

INTERPRETING THE TRANSNATIONAL MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE 19TH -
CENTURY NORTH AMERICAN PLAINS INDIANS: CREATORS, COLLECTORS, AND
COLLECTIONS

by

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B.A., Wright State University, 1987
M.A., Central Missouri University, 2005

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History
College of Arts and Sciences

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Abstract

American Indian material culture collections are protected in tribal archives and transnational museums. This dissertation argues that the Plains Indian people and Euroamerican people cross pollinated each other's material culture. Over the last two hundred years' interpretations of transnational material culture acculturation of the 19th - Century North American Plains Indians has been interpreted in venues that include arts and crafts, photography, museums, world exhibitions, tourism destinations, entertainments and literature. In this work, exhibit catalogs have been utilized as archives. Many historians recognize that American Indians are vital participants and contributors to United States history. This work includes discussions about North American Indigenous people and others who were creators of material culture and art, the people who collected this material culture and their motives, and the various types of collections that blossomed from material culture and oral history proffering. Creators included Plains Indian women who tanned bison hides and their involvement in crafting the most beautiful art works through their skill in quillwork and beadwork. Plains Indian men were also creators. They recorded the family's and tribe's histories in pictograph paintings. Plains Indian storytellers created material that was saved and collected through oral tradition. Euroamerican artists created biographical images of the Plains Indian people that they interacted with. Collections of objects, legends, and art resulted from those who collected the creations made by the creators. Thus today there exists fine examples of ethno-heirlooms that pay tribute to the transnational acculturation and survival of the American Indian people of the Great Western Northern American Plains. What is most important is the knowledge, and an appreciation for the idea that a transnational cross-pollination of cultures enriched and became rooted in United States history.

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Approved by:

Major Professor
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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Over the last two centuries, transnational individuals, institutions, expositions, and literature have gathered and preserved North American Plains Indian ethno-heirlooms into collections that are shared globally. These ethno-heirlooms are important pieces of the changing transnational histories of the multiple peoples of the United States and Canada. Not only do these heirlooms reside in museums and art galleries, they also are found in pictographic writings, oral histories, incorporated into pow wow regalia, and in the cedar chest at Grandma's house. The development of Plains Indian material culture is a refined process of original creations joined with products of transnational origin into unique artifacts/objects and art. It is melded into unique individualized and pragmatic creations relating to the world of human to human families. Learning about another peoples' material culture and its transnational acculturation is one basic way to communicate across cultural divisions and see one another as fully human. This communication opens visual, tangible, and audio venues to allow us to appreciate each other's lifeways. My dissertation's purpose is to illuminate the valuable contributions that Plains Indian material culture has made to the world's transnational cultures and how it has been interpreted in academia, museums, tourist venues, and entertainments. I begin my monologue with a discussion about the Plains Indian arts and crafts and the Plains Indian people who were responsible for this material culture repurposing and manufacture. I then continue the discussion by talking about the Euroamericans who collected and displayed the artifacts from the early 1800s to the present. Finally, I conclude by discussing the museums and exhibitions in the United States, Canada, and Europe that have presented collected material culture and how it has affected wider perceptions and portrayals of Native Americans. This study is not comprehensive,

but seeks to employ a significant sampling of the extensive volume of knowledge that is now available from a multitude of sources.

My thesis that Native American material culture is not and has never been static is not a new conclusion. Other Plains Indian material culture historians have also come to this conclusion. What makes my dissertation thesis new is how I support the agreed upon thesis of the adaptive methodology of Indian and non-Indian people sharing and repurposing the same material culture. I demonstrate the interconnections of Canadian, United States, and North American Great Plains Indigenous peoples' histories by connecting material culture to politics, museum collectors, and tribal archives. My dissertation is a broad cultural study. I examined the project from the perspective as a blind student. I researched the material culture by employing audio description provided by computer generated audio reading of written text. Because I cannot see I relied heavily on secondary sources, predominantly museum exhibition catalogs. I treated the catalogs as archives. The catalogs contain a fountain of knowledge provided by essays written by academic experts. I relied on memory of images, from when I once had eyesight, to describe the material culture examined in my dissertation. For example, I remember the essence of color. I know that black can represent darkness, white can represent light, red can represent blood and life, yellow can represent warmth, blue can represent water, and green can represent grass. My support conclusions come from an academic interpretation that has not been attempted by others in the study of Indigenous material culture. Therefore, I conclude transnational changes in American Indian and Euroamerican material cultures are interdependent on politics, global events, and elastic adaptation. Additionally, for the sighted readers, I have included in Appendix F images of many topics that I discuss. (See Appendix F, fig. F-1 through fig. F-98)

In studies about the North American Great Plains Indians defining general monikers to reference the Indian people of this region presents a challenge. In my dissertation, I refer to the Indian people south of the 49th Parallel as Native American, American Indian, Indian, Native, and Indigenous interchangeably. I use the moniker of Plains Indian in a more specific manner to indicate the people of a more specific region. And, when needed, I identify the specific tribal affiliation of the people I am discussing. Further, when I discuss the Indigenous people north of the 49th Parallel, I use monikers for Indigenous and First Nation interchangeably. For this group of people, I also cite monikers Plains Indian, and specific tribal affiliations. I purposely took liberty with this somewhat bountiful number of monikers in order to blur the 49th Parallel North American Great Plains to indicate that it was an open bordered territory prior to the establishment of the politically installed nation states of the United States and Canada. I want to remind my readers that prior to 1492, the Great Plains and the rest of the Americas, was home to a vast number of poly-ethnic cultures.

I cite the moniker Indigenous to reference Canadian and United States Indian people with a shared heritage and history of inhabiting North America before 1492. The United Nations defines the term “Indigenous” to reference people and nations with “a historical continuity.” These people consider themselves “distinct,” bonded with their own unique cultural patterns. The Indigenous people “are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples.” These people are a segment of a larger dominant society of non-Indigenous people.¹

¹ United Nations, “The Concept of Indigenous Peoples,” Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples (New York, 19-21 January 2004), 2.

The term “native” is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, “as a person born in a specific place or associated with a place of birth, whether subsequently resident there or not.”² And, a Native American person, as defined by the United States Census Bureau, is a person who is an American Indian and an Alaska Native. Additionally, the Census Bureau states that a Native American is a “person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintain tribal affiliation or community attachment.”³ A Native American, in my dissertation, refers to a person born of North American Indian tribal heritage. However, I believe that the moniker of “Native American” can be used in reference to both an American Indian person and a person of non-American Indian heritage born in the United States. Therefore, “Native American” is a cultural interchangeable moniker that includes all persons born in the United States.

In Canada the term “First Nation” took a place of common usage in the 1970s to replace the moniker of “Indian.” However, the term “First Nation” is not a legally Canadian Government defined moniker. It has been both rejected and embraced since its adoption by the Canadian Indian people. For example, “Some Indian peoples have also adopted the term ‘First Nation’ to replace the word ‘band’ in the name of their community.”⁴ In my dissertation research, I noticed that “First Nation” was often used along with specific tribal designations in reference to Canadian Indigenous peoples. And, for my dissertation I created the moniker “Second Nation.” It references non-Indian people who are the other poly-ethnic people inhabiting Canada and the United States. These Second Nation people are members of a later

² <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/native>

³ <http://definitions.uslegal.com/n/native-american/> and <http://www.census.gov/aian/> and <http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/>

⁴ Canadian Government “Aboriginal Peoples and Communities – Terminology,” <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642/1100100014643>

established historical period in North America. They came from and still are coming from other global nations to join the larger North American societies.

The term “transnational” is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as “Extending or operating across national boundaries.”⁵ In my dissertation I have embraced this definition and extended its meaning. I incorporated defining Indigenous tribal lands into an international status having designated borders, equivalent to nation states like Canada, the United States, and other global nation states. By this act, I can more easily explain the transnational sharing and adapting of material cultures. Transnationalization has always been a major factor in human to human activities, such as in trade and marriage. In my dissertation I show that when the North American Great Plains Indigenous people and the non-Indigenous colonizing people came in contact with each other, they did not dilute the other’s culture. Rather, they shared and adapted both of their material cultures.

The periodization that this multifaceted transnational material culture interpretation examines needs to be defined. Curator of Art Nancy B. Rosoff’s definition is cited. She explained that “Plains history is usually divided into three periods: Pre-Reservation (before 1860); Early Reservation (1860-91); and Late Reservation (1891 to the present).”⁶ Indigenous history is preserved in pictographic paintings, Euroamerican paintings, ethnographic photographs, collected objects, and much more tactile bounties. This treasure represents a major piece of the ethno-heirloom history of North America.

Plains Indian ethno-heirlooms are valuable survivors of an important North American population’s past that informs the present. The material culture of 19th-century Native American

⁵ <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/transnational>

⁶ Nancy B. Rosoff and Susan Kennedy Zeller, ed., *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), 5.

Plains people was mutually exchanged with other ethnic cultures, although there were attempts by some Euroamericans to thwart interchanges; basing inter-cultural opposition on pre-conceived racial biases. Technologies and domestic comforts were exchanged through cross-cultural contact, such as trade and marriage. This was seen in how metis wives interpreted European embroidery in their beadwork creations. This topic is discussed in Chapter 3. Native American Plains people's purposeful production and preparation of food, manufacture of tools, household items, weapons, toys, clothing, art, and musical instruments was both pragmatic and inventive. Historian Henry Glassie states that material culture interconnects a people's present and history. Material Culture describes human life ways. It "records human intrusion in the environment." Glassie emphasized that we humans "live in material culture, depend upon it, take it for granted, and realize through it our grandest aspirations."⁷ The economics of material culture takes account of costs and benefits to retention, acceptance, and rejection to new and old technologies and products. Therefore, material culture can be characterized as an organic and a plastic product. Historian Jeffrey L. Meikle proffered that a divine force is responsible for molding cultures.⁸ Additionally, material culture is influenced by religious beliefs that teach the spiritual direction and meaning of human lifeways. Technology historian Gail Cooper has said that "material culture shapes everyday life and technological choices have important consequences."⁹ Due to the enormous scope and volume of topics and items involved in the study of Plains Indian people's material culture, I have made a concerted effort to limit my discourse to the 19th-century material culture of a limited number of North American Plains people. Therefore, I

⁷ Henry Glassie, *Material Culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 1.

⁸ Jeffrey L. Meikle, *American Plastic: A Cultural History*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 1.

⁹ Gail Cooper, *Air-conditioning America Engineers and the Controlled Environment, 1900—1960*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 2.

argue my points based on generalizations found in a sampling of groups of only a few, but important, Plains Indian societies.

The Plains people in this material culture study used their creativity to repurpose non-Indian manufactured goods for their own specific needs and wants (fig. F-1 thru F-4). Historian Milford G. Chandler, for example, proffered that the Indians' use of,

. . . brass-headed upholstery tacks for the decoration of gunstocks, knife handles, tomahawk handles, war clubs and cradle boards was not so different from the original purpose. But to cut down the length of seamstresses' pins and to conceive of them as miniature tacks to be driven into wooden articles was a step calling for greater imagination. The Winnebago did this to stud tomahawk handles and pipe stems in interesting designs. The resemblance of a keg or barrel, or even a wooden wash tub, to a hollow log must have suggested the use of all of these for drum frames. They were so generally used that drums using these substitutes are fairly common; also tambourine-like drums with frames made out of old-fashioned cheese boxes are to be found.¹⁰

And, interestingly conjectured Chandler, a presumed Blackfoot drum adaptation was seen as “a frame made from the rim of an automobile wheel.”¹¹

Self-determination and a sovereign transnational spirit was strongly evidenced by the Plains Indian tribal art and material culture evolution in the 19th–century, as it remains today. Tribal and non-Indigenous transnational museums and collectors continue to learn how best to interpret the multitude of collected Indigenous material culture. The focus of this project emphasizes the continued strength of historic and contemporary material culture and art of Plains Indian sovereign ownership and cooperation in a transnational world of collectors and scholars. Catalogs produced for specific exhibition collections of Indigenous material culture provided de facto archives of research data. (See Appendix A). This project endeavors to tell the why, how and when, many of these collections were created, repurposed, and by whom with the

¹⁰ Milford G. Chandler, “Indian Adaptions,” *The Masterkey for Indian Lore and History* 42, no.2 (1968):59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

interpretation insights gained from published exhibit catalogs. Additionally, I ask how were the collections interpreted by Native American artists of today and yesterday? Transnational Plains Indian private and museum collections have been affected by and in turn, raise questions about creation, repatriation, provenance, housing, preservation maintenance, salvage ethnology, world politics, religious protocol, knowledge regeneration, public access, commercially reproduced images of Native art, and artifacts.

This dissertation presents a sampling of the material culture and art from a limited number of Canadian, metis, and United States Plains Indian people. The individuals and nations spotlighted in this project lived and live on the North American Great Plains located between Canada and the United States, divided by the 49th Parallel border that runs on the Canadian side from British Columbia to Manitoba and on the United States from Washington State to Minnesota. This Great Plains land lies between the Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers. The North American Great Plains human world citizenry is composed of both First Nation peoples and Second Nation peoples who arrived later and continue to arrive. This mix of many transnational cultures has acculturated and fused into a new unique shared material culture. The fusion of Native American with Euroamerican material cultures has resulted in pragmatic preservation and evolution. Anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell noted that American Indians influenced the material cultures of the Euroamerican people that they came in contact. The transculturation occurred in adaptations of plants, food, clothing, technology, art, and music. Hallowell said that American Indian transculturation influence was even evidenced in a “cast iron fence with a corn motif” he found in New Orleans(fig. F-5).¹²

¹² A. Irving Hallowell, “The Impact of the American Indian on American Culture,” *American Anthropologist* 59, (1957): 212.

