self Portrait (1971) and Screaming Artist (1971). Both were lithographs, printed in editions of 100, and dispersed to multiple collections. They were also heavily (re)produced: Screaming Artist appeared on the cover of J.J. Brody’s landmark 1971 text Indian Painters and White Patrons, while Self Portrait marked Scholder’s personal correspondence postcards of the period as well as the imprinted cover of SCHOLDER/INDIANS (1972), the text released in time to accompany the 1972 Two American Painters exhibition and tour (see **Figure 11-32**).⁹⁷

Scholder’s self-portraits had long marked his gaze from the frame with glasses; over time, these became abstract blanks or the sunglasses of Screaming Artist and Self Portrait.⁹⁸ The connotations were many—Scholder’s physical need for glasses in the early years, the “cool” of the sixties, the connoted brightness of the artist’s adopted southwest, and the blocked gaze for the camera—but in the 1960s artworld, the framing of the artist’s eyes served as a trope for artistic agency. If the lines between an artist’s work and his or her persona were dangerously blurred, it was the marking of the artist’s gaze that held the line against complete artist-self

⁹⁵ Montini, “Four Sides of Fritz.”

⁹⁶ Fritz Scholder, “Portraits of Self,” ARTBOOK of the New West (Spring/Summer 2004) 30. Scholder completed his last self-portrait, Self Portrait with Grey Cat (2003), two years before his death in 2005.

⁹⁷ See the correspondence surrounding Two American Painters, SIA, RU 315, Box 12.

⁹⁸ Of the seventeen self-portraits included in Scholder by Scholder and Others, viewers can see Scholder’s eyes in only three of the works.

collapse. Thick wire or plastic rims, dark non-reflective shades, visible eyes but hidden bodies—these elements became major tropes of portraiture and self-referential work among Pop artists. [Figures 11-29, 11-30.] Roy Lichtenstein’s gaze from behind his 1963 canvas Image Duplicator suggests his own eyes as the model for the painting, even as the source comic frame appeared attached to the easel above. Yet even as the Loengard photograph plays with this confusion of self/image, it grants a power of vision for Lichtenstein apart from that body. This is echoed through the painting’s text, now connected to Lichtenstein through the doubling of the eyes: even if he is a mere “image duplicator” (read: artistic mechanic), what is known about Lichtenstein’s “image duplicator” techniques?

By 1963, the Pop artist’s agency was often asserted through the marking or isolating of his eyes, in works of art like Image Duplicator but also in the public presentation of self. Warhol, for instance, becomes the self-subsuming circle of persona and work.⁹⁹ The blocking of his gaze then asserts a level of private control, a part of the self reserved or kept back, even as the body itself becomes available for public consumption (see, for example, **Figure 11-30**). In the early 60s Warhol seemingly trades in his wire rims for a permanent pair of sunglasses; few press accounts of the mid-sixties fail to mention them, as they become synonymous with the artist.¹⁰⁰

On one hand, then, Scholder’s sunglassed self-portraits make claims for his place in a larger contemporary artworld. He asserts the same independent vision and artistic agency as the top “hard-core” Pop artists with their “detached Pop eye.”¹⁰¹ But the self-portraits are also

⁹⁹ The complete biography collapse around Warhol is noted in Crow, “Lives of Allegory,” 108–9. Whiting discusses the increasing use of biography by artists of the period—including Francis Bacon—in A Taste for Pop, Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, Thomas B. Hess, “Reviews and Previews: New Names This Month—Andy Warhol,” ARTNews (January 1965), reprinted in Madoff, ed., Pop Art: A Critical History, 281, and Roger Gaughan, “Superpop or a Night at the Factory,” Sunday Herald Tribune (8 August 1965), reprinted in Madoff, ed., Pop Art: A Critical History, 283.

¹⁰¹ These terms come from Lucy Lippard; see fn6.

an attempt to block Marisol's artworld fate: the denial of artistic agency, and the reduction of the artist's body to a racialized medium. To work against this reduction, Scholder coined a phrase in conjunction with Two American Painters to describe his Indian subject matter: "real, not red."¹⁰² "Red" was Scholder's shorthand way of alluding to the (re)produced viewer who brought the presumed content ascribed to the Indian subject of his work; the term named that content's attachment to the meta-archive's reddened Native body. "Real" referred to Scholder's techniques of interruption centered on that body—techniques of Baconesque distortion, using object stand-ins, or including contemporary objects. A contemporary Indian sat in a paradox, Scholder said; no one liked an Indian but everyone loved them. Scholder spun dozens of short-hand phrases about Indian identity similar to this one, but beneath them all lay the "paradox" of the gap between the "real" and the "red."

Scholder's own Native body became a key element in his "real, not red" approach.¹⁰³ He invited viewers, collectors, and the press to read his body, trusting that in the guise of agent-artist, his body would be read as real. In Self Portrait, the artist appears in a frontal stance, elbows out, hands on hips. **[Figure 11-31.]** His hands highlight his Native-crafted belt buckle and its center stone. His chin-length long hair is combed back, his shirt and pants marked by the

¹⁰² The phrase first appeared in the 1972 SCHOLDER/INDIANS text (p.46) that accompanied Two American Painters, whose catalog and media in turn employed the phrase.

¹⁰³ Here again is the textual Scholder: "real, not red" gave him a frame of reference for the complex relation of (re)produced viewers to the Native body, while also distancing himself from the Red Power movement. Scholder's first statement against Red Power activism appears in Maggie Wilson, "Young Indians 'Dig' Fritz Scholder's Art," Arizona Republic (8 March 1971) 22.

Scholder's public statements carefully align his work with chosen models, and these change according to career and artworld dynamics. A study of these alone would be worthwhile, especially as they demonstrate the power and shape of Native-based arts language in the 1960s, and its subsequent limits within the artworld of the 70s and 80s. While Scholder's techniques of public presentation have parallels in Pop practice (see, for instance, Jones, Machine in the Studio, Chapter Four for a study of Warhol's alignments in the 1960s), they have also given him a sour taste among institutions and painters, including many in Native communities, due to the attack slants that accompanied these alignments. See, for instance, McComb's reaction to the Washington Post review of Two American Painters (3 April 1972, p.A23; original review, 27 March 1972, p.A22).

textures of his lithographic stone. The stance is aggressive; the figure challenges the viewer, even as his eyes remain hidden. The silver foil enhances this show-down with the viewer, as the foil's reflection (captured in the photograph of the work through the horizontal light band) gives Scholder "the psychological presence of a third-degree interrogator turning the light in our face."¹⁰⁴ The foil acts as both a reflective agent and a blind spot in relation to the work's surface and the viewer's position. Unlike his paintings, Scholder's self-portraits of the 1960s and 70s often complete the viewer's sense of self through Scholder's viewed body. At the same time, Scholder's self-image bounces the viewer's gaze back to the self, offering a moment of self-reflection—that moment of Scholder's hoped-for forced evaluation.

As critic William Peterson wrote, to read the Indian in Self Portrait (1971) is to "read between the lines" that make up the image.¹⁰⁵ Scholder literalized these lines when the image was transferred to the imprint for the cover of SCHOLDER/INDIANS. [Figure 11-32.] Reduced to a heavy purple outline, only the figure's face, sunglasses, and belt buckle remain. The contemporary artist-agent has here minimized his body to the extreme, in the effort to prevent the essentialized reading of his body.

Scholder's self-portraiture, then, returns us to the dynamics of print. Unlike Warhol's project of making such dynamics visible through frozen frames, however, Scholder employs these mechanics to print and distribute his own image. He continues the meta-archive by adding to it, (re)producing his own image and its elements across space and time. Indians in his portraits sit in his contemporary high-design office chair, and the chair later appears in media

¹⁰⁴ William C. Peterson, untitled essay in Fritz Scholder (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 112.

¹⁰⁵ Peterson, untitled essay, 115.

photographs or his own self-portraits.¹⁰⁶ He collects his own work and exhibits his posters, his self-portraits, even himself in others' portraits. These exhibitions fill their spaces and their catalogs full of images of Scholder: Scholder with cats, Scholder in mod office chair, Scholder in Egypt and France. He harnesses the tools of iconicity, and in this sense, one can say that Scholder's career is built on print and its products, from mass-produced correspondence and posters to films and mass-circulated texts.

Could Scholder's self-portraiture project succeed in reshaping the very meta-archive in which it participated? On one of the pages in SCHOLDER/INDIANS, Scholder's observations on Indian art and artists appear—along with, the text asserts, his statements on “the conflict and ultimate integration of his own artist/Indian identities.” Below the text is a half-figure photograph of Scholder, his arms folded in a leather jacket, wearing the same belt buckle from Self Portrait. The shared space of text and photograph suggests that the path for the “conflict and ultimate integration” of Scholder's work and his persona is through Scholder's body—ultimately, as the text points out, a Native body. Indeed, Scholder's one-quarter Mission Indian heritage is rehearsed again and again in the press. Scholder termed himself a “non-Indian Indian” to create distance between himself and the ever-hovering red stereotyped body. But the line between the artist, the work, and the Native body—actual and imagined—continually blurred.

Sometimes Scholder leaned into this blur, trying to reclaim it as a means to highlight the stereotypes at play: “With the American Indian paintings, I am as much of a paradox as the

¹⁰⁶ See, for instance, Indian and Contemporary Chair (1970; Smithsonian American Art Museum) and the photographs taken in Fritz and Romona Scholder's home in “Scholder: Out of Flat Clichés” (1973). Scholder's “madly mod plastic Scandinavian chair” was a major component in early press; see Maggie Wilson, “Young Indians ‘Dig’;” John Waugh, 1970; Rosalind Constable, 1970.

subject.”¹⁰⁷ But often his strategies failed. In the same 1972 article that took up Scholder’s “real, not red” description for the first time, the author literally read the artist into his work: “Fritz Scholder the man looks like a softer, gentler version of his own work. His face—like the faces on his canvases—is solid and strong.”¹⁰⁸ At the end of the decade, a review of Scholder’s Indian Kitsch project remarks on how hard the artist is trying “to extricate himself from being pinned down with a label the way a butterfly is pierced and placed—beautiful but desiccated—under glass.”¹⁰⁹ In the interview, Scholder had clearly given nearly every pithy phrase and summary he had about his Indian self, yet

the visitor, talking to Scholder in the “Buffalo Room” of his north Scottsdale home, hidden from the road by mesquite and greasewood, may find it difficult to see the artist as non-Indian. The “Buffalo Room” itself reinforces the idea, with many Indian objects, and artifacts. And then there’s Scholder, seated behind a fortress-like desk, caught in the beam of an overhead spotlight that casts his features and long, black, shoulder-length hair into sharp relief.¹¹⁰

Scholder had spent more than a decade utilizing his features, hair, office, and collections in depictions of the self to counter the red Indian body, yet here that red Indian was, sitting in Scholder’s mod office chair. Within a year of the article, Scholder declared the end of the Indian series, moved to a SoHo loft, launched several new series of abstract figural work, and sat for several portraits by Andy Warhol. After a decade, Scholder had done what any knowing butterfly would do: flit away.

¹⁰⁷ “Scholder on Scholder: A Self-Interview,” American Indian Art Magazine 1:2 (Spring 1976) 55.

¹⁰⁸ Winke Welf, “City Fair: Cutting through Indian Romanticism,” San Diego 24:9 (1972) 40–1.

¹⁰⁹ Barbara Perlman, “Indian Kitsch: icons or jokes? Scholder sets the Indian art world on its ear—again!,” Scottsdale Daily Progress (30 March 1979) 36.

¹¹⁰ Perlman, “Indian Kitsch,” 36. I do not have space here to discuss the centrality of photographs of Scholder in his office throughout his career, but the space, its “mod chair,” and its collections become particular visual elements that Scholder uses to mark his distance from the “red.” Thus, this remark is especially biting.

The two Warhol portraits appeared in Scholder by Scholder and Others. They also became the most circulated portraits of Scholder through the remainder of his life, appearing in the background in many photographs taken in his home. This appears to be the ultimate artistic persona move, with Warhol representing the greatest degree of collapse between work and self. Yet as I have already quoted Taro Nettleton, Warhol's print processes produced everyone through the medium of Warhol: his persona, his work, and especially his whiteness. The Warhol portraits demonstrate Scholder's attempts to find a stronger, more dominant artist-medium through which to (re)produce his own Indian one, in order to be seen as "real, not red."¹¹¹

WOUNDED KNEE, REPRISE (1973)

The AIM activist at the press conference had adopted the covered gaze of Indian Pop, the body doubles of Cannon, and the kitsch body of Scholder as a way to interrupt, or override, the image archive. By covering his own face, he drew attention to the substitution he has presented: a kitsch Indian body double formerly on display in the Indian Museum at Wounded Knee (the same kind of "wooden aborigine" made in the "white man's factory" that Alexander Posey complained of). By beheading the double, the activist emphasized the silence of the subject-object, or object-subject, whose material status rendered it insufficient for the task of speaking for a living Native person, let alone an entire movement.

The Occupation of Wounded Knee had begun on the 27th of February, when a caravan of Oglala community members on the Pine Ridge Reservation, along with invited AIM leaders,

¹¹¹ In tandem, Scholder's self-portraits of the 1980s and 90s often move into abstraction, "cancel[ing] himself out." See the various essays in Fritz Scholder: Paintings and Monotypes (Altadena, CA: Twin Palms Publishers, 1988), which reviewed Scholder's work of the 1980s. Scholder comments on this change in his work in his article, "Portraits of the Self," ARTBOOK of the New West (Spring/Summer 2004) 33.

arrived at the small settlement, trading post, and church that made up Wounded Knee in 1973. The protest concerned the ouster of Pine Ridge tribal chair Dick Wilson, whose government ruled the reservation through intimidation tactics. Because AIM had already been operating in South Dakota, federal agents were on standby, and within hours of the caravan's arrival at Wounded Knee, BIA police and federal roadblocks effectively sealed off the village.

With cameras present and film rolls shuttled to television networks on a daily basis in the first weeks of the Occupation (such interest and access would gradually wane), AIM activists performed in ways that deconstructed the historical imagery of the American Indian while continuing to feed images into the media loop. As activists stated in later interviews, they knew the images of Indians that Americans wanted to see.¹¹² Yet many of the images worked on multiple levels, simultaneously quoting the non-Native meta-archive, referencing Native survivance, and circulating new images around the Native body. A photograph of perched and armed lookouts, surrounded by animal skulls, resembled Numak'aki villagers who had watched buffalo dances atop their *iti* in Catlin's and Bodmer's paintings of the 1830s. **[Figure 11-33; compare with Figure 3-3.]** The images also referenced turn-of-the-twentieth-century Numak'aki earthlodges and graves on Fort Berthold Reservation, when public spiritual practices were forbidden but sacred items like buffalo skulls and *se'sh* fabrics could still be placed on rooftops and gravesites because non-Native viewers had forgotten (or had never known) what such items invoked. In numerous media from the Occupation, new material practices and images were created for circulation, even as their meanings incorporated material culture of the past.

¹¹² See especially interview excerpts from Bill Zimmerman (activist), Madonna Thunder Hawk [Two Kettle Lakota], and Michael Her Many Horses [Oglala Lakota] in the transcript for [We Shall Remain: America through Native Eyes](#), Episode 5: Wounded Knee (Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 2009) 12.

The meta-archive had laid the foundation for the critical consciousness of both AIM activists and IAIA students and teachers.¹¹³ Just as T.C. Cannon and his fellow budding artists had new access to archive images through (re)productions and recently published books, so too did the Wounded Knee occupiers. In the FBI's documentation of the Wounded Knee site, produced after the Occupation stand-down on May 8th, photographs documented various items captured from the trunks of occupiers' cars.¹¹⁴ One such image included photograph albums, a personal handheld camera, a handpainted drum and shield, and several books, including Dee Brown's 1970 text, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. Brown's book contained pages of delegation photographs from the meta-archive, as well as a single (re)production from the 1890 Wounded Knee battlefield: Unpan Glešká, frozen in the snow. Clearly a part of the discourse at Wounded Knee in 1973, the book had already sparked numerous Indian Pop (re)productions in preceding years.¹¹⁵ With the rise of Native politics in the 1960s and 1970s, Wounded Knee, which had historically represented the ultimate moment of designation as Indian object, had become a central re-imaging project of the Indian subject. And this project emerged in obverse relationship to the disappearance of dissent in the larger culture.

Art historian Hal Foster describes Pop Art as a response to what he terms *homo imago* [the image of man], or the condition under late capitalism whereby all social subjects are constituted "by images, in images, indeed as images."¹¹⁶ How are we to make sense of Foster's

¹¹³ With this phrasing, I here tap into Jeffrey Stewart's work on criticality as an activist practice.

¹¹⁴ See Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee Records, MNHS, Box 40, Volume 1.

¹¹⁵ Scholder began to paint his Massacre series with this image, and Cannon filled his notebooks with numerous studies of Unpan Glešká, his own version of the archive's multiples. I have recently discovered other IAIA student works based on this image in the IAIA Collections, and expect to explore Indian Pop's political imagery further in my next book project. For an analysis of Scholder's images of violence and AIM, see Horton, "Painter/Traveler/Diplomat."

¹¹⁶ Foster, The First Pop Age, 55.

assessment in relation to Indian Pop? Native subjects have long been constituted “by images, in images, indeed as images” through the work of the meta-archive and its object-subject/subject-object copies. Indian Pop highlights the mechanisms of this constitution, as well as its long historical duration, its *longue durée*. Foster’s assessment marks the extension of meta-archiving capabilities to non-Native subjects, rather than a new historical moment. At the same time, an extension of Foster’s logic is that Native persons, already constituted and dispersed through the image, have been successfully stripped of their subjecthood prior to the 1950s and the rise of the larger Pop Art movement. They are no longer visible social subjects, and like the shielded AIM activist, remain unidentifiable within Foster’s cultural logics.

Thus, re-making the images of the meta-archive—through their (re)production and circulation, distortion, (re)articulation, and copying—was political work for Native Americans in the 1960s and 70s. This work was underwritten by the meta-archive’s reddened Native body, which served as a foundation for both a consolidated bloc identity (“color me red”) and an attack on the social (re)production of the meta-archive and its non-Native viewers (“real, not red”). The history of image exploitation by non-Native peoples was then turned around into distinct and powerful political identities, whose goal was to move Native Americans from object status to subject status.

But most of all, activists and artists turned themselves into the subjective solution to the meta-archive of the past. **[Figure 11-34.]** In a 1973 photograph of AIM activists, including AIM leaders Wanbli Ohitika [Russell Means; Oglala] and Naawakamig [Dennis Banks; Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe], historical elements of the American Indian warrior merge with those of the contemporary Indian. Historical and present-day dress co-mingle. Sunglasses block the gaze of

the three men in the back row, their reflective surfaces bouncing back the viewer's gaze. These are Indian Pop's Native subjects, sitting amidst Cannon's present–past–future and Scholder's contemporary office. They mark a return to Middle Ground exchange processes (however briefly lived), and a demand to stand as portraiture's subjects.

EPILOGUE

Present—Past—Future

I've always worried and wondered about the validity of history...those histories of war, religion, medicine, philosophy and art. was the decision made by the general, priest, doctor, professor, artist or by the scribe who applied the pen? how much have we changed as a result of some person's editing and polishing? are we the wished images of our ancestral—world—universities? how much of CHOICE has affected history, especially the history of ART? with that point in mind, I sit and wait for deserving monographs on albert pinkham ryder and lee tsatoke.

— from T.C. Cannon's journals (undated)¹

From 2003 to 2006, the United States officially celebrated the bicentennial of the Corps of Discovery. A wide array of sites and organizations were involved in coordinated efforts under the National Park Service to promote regional institutions, exhibitions, and activities along the Lewis and Clark trail.²

Since 1905, Karl Bodmer's images had accompanied published editions of Lewis and Clark's account of the expedition, as the two men's own drafting skills had been quite rudimentary.³ It is no surprise, then, to see the works of Karl Bodmer and George Catlin make

¹ Reprinted in Joan Frederick, T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing Company, 1995) 32–3.

² See, for instance, the national touring exhibition sponsored by the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis <http://www.lewisandclarkexhibit.org/index_flash.html>; the National Park Service's guide to the trail and its numerous historic sites <<https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/lewisandclark/index.htm>>; the re-mounting of Thomas Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello <<https://www.monticello.org/site/jefferson/indian-hall>>; and the timed opening of the Fort Mandan Interpretive Center in Washburn, North Dakota <<http://www.fortmandan.com/>>.

³ Digitized versions of the journals can be found at the American Philosophical Society website, #Ms.917.3.L58.

numerous appearances in the (re)produced bicentennial materials, exhibitions, and publications. The images also served as historical sources for numerous (re)productions of Lewis and Clark's experiences in Indian Country. One example includes a (re)created buffalo dance from the National Geographic film, Lewis and Clark: Great Journey West (2002). **[Figure E-1.]**

Numerous inaccuracies appear in the film still. At the far left, one of the audience members wears the elaborate raven feather bonnet of the *Minis Óhate* ("Dog Society")—as if *Óhate* members would dress ceremonially to sit and watch another *Óhate's* performance. The body paint of the dancers is unrecognizable from Bodmer's and Sí-Sída's pictorial records, the criss-crossed leg lines a misapplication of the parallels of *Awatíkihu* coup honor marks. The nighttime setting and central campfire pit imagined by Wimar and Remington remains. Most of all, is the fact that Lewis and Clark never saw a buffalo dance: rather, they had sent a few of their men to participate in *mih ókahene*, the sets-in-motion-woman-I-possess buffalo-calling ceremony involving village elders and wives that took place inside the central village *tihó'pini* ("to-be-holy lodge"; see **Chapter Three**).

In his journal musings, T.C. Cannon connects the authorship of history with that of its images. It is not simply that one constructs such histories and thus chooses and orders historical images a particular way, though Cannon's thoughts wander along these lines as well. Rather, the stakes lay in the fact that future generations *become* the products of these histories and these images. He wonders not at the changes to Native selves and cultures present in a line of text, but the power of that line of text to shape Native peoples in the contemporary ontological

present. *"how much have we changed...?"* Cannon's histories do not stay in the past; they exist on a continuum with the present and the future.

Images and their life histories are more than narratives of the past to describe the present; they are bearers of the future. This particular one ends on a note of critical concern: that the meta-archive still shapes the (re)presentation of Native peoples. The available film still not only smuggles undetected distortions of the past into the present, but its projected image also heralds a future in which the meta-archive continues to (re)produce our knowledge of Native peoples.

The history of art was certainly one of Cannon's accused culprits in producing these unstable histories of the Native past. Yet it was a space upon which he did not give up. Instead, from his present, he called on the field to take up its own choices and address its past through its future work.

Then he sat down to wait.



FIGURE I-1. Karl Bodmer, Mandan Buffalo Dancer [now titled Leader of the Mandan Buffalo Bull Society] (5 Apr 1834). Fort Clark. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

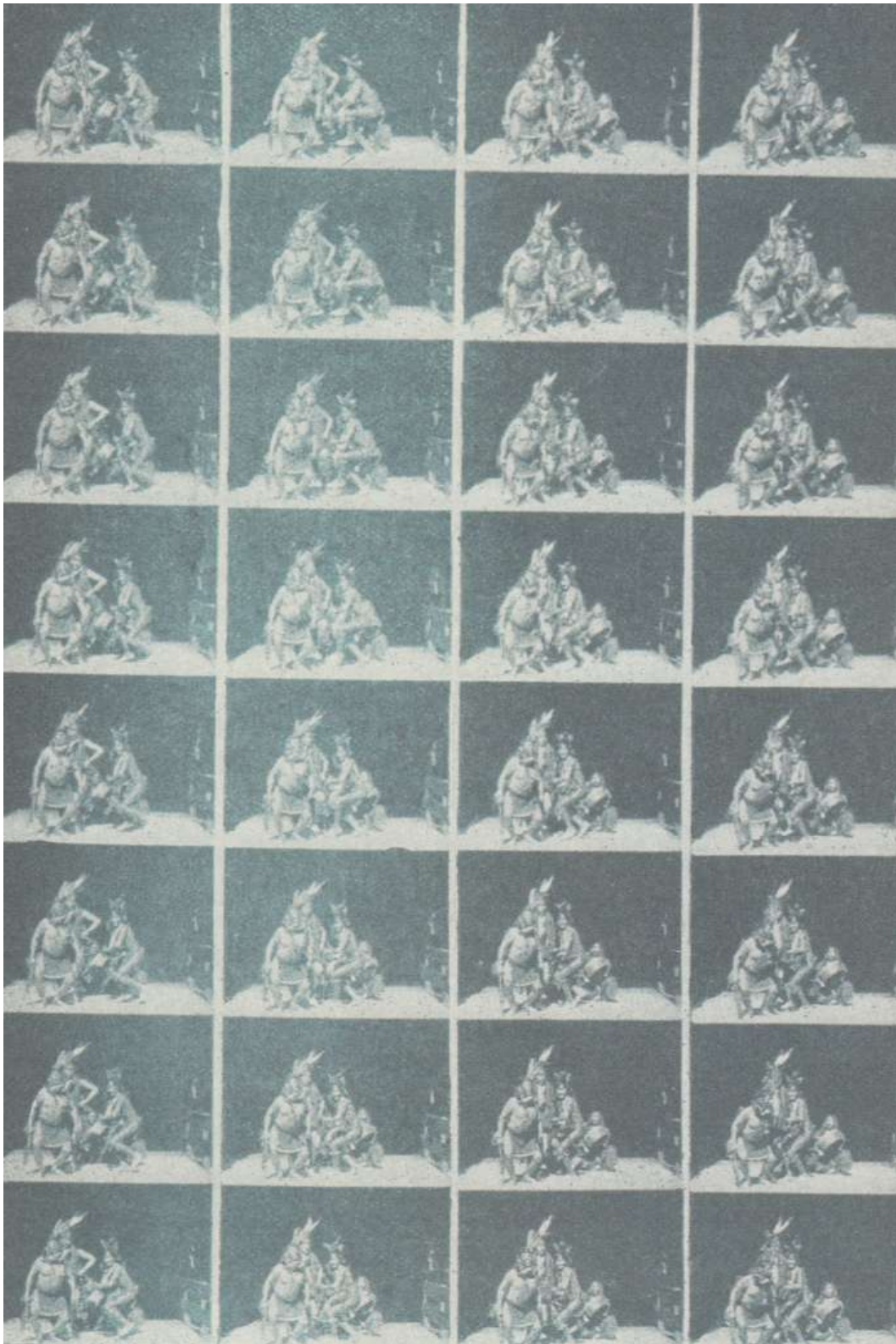


FIGURE 1-1. W.K.L. Dickson, kinetoscope film print on paper, Buffalo Dance (1894). Source: Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph,... (1895), p.23. HathiTrust Digital Library, original from the Museum of Modern Art.

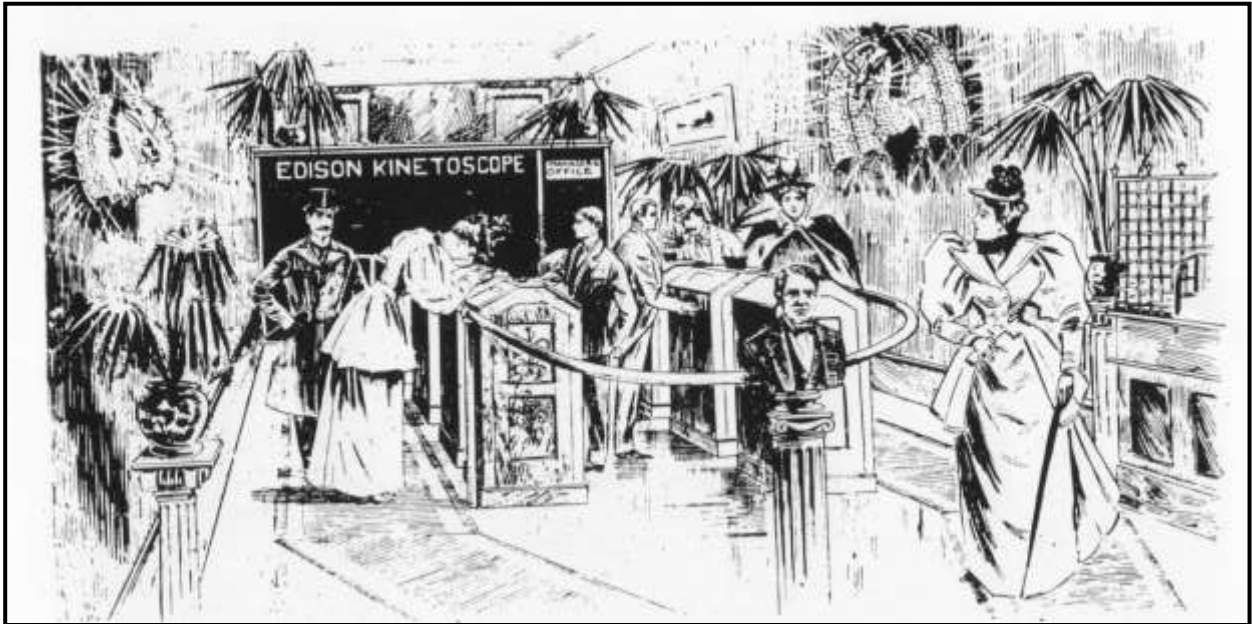


FIGURE 1-2. The Holland Brothers kinetoscope parlor at 1155 Broadway, New York City. Source: Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph, p.53.



FIGURE 1-3 [LEFT]. W.K.L. Dickson, "Let Me Look," a promotional still for the kinetoscope (1895). Orange, New Jersey. Source: Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph.

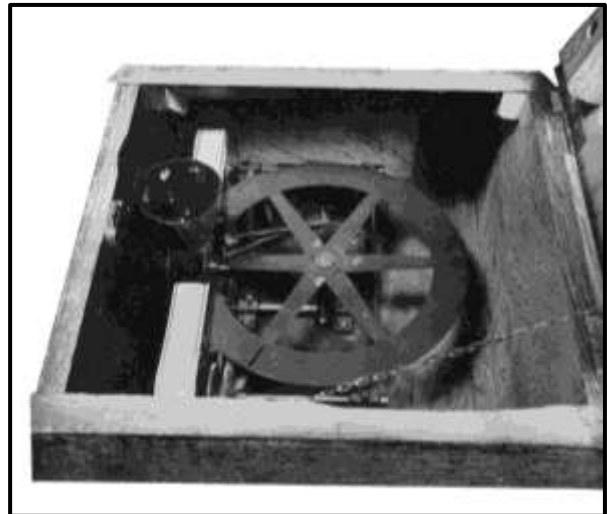


FIGURE 1-4 [RIGHT]. James Hilbrandt, upper interior of the kinetoscope. Source: George Eastman House.

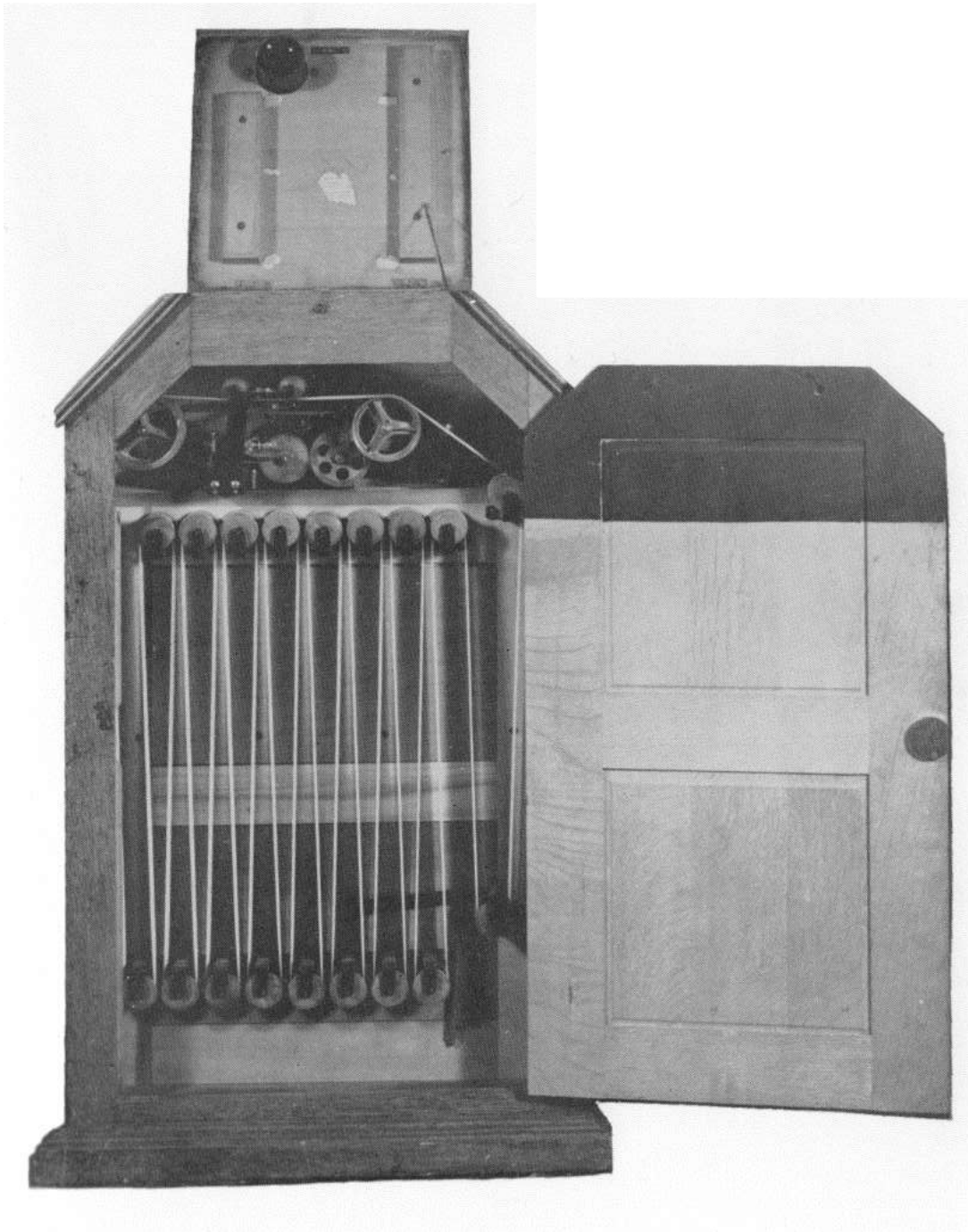


FIGURE 1-5. James Hilbrandt, front interior of the kinetoscope.
Source: George Eastman House.

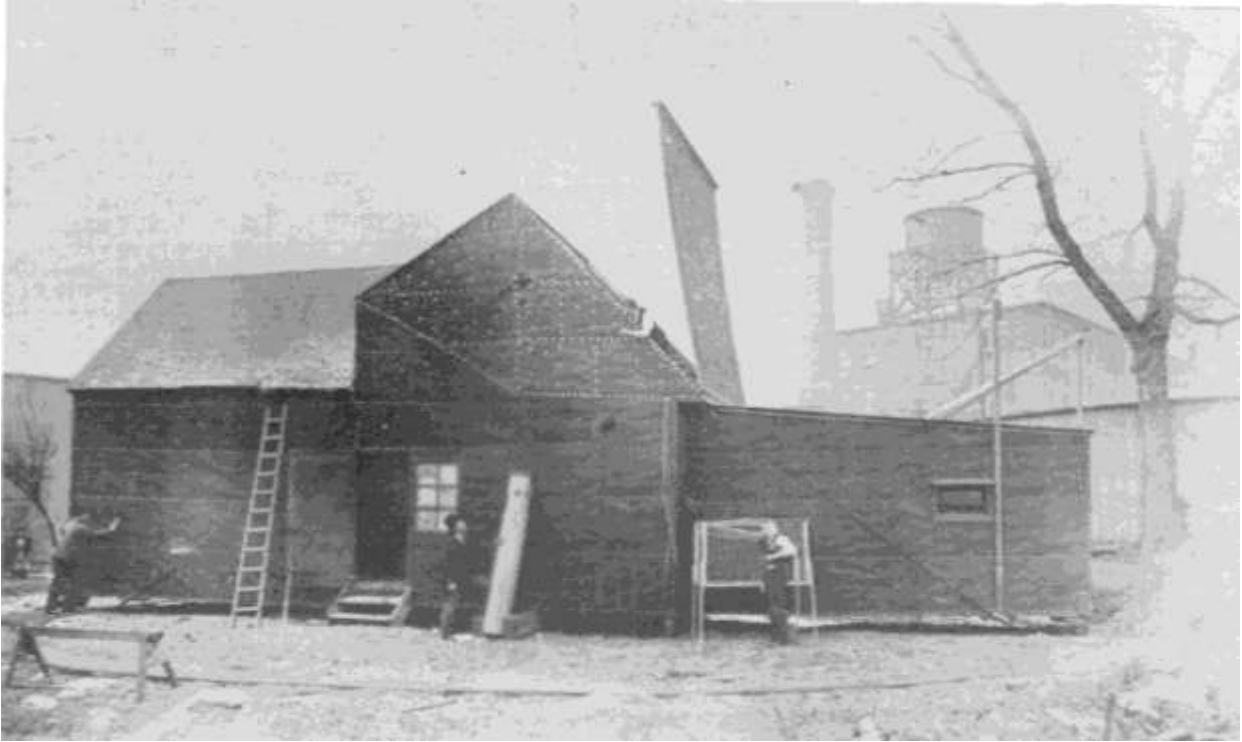


FIGURE 1-6. The Black Maria studio (5-8 Mar 1894). Orange, New Jersey.
Source: National Park Service.

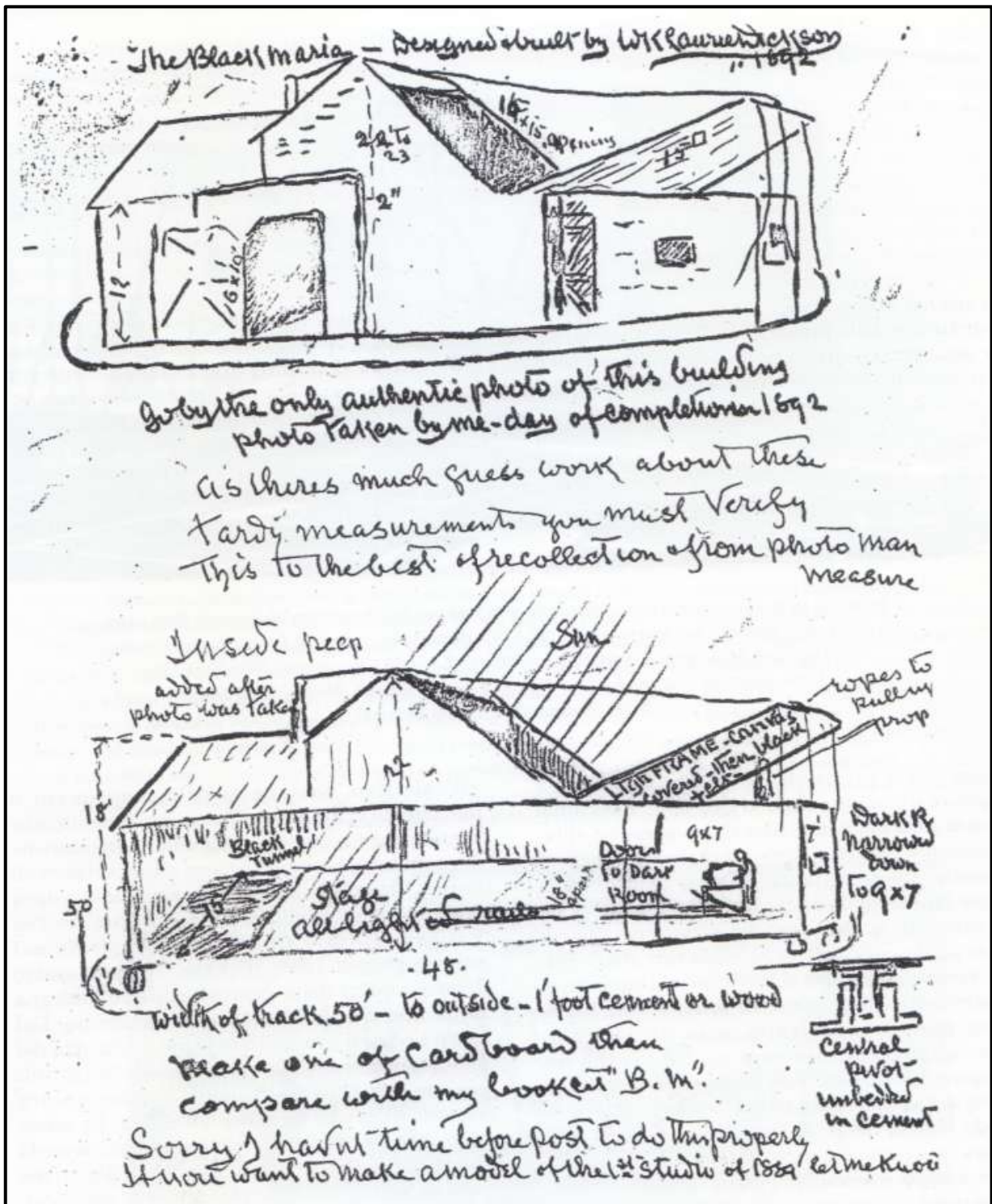


FIGURE 1-7. Dickson's designs for the Black Maria, redrawn for Earl Theisen (5 Jul 1933). Source: AMPAS Library.

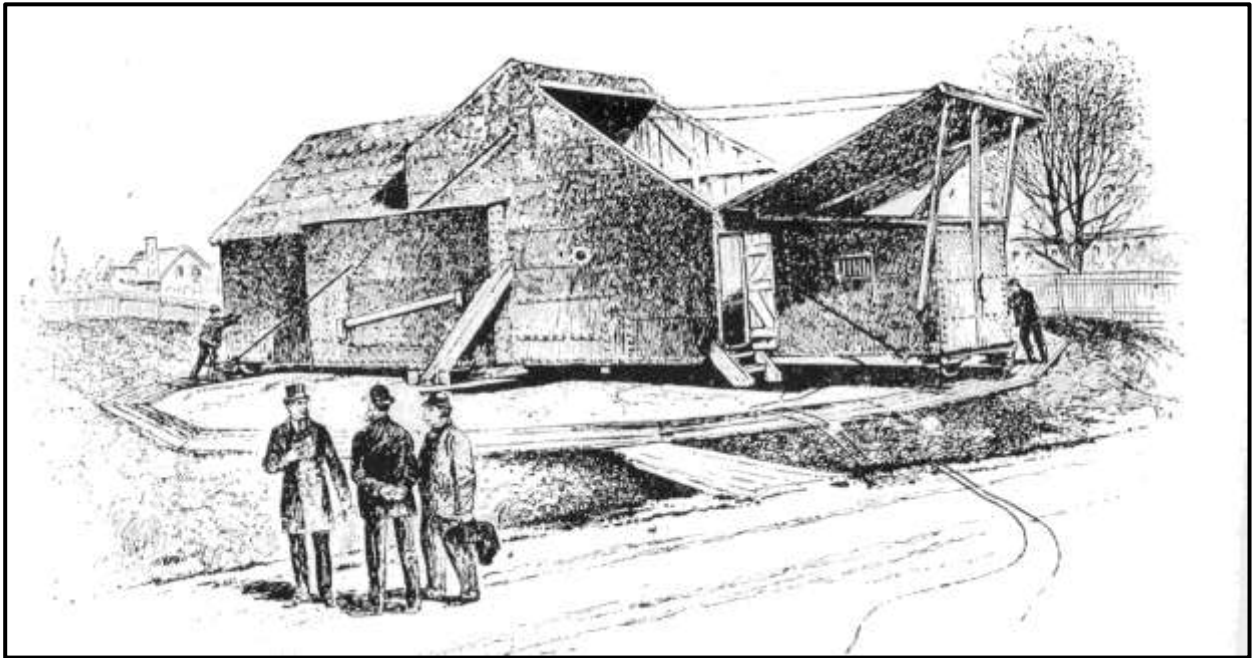


FIGURE 1-8. Exterior illustration of the Black Maria studio, showing the pivot turn and the open roof for shooting. Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly (February 1895).

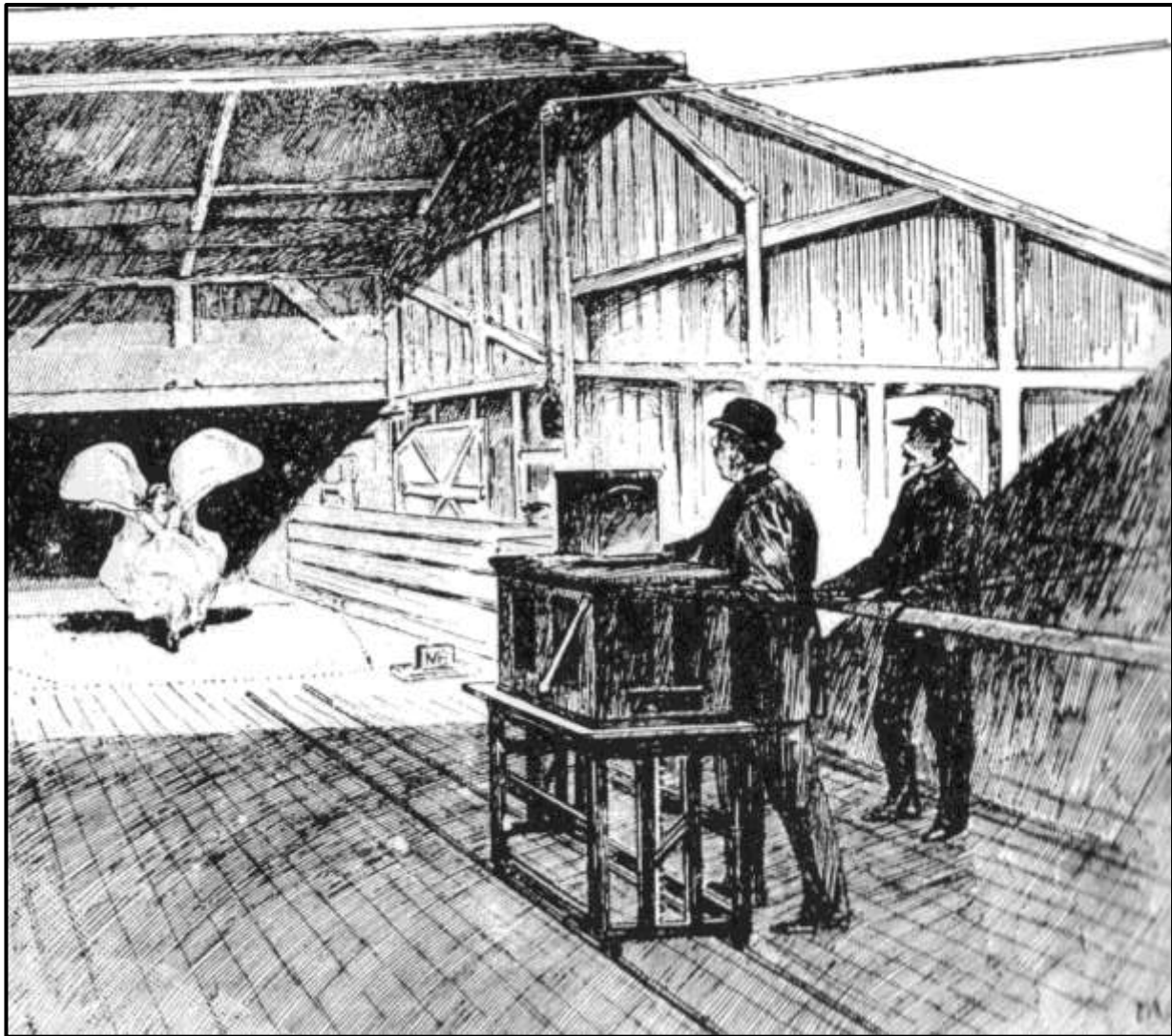


FIGURE 1-9. Drawing of the Black Maria interior during the shoot for Annabelle Serpentine (1894). Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly (February 1895).

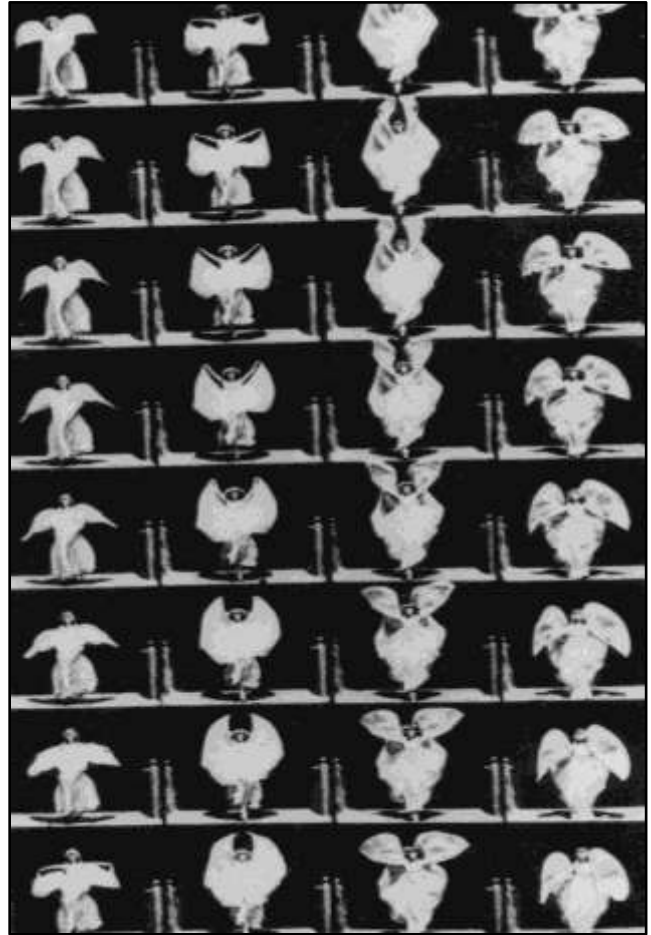


FIGURE 1-10 [LEFT]. W.K.L. Dickson, Sandow (1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film still. Source: Hendricks (Gordon) Collection, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, LoC.

FIGURE 1-11 [RIGHT]. W.K.L. Dickson, Annabelle Serpentine (1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film print on paper. Source: Dickson and Dickson, History of the Kinetograph.



FIGURE 1-12. Frederic Remington, “The Wounding of Lieutenant Hawthorne—The Hotchkiss-Gun Playing on the Cave” (24 Jan 1891). Source: Harper’s Weekly.

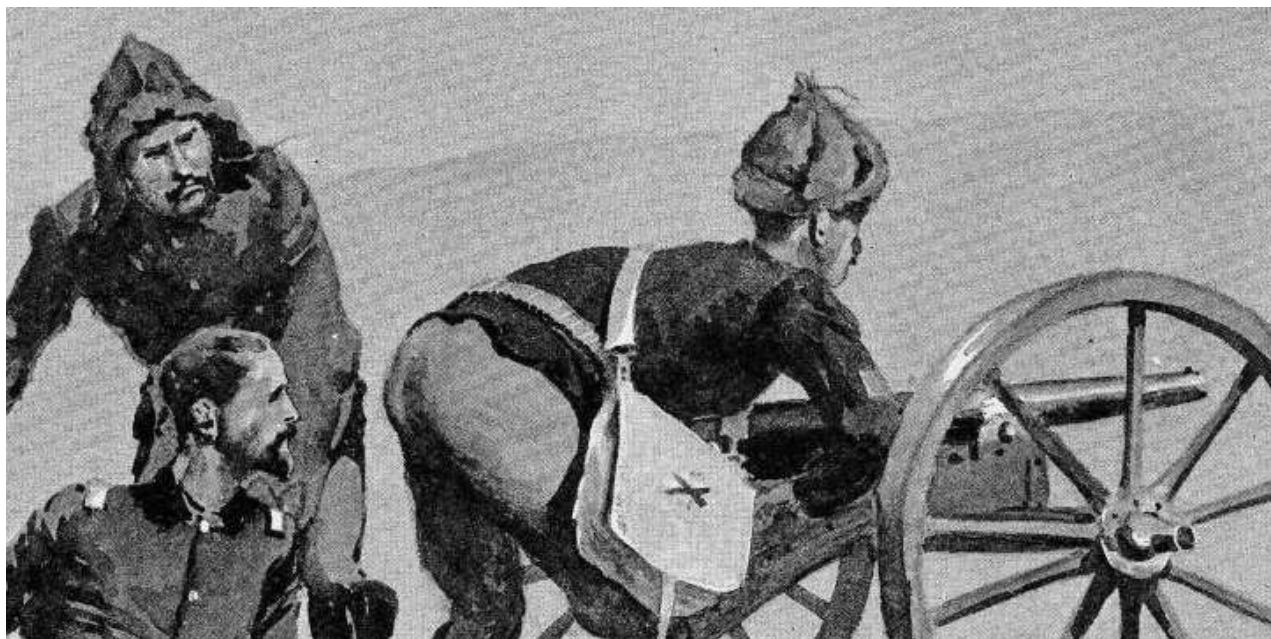


FIGURE 1-13. Detail, **Figure 1-12.**

HARPER'S WEEKLY

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. XXXV.—No. 1776.
Copyright, 1891, by Harper & Brothers,
437 N. York St.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1891.

TEN CENTS A COPY,
INCLUDING SUPPLEMENT.



IN THE TRENCHES AT PINE RIDGE.—FROM A SKETCH TAKEN ON THE SPOT.

THE SIOUX OUTBREAK IN SOUTH DAKOTA. BY FREDERIC REMINGTON.

We discussed the vague reports of the Wounded Knee fight in the upper camps of the season, and old hands said it would be an ordinary affair because of the large number. Two days after I rode into the Pine Ridge Agency, very hungry and nearly frozen to death, having ridden with Captain Roberts, of the staff, and a Mr. Miller all night long. I had to look after a poor horse, and one that he was grounded and fat, which excites considerable heat and "boiling" in a long camp. Then came my breakfast. That struck me as a serious matter at the time. There were weapons and soldiers—the social party going to the Wounded Knee to do an ordinary duty. I wanted to go very much. I stopped to think; in short, I hesitated, and of course was "killed" for

after breakfast they had gone. "Why did I not follow them? Well, my natural proclivities had been considerably strengthened a few days previously by a half-breed's interview with one painted Brave Stone, who seemed to be in command of the situation. To believe and the matter, the horse party was fired at, and my resistance in my own good judgment was concluded to my own satisfaction.

I took over to the camp of the Seventh United States Cavalry, and not all the officers, both wounded and well, and a great many of the men. They told me their opinion is that inevitable way which is styled our work warriors. To appreciate briefly you must go to a soldier. He shrugs his shoulder, and points to the bridge of his nose, which has had a piece cut out by a bullet, and says, "Rather slow, but don't expect to reach." An Irish man, and some youngsters would have had his promotion.

I shall not here tell the story of the Seventh Cavalry fight

with Big Foot's band of Sioux on the Wounded Knee; that has been done in the daily papers, but I will recount some small bits current in the ridge region, or the "white man's war years," as the Indians call them.

Lying on his back, with a trail through the body, Lieutenant Stone gave stories when he got to the critical point in his story. "I saw three or four young bucks drop their blankets, and I saw that they were armed. 'Be ready to fire, men, there's trouble!' There was an instant, and then 'Fire!' I shouted, and we poured it into them."

"Oh yes, men, but the trouble began when the old man, white-stem threw the dust in the air. That is the old Indian signal of 'distance,' and no sooner had he done that act than those bucks stripped and went into action. Just before that some one told me that if we didn't stop that old man's

(Continued on page 64.)

FIGURE 1-14. Frederic Remington, "In the Trenches at Pine Ridge.— From a Sketch taken on the Spot." Source: Harper's Weekly (24 Jan 1891).



FIGURE 1-15. Detail, **Figure 1-14.**



FIGURE 1-16. Unpan Glešká [Spotted Elk] left lying in the snow (ca. 1890).
Photographic negative. Source: NARA-II, Signal Corps Photographs of
American Military Activity, 1754–1954, #530805.



FIGURE 1-17. Trager & Kuhn, studio-produced photograph of Big Foot's camp three weeks after the Wounded Knee Massacre (ca.17 January 1891). Lakota bodies wrapped in blankets are visible in the foreground, while U.S. soldiers stand in the background. Source: LoC, Prints and Photographs Division, #15849.

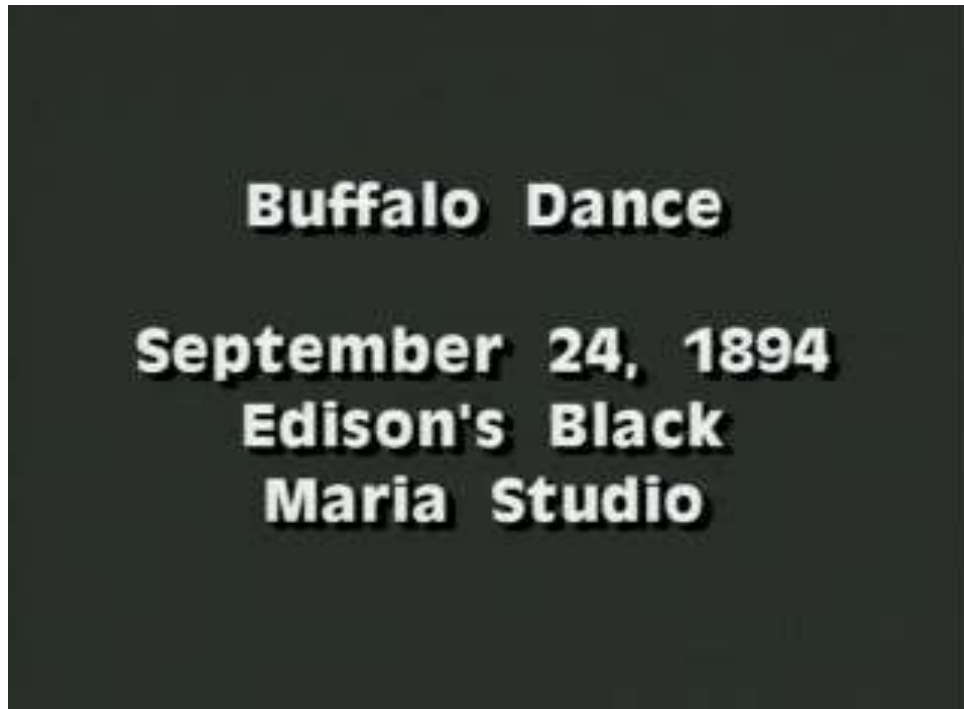


FIGURE 1-18. W.K.L. Dickson, Buffalo Dance (24 Sept 1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film (15 sec/20fps). Source: LoC, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, #00694114. The film can be watched at <<http://www.loc.gov/item/00694114/>>.

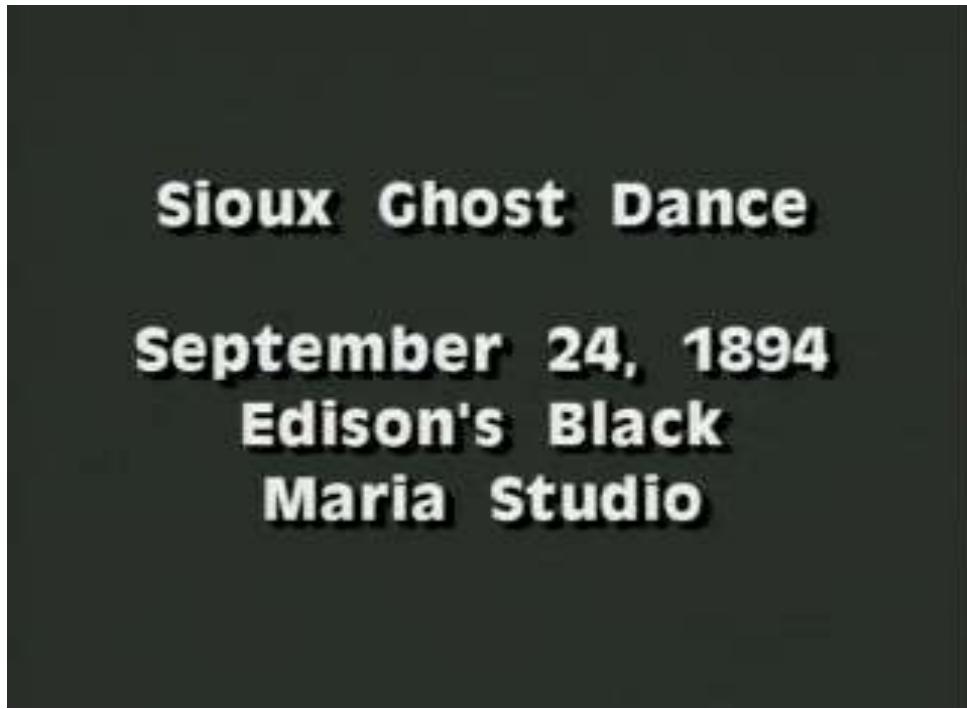


FIGURE 1-19. W.K.L. Dickson, Sioux Ghost Dance (24 Sept 1894). Orange, New Jersey. Kinetoscope film (21 sec/20fps). Source: LoC, Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, #00694139. The film can be watched at <<http://www.loc.gov/item/00694139/>>.



FIGURE 2-1. Prinz Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied, page of the original *Tagebuch* showing ornamentation and face paint of Osakiwugi [Sauk] men and women (25 Mar 1833). St. Louis, Indian Territory. Ink and watercolor on bound paper. Source: JAM vol. 1, Figure 0.2 on p.xxxi.



FIGURE 2-2. Karl Bodmer, Scene on the *Janus* (ca. May, June, or July 1832). Atlantic Ocean. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 2-3. Karl Bodmer, *Emys picta* [Painted Turtle] (4 Aug 1832). Island in the Lehigh River, near Bethlehem, PA. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 2-4. Detail, Karl Bodmer, First Landing (18 Jul 1833). Banks of the Missouri, between Fort Union and Fort McKenzie. Graphite on paper. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection, 1996.48.7196. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 2-5. Karl Bodmer, plate production copy of Mato-Tópe, Mandan Chief (after original painted in April 1834). Paris. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM.



FIGURE 2-6. Karl Bodmer, sketch of the *Benók Óhate* from *Mít uta hako'sh* (9 Apr 1834). Fort Clark. Graphite and watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 2-7. Karl Bodmer, *Mít uta hako'sh* (ca. Nov 1833–Feb 1834). Vicinity of Fort Clark and *Mít uta hako'sh*, Indian Territory. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 2-8. Karl Bodmer, sketch of the interior of the *má'ak óti* (“earthlodge”) belonging to Ni'puh [Broken Marrow; Numak'aki (Mandan)] (ca. Dec 1833–Apr 1834). *Mít uta hako'sh*. Watercolor and ink on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

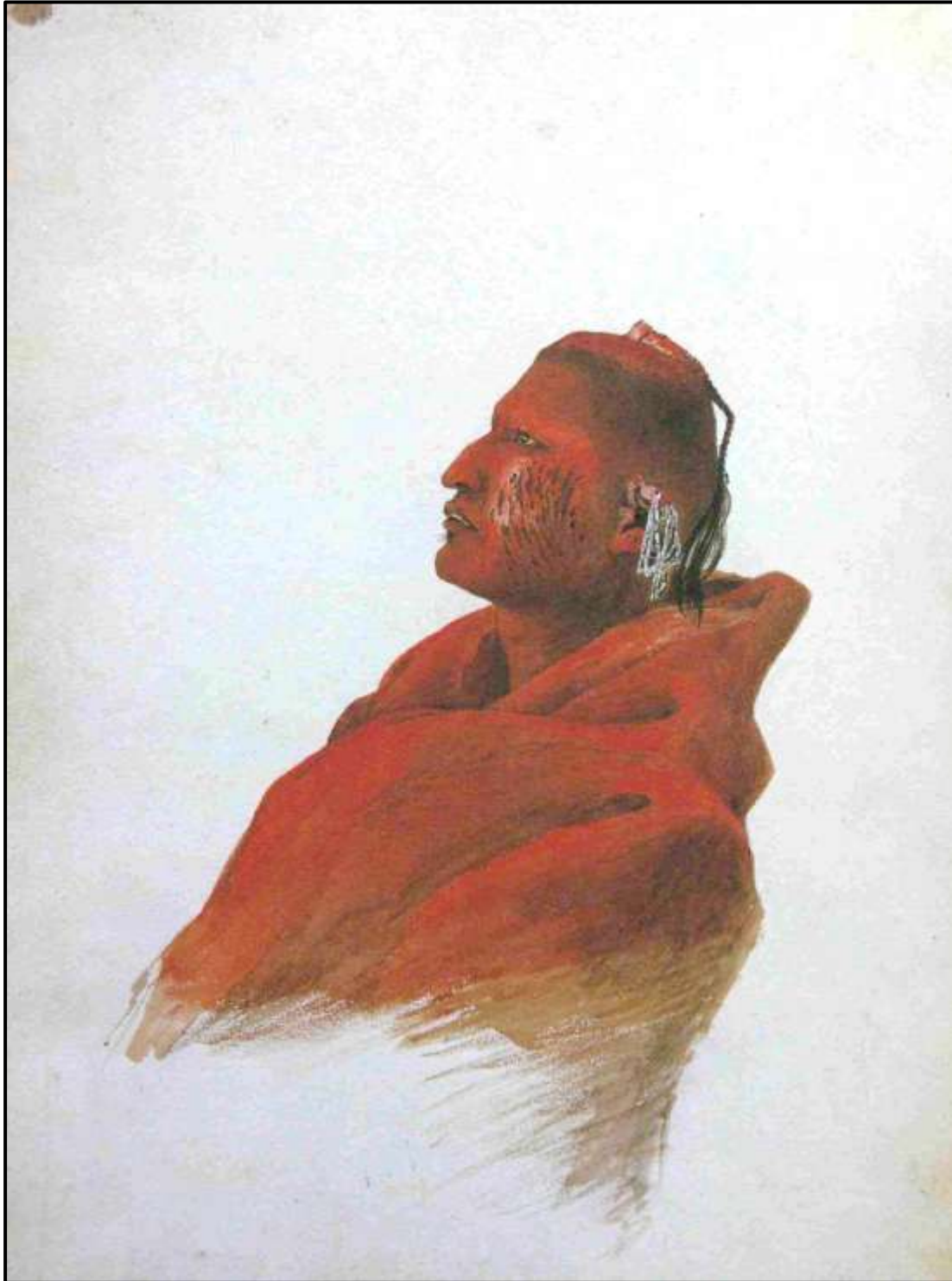


FIGURE 2-9. Karl Bodmer, Meshihkêha [Snapping Turtle; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] (25 Mar 1833). Jefferson Barracks outside St. Louis, Indian Territory. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 3-1. *Piti konika sé ma'ósene* (*Pulsatilla vulgaris*), native to the Northern Plains.



FIGURE 3-2. Foolish Woman [Numak'aki] winter count, 1844: “A man by the name of Hand was chief of the village and appointed the camp.” Source: Martha Warren Beckwith, trans., Myths and Hunting Stories of the Mandan and Hidatsa Sioux (Poughkeepsie: Vassar College, 1930) 311.



FIGURE 3-3. George Catlin, Bird's-Eye View of the Mandan Village, 1800 Miles above St. Louis (1837-9). *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.502.



FIGURE 3-4. Pair of calumets (n.d.). Source: Buffalo Bill Center of the West #NA.502.195.1&2.

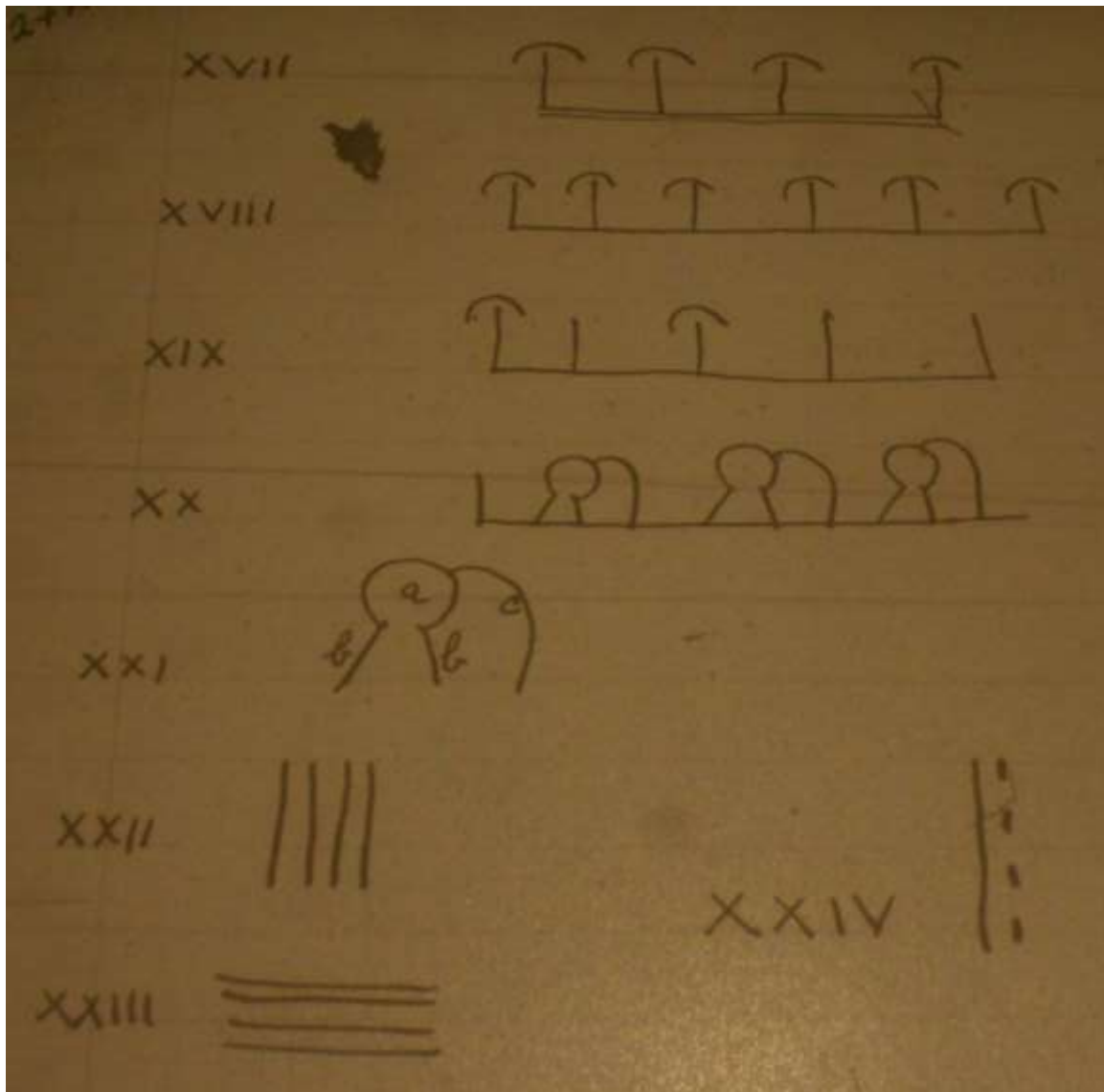


FIGURE 3-5. Counting coup marks owned and drawn by Red White Buffalo [Numak'aki] in 1884, and explained by Beaver [Numak'aki] and Butterfly [Minitari] and copied by Gilbert L. Wilson in 1909. Fort Berthold Reservation. Source: Object #12, described in Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson. Author's photograph.

FIG. XVII: "Red White Buffalo was leader of a war party that captured horses shown thus."

FIG. XVIII: Same.

FIG. XIX: Same, but the missing hoof marks indicate that the party was only partially successful, with only a few horses captured.

FIG. XX: Red White Buffalo led a war party that killed *ha numák*.

FIG. XXI: A man with the (a) head, (b) legs, and (c) long hair of the *ha numák*.

FIG. XXII through XXIV: "When a man had been on a war party he made a vertical mark; when he had been leader of a war party he made a horizontal mark. Thus, **FIG. XII** means 'I have been member in my life time of four war parties.' **FIG. XXIII** means 'I have been leader of four war parties.' **FIG. XXIV** means 'I was a member of a war party and was sent ahead to spy out the enemy.'"



Figure 3-6. Detail, Lachpitzí-Síhrisch [Yellow Bear; Minitari], tally robe (collected in 1834). *Elá-Sá*. Earth pigments on buffalo hide. Source: Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, #IV B202. Photograph courtesy of Candace Greene.



FIGURE 3-7. Daughter or wife of Leggings [Numak'aki] scraping hide (1904). Fort Berthold Reservation. Photograph taken by L.A. Huffman. Source: NEW-Ayer, AP3797. Author's photograph.

She is likely holding an elk antler, used for scraping hides. Additional tools included stones for scraping water from the hide, a piece of buffalo shoulder bone for smoothing the surface, and a piece of sinew robe over which the hide would be drawn. See the full kit used by Calf Woman [Numak'aki], collected by Gilbert L. Wilson in 1907, NMAI-Coll #01/3787 and 01/3802.



FIGURE 3-8. White paint earth pigment samples from Heart River Confederacy village site. Source: NMAI #14/0503. Author's photographs.



FIGURE 3-9. [LEFT] Paint bag for red pigment [Numak'aki]. Hide. Source: Peabody, Harvard University, #27509. Author's photograph.

FIGURE 3-10. [BOTTOM] Paint bag for yellow, black, and red earth pigments [Numak'aki]. Muslin, dried clays. Source: Peabody, Harvard University, #82-45-10/27508. Author's photograph.





FIGURE 3-11. [TOP, LEFT] Paint sticks with yellow, black, and red earth pigments [Numak'aki]. Bone. Source: Peabody, Harvard University, #27510. Author's photographs.



FIGURE 3-12. [BOTTOM] Paint stick with black earth pigment [Numak'aki]. Bone with incising. Source: NMAI-Coll #14/5037. Author's photograph.





FIGURE 3-13. [TOP] Effigy stick [Numak'aki] (pre-1781). Yellow Earth Village, Heart River Confederacy. Source: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Will and Spinden 1905 dig collection, #67404. Author's photograph.

FIGURE 3-14. [BOTTOM] Detail, **Figure 3-13**.





FIGURE 3-15. Late Mississippian Shell Mask Gorget (1400-1600). Anton Rygh site, Campbell County, South Dakota. Marine shell (lightning whelk). Source: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art #2004.30. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 3-16. Buffalo Society headdress [Numak'aki] (collected in 1865-8 by Drs. C. Gray and W. Matthews). Dakota Territory. Buffalo hide, red trade wool, buckskin, buffalo horn, tin. Source: NMNH #E-8431. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 3-17. The reconstructed ark of *Numak Máhina* (2014). *Míti O-pa-e-res* / *Kamá mítí* [At-A-Slant Village]. Source: Author's photograph.



FIGURE 3-18. Detail, Earth Woman [Mrs. James Kipp; Numak'aki], quilled buffalo robe with sunburst design (n.d.; possibly the 1820s or 1830s). *Mít uta hako'sh* or Fort Clark. Buffalo hide, dyed quills, possibly with bird feather quills and grass roots. Source: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology #45-15-702.



FIGURE 3-19. The sacred central lodge posts in reconstructed Numak'aki earthlodge, looking “out” of the face (2014). *Míti O-pa-e-res* / *Kamá mítí* [At-A-Slant Village]. Source: Author’s photograph.



FIGURE 3-20.
Unknown artist,
drawing on cloth (prior
to 1905). Possibly
collected on Standing
Rock Reservation.
Earth pigments or inks
on cotton. Source:
MHS #7059.27.2.
Author's photograph.





FIGURE 3-21. Prinz Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, sun dogs (*parhelia*) (ca. winter of 1833-4). *Awatikihu*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM vol. 3, p.237, Fig. 20.1.



FIGURE 3-22. Detail, Numak'aki [Mandan] painted buffalo robe (likely 1830s or earlier). *Awatíkihu*. Source: Buffalo Bill Center #NA.202.839.



FIGURE 3-23. Armband [Numak'aki], frontal view (ca.1870s). Fort Berthold. Engraved German silver. Source: NMAI-Coll #19/0634. Author's photograph.

The band has a total of three engraved circles, perhaps reflecting the change to the Three Affiliated Tribes as the organizational structure of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. This change to a symbolism of three is also seen on other Numak'aki and Minitari material culture objects of the period, such as tobacco bags and moccasins.

The engraver of the band tilted the three rosettes on a directional axis, a quarter turn from the usual "winter camp" orientation of rosettes in the *Awatikihu* (see **Figures 3-2** and **3-18**).



FIGURE 4-1. [TOP] Three Villages Robe [Ogahpah (Quapaw)] (ca.1740). Native tanned leather, pigment. Source: Musée de Quai Branly, Paris, France, 71.1934.33.7 D.

FIGURE 4-2. [BOTTOM] Detail, **Figure 4-1**. The words that name the three villages are, from left to right, OUZOVTVOVI, TOVARIMON, and OVOAPPA. The French buildings to the left may represent three churches and a trading post.





FIGURE 4-3. Full, **Figure 3-18.**



FIGURE 4-4. George Catlin, Hanata Numakshi [Wolf Chief; Numak'aki] (1832). Fort Clark. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.127.



FIGURE 4-5. Robert Scot (engraver), obverse (top) and reverse (bottom) of the Jefferson peace medal (1801). U.S. Mint in Philadelphia. Embossed silver. Source: National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.



FIGURE 4-6. Detail, **Figure 4-4.**



FIGURE 5-1. Alexandre Damien Manceau (*inc.* after Karl Bodmer *del.*), Mandan Buffalo Dance [Tableau 18] (1838). Paris, France. Aquatint, mezzotint, and etching with handcoloring. Second State. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



FIGURE 5-2. Karl Bodmer, early stage plate composition sketch, subsequently titled "*Indiens Corbeaux / 1831.*" Paris. Graphite on paper. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection, #1996.48.7197. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-3. Engraved copper and steel printing plate for Tableau 18 (ca.1842).
Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

No. 189 Ojibbeway.

Ka = bes = kunk.

he who travels the whole country

I hereby certify that this Portrait was painted from the life, at Fort Union Mouth of Yellow-Stone.

in the year 1832, by GEO. CATLIN, and that the Indian sat in the costume in which it is painted.

K. M. Kunk

Chippeway

Gaw = zaw = que = dung.

He who halloos.

I hereby certify that this portrait was painted from life by Geo. Catlin, in my presence at the Sault De St. Marys, in the year 1804. and that the Indian sat in the costume in which it is painted.

James E. Schoolcraft
S. B. Porter Ast. Surg. U.S.A.

No 234 Menomonic

^(SI)Chet = kozong.

he who sings the War song.

I hereby certify that this portrait was painted by Geo Catlin in 1835 at Prairie Du Chien & that the Indian sat in the costume in which he is painted.

E. A. Sitchcock
Capt U.S. Army

FACSIMILES OF CERTIFICATES TO AUTHENTICITY OF CATLIN'S INDIAN PORTRAITS.

FIGURE 5-4. Plate 4, "Catlin's Certificates of Authenticity," from Thomas C. Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U.S. National Museum," SI Report, 1885, Part II.



FIGURE 5-5. George Catlin, Buffalo Dance, Mandan (1835-7). Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.440.



FIGURE 5-6. Detail of Numak'aki child in Tableau 18, **Figure 5-1**.



FIGURE 5-7. Charles Vogel (*inc.* after Karl Bodmer *del.*) with inked addition of children by Bodmer, Scalp Dance of the Minatarres [Tableau 27] (ca.1837-8). Paris, France. Aquatint, mezzotint, etching, and roulette with ink and wash on paper. Proof between First and Fourth States. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 1.



FIGURE 5-8. Theodorus de Bry, "Indian Woman and Young Girl," from America, Volume 1, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia by Thomas Hariot, Plate VIII (1590). Engraving. Source: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.



FIGURE 5-9. Detail of Mato-Tópe in the audience of Tableau 18, **Figure 5-1**.



FIGURE 5-10. George Catlin, Máh-To-Tóh-Pa, Four Bears, Second Chief, in Full Dress (1832). Fort Clark or *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.128.



FIGURE 5-11. Full-length portrait of Mato-Tópe from George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians..., Volume 1 (London: self-published, 1841) Plate 64. Engraving. Source: HathiTrust Digital Library, original from University of Alberta.

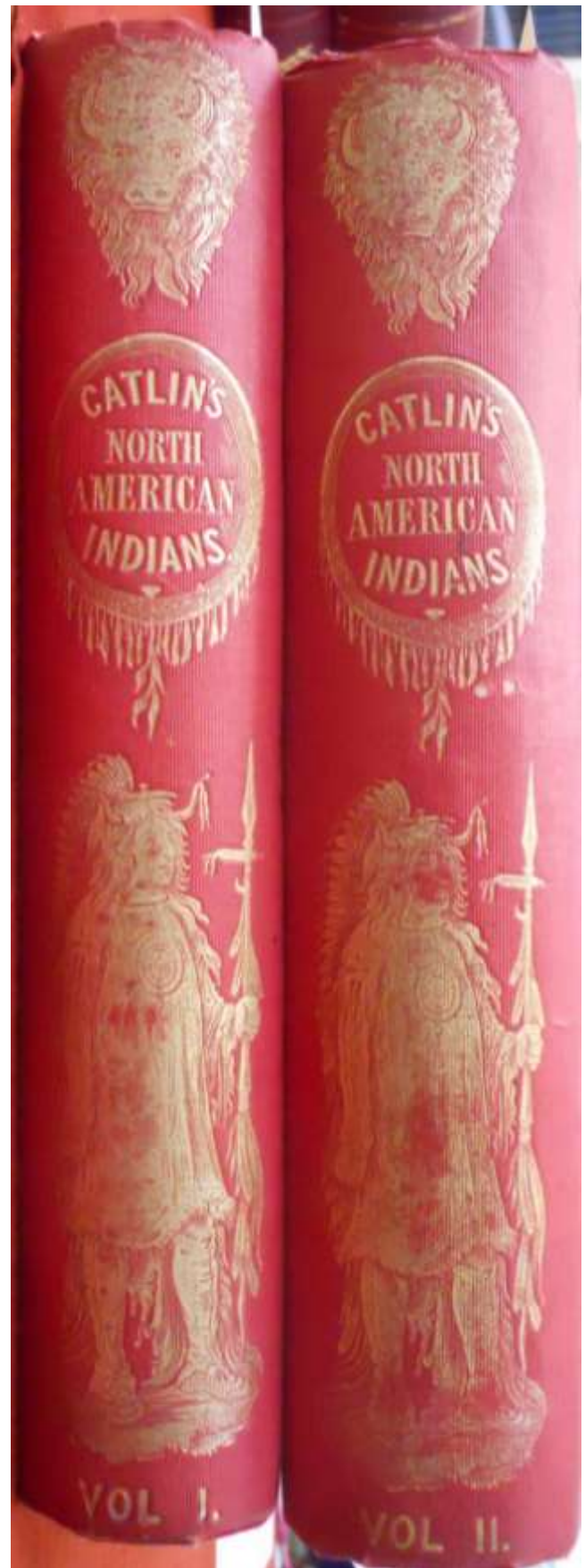


FIGURE 5-12. Embossed covers for the two volumes of George Catlin, Illustrations of the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians: in a series of letters and notes written during eight years of travel and adventure among the wildest and most remarkable tribes..., 2 volumes, 6th edition (London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1848). Source: AAS. Author's photograph.

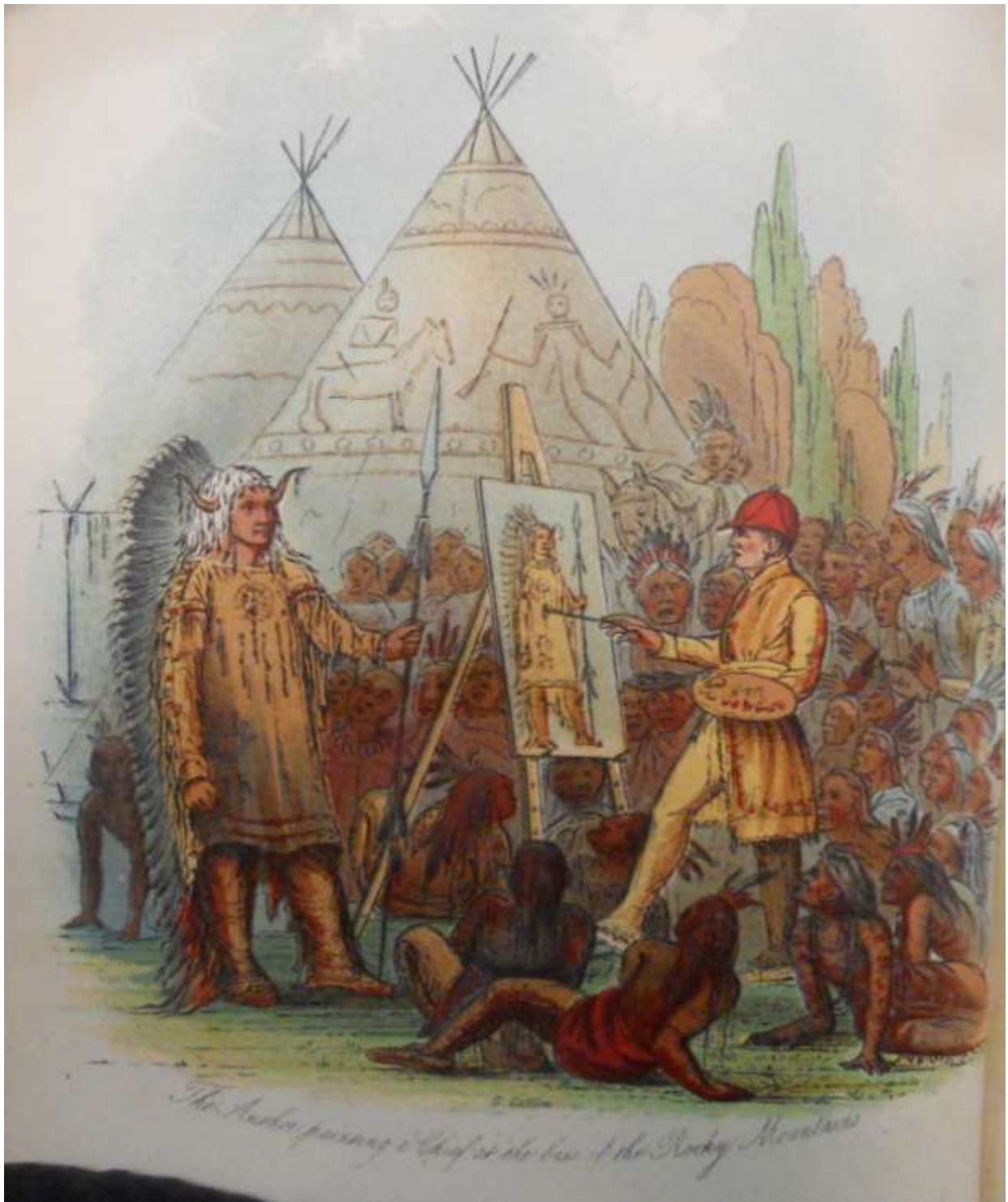


FIGURE 5-13. Frontispiece, "The Author painting a Chief at the base of the Rocky Mountains," from George Catlin, Illustrations of the manners, customs and condition..., Volume 1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876). Source: AAS. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-14. George Catlin, Catlin Feasted by the Mandan Chief (1861/1869). Oil on card. Source: NGA, Paul Mellon Collection, #1965.16.80.