American and European academic interest in collecting and analyzing Native American societies material cultures has expanded in the last two centuries. Material culture historians Helen Sheumaker and Shirley Teresa Wajda noted that by the 1890s anthropologists paid “sustained attention to Native American cultures.” Sheumaker and Wajda explicated that humans are defined by the objects they manufacture and alter. Material culture is derived from the physical human made objects created from “physical manifestations of human endeavor, of minds at work.” Sheumaker and Wajda further explained that the non-Indian scholars studying Native Americans material cultures believed that they were providing a service to Native peoples by preserving and collecting their material cultures. They said that “Many scholars and curators involved with the collection activities acted from an impulse to preserve the cultures they believed to be dying out and thus in danger of being lost. Today, scholars and representatives of those various peoples point out that these same practices reinforced racial and cultural ideologies that had originally undermined and sometimes decimated Native American peoples as they were colonized.”¹³

In 1933, Sioux political activist, author, and actor Luther Standing Bear promoted the importance of learning all of the North American people’s histories. He wrote that white people, with their learned sense of superiority, had created unfair interpretations about Native American people. He said that,

because of this attitude there arose many false ideas concerning the Indian race that endure to this day... and though they violated all of our rights as natives in our own land and as humans, and even the rights of creatures that we had so long protected, they looked upon us with disdain. They did not try to understand us and did not consider the fact that though we were different from them, still we were living our destiny according to the plan of the Supreme Dictator of mankind. . . .

¹³ Helen Sheumaker and Shirley Teresa Wajda, eds. *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc. 2008), xi.

So for nearly four centuries the American Indian has been misinterpreted as to character, customs, practices in marriage, home, family, and religion. He has become imaged in the minds and hearts of a whole public as a whooping, yelling, vicious person without moral conscience and ethical scruples engaged in but one pursuit, that of war.¹⁴

It is up to historians and other people of a multitude of ethnicities to acknowledge each other's unique and integrated connections that have evolved from shared histories created here in North America. Standing Bear was a strong advocate of getting to know each other human to human. Regardless, he sadly continued his lament. We need to remember what he pointed out. He noted that,

Irreparable damage has been done by white writers who discredit the Indian. Books have been written of the native American, so distorting his true nature that he scarcely resembles the real man; his faults have been magnified and his virtues minimized; his wars, and his battles, which, if successful, the white man chooses to call 'massacres,' have been told and retold, but little attention has been given to his philosophy and ideals. Books, paintings, and pictures have all joined in glorifying the pioneer — the hunter, trapper, woodsman, cowboy, and soldiery — in their course of conquest across the country, a conquest that could only have been realized by committing untold offenses against the aboriginal people.¹⁵

Standing Bear reminded his readers that the landing of Columbus was not the beginning of American history. He said that it behooves the people of the United States to learn that "some of the truest and greatest patriots have been American Indians, and that such names as Red Jacket, Tecumseh, and Crazy Horse would brighten the pages of any history, while the name of Sequoia not only lights the pages of American history, but the history of achievement of all mankind."¹⁶

And, Standing Bear emphasized that Native Americans' "philosophy was [and is] one of kindness; that some of their governmental principles were unequaled for equity; that some of

¹⁴ Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1978), 227.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 228.

their crafts are even today unsurpassed; and that this country has native contributions in song, stories, music, pageantry, dance, poetry, and oratory worthy of perpetuation.”¹⁷

In 1941, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt highlighted the significance of Native American contributions to the transculturation of the United States. She emphasized that all future American generations have been and will continue to be nourished and enriched through knowing the indigenous tribal cultures of North America. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote,

In appraising the Indian’s past and present achievements, we realize not only that his heritage constitutes part of the artistic and spiritual wealth of this country, but also that the Indian people of today have a contribution to make toward the America of the future.

In dealing with Indian art of the United States, we find that its sources reach far beyond our borders, both to the north and to the south. Hemispheric interchange of ideas is as old as man on this continent. Long before Columbus, tribes now settled in Arizona brought traditions to this country that were formed in Alaska and Canada; Indian traders from the foot of the Rocky Mountains exchanged goods and ideas with the great civilizations two thousand miles south of the Rio Grande. Related thoughts and forms that are truly of America are found from the Andes to the Mississippi Valley.

We acknowledge here a cultural debt not only to the Indians of the United States but to the Indians of both Americas. Eleanor Roosevelt¹⁸

The 19th-century and earlier North American Plains Indian peoples fostered an intricate transnational network that included trade and other connections with a host of multi-national peoples that exposed them to new ideas for material culture reconfiguration and continued appreciation of their own traditional lifeways. Telling the story about the transnational character of Plains peoples’ self-determination through artifacts, art, and other material culture displayed in museums and at World’s Fair expositions is the goal of this project. My dissertation examines

¹⁷ Ibid., 229.

¹⁸ Frederic H. Douglas and Rene D’Harnoncourt. *Indian Art of the United States*. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1941), 8.

the importance of the creators and their creations, collectors, and collections and how they were featured in transnational museums, at multi-national exhibitions, such as world's fairs, and at tourist venues. My research is organized around a number of museum exhibits, exhibit catalogs, and private collection descriptions from 19th-century and contemporary Plains Indian material culture ethnographic and artistic collections. It is a targeted overview of the material culture of 19th-Century North American Plains Indians and how it has and is presented in non-Indian museums and exhibitions with assistance by Native Americans and non-Native Americans cooperation. North American Plains Indian people's material culture represents utility and cultural survival. 19th-century Plains Indians made pragmatic decisions about their manufacture of items, as well as, their adoption and repurposing of items acquired from interactions, such as trade and special order reproductions for individuals and museums. Costs and benefits were important results from this transnational interaction. Plains Indians maintained and protected their cultural identity through innovative ways of maintaining and re-configuring their traditional tangible creations that continues to resonate amongst Native peoples today. What stood out in my research was how much transnationalism contributed to Native and non-native peoples' cross acculturation in the creation and repurposing of art and material culture.

Section 1 - Creators and Creations

Section One introduces an interpretative discussion about the interconnections of human shared creativity and artistic aesthetic prowess. It introduces the reader to some of the Plains Indians' material culture creators, creations, and Native American and Euroamerican painterly images of Plains Indian objects and history. These objects and images represent creations that were put on display for museum and World's fair exhibits. In order to manage the magnitude of data I collected from museum and exposition catalogs, I have examined a representative sampling of the material culture from a limited number of peoples that include the Blackfoot, Cree, Crow, Mandan, Teton Sioux and the Metis. I also examine evidence from non-Indians, including American, Canadian, and European ethnologists, artists, traders, and governmental representatives. These peoples' creations are interpretations that were presented in collections in a number of transnational museum and world fair exhibitions.

The material culture of 19th-century Native American Plains people was not static. It was an intercultural tangible organic and plastic entity that allowed interesting exchanges of technologies, which had both positive and negative consequences. Resources were maximized. Trade created introductions to new tools, foods, clothing materials, medicines, and luxury items. The Indian consumers adapted their needs to combine their own traditional trade protocols with Euroamerican identified commercial practices.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 illustrate how cultural objects and artifacts transform into interconnections found in acculturation processes that repurpose Transnational nurtured material culture. In other words, the things we make are a record of who we are now, who we have been and who we are becoming.

Chapter 2 - Defining Interpretations of Plains Indian Objects and Artifacts

The object versus the artifact can be a contentious pair or two interchangeable beings. They can be named unique or identical. Chapter 2 explains the differences and concerns about artifact and object museum display and descriptions that inform visitors about the context and purpose of the objects and artifacts that they are viewing. The following topics and their brief stories are told. The topics are: Objects and Artifacts Defined by creators, users, in exhibits, Object and Artifact Display Presentations, and Art Image Representations of Native American Lifeways created by both Native Americans and non-Indians.

Objects and Artifacts Identification Defined

On its face, material culture can seem a simple concept. But, it is a multi-layered tactile entity narrated with written and audio stories. In a simple attempt to describe basic terms for this project I drew from anthropologist George Ellis Burcaw's definitive textbook on museology. He broke down the basic concepts into simple language. An 'object' is defined as a tangible "three-dimensional thing of any kind."¹ And an 'artifact' is defined as "an object produced or shaped by human workmanship or, possibly, a natural object deliberately selected and used by a human being."² In other words, 'object' and 'artifact' can be used in material culture discussions as either the same being or unique beings.

The Plains Indian creators provided objects and art for purpose and lifeway enrichment. Indian material culture creators provide the dynamic continuum of shared transnational acculturated artifacts. The act of creating is an act of a culture's living viability. Multicultural

¹ G. Ellis Burcaw, *Introduction to Museum Work*, (New York: Altamira Press, 1997), 13.

² Ibid., 14.

intermingling facilitates redefining and recreating new material culture. This contact changes the value of the peoples' material and artistic cultures products. Historian Rebecca Sarah Hernandez Rosser succinctly pointed out that,

the objects created by Native Americans do possess a universal quality and potential value for everyone, regardless of religion, race, ethnicity, gender or sexuality. . . . Therefore, the objects they made for themselves and/or shared with others have much in common with other items of material culture, while standing uniquely apart. It is then logical to represent, exhibit and display the fact that Native artists/creators have constantly repositioned themselves as change has become necessary and have served their communities as best they can by doing so. This hardly strips Native culture of authenticity; rather it continuously redefines it.³

The Native peoples of the Great Plains adapted their lifeways to their physical natural environment. They conformed to their homeland geographic regions' natural resources and resources acquired through transnational contacts. Thus, the peoples' imagination and ingenuity dictated what was created from the available resources. This specific tribal artistic creativity used in the making of material objects is referred to as 'Native Aesthetic' by scholars. Hernandez Rosser explained that the 'Native Aesthetic' acts as a defined "artistic framework . . . which reflects individual tribal ideals of beauty and implements culture specific symbol and motif."⁴

Textile scholar Beverly Gordon authored much literature on the subject of American material culture. Gordon emphasized that interpreting 'Native Aesthetic' is not simple. Scholarly questions remain about Indian art as pure aesthetic versus artistic objects with functional purpose. Gordon explained that,

³ Rebecca Sarah Hernandez, *Past is Perfect in the Present Tense: Exhibiting Native America in Museums and Culture Centers*, (PhD diss. The University of New Mexico, 2004), 11.

⁴ Ibid., 26.

Most of the visual expression of American Indians has traditionally been invested in functional objects such as tools, containers, and clothing, and the pieces generally reflected a collective or group aesthetic rather than a unique personal vision. There have always been individual Indian artists, however: basket makers, potters, and garment-makers have gone through training processes, just as painters or sculptors do, and they have always approached each of their pieces as a unique aesthetic challenge. Like western painters, they speak of creative inspiration and guidance, and many dream about their work. Good artists have always been recognized by their communities; their work was in constant demand. In addition, Indian art was never limited to traditional or functional objects; there have long been individual experiments and items made for the sheer joy of the visual image,⁵ and in recent decades there has been an outpouring of Indian artworks in “non-Indian” media such as oil painting and printmaking.⁵

Gordon continued, that to understand the multifaceted Native aesthetic concept it is important to know that there is no translatable word for “art” in many tribal languages. Thus, one can assert, that there are many scripts and languages to interpret a type of “Indian aesthetic” if it truly does exist. Gordon said that “Most native groups share a general spiritual perspective, however, one that shapes a particular type of aesthetic sensitivity. Indian art has been defined as a ‘visual metaphor for a spiritual attitude,’ a way to relate to the supernatural world. Many Indians tend to speak of art as a way of approaching the world rather than as a particular kind of artifact.”⁶

Recognition of the universe comes from the use of sacred symbols in the decoration of objects (fig. F-6). Material scholar Michael Johnson, has researched American Indian culture for a number of years and has authored a number of books on Native American tribes. Scholar Bill Yenne, has also authored a number of books. Johnson and Yenne together authored, the book *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*. Johnson and Yenne explain that using specific spiritual symbols in the decoration of objects “is usually associated with the acquisition of

⁵ Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988*, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 4.

⁶ Ibid.

supernatural power from such sources as the sun or powerful underwater or sky spirits. Energy transfer processes can be represented by a thunderbird-claw motif as used by the Cree or Blackfeet, or by the horns of the buffalo motif. Caterpillars and tadpoles, and spiders and insects generally, were considered to be imbued with mysterious powers to transform into new beings or create weather changes . . . These creatures could be painted on tipi covers, robes, or shields, quilled or beaded as symbols on clothes or moccasins, or carved on wooden effigies and pipe-stems.”⁷

Object and Artifact Presentations

Continued cultural adaptations to living environmental influences reflected on tools and what was created have long been subjects of interest in museum exhibits centered around Plains Indian people. Over the last one-hundred years, transnational museum ethnological and art exhibits proffered large accumulations of ‘salvage’ material objects, along with creations of stereotype images, in the form of dioramas of presumed village lifeways produced by Euroamerican artistic renditions of generic Indians based on romantic preconceptions. Often, these renditions ignored the dynamic character of Native American people that included continuing cultural adaptations.