FIGURE 5-15. Unknown artist/engraver, "Medicine Arrow and His [Wife]" (ca.1891). From Wild Life on the Plains, ed. W.L. Holloway (St. Louis: Royal Publishing Company). Source: HathiTrust Digital Library, original from University of Minnesota Library.



FIGURE 5-16. [LEFT] George Catlin, Duke of Portland souvenir album (ca.1859) #108D. Graphite on paper. Source: Drawings of the North American Indians (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984). Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-17. [RIGHT] George Catlin, Newberry Library souvenir album (ca.1852) #41A. Graphite on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Catlin Art 1 Box 1. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-18. Unknown makers, buffalo hide shirt, with painted designs by George Catlin (ca.1840s). Pigment and beaded appliques on buffalo hide. Source: NMNH, Catlin Collection, #E386505-0. Author's photograph.



Figure 5-19. William Emmons (printer), Battle of the Thames and the death of Tecumseh, by the Kentucky mounted volunteers led by Colonel Richard M. Johnson. 5th Oct. 1814. (1833). Boston. Hand-colored lithograph. Source: AAS.



FIGURE 5-20. Ferdinand Pettrich (*del.*), details, PLATE III, “6. Two Sacs & Foxes accompanied by Major Hook of the U.S. Army, riding through Pennsylvania Avenue Washington City DC” [TOP] and PLATE IV, “9. A band of Sious [sic] Musicians – in the Captains uniforms, presented by the U.S. Government. – marching to their own music, through Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City U.S.” [BOTTOM]. From his four-sheet series of Native delegates in Washington, D.C. (1842). Edward Weber & Co. (*imp.*), printer, Baltimore, MD. Tinted lithograph. Source: NMAH, Graphic Arts Collection, no. 29,209.





FIGURE 5-21. "Torture of Captives taken in King William's War," from Earle Wentworth Huckel's scrapbook (July 1910). Woodcuts. Source: NMAH, Graphic Art Department, #11882-12154. Author's photograph.

The woodcuts of Huckel's scrapbook come from various publications dated between 1820 and 1840, and are arranged by topic. This woodcut appears in the Native American section. Huckel ended his last term as an undergraduate editor of The Harvard Monthly in July 1910, and may have donated this scrapbook, a potential source of imagery for the Monthly, to the NMAH at that time.



Figure 5-22. Detail, **Figure 5-19** in comparison with a detail of the version of the hand-colored print held by the Library of Congress (digital ID cph.3b52018).



FIGURE 5-23. Detail, Jean-Joseph-François Tassaert (*del.*), *Les Indiens de la tribu des Osages. / arrivant en fiacre à Paris* (1827). Paris, France. Lithograph. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Boilly Folder 1. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-24. Extreme details, **Figure 5-23**.





FIGURE 5-25. Detail, Karl Bodmer, "*jeune garçon*" [U'moŋ'hon (Omaha)] (4 May 1833). Cabanné's trading post near present-day Bellevue, NE. Graphite and watercolor on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 2.

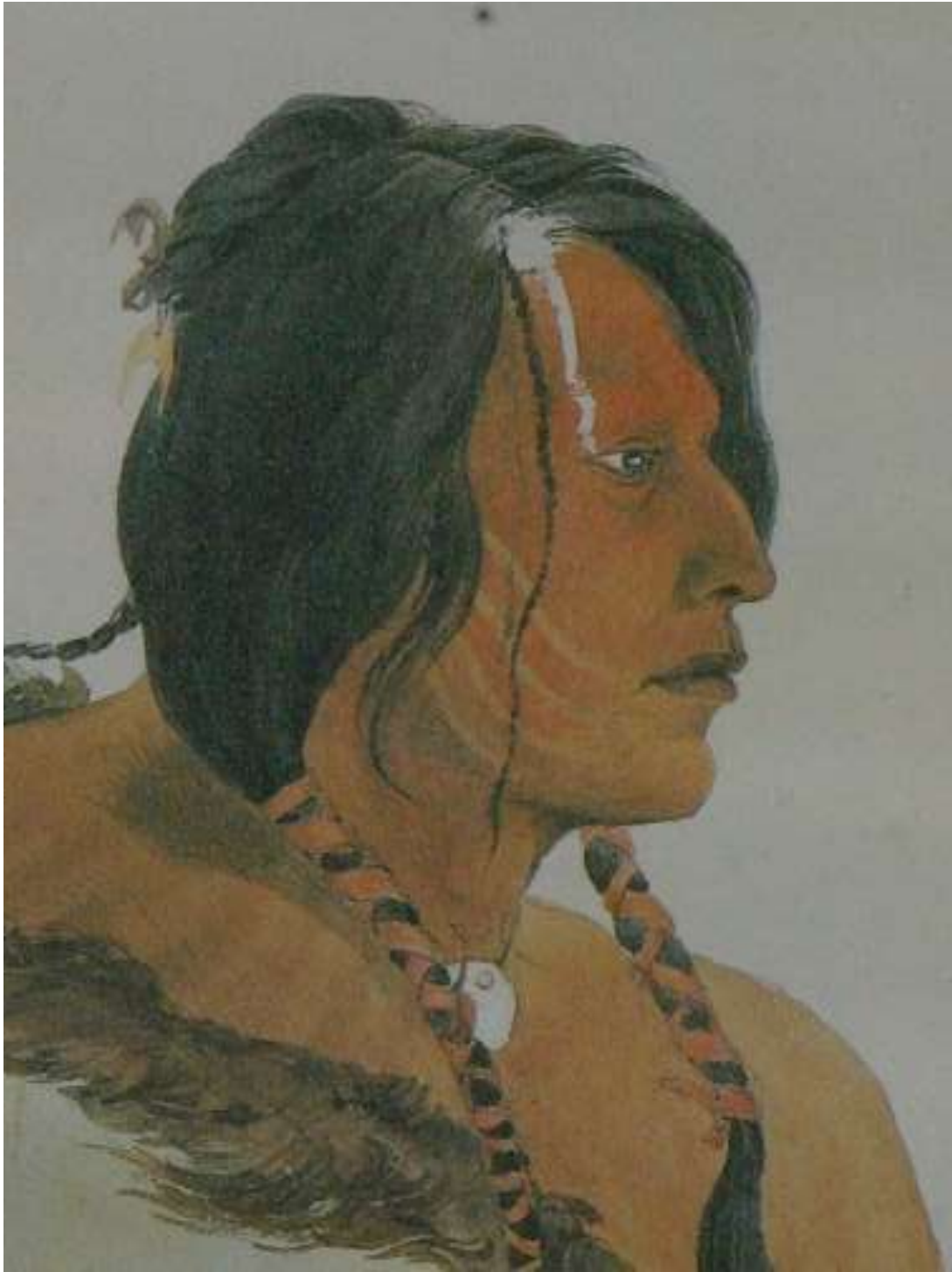


FIGURE 5-26. Detail, Karl Bodmer, frontier portrait of Húttá Maði [Goes About Bellowing; Paŋ'ka (Ponca)] (31 May 1833). Fort Pierre. Watercolor and graphite on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

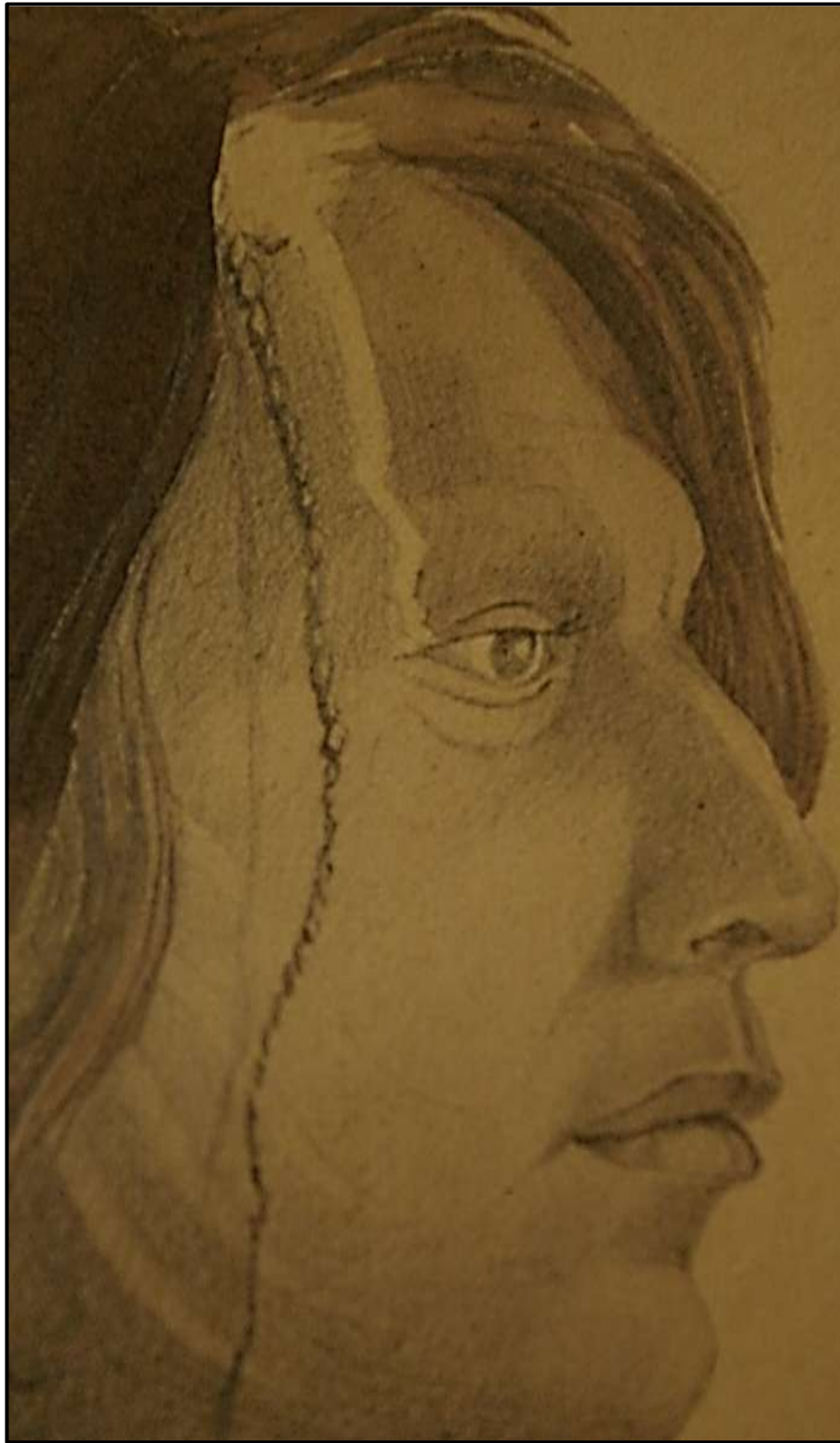


FIGURE 5-27. Detail, Karl Bodmer, plate composition for the portrait of Húttá Maði [Goes About Bellowing; Paŋ'ka (Ponca)] (31 May 1833). Paris. Ink and wash on paper. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Bodmer Art, Box 3. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-28. Detail, George Catlin, Sha-Kó-Ka, Mint, a Pretty Girl (1832). Fort Clark or *Mít uta hako'sh*. Oil on canvas. Source: SAAM #1985.66.134.



FIGURE 5-29. Plains shield core of hardened hide with Mi'kmaq quilled trim (ca.1840s). Buffalo hide, pigments, feather, cloth, dyed quills, bark. Source: NMNH, Catlin Collection, #E73337-0. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 5-30. Thomas McGahey (*del.* after George Catlin), Plate 8: “Buffalo Dance,” Catlin’s North American Indian Portfolio. Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains and Prairies of America. (London: Day & Hughe, 1844). Handcolored lithograph. Source: NEW-Ayer 250.45 C2 1844.



FIGURE 5-31. Detail, **Figure 5-30.**



FIGURE 5-32. Details, Currier & Ives (*imp.* after George Catlin), Buffalo Bull Dance. "To Make the Buffaloes Come." (1865). New York City. Hand-colored tinted lithograph. Source: SAAM #1985.66.386,594A.





FIGURE 5-33. Detail, Jean-Joseph-François Tassaert (*del.*), *Les Indiens de la tribu des Osages. / arrivant en fiacre à Paris* (1827). Paris, France. Hand-colored lithograph. Source: NEW-Ayer, Oversize Boilly Folder 2. Author's photograph.

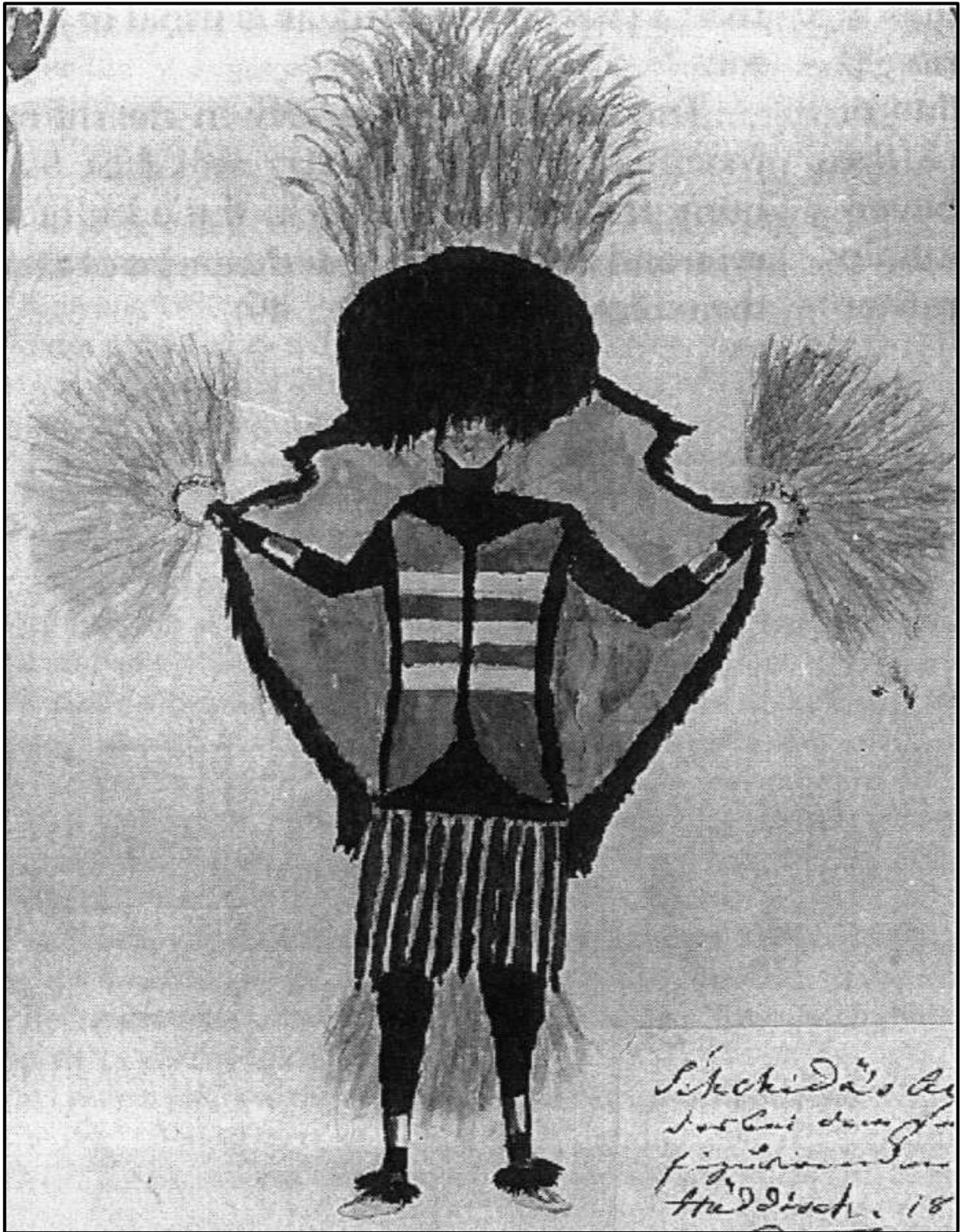


FIGURE 6-1. Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak'aki (Mandan)], frontal drawing of *Okipe* buffalo dancer (1834). Fort Clark / *Mit uta hako'sh*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.

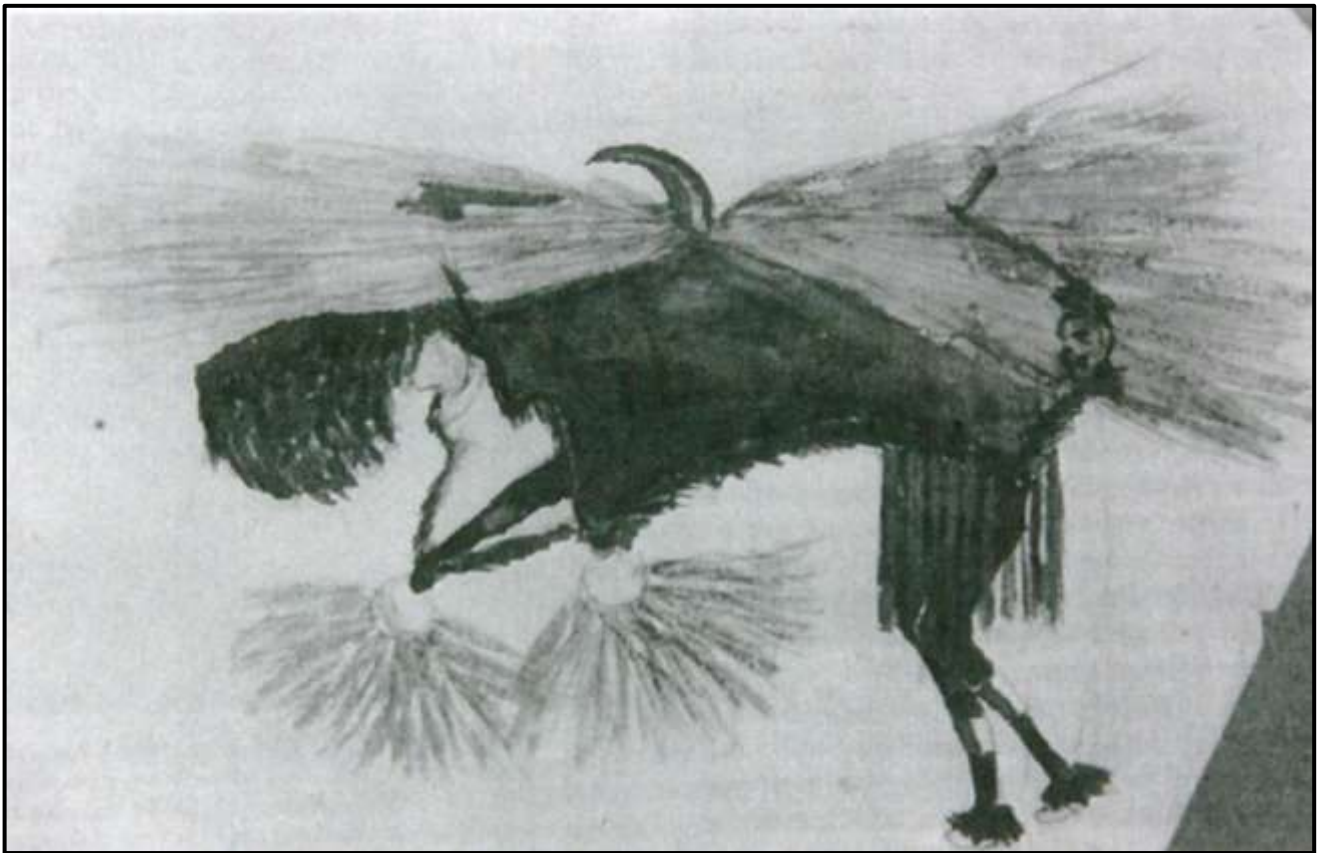


FIGURE 6-2. Sí-Sída [Be-Yellow Feather; Numak'aki (Mandan)], profile drawing of *Okípe* buffalo dancer (1834). Fort Clark / *Mít uta hako'sh*. Watercolor on paper. Source: JAM, Maximilian-Bodmer Collection.



FIGURE 6-3. Arni Brownstone, graphic illustration copied from a painted Numak'aki buffalo robe collected by Prinz Wied. Source: Arni Brownstone, "European Influence in the Mandan-Hidatsa Graphic Works Collected by Prince Maximilian of Wied," American Indian Art Magazine (Summer 2014) 59. The original *Awatíkihu* robe (dated 1834 or earlier) is in the Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, cat. no. IV B205.



FIGURE 6-4. Detail, **Figure 6-3.**

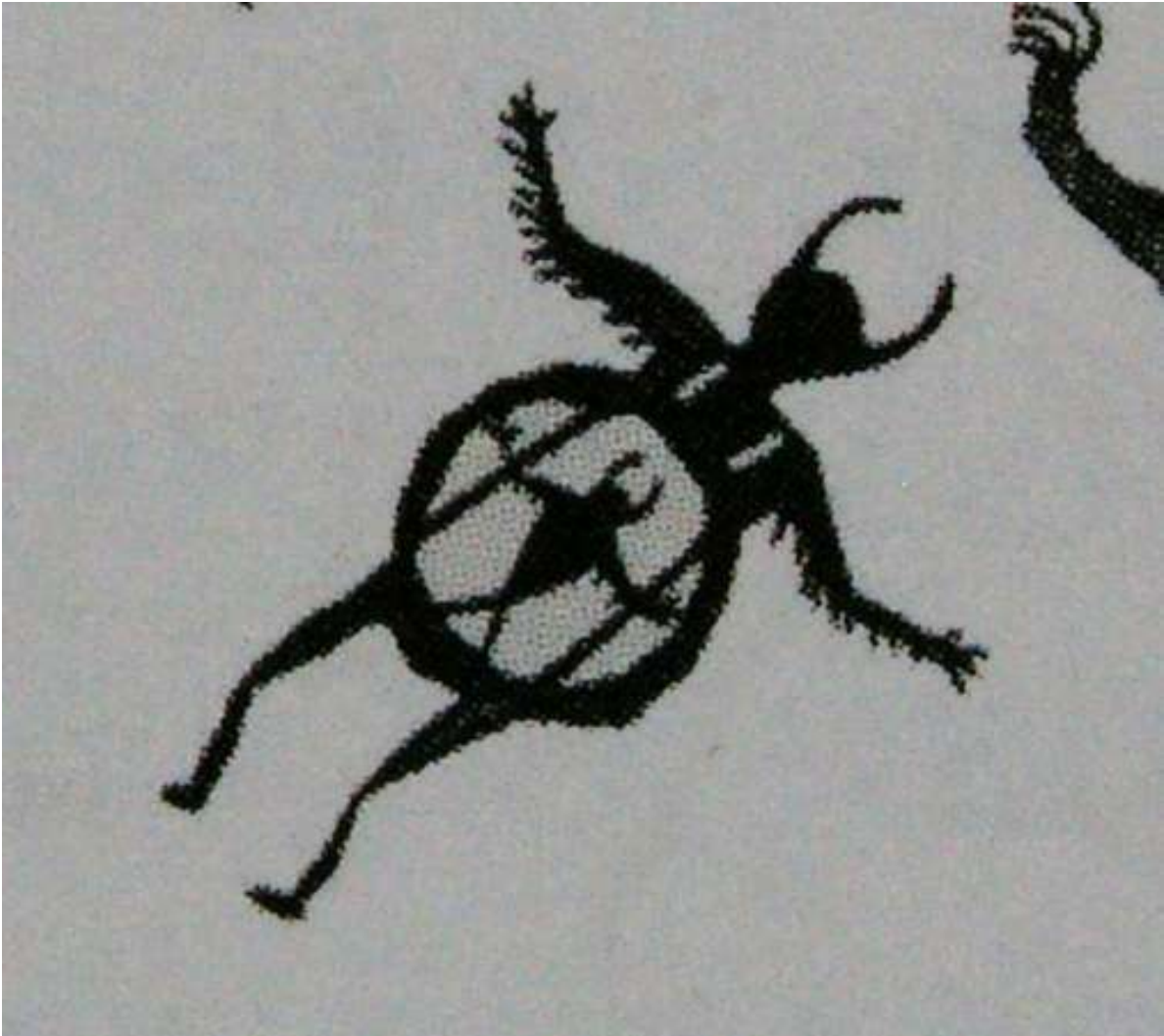


FIGURE 6-5. Detail, **Figure 6-3.**



FIGURE 6-6. Unknown *ka-ka* (possibly Moves Slowly [Numak'aki]), Little Owl notebook (after 1837?). *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Graphite in bound book. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 2003-05.

One reads the *ka-ka* list, which is the bottom two lines of the spread, by first flipping the book 90° to the left, then reading from the bottom right corner upward. Once at the top, one flips the book 180° and reads the second line, bottom to top.

FIGURE 6-7. Unknown *ka-ka* (possibly Moves Slowly [Numak'aki]), Little Owl notebook (after 1837?).
Mua-iduskupe-hicec.
Graphite in bound book.
Source: NAA, Photo Lot 2003-05.

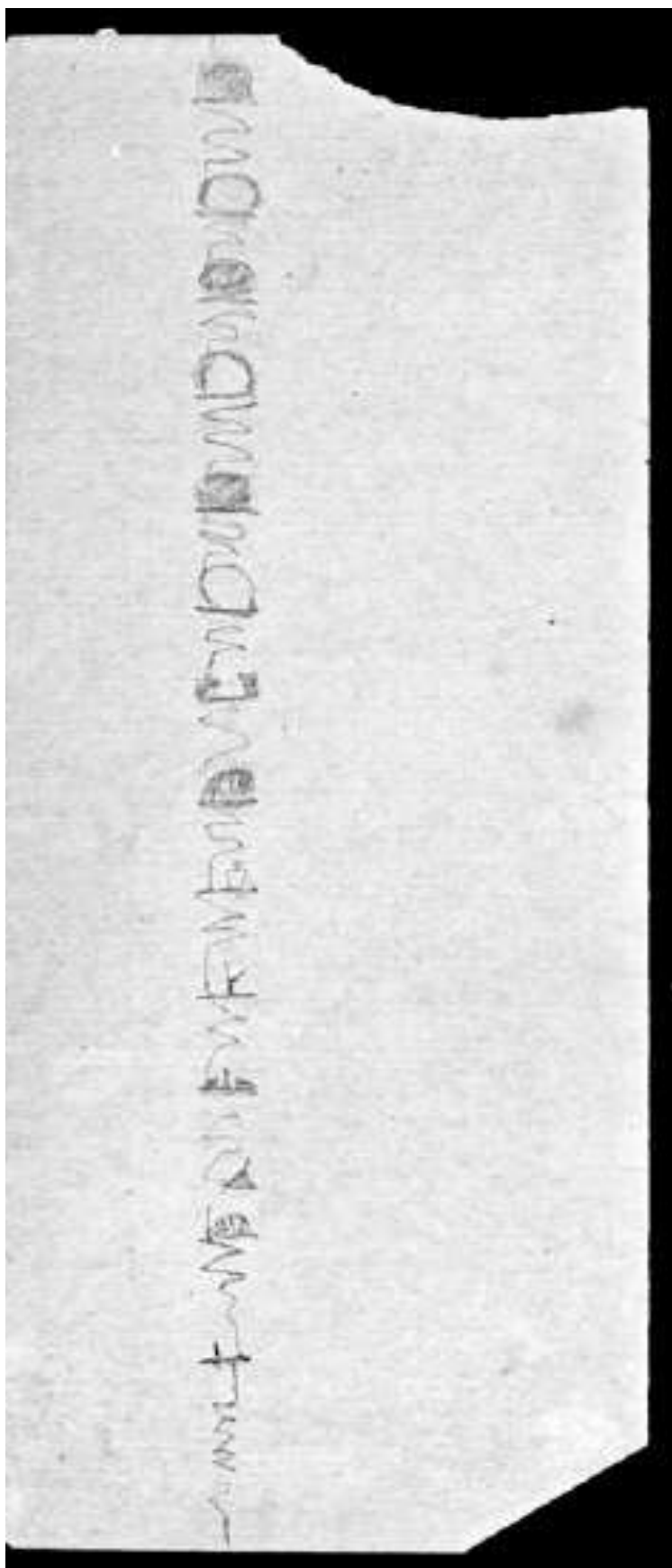




FIGURE 6-8. Red Bear [Sahnish], untitled (1875). Fort Buford. Graphite on paper. Source: NAA, MS #154064a, 085105.25.



FIGURE 6-9. Nee si Ra Pat [or Tamina WeWe in Lakota, translated as Bloody Knife; Sahnish (Arikara) / Hunkpapa], untitled (ca.1873). Fort Buford. Ink and colored pencil on paper. Source: NAA, MS #154064b, 085106.19.



FIGURE 6-10. Poor Wolf [also Lean Wolf; Minitari], untitled (ca.1890). Fort Berthold Reservation. Ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper. Source: NMAI-Coll #4/2446B.



FIGURE 7-1. Antonion Zeno Shindler, Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi (Sauk)] (ca.1876-99). Washington, D.C. Oil on paperboard. Source: SAAM #1985.66.295,538.



FIGURE 7-2. Original image: Thomas M. Easterly, Kiyo-Kaga [Keokuk; Osakiwugi] (ca.1846–7). Likely Missouri Territory. Daguerreotype. (Re)production, seen here: Antonion Zeno Shindler, Kiyo-Kaga (1868). Washington, D.C. Glass plate negative. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 60, Album 2.

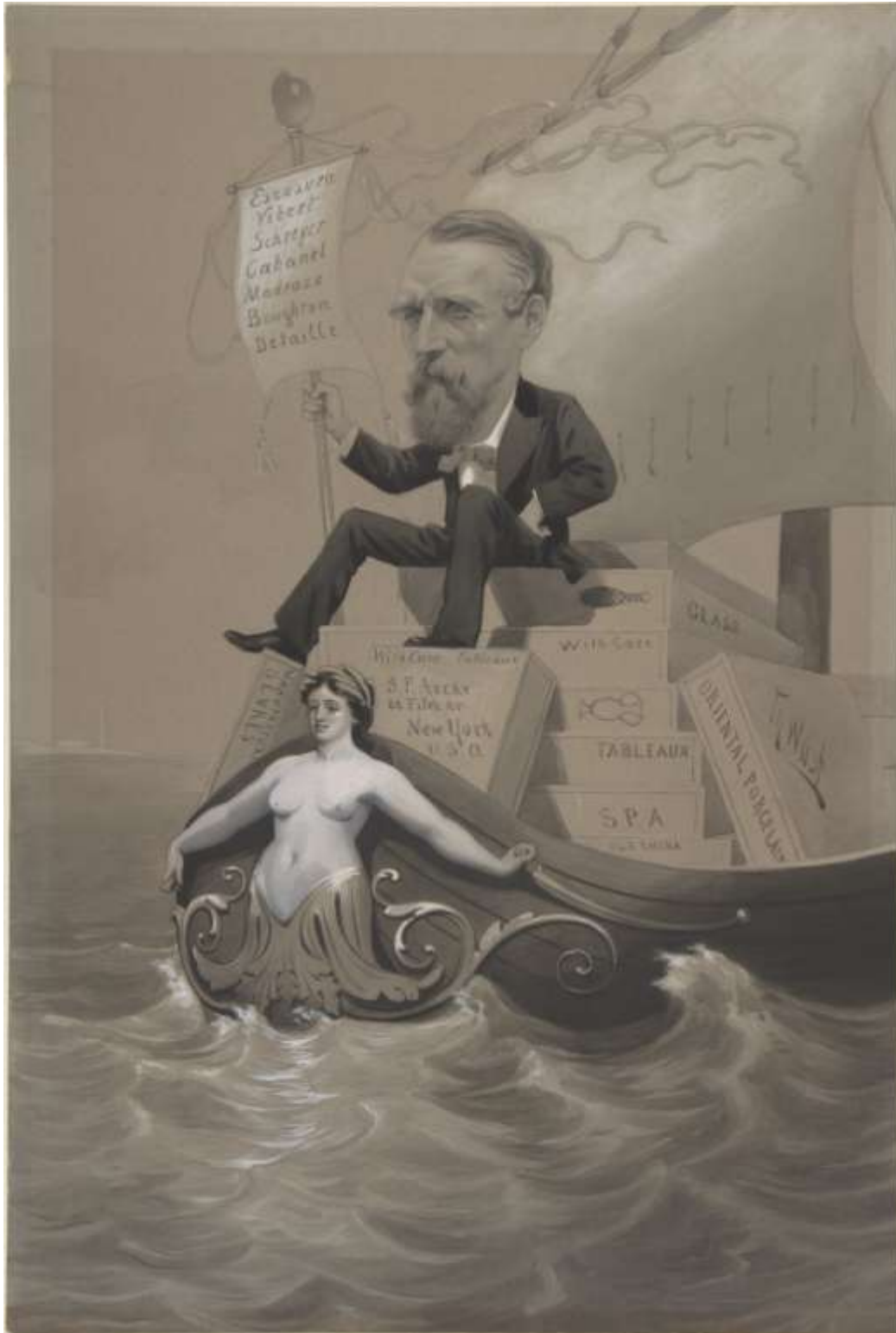


FIGURE 7-3. Theodore Wust, Samuel P. Avery Transporting His Treasures Across the Sea (ca.1875–80). New York City. Graphite, ink, and gouache on gray paper. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art #67.844.2.



FIGURE 7-4. Page from "Autographs and Sketches from Artist Friends to Samuel P. Avery 1874–1880." Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art #272.4 Au8.



FIGURE 7-5. Léon Bonnat, Plaster Cast of Antoine-Louis Barye's Hand on Barye's Palette (1897). Paris. Paint on wooden palette. Source: BMA, George A. Lucas Collection.

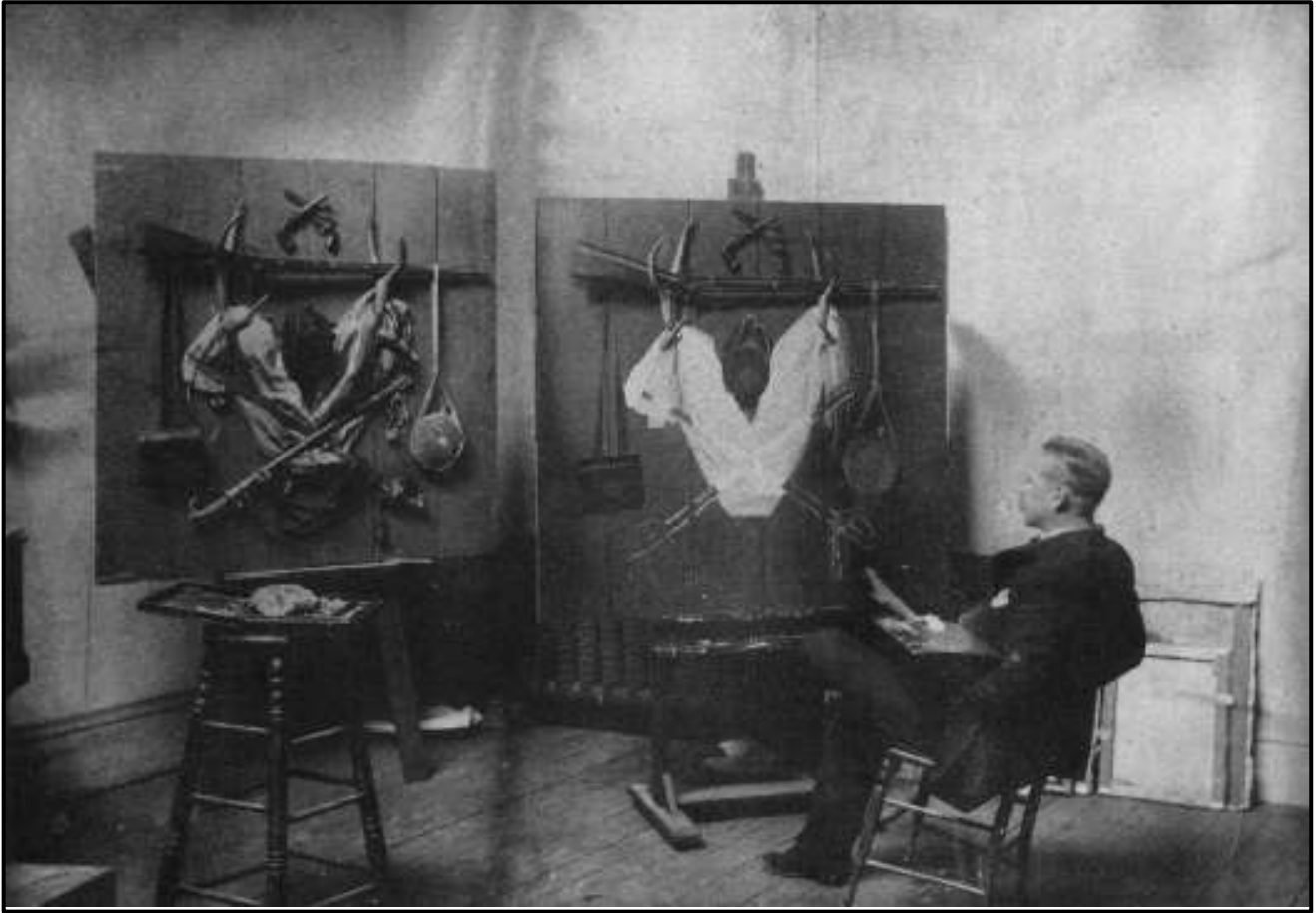


FIGURE 7-6. Unknown photographer, Alexander Pope painting Emblems of the Civil War (ca.1888). Source: Donelson F. Hoopes, appearing in Art Bulletin 79:2 (Jun 1997) 257.



FIGURE 7-7. John Haberle, Imitation (1887). Oil on canvas. Source: NGA #1998.96.1.



FIGURE 7-8. Details, Figure 7-7.



FIGURE 7-9. Detail, John Haberle, Reproduction (1888). Oil on canvas. Source: Private collection.



FIGURE 7-10. George de Forest Brush, The Picture-Writer's Story (1884). Oil on canvas. Source: American Museum of Western Art, The Anschutz Collection, Denver, CO.



FIGURE 7-11. Painted and decorated Absáalooke [Crow] buffalo robe with detail (ca.1850). Collected at Fort Benton (Montana). Buffalo hide, wool cloth, animal hooves, porcupine quills, glass beads, dyes, sinew. Source: NMAI-Coll #1/2558.





FIGURE 7-12. Detail, **Figure 7-10.**



FIGURE 7-13. William de la Montagne Cary, "Scalp Dance" with detail, from Harper's Weekly (19 Sept 1874) 773. Source: HarpWeek.com.



FIGURE 7-14. Detail, **Figure 7-13.**



FIGURE 7-15. Charles Ferdinand Wimar, The Buffalo Dance (1860). St. Louis, MO. Oil on canvas. Source: Saint Louis Art Museum #164:1946.



FIGURE 7-16. Frederic Remington, "The Buffalo Dance," Harper's Weekly 31:1585 (7 May 1887).

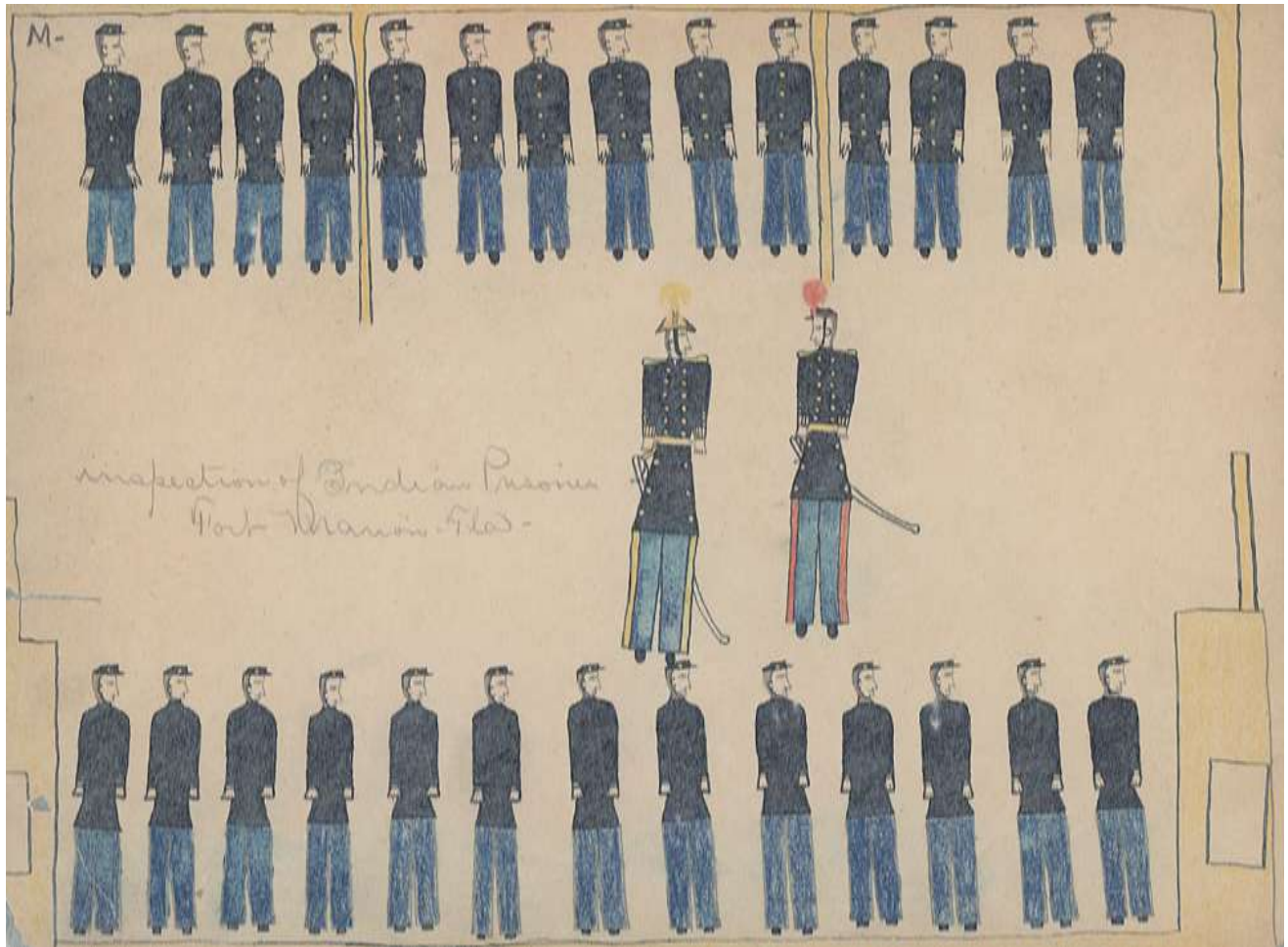


FIGURE 8-1. Oakuhhatuh [later named Making Medicine and David Pendleton Oakerhater; Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)], untitled [Drawing of Two White Soldiers with Sabers Inspecting Two Rows of Indian Prisoners in Uniform Inside Building] (1875). Fort Marion, Florida. Graphite, colored pencil, and crayon on paper. Source: NAA, Manuscript 39B.



FIGURE 8-2. Mason Pratt's Fort Marion ledger art book, bound in 1924. Source: Phillip Earenfight, *A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007) 140.



FIGURE 8-3. John N. Choate, photographs of Chiricarua Apache children [L] upon their arrival at Carlisle Industrial Indian School (4 November 1886), and [R] four months later (March 1887). Published in Our Forest Children 2:10 (Christmas 1888) 10-1. SOURCE: Photograph of author, bound volume of Our Forest Children, Ayer Collection, NEW. Sitter identifications from NMAI-Phto.

[LEFT IMAGE] Front row (L to R): Clement Seanilzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatum (Pahgostatun), Margaret Y. Nadasthilah, Frederick Eskelsejah (Fred' k Eskelsijah). Middle row (L to R): Humphrey Esehazay (Escharzay), Samson Noran, Basil Ekarden. Back row (L to R): Hugh Chee, Bishop Eatannah, Ernest Hogee.

[RIGHT PENDANT] Front row (L to R): Humphrey Escharzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatum, Bishop Eatannah, Basil Ekarden. Middle row: Margaret Y. Nadasthilah. Back row (L to R): Hugh Chee, Frederick Eskelsejah (Fred' k Eskelsijah), Clement Seanilzay, Samson Noran, Ernest Hogee.



FIGURE 8-4. Details, **Figure 8-3**. Samson Noran is marked with a “4” in both pendant photographs.



FIGURE 8-5. Leupp Art Studio, Carlisle Indian Industrial School (ca.1909). Source: NARA-I, Record group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

McKenney and Hall images within the image (L to R):

- Mohongo and child [Mi-Ho'n-Ga; Ni-u-Ko'n-Ska (Osage)]
- Keesheewaa [Mesquaki (Fox)]
- Amiskquew [Menominee]
- Yoholo-Micco [Yoholo, Micco (Chief) of Old Eufaula Town; Creek Confederacy]
- Weshcubb [Red Lake Chippewa]
- Neomonni ["Rain Cloud"; Pahoja (Ioway)]
- unidentified



FIGURE 8-6. Frank A. Rinehart/Alfred F. Muhr, Sentele [Chief Grant Richards, Titska Watitch (Tonkawa)] (1898). Indian Congress, Omaha, Nebraska. Source: OPL, Photographs by F.A. Rinehart Collection, TMI 00624.

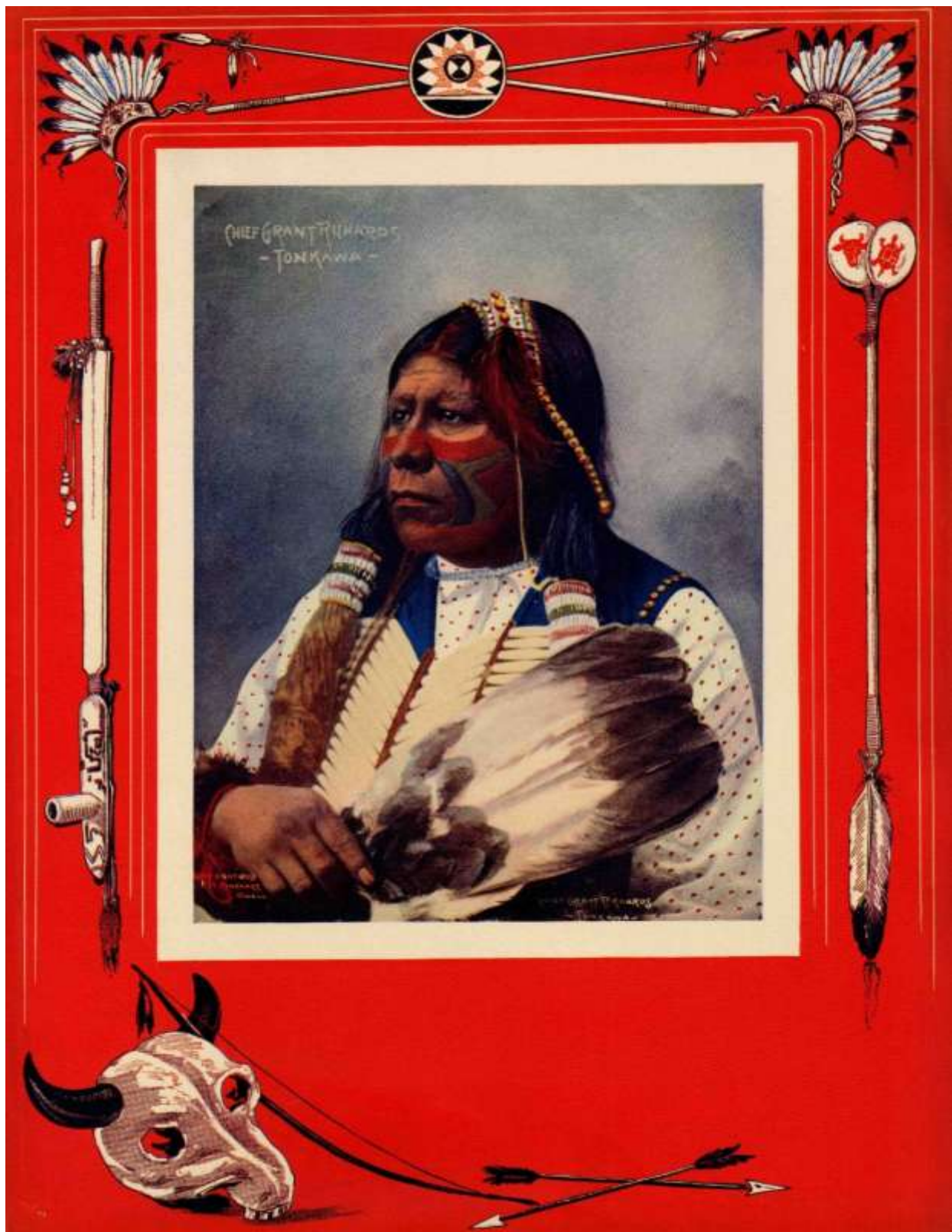


FIGURE 8-7. The Rinehart/Muhr portrait of “Chief Grant Richards” on Indian Congress Poster (1898). Photomechanical print of hand-tinted photograph. Source: OPL, TMI 05050.



FIGURE 8-8. IOGA Warwick, drinking stein with the Rinehart/Muhr portrait of “Chief Grant Richards,” manufactured for OSIRIS (Masonic) Temple (1904). Source: Phoenixmasonry Online Masonic Museum, <<http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/masonicmuseum/>>.





FIGURE 9-1. View from the internal hotel entrance to the Indian Hall, Hotel Astor, into one of two “Sioux” alcoves (ca.1905). Broadway and 44th/45th Streets, New York City. Source for all Indian Hall images: The Great Indian Hall, brochure (ca.1905).

The images within the image [R to L]:

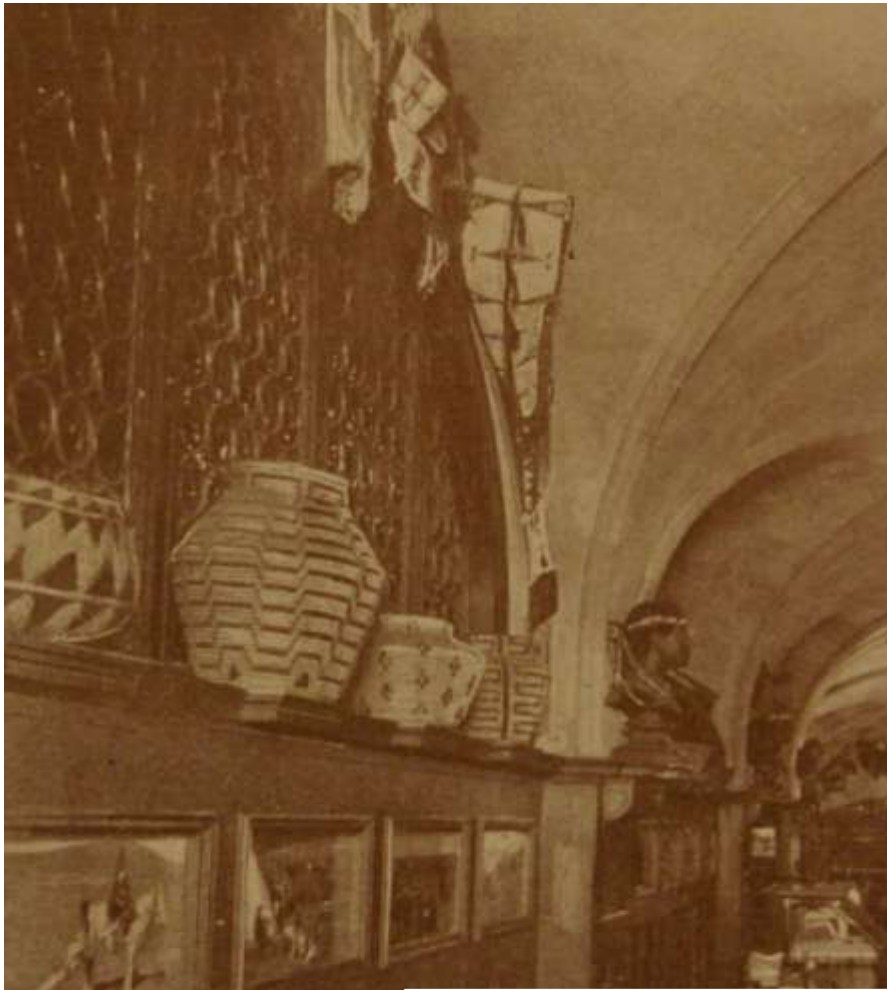
- No.51 (on column) – Karl Bodmer, A Skin Lodge of an Assiniboin Chief [Vignette 16]
- No.52 – unknown photographer
- No.53 – 3 studio portraits [missing]
- No.54, No.55 – Frank A. Rinehart, 4 Indian Congress group portraits (1898), Omaha, Nebraska
- No.56 – Bodmer, The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief [Tableau 19]
- No.57 – Bodmer, Scalp Dance of the Minatarres [Tableau 27]
- No.58 – John A. Anderson, "Sioux Indian Dance House" (1893), Rosebud Agency
- [in part: No.67, the first image of the Algonquins section – unknown photographer]
- No.59 (on column) – Bodmer, Crow Indians [Vignette 13]



FIGURE 9-2. Looking north from the Algonquin section of the Indian Hall (with the Mexico section at the far end).



FIGURE 9-3. Looking south from the Algonquin section of the Indian Hall (with the Alaska section at the far end).



Images within the image [L to R]:

No.71 – John A. Anderson, “Indian Travois” (1893)

No.72 – John A. Anderson, “Indian Home - Drying Beef” (1893) [No.71 and No.72 feature Sichánḡu [Brulé] subjects from the Rosebud agency— not Algonquin peoples.]

No.73, No.74 – unidentified images

FIGURE 9-4. Details of Indian Hall’s north view: prints in wood paneling, Algonquin section.



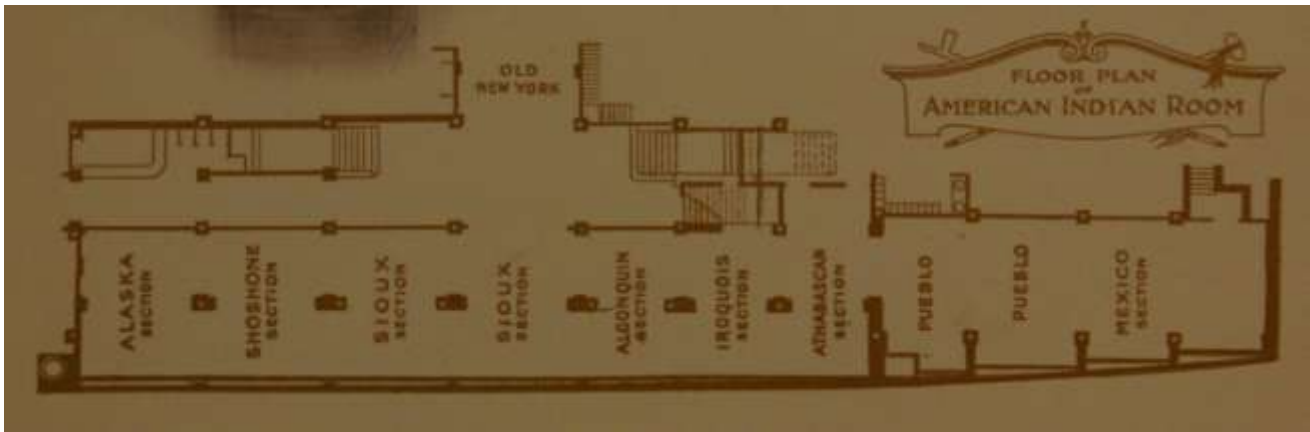


FIGURE 9-5. Floor Plan, Indian Hall, Hotel Astor (1905). The guest entrance to the dining room was through the Old New York section in the center; staff came and went through the doors in the Athabaskan section, which led to the “world’s largest kitchen.”



FIGURE 9-6. "Apache Indian" (ca.1905). Photoengraving.



FIGURE 9-7. No author, "Preserving the Indian" (n.d.). Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 590, Folder 6.



FIGURE 9-8. No.94 – “Types of Navajo.” Albumen prints affixed to paper board.
Source: AC-FAM #1937.5.263.94.



FIGURE 9-9. [L] Charles Milton Bell, Haastin Ch'il Haajini [Manuelito; Diné] (1874).
Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative. Source: NAA, BAE GN
02390 06394700.

FIGURE 9-10. [C] Charles Milton Bell, Manuelito Segundo [Diné] (1874).
Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative. Source: NAA, BAE GN
02392 06394800.

FIGURE 9-11. [R] Charles Milton Bell, Juanita (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and
white collodion glass negatives. Source: NAA, BAE GM 02391 Broken Negative file
06665800.



FIGURE 9-12. "From Hayden's Survey—No. 133. Navajoe Blanket-maker." Stereograph card. Source: NAA, Photo Lot 90-1, no. 211.



FIGURE 9-13. Charles M. Bell, fronts, backs, and details of *carte de visite* cards labeled “Juanita. / Navajo.” and “Manulito. / Navajo.” (1874). Collected by Aleš Hrdlička. Source: NAA, SPC Sw Navaho 4877 02274400, SPC Sw Navaho 4877 02274300.

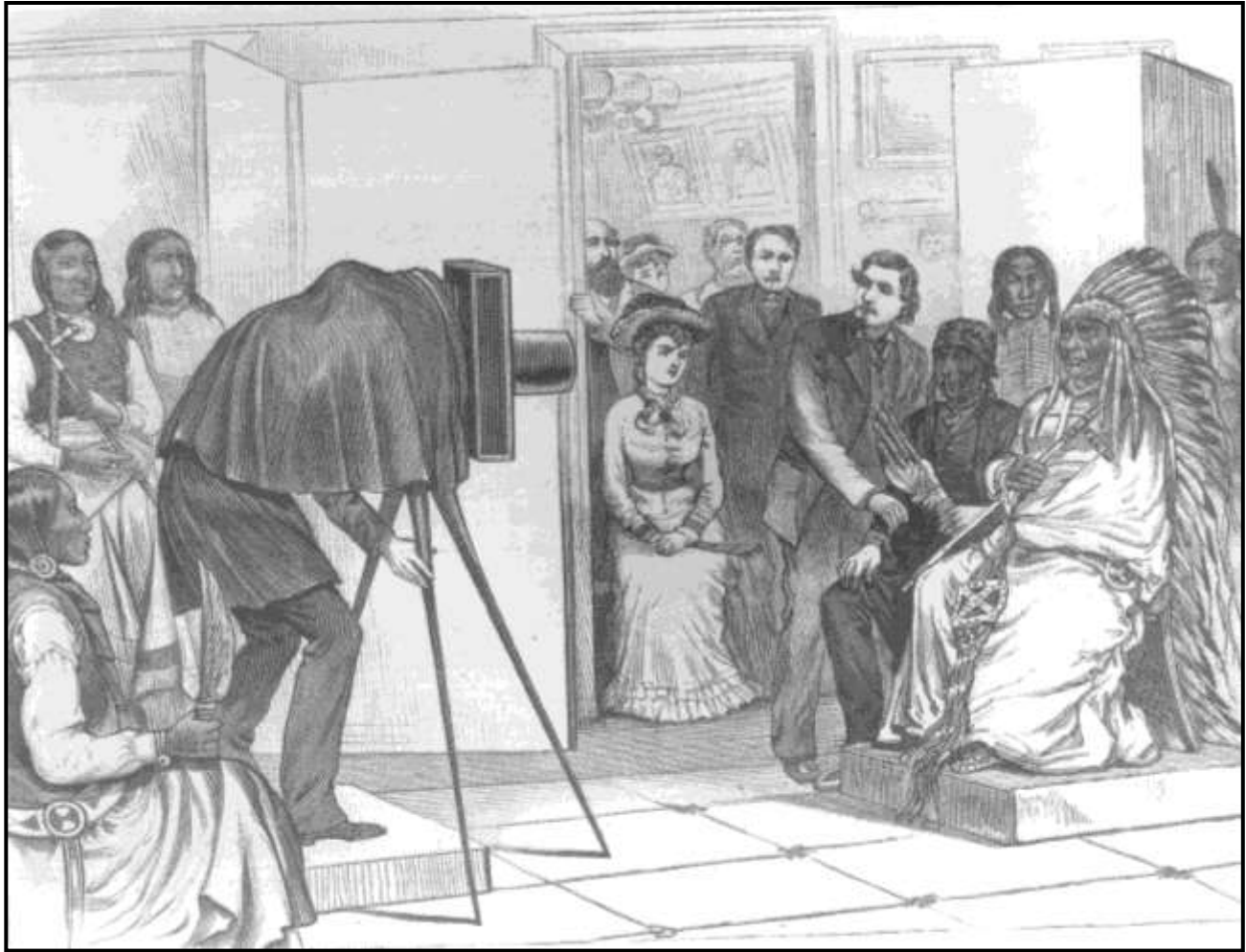


FIGURE 9-14. Unidentified engraver [after a sketch by A.B. Shults], Charles Milton Bell photographing Sichánǵu [Lakota] delegates in his studio (1881). Wood engraving. Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly (10 September 1881).



FIGURE 9-15. [L] Detail, Charles Milton Bell, Manuelito Segundo (1874). Washington, D.C. Black and white collodion glass negative. Source: NAA, BAE GN 02392 06394800. [R] Detail, John Trumbull, George Washington (1780). Oil on canvas. Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art.



FIGURE 9-16. No.100 – “Types of Navaho.” Albumen prints affixed to paper board. Source: AC-FAM #1937.5.263.100.

Images within the image [L to R]:

- James Mooney, “Old Warrior” [Diné] (1893). Arizona Keams Canyon Reservation. Possible source plate: NAA, BAE GN 02412 06397600.
- George Hubbard Pepper, portrait of José (also known as Whalus) [Diné] (Jul-Sept 1897). Lantern slide (negative now lost). Image source: NMAI-Phto, George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection 1895–1918, L01532.

Subject notation: #739 in the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), titled “José – Whalus – posing – front view” [NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 188, Folder 10, p.137]. The sitter was a laborer for the HEE, and went by José in 1897 (Jul–Sept) but Whalus in 1898 (Jun/Aug/Sept) [Hyde Expedition Wage Book (1896–8), NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 87, Folder 7].

- Charles M. Bell, Captain Cayatanita [Diné] (1874). Washington, D.C. Source plate: NAA, BAE GN 02389 06394600.



FIGURE 9-17. Specimen scrapbook of wood engraver H.E. Holloway (1850–60). Source: Author’s photograph, AAS.



FIGURE 9-18. Lorenzo Hubbell's living room (n.d.). Ganado, New Mexico. Source: Museum of New Mexico.



FIGURE 9-19. J.E. Standley's residential Indian Corner on a promotional postcard for Standley's Ye Olde Curiosity Shop (1905). Seattle, WA. Source: Kate Duncan, 1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000) 117.



FIGURE 9-20. Interior of the Crawford residence (n.d.). Fort Craig, New Mexico. Weaving samplers hang under the mantel, and baskets and pottery appear on various shelves of the right-hand hutch. Additional photographs of the room also show large baskets around the parlor's tables. Source: Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library.

An Exhibit of BLANKETS and Blanket-Making by the Navajo Indians

THE Hyde Exploring Expedition is making wise and able efforts to develop the latent genius that has been discovered in the Navajo Indians. The white men allowed they profess to derisively, not for their own sake, cotton wools and German wool have been used by the Navajo in making their blankets. They have also copied the white man's designs, and the original designs were going out of existence, and the art of the Navajo was becoming lost.

The Hyde Exploring Expedition captured its while on visiting the Indian land to his aboriginal handicraft. He was encouraged to spin his own wool, for both warp and filling. Also to create his own designs and bring out the artistic primitive which give value to his product.

There were the question of marketing the product. Many people readily bought the hybrid Navajos that have been spotted in various ways during recent years; but this is the first time that a large collection has been made of thoroughly genuine Navajo blankets, shawls, aprons, moccasins and leggings, and executed by his own hand throughout.

The collection being ready, a fitting place to exhibit and sell it was needed, and the WANAMAKER STORE was selected to present the industry and the product to the people of New York.

The primary object of the effort is to sell the blankets, and the art products of the art are to be used in further education of the Indians; and yet it is also an Educational Exhibit at the An War of the Navajo Indians which will be of business interest to students of ethnology; and all things in sympathy with the work of encouraging the Indians in the development of his own primitive ideas as applied to the blanket industry.

There is also an exhibition a large number of photographs illustrating the various stages of production; as well as the implements used. Blankets in the loom show the process in the making stages.

The blankets are woven thick and heavy, and are used for rugs, couch covers, carriage covers, hangings for sleds and coyote covers. These show on one are splendid specimens, of which the collection was the finest. They were to be through the Hyde Exploring Expedition, which visited the their greatest qualities, and the stereotyped character of them.

The exhibition is on the Third floor, and our public is invited to view as well as buy.

The Navajo Indians
 DISCOVERED BY THE HYDE EXPEDITION
 -Discovered at a surprising distance from the
 Grand Canyon-

The Navajo Indians, the great American have found the white man's designs, and the original designs were going out of existence, and the art of the Navajo was becoming lost.

The Hyde Exploring Expedition captured its while on visiting the Indian land to his aboriginal handicraft. He was encouraged to spin his own wool, for both warp and filling. Also to create his own designs and bring out the artistic primitive which give value to his product.

There were the question of marketing the product. Many people readily bought the hybrid Navajos that have been spotted in various ways during recent years; but this is the first time that a large collection has been made of thoroughly genuine Navajo blankets, shawls, aprons, moccasins and leggings, and executed by his own hand throughout.

The collection being ready, a fitting place to exhibit and sell it was needed, and the WANAMAKER STORE was selected to present the industry and the product to the people of New York.

The primary object of the effort is to sell the blankets, and the art products of the art are to be used in further education of the Indians; and yet it is also an Educational Exhibit at the An War of the Navajo Indians which will be of business interest to students of ethnology; and all things in sympathy with the work of encouraging the Indians in the development of his own primitive ideas as applied to the blanket industry.

There is also an exhibition a large number of photographs illustrating the various stages of production; as well as the implements used. Blankets in the loom show the process in the making stages.

The blankets are woven thick and heavy, and are used for rugs, couch covers, carriage covers, hangings for sleds and coyote covers. These show on one are splendid specimens, of which the collection was the finest. They were to be through the Hyde Exploring Expedition, which visited the their greatest qualities, and the stereotyped character of them.

The exhibition is on the Third floor, and our public is invited to view as well as buy.

FIGURE 9-21. Wanamaker Department Store advertisement and detail, *New York Times* (16 Apr 1901). Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 590, Folder 7.



blanket woven
by the wife of
Bindijohn



the wife of Masselina
demonstrating how to spin
wool



An Exhibit Blanket-Making

THE Hyde Exploring Expedition is
to develop the latent genius that
Maori Indians. The idea had already been
also copied for white men's clothes, and the original design was going out in
success.

The Hyde Exploring Expedition...
The primary object of the effort is to sell the Maori, and the art pro-
education were among the Indians; and yet it is like an educational exhibit,
which will be of immense interest to students of ethnology; and all orders in my
book in the development of his own people (as applied to the Maori).
There is also an exhibition of photographs, illustrating
the implements used. Maori is the name given to the Maori.
The Maori are woven thick and heavy, and are used for caps, coats,
and other covers. These are of fine and splendid specimens, of which the col-
lection is in



the wife of Haastin Tsó cleaning wool



unidentified woman carding
finished blanket

FIGURE 9-22. George Hubbard Pepper, original photographs used for **Figure 9-21** (from top right): blanket woven by the wife of Bindijohn; unidentified woman carding blanket; wife of Haastin Tsó cleaning wool; wife of Masselina demonstrating how to spin wool (1896-7). Source: George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection, 1895-1918, NMAI-Phto, Nos. P01658, P01668, P01661, and P01659. Identifications from the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 188, Folder 10, p.133-5.



FIGURE 9-23. Franz Boas demonstrating position of Inuit harpoon for life group at the AMNH (1904–5). Source: AMNH, Dept. of Library Services, Neg. 3220.

FIGURE 9-24. [TOP] Franz Boas posing for central figure for U.S. National Museum display, "Hamats'a Coming Out of Secret Room" (ca.1895). Black and white glass negative. Source: NAA, Negative MNH 8300.



FIGURE 9-25. [BOTTOM] The diorama "Hamats'a Coming Out of Secret Room" at the U.S. National Museum (ca.1895). Plate 29 in Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," Report of the National Museum, 1894-5. Black and white photoprint on cardboard mount. Source: NAA, SPC Nwc Kwakiutl NM No.# Boas 09070500.





FIGURE 9-26. Thomas Lunt, Sigurd Neandross making AMNH models for Northwest Coast ceremonial canoe (October 1910). American Museum of Natural History, New York City, NY. Glass negative. Source: AMNH Library, Neg. no. 33008.

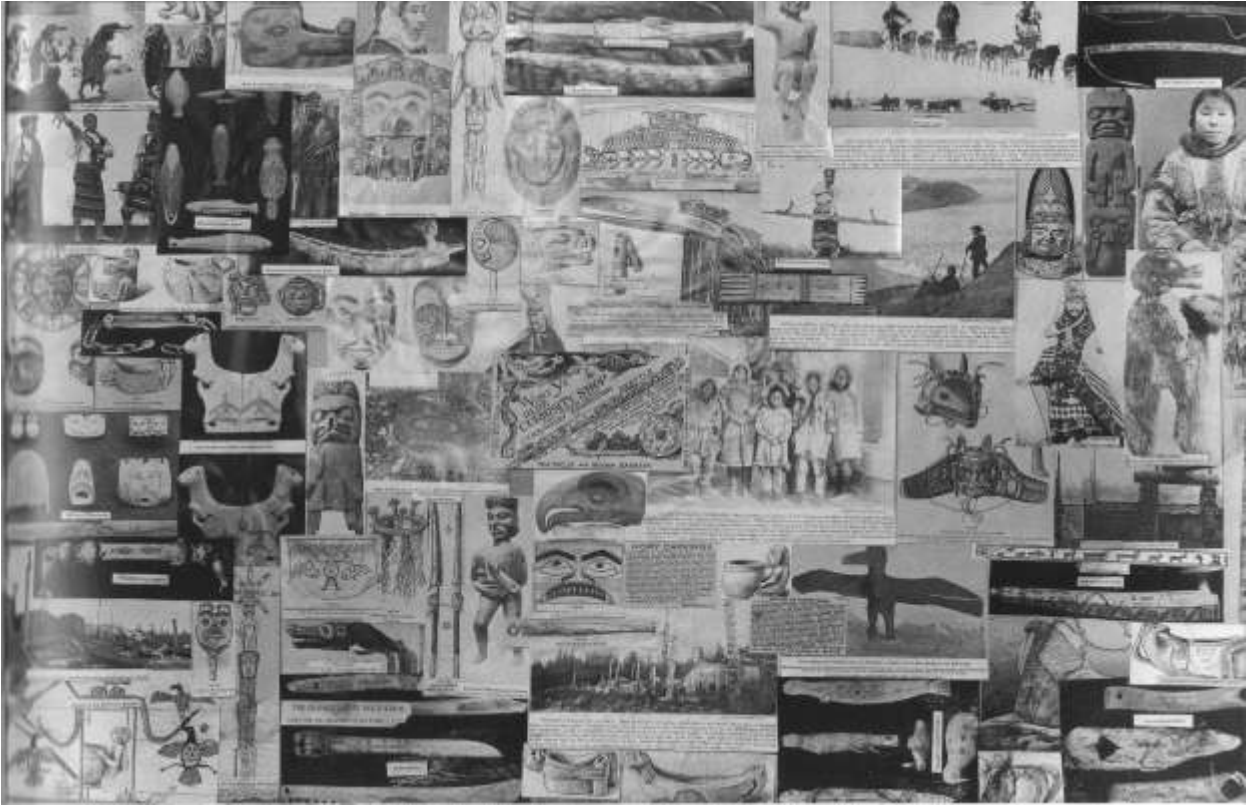


FIGURE 9-27. J.E. Standley, framed montage of print pages from BAE and National Museum reports (ca.1901). Source: Kate Duncan, 1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000) 21.

Papers used for the montage: Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," and Walter J. Hoffman, "The Graphic Art of the Eskimos" (both from Report of the National Museum, 1894-5); and Edward W. Nelson, "The Eskimo About Bering Strait" (Eighteenth Annual Report of the BAE, 1896-7).

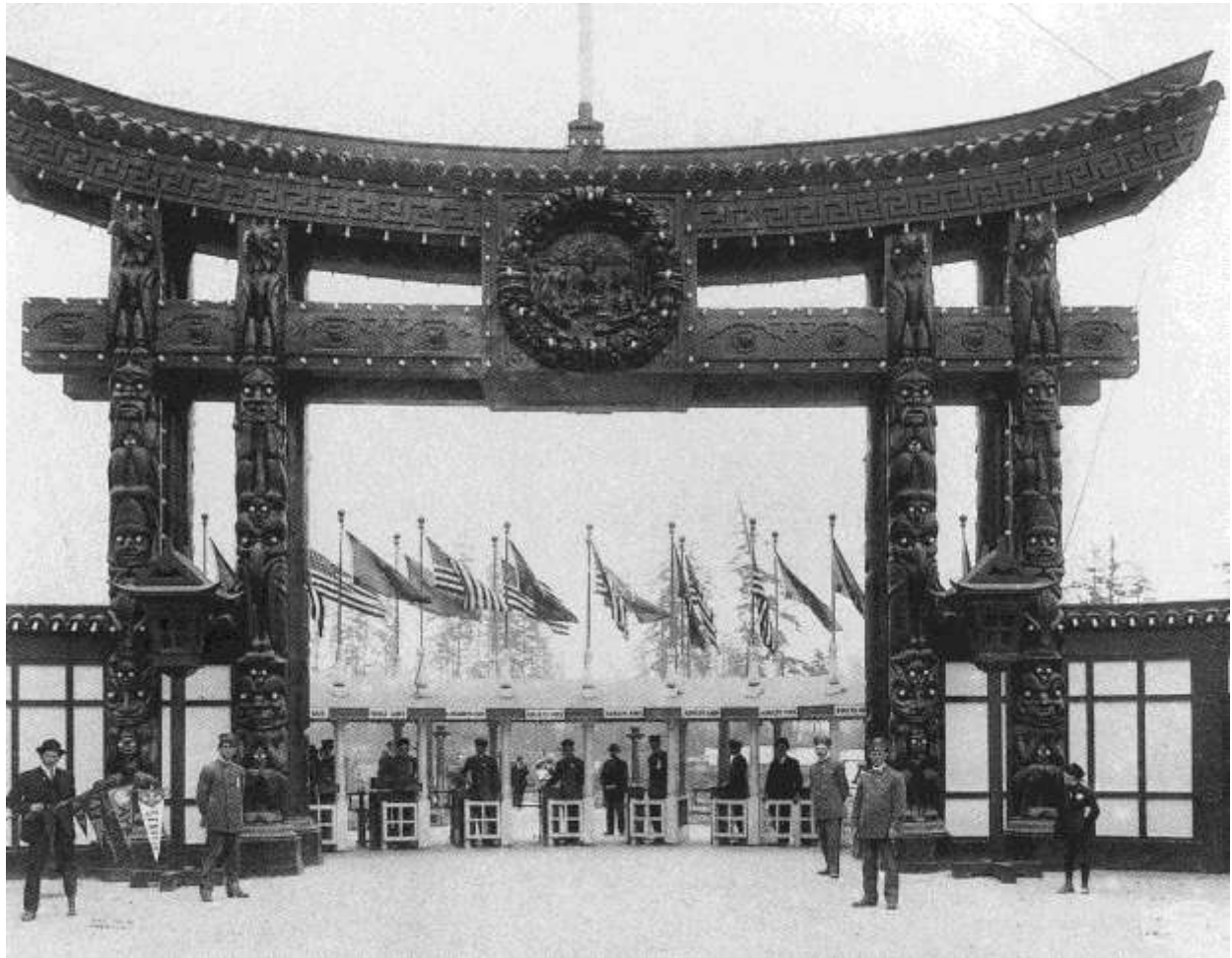


FIGURE 9-28. Frank Nowell, *torii*-like [Shinto] south entrance of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (1909). Source: University of Washington Libraries, neg. X1900.

Exhibition planners took the totem designs from Standley's copy of Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the National Museum, 1894-5). The eyes of the figures were light bulbs, which were illuminated at night.



FIGURE 9-29. Julius Kirschner, preparing slide orders for delivery to New York City public schools (Apr 1925). American Museum of Natural History, New York City, NY. Film negative. Source: AMNH Library, Neg. no. 310916.

This 1925 photograph of the AMNH education division shows staff preparing 14,911 slides to fill 340 orders for distribution to 131 public schools in New York City. The division also loaned out films, photographs, and prints, as well as dioramas and casts in specially made carrying cases.



FIGURE 9-30. Pages from The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States series, Volume 1: Adventurers in the Wilderness by Clark Wissler, Constance Lindsay Skinner, and William Wood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p.47, 50, 53, and 54.



FIGURE 9-31. "Some of the Famous Generals of the U.S. Army under whom Buffalo Bill Has Served," from the 1907 Buffalo Bill program. General Crook is near Cody's shoulder on the left. Source: HathiTrust Digital Library, original from Princeton University Library.

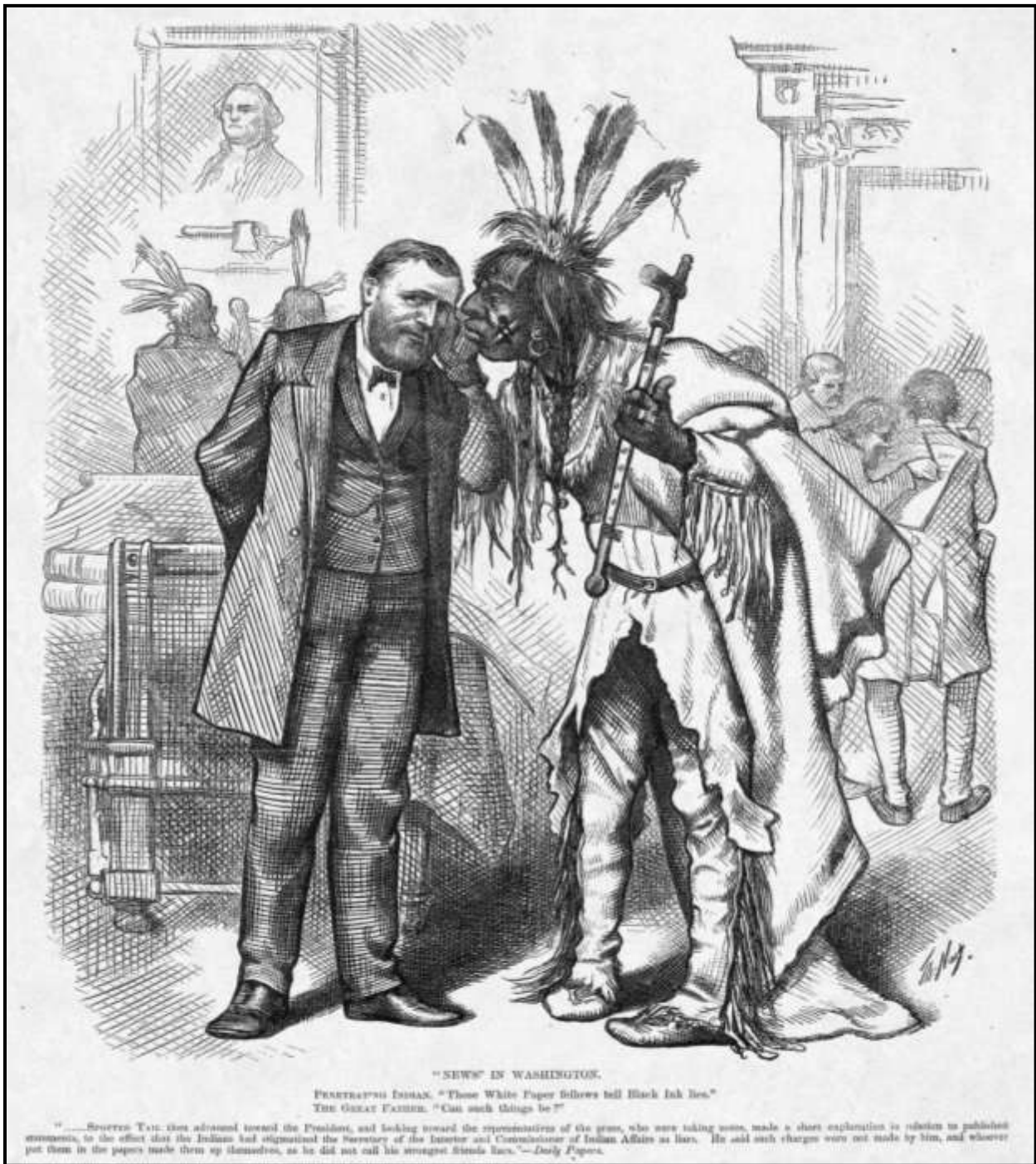


FIGURE 9-32. Thomas Nast, "News' in Washington," cover illustration, Harper's Weekly 19:964 (19 Jun 1875).

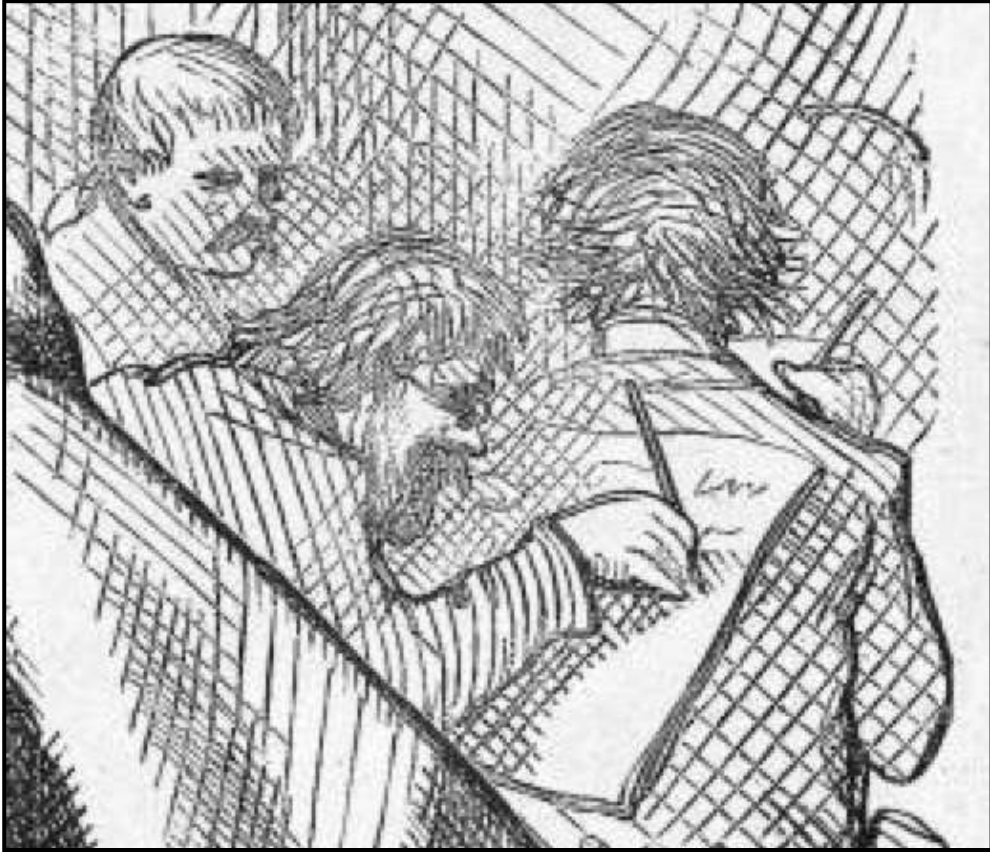


FIGURE 9-33. Detail, **Figure 9-32.**

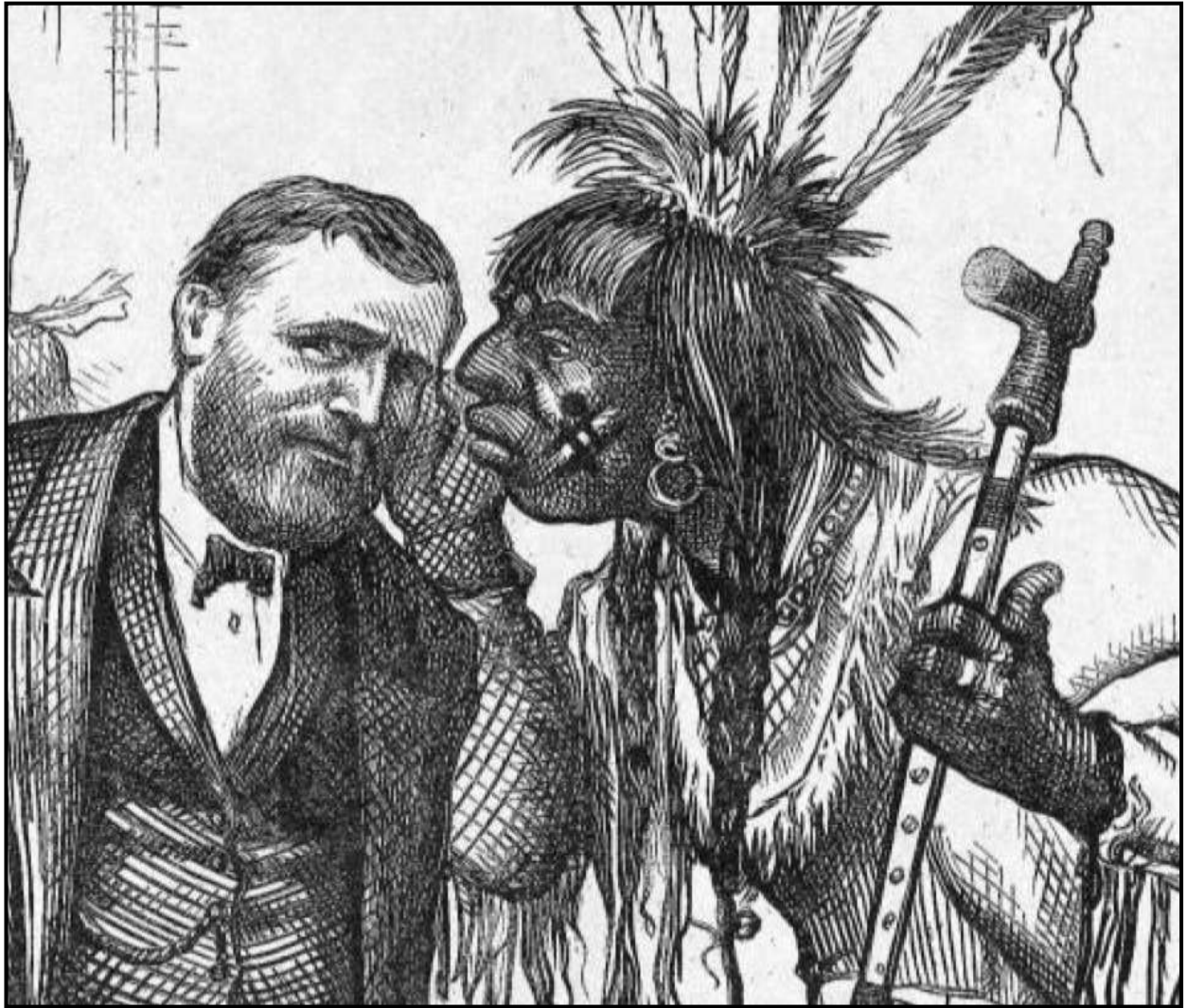


FIGURE 9-34. Detail, **Figure 9-32.**

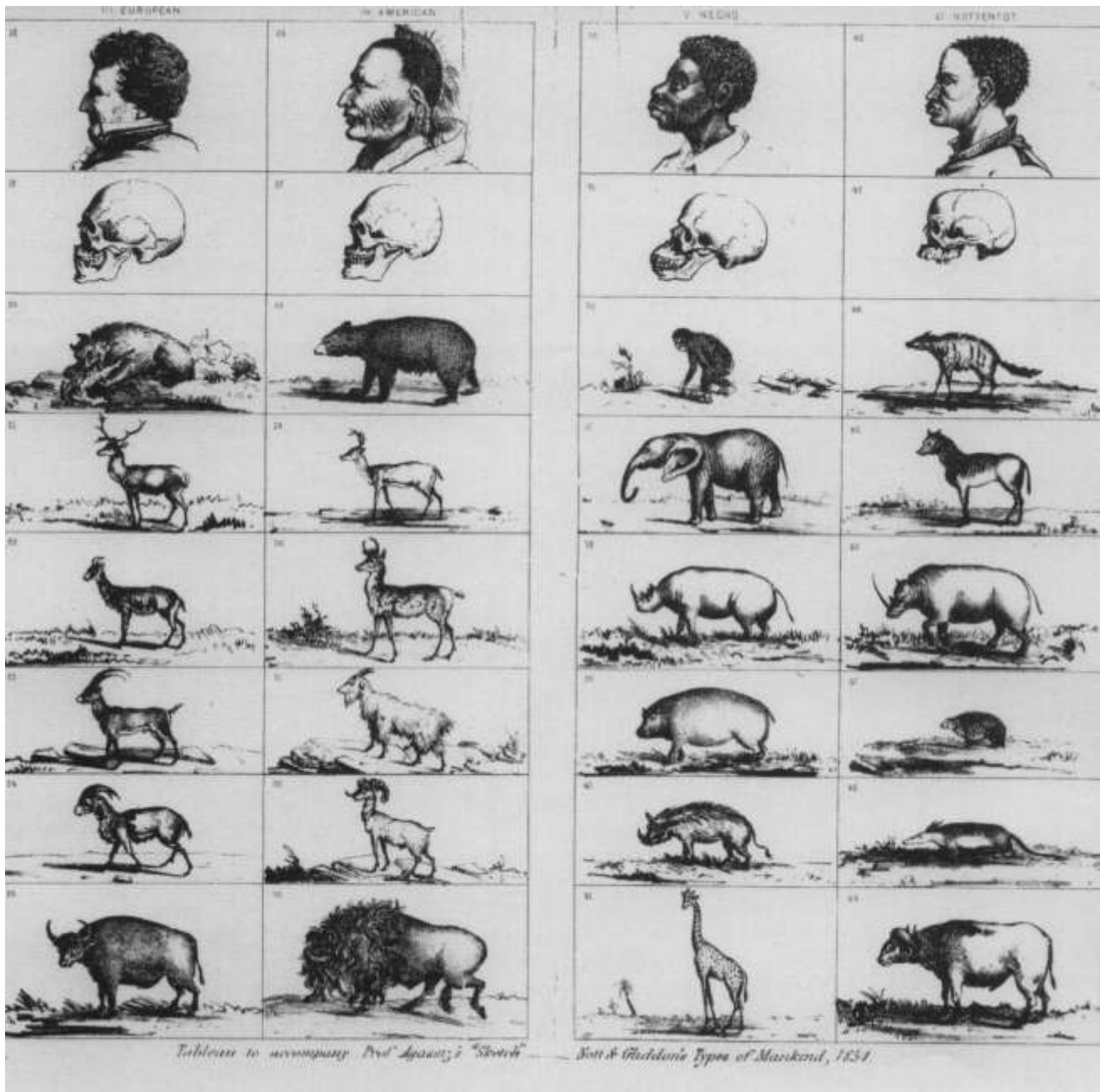


FIGURE 9-35. Detail, frontispiece, Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon, Types of Mankind: or Ethnological Researches, Based upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, Grambo, 1854). Source: Alderman Library, University of Virginia.