How Native American and non-Native American scholars and curators work respectfully together to curate cultural center and museum shows of Native American exhibit creations is a difficult topic. Remembering community cooperation is important. Non- Indian museum curators want to express empathy with indigenous people. Many of these curators believe that consulting with Native elders, scholars, artists, and relatives is enough. But, the question is, who

⁷ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 134.

should lead the development of the exhibit and displays? Gros Ventre Joe Horse Capture, Museum Specialist at the National Museum of the American Indian, pointed out that “An exhibition encompasses more than just the display of objects; one must examine the entirety including programming, advertising, and educational material.”⁸ In the museum community relationships between Indian and non-Indian staff has been mixed. Horse Capture said that when an Indian curator is unavailable to direct a Native American exhibition, there should be scholars and staff to mentor Native American students to become future museum curators and staff. It is important to remember that, Horse Capture emphasized “The relationship (or lack thereof) between museums and Native Americans has been problematic for generations. Historically viewed as icons of the past, Native American communities have had limited input on how their culture is presented in many museum exhibitions.”⁹

Native American and Euroamerican histories are two parts of one continuum. Studying this continuum acts as a tool to facilitate the education of museum visitors about Indigenous people, past and present. Historic and contemporary artifacts are related and part of a survival continuum. Historian Rebecca Hernandez Rosser pointed out that older “stereotypical perceptions” need to be challenged. She emphasized that there are two exhibit models that museum curators have followed. The first exhibit model strives to interpret in its displays a vision of what is perceived in the dominant culture as a vision of culturally “authentic” depictions of Native American people. The second exhibit model strives to present a linear time frame to describe Indian lifeways. Rosser said that, this model “may attempt to convey Native

⁸ Joe Horse Capture, “Horse Capture: ‘Native People Have a Story to Tell – Their Own’,” *Indian Country Today Media Network.com*, (25 April 2015), <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/04/25/horse-capture-native-people-have-story-tell-their-own-160144>

⁹ Ibid.

people as successfully adapting to and utilizing materials that were introduced by Europeans, but looking at these objects in a linear time frame instead creates a different message - one that over-emphasizes the fact that *these* Natives are not the same as the Natives *before* contact.”¹⁰

When museum curators choose specific historical starting and ending bookends, as in these two exhibit models, cultural tribal history stories are complicated by interweaving arts, crafts, and general survival tactics. Rosser said that this is a problem because, “These two familiar approaches have created a rigid model that does little to promote an understanding of cultural change through time, nor does it emphasize the significance of agency, on both an individual and a cultural level in situations of cultural exchange. This causes serious problems when curating other types of exhibits, such as those that focus on contemporary Native art.”¹¹

Another problem involved in developing museum exhibitions focusing on Native American objects is knowing how to display and write descriptive narrative for the exhibits. Museum exhibits’ descriptive narrative should routinely be reviewed and improved upon when needed. It is important to know the objects genesis and purpose in order to understand its place in the tribal community. Rosser said that, for example, the term “traditional” is “generally used to invoke the notion of an uninterrupted continuum and was frequently attached to an object made before contact with non-Natives. In other instances, the term is used to describe objects made today using materials and techniques carried over from antiquity. To be

¹⁰ Rebecca Sarah Hernandez, *Past is Perfect in the Present Tense: Exhibiting Native America in Museums and Culture Centers*, (PhD diss. The University of New Mexico, 2004), 134.

¹¹ Ibid.

considered traditional, someone who is or was able to prove direct links to a tribal community must make an object associated exclusively with that tribe.”¹²

Many Native Americans believe that the objects/artifacts in cultural centers and museums are living entities. Ho-Chunk historian Amy Lonetree has stressed that,

Objects in museums are living entities. They embody layers of meaning, and they are deeply connected to the past, present, and future of Indigenous communities. Every engagement with objects in museum cases or in collection rooms should begin with this core recognition. We are not just looking at interesting pieces. In the presence of objects from the past, we are privileged to stand as witnesses to living entities that remain intimately and inextricably tied to their descendant communities.¹³

Museum displayed objects will always be significant components in museum cultural exhibits. Learning how to view and understand their importance is and has been given new attention in the 21st-century. Historian Cindy Ott created and produced a thought provoking exhibition about transcultural acceptance. The exhibition was titled “Cultural Fences: The Intersecting Material World of American Indians and Euro Americans” (November 2005-2007) at the Museum of the Rockies in Bozeman, Montana. The exhibition focused on the importance of people learning about what they share, such as history, without forgetting their differences. Her exhibit emphasized the importance of human to human communication in order to “confront popular concepts about racial and ethnic distinctions.”¹⁴ Ott noted that “shared experiences, rather than differences, in order to disrupt common stereotypes.”¹⁵ Ott’s exhibit was important

¹² Rebecca Sarah Hernandez “Identified Indian Objects: An Examination of Category,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31, no. 3 (2007): 122.

¹³ Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), xv.

¹⁴ Cindy Ott, “Crossing Cultural Fences: The Intersecting Material World of American Indians and Euro-Americans,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 39, no. 4 (Winter, 2008): 492.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 493.

because it exposed inadequate presentations of Indigenous people depicted in what had become routine in museum exhibits. Ott explained that,

Most museums represent American Indians in a separate exhibit from the ‘history’ hall, which not only distorts how cultures have interacted with each other, but also perpetuates the myth that ‘true’ Indians inhabit a static, primitive, and archaic way of life. These Indian halls are often filled with richly ornate clothing and crafts with fabulous designs and craftsmanship dating from before the twentieth century, making them extremely popular among museum goers. Yet, ironically, while there is great reverence for these historic Indian artifacts, there is often great prejudice against Indians in the contemporary American West. In their own efforts to assert their cultural identity, however, many American Indians have also perpetuated the image of separateness in exhibitions by focusing on what sets their cultures apart.¹⁶

Maintaining individuality of the Native peoples’ lifeways displayed in contemporary museum narratives struggles with ideas of interconnections and self-determination. Ott continued,

Breaking from these traditions, ‘Crossing Cultural Fences’ examined shared experiences, rather than differences, in order to disrupt common stereotypes and to provoke visitors to re-think how they categorize people. The exhibition displayed objects and juxtapositions of objects to prompt people to re-examine their judgments and ideas about cultures and cultural relations, especially ones that pigeonhole American Indians in a two-dimensional stereotype. The point of the show was to highlight the vitality and dynamism of American Indian cultures. Its intention was not to deny the persecution of Indians and the uniqueness of their history and cultures, but to puncture the dichotomy that sets Indians apart in destructive ways.¹⁷

It is important for people to learn about what individual cultures share. Additionally, it cannot be emphasized enough that American people are vital 21st-century transnational citizens, as Ott’s exhibition showed.

The dynamism of native culture is also revealed through comparison with non-Indian artistic expression. The following section describes how Native and non-Native people’s

¹⁶ Ibid., 492.

¹⁷ Ibid., 493.

differing perspectives intersect in imagery such as Indian pictographic painting and Euroamerican biographic painting.

American and European Artistic Perspective

In the early 1800s, before the advent of ethnographic photography, Great Plains tribal communities were recorded in drawings and paintings by Euroamericans who were simultaneously artists, scientists, and self-taught ethnologists. These people had the ability to observe and record with accurate detail Plains people and their material culture. American artist George Catlin and Swiss artist Carl Bodmer were two of these transnational documentarians.

Anthropologist John Canfield Ewers explained that “During their visits to the Upper Missouri in the years 1832-34 the artists George Catlin and Carl Bodmer created some of the most authentic and best-known pictures of American Indians drawn or painted in the days before the development of photography. Their widely circulated originals and the published reproductions of their pictures have provided millions of viewers in this country and abroad, who never saw a Plains Indian, with a clear, accurate conception of the physical appearance and customs of those Indians as they appeared a century and a quarter ago.”¹⁸

Throughout the 19th-Century a number of European and American transnational ethnologists/artists and photographers recorded the Plains Indian people and their material culture. Because of this transnational contact, artistic cross-acculturation occurred. Swiss artist Karl Bodmer (1809-1893) worked at Fort Clark painting the Mandans and their environment from November 1833 to April 1834. Bodmer was a European classically trained artist who was taught to paint from models in the studio. Scholars agree that his work was

¹⁸ John C. Ewers, *Early White Influence Upon Plains Indian Painting George Catlin and Carl Bodmer among the Mandan, 1832-34*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1957), 1.

accurate and detailed. Ewers explained that “Although Catlin introduced realistic portraiture to the Mandan, the superior draughtsman, Carl Bodmer, showed them how every detail of a picture could be rendered with absolute truthfulness. Bodmer was the missionary par excellence of the white man's tradition of realism in art. Nor was Bodmer content merely to exhibit his own work among the Indians. He furnished some of them with paper and watercolors, and encouraged them to make pictures for him.”¹⁹

Plains Indian Perspective

The artistic application to objects was a basic component of Indian material culture.

Material scholars Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne explained that,

Unlike Euro-American societies Indian artists did not produce art for art's sake; it was inseparable from other material culture. Many Indian nations conceived the universe and everything in it as the creation of an all-controlling invisible force. The universe was a perfectly balanced physical and psychological structure and to maintain this equilibrium ceremonies and paraphernalia using parts of birds, animals, and other natural phenomena were used to keep and enforce the cosmic model. Feathers of birds of prey, certain animal hides, various woods, and particular paint colors were used often in combinations to placate the forces required for cosmic balance. Into this basically organic world European traders added a range of manufactured metal goods and materials which supplemented the indigenous fauna and flora, developing and extending native arts.²⁰

Plains Indians are famous for their symbolic paintings depicting religious symbols, such as the Sundance, and warrior feats. These paintings appear in tribal records, such as winter counts; on tipi covers and liners; men's shirts; buffalo robes; (fig.F-7 through F-12) and were “later drawn in sketch books (while warriors were held prisoners) so-called ledger book art using white man's commercial drawing materials.”²¹

¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

²⁰ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 6.

²¹ Ibid., 11.

Johnson and Yenne said that in the last quarter of the 19th-century some of the symbols depicted (fig. F-13) were attributed to the “historically late Ghost Dance doctrine [that] evoked a resurgence of symbolic imagery with painted butterflies, dragonflies, birds, stars, moon, and rainbows on women’s dresses and men’s shirts.”²²

Lewis and Clark, conjectured Ewers, were the first explorers in the 19th-century to acknowledge the importance of the pictograms recorded on bison robes. Ewers said that,

the oldest example of Mandan painting that has been preserved (which is also the earliest dated specimen of the figure painting of any Plains Indian tribe) is a painted buffalo robe collected by the American explorers Lewis and Clark in 1805 Lewis and Clark included it among the collection of ethnological materials which they sent to President Jefferson from the Mandan villages on April 5, 1805, before they embarked on their overland trek westward to the Pacific. They reported that the paintings on this robe portrayed a battle fought between Mandan warriors and enemy tribesmen about the year 1797.²³

Ethnologists, such as Ewers, have provided detailed descriptions of Indigenous painting that inform readers without actual visual examples. Ewers provided a detailed description of the Lewis and Clark bison robe (fig. F-14). He said that,

This is a most interesting example of the aboriginal style of painting employed by men who were the delineators of heroic deeds of the tribe or of individual warriors on the inner surfaces of buffalo robes. The painting comprises a composition of 44 foot warriors and 20 mounted men in combat. Their weapons include 15 trade guns and a pistol in addition to a larger number of native-made offensive and defensive weapons—bows and arrows, lances and shields. All the figures, human and animal, are heavily outlined in a very dark brown, almost a black. Some of the outlined forms are filled in with dark brown, blue green, reddish brown, or yellow. Careful examination of individual figures delineated on this specimen reveals some of the characteristics of the traditional native art style. An enlargement of one of the human figures on this robe, clearly illustrates the characteristic style of human figure in this composition. The head is a featureless, almost circular knob with pendent, conventionalized hair. The neck sits upon a separately rendered, elongated body which is geometric in character

²² Ibid., 11.

²³ John C. Ewers, *Early White Influence Upon Plains Indian Painting George Catlin and Carl Bodmer among the Mandan, 1832-34*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1957), 2.

and drawn in outline only. The arms are lines extending outward from the shoulders and bent about midway of their length (i.e., at the elbows). At the ends of these arms are solid ball hands with the five fingers extended as lines. The legs are relatively short, bent at the knees. The grossly shaped upper legs are connected to linear lower legs. The foot is merely a continuation of the line of the lower leg at an angle from it. There is no attempt to portray body clothing. Yet the conventionalized representation of the phallus and scrotum may be an indication that the Mandan and their neighbors wore no breechcloths at that period. Some contemporary descriptions of those Indians also suggest the absence of the breechcloth in the men's costume of the time.²⁴

Ewers continued his descriptions of the bison robe paintings. In his descriptions he included his judgment of a Mandan artist's painting style. He noted that,

The enlargement of one of the mounted figures painted on this robe shows the same style of rendering the head, arms, and body of the human figure. Notice that the man does not straddle the horse but merely sits atop it. There is no attempt to render the figure below the waist. The head and body of the horse are drawn in outline. The animal has neither eye nor mouth, but the ears are indicated one above the other and the mane is drawn in a conventionalized manner. The horse's neck and body are decorated in geometric fashion with lines forming angular patterns some of which are partially filled with spots of color. As in the human figures, the upper legs of the horse are thick and the lower ones are mere lines. The hoofs are hook-shaped extensions of the legs. . . . [This painting] accented the general characteristics of the human form—the roundness of the head, the straightness of the limbs, the bilateral symmetry of the body. . . . Details of the human figure were unimportant to the primitive Mandan artist. His head remained featureless. Bodies were crudely proportioned and appendages grossly generalized. Although his medium was paint, he used color sparingly. His heavy outlines gave to his work more the character of drawing than painting. He had no knowledge of color modeling or such other sophisticated concepts as foreshortening and perspective. When one object overlapped another he did not try to eliminate the outlines of the more distant one.²⁵

Ewers said that Catlin and Bodmer's introduction to the Mandan pictographic painters affected the Indians' unique style. Catlin and Bodmer's Euroamerican artistic style was emulated and copied by the Mandan painters (fig. F-15). For example, Ewers noted that the Mandan artist

²⁴ Ibid., 3.

²⁵ Ibid., 3.