FIGURE 9-36. Details for comparison, **Figures 9-32** and **9-35**.



FIGURE 10-1. [LEFT] Unknown photographer, Alexander Posey (ca.1900). Source: Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. Collection, American Native Press Archives, University of Arkansas at Little Rock.



FIGURE 10-2. [RIGHT] Frontispiece of the first edition of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass (1855). Engraving by Samuel Hollyer after a lost daguerreotype by Gabriel Harrison (1854).

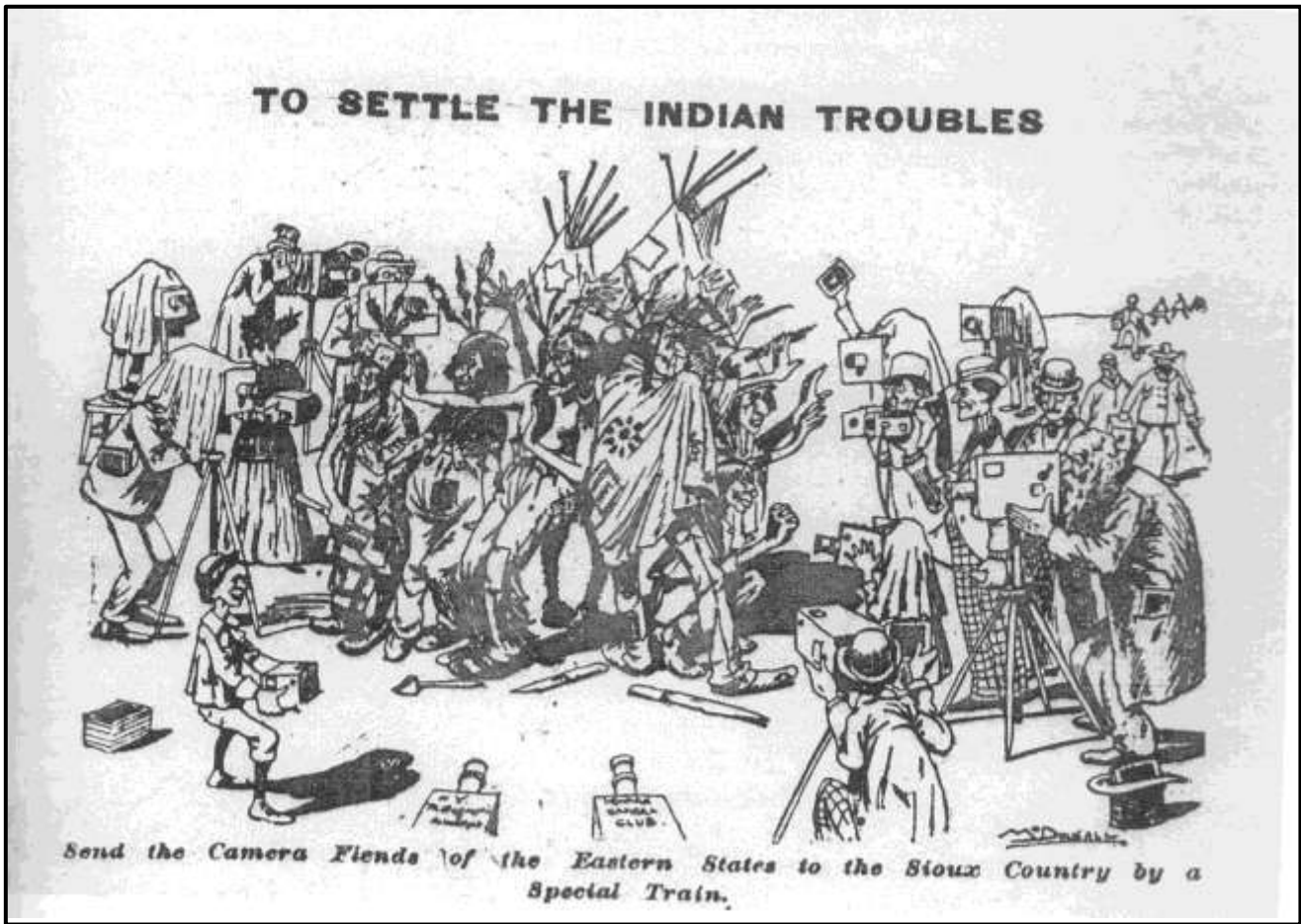


FIGURE 10-3. McDougall, "To Settle the Indian Troubles," New York World (30 November 1890). Source: General Research Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.



FIGURE 10-4. State of Sequoyah celluloid pinback (ca.1905). Indian Territory, Oklahoma.



FIGURE 10-5. George Hubbard Pepper, Masselina and wife combing hair (1896-7). Glass plate negative. Image source: NMAI-Phto, George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection 1895-1918, N02429.

Subject notation: #731 in the Hyde Expedition Photograph Log (1900), titled "Masselina + [wife] Hair about shoulders." [NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 188, Folder 10, p.137]. Masselina was a laborer for the HEE in 1896 (Jul-Sept) and 1897 (May-Aug) [Hyde Expedition Wage Book (1896-8), NMAI-Arch, MAI Records, Box 87, Folder 7].

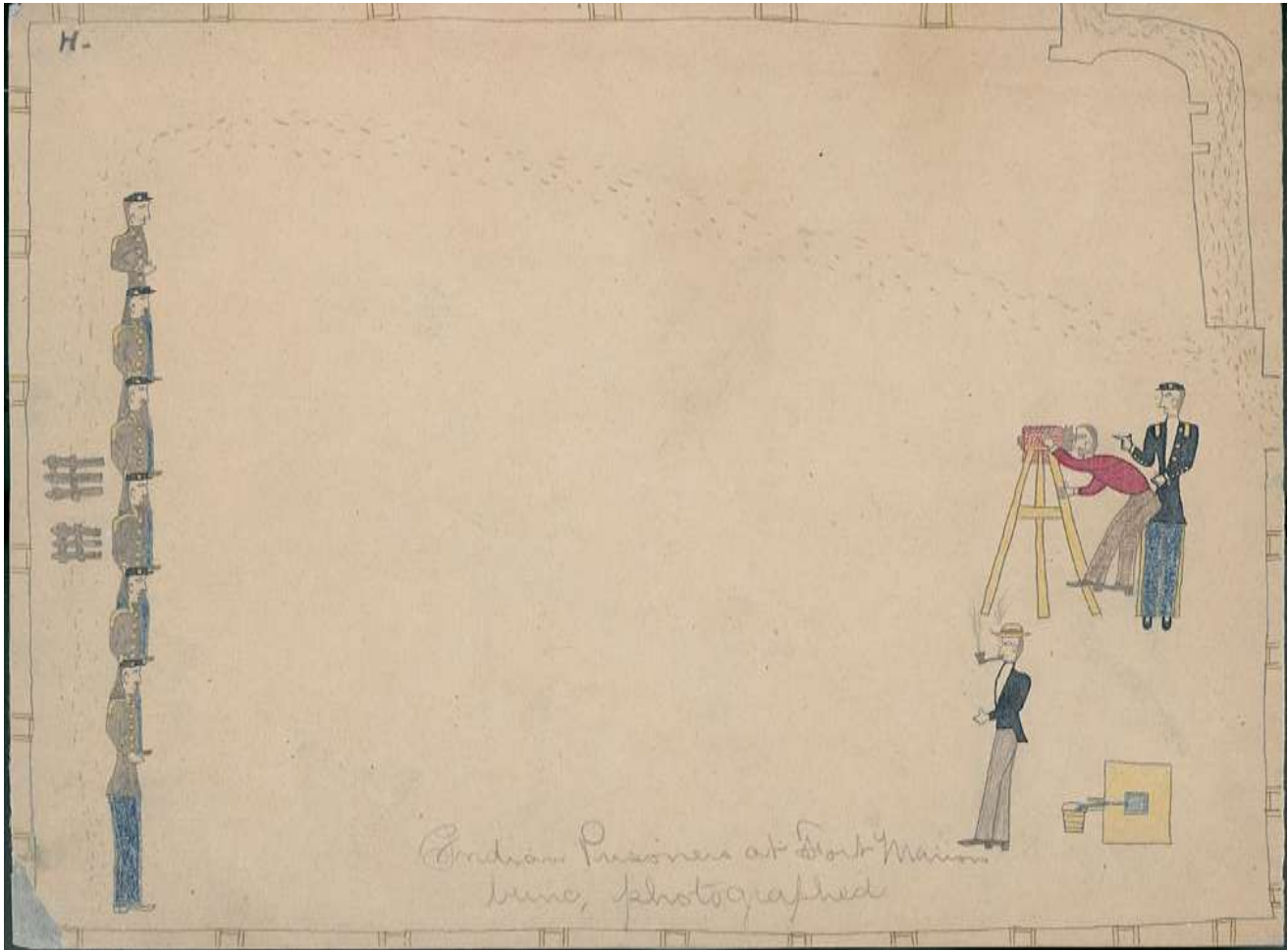


FIGURE 10-6. Oakuhhatuh [later named Making Medicine and David Pendleton Oakerhater; Tse-tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne)], untitled [Drawing of Indian Prisoners Being Photographed at Fort Marion] (1875). Fort Marion, Florida. Source: NAA, Manuscript 39B.



FIGURE 10-7. Details, from top left, of **Figures 9-14, 10-6, and 1-12.** [BOTTOM LEFT] Unidentified artist, "The Buffalo Dance," from Seven and Nine Years among the Camanches and Apaches. An Autobiography (Jersey City, NJ: Clark Johnson, M.D., 1873). Source: NEW-Ayer. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 10-8. John Anderson's Rosebud Agency trading post, in a photograph taken by himself (1893). Source: Paul Dyck, Brulé: The Sioux People of the Rosebud (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1971) 23.



FIGURE 10-9. Clarence G. Morledge, Red Cloud's bedroom, Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota (1891). Source: Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, RG2845:119-9.



FIGURE 10-10. Tom Jones [Ho-Chunk], Choka Watching Oprah (1998). From The Ho Chunk People photographic essay. Source: The artist's website.



FIGURE 10-11. MHA Nation tribal logo. Source: MHA Nation website.



FIGURE 10-12. Frank A. Rinehart/Alfred Muhr, Sunghdeska Kte [“Kills the Spotted Horse,” Hohe Nakota (Assiniboin)], from Montana (1898). Omaha, Nebraska. Source: OPL, TMI 02149.



FIGURE 10-13. Detail, **Figure 10-12.**



FIGURE 11-1. Unknown photographer, opening reception, Two American Painters (late Sept 1972). American Embassy, Bucharest, Rumania. Source: Fritz Scholder (New York: Rizzoli, 1982).



FIGURE 11-2. Unidentified photographer (10 Mar 1973). Wounded Knee, South Dakota. United Press International. Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 422, Folder 18.



FIGURE 11-3. Exhibition gallery of Two American Painters (Apr 1972).
National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, DC. Source: SIA, RU 448, Box 8.

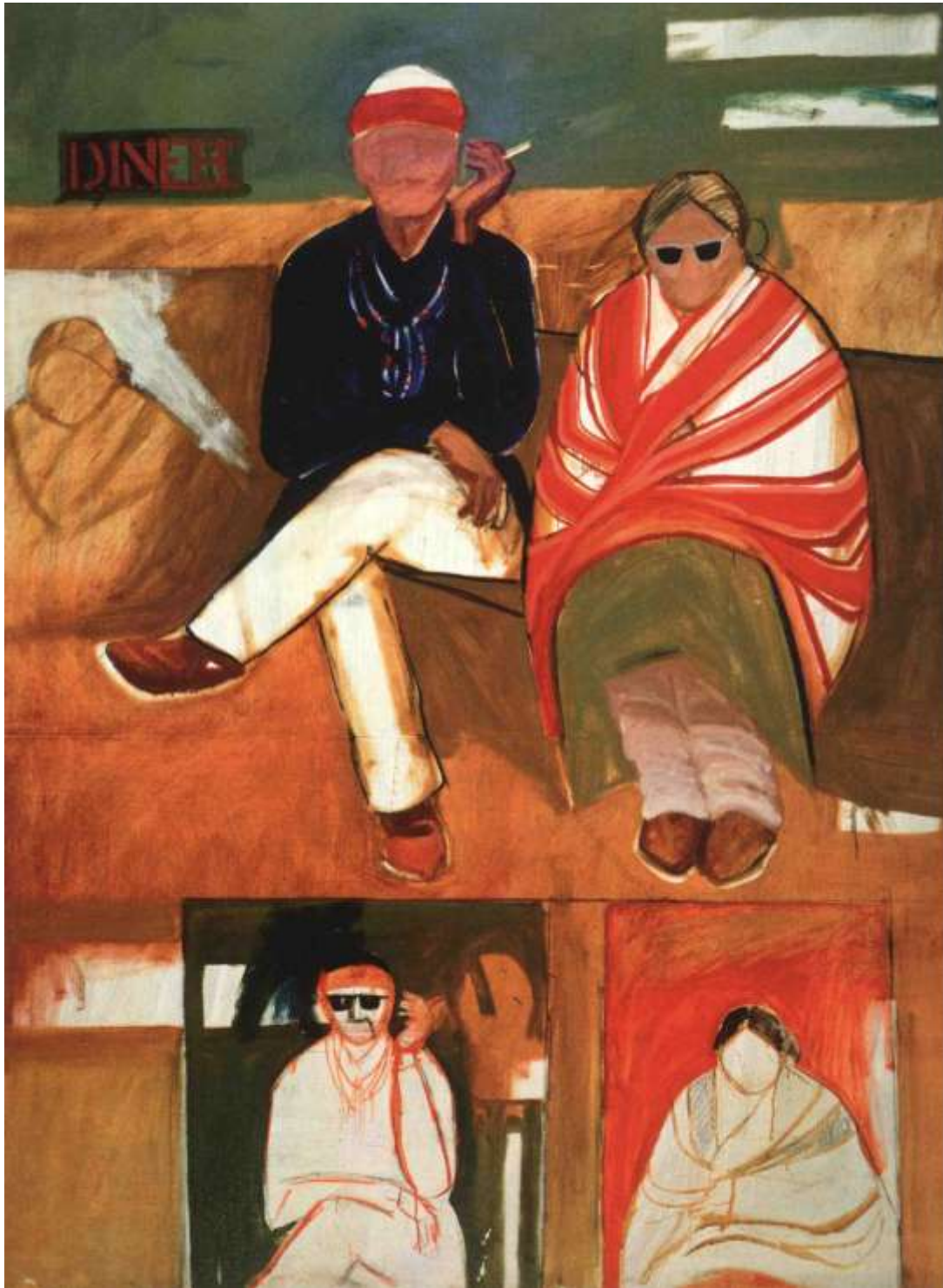


FIGURE 11-4. T.C. Cannon, Mama and Papa Have the Going Home to Shiprock Blues (1966). Oil, acrylic on canvas. Source: Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico.



FIGURE 11-5. Andy Warhol, 16 Jackies (1964). Acrylic, enamel on canvas. Source: Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota.



FIGURE 11-6. Alex Katz, Double Portrait of Robert Rauschenberg (1959). Oil on canvas. Source: Artstor.



FIGURE 11-7. T.C. Cannon, ...When They Ask You to Sell Your Land... (1970). Mixed media. Source: Collection of Lloyd Kiva New.



FIGURE 11-8. Details, **Figure 11-4**. The three female figures are here adjusted to a similar scale for comparison purposes.



FIGURE 11-9. T.C. Cannon's sketchbook drawings after Karl Bodmer. [TOP] Tableau 9 [Dakota Woman and Assiniboin Girl] and [BOTTOM] Tableau 8 [Wahk-Ta-Ge-li, Dakota Warrior] (1976). Cannon labeled the page "Teton Sioux after Bodmer." Graphite on paper. Source: Collection of T.C. Cannon Estate.



FIGURE 11-10. T.C. Cannon, Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory (1971). Oil on canvas. Source: Collection of U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, Anadarko, Oklahoma.



FIGURE 11-11. Steve Schapiro, "The Jagers," in "Rediscovery of the Redman," LIFE (1 December 1967).

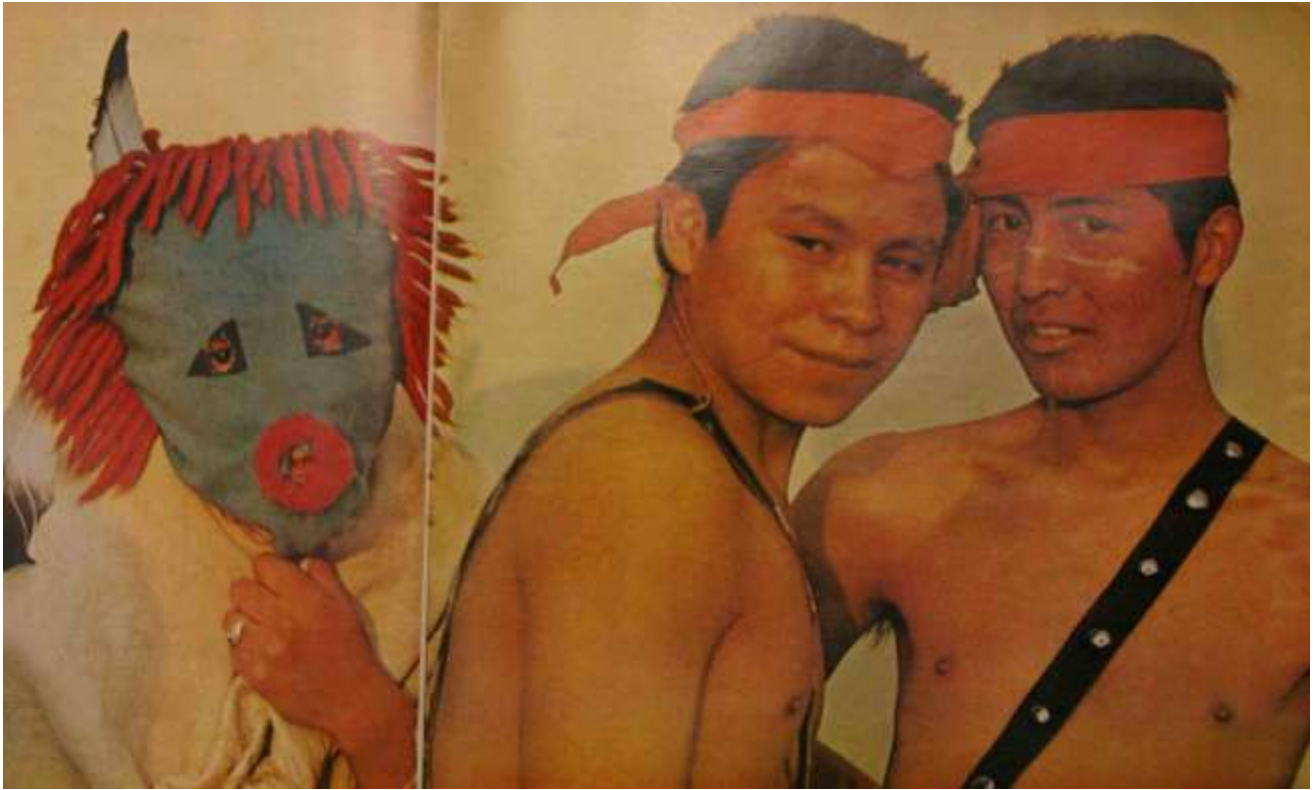


FIGURE 11-12. Steve Schapiro, dances at IAIA, in "Rediscovery of the Redman," LIFE (1 December 1967). All images feature IAIA students, and are described as follows: TOP – Navajo Yebetchai dance; BOTTOM LEFT – Apache devil dance; BOTTOM RIGHT – Plains dance.

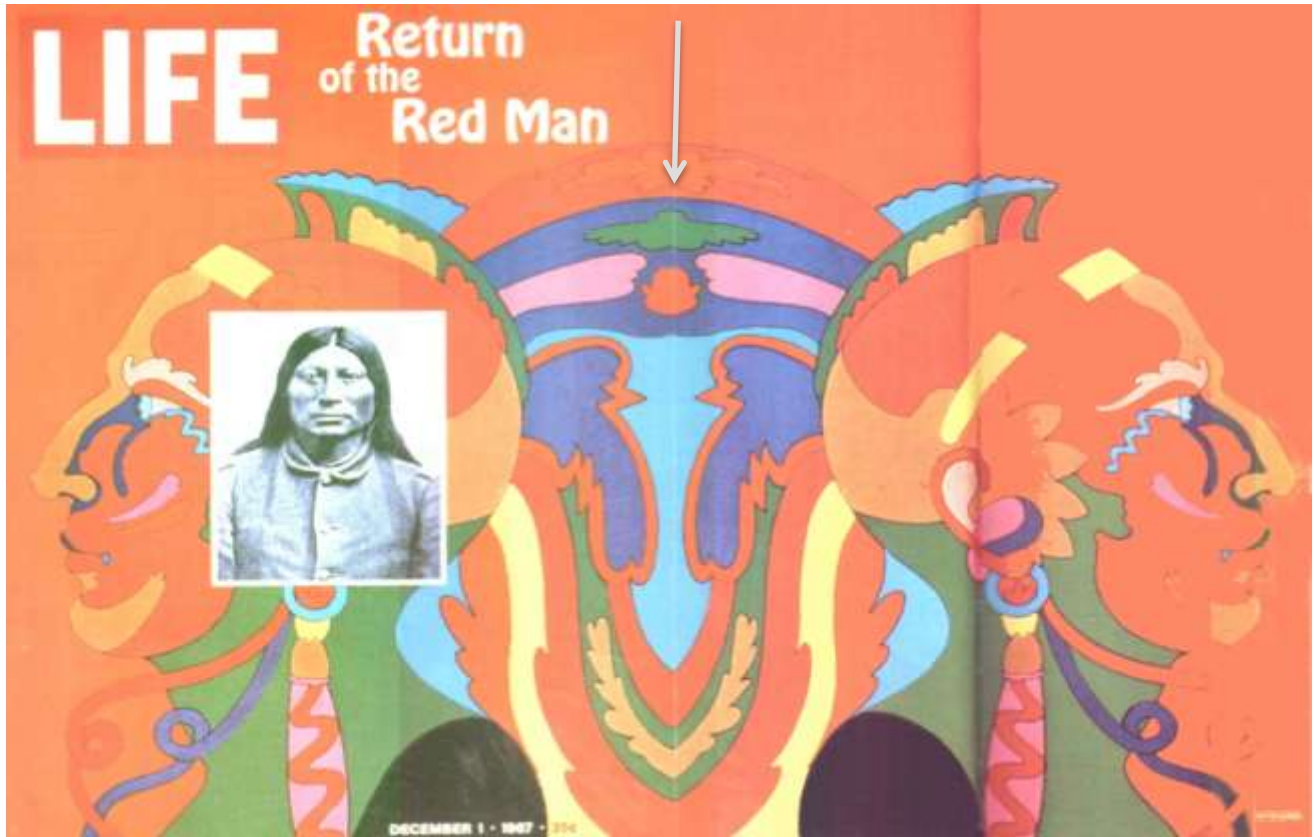


FIGURE 11-13. Milton Glaser, cover for LIFE (1 December 1967). The cover folds along the center of the two figures (marked by me at the top), with the right-hand figure folded underneath.



Surrounded by posters with Indian motifs, Julie Christie models a hippie Indian leather tunic and beads.

FIGURE 11-14. Graphic by Antonio Lopez and Henry Grossman: Julie Christie from "Rediscovery of the Redman," LIFE (1 December 1967).



FIGURE 11-15. Wes Wilson, poster for “Tribal Stomp.” Produced by The Family Dog, Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco, February 19, 1966. This is the first poster produced by The Family Dog, and the first time The Family Dog logo is used.

FIGURE 11-16. Victor Moscoso, poster for Dance Concert featuring the “tokin’ Native American” logo for The Family Dog. Produced by The Family Dog, Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco, December 9-10, 1966.



FIGURE 11-17. Steve Schapiro, "Tribal Stomp" at Avalon Ballroom, San Francisco (1967), in "Rediscovery of the Redman," LIFE (1 December 1967). The 1884 military portrait of Taquawi [Sharp Nose; Inuna-Ina (Arapaho)] is projected.



FIGURE 11-18. Billy War Soldier Soza [Soboba Luiseño/White Mountain Apache], Peyote Vision (1968). Colored marker on paper. Source: Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, Department of the Interior, NMAI-Coll #26/2345.



FIGURE 11-19. T.C. Cannon, Big Soldier (1972). Linocut. Source: SIA, RU 453, Box 5, Notebook 112, volume III. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 11-20. Installation, Andy Warhol's "Mao" Exhibition in Paris (1973). The exhibition displayed more than 2,000 images of Mao. Source: Artstor.



FIGURE 11-21. Francis Bacon, Study After Velásquez's Portrait of Pope Innocent X (1953). Oil on canvas. Source: Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, Iowa.

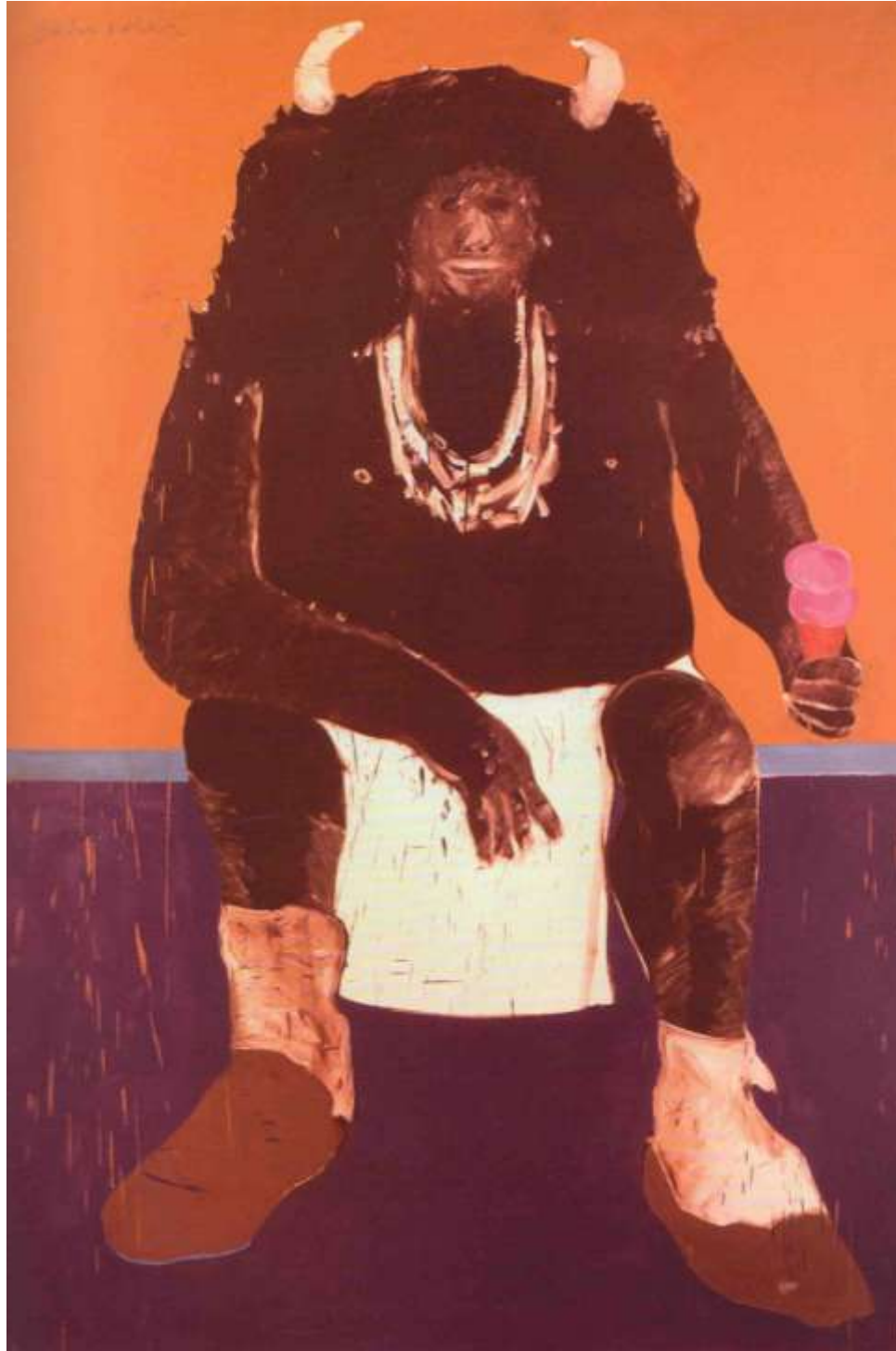


FIGURE 11-22. Fritz Scholder, Super Indian #2 (1971). Oil on canvas. Source: Collection of Richard and Nancy Bloch, Denver Art Museum.



FIGURE 11-23. Fritz Scholder, Buffalo Dancer (1971); from the Indians Forever portfolio. Lithograph. Source: Indian Arts and Crafts Board Collection, Department of the Interior, NMAI-Coll #25/9561.006.



FIGURE 11-24. Fritz Scholder, frontispiece, Indian Kitsch (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979).



FIGURE 11-25. Fritz Scholder, excerpt from Indian Kitsch (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979). The multiple frames were re-arrangeable, as Scholder reconfigured many of these images for a 4 x 3 grid published in Fritz Scholder, "Indian Kitsch," American Indian Art Magazine 4 (February 1979) 64-9.



FIGURE 11-26. Andy Warhol, Self-Portrait (1963-4). Acrylic and silkscreen on canvas. Source: Private collection.



FIGURE 11-27. T.C. Cannon, Self Portrait (between 1969 and 1978). Photograph. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon.



FIGURES 11-28. T.C. Cannon, four notebook sketches. [CLOCKWISE, FROM TOP LEFT] 4 Self Portraits & A Rabbit (n.d.). Ink. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon. / Double Self Portrait (n.d.). Marker. Source: Private collection. / Self Portrait in 1965 (1973). Brown ink on paper. Source: Estate of T.C. Cannon. / In Shadow (n.d.). Ink. Source: Collection of Russell Walker.



Figure 11-29. John Loengard, Roy Lichtenstein with Image Duplicator for LIFE (November 1963). Gelatin silver print.



FIGURE 11-30. Dennis Hopper, Andy Warhol at Table (1963). Photograph.

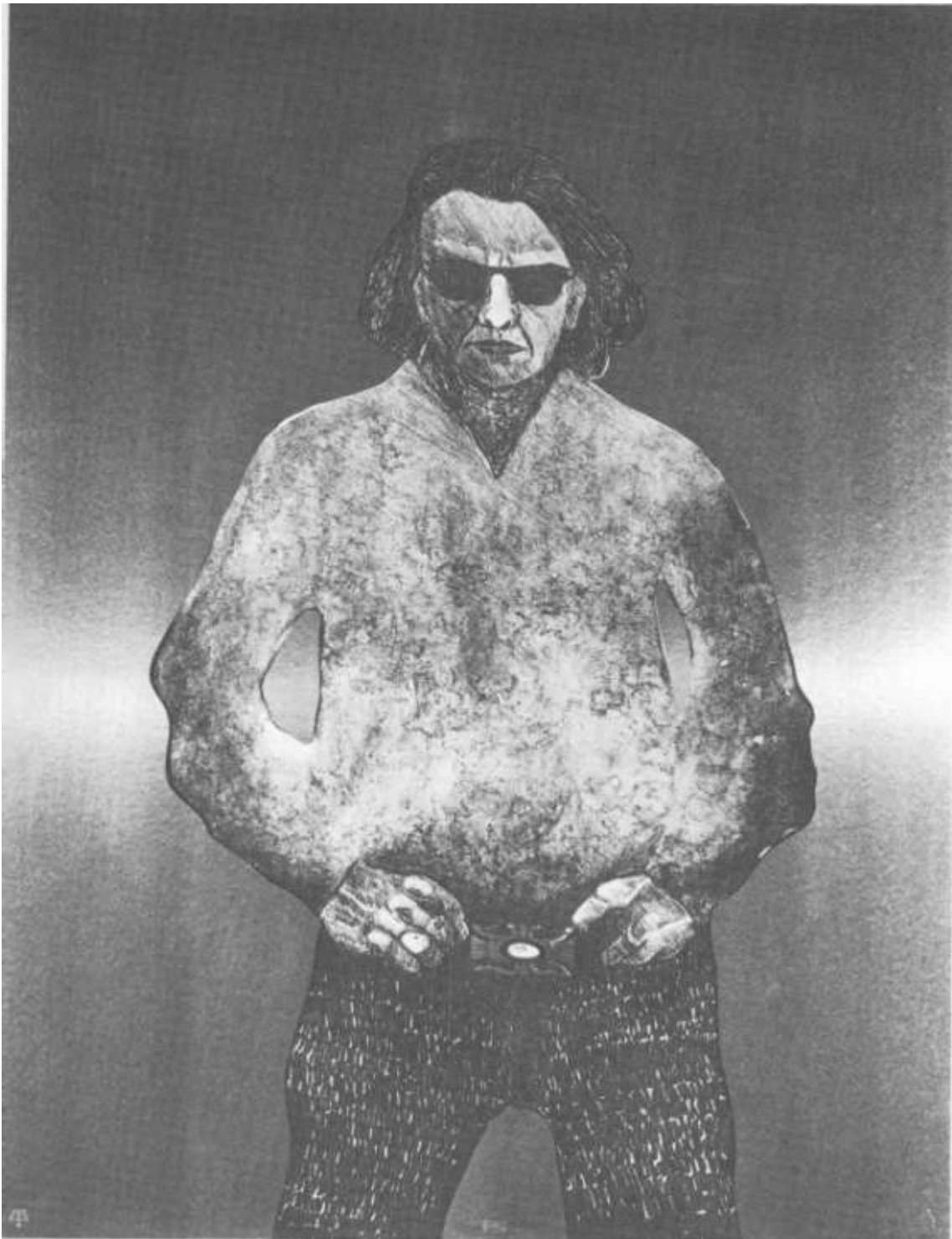


FIGURE 11-31. Fritz Scholder, Self Portrait (1971). Lithograph on silver foil. Source: SIA, RU 453, Box 5, Notebook 112, volume III. Author's photograph.

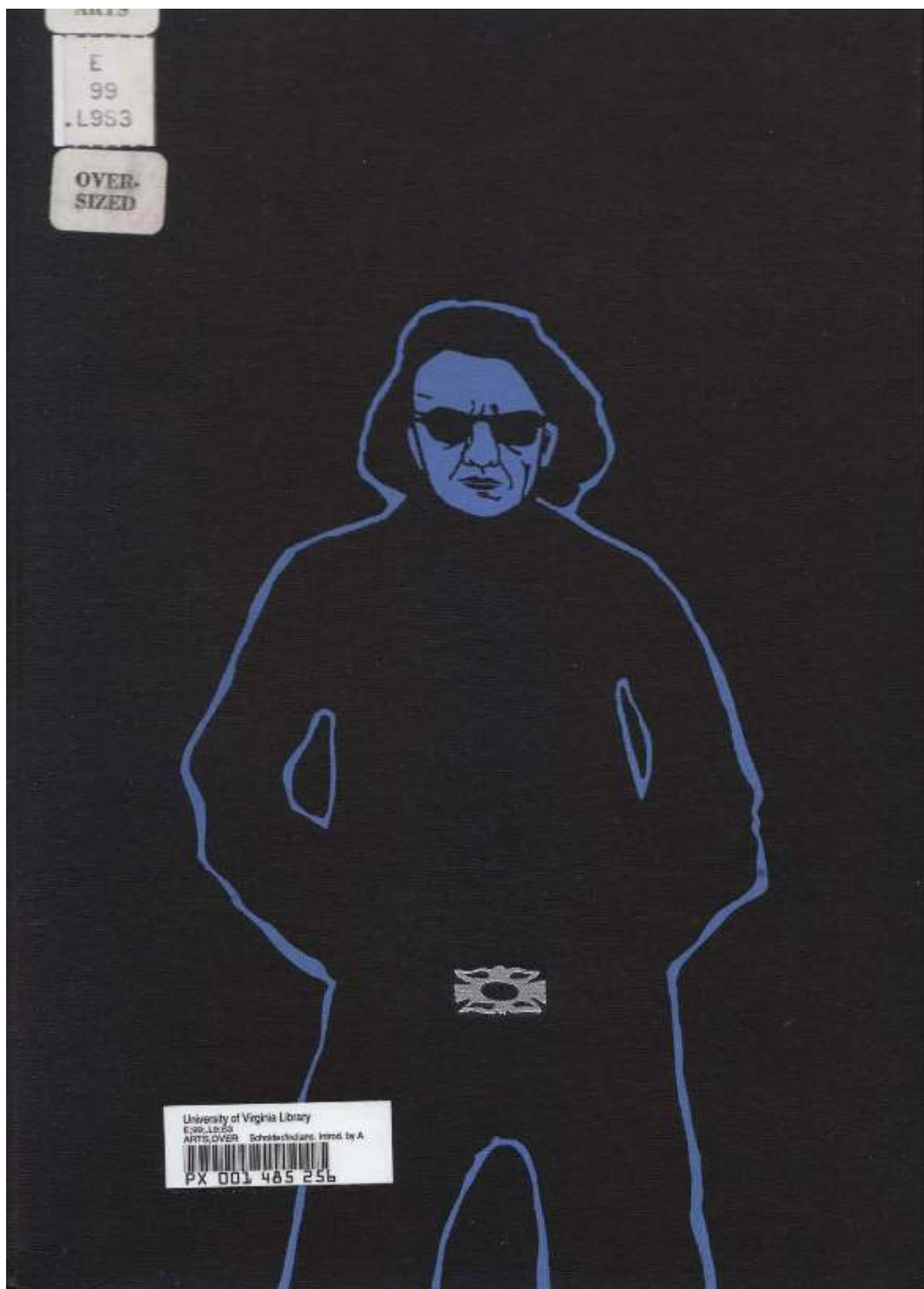


FIGURE 11-32. Fritz Scholder, Self Portrait (1971), on imprinted cover for Scholder/Indians (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1972). Source: University of Virginia Library. Author's photograph.



FIGURE 11-33. Unknown photographer. 22 March 1973. United Press International.
Source: NMAI-Arch, MAI Papers, Box 423, Folder 2.



FIGURE 11-34. Wanbli Ohitika [Russell Means; Oglala] (left), Naawakamig [Dennis Banks; Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe] (seated center), and other occupiers of Wounded Knee (1973). United Press International. Source: Obituary of Russell Means, New York Times (22 October 2012).



LEWIS & CLARK: Great Journey West ©2002 National Geographic Society. All rights reserved. nationalgeographic.com/lewisandclark

FIGURE E-1. National Geographic, screen saver of the “Mandan buffalo dance” from the film Lewis & Clark: Great Journey West (2002). Available at<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/lewisandclark/photogallery_16.html>.

APPENDIX A

On the Nú'eta Words Used in This Project

Throughout this project I utilize the Native designations of **Numak'aki** [“man above”] and **Minitari** [the Nú'eta term for Hidatsa-speaking peoples, originating from the village-band term *Midipádi* (“water-coming-up”¹ or “real water”²)³] to name the two people groups that made up the Heart River Confederacy (ca.1400–1781), the *Awatíkihu* (1781–1837), and the village of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (1844/45–1880). Both of these terms were utilized during Wied’s visits in 1832–4 as umbrella designations over smaller village-band groups that shared common languages and cultural elements (see **Chapter Three**). I retain the same terms throughout the project to demonstrate continuity over time, up to the present-day, although my usage is historically inaccurate. After The Smallpox Year of 1837, **Nú'eta** emerged as a new self-designation for Numak'aki peoples. The new word was a shortened form of *Núitadi*, the Numak'aki village-band who had occupied *Mít uta hako'sh* (see **Illustration 3-1**), and its coinage likely enacted remnant group patterns for re-naming village-bands for the dominant group after

¹ Good-Is-His-Way [also Good-Road; Minitari], “Hidatsa and Mandan Bands,” Volume 7 (1908), MHS-Wilson.

² Maxidiwiac [Minitari] and Hairy Coat [Minitari], “Origin of Hidatsa Bands,” Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson.

³ Ibid. *Midipádi* was a corruption of the phrase “*Midi kati kuha!*” (“Water really from!”), given by the Hidatsa-speaking village-band from the region of Devil’s Lake, to explain their origins when they first encountered Numak'aki peoples along the banks of the Missouri River.

periods of re-location and absorption.⁴ The same terminology extended to the language that survived, largely (but not completely) following the *Núitadi* dialect.⁵ In English, Numak'aki peoples have been known as **Mandan**, and this terminology, formally instituted in 1825 by the U.S. government in its first treaty with Numak'aki peoples, has remained the U.S. legal term for Numak'aki peoples to the present day. This English version of the French designation *Mandanes* was a corruption of the Dakota/Lakota name *Miwantani* and the Nakota version of *Mayatáni*.⁶ In this text I utilize **Nú'eta** and **Hidatsa** (a version of the original village-band name *Mida-hátsi*⁷) to refer specifically to the languages spoken by Numak'aki and Minitari peoples, in order to avoid confusions between referenced peoples and their spoken tongues, but these terms would have shifted according to the time period, village-band, and dialect of the speaker, as discussed in detail in **Chapter Three**.

The institution of new terms and organizational systems demonstrate how living Native cultures and languages have continued to change over time. This is particularly true of remnant peoples like the Numak'aki and Minitari, who by 1400 appear to have developed complex

⁴ This term was in use by 1910; see Wounded Face [Numak'aki], "Story of Good-Furred Robe and Corn Ceremonies of the Goose Society," Volume 9 (1910), MHS-Wilson. Today this is the official term used by Fort Berthold Community College.

⁵ Mauricio Mixco, *Mandan* (München: LINCOM EUROPA, 1997) 3.

⁶ *Miwantani* appears in the No Ears (Oglala Lakota) winter count (see **Appendix C**), while the Nakota versions are given in Fenn, *Encounters*, 80. The term stemmed from the Nú'eta word for the Missouri River (*máta*) used in the self-designation *Máta Numake* for village-bands that claimed a history along the Missouri River; given by Wounded Face in "Story of Good-Furred Robe and Corn Ceremonies of the Goose Society." This self-designation does not match any village-band names given by Wilson's informants, and may have marked a larger category that encompassed multiple village-bands with a shared history and origin, seemingly equivalent to what is referred to in Wied's time as *Núitadi*, consolidated into a single village in *Mít uta hako'sh*.

The Dakota/Lakota use of *máta* for Numak'aki peoples may have reflected regional associations, as Minitari peoples referred to the Numak'aki as *Arópaku*, or "River Mouths," based on the Numak'aki origin tale given at the first Missouri River meeting of the two groups; see Tseca Matseítsi [Wolf Chief; Minitari], "Origin of the Mandans and of the Okipa Ceremonies," Volume 8 (1909), MHS-Wilson. This naming seems a consistent parallel to that of Minitari; see fn3.

⁷ This etymology comes from Maxidiwiac [Hidatsa], while Butterfly [Hidatsa] gives this village-band's origins as Devil's Lake. See Wilson's notes in Volume 13 (1913) and "Genesis of the Hidatsas," in Volume 9 (1910), both MHS-Wilson.

systems by which various groups, each marked by distinct languages, dialects, histories, and/or cultural elements, could incorporate (as well as un-incorporate) beneath larger structures that created social, cultural, economic, or military cohesion when desired. These structures appear to have shifted over time, in response to historical conditions. This means, on a linguistic level, that every word existed within a network of related but distinct words or pronunciations; every definition, one version of what may have existed in multiple. Variations of each word could reflect the village, village-band, or clan of a particular speaker; each alignment could shift with each historical period or event. Nú'eta, then, challenges the very task of scholarship, which operates by consolidating knowledge into stable markers on the printed and (re)producible page.⁸ My use of Nú'eta is therefore both the greatest strength and the greatest failure of this project.

A PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE

By the 1400s, if not previously, language played a key role in defining Native people groups as distinct political entities on the Plains. The oral histories given by Numak'aki and Minitari peoples tell of recognizing their member village-bands through their dialects. As these groups lived together, some remained quite distinct with their own language variants. Others merged or disappeared in response to historical conditions.

The structures of remnant groups, then, mean that every representation of a Nú'eta and Hidatsa word marks a “moving target” rather than a discrete, definite word unit. Each term used matches the vocabulary of at least one speaker, but may or may not align with others’

⁸ For work on the histories and politics involved in the development of Native orthographies, see the current research project of literature scholar Phillip Round.

terminologies or pronunciations. These variants appear in different spellings and terms across sources.⁹ They are also seen in the word variations given in the one existent Nú'eta dictionary, produced in 1970 as a Ph.D. dissertation by linguist Robert C. Hollow.¹⁰

In addition, everyday life within the Confederacy and the *Awatíkihu* was multilingual, on the level of both language and dialect. Children grew up mastering multiple vocabularies, in both spoken word and sign. The language patterns evident in both Wied's notes (early 1830s) and anthropologist Gilbert L. Wilson's elder interviews (1910s) demonstrate that at the very least a *ka-ka*, or knowledge keeper, could translate between languages, as well as point out the differences in each language's core meanings and philosophies, denote each group's language etymologies, and link definitions to group histories. In the late 1860s, the surgeon-ethnographer Washington Matthews documented that conversations in the village of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* could be held in two or more languages simultaneously, and that many young people were fluent in four or five languages.¹¹ Groups also knew each other's languages and their related practices so well that they developed complex language puns to describe and distinguish each other.¹²

How to develop a philosophy of language and translation to match such complex linguistic patterns? Mine has been based on the interviews and translations given by Oglala

⁹ One example across non-Native sources, for instance, is the term for First Man: *Nu-monk-muck-a-nah* (Catlin), *Numank-Machana* (Wied), and *NumakmaxEna* (Bowers, 1950). Today First Man is known as *Numak Máhina* on the Fort Berthold Reservation. I further define these textual differences below.

¹⁰ Robert Charles Hollow, Jr., "A Mandan Dictionary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California-Berkeley, 1970).

¹¹ Cited in Fenn, *Encounters*, 20fn.

¹² As Tseca Matseitsi related to Wilson in 1914, "Indeed [my son Frank] used to call me "*dic-ka-dé*," a kind of humorous word meaning 'friend.' The word is a Mandan term and really means 'sacred object.' The Mandans were very fond of their sacred objects, and set much store by them, and often talked to them. And the word being heard so much from their lips was adopted by the Hidatsas to address one another, as if to say, '*My friend, - my sacred bundle!*' We thought this a joke." ["Wolf Chief's Story," Volume 16 (1914), MHS-Wilson].

(Lakota) elders in the late nineteenth century to James R. Walker, a physician on the Pine Ridge Reservation.¹³ These elders used an “old” (versus “modern”) Lakota vocabulary that was no longer taught on the reservation, whereby word usage and connotations were conventional “but not fixed, for [the meanings] could be modified by the addition, subtraction, or interjection of words.”¹⁴ Each term opened out onto a compound thought or sentence. *Wakan*, for instance, was broken down into *wa* and *kan*, or “the thing (*kan*) that is *wa*.” Such a translation aims toward a network of embedded meanings, rather than an exact definition. As elder George Sword explained, “*wakan* means very many things.”¹⁵ When Walker pursued the meaning of *wa*, elder answers not only included modern Lakota’s definition of “holy” or “sacred,” but also mentioned substances, actions, behaviors, or elements that were mysterious, medicinal, crazy, old, unknown, bad, strange, poisonous or possessing the power to kill, spiritual, feared, or like *Wakan Tanka*. Each of these varied meanings pointed outward to larger cosmologies, histories, or ontologies. Practices whose origins had slipped from cultural memory also slipped into a state of *wakan*, a descriptor of their cultural power as well as their age and their mysteriousness. These three active ingredients in such an object or practice—power, age, mystery—were indivisible, as each fed the others. The invocation of *wakan* then covered each as well as all three qualities simultaneously.

¹³ J.R. Walker, “Introduction” and “Translations” in The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota, vol. 16, part II of Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1917) 55–9, 152–63. His Oglala informants were *Thaópi Chík’ala* [Little Wound; ca.1835–99], *Wašichuŋ Thāšúnjke* [He-Has-a-White-Man’s-Horse, or American Horse; 1840–1908], *Bad Wound*, *Thāthánjka Ptéchela* [Grant Short Bull; ca.1851–1935], *Chonícha Wanícha* [No Flesh; ca.1845–?], Ringing Shield, Thomas Tyon, Finger, and George Sword [also Enemy Bait].

Nú’eta, Hidatsa, and Dakota/Lakota/Nakota languages all occupy branches of the Siouan language family [Mixco, Mandan, 3]. Utilizing Lakota language sources for a philosophical approach to Nú’eta thus remains within the larger language family.

¹⁴ Walker, “Introduction,” 56.

¹⁵ Walker, “Translations,” 152.

In other words, terms within old Siouan languages do not link to a list of discrete and ranked units of meaning like an English-language dictionary entry. Meaning flows from *wakan*—the thing that is *wa*—to define the term: one knows *wakan* through the things that are *wakan*. Unlike structuralist language theory, old Siouan languages are not reducible to their signs, nor are such signs known only through other signs, since these languages never fully divorce themselves from ontological things, relationships, and experiences. When Walker asked the Oglala elder Finger to explain why he did something, Finger responded, “Because that is *wakan*.”¹⁶ Finger’s answer simultaneously discloses the circular notion of *wa*, which specifies itself through itself, while opening onto an ever-open pool of possible referents located in a multitude of sources: the action, the object involved, the surrounding cultural knowledge, the protected specific knowledge, and so on.

Such an approach to language has played a significant role in my process of interpretation for both language and material culture in this book. Both words and objects are embedded in networks of layered meanings; they refuse singular definitions, uses, or interpretations. To adequately discuss them, one has to trace their self-reflexive circles while also placing them within networks of other words or objects, cosmological beliefs, and historical and ontological experiences. These paths can open onto the ineffable, as expressed by Finger: the self-reflexive and networked circles that refuse access to those culturally or temporally outside the circle. To become an Oglala *ka-ka* was to be initiated into certain secret aspects of *wa*; the Walker interviews reveal the term’s many shades of meaning while simultaneously pointing to the boundaries of access. The goal of my translations and

¹⁶ Walker, “Translations,” 154.

interpretations, then, is not the capture of what lies behind the *ka-ka's* door or beneath his actions, but the marking of the *ka-ka's* physical and interpretive spaces and their limits, whether for reasons of cultural protection, historical loss, or archival absence.

I have utilized contemporary sources to affirm this fluid, networked, and self-reflexive approach to language, embedded within the ontological and material world. I am especially grateful for the Dakota Language lessons given by Diane Merrick and broadcast on Dakota Talk Radio; the discussion of Native language and cosmologies at the 2015 Otsego Institute for Native American Art History; and the recorded interviews with Nú'eta-speaking *ka-ka* Madoke Wades'she [Iron Bison, also known as Edwin Benson; Numak'aki (b.1931)] that were taped and posted to YouTube in 2009.¹⁷

This last was critical in developing the final component of my language work. When Madoke Wades'she shared his lesson plans with his interviewer, he pointed out that his written Nú'eta words were “not in linguistic writing.”¹⁸ Benson has generously worked with many linguists over the years. But he has also served as the Nú'eta language teacher in the Fort Berthold Reservation schools for more than eighteen years, and his qualification highlights the fact that what is currently written down by scholars is not what Nú'eta and Minitari children use to learn or speak their own tongues. Benson's comment makes clear that a philosophy of language is not enough; one has to develop a system of translation not only of the Native

¹⁷ *Dakoteyah Wogdaka!* and Diane Merrick's Dakota Language Lessons from Dakota Talk Radio (KDKO 89.5 in Lake Andes, SD) are found on the website of the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center at <www.nativeshop.org/learn-dakota.html>. Madoke Wades'she's six-part interview was posted to YouTube by panaritisp, although Parts 4 and 5 are mistakenly the same. An enhanced audio version was posted in 2010 that included the previously missing Part 5, but the time stamps between the two sets of interviews differ. My time references refer to the 2009 set, unless specifically noted.

¹⁸ YouTube interview series, Part 3, :50.

language, but of the various scholarly systems that have historically created a layered mass (mess) of orthographical accumulation.

THE GENERATION OF NÚ'ETA ON THE PAGE

Orthographies for Native languages are extraordinarily complex systems developed for writing down what were usually oral languages. In North America, such orthographies do not share common development histories, and tribal relationships to these orthographies vary greatly. While Numak'aki peoples were something of superstars in European and American writings on Native peoples in the nineteenth century, no systematic orthography was developed for their language, and there are instead four major periods in which Nú'eta was written down. Each period is associated with particular scholar-writers who operated within distinct disciplinary and textual practices.

The first period largely consisted of terminology word lists compiled by early (usually self-styled and self-trained) American scientists. It was believed that comparative vocabularies would uncover the unknown historical origins of early America's Native people groups by demonstrating linguistic similarities and differences. Authored by amateurs, it is difficult to say how many compilation projects never survived the period. Thomas Jefferson's word lists, for instance, were stolen and thrown overboard a ferry in 1809; he never recovered or recreated them.¹⁹ Others were of dubious origins, since some self-styled men of learning, such as C.F. Rafinesque in Philadelphia, created their documents from their study desks.²⁰

¹⁹ For the latest research on these lists, see Megan Snyder-Camp, "No General Use Can Ever Be Made of the Wrecks of My Loss': A Reconsidered History of the Indian Vocabularies Collected on the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *Wicazo Sa Review* 30:2 (Fall 2015) 129–39.

²⁰ In the archives, especially in the writings of George Catlin, there are many accusations of quackery leveled against Rafinesque. The scholarly value of his work is still debated in the history of linguistics.

This early scientific research standard of terminology lists appears in the projects of both George Catlin and Maximilian Alexander Wied-Neuwied, where this book begins. Catlin had no disciplinary or language training, and rendered all Native languages in transcriptions of sounds via the language patterns of English. Wolf Chief, for instance, is recorded as *Ha-Na-Tá-Nu-Maúk*; First Man, *Nu-monk-muck-a-nah*; Numak'aki, *See-po'hs-ka-nu-ma'h-ka'-kee* (the specific term for the People of the Pheasant village-band, *Sipúske*, with the two identification terms written in reverse; see **Chapter Three**).²¹ Catlin's names and phrases are often recognizable in texts or painting titles for the high number of hyphens he used to set off syllables or sound differentials, and his tendency to use **-h** to mark short vowels (**-eh**, **-ih**, etc.). To date, Catlin's Native names and vocabulary lists are largely used as he published them, although efforts have been made to correct some of his mistranslations and tribal identifications.²² Catlin did not recognize the dialect or language variety of the *Awatíkihu*, and his ignorance (or intentional confusion) over cultural difference between Native people groups may have affected his tribal attributions in the field; a serious study and set of corrections for the fictional elements of Catlin's work (see **Chapter Five**) has yet to be undertaken.

Wied also compiled lists of names, tribal and village affiliations, and vocabulary, but more systematically than Catlin. He covered many of Catlin's terms, but also a similar set of terms across Native groups for comparative purposes. His Nú'eta and Hidatsa vocabularies far outpace his other tribal language compilations, likely a reflection of the length of time he spent in the *Awatíkihu*. Wied quickly became aware of cultural differences to the level of village-

²¹ Catlin's spellings did not remain consistent across his many (re)print versions. In his 1837 Gallery Catalogue, for instance, he used *Se-pohs kanumakah-kee* and *Ha-Na-Tah-Nu-Mauk-Shee* [[Catlin's New York City Indian Gallery Catalogue](#) (New York: Piercy & Reed, 1837) 13].

²² See, for instance, the captions given in the exhibition catalog [George Catlin and His Indian Gallery](#), ed. George Gurney and Therese Thau Heyman (2008; Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2002).

bands, but these differences make few appearances in his vocabularies. Wied's transcriptions followed German pronunciation patterns: where Catlin used an **-h** for the velar sound, for instance, Wied used the German **-ch**. Wied's approach also attempted to record distinctly Native sounds and pronunciations, like the Lakota guttural **-ŋ**. Catlin's *Ha-Na-Tá-Nu-Maúk* became Wied's *Cháratä-Numakschi; Nu-monk-muck-a-nah*, now Wied's *Numánk-Máchana*; and *See-po'hs-ka-nu-ma'h-ka'-kee*, now *Númangkake*.

The second period of writing occurred under the missionaries to Fort Berthold Reservation in the late nineteenth century. These are translations of scriptures and hymns into Nú'eta by Leroy Holding Eagle [Numak'aki], assisted by R.D. Hall, the minister of the Fort Berthold Mission. Holding Eagle utilized the Dakota orthography (the English alphabet as well as **-š** for sh, **-ŋ** and **-ŋ** as gutturals, and **/'** as an aspirate or breath mark), and the translations were printed at the Santee Normal Training School.²³ The language of Christian literature followed "modern" language patterns, and often coined or recast terms in new ways. For instance, "Sunday"—nonexistent when Catlin and Wied visited the *Awatíkihu* in the early 1830s—was termed *hap hó'pini*, or "holy day," with *hó'pini* ("medicine") in its modern usage singularly defined as "holy;" what Wied had written for "December"—*i-shinin ta-shúk mínak*, or "moon (*mínak*) of the cold weather"—became *mána hap hó'pini htes mínak*, or "moon of the big winter holy day," a reference to Christmas (*mána hap hó'pini htes*).²⁴ Word lists were also

²³ Hymns and Scripture Selections in the Mandan Language (Elbowoods, ND: published for the Fort Berthold Mission, 1905), housed in AYER 3A 559, NEW.

²⁴ Wied, JAM, vol. 3, 467; Hollow, "Mandan Dictionary," 320–1, 414.

still (re)produced and distributed through missionary publications.²⁵ As of this writing, I have not utilized these publications for this project.

The third period of language transcription and translation occurred with a score of salvage ethnography and anthropology projects from the 1870s through the first decades of the twentieth centuries. These temporally overlapped with the period of missionary language work. Fort Berthold was considered by these scholars to be a particularly promising site for salvage work, since elder generations had all come of age in earthlodge villages and retained the languages of their birth, even if severely affected by the allotment, schooling, and religious practices instituted by Fort Berthold's BIA agents in the 1880s.²⁶ However, working with these sources, one has to carefully contextualize their elder generations and their chosen orthography systems.

Gilbert L. Wilson was a Presbyterian minister who conducted elder interviews and collected objects for the American Museum of Natural History over the course of a decade (1908–18); many of these elders had been born in the *Awatíkihu*, or in the years of wandering before *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* was founded in 1845. Wilson's interviewees provided details of their clan, village-band, and tribal identities, and often traced out how an individual may have received their knowledge or their terminologies. Wilson also discussed information or showed objects from one interview session with those present at another, thereby confirming details and identifications or recording variants. Wilson showed an interest in a wide range of topics,

²⁵ Hall, for instance, contributed a Nú'eta phrase list to Rev. E.F. Wilson's Indian Tribes Paper No. 6, "The Mandan Indians," *Our Forest Children*, 3: 8 (Nov 1889): 81–5.

²⁶ These changes for Fort Berthold were severe, but languages and many older cultural practices continued through the 1930s: Madoke Wades'she notes that, until he began schooling in 1936, he spoke only Nú'eta, the language of his home. YouTube interview series, Part 1.

and was particularly attuned to Numak'aki and Minitari women's lives. He conformed his writing system to the Hidatsa orthography of Washington Matthews.²⁷

Robert Lowie conducted interviews on Fort Berthold at the same time as Wilson (1910–11), but with a specific focus on age-graded societies. Alfred L. Bowers worked a generation later (1929–33), and conducted a comparison set of interviews another generation after that (1947).²⁸ Both were highly concerned with anthropological frameworks for approaching Native societies, especially those of sodalities (age-graded societies), clans, and kin, and their terminologies and recorded words reflect these interests.²⁹ Both Lowie and Bowers utilize orthographies closer to those of linguists, which employ a wide range of diacritical marks and letter combinations in the attempt to accurately render Native American language sounds. Lowie transforms Wied's *Beróck-Óchatä* into *Mēro'k-ō'xat'e* (with Catlin's **–h** and Wied's **–ch** now written as an **–x**), while Bowers utilizes *NumakmaxEna* rather than Catlin's *Nu-monk-muck-a-nah* and Wied's *Numánk-Máchana* for First Man.

The last period of transcription is that of linguists Robert Hollow, mentioned above, and Mauricio Mixco. The work of both men commits Nú'eta to phonemical transcription. Phonemic methods treat language as units of sound, much like mathematical formulas, rather than the literal translations of sounds into letters. This approach created the first methodological

²⁷ Washington Matthews, Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa (New York: American Missionary Society, 1873).

²⁸ Some informants crossed over between Wilson's interviews and Bowers' (see **Appendix B**), but the later generations involved in the latter project means that recorded language had likely moved further toward their modern lexicons and pronunciations. Bowers' second set of interviews is digitally available from the American Philosophical Society: Mandan-Hidatsa Ethnohistory and Linguistics (1969), Mss.Rec.81, <www.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.Rec.81-ead.xml>.

²⁹ Bowers' frameworks radically shifted between his unpublished dissertation (used for this study), which was concerned with checking Native oral histories against the archaeological record, and his publications on Mandan and Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization (1950/1963), which by their very titles belie their anthropological concerns.

orthographies for written Nú'eta; Hollow also recorded the compound language components that made up each word. Yet their systems utterly transformed the phonetic spellings of Catlin and Wied on the page. What is phonetically notated with **—n's** and **—m's**, for instance, are written as **—r's** and **—w's** in phonemic translations. The *Numánk* (“man”) of Wied, for instance, is written as *Ry^wqk* in Hollow. The building-block approach also means that phonemic methods are not interested in all phonetic sounds: the additional vowels that Nú'eta speakers insert after the end of certain words, to avoid placing two consonants next to each other, are dropped completely from Mixco's orthographies, while Hollow sometimes inserts these sounds with superscript vowels: Lowie's *ō'xat'e* becomes *óxat*.³⁰ Recent scholarly projects have favored this phonemic way of representing the language.³¹ Linguists have complex systems and reasons for creating this gap between phonetic and phonemic writing, but the practical result is the need to learn linguistics in order to “translate” linguists' writings for comparison to those of the previous three periods. In addition, Hollow's and Mixco's focus on the patterns of language construction meant that the networked meanings surrounding each term, so heavily present in Walker's interviews, have no place in their transcriptions.

How does one then read across all of these periods and sources, to (re)present Nú'eta on the page (see **Illustration A-1**)?

“Nú'eta” was never a single stable language; what has appeared in writing over the last 185 years is better thought of as historically specific “tappings” into an always moving, always circling network of meanings, some of which never crystallize as pure language. These varied tappings are radically inconsistent in their methods, their orthographies, their vocabularies, and

³⁰ Mixco explains this rule in Wied, JAM vol. 3, 466 fn1.

³¹ Wied JAM is the most prominent example, with its Nú'eta word lists and names updated by Mixco.

their source contextualizations. To “recover” some version of Nú'eta, then, I can only create yet another orthography on the page, and this is the great failing of this project.

Illustration A-1. Comparisons across eight language sources for recording the Nú'eta words for “Mandan,” “First Man,” and “Buffalo Bull Society.”

	“Mandan”	“First Man”	“Buffalo Bull Society”
Catlin (1831)	<i>See-po'hs-ka-nu-ma'h-ka'-kee</i> (village-band)	<i>Nu-monk-muck-a-nah</i>	
Wied (1833/34)	<i>Númangkake</i>	<i>Numánk-Máchana</i>	<i>Beróck-Óchatä</i>
Hall 1 (1904)	<i>Numankaki</i>	—	—
Hall 2 (1905)	<i>Nu'makaki</i>	—	—
Wilson (1910)	<i>Máta Numake</i> (old term) or <i>Núeta</i> (new term); both specifically for Numak'aki- <i>Núitadi</i> village-band	<i>Numankmahina</i>	—
Lowie (1913)	—	—	<i>Měro'k-ō'xat'e</i>
Bowers (1948)	<i>Nuptadi, Nuitadi</i> , “Those Who Tattooed Themselves,” and <i>Awigaxa</i> Mandans (all village-bands)	<i>NumakmaxEna</i>	—
Hollow (1970)	<i>Ryʔeta</i> (bold = accent)	<i>Ryʷqk Wqʷ^orq</i> (bold = accent)	<i>W^orók Óxat</i>
Mixco (1997/2008)	<i>Ryʔeta</i>	<i>Řuwqk Wqʷřq</i> (bold = accent)	<i>Wro:k or Wřók Óxat</i>

My standard is a single phrase from the North Dakota Heritage Center’s work with language *ka-ka* Madoke Wades'she (2014): *Numak máhina*.³² The spellings are phonetic and literal using the same alphabet as English, with linguistic markers (such as —**x**) and gutturals (such as the Lakota/Dakota —**ŋ** or Wied’s —**nk**) dropped. The added phonetic vowels between consonants (Hollow’s superscript additions) are written into the term: *xó'p'ini* (“medicine”) becomes *hó'pini*. The phonemic —**r**’s and —**w**’s of Hollow and Mixco are instead rendered phonetically as —**n**’s and —**m**’s, respectively. Each word’s definitions, aspirants, and accents usually come from Hollow and Mixco, with Hollow’s breakdowns of word components enabling

³² This appears on a translation of an origin tale, recorded by Madoke Wades'she, in the Innovation Gallery: Early Peoples exhibition at the North Dakota Heritage Center and State Museum, Bismarck, North Dakota.

my philosophy of language to take shape in the first place. The reader should keep in mind that Hollow's components reflected the language knowledge available on Fort Berthold in the late 1960s, and there was much that remained unarticulated, having since slipped into *wakan*.

The language work of this project has served as an illustrative counterpart to its images, where the Enlightenment project's capture and dissemination through print undid its own claims for the results of knowledge gathering, instead turning the ontological into layers of systems and codes that effectively "bury" any original targets. This project hit strong limits in terms of what it could achieve in cutting through these printed layers, especially with regard to language. It is my hope that future generations of *ka-ka* and scholars can amend and correct where I have here fallen short.

APPENDIX B

Brief Biographical Notes on This Project's Numak'aki and Minitari Archival Informants

This Appendix is largely written for tribal historians and *ka-ka* of the Three Affiliated Tribes. Since many of the archival and fieldwork sources in the archives have not been published, it seemed prudent to make the names and facts recorded in these locations widely available. This project's reading across its wide range of sources, from winter counts to twentieth-century ethnographies and linguistic projects, provided a unique opportunity to compile the various traces specific to historic Numak'aki and Minitari individuals.

The following information only compiles the information from the sources I have consulted; its goal is not a complete listing of the historical figures found in all sources, but a notation of those whose information contributes to the picture of *Awatikihu* life presented here. It is hoped that this provides a modicum of source tracking so that my research can be properly contextualized (and corrected, as needed) into the future. Some of these sources I have only used in part, such as amateur ethnologist Gilbert L. Wilson's interview reports. Each biographical entry is followed by codes for those sources that contained the informant's given information, and/or to which the informant contributed. The information below has not been cross-checked with local tribal information sources, such as enrollment rolls, school records,

compiled tribal databases, or *ka-ka*.¹ And since much of the following was recorded by non-Native scholars, mistakes in fact, name, or translation may be inadvertently included.

Numak'aki and Minitari peoples could be given multiple names over their lifetimes, so some of the entries may also conflate several individuals into one or, conversely, may record separate entries for a single person.

Sources:

- AWB** Alfred W. Bowers' ethnographic interviews at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1929–33 and 1947
- BWC** Butterfly's Winter Count (1833–76)
- PE/CT** Historical work by Paul Ewald (1970s), whose interviews informed Colin F. Taylor's Catlin's O-kee-pa (1996)
- EC** Ethnographic interviews conducted in 1908 at Fort Berthold Reservation by Alexander B. Upshaw [Absaálooke (Crow)] for Edward Curtis's North American Indian, volumes 4 and 5
- FWWC** Foolish Woman's Winter Count (1835–70)
- GLW** Gilbert L. Wilson's ethnographic interviews at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1908–14
- MB** Martha Beckwith's collection of oral histories at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1929
- MIX** Mauricio Mixco's linguistic work at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1993–6
- MUA** Tseca Matseitsi's [Minitari] list of lodges at *Mua-iduskupe-hiccec*, ca.1860; recorded in Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson
- RH** Robert Hollow's linguistic work at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1966–8
- RL** Robert Lowie's ethnographic interviews at Fort Berthold Reservation, 1910–1

¹ I have cross-checked facts when needed with the Biographical Dictionary of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara compiled by Michael W. Stevens (2003), but I have not integrated his information with what appears below. Stevens' dictionary can be found at <<http://lib.fortbertholdcc.edu/FortBerthold/TATBIO.htm>>.

Arrowhead Earring [Numak'aki]. Grandfather of **Calf Woman**. A chief. Sang in the buffalo ceremony. Served as *Okípe* leader. Adopted in the Sacred Child Ceremony by **Nine-Men-Dry-a-Penis**. GLW

Atátic, or **Soft White Corn** [Minitari]. Mother of Buffalo Bird Woman's grandmother. She survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837, along with a small child. GLW

Baker, Clyde [Numak'aki]. MIX

(Mrs.) Baker, Owen [Numak'aki]. AWB

Bear on the Flat [Numak'aki]. AWB

Bears Arm [Minitari]. Of the *Amahámi* village-band. AWB, BW

Beaver [Numak'aki]. Born in the *Awatíkihu*, ca.1830; around 78 years old in 1908. Member of the *Nakidawi* (Three Bands). Maker of the five unfinished quilled rosettes at AMNH (#50.1/5351A-E). GLW

Bell, William [Numak'aki]. MIX

Benson, Ben [Numak'aki]. AWB, BW

Benson, Blanche [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Benson, Edwin, also named **Madoke Wades'she** [Iron Bison; Numak'aki]. Born in 1931. At the time of my research, Benson was the Nú'eta language *ka-ka* as well as the *ka-ka* for one of the *Okípe pke*. MIX

Big Cloud [Minitari]. Born in *Elá-Sá*. Father of **Strikes-Many-Women**; grandfather of **Buffalo Bird Woman** and **Wolf Chief**. GLW

Bird, Jacob [Numak'aki]. MIX

Black-Hawk [Minitari]. GLW

Black Chest, or **Í-pa-ta-psi** (Nú'eta), or **A-pá-ta=ši-pi-šeš** (Hidatsa) [Numak'aki]. Born ca.1849 in *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Had a Numak'aki mother and a Minitari father. Of the band *Ta-mí-í-sik* (in Nú'eta) or *Meé-tsi=dó-ka* (in Hidatsa). Sold his oar with honor marks to Wilson (AMNH #50.1/7364), as well as his mocassins (AMNH #50.1/5346AB). Also gave Wilson an account of the Mandan Sacred Lodge. GLW, RL

Buffalo Bird Woman, or **Mahídiwíac** [Minitari]. Her birth is mentioned in both winter counts for the summer of 1841 (BWC / FWWC). Born in *Amatihá*. Daughter of **Small Ankle**. Wife of **Son-of-a-Star** and mother of **Edward Goodbird**. Author of Buffalo Bird Woman (1921). GLW

Burdash, Pete [Dakota-Sahnish]. Provided "The Arikara Cosmogony" to Wilson in 1908. GLW

Bush [unknown]. Resident of the *Awatíkihu* who sought his god by dragging a string of four buffalo skulls behind him for 50 miles north along the Missouri River. GLW

Butterfly [Minitari]. Born ca.1847 at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Of *Midipádi* band. Married to **Good Voice**. Keeper of a winter count. Sold Wilson a *hó'pini* pipe (AMNH #50.1/5347). Might be #55 in MUA (he would have been 13 years old). GLW

(Mrs.) Butterfly, or Good Voice [Minitari]. Keeper of the Numak'aki *Manaduse-wisec* ("One-Enemy-Killed") ceremony bundle until she sold it to Wilson in 1910. Also gave Wilson an account of the Sacred Child Adoption ceremony, including its painted robe design (AMNH #50.1/6021). GLW

Calf Woman, or Nikasiwihe [Numak'aki]. Born ca.1855; 57 years old in 1912. Her mother's father was **Arrowhead Earring** [Numak'aki]. Her Numak'aki mother was *Nakitopa* (Four Bands); her Minitari father was **Red Stone** and *Nakidáwi* (Three Bands). A member of the *Óhate* that prayed to the sun and the moon; their job was to paint the inside of the lodge. AWB, GLW, RL

Chief [Numak'aki]. The Numak'aki equivalent of **Small Ankle**. Shared Numak'aki history with **Small Ankle** in 1868, in a conversation later recounted by **Wolf Chief**. GLW **BOWERS**.

Crow's Breast, Burr [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Crow's Heart, or Ke-e-ka-Nat-ka (Raven's Heart, Nú'eta) or **Pe-e-dit-ska-Na'-das** (Raven Heart, Hidatsa) [Numak'aki]. #31 on MUA. AWB, EC (incl. portrait), GLW

Dry Tears, or Dry Eyes [Minitari]. Born in *Amatihá*. Father of **Hairy Coat**. Left for winter village in 1843. Settled in *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* in 1844. GLW

Eagle, Annie [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Face-Sunflower-Has (meaning "The Circle around the Sun that Comes in Winter Time and Warns of a Storm"), or **I-tá-mi-di-í-a-ha-má-tus** [Minitari]. Leader of the *Amahámi* village-band when the Minitari first met the Numak'aki at the Missouri River. He wore his face paint in the design of his name. GLW

Fire [Numak'aki, raised *ha-numak*]. One of the *Nuptadi* children taken captive by the Dakotas after they burned the earthlodge village on the Heart River, circa 1722. GLW

First Sprout [Numak'aki]. Made the sacred fish trap model for Wilson in 1910 (AMNH #50.15484). GLW

Foolish Woman [Numak'aki]. Keeper of a notebook winter count that was recited and copied for Beckwith at Independence, ND on 11 Jul 1929. His winter count notes that his father was born in the summer of 1838; his grandfather was killed during a battle in the summer of 1848; and one of his uncles was killed in the summer of 1867. He also noted his own birthdate as part of his count, in the summer of 1868 at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. AWB, BW, GLW

(Mrs.) Foolish Woman, or Maksipka [Numak'aki]. Gave Wilson a corn husk fiber bag (AMNH #50.1/5364). GLW

Four Bears, or Nah-pi-tsi=dó-pas(h) [Minitari]. He is thirty-one years old in the winter of 1841–2 (BWC). A chief who fought Ma-ic-i-dú-ha-ki-psi-ki'sh (“Wears-Beads-on-His-Belt”), a prominent Teton warrior. He is recorded as killing six enemies and capturing one white pony in the winter of 1837–8 (BWC); the event is also recorded as seven *ha-numak* and one white pony (FWWC). He led a war party and killed Iron-Cedar in 1849–50 (BWC). He attended the Fort Laramie Treaty conference on behalf of Minitari peoples [**Flying Eagle** went for Nú'eta peoples (FWWC)] at the Platte River in the summer of 1851 (BWC), from which the two men returned in 1852. He served as winter chief in 1859–60 (BWC). He was killed in the summer of 1861, near Smell-Bad-Lodge in the timber to the west of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (BWC). #21 in MUA. AWB, GLW

Front Woman [Numak'aki]. AWB

(Mrs.) Good Bear [Numak'aki]. AWB

Goodbird, Edward, or Tsakákasaki [Minitari]. 1869–1938. Son of **Buffalo Bird Woman**. His birth is noted in the summer of 1870, in the 26th year of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (BWC). Translator for both Gilbert Wilson and Robert Lowie. Author of Goodbird the Indian (1914). GLW, RL

(Mrs.) Goodbird, Edward [Dakota?]. Made a replica of **Son-of-a-Star's** pair of moccasins for Wilson under the direction of her mother-in-law **Buffalo Bird Woman** (AMNH #50.1/5506AB). GLW

Good Furred Robe, or I-ta-śú-tsa-ki, or His-Robe-Hair-Is-Good [Numak'aki]. First chief of the Numak'aki after they emerged from the ground at the mouth of the Mississippi. Led his people upriver. In **Butterfly's** and **Wounded Face's** accounts, he was *numakshí* when the Minitari met the Numak'aki on the Missouri. GLW

Good Grizzly Bear [Minitari]. Born 1848. EC (incl. portrait)

Good Road, or Good-is-his-way [Minitari]. 30 years old in 1908. Has Numak'aki father, **Long-Tail**, from whom his knowledge comes. GLW

Gray Nose, or Páhu-Hót [Numak'aki]. *Ka-ka* in trust for *Okípe* bundle and *pke* after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, until **Moves Slowly** came of age. His name glyphs also appear on the Little Owl *ka-ka* list (see **Interlude 2**). EC

(Mrs.) Grinnell, Mattie Nagel [Numak'aki]. Was an estimated 105 years old in 1973. Died on 6 Jan 1975. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). PE/CT, RH

Hairy Coat [Minitari]. Born in *Amatihá*. Around 80 years old in 1911. Son of **Dry Tears**. As a child (roughly 7 years old), he was adopted into the *Benók Óhate* and was a part of building *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (see **Appendix E**). Elder who was the last owner of an earthlodge on Fort

Berthold. Had defied the local BIA agent's order to stop ceremonies, and had subsequently been arrested, thrown in jail, and had his hair cut. He was one of the last to follow the "old ways" on the Reservation, with the last inhabited earthlodge. *Ka-ka* of Numak'aki chief Mato-Tópe's story and visions. GLW, RL

Hákohe, or **Scabby** [Minitari]. Born in the *Awatíkihu*. Brother of **Moves Slowly**. Uncle of **Scattered Corn Woman**. *Ka-ka* of two *Okípe pke* until his death in the smallpox epidemic of 1837. EC

Hides-and-Eats [*ha-numak* captive, raised as Numak'aki]. Mother of **Sioux-Woman**. Potter. GLW

Holds the Eagle [Minitari]. EC (incl. portrait)

Iron Eye, or **Bear-Not-Welcome** [Numak'aki]. Father of **Packs Wolf**. Last *ka-ka* of the *Okípe*. GLW

Káhohe, or **Corn-Stalk-Moving-In-the-Wind** [Numak'aki]. Chief that gifted corn to roving Minitari hunters, when the two people groups first had contact. GLW

Lance Owner [Numak'aki]. Born in 1833. Grandson of **Young Grasshopper**. Married to **Leader**. Gave a mirror and paint bag (AMNH #50.1/5409AB) and eagle feather fan (AMNH #50.1/5411) to Wilson. EC, GLW

Leader [Minitari], or **Lead Woman**, or **Išókikuaš**. Born in the summer of 1843; still alive in 1929 (FWWC). Wilson gives a birthdate of circa 1856. Wife of **Lance Owner**. Provided numerous objects to Wilson, including black paint (AMNH #50.1/5402). GLW

Lean Bear [Numak'aki]. Warrior and adopted brother of **White Bear Woman**. GLW

Lean Wolf [Minitari]; see **Poor Wolf**.