Four Bears and others studied Catlin at work drawing and painting over four hundred pictures of the Mandan people, village lifeways, and regional landscapes.²⁶

Ewers explained that Catlin's contributions to the Mandan pictographic art was important because "no one skilled in drawing or painting in the traditional, realistic nineteenth-century style of western European culture is known to have practiced his art in the Mandan villages prior to the visit of George Catlin in the summer of 1832."²⁷

Ewers noted that he saw distinct changes in Four Bears' pictogram painting style. Ewers described the changes he saw as the artist moving to a more realistic biographic style. He said that "Gone were the knoblike heads, figures, the crude proportions, the lack of detail. Heads were now painted in profile, the features sharply defined. Great care was taken in drawing a realistic human eye. The arms, legs, and bodies were well proportioned, and the details of headgear, ornaments, and body costume, and the moccasined feet were delineated with painstaking care. Even though the colors of the original drawing are not known, some attempt at color modeling is suggested on the face and upper body of the warrior [on the painting]."²⁸

Indian History Writing (Pictography) - Biographic Art

In 1988, anthropologist James D. Keyser recorded his findings from a 1987 research project examining Plains Indian hide paintings housed in European museums. He focused on "a painted Sioux war shirt, known as the 'Schoch shirt,' (fig. F-16) exhibited in the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, Switzerland." Anthropologists James D. Keyser and Timothy J. Brady said that "This war shirt has considerable relevance to the study of Plains Indian

²⁶ Ibid., 6.

²⁷ Ibid., 2.

²⁸ Ibid., 7-8.

Biographic art, and by offering significant insight into the study of individual artists, it has important implications regarding archaeological method.”²⁹

Keyser and Brady added that, “Most historic period Plains Indian representational art had a biographic function—that is, it recorded events important in the life of an individual. Referred to as the Biographic art style, these drawings are found as pictographs and petroglyphs in rock art throughout the Northwestern Plains, but during the Historic period they were more frequently painted on perishable media by almost all Plains Indian groups. Surviving examples include winter counts, painted robes and other clothing, and ledger book drawings (fig. F-17).”³⁰

And, continued Keyser and Brady, “The evolution of this art is most clearly demonstrated in Northwestern Plains rock art, probably because there are too few surviving examples of prehistoric perishable Ceremonial Art. Stylistic analysis shows, however, that Biographic art on perishable items had similar origins and evolved through a series of similar stages from simple Early Biographic art to the sophisticated Ledger Book art (fig. F-18 and F-19) painted after AD 1875.”³¹

The examination of this particular hide painted war shirt, from before 1830, was important because that it had survived and was available to researchers to document the evolution of biographical art before exposure to European and American artists. From his research, Keyser concluded that, the Sioux

war shirt shows some of the earliest stylistic developments toward Late Biographic art. The use of color, posture, and a "short hand" coup counting notation demonstrate that by 1830 Plains Indian Biographic art was already evolving more stylistic complexity than evidenced in Early Biographic rock art

²⁹ James D. Keyser and Timothy J. Brady, “A War Shirt from the Schoch Collection: Documenting Individual Artistic Expression,” *Plains Anthropologist* 38, no. 142 (February 1993): 5.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 6.

and the earliest known examples of Buffalo Robe hide paintings. Thus, this art demonstrates that relatively rapid changes were occurring in Biographic style art before the advent of white artistic influences. As such, this additional evidence of the flexibility of the Biographic art style and helps explain the ease and rapidity with which significant changes were incorporated into it throughout the Historic period.³²

Although historians have attributed Euroamerican artists, such as Catlin and Bodmer, as the primary influence on Plains Indian painting evolution, evidence shows that the Indigenous painters were developing independent biographic painting evolution in their painting styles on their own.

Plains Indian Pictographic Art

In the 19th-century, Plains Indian warriors painted pictographs to document their heroic deeds on such surfaces as bison robes, tipis, and large rock surfaces. Ethnologist Arni Brownstone explained that, “Men’s and women’s clothing designs or decorations were sometimes influenced by war experiences. Certain types of men’s shirts were cut and slashed to represent arrow and lance cuts; costumes were painted with war-related designs and decorated with scalp-locks taken in battle.”³³

Canadian artist Edmund Morris (1871 - 1913), from 1907 to 1911, painted pastel (a type of water color paint) portraits of Canadian Plains Indian leaders, which, the Ontario government commissioned. But, what is more important, said Brownstone, are the other documentation and collections that Morris created of Plains Indians and their lifeways. Brownstone explained that there, “are the hundreds of photographs he [Morris] took and the artifacts he collected. His travel diaries and correspondence contain a wealth of information about Plains Indian life, beliefs, and

³² Ibid., 16-17.

³³ Arni Brownstone, *War Paint: Blackfoot and Sarcee Painted Buffalo Robes in the Royal Ontario Museum*, (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1993), vii.

history.”³⁴ And, in 1913, Morris donated one Sarcee and four Blackfoot painted bison robes to the Royal Ontario Museum. Morris commissioned the pictographic paintings of brave deeds on these robes from, explained Brownstone, “eight veteran warriors: Running Wolf, Big Swan, Bull Plume, Leans Over Butchering,’ Running Rabbit, Wolf Carrier, Bull Head, and Calf Child.”³⁵ Additionally, Morris collected translations of stories painted on the bison robes. Morris recorded the transcriptions recorded in his diaries and correspondences (fig. F-20).

In return for painting bison robes requested by Morris, four Blackfoot chiefs asked for gifts of appreciation. Brownstone noted that “In exchange for painting their histories the four Peigan [Blackfoot] chiefs asked Morris for rings, medals, a telescope, official-looking coats, and canes, as well as flags to hoist over the ‘house on Sundays and feast days.’ Significantly, the war-exploit robe, a symbol of power and prestige in traditional native culture, was now used to acquire objects that symbolized power and prestige in European culture.”³⁶

Brownstone observed that Blackfoot bison robe pictographs read more like cartographic maps than pictorial images. Brownstone said that, “As in a map, the sizes of figures are scaled to conform to a flat surface rather than to illusionary three-dimensional space. The Blackfoot tendency to distribute figures, or groups of figures, evenly over the painting surface gave greater visual access to the deeds tabulated on the robe and further confirmed the two-dimensional nature of the picture plane.”³⁷

The painted bison robes that Morris gave to the Royal Ontario Museum were first, said Brownstone, displayed in the Morris Toronto home. Brownstone explained that,

³⁴ Ibid., 2.

³⁵ Ibid., 2.

³⁶ Ibid., 34.

³⁷ Ibid., 21.

before being painted, the five hides were used in the Morris home in Toronto, probably as sleigh or carriage robes. For the sake of precision, it should be clear that the term 'robe' as applied to the painted hides refers both to their use in the Morris home and to the intention of the collector, which was to obtain replicas of traditional war-exploit robes. As it turned out, no sooner had the paint dried than the five robes were returned to Toronto and hung in an exhibition, along with the Plains Indian portraits Morris had painted for the Ontario government and many of the artifacts he had collected, on the walls of the Canadian Art Club.³⁸

Preserving and studying older pictographic art poses a number of serious problems.

Brownstone explained that,

There are very specific difficulties encountered in the study of pictographic paintings on hide. The hides are generally large in size, measuring as much as 298 cm x 244 cm (9 feet, 10 inches x 8 feet). Since the traditional purpose of the hide or robe was to display the accumulation of the wearer's brave deeds, these large surfaces are usually densely covered with visual information. Consequently, figures on the robes tend to be small, and details that advance the narrative are even smaller. Sometimes the depictions lack definition because they were painted on particularly rough or absorbent hide. Over time, the paint has often undergone considerable deterioration. These difficulties, coupled with the fact that examples of pictographic robes are widely scattered in museums throughout Europe, Canada, and the United States, frustrate attempts to study the subtle and complex aspects of pictographic painting.³⁹

As described by Brownstone, it is lamentable that the fragility of hide paintings has been lost. However, written biographies have preserved valuable descriptions that preserve visual interpretations.

Indian Symbolic Objects and Art

Dream catchers are one of the favorite transnational crafts believed to have spiritual protective powers produced and sold in Canada and the United States to tourists and art collectors. This modern trans-tribal market that includes Plains Indians, sharing of a common symbolic object is part of an Indian arts and crafts continuum. Anthropologist Cath Oberholtzer explained that,

³⁸ Ibid., 2.

³⁹ Ibid., 3.

These circular objects filled with a spider-web-like netting are being produced in various sizes and from a range of materials in Victoria, British Columbia, in the west and Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the east, with countless other locations in between. Dream catchers are being made by Native artisans and marketed through mail-order catalogues, sold in airports, souvenir stands, commercially run museum shops and Native craft stores. On a more personal level, individual artists vend their products at powwows, craft fairs and tourist outlets. More recently, specialized craft kits have been made available to "crafters" in general, irrespective of their heritage. Marketing strategies are targeted intentionally or unintentionally so that any person, anywhere, in any income bracket, whether traveler, art collector or at-home shopper, has ready access to dream catchers.⁴⁰

Today, in South Dakota another popular Arts and Crafts souvenir with tourists is Sioux Pottery. It is manufactured by Native crafters and sold in gift shops around the Black Hills from Crazy Horse Mountain Monument to shops in Rapid City. When I lived in Rapid City, South Dakota twenty-five years ago I bought several pieces (fig. F-21).⁴¹

Dream catchers and Sioux pottery objects have been popular with non-Indian tourists, since the earlier and more current turn-of-the-centuries. These items demonstrate art and commerce that portray positive interpretative imagery of Native America.

Indigenous spiritual art has long fallen under the scrutiny and, sometimes, ignorant interpretation by non-Indian people. Anthropologist Herbert Joseph Spinden's 1931 critique of Plains Indian spiritual art and the Ghost Shirts worn at the 1890 tragedy at Wounded Knee, South Dakota is perplexing. In his remark, he both dismissed and praised the Indians spiritual beliefs and symbolic art. Spinden asserted that,

The battle of Wounded Knee fought by the Sioux at the height of the Ghost Dance religion in 1890, had a high mortality for the Indians because of a tragic failure in magical design. It seems that the old decorations on buffalo-hide shields were intended to attract the arrows, which could not pierce the defensive weapon. But the white man's bullets were of a different sort. Before this battle the Indians

⁴⁰ Cath Oberholtzer, "The Re-Invention of Tradition and the Marketing of Cultural Values," *Anthropologica* 37, no. 2 (1995): 142.

⁴¹ Sioux Pottery, 1441 East St. Joseph Street, Rapid City, South Dakota, 57701.

painted their shirts with bullet-proof designs picturing the spider, the dragonfly, and the thunderbird. Nevertheless, many Indians still believe, and rightly I hope, that art can help them in the problems of life.⁴²

Plains Indian people honor the indigenous warrior traditions associated with military service. Military service is representative of the pride and respect held for those in warrior societies. Anthropologist Max Carocci pointed out that,

Contemporary Native North Americans stress the intimate relationship that they see between combat and spirituality. This connection still retains its cultural significance for many of the men and women who choose to be drafted to the military forces of both Canada and United States. Fighting is an expression of a code of honour, based on the moral and spiritual principles that guide a person's life in accordance with values of respect, strength and reciprocity. For many modern Plains Indian soldiers, leading an honourable life is as important as it was for ancient warriors — for whom the extreme sacrifice, death, was considered the most respected and highly valued act a man could carry out. The significance of objects for contemporary people is not only that they transmit these values to the new generations, but also that they have the unique function of maintaining links with history and tradition.⁴³

Over many years, warrior valor stories have been preserved in pictographs, oral histories, and living spirits retained in objects that belong to the warriors, such as pipes. Carocci explained the importance of knowing the ritual and battle object stories and why the objects are part of the living universe (fig. F-22 through F-26). He said that, “The objects contained spiritual powers, which were bestowed upon warriors by sacred beings in dreams and visions, and were believed to be imbued with forces that enhanced fighting power.”⁴⁴ Carocci noted that,

Plains Indian warriors generally belonged to societies, which, much like military regiments, had their own distinctive badges and insignia. Each warrior society had musicians who sang and played at meetings and ceremonies. Rattles and drums

⁴² Herbert J. Spinden, “Fine Art and the First Americans,” in *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*, (Glorieta: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1970), 72.

⁴³ Max Carocci, *Ritual and Honour Warriors of the North American Plains*, (London: The British Museum Press, 2011), 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

were often made as part of a ritual kit. The kit also included sashes, belts and bonnets, which were used only for special occasions. Ritual objects, including bonnets and sacred bundles, as well as shields, had to be kept outside. This was because they were powerful items and could be touched and seen only by certain people within the society. They were stored in rawhide cases called *parfleche* and hung on tripods outside the tepee.⁴⁵

Plains Indians began interpreting graphic designs of the American flag, in biographic pictographic, quillwork, and beadwork art, around the turn of the 18th-19th century. The American flag began being seen in Dakota Winter Counts at this time (fig. F-27). Indian scholar and collector Richard A. Pohrt explained that,

Winter Count systems, which were kept by the Sioux recorded the years by associating each year with some memorable event. After a decision was made as to the event to distinguish a certain year, an appropriate symbol was painted on a hide kept for this purpose. Winter Counts are characterized by a careful arrangement of distinctly separate pictographs starting from a central point and continuing in an outward spiral. Any date can be determined by counting backward or forward from any other that might be known. Examination of several Winter Counts allows for verification of historically important statements and events.⁴⁶

The American flag is conceptualized in more Native art than many Euroamericans might imagine. Pohrt pointed out that,

Uses of the flag motif in Winter Counts indicates that it held a special if occasionally mysterious, significance for the Sioux. The interpretation of a Winter Count kept by Bo-i-de (The Flame), a Sans Arc Sioux, was obtained from him at Fort Sully (South Dakota), in April, 1877. A pictographic representation of a flag is used to denote the year 1790-91. The Flame explained that it was 'the first United States flag in the country brought by United States troops. A Winter Count kept by Battiste Good, a Brule Sioux from Rosebud Agency, South Dakota, contains the same symbol for the year 1790-91. Battiste Good called this year, Carried-the-flag-about-with-them-winter. He explained, they went to all the surrounding tribes with the flag but for what purpose is not known.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁶ Richard A. Pohrt, *The American Indian: The American Flag*, (Flint: Flint Institute of Art, 1975), 5.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

And, Pohrt added that, “The ledger book drawings of Amos Bad Heart Bull, the Oglala Sioux historian, contain some charming works. He made a number of drawings in which flags appear entitled, ‘Greater Indian Shows.’ These are especially interesting since they convey a feeling of the significance of Fourth of July celebrations at that time.”⁴⁸

Objects, artifacts, and biographic art have the unique ability to put the outer world into perspective. Objects can be simple hide scrapers or dream-catchers. Artifacts can be special heirlooms or objects. In fact, the answer is that object and artifact is an interchangeable definer. In museums they have been placed in glass cabinets and on tables with or without descriptive contextual describers. This practice is changing and Native and non-Native scholars are working together to create mutual beneficial contextual presentations of the displayed objects and art. Into this realm, pictographic painting is being displayed and appreciated. Over the centuries life has not been static, nor has Plains Indian pictographic painting or Euroamerican biographic art.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 11.