Little Bear [unknown]. #63 in MUA. GLW

(Mrs.) Little Bear [unknown]. Gave a pair of her husband's moccasins to Wilson (AMNH #50.1/5365AB). GLW

Little Owl [Numak'aki]. AWB

Little Owl, Albert [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Little Owl, Ralph [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Lone Fights [unknown]. Gave a tent with porcupine quill work to Wilson. All that seems to remain is the door panel (AMNH #50.1/5447B). GLW

Long-Tail [Numak'aki]. Father of **Good Road**. *Ka-ka*. This is possibly Man-Has-Long-Hair, #59 in MUA and winter chief (BWC, FWWC). GLW

Long-Time Dog [Minitari]. Born 1850. EC (incl. portrait)

Looking [Numak'aki]. Of the *Nuptadi* village-band. *Numakshí* who founded his own Heart River Confederacy village south of Bismarck, now called Looking's Village. Looking had the gift of being able to see the whole world from a place known as Peaked-Hill. GLW

Mandan, Arthur [Minitari]. Of the Prairie Chicken clan. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). Translator for Martha Beckwith. His grandfather, **Red Cow**, had a younger uncle who set out on a large thirty-warrior Numak'aki war party that never returned in the summer of 1837 (FWWC). BW

Many Women [Minitari]. Gave Wilson an account of traditional burial practices. GLW

Medicine Stone, Ernest [Numak'aki]. MIX

Moves Slowly [Numak'aki]. Born around 1820 in the *Awatíkihu*; 17 years old in 1837. Father of **Scattered Corn Woman**. Brother of **Hákohe** ("Scabby") who died in the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Became the *ka-ka* for two *Okípe pke* when he came of age. EC

Óki'sh, or Head Ornament [Numak'aki]. Historical Numak'aki *numakshí* who divided the Heart River Confederacy into village-bands. See **Chapter Two**. GLW

Old Yellow Elk, or I-tsi-di-sí-di=i-tá-kas(h) [Minitari]. Maternal grandfather of **Buffalo Bird Woman**. Died in the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and came back. GLW

Otter Sage [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Packs Wolf [Minitari]. Son of **Iron Eye**. *Ka-ka* of two *pke* and the *Okípe* bundle in 1908; gave Edward Curtis photographic access to the objects. EC (incl. portraits), GLW

Painted Up [Numak'aki]. RL

Poor Wolf, also known as **Lean Wolf** [Minitari]. Born in 1820 in the *Awatíkihu*; died on Fort Berthold Reservation in 1916. Son of **Red Owl**. Nephew of **Maker of Roads**, or **Arî Hirish** (born ca.1765; painted by Bodmer in the Fort Clark studio). Held chief position. #20 in MUA. Attributed author of painting(s) illustrating events from his life (see **Figure I2-10**). One of the Black Mouths in the summer of 1845 when *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* was constructed (BWC / FWWC). He seems to have shared a chiefly position with **Raven Pouch** [Minitari] in the winter of 1855 (FWWC). A chief who went to Washington, D.C. for talks in the summer of 1874, along with **Bad-Gun** (BWC). EC (incl. portrait), GLW, RL

Rabbit Head [Minitari]. Dressed with **Poor Wolf** for Edward Curtis photographs of *Okípe* dress; died several weeks later. EC (incl. portraits)

Red Stone [Minitari]. Of the *Nakidáwi* (Three Bands). Blacksmith at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec*. Maker of **Sioux-Woman's** iron bracelets (AMNH #50.1/5492AB). Possibly #15 (His-Red-Stone) in MUA. Keeper of the sacred lodge. Father of **Calf Woman**. GLW

Red Stone [Numak'aki]. Resident of the *Awatíkihu*. Went hunting during the 1837 smallpox epidemic and spied a white raven, after which the pox subsided. GLW

Red White Buffalo [Numak'aki]. Husband of **White Bear Woman**. Author of her dancing dress warrior marks (see **Figure 2-5**). GLW

Scattered Corn Woman, or **Mópinte** [Numak'aki]. Daughter of **Moves Slowly**. Niece of **Hákohe**. Inherited their *ka-ka* rights (rites) for two *pke* and the *Okípe* bundle. AWB, EC (incl. portrait)

Short Bull [Numak'aki]. Born in the *Awatíkihu*. Died in 1907. 79 years old in 1906, at the time the oldest living Numak'aki person. May be the Short Bull that led a successful war party in the spring of 1862 and got caught in the high water of the (Missouri) River in the spring of 1873 (BWC). Likely #27 ("Small Bull") in MUA. GLW

Sioux-Woman, or **Ha-mi-he** [Numak'aki]. About 60 years old in 1910. Daughter of **Hides-and-Eats**. Gave Gilbert Wilson her iron bracelets crafted by **Red Stone** (AMNH #50.1/5492AB). GLW

Sitting Owl [Minitari]. Born in 1847. EC (incl. portrait)

Small Ankle [Minitari]. Born in *Amahámi*. Of the *Midipádi* band. Father of **Wolf Chief** and **Buffalo Bird Woman**. Medicine man and *ka-ka* of skull bundle (see **Appendix E**). He is recorded as visiting "some other Indians" at Rose River (also Rosebud Creek, near the Yellowstone River) in 1838–9 (BWC) / 1839 (FWWC). He led a war party that killed one *ha-numak* in 1842–3 (BWC). He served as winter chief for 1866–7, with the camp at *Awadaxaxicac* [Hidatsa term, translated as "Hill-like-a buffalo's-superior-processes-on-the-vertabrae-of-his-neck" or "hump"] (BWC). #1 in MUA. GLW

Son-of-a-Star [Minitari]. Born in *Elá-Sá*. Warrior husband of **Buffalo Bird Woman**. GLW

Stone, John [unknown]. Trilingual (English, Nú'eta, Hidatsa). RH

Tattooed Face, or **Íta-widatsá'sh** (in Hidatsa) [Numak'aki]. Village leader of Tattooed Village whose occupants disappeared with tracks into the Missouri River. His own face and many of the villagers' faces were tattooed, thus the name. EC (song), GLW

White Bear Woman [unknown]. Maker and wearer of the dancing dress with the war exploits of **Lean Bear** [Numak'aki] and **Red White Buffalo** [Numak'aki]. Her rights to wear the marks came through her adoption as sister of Lean Bear and her marriage to Red White Buffalo. See **Figure 2-5** for Wilson's recording of Red White Buffalo's marks from the dress. GLW

White Calf [Numak'aki]. AWB

White Duck [Minitari]. Born in 1857. EC (incl. portrait)

(Mrs.) White Duck [Minitari]. Of the *Amahámi* village-band. Daughter of **Poor Wolf**. AWB, BW

Whitman, Carl [Numak'aki]. MIX

Wolf Chief, or **Tseca Matseítsi** [Minitari]. Also had name **Kúaháwic** (“Coming”) given by his grandfather **Big Cloud**. Born in the summer of 1849 at *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (BWC); he was around 19 years old in 1868. Of the *Amahámi* village-band. Son of **Small Ankle** and **Strikes-Many-Women**. Married to **Coyote Woman**. Oldest brother of warriors **Charging Enemy**, **Red Kettle**, and **Full House** (or **Full Heart** in some Wilson’s translations). Younger brother of **Buffalo Bird Woman**. His war party kill (with another warrior) of a crippled Dakota man is listed for the summer of 1865 (BWC; the count’s wording is “we killed,” suggesting that the keeper of the count that year was the other warrior involved). He remained a Kit Fox (above Stone Hammer *Óhate*) all of his adult life, as he was never able to sell his rites. AWB, GLW, RL

Wolf Ghost [Minitari]. Likely #22 (“Wolf-Walks-With-the-Wind-at-His-Back”) in MUA. Painted the Minitari warrior marks on leggings collected by Wilson (MHS), and sold a bone arrow polisher to Wilson (AMNH #50.1/5421). GLW

Wounded Face [Numak'aki]. Born in 1848. Painted the Numak'aki warrior marks on leggings collected by Wilson (MHS). *Ka-ka* of the corn ceremonies, with rights inherited from his father. Singer for the Goose Society Ceremony. GLW, RL

(Mrs.) Wounded Face [Numak'aki]. GLW

(Mrs.) Young Bear, Louella Benson [Numak'aki]. Daughter of **Ben Benson**; sister of **Edwin Benson**. Had an uncle (father’s eldest brother) at Standing Rock named **Red Fox**. GLW, MIX

APPENDIX C

Heart River Confederacy and *Awatíkihu* Events in Lakota Winter Counts, 1700 to 1920

Many Native groups on the Plains kept winter counts. These documents record notable events for each year in pictorial form. Like the objects of Plains warrior culture, winter counts followed strict symbolic codes of making. These codes (re)produced their referenced events, often narrated in tribal settings and passed from keeper to keeper. Some winter counts in museum collections survive in their original hide forms; many in archives are (re)productions, often on paper or fabric, sometimes authored by their keeper, sometimes only surviving in transcribed narrative form.

The following chart records the various entries in Lakota winter counts that pertain to the Heart River Confederacy and *Awatíkihu*. I have used these entries as historical sources in my account of Numak'aki peoples. While I here record the published textual translations of the events, it is important to remember that the original sources also serve as visual encyclopedias of tribal and warrior culture iconographies, much of which we are only beginning to understand.

Illustration C-1. Heart River Confederacy and *Awatikihu* Events in Lakota Winter Counts, 1700 to 1920. Source: Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

YEAR	WINTER COUNT	DESCRIPTION	PG#
1771–2	No Ears	They burnt the Mandans out / <i>Miwatani ohu wicayapi</i>	95
1783–4	American Horse	The Mandans and Rees made a charge on a Dakota village.	105
1787–88	American Horse	They went out in search of Crows in order to avenge the death of Broken-Leg-Duck. [Collector’s Notes: They did not find any Crows, but chancing on a Mandan village, captured it and killed all the people in it – Corbusier 1886.]	110
1789–90	The Flame	Two Mandans killed by Minneconjous.	112
	Rosebud	Two Mandan killed on ice.	113
	Battiste Good	Killed two Gros Ventres on the ice winter.	113
1790–91	No Ears	Two Mandans killed on ice.	113
1791–92	The Flame	A Mandan and a Dakota met in the middle of the Missouri. [Collector’s Notes: A Mandan and a Dakota met in the middle of the Missouri; each swimming half way across, they shook hands, and made peace. Mulligan, post interpreter at Fort Buford, says this was at Fort Berthold, and is an historic fact; also that the same Mandan, long afterwards, killed the same Dakota – Mallery 1886]	115
	Rosebud	Made peace with the Mandan.	116
1793–94	No Ears	A truce with the Mandans / <i>Miwatani awicatipi</i>	118
1794–95	The Flame	A Mandan chief killed a noted Dakota chief with remarkably long hair and took his scalp.	118
	Rosebud	Camped with earth lodge people.	119

1795–6	The Flame	While surrounded by the enemy (Mandans), a Blackfeet Dakota Indian goes at the risk of his life for water for the party.	120
1796–7	The Flame	A Mandan chief, “The Man with the Hat,” becomes a noted warrior.	121
1811–2	Lone Dog	The Dakota fought a battle with the Gros Ventres and killed a great many.	149
	The Flame	Twenty-seven Mandans surrounded and killed by Dakotas.	150
	The Swan	Twenty of the Gros Ventres killed by Dakotas in a dirt lodge.	150
	Major Bush	Twenty (20) Gros Ventres killed by Sioux’s in a dirt lodge.	150
	Rosebud	Killed many enemies in earth lodge.	151
1827–8	Lone Dog	Dead-Arm was stabbed with a knife or dirk by a Mandan.	181
	The Flame	A Minneconjou is stabbed by a Gros Ventre, and his arm shrivels up – Mallery 1886.	182
	The Swan	A Minneconjou Dakota wounded with a large knife by a Gros Ventre. [Collector’s note: man afterwards named Lam Shoulder – Mallery 1886]	182
	Major Bush	A Minniconjou Sioux was wounded in the shoulder with a sabre in the hands of a Gros Ventre	182
	Cloud Shield	In a fight with the Mandans, Crier was shot in the head with a gun	183
	Rosebud	Lakota stabbed in arm and it withered	183
1828–9	Battiste Good	Killed two-hundred Gros Ventres (Hidatsas) winter.	185
	No Ears	They killed many Mandans / <i>Miwantani ota wica ktepi</i>	185

1832–3	American Horse	They attacked a Gros Ventre village and killed many.	193
1844–5	The Flame	Mandans wintered in Black Hills.	216
1847–8	The Flame	Mandans kill two Minneconjous.	221

THE KEEPERS

Lone Dog [Chinosa]: Yanktonai or Mnikǰówožu

The Flame [Boíne]: Itázipcho [Sans Arc], but lived most of his life with the Oóhe Núnpa [Two Kettles]

Swan: Mnikǰówožu

Major Bush: collector of a count by an unknown keeper

American Horse [Wašichuŋ Tǰašúŋke]: Oglala, 1840–1908

Cloud Shield: Oglala, lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation

Battiste Good [Wapóštangi, or Brown Hat]: Sichanǰu [Brulé], b.1821, lived on the Rosebud Reservation

No Ears [John No Ears]: Oglala, ca.1853–1918, lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation

Rosebud: a count kept by an unknown Sichanǰu keeper, collected by photographer and trader

John Anderson on the Rosebud Reservation

APPENDIX D

A Brief History of the Glass Negatives Collection of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE)

The Glass Negatives Collection at the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) continues to serve as one of the most utilized archives for nineteenth-century portraits and images of North American Native peoples. Its collected imagery, however, has a long and complex history, one that demonstrates how print technologies have been utilized to collect, (re)produce, and disseminate the imagery of Native peoples found in many of today's archives. I here give a brief summary.

One strand of the collection began under the oversight and financial generosity of William Henry Blackmore (1827–78), an English financier and philanthropist who founded the Blackmore Museum in Salisbury, England. Blackmore was interested in North American Native peoples and collected archeological Native objects as well as photographs for his museum.¹ When a proposed photographic collection of Native American delegate portraits failed to secure financing from the U.S. government after a fire destroyed the Smithsonian's National Museum and its Indian Gallery in 1865, Blackmore stepped forward with the necessary monies,

¹ See the Blackmore Museum Album at the NAA, MS 4286.

energy, and contacts. Blackmore contracted studio photographers such as Antonio Zeno Shindler (**Chapters Seven and Nine**) and Alexander Gardner (**Chapter Nine**) to photograph visiting delegations in Washington, D.C. He also arranged for Shindler to house this collection of negatives. Blackmore then had Shindler copy his Museum's collection of images, as well as those of various D.C. photographers (such as Charles Milton Bell; see **Figures 9-9 to 9-11, 9-13, 9-14, and 9-16**). Thus, Shindler's darkroom activities mixed a host of images from commercial photography studios in with those commissioned on behalf of federal institutions (though often, in the early years of the collection, privately paid for by Blackmore).²

A second strand of the collection comes from Blackmore's involvement with the Hayden Survey, the U.S. geographical survey run under Ferdinand V. Hayden. Survey photographic practices involved a range of (re)production and circulation mechanisms. In the field, survey photographers often traded negatives.³ They also entered into contracts with studios and/or survey directors for reproduction rights. Some had their images copyrighted by commercial studio photographers or printed at will in survey materials.⁴ This latter practice included the (re)production of tens of thousands of promotional

² Shindler managed the McClees Studio from 1867–71, as its original owner, James E. McClees, returned to Philadelphia in 1867. McClees and his studio photographers Vannerson and Cohner had taken the earliest known delegation photographs during the winter of 1857–8. Because of Shindler's (re)productions, these have often been misattributed to Shindler. For details of these early images, see Fleming and Luskey, *North American Indians*, 22; for studio street addresses and activity of McClees and Shindler, see the listings for McClees Studio, McClees & Beck, McClees, Shindler & Company, and Shindler in Fleming and Luskey, *North American Indians*, Appendix 1, p.231. Some of the Shindler-kept images, at least, then also circled back to the Blackmore Museum; see the Blackmore Museum Album (fn1).

³ See Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*, 185.

⁴ Fleming and Luskey cite a specific contract between Powell and his survey photographer J.K. Hillers, whereby Hillers' photographs were to be published by a commercial studio (*North American Indians*, 110). Powell also misdated all of his survey's photographs from 1871–3 while publishing the works of a variety of photographers under Hillers' name (*North American Indians*, 109). Photographic copyrights had to be registered by the clerk of the District Court of Washington, D.C., which made it easy for D.C.-area photographers like Shindler to enter copyrights for others' photographs; Shindler's registered images include those of survey photographer William H. Jackson (*North American Indians*, 195, 247 fn32).

stereographs to sway elected officials in favor of continued survey funding.⁵ Even after the United States Geological Survey (USGS) consolidation in 1879, survey and BAE staffs overlapped, especially the artistic mechanics employed in the darkrooms and illustration studios. DeLancey Gill (**Chapter Nine**), for instance, was borrowed from the USGS by the BAE before he was hired full-time by the BAE in 1898.⁶ That duplications came about through this wide range of practices and activities there can be no doubt, as survey leaders Hayden and John W. Powell came into conflict multiple times over replicated images between their distinct survey projects.⁷ Blackmore financially backed the Hayden Survey's activities through 1872; in 1868 and 1872 Blackmore joined the fieldwork, and especially spent his time in the American west collecting photographs of Native peoples for the survey.

With Blackmore's survey involvement, the semi-distinct collections between the two strands of activity began to blur. By 1867, Blackmore had granted control of his growing collection of negatives in Shindler's care to the Hayden Survey. The Survey in turn (re)produced the images for the Smithsonian, who exhibited Blackmore's collection in the Gallery of Art in 1867, the institution's first photography exhibition.⁸ Images collected in the west by Blackmore on Survey travels were copied by Shindler and added to the collection (see, for instance, **Figure 7-2**). And in 1877, the Hayden Survey included the Blackmore

⁵ Robin Kelsey gives a statistic of 70,000 stereographs published for the Wheeler survey alone; see Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 80. Details of how image publication was utilized by the surveys for promotional purposes and public influence can be found in Kelsey, *Archive Style*, Chapter 2; Kelsey, "Viewing the Archive"; and Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*, Chapter 5.

⁶ 1898 BAE Annual Report.

⁷ Fleming and Luskey, *North American Indians*, 110.

⁸ See Fleming and Luskey, *Grand Endeavors*, 22.

collection images in what is known as the Jackson catalogue.⁹ The catalogue was authored by Hayden Survey photographer William Henry Jackson in order to give an order the Survey's collected images of Native peoples.¹⁰ The catalogue is often assumed to reflect the distinct work of Survey photographers, but in truth many of its images (such as **Figure 9-12**) had migrated into the Survey's collections through the various paths outlined here.

When Congress consolidated all major surveys into the USGS in 1879, Blackmore's negatives transferred with the various surveys' ethnographic materials—images and objects—to the newly created BAE, and the combined collections' negatives resulted in the Glass Negatives Collection.¹¹

⁹ Published as the Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians, Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey of the Territories, Miscellaneous Publications, No. 9 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1877). The catalog was published independently of the main Survey text, Descriptive Catalogue of the Photographs of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories, for the Years 1869 to 1875, Inclusive, 2nd ed., Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey of the Territories, Miscellaneous Publications, No. 5 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1875).

¹⁰ The published catalogue was an expanded version of an earlier 1874 list compiled by Jackson.

¹¹ For basic outlines of major governmental expeditions, including the “Four Great Surveys” of King (1867–9), Wheeler (1871–9), Hayden (1870–9), and Powell (1871–9), see Fleming and Luskey, North American Indians, 102–10. And for a more detailed summary of Blackmore's involvement in the collection, see Fleming and Luskey, Grand Endeavors, 21–2.

APPENDIX E

The Founding of *Mua-iduskupe-hicec* (1844/45)

Related by Tseca Matseítsi [Wolf Chief; Minitari] and Butterfly [Minitari], translated by Tsakákasaki [also called Edward Goodbird; Minitari], and transcribed by Gilbert L. Wilson (July 1911). From Volume 10 (1911), MHS-Wilson.

At that time Missouri River owned those two skulls that I [Tseca Matseítsi] sold you [Gilbert L. Wilson] for Mr. George Heye.¹ This was the most important shrine in the tribe. Therefore they asked Missouri River, “Your gods are strongest. What plan do you suggest?”

Missouri River got up and took the two skulls and went around in a wide circle, returning to the place where he had started. He said, “We will leave a circular, open place as I have marked; thus shall we plan the village!” Then he said to Big Cloud, Small Ankle’s son-in-law who lived in Small Ankle’s lodge:

“Your gods are strong. Where do you want your earth lodge?”

¹ George Heye was the founder of the Museum of the American Indian, New York City, whose collections now form the foundation of today’s National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian (NMAI). This particular bundle was sold to Wilson in 1907, since Tseca Matseítsi had adopted Christianity and grown wary of bundle ownership. The sale generated great controversy when Wilson and George H. Pepper (see **Chapter Nine**) published images of the bundle and descriptions of its connected beliefs in an article in 1908. The bundle was returned to Fort Berthold in 1938.

Big Cloud answered, "Where the shrine stands now, and facing the west. For my gods are birds, and the birds come from the west and also the thunders. And so I am sure we shall have plenty of rain. And I am sure we shall live here a long time and our children and our fields shall thrive."

This Big Cloud had once seen a vision, with his eyes, not sleeping, of a thunderbird.

The next man asked to select a spot for his lodge was Has-Game-Stick. They said to him, "You stand up!"

He did so and said, "My god is the Sun-Set woman. I wish my lodge to face the sunset. Then I think the Sun-Set woman will remember me. And I will pray to her and I hope she will hear me. And then the village will have plenty and enemies shall not take it."

Then they said, "Bad Horn, you stand and choose a place for your earth lodge!"

He said, "My gods are the bears, and bears always have the mouth of their dens toward the north. So I want to have my lodge open toward the north and so my bear gods will remember me and I will remember them and I will wish this village to stand a long time."

This that Bad Horn said is true. Bears always have the mouth of their dens toward the north.

They told Missouri River to stand up, and select. Missouri River took the two skulls and singing his mystery song he walked around the circle that he had marked out with his steps before, going with the sun his right hand toward the center (i.e., with the sun, or as move the hands of a clock). Three times he went around the circle and the fourth time he stopped at the place where his lodge site is marked on the map (No.13). There Missouri River stood and prayed: "My gods, you are my protectors. Give your protection to this village. I am sure the

village will stand a long time if you protect it. Also do you send rains and the gardens will grow.
And the children will grow up strong and healthy because my shrine is in this village.”

Then he said to the other men: “This now will be all. Get up and the rest of you choose sites for your lodges where you will, only keep the circle open as I have marked.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY

Archival

- American Antiquarian Society (AAS).
Astor Collection, FAM.
Albert H. Small American Trade Catalogs Collection, SMALL.
Aleš Hrdlička Papers, NAA.
Alfred Jones Papers 1837–1904, AAS.
Ayer Collection, NEW.
Bureau of American Ethnology (1879–1965), Records, NMNH-NAA.
Bureau of American Ethnology Reference Albums (Photo Lot 60), NMNH-NAA.
Catlin Collection, NMNH-Obj.
Chaco Research Archive, <http://www.chacoarchive.org/cra/>
Department of Anthropology, United States National Museum/National Museum of Natural History (est. 1897), Records: Division of Ethnology, NMNH-NAA.
Early Western Prints and Photographs (1790–1887), Irma and Paul Milstein Division of United States History, Local History and Genealogy, NYPL.
Exhibition research interviews (2005–7) for Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian, NMAI-Cur.
Fritz Scholder Papers, 1960–94, AAA.
Gilbert L. and Frederick N. Wilson Papers, 1894–1936, MHS (MHS-Wilson).
George A. Lucas Collection, BMA.
George Hubbard Pepper Papers, LAL-TUL.
George Hubbard Pepper Photograph Collection, 1895–1918, NMAI-Phto.
Glass Negatives of Indians Collected by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1850s–1930s, NMNH-NAA.
Graphic Arts Bound Volumes, AAS.
Graphic Arts Collection, NMAH.
Henry Inman, Letters, 1828–45, AAS.
“Image of France, 1785–1880,” ARTFL database, <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/image-france>
John Canfield Ewers Papers, NAA.
Library of Congress (LoC).
Maximilian-Bodmer Collection, JAM.
Museum of the American Indian Papers, NMAI-Arch.

National Collection of Fine Arts, Dept. of Twentieth Century Painting and Sculpture, Records, 1965–74, SIA.

National Collection of Fine Arts, Office of the Director, Records, 1912–1965, SIA.

National Collection of Fine Arts, Office of Exhibition and Design, Records, 1964–78, SIA.

National Museum of American Art, Office of the Registrar, Records, 1963–87, SIA.

National Museum of American Art and Portrait Gallery, Library, Exhibition Records, ca.1910–86, SIA.

Grace See Nute calendar and index of the papers of the American Fur Company (1922–1925), 6 volumes, NEW (NEW-Nute).

Oral History Interviews with Fritz Scholder (3–30 March 1995; 7 December 2000), AAA.

“The Pageant of America” Collection, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, NYPL.

Photographic Negatives of Native American Delegations and Archaeology of the Southwestern United States, 1879–1907, NARA-II.

Prints and Drawings Department, Boston Museum of Fine Arts (BMFA-Pd).
Series 17: Division of Ethnology MS/Pamphlet File, NAA.

Signal Corps Photographs of American Military Activity, 1754–1954, NARA-II.

Smithsonian Institution, Traveling Exhibition Service, Records, 1952–1981, SIA.

William Henry Jackson Photograph Albums Based on his Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians (Photo Lot 4420), NMNH-NAA.

William J. Rhees Collection, SIA.

William P. Muschenheim Papers, 1923–90, BENT.

Printed

Adams, Clinton. Fritz Scholder Lithographs. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975.

Adorno, Theodor. “Letter to Benjamin” (18 Mar 1936). Trans. Harry Zohn. In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 520–3.

Alloway, Lawrence. “The Arts and the Mass Media” (1958). In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 700–3.

Antin, David. “Warhol: The Silver Tenement.” Art News (Summer 1966) 47ff. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 287–91.

“Art Instructor in Big Exhibit.” New Mexican (25 Oct 1964).

“An Artist Among the Indians.” Century: A Popular Quarterly 30:1 (May 1885) 54–7.

“Artist Stays Close to Indian Tradition.” Kansas City Star (19 May 1965) 4G.

Artistic Houses; being a series of interior views of a number of the most beautiful and celebrated homes in the United States, with a description of the art treasures contained therein. 1883; New York: B. Blom, 1971.

“The Astor Estate Leases Hotel Astor.” New York Times (4 Jan 1921).

Atkinson, Eleanor. The How and Why Library: Little Questions that Lead to Great Discoveries. Chicago: F.E. Compton & Company, 1919.

- Baudelaire, Charles. "VI. De Quelques Coloristes." From Curiosités Esthétiques, Notice, Notes et Éclaircissements de M. Jacques Crépet. In Ouvres Completes de Charles Baudelaire. Paris: Louis Conard, 1923. 127–8.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren, trans. Myths and Hunting Stories of the Mandan and Hidatsa Sioux. Poughkeepsie: Vassar College, 1930.
- "Before the Kinetograph." Newark Daily Advertiser (24 Sept 1894) 3. In Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 128.
- Benson, Edwin [Madoke Wades'she, or Iron Bison]. Six-part interview series, posted to YouTube by panaritisp. Original and Enhanced Audio versions.
- Beverley, Robert. The History and Present State of Virginia, In Four Parts. London: printed for R. Parker, 1705.
- Bowen, Harold G. "Thomas Alva Edison's Early Motion-Picture Experiments." Journal of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (Sept 1955). In A Technological History of Motion Pictures and Television. Ed. Raymond Fielding. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. 90–6.
- Brassey, T.A., ed. The Naval Annual, 1890. Portsmouth: J. Griffin and Co., 1890.
- Brock, H.I. "Currier & Ives, Printmakers to America." New York Times (22 Jan 1939).
- "Printmakers to the American People." New York Times (1 Jun 1930).
- Brockman, Joshua. "Fritz Scholder's World." Western Interiors and Design (Jul/Aug 2004) 102–9.
- Brower, J.V. Mandan. Volume 8. Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi. St. Paul, MN: Mc-Gill-Warner Co., 1904.
- Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Historical Sketches and Daily Review [program]. Cincinnati: Strobridge Litho. Co, 1907.
- Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World [program]. Chicago: The Company, 1893.
- "The Buffalo Dance." Harper's Weekly 31:1585 (7 May 1887) 334.
- Burns, Sarah, and John Davis, eds. American Art to 1900: A Documentary History. Berkeley: University of California, 2009.
- Cage, John. "On Robert Rauschenberg, Artist, and his Work (1961)." In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 717–21.
- Canaday, John. "Americans Once More." New York Times (26 May 1963).
- "Art: Constructions on the 'Tensegrity' Principle." New York Times (16 Apr 1966).
- "Toys by Artists Are Good Art and Good Toys." New York Times (22 Dec 1963).
- Cannon, T.C. My Determined Eye: Writings of T.C. Cannon. Ed. Joyce Cannon Yi. La Mirada, CA: self-published, 2006.
- Castelli, Leo, et al. "An Observed Conversation (7 Dec 1987)." In Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988. 87–102.
- Catlin, George. An Account of an Annual Religious Ceremony practiced by the Mandan Tribe of North American Indians. London: n.p., 1865.
- Catalogue of Catlin's Indian Gallery of Portraits, Landscapes, Manners and Customs, Costumes, &c. &c. New-York: Piercy & Reed, Printers, 7 Theatre Alley, 1837.

- Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe, with His North American Indian Collection. 2 volumes. London: Published by the Author, at His Indian Collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place, 1848.
- Duke of Portland Souvenir Album. Reprinted as Drawings of the North American Indians. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984.
- Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. 2 volumes. London: self-published, 1841.
- Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indians: Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, with one hundred and fifty illustrations.... 2 volumes. Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1857.
- Opinions of the English and United States Press on Catlin's North American Indian Museum; exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London. London: C. Adlard, 1841.
- Childe, Cromwell. "The Indians of New York City." New York Times (12 Sept 1897) SM6.
- Closson, W.B. "Painter-Engraving." Century: A Popular Quarterly 38:4 (Aug 1889) 583–87.
- Coates, Robert M. "Our Far-Flung Correspondents: Indian Affairs, New Style." New Yorker 43:17 (17 Jun 1967) 102–12.
- "Comment." Harper's Weekly (8 Feb 1902) 163–4.
- Constable, Rosalind. "The Vanishing Indian." Art in America (Jan–Feb 1970) 45.
- Coplans, John. "Early Warhol: The Systematic Evolution of the Impersonal Style." Artforum (Mar 1970) 52–9. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 294–301.
- "The Corbett-Courtney Fight." New York Sun (8 Sept 1894) 1. In Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 115.
- Crone, Rainer. "The End of Painting." Excerpt from Andy Warhol (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970) 30. In The Critical Response to Andy Warhol. Ed. Alan R. Pratt. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997. 59–60.
- Custer, General George Armstrong. Wild Life on the Plains. Ed. W.L. Holloway. St. Louis: Royal Publishing Company, ca.1891.
- "Cutting Indians' Hair." Harper's Weekly 46 (22 Mar 1902) 357.
- Danto, Arthur. "The Artworld." The Journal of Philosophy (15 Oct 1964) 571–84. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 269–78.
- "Daring Feats by Horsemen." New York Times (10 May 1894) 9.
- Davis, John P. "The New School of Engraving." Century: A Popular Quarterly 38:4 (Aug 1889) 587–9.
- Deloria, Jr., Vine. "The War between the Redskins and the Feds." New York Times (7 Dec 1969).
- Dickerson, Rowena. "Merging/Emerging." Pasatiempo, The New Mexican Magazine (11 Mar 1988) 11.
- Dickson, Antonia. "Wonders of the Kinetoscope." Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly 39:2 (Feb 1895) 245–51.

- Dickson, W.K.L. "A Brief History of the Kinetograph, the Kinetoscope, and the Kinetograph." Journal of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (December 1933). In A Technological History of Motion Pictures and Television. Ed. Raymond Fielding. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. 9–16.
- Dickson, W.K.L., and Antonia Dickson. "Edison's Invention of the Kinetograph." Century Illustrated Magazine 48:2 (Jun 1894) 206–14.
- . History of the Kinetograph, Kinetoscope, and Kinetograph. New York: Albert Bunn, 1895.
- "Dinner Under Ground at New Astor Hotel." New York Times (29 Aug 1904).
- Donaldson, Thomas. "The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) with Memoir and Statistics." Appendix, Part V. 1885 SI Annual Report. Part II.
- Dougan, James. "Engineering Features of the Hotel Astor." New York Architect 3 (Dec 1909) 15–6.
- Dunn, Dorothy. "Indian Art Tomorrow." Western Review: A Journal of the Humanities 2 (Winter 1965) 31–2.
- Edison, Thomas A. "The Phonograph and Its Future." North American Review 126:262 (May/Jun 1878) 527–36.
- "The Edison Speaking Machine: Exhibition Before Members of Congress—The Practical Uses to Which It May Be Applied." New York Times (20 Apr 1878) 1.
- "Edison's Kinetograph and Cosmical Telephone." Scientific American 64 (20 Jun 1891) 393.
- "Editorial," Stevens Alumni Review (Nov 1966) n.p.
- Ewing, Robert. "The New Indian Art." El Palacio: A Quarterly Journal of the Museum of New Mexico. 76 (Spring 1969) 33–9.
- "Fierce Kwakiutls Who Practise Cannibalism in North America, As Seen By Dr. Boas." New York Herald (31 Oct 1897).
- Fried, Michael. Excerpt from "New York Letter," Art International (20 Dec 1962) 57. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 267.
- Fritz Scholder. New York: Rizzoli, 1982.
- "Fritz Scholder [interview]." Southwest Profile (Feb 1987) 29–32.
- "Fritz Scholder: The Figure in Flux [interview with Lisa Sherman]." ARTlines 2:1 (Jan 1981) 4–5, 24.
- "Fritz Scholder Named Winner of \$500 Hallmark Award." New Mexican (30 May 1965).
- "Fritz Scholder: New Indian Oils." Southwestern Art 2:4 (1970) 56–7.
- Fritz Scholder: Paintings and Monotypes. Altadena, CA: Twin Palms Publishers, 1988.
- Fritz Scholder / The Retrospective 1960–1981. Exhibition catalog (10 May–10 Jul 1981). Tucson Museum of Art, Tucson, AZ.
- Gabriel, Bertram. "Politics, Pride and Real Estate in Santa Fe." ARTnews 80:10 (Dec 1981) 92–6. [Gallery review]. Arts Magazine. 47 (Dec 1972) 79.
- "Gallery Roundup." The Phoenix Gazette (11 Mar 1981).
- "George Washington Would Have Slept Here." Progressive Architecture 47 (Mar 1966) 56–7.
- Glueck, Grace. "It's Not Pop, It's Not Op—It's Marisol." New York Times (7 Mar 1965).
- . "Marisol Statue Creates Storm, and Loses, in Hawaii." New York Times (31 Mar 1967).

- A Good Day to Die: The Movement that Started a Revolution and Inspired a Nation / The Life of Dennis Banks (2010). Dir. David Mueller and Lynn Salt.
- Graham's Magazine (Philadelphia). 26–7 (1845).
- The Great Indian Hall [brochure]. New York City: Hotel Astor, ca.1905.
- Greenberg, Clement. "Avant-Garde and Kitsch." Partisan Review 4:5 (Fall 1939) 34–49. In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 529–41.
- Greene, Candace S., and Russell Thornton, eds. The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Gullick, T.J. "The Savage Club Buffalo Dance." London Illustrated News (7 Jul 1883) 11.
- Gust, Dodie. "Fritz Scholder—retrospective, introspective." SketchBook (Jun 1981) 3–6.
- Halasz, Piri. "Fritz Scholder's Indian Paradoxes." ARTNews. 73:8 (Oct 1974) 90–6.
- Hale, David. "With His Maverick Brush, the Cliché Becomes the Art." The Fresno Bee (15 Nov 1981) F5.
- Hamilton, Richard. "For the Finest Art, Try Pop (1961)." In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 726–7.
- A Handbook of the S.P. Avery Collection of Prints and Art Books in the New York Public Library and Supplement. New York: New York Public Library, 1901/1921.
- Harnett, Lila. "At Home With Fritz Scholder." Phoenix Home & Garden 10:5 (Mar 1990) 48–59.
- Hess, Thomas B. "Reviews and Previews: New Names This Month: Andy Warhol." Art News (Jan 1965) 11. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 281.
- "Reviews and Previews: New Names This Month: Wayne Thiebaud." Art News (May 1962) 17. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 341.
- "High-Bear–Holy Blanket." New York Times (1 Jun 1894) 9.
- Highwater, Jamake. "A Conversation with Fritz Scholder." Soho Weekly News (22 Jan 1976) 8, 29.
- Hinmatóoyalahq'it ["Chief Joseph"], and the Right Reverend W.H. Hare. "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs." North American Review 128:269 (Apr 1879) 413.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendall. "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph." Atlantic Monthly 3:20 (Jun 1859).
- Hopkins, Henry T. "Andy Warhol, Ferus Gallery." Artforum (Sept 1962) 15. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 266.
- "The Hotel Astor." Architects' and Builders' Magazine 6:2 (Nov 1904) 49–71.
- "Hotel Astor." Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS No. NY-5464.
- "Hotel Astor Builder Anticipated Growth." New York Times (12 Jan 1930).
- Howard, James H. "Butterfly's Mandan Winter Count: 1833–1876." Ethnohistory 7:1 (Winter 1960) 28–43.
- Hrdlička, Aleš. "Physical and Physiological Observations on the Navaho." American Anthropologist New Series 2:2 (Apr–Jun 1900) 339–45.
- Hutchin, William. "New York Hotels. II. The Modern Hotel." Architectural Record 12 (Nov 1902) 621–35.

- "The Indian Daily Journal. A Newspaper Interesting to the Tribes in the Indian Territory." New York Times (1 Sept 1903) 2.
- "An Indian Daily Paper. Edited by the Only Indian Humorist, Who Is an Advocate of State Rights for His Race." New York Times (5 Jul 1903) 3.
- Indian Journal [published in Checotah, Indian Territory] (1 May 1908) n.p.
- "Indian Room His Fad." Washington Post (29 Jan 1905).
- Indian Treaties 1778–1883. Ed. and compiled by Charles J. Kappler. 1904; New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1975.
- "Indians at War on Long Island." New York Herald (13 May 1894) 5B. In Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 127–8.
- Jackson, W.H. Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians. Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey of the Territories. Miscellaneous Publications, No. 9. Washington, DC: GPO, 1877.
- James, George Wharton. Indian Blankets and Their Makers. Chicago: A.C. McClure and Co, 1920.
- Johns, Jasper. "Interview with David Sylvester (1965)." In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 721–6.
- Judd, Donald. "In the Galleries: Andy Warhol." Arts (Jan 1963) 49. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 268.
- "The Kinetograph." New York Sun (28 May 1891) 2. In Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 77.
- Kingsley, Elbridge. "Originality in Wood-Engraving." Century: A Popular Quarterly 38:4 (Aug 1889) 576–83.
- Kozloff, Max. "Pop Culture, Metaphysical Disgust and the New Vulgarians." Art International (February 1962). In Pop Art: The Critical Dialogue. Ed. Carol Anne Mahsun. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989. 17–22.
- Lawson, Kyle. "Fritz Scholder: Turning Posters into Fine Art." The Phoenix Gazette (3 Dec 1982) G2, G6.
- Lichtenstein, Roy. "Lecture to the College Art Association (1964)." In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 733–5.
- Littlewood, Susan. "New Indian Art." Christian Science Monitor (7 May 1973).
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. The Song of Hiawatha. 1891; Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc., 2008.
- "A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track, Across the Western Portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; by order of the Executive of the United States. in 1804, 5 & 6. / Copied by Samuel Lewis from the Original Drawing of W.m Clarke. / Sam.l Harrison fc.t." Facsimile of Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814. NEW.
- Marisol. Education film produced by Warren Schloat Productions, Inc. 1968.
- Matthews, Washington. The Night Chant, A Navaho Ceremony. Volume 6, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. New York: AMNH, May 1902.

- . "The Indian Congress at Omaha." American Anthropologist 1:1 (Jan 1899) 126–49.
- Maxidiwiac [also written as Waheenee-wea or Mahidiweash]. Waheenee: An Indian Girl's Story told by herself to Gilbert L. Wilson. 1927; Lincoln: Bison Books, 1981.
- McCombs, Solomon. "Letters to the Editor: Indian Art Struggle." Washington Post Times Herald (3 Apr 1972) A23.
- Melville, Robert. "Art of Making Concessions." Architectural Review [London] 913 (Mar 1973) 197–200.
- Monthan, Doris, ed. SCHOLDER/INDIANS. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1972.
- Montini, Ed. "Four Sides of Fritz." Arizona Republic (22 Feb 1981).
- Mooney, James. "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1892–93. Part 2. Washington, DC: GPO, 1896.
- "Muschenheim Went Sleuthing in the Soot." New York Times (23 Sept 1905).
- New, Lloyd Kiva. "A New Vitality Rekindles Proud Fires of the Past." House Beautiful 113:6 (Jun 1971) 38–40, 132–6.
- "New York Indians." Washington Post (14 May 1907) 6.
- "New York's Indian Craze." Washington Post (5 Jun 1893) 7.
- Nicholson, Jonathan. "'The Honest Use of Paint': Scholder Favors Expressionist Tag." Oklahoma Gazette (10 Nov 1994) 25.
- "Obituary: George H. Pepper." American Anthropologist 26 (1924) 566–7.
- O'Doherty, Brian. "Art: Avant-Garde Revolt." New York Times (31 Oct 1962).
- . "Marisol: The Enigma of the Self-Image." New York Times (1 Mar 1964).
- . "'Pop' Goes the New Art." New York Times (4 Nov 1962).
- Official Guide Book to Omaha, Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition (Omaha, NE: Megeath Stationery Company, 1898). Digitized typescript from the collections of the Omaha Public Library.
<<http://transmississippi.unl.edu/texts/view/transmiss.book.guide.1898.html>>.
- Oglesby, John C. "Fritz Scholder Show Draws Instant Response." Sacramento Bee (3 Mar 1959).
- O'Hara, Frank. "Larry Rivers: 'Why I Paint as I Do.'" Art Chronicles, 1954–1966. New York: George Braziller, 1975. 106–20.
- Old West [advertisement]. 19 (1903) 731.
- Oldenberg, Claes. "I Am for an Art..." (1961). In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 727–30.
- "The Outlook for Wood-Engraving." Century: A Popular Quarterly 40:2 (Jun 1890) 312–3.
- Oxendine, Lloyd E. "23 Contemporary Indian Artists." Art in America (Jul–Aug 1972) 58–69.
- The Papoose. 1:1–1:9 (Dec 1902–Aug 1903).
- Parks, Douglas R., ed. Traditional Narratives of the Arikara Indians. Volumes 1 and 3. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Pepper, George H. "Ceremonial Objects and Ornaments from Pueblo Bonito, New Mexico." American Anthropologist New Series 7:2 (Apr–Jun 1905) 183–97.
- . "The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation." Geographical Review 2:6 (Dec 1916) 401–18.

- . Pueblo Bonito. Volume 27, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1920.
- "Plans of the Hotel Astor." New York Times (24 March 1902).
- Pollock, Duncan. "Denver: The Westernness of Western Art." Art in America 60:5 (Sept–Oct 1972) 108–10.
- Posey, Alexander. The Fus Fixico Letters. Ed. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Carol A. Petty Hunter. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- . Lost Creeks: Collected Journals. Ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- . Song of the Oktahutche: Collected Poems. Ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- Posters: Fritz Scholder. Exhibition catalog (2–31 Dec 1982). Marilyn Butler Fine Art, Scottsdale, Arizona.
- Prichard, James Cowles. The Natural History of Man: Comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the Different Tribes of the Human Family. London: H. Baillière, 1843.
- Randall, Lilian M.C., ed. The Diary of George A. Lucas. 2 volumes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Raymer, Patricia L. "Painting the Real Indian." Washington Post Times Herald (9 Jan 1973) 39.
- Rebok, Horace M. The Last of the Mus-qua-kies and the Indian Congress, 1898. Dayton, OH: W.R. Funk, 1900.
- "Red Men Again Conquered." New York Herald (25 Sept 1894) 12. In Charles Musser, Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 128–9.
- "Rediscovery of the Redman." LIFE 63:22 (1 Dec 1967) 52–71.
- Remington, Frederic. "The Sioux Outbreak in South Dakota." Harper's Weekly 35:1779 (24 Jan 1891) 1, 61–2.
- Richards, Tally. "Fritz Scholder at 35." Southwest Art Gallery Magazine May 1973) 40–1.
- . "Fritz Scholder: Meeting the Challenge." Southwest Art 9 (May 1980) 114–9.
- Rinehart's Indians (1899). Self-published. SMALL.
- Roehm, Marjorie Catlin. The Letters of George Catlin and His Family. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- Rosenberg, Harold. "From Pollock to Pop: 20 Years of Painting and Sculpture." Holiday 39:3 (Mar 1966) 96–7.
- Rosenblum, Robert. "Pop Art and Non-Pop Art." Art and Literature 5 (Summer 1964). rot-red. Munich: Nazraeli Press, 1995.
- "Saint Andrew." Newsweek (7 Dec 1964). 100–4. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 278–80.
- "The Savage Club at the Royal Albert Hall." London Illustrated News (21 Jul 1883) 67.
- SCHOLDER. Exhibition catalog (11 Sept–2 Nov 1980). Plains Art Museum, Moorhead, MN.
- "Scholder on Scholder: A Self-Interview." American Indian Art Magazine 1:2 (Spring 1976) 50–5.
- "Scholder: Out of Flat Clichés." Santa Fean 1 (Feb–Mar 1973) 8–9.
- "Scholder Sale Set For Today." New Mexican (17 Nov 1968) C5.
- "Scholder's Flowers Conquer the Cliché." Aspen Times (16 Jul 1981) 21B.

- Scholder, Fritz. "Indian Art [self-interview on 4 Apr 1971]." South Dakota Review 9 (Summer 1971) 75–86.
- "Native Arts in America." In Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars. San Francisco: The Indian Historical Press, 1970. 191–218.
- "Portraits of Self." ARTBOOK of the New West (Spring/Summer 2004) 29–33.
- Schott, Major Joseph. "Review of Military Technology for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1896." From Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine. Trans. Captain Theodore A. Bingham. In Journal of the Military Service Institution 19:82 (Jul 1896) 121.
- Scott, Edie. "T.C. Cannon, 1946–1978." Southwest Art 11 (Jun 1981) 76–9.
- "Seven Millions Built This Huge Hotel Pile." New York Times (10 Jul 1904).
- Shinn, Earl. Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection. 4 volumes. Boston: G. Barrie, 1883.
- Smith, Katherine. "Outside the Pueblo." Portfolio 4:4 (1982) 52–7.
- Standing Bear, Luther. Land of the Spotted Eagle. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933.
- "A Symposium of Wood-Engravers." Harper's New Monthly Magazine 60:357 (1 Dec 1879) 442–53.
- Three from Santa Fe: Fritz Scholder / James McGrath / Otellie Loloma. Exhibition catalog (6 May–28 Jun 1968). Center for Arts of Indian America, United States Department of Interior Building, Washington, DC.
- Time. Accessed through Time archive database at <www.time.com>; original page numbers not included: "Art: Marisol" (7 Jun 1963); "Art: Toys in the Gallery" (20 Dec 1963); "Exhibitions: Venice, After All" (5 Jul 1968); "A Letter from the Publisher" (3 Mar 1967); "Sculpture: The Dollmaker" (28 May 1965); "Sculpture: Master of the Monumentalists" (13 Oct 1967).
- Trimble, Walt. "Fritz Scholder and 'New Indian Art' in America." New Mexico Cultural News (Jul–Aug 1970) 8–12.
- Tsakákasaki [also called Edward Goodbird]. Goodbird the Indian: His Story. 1914; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985.
- "Two American Painters." Washington Post Times Herald (27 Mar 1972) A22.
- Two American Painters. Exhibition catalog (7 Apr–29 May 1972). National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C.
- "Two Famous War Chiefs." New York Herald (1 Jul 1894).
- United States, Office of Indian Affairs. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1875. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875.
- Vaughan, Roger. "Superpop or a Night at the Factory." Sunday Herald Tribune (8 Aug 1965) 7–9. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 282–6.
- Wakefield, John. A History of the TransMississippi & International Exposition. May 1903. Digitized typescript from the collections of the Omaha Public Library. <<http://www.omaha.lib.ne.us/transmiss/secretary/table.html>>
- Waldman, Diane. "Theibaud: Eros in Cafeteria." Art News (Apr 1966) 39–41ff. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 342–4.

- Walker, James R. "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota." Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 16:2 (1917) 51–221.
- Warhol, Andy. (1963) "Interview with Gene Swenson." In Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. Ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996. 730–3.
- Warhol, Andy, and Pat Hackett. POPism: The Warhol '60s. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980.
- Wasserman, Burton. "Remember Dada? Today We Call Him Pop." Art Education 19:5 (May 1966) 13–6.
- Waugh, Lynne. "Will success spoil Fritz Scholder?" New Mexico Magazine (May–Jun 1971) 36–40.
- Waugh, John C. "'Pop Indian' Emerges from a New Renaissance." Christian Science Monitor (11 Sept 1970) 13.
- We Shall Remain: America through Native Eyes. Episode 5: Wounded Knee. Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 2009.
- Welf, Winke. "City Fair: Cutting through Indian Romanticism." San Diego 24:9 (1972) 40–2. "What a Woman Saw in the Hotel Astor Kitchen" [illustration]. New York Times (30 Apr 1905).
- Wheeler, Olin D., ed. The Trail of Lewis and Clark 1804–1904. 2 volumes. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.
- Wied-Neuwied, Maximilian. Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. With Numerous Engravings on Wood, and a Large Map. Translated from the German, by H. Evans Lloyd. To Accompany the Original Series of Eighty-One Elaborately-Coloured Plates. London: Ackermann and Co., 1843.
- . The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied. Ed. Stephen S. Witte and Marsha V. Gallagher. Volumes 1–3. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press with the Joslyn Art Museum, 2008–12.
- "The Wild West." New York Clipper (19 May 1894) 166.
- Wilson, Maggie. "Young Indians 'Dig' Fritz Scholder's Art." Arizona Republic (8 Mar 1971) 22.
- Wilson, William. "'Prince of Boredom': The Repetitions and Passivities of Andy Warhol." Art and Artists (Mar 1968) 12–5. In Pop Art: A Critical History. Ed. Steven Henry Madoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 291–4.
- Wissler, Clark. "Pueblo Bonito as Made Known by the Hyde Expedition." Natural History 22:4 (1922) 343–58.
- Wissler, Clark, Constance Skinner, and William Wood. Adventurers in the Wilderness. Volume 1, The Pageant of America Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.
- "The Wonderful Wild West." New York Times (2 Sept 1894) 11.
- "World's Riders with Buffalo Bill." New York Times (2 May 1894) 8.

SECONDARY

- Adams, David Wallace. Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875–1928. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995.
- Adamson, Glenn. Thinking Through Craft. Oxford: Berg Press, 2007.

- "Alexander Pope." Dorchester Atheneum. <http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org/index.php>.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." In On Ideology. 1971; London: Verso, 2008. 1–60.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Ash-Milby, Kathleen, and Truman T. Lowe, eds. Edgar Heap of Birds: Most Serene Republics. Exhibition catalog (6 Jun–30 Sept 2007). Venice Biennale, Venice, Italy.
- Askren, Miquel. "Dancing Our Stone Mask Out of Confinement: A Twenty-First-Century Tsimshian Epistemology." In Objects of Exchange: Social and Material Transformation on the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast. Ed. Aaron Glass. New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d. 37–47.
- Bann, Stephen. Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Banta, Melissa, and Curtis M. Hinsley. From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 1986.
- Baptist, Edward E. The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
- Barnhill, Georgia B. "French Technology and Skills in the United States." In With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860. Ed. Georgia B. Barnhill. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012. 15–32.
- , ed. With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012.
- Batkin, Jonathan. "Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880–1910." In Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds. Eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 282–97.
- Baudry, Jean-Louis. "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus." Film Quarterly 28:2 (Winter 1974–5) 39–47.
- Beaufort, Madeleine Fidell, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Welcher, eds. The Diaries 1871–1881 of Samuel P. Avery, Art Dealer. New York: Arno Press, 1979.
- Beaufort, Madeleine Fidell, and Jeanne K. Welcher. "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s." Oxford Art Journal 5:1 (1982) 48–55.
- Bellion, Wendy. Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Bellion, Wendy, and Mónica Domínguez Torres. "Editor's Introduction." Winterthur Portfolio 45:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011) 101–6.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility" (1936). In The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media. Ed. Michael W. Jennings, et al. Trans. Edmund Jephcott, et al. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008. 19–55.
- Bennett, Tony. "The Exhibitionary Complex." new formations 4 (Spring 1988) 73–102.
- Berger, Jr., Harry. Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

- Berger, Molly W. "The Rich Man's City: Hotels and Mansions of Gilded Age New York." Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 25 (2005) 47–71.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine. "Drawing and Being Drawn In: The Late Nineteenth-Century Plains Graphic Artist and the Intercultural Encounter." In Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History. Ed. Janet Berlo. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1996. 12–8.
- , ed. The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992.
- , ed. Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1996.
- Berlo, Janet C., and Gerald McMaster. "Encyclopedias of Experience: A Curatorial Dialogue on Drawing and Drawing Books." In Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History. Ed. Janet Berlo. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1996. 19–25.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine, and Ruth B. Phillips. Native North American Art. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Berman, Tressa. Circle of Goods: Women, Work, and Welfare in a Reservation Community. New York: SUNY Press, 2003.
- Bermingham, Peter. American Art in the Barbizon Mood: A Visual History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- , "Barbizon Art in America: A Study of the Role of the Barbizon School in the Development of American Painting, 1850–1895." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan, 1972.
- Bhabha, Homi. The Location of Culture. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Black-Rogers, Mary. "Varieties of 'Starving': Semantics and Survival in the Subarctic Fur Trade, 1750–1850." Ethnohistory 33:4 (1986) 353–83.
- Blakeslee, Donald. "The Calumet Ceremony and the Origin of Fur Trade Rituals." Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 7 (1977) 759–68.
- Boime, Albert. "The Postwar Redefinition of Self: Marisol's Yearbook Illustrations for the Class of '49." American Art 7:2 (Spring 1993) 6–21.
- Bolz, Peter. "Karl Bodmer, Heinrich Rudolf Schinz und die Veränderung des Indianerbilds in Europa." In Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika. Zürich: Nordamerika Native Museum and Scheidegger & Speiss, 2009. 66–87.
- Boulding, Elise. "Deep Structures and Sociological Analysis Reflections." American Sociologist 14 (May 1979) 70–3.
- Bowers, Alfred W. "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Chicago, 1948.
- , Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.
- Brace, C. Loring. "Race" Is a Four-Letter Word: The Genesis of the Concept. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Brilliant, Richard. Portraiture. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Brownstein, Marilyn L. "'Catastrophic Encounters': Postmodern Biography as Witness to History." In The Seductions of Biography. Ed. Mary Rhiel and David Suchoff. New York: Routledge, 1996. 185–99.
- Brownstone, Arni. "European Influence in the Mandan-Hidatsa Graphic Works Collected by Prince Maximilian of Wied." American Indian Art Magazine (Summer 2014) 58–70.

- Brunet, François. "Toward a Transcultural History of American Landscape Images in the Nineteenth Century." In A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century. Ed. Cheryll L. May and Marian Wardle. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014. 3–20.
- Brusati, Celeste. "Capitalizing on the Counterfeit: *Trompe l'Oeil* Negotiations." In Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550–1720. Ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, ca.1999. 59–71.
- Buchloh, Benjamin H.D. "Andy Warhol's One-Dimensional Art: 1956–66." Andy Warhol: A Retrospective. Ed. Kynaston McShine. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1990. 39–61.
- Burnham, Jack. Beyond Modern Sculpture: The Effects of Science and Technology on the Sculpture of This Century. 1968; New York: George Braziller, 1973.
- Burns, Sarah. Inventing the Modern Artist: Art & Culture in Gilded Age America. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Burns, Sarah, and John Davis, eds. American Art to 1900: A Documentary History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Calas, Nicolas, and Elena Calas. Icons and Images of the Sixties. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971.
- Calloway, Colin G. One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- . The Shawnees and the War for America. 2007; New York: Penguin, 2008.
- Camp, Gregory S. "The Chippewa Fur Trade in the Red River Valley of the North, 1790–1830." In The Fur Trade in North Dakota. Ed. Virginia L. Heidenreich. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990. 33–46.
- Christian, Shirley. Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier. 2004; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Circle of Dance. Online exhibition essays (6 Oct 2012–8 Oct 2017). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York City. Available at <<http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/index.html>>.
- Clifford, James L. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- , ed. Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560–1960. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Cobb, Daniel M. Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008.
- Cobb, Daniel M., and Loretta Fowler, eds. Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007.
- Coleman, William S.E. Voices of Wounded Knee. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.
- Conn, Steven. History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- . Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Conningham, Frederic A. Currier & Ives Prints: An Illustrated Check List. New York: Crown Publishers, 1949.
- Coombes, Annie E. Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

- Coues, Elliott, ed. New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. Volume 1. New York: F.P. Harper, 1897.
- Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
- Crow, Thomas. "The Absconded Subject of Pop." RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics 55/56 (Spring-Autumn 2009) 5–20.
- "Lives of Allegory in the Pop 1960s: Andy Warhol and Bob Dylan." In The Life and the Work: Art and Biography. Ed. Charles G. Salas. Los Angeles: Getty Institute, 2007. 108–47.
- The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design, 1930–1955. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts." In Pollock and After: The Critical Debate. Ed. Francis Frascina. London: Harper & Row, 1985. 233–66.
- "Saturday Disasters: Trace and Reference in Early Warhol." Modern Art in the Common Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996. 49–68.
- Curtis, Edward S. The North American Indian: being a series of volumes picturing and describing the Indians of the United States, and Alaska. Volume 5. The Mandan. The Hidatsa. The Apsina. Ed. Frederick Webb Hodge. Seattle: E.S. Curtis, 1909.
- Davis, Ethan. "An Administrative Trail of Tears: Indian Removal." American Journal of Legal History 50:1 (Jan 2008–10) 49–100.
- Davis, John. "Notes on a Harnett Collector: The 'Mysterious W.J. Hughes.'" Archives of American Art Journal 32:2 (1992) 20.
- Delamaire, Marie-Stéphanie. "An Art of Translation: American Art and French Prints (1848–1876)." Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University, 2013.
- Delaney, Michelle. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2007.
- Deloria, Philip J. Playing Indian. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Indians in Unexpected Places. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004.
- Denetdale, Jennifer Nez. Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.
- Deusner, Melody Barnett. "'In seen and unseen places': The Henry G. Marquand House and Collections in England and America." Art History 3:4 (September 2011) 754–73.
- "Wall to Wall: Zones of Artistic Engagement in Late Nineteenth-Century America." In A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art. Ed. Michelle Facos and Jayne Fargnoli. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016.
- "Whistler, Aestheticism, and the Networked World." In Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism. Ed. Linda Merrill and Lee Glazer. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013.
- Dickson, Harold E. "Jefferson as Art Collector." In Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View. Ed. William Howard Adams. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976.
- Dilworth, Leah. Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997.

- Dill, C.L. "Fort Clark on the Missouri: Prairie Post and Field Lab, 1831–1990." In The Fur Trade in North Dakota. Ed. Virginia L. Heidenreich. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990.
- Dippie, Brian W. Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.
- de Lamater, Peg. "Marisol's Public and Private de Gaulle." American Art 10:1 (Spring 1996) 91–3.
- de Sardan, Jean-Pierre. "For an Anthropology of Gaps, Discrepancies and Contradictions." Antropologia 3:1 (Mar 2016) 111–31.
- Doane, Mary Ann. "Indexicality: Trace and Sign: Introduction." differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 18:1 (2007) 1–6.
- Dolkart, Andrew S. "Millionaires' Elysiums: The Luxury Apartment Hotels of Schultze and Weaver." Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 25 (2005) 11–45.
- Duncan, Kate. 1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Dyer, Jennifer. "The Metaphysics of the Mundane: Understanding Andy Warhol's Serial Imagery." Artibus et Historiae 25:49 (2004) 33–47.
- Earenfight, Phillip. A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Ebert-Schifferer, Sybille. "*Trompe l'Oeil*: The Underestimated Trick." In Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe l'Oeil Painting. Ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer. Exhibition catalog (13 Oct 2002–2 Mar 2003). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 16–37.
- , ed. Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe l'Oeil Painting. Exhibition catalog (13 Oct 2002–2 Mar 2003). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
- Edel, Leon. "Biography and the Sciences of Man." In New Directions in Biography. Ed. Anthony M. Friedson. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981. 1–11.
- , Literary Biography. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. Print Culture and Enlightenment Thought. Sixth Hanes Lecture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- , The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. 2 volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Eisler, Benita. Red Man's Bones: George Catlin, Artist and Showman. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013.
- Elbert, Monika M. "Striking a Historical Pose: Antebellum Tableaux Vivants, 'Godey's' Illustrations, and Margaret Fuller's Heroines." New England Quarterly 75:2 (Jun 2002) 235–75.
- Ende, Barbara. "T.C. Cannon." Kunst und das schone Heim 95:4 (1983) 255–62.
- Ewers, John C. Indian Life on the Upper Missouri. 1968; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.
- Faris, James C. Navajo and Photography: A Critical History of the Representation of an American People. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Farwell, Beatrice. The Cult of Images [Le culte des images]: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion. Exhibition catalog (6 Apr–8 May 1977). University of California Santa Barbara.

- Feldman, Frayda, and Jörg Schellmann, eds. Andy Warhol—Prints—A Catalogue Raisonné. Munich: Editions Schellmann, 1989. 4–19.
- Fenn, Elizabeth A. Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People. New York: Hill and Wang, 2014.
- Ferg, Alan. “Cross-and-Crescent Motifs among the Western Apache. Part 1: Daagodighá.” American Indian Art Magazine 23:2 (1998) 70–83.
- , ed. Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987.
- Finch, Christopher. Pop Art: Object and Image. London: Studio Vista Limited, 1968.
- Fisher, Jean. “In Search of the ‘Inauthentic’: Disturbing Signs in Contemporary Native American Art.” Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 44–50.
- Flam, Jack, and Miriam Deutch, eds. Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Fleming, Paula Richardson, and Judith Lynn Luskey. Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
- . The North American Indians in Early Photographs. New York: Dorset Press, 1988.
- Foster, Hal. The First Pop Age: Painting and Subjectivity in the Art of Hamilton, Lichtenstein, Warhol, Richter, and Ruscha. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- , ed. Vision and Visuality. New York: New Press, 1988.
- Fowles, Severin. “The perfect subject (postcolonial object studies).” Journal of Material Culture 21:1 (2016) 9–27.
- Frederick, Joan. T.C. Cannon: He Stood in the Sun. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing Company, 1995.
- Friedson, Anthony M. “Foreword.” New Directions in Biography. Ed. Anthony M. Friedson. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981. i–xx.
- Gallagher, Marsha V. “A Brief Description and History of the Maximilian-Bodmer Collection and the Maximilian Journals Project.” In The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied. Ed. Stephen S. Witte and Marsha V. Gallagher. Volume 1. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press with the Joslyn Art Museum, 2008.
- Gallagher, Marsha V., and David C. Hunt, eds. Karl Bodmer’s America. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- . “Travels in the Interior of North America: An Account Drawn from the Published and Unpublished Manuscripts of Prince Maximilian of Wied.” In John C. Ewers, et al., Views of a Vanishing Frontier. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1984.
- Garmhausen, Winona. History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe: The Institute of American Indian Arts with Historical Background 1890 to 1962. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1988.
- Gaudio, Michael. Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- The George A. Lucas Collection of the Maryland Institute. Exhibition catalog (12 Oct–21 Nov 1965). Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, MD.
- Gerdts, William H., and Russell Burke. American Still-Life Painting. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Gilman, Carolyn, and Mary Jane Schneider. The Way to Independence: Memories of a Hidatsa Indian Family, 1840–1920. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987.

- Gitelman, Lisa. "Souvenir Foils: On the Status of Print at the Origin of Recorded Sound." In New Media, 1740–1915. Ed. Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003. 157–73.
- Gitelman, Lisa, and Geoffrey B. Pingree, eds. New Media, 1740–1915. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
- Giunta, Andrea. "Notes on Art History in Latin America." In Is Art History Global? Ed. James Elkins. New York: Routledge, 2007. 27–40.
- Glass, Loren. Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880–1980. New York: New York University Press, 2004.
- Glenn, James R. Guide to the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.: NAA, 1996.
- Goddard, Ives. "'I AM A RED-SKIN': The Adoption of a Native American Expression (1769–1826)." European Review of Native American Studies 19:2 (2005) 1–20.
- Goodyear III, Frank H. Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Graybill, Florence Curtis, and Victor Boesen. Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Green, James. "Hand-Coloring versus Color Printing: Early-Nineteenth-Century Natural History Color-Plate Books." In Art and Science in Philadelphia, 1740–1840. Ed. Amy R.W. Meyers. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. 254–77.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World. 1991; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Greene, Candace S. "Arikara Drawings: New Sources of Visual History." American Indian Art Magazine (Spring 2006) 74–85, 99.
- . "The Use of Plant Fibers in Plains Indian Embroidery." American Indian Art Magazine 40:2 (Spring 2015) 58–71.
- Greenhill, Jennifer. Playing It Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Griffiths, Alison. Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, & Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Gritton, Joy. "Cross-Cultural Education vs. Modernist Imperialism: The Institute of American Indian Arts." Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 28–35.
- . "The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies." In Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century. Exhibition catalog (13 Apr–28 Jul 1991). Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona. 22–9.
- . The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.
- Gunning, Tom. "An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)credulous Spectator," Art and Text 34 (Spring 1989).
- . "'Now You See It, Now You Don't': The Temporality of the Cinema of Attractions." Velvet Light Trap 32 (Fall 1993) 3–12.
- Gurney, George, and Therese Thau Heyman, eds. George Catlin and His Indian Gallery. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.

- Halloran, Fiona Deans. Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Haltman, Kenneth. Looking Close and Seeing Far: Samuel Seymour, Titian Ramsay Peale, and the Art of the Long Expedition, 1818–1823. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.
- Hamilton, Nigel. Biography: A Brief History. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Harris, Jonathan. The New Art History: A Critical Introduction. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Harris, Neil. "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Halftone Effect (1979)." In Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. 304–17.
- Harrison, Charles, and Paul Wood, eds. Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas. 1992; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996.
- Harrison, Sylvia. Pop Art and the Origins of Post-Modernism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Hassrick, Peter H. "Introduction." In Drawings of the North American Indians. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984. n.p.
- Hatch, Harris B., and Alexander A. Stewart. "History of Stereotyping." In Electrotyping and Stereotyping. Chicago: United Typothetae of America, 1918. 45–9.
- Hatt, Michael. "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture." Oxford Art Journal (1992) 21–35.
- Hebdige, Dick. "In Poor Taste: Notes on Pop." In Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988. 77–86.
- Hecht, Hermann. Pre-Cinema History: An Encyclopaedia and Annotated Bibliography of the Moving Image Before 1896. Ed. Ann Hecht. London: Bowker Saur, 1993.
- Hendricks, Gordon. The Kinetoscope: America's First Commercially Successful Motion Picture Exhibitor. New York: The Beginnings of American Film, 1966.
- Hewes, Lauren B. "'French Lithographic Prints: Very Beautiful'—The Circulation of French Lithographs in the United States before 1860." In With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860. Ed. Georgia B. Barnhill. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012. 33–47.
- Hight, Kathryn S. "'Doomed to Perish': George Catlin's Depictions of the Mandan." Art Journal 49:2 (Summer 1990) 119–24.
- Hollow, Jr., Robert Charles. "A Mandan Dictionary." Ph.D. dissertation. University of California Berkeley, 1970.
- Holm, Bill. "Four Bear's Shirt: Some Problems with the Smithsonian Catlin Collection." In Artifacts/Artifakes: The Proceedings of the 1984 Plains Indian Seminar. Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1992. 43–59.
- Horse Capture, George. Robes of Splendor: Native North American Painted Buffalo Hides. New York: New Press, 1994.
- Hulton, Paul, and David Beers Quinn. American Drawings of John White, 1577–1590. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.
- Hunt, David C. "A Publication History of Karl Bodmer's North American Atlas." In W. Raymond Wood, Joseph C. Porter, and David C. Hunt. Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. 99–122.

- Hutchinson, Elizabeth. "The Dress of His Nation'." Winterthur Portfolio 45:2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011) 209–28.
- . The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- . "Teaching McKenney and Hall's Sequoyah." Lecture, 2009. Available at <<http://vimeo.com/32226168>>.
- Indian Art of the Northern Plains. Exhibition catalog (9 Apr–12 May 1974). The Art Galleries, UC Santa Barbara.
- Isernhagen, Hartwig. "Bodmer, durch Humboldt gelesen." In Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika. Zürich: Nordamerika Native Museum and Scheidegger & Speiss, 2009. 94–124.
- . "Bodmer–Wied–Amerika: Eine Entdeckungsreise." In Ein Schweizer Künstler in Amerika. Zürich: Nordamerika Native Museum and Scheidegger & Speiss, 2009. 18–43.
- Ivins, Jr., William. Prints and Visual Communication. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1953.
- Jaffe, Aaron. Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Johnson, Bridget K. "The Cuthlasco of the Long Narrows: An Historical, Stylistic, and Functional Analysis of Mountain Sheep Horn Bowls and Ladles." M.A. thesis. University of Washington, 2014.
- Johnson, Troy, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne, eds. American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Johnson, Walter. River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013.
- Jonaitis, Aldona. "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History." In The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting. Ed. Janet Berlo. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992. 22–61.
- Jonaitis, Aldona, and Aaron Glass. The Totem Pole: An Intercultural History. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.
- Jones, Caroline. Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- . Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Jones, Katherine T. "Scale as Epistemology." Political Geography 17:1 (1998).
- Jussim, Estelle. Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century. New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1974.
- Kasson, Joy. Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.
- Kehoe, Alice Beck. "The Function of Ceremonial Sexual Intercourse among the Northern Plains Indians." Plains Anthropologist 15 (1970) 99–103.
- . The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization. Ca.1989; Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2006.
- . The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology. New York: Routledge, 1998.

- Keil, Charlie. Early American Cinema in Transition: Story, Style, and Filmmaking, 1907–1913. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.
- Kelsey, Robin E. Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850–1890. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- . "Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs for the Wheeler Survey." Art Bulletin 85:4 (December 2003) 702–23.
- Kendall, Laurel, Barbara Mathé, and Thomas Ross Miller. Drawing Shadows to Stone: The Photography of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897–1902. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Klimasmith, Betsy. Urban Domesticity in American Literature and Culture, 1850–1930. Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005.
- Kohl, Jeanette. "Casting Renaissance Florence: The Bust of Giovanni de' Medici and Indexical Portraiture." In Carvings, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture. Ed. Peta Motture, Emma Jones, and Dimitrios Zikos. London: V&A Publishing, 2013. 58–71.
- . "Notes from the Field: Mimesis." Art Bulletin 95:2 (June 2013) 205–7.
- Koolhaas, Rem. Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan. New York City: Monacelli Press, 1994.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View." Art Journal 42:4 (Winter 1982) 311–9.
- Klein, Cecelia F. "Wild Woman in Colonial Mexico: An Encounter of European and Aztec Concepts of the Other." In Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650. Ed. Claire Farago. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kultermann, Udo. Art and Life. Trans. John William Gabriel. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- . The New Sculpture: Environments and Assemblages. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.
- Lakomäki, Sami. Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Latour, Bruno. "Drawing Things Together." In Representation in Scientific Practice. Ed. Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990. 19–68.
- Lee, Anthony. Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Lee, Molly. "Tourism and Taste Cultures: Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." In Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds. Ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 267–81.
- Leja, Michael. "Fortified Images for the Masses." Art Journal 70:4 (Winter 2011) 61–83.
- . Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- . "Mass Modern." Lecture, School of the Art Institute of Chicago (23 Apr 2012). <<http://www.terraamericanart.org/what-we-offer/american-art-resources/mass-modern-by-michael-leja/>>.
- . "Scenes from the History of the Image." social research 78:4 (Winter 2011) 999–1028.
- Lessing, Lauren. "Theatrical Mayhem in Junius Brutus Stearns's Hannah Duston Killing the Indians." American Art 28:3 (Fall 2014) 76–103.

- Lewis, Robert M. "Tableaux vivants: Parlor Theatricals in Victorian America." *Revue française d'études américaines* 36 (Apr 1988) 280–91.
- Lindsay, Brendan C. Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.
- Lippard, Lucy. Pop Art. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966.
- Littlefield, Jr., Daniel F. Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Lowie, Robert H. "Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians." In Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. Volume XI, Societies of the Plains Indians. New York: AMNH, 1916. 219–358.
- Lozier, Jean-François. "Red Ochre, Vermilion, and the Transatlantic Cosmetic Encounter." In The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400–1800. Ed. Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin, and Beth Fowkes Tobin. London: Ashgate, 2012.
- Lubin, David M. Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Lublin, Mary. "Living for Art: Brush and His Indians." In George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings. Ed. Nancy K. Anderson. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2008. 56–81.
- Madoff, Steven Henry, ed. Pop Art: A Critical History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Magical Mixtures: Marisol Portrait Sculpture. Exhibition catalog (5 April–11 August 1991). National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC.
- Mahsun, Carol Anne, ed. Pop Art: The Critical Dialogue. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989.
- Mandel, Patricia C.F. "English Influences on the Work of A.F. Tait." In A.F. Tait: Artist in the Adirondacks. Exhibition catalog (15 Jun–15 Oct 1974). The Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, NY. 13–8.
- Manganyi, N.C. "Biography: The Black South African Connection." In New Directions in Biography. Ed. Anthony M. Friedson. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981. 52–61.
- Manzo, Joseph T. "Economic Aspects of Indian Removal." Southeastern Geographer 24:2 (November 1984) 115–25.
- Marisol. Exhibition catalog (17 Jun–2 Sept 2001). Neuberger Museum of Art, Purchase, NY.
- Marisol: Prints 1961–1973. Exhibition catalog (16 Oct–18 Nov 1973). Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY.
- Mason, Peter. The Lives of Images. London: Reaktion Books, 2001.
- Mathews, Nancy Mowll. Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film. Exhibition catalog (16 Jul–11 Dec 2005). Williams College Museum of Art.
- Mathien, Frances Joan. "Anthropology and Archaeology in Chaco Canyon: The Hyde Exploring Expedition." In Following Through: Papers in Honor of Phyllis S. Davis. Albuquerque: The Archaeological Society of New Mexico (no. 27), 2001. 103–14.
- Mayor, A. Hyatt. "Jefferson's Enjoyment of the Arts." Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin New Series 2:4 (Dec 1943) 140–6.
- McBride, Bunny. Molly Spotted Elk: A Penobscot in Paris. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1995.

- McCoy, Ron. "Of Forests and Trees: John C. Ewers's 'Early White Influence upon Plains Indian Painting' Re-Examined." American Indian Art Magazine (Winter 2001) 62–71.
- McGeough, Michelle. Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945. Exhibition catalog (2009). Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe.
- McGill, Meredith L. American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- McLerran, Jennifer. A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933–1943. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.
- McMaster, Gerald, ed. Reservation X. Exhibition catalog (1998). Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, Canada.
- McNitt, Frank. The Indian Traders. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- . Richard Wetherill: Anasazi. 1957; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.
- Mercer, Kobena, ed. Pop Art and Vernacular Cultures. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- Mihesuah, Devon A., ed. Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Miller, Daniel, ed. Materiality. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Miller, Darlis. Captain Jack Crawford: Buckskin Poet, Scout, and Showman. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.
- Mitchell, Mark. Crafting History in the Northern Plains: A Political Economy of the Heart River Region, 1400–1750. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Mithlo, Nancy Marie. "IAIA Rocks the Sixties: The Painting Revolution at the Institute of American Indian Arts." Museum Anthropology 24:2/3 (Sept 2000) 63–8.
- . "No Word for Art in Our Language? Old Questions, New Paradigms." Wicazo Sa Review 27:1 (Spring 2012) 111–26.
- Mixco, Mauricio. Mandan. München: LINCOM EUROPA, 1997.
- Morley, David. "Media." In New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society. Ed. Tony Bennett, et al. London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005. 212.
- Morris, Hazel. Hand, Head and Heart: Samuel Carter Hall and The Art Journal. Wilby, Norwich: Michael Russel Ltd., 2002.
- Moulton, Gary E., ed. The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Volume 3 (August 25, 1804–April 6, 1805). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Screen 16:3 (Autumn 1975) 6–18.
- Musser, Charles. Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- . The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907. Volume 1. History of the American Cinema. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990.
- Musser, Charles, and Carol Nelson. High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880–1920. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Myers, Fred R. Painting Culture: The Making of an Aboriginal High Art. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

- Nabokov, Peter. A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Nasatir, A.P., ed. and trans. Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785–1804. 2 volumes. 1952; Lincoln: Bison Books, 1990.
- Nassaney, Michael. "Michigan Before Statehood as Revealed through the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project." Talk, Clements Library, University of Michigan (29 Oct 2013). Accessible online at <www.clements.umich.edu/event-videos.php>.
- Neale, Steve. Cinema and Technology: Image, Sound, Color. London: British Film Institute, 1985.
- Neitzel, Jill E., ed. Pueblo Bonito: Center of the Chacoan World. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2003.
- Nemerov, Alexander. Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America. New Haven: Yale University, 1995.
- Nettleton, Taro. "White-on-White: The Overbearing Whiteness of Warhol Being." Art Journal 62:1 (Spring 2003) 14–23.
- Nolan, Paul T. "Captain Jack: The Relentless Foe of the Dime Novel." Dime Novel Round-Up 31:374 (1963) 102–4.
- . John Wallace Crawford. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.
- O'Brien, Jean M. Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.
- O'Connor, Harvey. The Astors. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Orr, William J. "Karl Bodmer: The Artist's Life." In Karl Bodmer's America. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1984. 349–76.
- Ortiz, Simon J. Beyond the Reach of Time and Change: Native American Reflections on the Frank A. Rinehart Photograph Collection. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.
- Ostler, Jeffrey. The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground. 2010; New York: Penguin, 2011.
- O'Toole, Fintan. White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America. New York: Farrar and Farrar, 2005.
- Ott, John. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market: Blockbuster Auctions and Bourgeois Identity in Gilded Age America." Winterthur Portfolio 42:2/3 (Jun 2008) 133–58.
- . Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California: Cultural Philanthropy, Industrial Capital, and Social Authority. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014.
- Pauketat, Timothy R. Cahokia: Ancient America's Great City on the Mississippi. New York: Penguin, 2009.
- Penny, Nicholas. "Bust." Grove Art/Oxford Art Online. Oxford University Press, accessed May 27, 2014, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T012680>>.
- Peters, Margo. "Group Biography: Challenges and Methods." New Directions in Biography. Ed. Anthony M. Friedson. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981. 41–51.
- Peters, Virginia Bergman. Women of the Earth Lodges: Tribal Life on the Plains. 1995; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

- Petersen, Karen Daniels. Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- Peterson, Jacqueline C. "Gathering at the River: The Métis Peopling of the Northern Plains." In The Fur Trade in North Dakota. Ed. Virginia L. Heidenreich. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990. 47–64.
- Phillips, Ruth Benedict. Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.
- Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher B. Steiner, eds. Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Pickering, Robert B., ed. Peace Medals: Negotiating Power in Early America. Exhibition catalog (2012). Tulsa: Gilcrease Museum.
- Pierre, José. Pop Art: An Illustrated Dictionary. Trans. W.J. Strachan. 1975; London: Eyre Methuen, 1977.
- Pointon, Marcia. "Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge." Art Bulletin 96:2 (Jun 2014) 170–95.
- Posey, Alex. Fus Fixico Letters. Ed. Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Carol A. Petty Hunter. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- Pop Art Portraits. Exhibition catalog (11 October 2007). National Portrait Gallery, London.
- Porter, Kenneth Wiggins. John Jacob Astor: Business Man. 2 volumes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- Potter, Tracy. Sheheke, Mandan Indian Diplomat: The Story of White Coyote, Thomas Jefferson, and Lewis and Clark. Helena: Farcountry Press, 2003.
- Powell, Richard J. "Two Paintings by William H. Johnson." In The Seductions of Biography. Ed. Mary Rhiel and David Suchoff. London: Routledge, 1996. 89–97.
- Pratt, Alan R., ed. The Critical Response to Andy Warhol. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Pratt, Stephanie. American Indians in British Art, 1700–1840. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- Preston, Douglas J. Dinosaurs in the Attic. New York: St. Marin's Press, 1986.
- Price, Sally. Primitive Art in Civilized Places. 1989; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Raimondo-Souto, H. Mario. Motion Picture Photography: A History, 1891–1960. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007.
- Ratcliff, Carter. Marisol: Works, 1960–2007. Exhibition catalog (2007). Neuhoff Edelman Gallery, New York City, New York.
- Roberts, Jennifer. Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Roehm, Marjorie Catlin. The Letters of George Catlin and His Family: A Chronicle of the American West. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- Rohrbough, Malcolm J. The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Rosa, Joseph G., and Robin May. Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.
- Round, Philip H. Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663–1880. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Rublowsky, John. Pop Art. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965.

- Rushing, III, W. Jackson. "Authenticity and Subjectivity in Post-War Painting: Concerning Herrera, Scholder, and Cannon." In Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century. Exhibition catalog (13 Apr–28 Jul 1991). 12–21.
- "Critical Issues in Recent Native American Art." Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 6–14.
- Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
- Russell, John, and Suzi Gablik. Pop Art Redefined. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.
- Ruud, Brandon K. "'A Faithful and Vivid Picture': Karl Bodmer's North American Prints." In Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Ed. Brandon K. Ruud. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2004. 47–76.
- , ed. Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2004.
- Rydell, Robert W. All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- "All the World's a Fair: American International Expositions, 1876–1916." Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles, 1980.
- S., R. "John F. Peto's Studio." Archives of American Art Journal 4:1 (Jan 1964) 8.
- Sagala, Sandra K. Buffalo Bill on Stage. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Sandweiss, Martha A. Print the Legend: Photography and the American West. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Schach, Paul. "An Introduction to Maximilian, Prince and Scientist." In The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied. Ed. Stephen S. Witte and Marsha V. Gallagher. Volume 1. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press with the Joslyn Art Museum, 2008. xxxvi–xlili.
- Schnelker, Rebecca, ed. Tamarind Lithographs: A Complete Catalogue of Lithographs Printed at Tamarind Institute 1970–1979. Albuquerque: Tamarind Institute, University of New Mexico, 1980.
- Schwartz, Vanessa R., and Jeannene M. Przyblyski. "Visual Culture's History: Twenty-First Century Interdisciplinarity and Its Nineteenth-Century Objects." In The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader. Ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski. Milton Park: Routledge, 2004. 3–14.
- Seitz, C. William. The Art of Assemblage. Exhibition catalog (2 Oct–12 Nov 1961). Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY.
- Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." October 39 (Winter 1986) 3–64.
- Shail, Andrew. "Intermediality: Disciplinary Flux or Formalist Retrenchment?" Early Popular Visual Culture 8:1 (February 2010) 3–15.
- Shapiro, Emily Dana. "J.E. Chalfant's Clock Maker: The Image of the Artisan in a Mechanized Age." American Art 19:3 (Fall 2005) 40–59.
- "Machine Crafted: The Image of the Artisan in American Genre Painting, 1877–1908." Ph.D. dissertation. Stanford University, 2003.
- "'A Purpose in Every Stroke': Brush's Images of Indian Artisanry." In George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings. Ed. Nancy K. Anderson. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2008. 82–99.

- Shoemaker, Nancy. A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Sieben-Morgen, Ruth. "Samuel Putnam Avery Engraver." Ph.D dissertation. Columbia University, 1942.
- Sill, Gertrude Grace. John Haberle: American Master of Illusion. Exhibition catalog (11 Dec 2009–11 Mar 2010). New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, CT.
- Simonsen, Jane. "Descendants of Black Hawk: Generations of Identity in Sauk Portraits." American Quarterly 63:2 (Jun 2011) 302.
- Sims, Lowery Stokes, et al., eds. Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian. Exhibition catalog (2008). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Sloan, Kim. A New World: England's First View of America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Smith, David A. "Preparing the Arkansas Wilderness for Settlement: Public Land Survey Administration, 1803–1836." Arkansas Historical Quarterly 71:4 (Winter 2012) 381–406.
- Smith, Marian W. "The War Complex of the Plains Indians." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 78:3 (31 Jan 1938) 425–64.
- Smith, Paul Chaat. Everything You Know about Indians Is Wrong. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Smith, Paul Chaat, and Robert Allen Warrior. Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee. New York: The New Press, 1996.
- Smith, Sherry L. Hippies, Indians and the Fight for Red Power. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Snead, James E. Author's archival notes, bound with title "The American Museum of Natural History and Southwest Archaeology, 1895–1917." 1997. AMNH.
- . Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology. Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Solomon, Matthew. Disappearing Tricks: Silent Film, Houdini, and the New Magic of the Twentieth Century. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Sontag, Susan. On Photography. New York: Picador, 1977.
- Spehr, Paul. "1890–95: Movies and the Kinetoscope." In American Cinema, 1890–1909: Themes and Variations. Ed. André Gaudreault. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009.
- . "Throwing Pictures on a Screen." Griffithiana 22/23 (1999/2000) 10–65.
- Staiti, Paul. "Con Artists: Harnett, Haberle, and Their American Accomplices." In Deceptions and Illusions: Five Centuries of Trompe l'Oeil Painting. Ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer. Exhibition catalog (13 Oct 2002–2 Mar 2003). 90–103.
- Stein, Susan. The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1993.
- Steiner, Christopher B. African Art in Transit. 1994; Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds. Ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 87–103.
- Steiner, Wendy. "The Semiotics of a Genre: Portraiture in Literature and Painting." Semiotica 21:1/2 (1977) 113.

- Stern, Robert A.M., Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman. "Apartment Houses." In New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age. New York: Monacelli Press, 1999. 531–5.
- Stewart, Rick. "An Artist Among the Indians." American History Illustrated 26:2 (May/June 1991) 38–55.
- Strother, Z.S. Inventing Masks: Agency and History in the Art of the Central Pende. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Taussig, Michael. Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- . What Color Is the Sacred? Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Taylor, Colin F. Catlin's O-kee-pa: Mandan Culture and Ceremonial, The George Catlin O-kee-pa Manuscript in the British Museum. Wyk auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1996.
- Taylor, Melanie Benson. "Unsettling Accounts: The Violent Economies of the Ledger." In Ledger Narratives: The Plains Indian Drawings of the Lansburgh Collection at Dartmouth College. Ed. Colin G. Calloway. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 189–200.
- Thomas, David Bowen. The Origins of the Motion Picture: An Introductory Booklet on the Pre-History of the Cinema. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1964.
- Thomas, Davis, and Karin Ronnefeldt. People of the First Man: Life Among the Plains Indians in Their Final Days of Glory: The Firsthand Account of Prince Maximilian's Expedition Up the Missouri River, 1833–34. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1976.
- Thornton, Russell. "A Report of a New Mandan Calendric Chart." Ethnohistory 50:4 (Fall 2003) 697–705.
- Thwaites, Reuben Gold. Early Western Travels 1748–1846. Volume 23. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904.
- Torrence, Gaylord, ed. The Plains Indians: Artists of Earth and Sky. New York: Skira, 2014.
- Townsend, Richard F., ed. Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand: American Indian Art of the Ancient Midwest and South. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age. 1982; New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.
- . Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans 1880–1930. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.
- . Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.
- Traugott, Joseph. "Native American Artists and the Postmodern Cultural Divide." Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 36–43.
- Tret'iakov, Sergei. "The Biography of an Object (1929)." October 118 (Fall 2006) 57–62.
- Truettner, William H. George Catlin's Souvenir of the North American Indians: A Facsimile of the Original Album. Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum Association, 2003.
- . The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.
- . Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710–1840. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

- Tuite, Diane K. "Grounding the Figure, Reconfiguring the Subject: The Cutouts of Alex Katz." In Pop Art: Contemporary Perspectives. Exhibition catalog (24 Mar–12 Apr 2007). Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, NJ.
- Tyler, Ron. "Karl Bodmer and the American West." In Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Ed. Brandon K. Ruud. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 2004. 18–23.
- van Alphen, Ernst. Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Van Kirk, Sylvia. Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870. 1980; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.
- Viktor Prinz zu Wied, Karl. "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied: Sein Leben und seine Reisen." In Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. Ed. Josef Röder und Hermann Trimborn. Bonn: Dümmler, 1954. 13–25.
- Vizenor, Gerald. Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Wahrman, Dror. Mr. Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art & Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- WalkingStick, Kay. "Native American Art in the Postmodern Era." Art Journal 51:3 (Autumn 1992) 15–7.
- Wallo, William, and John Pickard. T.C. Cannon, Native American: A New View of the West. Exhibition catalog (14 Sept–4 Nov 1990). National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, Oklahoma City, OK.
- Warner, Michael. The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Wasserberger, Leslie. "An American Expressionist." In Fritz Scholder: Indian/Not Indian. Ed. Lowery Stokes Sims, et al. Exhibition catalog (2008). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 37–75.
- . "The Demystification of Fritz Scholder." M.A. thesis. San Francisco State University, May 1987.
- Watts, Edward. In This Remote Country: French Colonial Culture in the Anglo-American Imagination, 1780–1860. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- White, Richard. The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815. 1991; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Whiting, Cécile. Pop L.A.: Art and City in the 1960s. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- . A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender, and Consumer Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . "Trompe l'oeil Painting and the Counterfeit Civil War." Art Bulletin. 79:2 (1997) 251–68.
- Wilcox-Titus, Catherine. "Napoleon and Lafayette in the Print Culture." In With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860. Ed. Georgia B. Barnhill. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012. 49–63.
- Williamson, Jefferson. The American Hotel: An Anecdotal History. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.
- Wissler, Clark. "Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota." In Societies of the Plains Indians. Ed. Clark Wissler. Volume 11. Anthropological

- Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1916. 1–100.
- Wood, Christopher S. "Theories of Reference." Art Bulletin 78:1 (March 1996) 22–5.
- Wood, Marcus. Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Wood, W. Raymond. "Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains." In The Fur Trade in North Dakota. Ed. Virginia L. Heidenreich. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1990. 3–16.
- Wood, W. Raymond, Joseph C. Porter, and David C. Hunt. Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Wright, Helena E. "Some French and American Lithographs at the Smithsonian: A Retrospective View." In With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860. Ed. Georgia B. Barnhill. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 2012. 83–96.
- Zamir, Shamoon. "Native Agency and the Making of The North American Indian: Alexander B. Upshaw and Edward S. Curtis." American Indian Quarterly 31:4 (Fall 2007) 613–53.
- Zurier, Rebecca. Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.