Chapter 3 - Transnational Plains Indian Material Culture Creators and Creation Evolutions

Chapter 3 is a focus on creators, creations, and the trade goods that evolved. The Plains Indian material culture was an interwoven balance of original creations, adopted Euroamerican manufactures, and acculturated multi-cultural repurposed creations. The 19th-century Plains Indian trade adjusted to this tactile symphony of cultures. In the 19th-century Plains peoples, that included the Cheyenne, Lakota, Comanche, and Kiowa adapted to a newly evolved Central Plains trade system that relied on the horse and Euroamerican trade goods and relationships. Historian Elliott West noted that these people “looked at the grasslands and saw an open, inviting path to wealth and power.”¹ Because of their adaptability, “the Indians emerge not only as frontier peoples but as the champions of imaginative courage.”²

The Plains people had to contend with the costs and benefits of this new form of commerce. “The main axis of this new trading arrangement ran 800 miles, from the middle Missouri Valley in North Dakota to northern New Mexico.”³ West explained that “The plains had long been central to a vigorous and extensive trade spanning the continent. European contact invigorated this old system, just as their horses expanded the power to hunt bison. New products appeared, and new peoples to trade for them. New trading centers sprang up. The changes presented opportunities for peoples willing to take advantage of the rapidly evolving situation.”⁴

¹ Elliott West, “Called out People: The Cheyennes and the Central Plains,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 48, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 3.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 5.

⁴ Ibid., 5.

Water, as it had always been, was an essential life giving force. For example, West said that as the Plains Indian pioneers “moved into the plains, the Cheyennes named its parts according to how they saw and used them. Rivers were especially telling. Nebraska's Niobrara was the Sudden or Unexpected River. The Platte was the Moonshell or Musselshell, the Arkansas was the Flint Arrowpoint, and the South Platte was Fat or Tallow River. They named the Solomon by its prolific game bird-the Turkeys Creek. The Smoky Hill went by its most welcoming feature: the Bunch of Timber River.”⁵ Euroamerican trading company posts were established on the Upper Missouri River territory of the Northern and Central Plains, by the 1820s. West explained that “Although they continued to deal in some of the old goods, especially horses, the Cheyennes had to concentrate increasingly on what white traders wanted most, bison robes.”⁶

At this time the horse trade between Indian to Indian and Indian to Euroamerican “flourished.” The horse trade enabled the Plains Indians venues for the acquisition of transnational manufactured goods. Historian James E. Sherow explained that,

Indians traded horses to Anglo-Americans and to northern tribes; the Indians used them to hunt, for social status, and for trade while the Americans drove the animals to Westport, Missouri to supply overlanders. From the east came guns, metal pots and pans, clothing, metal tools (for example, awls, which made sewing bison hides much easier than the older method of using bone needles), and whiskey. Besides bringing in trade goods for these middlemen tribes, horses also aided them in hunting bison, which added to their economic strength. The increases in dressed robes enhanced the bartering power of these hunters dealing with Anglo-American fur and horse traders.⁷

⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁷ James E. Sherow, “Workings of the Geodialectic: High Plains Indians and Their Horses in the Region of the Arkansas River Valley, 1800-1870,” *Environmental History Review* 16, no. 2 (July 1992): 67.

Transnational trade culture was adaptive and accessible to its participants, allowing easy acquisition to desired commodities. The trade goods, upon acquisition, would sometimes be repurposed and personalized, for example, Plains Indian people turned North West gun ramrod guides into hair bows. The Great Plains is part of a unique geographic North American neighborhood. It is marked by strong wind and dust, yet still accessible to the rest of the world. The bison were created to be strong and durable beings. The bison provided the People shelter, food, and clothing. To this community, the horse arrived to help the People to carry the gifts from the bison.

Gifts from the Bison

On the Great Plains, the bison was an integral component for Native people's survival and later as a hoarded commodity in an intercultural fur trade market place. Historian Shepard Krech, in his prominent book, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (1999), emphasized that the Blackfeet and other Plains Indian people found a use for every part of the bison carcass. Krech argued that the bison provided the base of a pre-Euroamerican material culture. Krech noted that bison resources and products supplied the Plains Indian populations with "over one hundred specific items of material culture." The bison was a main source for clothing, furniture, tools, and storage containers. Krech listed in his book a sampling of the multitude of products created from the bison 'department store.' Krech's sample list included the following products: robes, gloves, decoy costumes, tipi covers and linings, cups, moccasins, kettles hair for yarn, awls, ladles, cups, spoons, fat for a paint base, and dung for fuel.⁸

Material culture scholar Shirley Teresa Wajda pronounced that the Native peoples living on the Plains were dependent on resources provided by the American bison. She explained that

⁸ Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian Myth and History*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 128.

in the 19th century, after the Spanish introduction of the horse, hunting bison for its bounty was made easier. The bison provided such products as fabric for clothing that included “capas, robes, and moccasins.” Additionally, the bison hair was crafted into “personal ornaments and rope.”⁹

The Plains Indian Tipi Community

The iconic tipi is a living cultural ethno-heirloom. But, it has been seen too often in the imaginations of some non-Native American people as a romantic by gone era Great Plains fairytale dwelling (fig. F-28 through F-32). Director of the Brooklyn Museum, Arnold L. Lehman pointed out that the tipi is an architectural structure that is “an aspect of a living culture, deeply rooted in tradition.”¹⁰ Museum curators Nancy B. Rosoff and Susan Kennedy Zeller emphasized that the tipi is “specific” to the Native American People of the Great Plains. The tipi, also referred to as a lodge, is the “heart of Plains culture.” Rosoff and Zeller further added that,

As the Blackfeet educator Iris Pretty Paint has observed, ‘What distinguishes Plains identity from other tribes is that the Plains culture was created as tribes came into a specific lifestyle. The Plains identity comes from the land, the languages, and respecting our ways of knowing. You had to have certain things to survive and the tipi was a profound and critical component of Plains culture because it enabled us to be who we are.’¹¹

The transnational stereotype conical dwelling of the Plains Indians is the iconic tipi. The skin tipi is firmly rooted into Great Plains lore. Unfortunately, very few historic tipis have survived into the 21st-century. However, it is exciting that archeologists are enlightening us with discoveries of tipi village sights on the Plains. Archeologist Kimball M. Banks and

⁹ Shirley Teresa Wajda, “Native America,” in *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life*, ed. Helen Sheumaker and Shirley Teresa Wajda, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2008), 325.

¹⁰ Arnold L. Lehman, “Forward,” in *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, ed. Nancy B. Rosoff, and Susan Kennedy Zeller, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), vii.

¹¹ Nancy B. Rosoff and Susan Kennedy Zeller, ed., *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), 3.

anthropologist J. Signe Snortland explained that collections of, “Photographs of tipi camps taken from about the 1850s to the 1950s, rock art, ledger art, historic sketches, and paintings are used to examine such topics as topographic settings, settlement patterns, associated features and their placement, structural morphology, and cultural variability in tipi camps.”¹²

The tipi was the most common dwelling of the nomadic peoples of the Great Plains.

Banks and Snortland explained that,

Tipis are the quintessential home in the popular, romantic image of Plains Indians. These conical-shaped, skin-covered lodges were the perfect mobile homes for a nomadic prairie people. Most researchers postulate that the archaeological manifestations of these lodges are the circular alignments of cobbles commonly called stone circles or tipi rings. By definition, these rings range in diameter from 2.13 to 9.15 m. The general interpretation is that these cobbles were used to hold down the flaps of the skins that formed the tipi cover. The nomadic occupants of the sites took all but the stones when they moved. Archaeological and historical data demonstrate that these lodges first appeared at least 5000 years ago and continued to be used into the historic period. This long architectural tradition and the abundance of stone circle sites indicate that tipis were probably one of the most common aboriginal house forms in the Northern Plains. Stone circles are found on the Great Plains from western Manitoba to the southwestern tip of Minnesota and as far south as the Texas Panhandle and northeast New Mexico.¹³

Banks and Snortland observed that such tipi sites “reflect a nomadic life-style is based on the historic association of tipis with nomadic tribes such as the Cree, Sioux, Blackfeet, Crow, Assiniboine, and Cheyenne, or with short-term hunting expeditions of the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara. The continued use of the tipi today in such celebrations as pow-wows demonstrates the lingering importance of this house form to Native Americans.”¹⁴

Ethnologist Ted J. Brasser noted that the “true tipi” is a conical construction made from a semicircular cover crafted from stitched together skins stretched over a framework, usually, of

¹² Kimball M. Banks and J. Signe Snortland, “Every Picture Tells a Story: Historic Images, Tipi Camps, and Archaeology,” *Plains Anthropologist* 40, no. 152 (May 1995): 125.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

three to four straight poles. Brasser added, “This close fitting cover is pulled around the frame like a mantle, the straight edges meeting in front where they are held together by means of wooden pins.”¹⁵

Brasser pointed out that the three pole framework was a later architectural evolution. He said that “the tipi with a three-pole system reveals certain improvements. Foremost among these changes is the greater stability of its strongly tilted cone. The poles holding up the smoke ears of this tipi fit into small pockets sewn into the ears, instead of being inserted through a hole in the corner of the ear as done by most people using the four-pole system.”¹⁶

Plains Indian cultures are adaptive and fluid. For example, in the 19th-century canvas trade cloth replaced bison hide “as the material for lodge [tipi] covers and liners.”¹⁷ Rosoff noted that the change from bison hide to canvas resulted in larger and lighter tipis. Rosoff then explained that,

Plains culture, like that of any society, is constantly evolving as new materials and technologies are developed, introduced, and adopted. In the context of the severe hardships Native people have endured throughout the history of white occupation and control, cultural continuity and innovation have particular significance. Today, Plains tribes are sovereign nations, but many still struggle with the legacy of white domination: poverty, unemployment, health problems, and lack of education. Cultural practices and artistic expressions, flourishing both on and off the reservations, are the glue that keeps tribal identity strong and vital.¹⁸

Native people revere and honor the accomplishments of their ancestors and elders.

Rosoff added that “They respect and celebrate the tribal heritages, histories, and traditions that have provided a sense of cohesion and identities for their people, but they also actively innovate

¹⁵ Ted J. Brasser, “The Tipi as an Element in the Emergence of Historic Plains Indian Nomadism,” *Plains Anthropologist* 27, No. 98 (November 1982): 309.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁷ Nancy B. Rosoff and Susan Kennedy Zeller, ed., *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

and create their own futures on reservations and in small towns and cities.”¹⁹ The “tipi” is an enduring symbol of the “center of family life.” Scholar Barbara Hail said that “Tipis were set up in circular camps—the circle representing a way of life in which people related harmoniously to one another and to the spirit world. At the center was the woman, the life-giver; around her, the family. . . . Women made and owned the family tipi and its furnishings.”²⁰

Hail explained that the communities’ women,

usually worked in extended family groups under the direction of a specialist in tipi construction. When a newly married young woman created her first home, her husband or other men in the family usually supplied the hides, which the woman would scrape and tan. She would then call upon female relatives and close friends to help shape and fit together the tipi cover. Eleven to fifteen hides were needed for a medium-size tipi. The women would sew these together with sinew and make a separate skin door for the opening and a tipi liner for the inside. Sometimes they applied quill or bead decorations to the outside of the tipi and created furnishings of backrests, bedding, and storage containers.²¹

The iconic tipi provided and provides the vital legacy to the history of the North American Great Plains. It represents, not only shelter, but community, cooperation in specific gender roles, and mobility.

Nutrition from Nature’s Pantry – Pemmican

One significant commodity that both Indian and white traders valued for high nutrition, convenience, and portability was pemmican. Mobile activity such as travel and hunting were facilitated by this high energy fast food. Also, times of food scarcity were eased by stored emergency supplies of pemmican. The women in the Native American tribes manufactured this most essential high caloric nutrition source of food found on the Plains for their families and those in need.

¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

²⁰ Barbara Hail, “‘To Honor Her Kindred’ Women’s Arts Centered in the Tipi,” in *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, ed. Rosoff, Nancy B., and Susan Kennedy Zeller, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), 119.

²¹ Ibid., 120.

Native women performed the arduous task of manufacturing pemmican, as well as tanning the bison hides that the men brought to them. Historian Arthur J. Ray explained that,

the women processed dried lean meat, usually bison, into pemmican by drying the meat then cutting it into long strips. The strips were . . . then hung on wooden slats supported by tripods of sticks. It took two or three days for the meat to dry. The better quality dried meat was packed into bundles. The remainder was dried further over a hot fire until brittle. It was then laid out on a buffalo hide and pounded into a powder. This powdered meat was dumped into a kettle containing boiling fat or marrow. As it cooked the mixture turned into a paste. Crushed berries were often added at this time. While still boiling hot, the paste was poured into leather bags which were sealed as tightly as possible. The mixture was then allowed to cool until it was hard. . . . It was highly stable and could be stored for long periods of time. For these reasons, pemmican was an ideal food for people on the move. It could be eaten right from the bag without any further preparation, roasted in its own fat, or boiled.²²

Influence of the Horse

Anthropologist Joseph Jablow emphasized that the horse became an important transnational economic component in Great Plains trade between Indian and non-Indian peoples. Jablow explained that the place of the horse in these trade interactions acted as both an object of trade and “an instrument of production which expanded trade.”²³

By the first quarter of the 19th-century trade had already created long term dynamic lasting consequences. Intercultural trade was enhanced by the Plains peoples increased mobility provided by the horse and demand for the lifesaving nutrition of pemmican. Trade provided other valued commodities. For example, Anthropologist Eric R. Wolf stated that,

To obtain more guns and ammunition, kettles and metal tools, woolens, tobacco, and liquor, the horse pastoralists had to obtain more pemmican and horses to sell to the fur traders. There was thus a rising demand for horses and a concomitant increase in horse raiding and rustling. This, in turn, intensified the need for horses

²² Arthur J. Ray, “The Northern Great Plains: Pantry of the Northwestern Fur Trade, 1774-1885,” *Prairie Forum*, 9, no.2 (1984): 266.

²³ Joseph Jablow, *The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations 1795-1804*, ed. Maeian Smith, (New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1951), v.

to use in both offense and defense. The number of horses required in bride price grew, further increasing the demand for horses, since access to horses permitted men to acquire more wives and thereby to enlarge the work force for preparing pemmican. The greater the amount of pemmican a man could funnel into trade, the greater was his ability to acquire the weapons and gear to equip a war party, and the greater also his ability to free his male kin and dependents for warfare. Thus, the more successful entrepreneurs and chiefs—those who had links to trading posts—also became successful war leaders. The result was a concentration of horses and valued goods in the hands of the wealthy and successful, producing a differentiation between richer and poorer.²⁴

The significance of the horse in the lifeways of Plains Indians has been well documented.

The horse facilitated, not only mobility, but changes in community life. The small tipis were replaced by larger more elaborate dwellings and access to more trade goods occurred.

Transnational Trade

Trade and its natural subsequent human to human interaction facilitated material culture acculturation. Trade interactions between Native, metis, and white peoples influenced both material culture and social culture changes. However, the changes occurred at different paces. Material culture changes occurred quickly upon intercultural contact. Historian David Wishart noted that “social institutions and cultural values that give a people coherence and identity change more slowly than material culture.” What is interesting to note is the fact that not all European trade goods were considered valuable to Native consumers. For example, said Wishart, there were “variations in the tribes' receptivity of trade goods for not all the Indians saw the advantages of antiquated guns, beads and rather non-functional woolen clothing.”²⁵

²⁴ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 181.

²⁵ David Wishart, “Cultures in co-operation and conflict: Indians in the fur trade on the northern Great Plains, 1807-1840,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, no. 4 (1976): 324.

Historian Philip Deloria emphasized that “When multiple peoples come together, change happens.”²⁶ And, American Studies scholar Wilcomb E. Washburn proffered that the term ‘trade’ is “a deceptively simple word to describe a complex process.”²⁷

When Native peoples met Euroamericans, expectations and ideas about various trade goods differed. For example, Washburn noted that “the Indian had no particular economic need for the products first offered by the European— items like beads, mirrors, bells, and caps—but received them gratefully for their decorative, aesthetic, magical, curiosity, or amusement ‘value,’ When he learned what pleased the European, the Indian generously offered his ‘products’—such as gold ornaments—in measure that astounded the European who thought in economic terms. This process continued, in some degree, until the Indian adopted white economic values and placed on what he ‘gave’ a price appropriate to the system of his European trading associate.”²⁸

Historian E. E. Rich noted Native American adaptability to European economic trade practices. He emphasized his belief that,

it becomes clear that, with all the sophistication which went with knowledge of the set prices according to the Standard of Trade, there went a persistent reluctance to accept European notions or the basic values of the European approach. A glance at the commodities which were traded reveals something of this inherent difference in approach. It was always said that the Indian would only trade for necessities; but that word did not carry its normal European meaning in this context. Rather, if it had any accurate meaning, it meant goods for immediate consumption. But it did not mean precisely that, for the Indian would always supply himself first with powder and shot. After that would come what the trader would call ‘necessaries’ and what we would call luxuries-tobacco, spirits, gay cloth of different kinds, beads, and caps, with articles such as ice-chisels, snow-

²⁶ Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 113.

²⁷ Wilcomb E. Washburn, “Symbol, Utility, and Aesthetics in the Indian Fur Trade,” *Minnesota History*, 40, no. 4 (Dec 1966): 198.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 198.

glasses, and hatchets varying in priority. There was much variation in the demand, from year to year, trader to trader, and Indian to individual Indian.²⁹

An economic intercultural network flourished as a cross-cultural acculturating conduit. The inventive Plains people personalized their acquired trade goods. For example, Plains Indian people turned North West gun ramrod guides into hair bows. Additionally, arrowheads were crafted from barrel hoops and saw blades became hide scrapers. Anthropologist Karlis Karklins pointed out that recycling trade goods was a common practice amongst Indians and white traders during the fur trade era as evidenced in “historical and archaeological sources.”³⁰

Historian David Wishart described the trade relationship between Indian and white traders on the Northern Plains as one of mutual exploitation and cultural tampering. Each saw themselves as superior to the other. Eventually, strains in the relationship took its toll. Wishart stated that,

The fur trade on the northern Great Plains from 1807 to 1840 may be viewed as an alliance between two sets of cultures each with a demand for the other's products. The Indian's role in this fur trade was crucial: he produced the robes and furs, provisioned the traders and greatly influenced the pattern of trading post locations. The fur trade functioned successfully only by adjusting its system of operations to the existing patterns of Indian occupancy and by working within those limits to encourage the production of robes and furs. Properly conducted, the fur trade fitted well with the Indian's way of life. Nevertheless, in the process of this culture contact the relationship between the trader and the Indian soured, and the trader became an agent in the destruction of Indian populations and the modification of Indian cultures.³¹

It is important to acknowledge the paradox that trade contact had between Indian and whites. Often European material goods were superior to Native products, but, there was the

²⁹ E. E. Rich, “Trade Habits and Economic Motivation among the Indians of North America,” *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 26 no. 1 (Feb., 1960): 45.

³⁰ Karlis Karklins, “New Goods from Old: Object Reuse during the Fur Trade Era,” *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 51, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 1.

³¹ David Wishart, “Cultures in co-operation and conflict: Indians in the fur trade on the northern Great Plains, 1807-1840,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, no. 4 (1976): 311.

detrimental consequence of Native people losing knowledge of traditional skills, as tool making.

Wishart added that,

European products were welcomed by the Indians, but the total demand for trade goods was small. Iron knives, axes, needles, brass kettles, textiles, glass beads, copper bracelets and vermillion were often more efficient than their traditional equivalents. These items were not, however, essential to Indian livelihood and their form and purpose were often altered to suit the Indian's needs. Eventually, the Indians lost some of their traditional tool-making skills and the dependence upon the traders (and the European suppliers) increased. But even the gun, for example, had more symbolic than real value for the Indians, and that weapon was inferior to the more versatile bow and arrow in hunting. Moreover, because of the limited supply of powder and lead the Indian did not have the opportunity to practice with the gun and so develop an expertise.³²

Trade goods, as Wishart discussed, were not always the desired materials that some proffer. It is true many goods were useful and welcome, but some trade goods were simply considered trinkets.

Trade Goods Reimagined

The Native people of the Canadian and American Plains reimagined and gave trade goods new lives, for example, bracelets were crafted from old brass kettles. Karklins noted that a variety of trade metals were employed in the crafting of adornments (fig. F-33 and F-34). He said “Silver adornments were usually cut from sheet metal or hammered out of coins. Metal articles that were occasionally pressed into use as ornaments included awls, knives, forks, nails, buckles, bottle labels, keys, fishhooks, sections of decorative mirror frames, ornamental side plates from trade muskets, sauce-pan handles, pocket-watch components and instrument wheels.”³³

Karklins pointed out that Blackfoot men decorated their personal possessions with,

³² Ibid., 324.

³³ Karlis Karklins, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada: A Source Book*, (Ottawa: National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1992), 228.

trinkets obtained from white traders. Toilet bags carried by the young men were gaily decked out with bead embroidery, brass tacks, and pendants composed of glass beads, cowries and metal tags. The bird-wing fans carried by some were often embellished with beadwork, while the tail-feather fans carried by others had a round mirror mounted in their centre. Tomahawk handles were wrapped with brass or copper wire or strands of small coloured beads, or studded with tacks. A yarn tassel or a beaded flap with bells attached on occasion was affixed to the butt. Gun stocks, whip handles and tobacco-cutting boards commonly exhibited designs formed with brass furniture tacks. Such items as gun cases, shot pouches, paint bags, and the cloth trim on willow back-rests set at the heads of couches were often worked with beads. While the rings used in the 'wheel and arrow' game played by Blackfoot men also had beads of glass and brass attached to them, this was done more to facilitate score-keeping than to ornament the object.³⁴

Karklins added that the Blackfoot women also wore a variety of adornments crafted from trade goods (fig. F-35). He said that the women would wear,

Metal earrings, sometimes with a shell disk, or lengthy bead and dentalium or hair-pipe pendant attached, adorned the ears. Bead and dentalium or hair-pipe chokers were a common item of jewelry, as were necklaces composed of glass beads, often with hair pipes interspersed. The latter necklaces were often massive affairs, being up to at least 24 strands wide and reaching almost to the feet. Some of these were further enhanced by a random sprinkling of small round mirrors. Beaded amulets were worn pendant on the breast, while brass rings adorned every finger, except the thumb. The wrists bore a profusion of brass bracelets.³⁵

Creativity was evident in the personal jewelry that the Plains Indian men and women crafted into treasured ethno-heirlooms. They incorporated mundane products such as brass rings and mirrors acquired through trade into charming accessories for their regalia. The duality of Indian and non-Indian cultures was displayed by the integration of transnational materials

³⁴ Ibid., 110.

³⁵ Ibid., 110.

formed to compliment the wearer's appearance.

Arts and Crafts

In the United States at the late 19th-century and into the early 20th-century Euroamerican home decorators and housewives had a desire for simpler homes and home interiors. American Indian art and craft objects entered into this revolution to simplify and acknowledge North American arts and crafts as valuable handmade ethno-heirlooms. The transnational Arts and Crafts Movement, which originated in England, was a reaction to the Industrial Revolution that had created mass produced fussy and dust catching home furnishings in Victorian homes. At this time there was a movement to socialize the dominant white society by returning to hand made material culture.³⁶ Euroamerican housewives wanted to decorate their homes with Native American objects. These middle-class white women felt that their purchases would identify them as intellectually sophisticated.³⁷ Although Navajo material culture predominated the Arts and Crafts Movement's home decoration preference, other tribes' products were also purchased by this group of Euroamerican women to decorate their homes. For example, Lakota women sold their beadwork in this market (fig. F-36 and F-37). Oglala Lakota artist and art historian Arthur Amiotte noted that "[Lakota] Women sometimes made beautifully beaded designs for decorations on wool blankets, table coverings, and coverlets for sale to non-Indians, although

³⁶ Monica Obniski, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in America." in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/acam/hd_acam.htm and Charlotte Jirousek, "The Arts and Crafts Movement," in *Art, Design, and Visual Thinking: An Interactive Textbook*, (Cornell University, 1995), <http://char.txa.cornell.edu/art/decart/artcraft/artcraft.htm> and "Arts and Crafts Movement: Origins, History, Aims, Aesthetics," *Encyclopedia of Art History* <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/history-of-art/arts-and-crafts.htm>

³⁷ Robert S. McPherson, "Naalyehe Ba Hooghan 'House of Merchandise': The Navajo Trading Post as an Institution of Cultural Change, 1900 to 1930," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16, no. 1 (1992): 41.

some were also created for gifts or use in their own homes.”³⁸

Transnational acculturation of material culture was being embraced by both Indigenous and Euroamerican women. Women were more educated and the Industrial Revolution had established markets for new time saving devices, in spite of middle-class women’s flip-flopping protests. Amiotte explained that,

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) was established at this time to provide venues for traditional tribal arts and emerging fine arts by Native people. Heirlooms found homes in three newly established IACB museums on or near reservations, and new pieces retailed at the museum shops. Young people schooled in non-Indian classrooms learned non-Indian fine arts of drawing, painting, sculpture, pottery, and design. Native art was becoming a commodity, made to be sold. National awareness of Native arts was fostered. Interested advocates and the Indian Arts Crafts Board promoted unprecedented exhibitions, in 1931 in New York City’s Grand Central Galleries and in 1939 at the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition.³⁹

In 1932, the United States government defined what constituted “Indian-made” products on the free market’s shelves. This definition was used in order to help regulate trade in Indian-made goods. Legalized regulation policies were instituted to protect consumers from fraudulent businesses who might try to pass non-Indian- made goods on unsuspecting naive customers. By 1990, the “term *Indian-made* had come to connote a particular form of American national identity. However, the problem arose in identifying as what connotes ‘Indian Made’ labels and authenticity of the product. For example, is a suncatcher made by Indigenous South Americans for the United States Indian commercial market really ‘Indian Made’?”⁴⁰

In 1934 the United States Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established to protect Native

³⁸ Arthur Amiotte, “A New and Different Life on a Part of a Very Old Place,” in *Memory and Vision: Arts, Culture, and Lives of Plains Indian Peoples*, ed. Emma Hansen, (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 2007), 252.

³⁹ Arthur Amiotte, “Artists of Earth and Sky,” in *The Plains Indians: Artist of Earth and Sky*, ed. Gaylord Torrence (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2014), 43.

⁴⁰ Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868-1940*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 13.

American arts and crafts production and sale. In its mission statement guidelines were summarized. The statement said that, “The Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) promotes the economic development of American Indians and Alaska Natives of federally recognized Tribes through the expansion of the Indian arts and crafts market. The IACB provides promotional opportunities, general business advice, and information on the Indian Arts and Crafts Act to Native American artists, craftspeople, businesses, museums, and cultural centers of federally recognized Tribes.”⁴¹ (See Mission Statement in Appendix E) In 1935 the first Indian Arts and Crafts Act was passed. It said that, “It shall be the function and the duty of the Board to promote the economic welfare of Indian tribes and the Indian wards of the Government through the development of Indian arts and crafts and the expansion of the market for the products of Indian art and craftsmanship.”⁴²

The Act was designed to protect American Indian crafts people through Federal legislation. It stated that “knowingly, willfully, and corruptly affix any reproduction, counterfeit, copy, or colorable imitation thereof upon any products, Indian or otherwise, or to any labels, signs, prints, packages, wrappers, or receptacles intended to be used upon or in connection with the sale of such products, or any person who shall knowingly make any false statements for the purpose of obtaining the use of any such Government trade mark, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.”⁴³ The Act was revised in 2000 and in 2010. The latest revisions included detailed legislation for fair labor practices and patent copy writes.

While the Euroamerican Arts and Crafts movement was charging along, Plains Indians

⁴¹ U. S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, <https://www.doi.gov/iacb/our-mission>

⁴² U. S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1935, <https://www.doi.gov/iacb/indian-arts-and-crafts-act-1935>

⁴³ Ibid.

were re-interpreting industrially manufactured goods into their own version of a transnational acculturated Arts and Crafts Movement. By 1889, Christian churches, primarily Episcopalian and Roman Catholic, had infused Christian religion into the people on Lakota reservations via churches and boarding schools. Through church communities, every two to three years, the Lakota people gathered on church grounds to celebrate their “new found faith.”⁴⁴ In just a matter of time, these assemblies grew into “huge gatherings of representatives from different reservations who traveled by wagon train, horseback, and railroad, some from great distances, with camping gear in tow.”⁴⁵ The gatherings became events that the people looked forward to. Amiotte explained that services were held that included preaching and testimony. Additionally, social events such as feasts were also part of the celebrations.

Amiotte pointed out that “Certain denominations, particularly the Episcopalians, were more relaxed about the wearing of tribal dress on these occasions. From a Lakota perspective, it was an opportunity to practice the ancient customs, called the *saiciya*, and to adorn oneself in finery indicative of one’s tribe, band, extended family and/or personal accomplishment, as much to say, ‘I am a Lakota and we are the Lakota and this great display of beauty reflects our finest values.’”⁴⁶

Industrial technology afforded the women of the tribes more time for arts and crafts creativity (fig. F-38). The Lakota women produced a plethora of wonderful ethno-heirlooms. Amiotte described the fact that,

By this time, many women had mastered use of the foot-pedal sewing machine at school. This innovation increased both the production and complexity of fabric

⁴⁴ Arthur Amiotte, “A New and Different Life on a Part of a Very Old Place,” in *Memory and Vision: Arts, Culture, and Lives of Plains Indian Peoples*, ed. Emma Hansen, (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 2007), 250.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

arts. The machine also made production of canvas wall tents and tipis for summer use and camping more efficient. Elaborately beaded dresses, leggings, and women's accoutrements emerged, as did beaded covers for hymnals and prayer books, stoles, and vestments, altar cloths and coverlets for statue pedestals with beaded liturgical symbols, and beaded or quilled picture frames. Such objects were sometimes donated to the hosting congregation, which sold them to defray the cost of feeding and housing such a great gathering. In good tradition, many were also given to friends and distant relatives not seen for a long time.⁴⁷

It is evident that these transnational and inter-tribal gatherings provided joy and pride to the participants. Amiotte added that, "Many of these mixed blood families were prolific producers of elaborate traditional objects simply because they had more money to spend and more leisure to create, and were not compelled to sell their creations, but could continue to embellish them. Many family collections became remarkable because the members could also purchase and commission works of other artists and artisans. Since fortunes do rise and fall, however, even these exceptional pieces sometimes ended up in collections far from their origins."⁴⁸

The turn of the century Arts and Crafts Movement was a time for both Native American and Euroamerican women to celebrate the best of the transnational "hand-made" material cultures of North America. Both groups received joy from acculturating each other's material cultures.

Quillwork

The porcupine gave to the Plains Indians its meat for nourishment and its quills for quillwork. The porcupine's quills were a highly desirable intertribal trade commodity. By the 19th-century Plains Indian women found more time for craftwork, because of the horse's incorporation into their lifeways. The horse provided better transportation and a better way to

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 249.

move large tipi poles and hides. Additionally, new Euroamerican trade items offered new labor saving tools and foods. There was now more time for quillwork, and, eventually, beadwork. Porcupine quillwork decorated clothing, as well as, “horse gear, pipe stems, quiver cases, knife sheaths, cradleboard covers, religious headdresses and almost any object that had a surface that could accommodate the quills (fig. F-39 through F-41).”⁴⁹ Scholar Julia M. Bebbington noted that the women’s quillwork guilds allowed them to share knowledge about and access to a “range of dyes, designs, and [the artful decorative] stitches evolved as their work was discussed and compared [amongst each other]. . . . The result was that the Plains Indians developed a wide variety of quillwork patterns and styles.”⁵⁰

Bebbington pointed out that the Blackfoot believed that Thunder Spirit gave the Blackfoot the first porcupine. Then, Thunder Spirit taught the first receiving Blackfoot ancestor how to craft the quills into highly admired quillwork patterns. It is important to know that the Blackfoot reserve much religious significance to quillwork legends. It is told that quillwork’s,

practice was limited to only a few women, all of whom were members of a quillworkers’ society. When too old to continue, a member would initiate a younger woman, preferably a relative, into the society. Before beginning to embroider, the Blackfoot quillworker prayed, painted her face and hands to prevent the blindness and swollen hands that could result from being pricked by a barbed quill tip, and put on a specific ornament. The ornament was usually a necklace; when the other inhabitants of a tipi saw a woman wearing it, they would leave her alone in deference to the sanctity of the craft and in order not to distract her from her work. The first item quilled by a Blackfoot woman, usually a pair of moccasins, was offered to the sun.⁵¹

The Oglala Sioux have the reputation of being the most prolific quillworkers. They have a couple of versions of quillwork provenience stories. One states that a young woman was

⁴⁹ Julia M. Bebbington, *Quillwork of the Plains*, (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1982), 6.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 16.

taught in her dreams “by the Deer Woman (also called Two Woman) how to quill; upon waking, the young woman then instructed others and they formed a quillworkers’ cult.”⁵² The other Sioux story states that there is an “old woman who is eternally quillworking while her dog lies beside her. When the woman sleeps, the dog tears apart her work and she begins again. They believed that if she ever completed her quilling, it would signal the end of the world.”⁵³

And, the Cheyenne quillwork provenience story tells that quillwork was brought to them by “a legendary figure named Buffalo Wife.” The Cheyenne organized highly disciplined quillwork guilds based on their quillwork origin story. It stated that,

the ability to produce traditional porcupine quillwork was considered as important for a woman as was bravery and success in war among the men. The quilling society was believed to have been formed by Buffalo Wife. It was a complex group consisting of several levels and grades and its members included the most honoured and respected of women. To join, a woman had to receive instruction from a guild member and learn the ceremonial duties as well as the technical details of manipulating the quills. Once all the steps were successfully completed, the neophyte became a full-fledged member, attending all the feasts and teaching others as she had been taught.⁵⁴

By the latter half of the 19th-century, many metis women, who were inter-racial (mixed race Indian children from Eurocanadian or Euroamerican fathers, and Indian mothers), populated another sub-group of Plains Indian women’s quillwork and beading societies. For example, ethnologist Ted J. Brasser pointed out that, “Floral designs of Red River Metis origin also became popular. As beadwork expanded, time-consuming quillwork gradually disappeared, particularly after trade cloth replaced skin in the manufacture of garments.”⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid., 16.

⁵³ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁵ Ted J. Brasser, “By the Power of Their Dreams: Artistic Traditions of the Northern Plains,” in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples*, ed. Julia D. Harrison (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 114.

Further, Brasser explained that, “Beadwork appears to have stimulated the creativity of Plains Indian women as nothing before. No longer taking their inspiration from the Missouri River villagers, the Plains Indians started to influence native art beyond the Plains. Blackfoot influence can be traced in the beadwork of the Kutenai, Flathead, and other tribes west of the Rocky Mountains; Crow beadwork inspired the Nez Perce and Umatilla of the Columbia River region.”⁵⁶

The metis women and men, early on, had to learn diplomatic survival skills in order to navigate a world that mixed heritage had placed them. Their survival history, as encapsulated by Brasser is impressive. The metis business people took advantage of non-Indian tourist’s prejudice and sold their goods through an efficient network that they created (fig. F-42). Brasser explained that,

During the 1820s, in order to combat the new rivalry from the Americans, the Hudson’s Bay Company and the North West Company merged their Canadian trade and drastically cut their labour force. Most of the men released were Metis, half breeds who had been born on, and move with, the frontiers of the fur trade. They had inherited Cree, Ojibwa, and \ other native traditions through their mothers and were exposed to various degrees of European values carried by their English, Scottish, and French fathers. Neither accepting nor accepted by either of the two parental societies, the growing Metis population gradually acquired a distinct ethnic identity of its own. By 1830 the size of the population group allowed and preferred - Metis marrying Metis. As they developed an identifiable culture there emerged a distinct Metis style in their decorative arts. The lower Red River region became the cultural centre of these people after their release by the trading companies, though considerable numbers of them could be found near every trading post on the Northern Plains. In long trains of squeaking Red River carts, the Metis set out on their annual expeditions, hunting buffalo and trading with Indians and whites. Among the latter were an increasing number of British and American tourists, artists, and sport hunters, eager to acquire souvenirs of the Wild West. The Red River Metis specialized in the manufacture of colourfully ornamented horse gear and fancy ”western” garments, such as coats, moccasins, and a variety of bags and pouches. These items were purchased by the Indians, as eager white travelers, who preferred to acquire their souvenirs from ‘real’ Indians.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

As a result, most Metis art preserved in museums is mistakenly identified as originating from various Indian tribes; their Metis origin is rarely recognized.⁵⁷

Art historian David W. Penney said that “Plains cultures extolled the virtues of women’s industriousness, care, and skill in making things, partly because the things themselves represented such great value, culturally, economically, and spiritually.”⁵⁸ I argue that this was because the women’s skills were highly valued for imprinting the Plains Indian women’s cultural role into the community’s gender specific frameworks (fig. F-43). Penney further emphasized that, women’s work

techniques of decoration, with porcupine quill and later glass bead applique, emphasize the aesthetic value of such work above and beyond utilitarian necessity. The creation of finely decorated items, particularly those intended for ritual use, represented the highest status of feminine achievement. Cheyenne women recognized successive grades within their Quilling Society linked to the production and decoration of different categories of objects: 1) moccasins; 2) baby cradles; 3) circular ornaments (rosettes) for tipis; 4) robes and backrests. Similarly, among the Lakota, young women honored by the puberty ceremony known as *Isnati Awicalowampi* were thereafter called Buffalo Women and accepted an honored role among their communities which included the expectation that they would produce fine quillwork and beadwork. These young Lakota women underwent lengthy training under the guidance of elders until they had mastered the techniques of arts production prior to marriage.⁵⁹

Collector of American Indian material culture Richard A. Pohrt observed that the pre-1850 Northern Plains beadwork appeared to be more of a generic regional style, rather than individual tribal styles. And, after 1850, technology and new trade materials were reflected in new styles of beadwork and the quillwork that was becoming more of an heirloom craft. Pohrt explained that,

The period from 1850 to 1900 saw a magnificent flowering of the art of the Plains Indian. The buffalo robe trade augmented traffic in small furs and the large fur

⁵⁷ Ibid., 129.

⁵⁸ David W. Penney, *North American Indian Art*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 124.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 118.

companies and individual traders were expanding their activities. . . . [Additionally, a] range of bead colors led to work possessing a new beauty and drama. The spread of the Grass Dance and the introduction of the powwow encouraged the production of lavishly decorated items made for prestige and as gifts to friends and visitors. In some areas economic conditions fostered the manufacture of objects for sale to dealers, tourists and collectors.⁶⁰

Art historian G. Stuart Hodge pointed out that “native American art is generally an applied art, an art for everyday use.”⁶¹ Women’s craft work has a long tradition. They learned at their mother’s side. Crafts, such as quillwork and beadwork offer social time for grandmothers, mothers, daughters, and friends. The men learned how to create ornaments from trade silver metals. The drum is the symbol of a community’s center that is represented by a beating heart. Additionally, sometimes the heartbeat of the community came from the repurposed trade cheese box drums made by the men.

Glass Beads and Beadwork

The introduction of imported glass beads made a significant contribution to American Indian art. It transformed the decorative quillwork art, which was both embellished with beadwork and replaced by the less labor intensive beadwork using imported glass beads. It is interesting to note that the Mandan made their own glass beads and pendants that were said to look primitive in their finished state, but, were still very desirable (fig. F-44).

Ethnologist Edward S. Curtis explained that, the Mandans’ manufacturing process was, described by Lewis and Clark, wildly conjectured by Catlin [that]. . . It may have been a primitive art with them, perhaps learned from some other tribe; but inasmuch as when the Mandan were first observed making beads a trader had been living among them and selling glass beads for eight years, it is not improbable that the first beads of native manufacture were of material derived from those obtained in barter. These ornaments consisted of a core of clay

⁶⁰ Richard A. Pohrt, “The Identifications of Northern Plains Indian Beadwork,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 15, no.1 (1989): 73.

⁶¹ G. Stuart Hodge, “Forward,” in *The American Indian: The American Flag*, (Flint: Flint Institute of Art, 197), 1.

covered with a vitreous glaze, and were valued more highly than any other article of barter. It was customary for a father who was particularly fond and proud of his daughter to have an ornament of glass beads made, and then to employ a medicine-man to tie it in her hair, where it remained until her betrothal, when it was cut loose and thrown away. The Arikara also were acquainted with this method of making beads, and may have manufactured them previous to their contact with the Mandan. The Mandan also made heavy earthen pots, similar to those of the Hidatsa, Arikara, and other tribes of the region. The pure clay was mixed with a considerable proportion of coarse sand formed by pulverizing granite or sandstone. The mass having been thoroughly kneaded, a deep depression was made in it with the fist, then with a piece of smooth bark for a paddle, and holding a round stone on the inside, the potter modelled the lump to the desired shape and thickness.⁶²

For over two hundred years, Plains Indian arts and crafts have been favored transnational museum and tourist acquisitions. Beadwork is one of the most desired of this genre. Imported glass beads became a favored decorative art medium. Additionally, the beads eventually became substitutes for quills in much of the traditional decorative arts and crafts. Beadwork creation is a highly skilled craft owned by the women of the tribe. They embellished a variety of items that included moccasins dresses, men's shirts, and cradleboards. Johnson and Yenne pointed out that,

The arrival of glass beads from white traders had a huge impact on Native American Art. Glass beads were probably being made in ancient Egypt at least as early as 1364 BC, and were later made by the Romans and throughout medieval Europe. We know Columbus carried beads as part of his cargo in 1492 and seed bead have been found in early historic archaeological sites as far west as the Plains. Large beads suitable for necklaces were being distributed by fur traders by the seventeenth century, replacing native beads of shell, bone, copper, and seeds. Most beads used were produced in the factories of Murano in Venice and hence called Italian beads. They were made in many sizes and shapes, and could be plain or in many colors. Bohemian, and after 1919 Czech, beads were also made for the Indian trade and are slightly larger on average and more even in color and shape than Italian beads. They became increasingly popular after about 1870.

⁶² Edward S. Curtis, *North American Indian Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska, Vol 5*, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1909), 11.

During recent years beads from many countries with brighter colors have been widely used by beadworkers.⁶³

The Canadian Plains Indians were fond of imported glass beads. Karklins said that Native trade beads and the resultant beadwork was so popular that,

by 1805, they were also being used to embroider clothing. Principally blue and white in colour, the early embroidery beads were irregular in shape and generally about 3.2 mm (1/8 in.) in diameter. Commonly referred to as ‘real’ and ‘pony’ beads, they were generally arranged in narrow bands or stripes, frequently with pendant elements, on dresses, shirts, leggings, moccasins, war-bonnet headbands and pipe bags. The beads usually formed geometric patterns, although floral designs introduced from the eastern Woodlands as early as 1833 were also occasionally utilized.⁶⁴

Beadwork has been a highly lauded transnational craft-art form for hundreds of years.

The Great Plains and other North American Indian women acculturated imported European glass beads into their own unique decorative geometric and ethno-symbolic creations, that later combined with Euroamerican designs that included representations of floral embroidery and interpretations of the United States flag. The women artists used their handiwork to embellish such articles as moccasins, shirts, dresses, and storage bags. Yet, the art form has not always been appreciated artist John Sloan and anthropologist Oliver LaFarge lamented the damage of white collectors who mutilated artifacts by removing beadwork from the articles. They said that the removal of the carefully applied beadwork deprived articles from “the vigour from its well-conceived application to that particular object, and reducing it to what it is merely in itself, a strip of handsome ornament. It is best seen and best appreciated in situ, whether on a small

⁶³ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 12.

⁶⁴ Karlis Karklins, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada: A Source Book*, (Ottawa: National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1992), 128.

pouch, or all across the largest robe.”⁶⁵

The Indian women bead workers have acquired from their tribal teachers and their own sense of using the learned techniques and color combinations to be creators of a unique tribal craft that is valued transnationally. Pohrt gave an explanation that shows how seemingly mundane craft materials can be transformed. He emphasized that,

Paints, dyes, cloth, and glass beads were traded to the Indians in great quantities and quickly were assimilated into their craftsmanship. These materials served as an impetus for greater artistic production and for the development of new techniques. The artist was no longer limited to the colors obtained from vegetal dyes and earth pigments. Beadwork superseded quillwork as the primary method of decorating objects. Beadwork was easier and quicker and the end product was more durable than with fragile quillwork.⁶⁶

Although much 19th-century quillwork has been lost, due to its fragility and time, the overall Indigenous embroidery craft has been preserved by the beadwork that was inspired by quillwork. This gender specific activity still brings generations of women together in social gatherings that unite grandmothers with mothers and daughters.

Trade Silver

Another interesting highly valued interethnic 19th-century trade good was trade silver jewelry. Trade silver is a highly polished metal composed of various recipes made from nickel and different mixtures of zinc, copper, pewter, and sometimes a pinch of silver added to the nickel (fig. F-45). This trade good was also known as Berlin silver, Nickel silver, or German silver.⁶⁷ Jewelry Journalist Monica McLaughlin explained that trade silver jewelry and other metallic ornaments were highly ‘popular’ with North American peoples. McLaughlin further

⁶⁵ John Sloan and Oliver LaFarge, *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*, (Glorieta: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1970), 31.

⁶⁶ Richard A. Pohrt, *The American Indian: The American Flag*, (Flint: Flint Institute of Art, 1975), 8.

⁶⁷ Pieter Hovens, email message to author, July 23, 2015.

explained that “In exchange for pelts, the Europeans offered Native Americans items brought from their homelands. Cloth, knives, needles, and other practical items were offered, but perhaps the most popular items of barter were ornamental pieces—usually pieces of jewelry—which became known as trade silver. Brooches, crosses, and other ornaments were especially popular with the Native Americans, who used them as embellishments for their dress, but the term ‘trade silver’ refers to any highly polished decorative piece used as barter.”⁶⁸

The valued trade silver and other acquired transnational metals have continued to be popular with Plains Indian people. Johnson and Yenne described the extent to how much trade silver trinkets and other metal objects were valued by Indian people. Johnson and Yenne said that, the Indians manufactured

Silver crosses, beavers [pieces of armor], rings, gorgets [ornamental collar], ear wheels, hair plates, earrings, and brooches were very popular. A limited use of other metals such as tin, brass, iron, lead, and pewter can be found and of course, trade axes, adzes, hatchets, tomahawks, knives etc. There had also been some limited use of native mined metals, including lead, copper, and silver in prehistorical periods. Silversmiths became common among many eastern tribes and an incising art developed. The real silver remained available until about 1830 but later was almost totally replaced by German silver, . . . Sold or traded to Indians in flat metal form and characteristically hard, tough, and malleable, it became the vehicle of metalwork art of the Prairie and Plains Indians.⁶⁹

And, Johnson and Yenne added that “Plains Indians made crosses, pectorals, and armbands, and women wore graduated circular plates hung from their hair or a belt. Later, German silver jewelry became associated with the Peyote religion, its members wearing brooches and earrings often showing an aquatic bird design.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Monica McLaughlin, “Trade Silver: North America's Jewelry Heritage,” *JCK magazine*, (July 2002): http://www.jckonline.com/article/286855-Trade_Silver_North_America_s_Jewelry_Heritage.php

⁶⁹ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 43.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

The Beat of the Drum Out of the Trade Cheese Box

Native people have a long history of repurposing objects (fig. F-46). In the Fall of 1880, Army Colonel Richard Irving Dodge (1827-1895) was thrilled to be presented by a Cheyenne man with a “wonderful drum.” Dodge observed that it was “the handiwork of some Indian of more than ordinary constructive skill. The body is the rough keg, in which was transported two large round cheeses. A raw skin is stretched over each end and connected by thongs of rawhide, laced after the manner of an ordinary kettle-drum. Another thong around the keg is looped about each two lacings, and forms an ingenious means of tightening the drum-heads.”⁷¹

Dodge continued his praise of the creation of drums made from repurposed materials. He exclaimed that “This is the only Indian tom-tom I have ever seen with two heads. Its constructor evidently modelled it after the infantry drum.”⁷²

Dodge then explained that,

The primitive drum was a section cut from the trunk of a hollow tree, over one end of which was stretched and tightly fastened a thin raw skin. At present, an empty nail or pickle keg is often used, but the fashionable and preferred tom-tom of the Cheyenne Indians is made by stretching the raw skin over a common cheese-box. There is usually no arrangement of drum-cords for tightening this head, and when it becomes loose and flabby from continued beating, it is restored to its original tone by holding it over a fire, sometimes a little water being first sprinkled on it. In any lengthened ceremony, or at the social dances, a fire is always kept up for tightening the drum-head.⁷³

The ingenuity of drum makers demonstrates the integration of transnational products being transformed into a universal rhythm instrument. One cannot visualize a pow wow

⁷¹ Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-Three Years Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West*, (Hartford: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1883), 349.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 348.

gathering without the ever present sound of the drum to remind us to appreciate the heartbeat rhythm of life.

Transnational Technology

Culture crosses transnational lines. For example, the European made looking glass was reimagined as a valuable signaling device by hunters and warriors. Another technological transnational protective device was the popular goggles made from imported green glass lenses that protected the wearer's eyes from the blowing alkaline sand of the Great Plains.

Signal Mirrors

The open Great Plains was a good place for signaling device technology. The Plains Indians transformed the common hand held mirror into a communication signal device. Colonel Richard Irving Dodge praised the Indian commander's communication to his warriors by transforming the simple looking glass. He observed that when,

the signaling on a bright day, and when the sun is in the proper direction, is done with a piece of looking-glass held in the hollow of the hand. The reflection of the sun's rays thrown on the command, communicates the orders of the chief. How this is done is the mystery which no one will divulge. Once, standing on a little knoll overlooking the valley of the South Platte, I witnessed, almost at my feet, a drill of about a hundred warriors. Their commander, a Sioux chief, sat on his horse on a knoll a little way above me, and some two hundred yards from his command in the plain below. For more than half an hour he directed a drill which, for variety and promptness of action, could not be excelled (I doubt if equaled) by any cavalry in the world. There were no verbal commands, and all I could see was an occasional movement of the right arm. He afterwards told me that he had used a looking-glass.⁷⁴

What I find fascinating is the fact that while the Plains Indians were employing hand held looking-glass mirrors as signal communication devices on the Great Plains of North America, Europeans were developing sun-telegraphs known as heliographs. For example, in 1872, Englishman Henry Mance was working in India to further improve this field signaling

⁷⁴ Ibid., 431.

technology. What is interesting is that Mance was enhancing the heliograph by integrating it into the communication technology of the telegraph.⁷⁵

Umbrellas

The transnational adopted umbrella was used by the 19th-century Plains Indians as a valued technology for protection from the sun and inclement wet weather; as well as, a parasol acculturated into a fashionable fancy dress accessory (fig. F-47). Photographer and scholar Jon Nelson explained that,

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Indians of the Plains had been exposed to a wide variety of trade goods, largely in part due to the fur trade and later, reservation trading posts. While students of the fur trade era are well aware of such common items as firearms, iron tools, beads, blankets, etc., many are not aware of another item highly valued by the Indian; the parasol or umbrella. (Parasols are a smaller version of an umbrella and used exclusively for shade while the umbrella is larger, covered with water resistant fabric, and made for wet conditions, but it is frequently used as a parasol.)⁷⁶

The parasols and umbrellas, acquired through trade, were personalized by women bead workers. They used their artistic talent to decorate and renovate these umbrellas and parasols. Unfortunately, due to the fragility and deterioration caused by time, a limited number of these ethno-heirloom examples have survived. Nelson described one example that has survived and is housed in the Museum of the American Indian Museum in Washington, D. C.. Nelson said that the parasol, “has been re-covered with buckskin and is richly decorated with quillwork, beads, and black lace.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Henry Mance, (10 February 1872). "The Heliograph or Sun Telegraph," *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*. 1-2 (1871/1872-1873): 123-125.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015035103855;view=2up;seq=664;skin=mobile>

⁷⁶ Jon Nelson, “An Umbrella from the Western Sioux,” *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 44, no. 1 (2008): 3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

The umbrellas / parasols were highly valued by both the Plains Indians and Euroamericans (fig. F-48). The artist George Catlin cited the umbrella in connection with the Native people he encountered, eleven times in his book, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians* (1842).⁷⁸ Nelson pointed out that, “George Catlin, in 1832, sketched Wijun-jon (The Light) an Assiniboine, after his return from a year-long visit to Washington, D.C. Wi-jun-jon was wearing a colonel’s uniform of blue ... a beaver hat and feather, with epaulettes of gold with sash and belt, and broad sword with high-heeled-boots—with a keg of whiskey under his arm, and a blue umbrella in his hand.”⁷⁹

And, to emphasize the transnational value of umbrellas, Catlin wrote about the dilemma he had. While suffering from an illness Catlin contracted from the heat of the Plains, he had to bargain with an Indian man to keep his cotton umbrella. The story that Catlin related exemplified the value of umbrellas on the Plains. Catlin said that,

A fine looking Indian was hanging about my tent very closely for several days, and continually scanning an old and half-worn cotton umbrella, which I carried over me to keep off the sun, as I was suffering with fever and ague, and at last proposed to purchase it of me, with a very neat limbed and pretty pied horse which he was riding. He proposed at first, that I should give him a knife and the umbrella, but as I was not disposed for the trade (the umbrella being so useful an article to me, that I did not know how to Part with it, not knowing whether there was another in the regiment); he came a second time, and offered me the horse for the umbrella alone, which offer I still rejected; and he went back to the village, and soon returned with another one of a much better duality, supposing that I had not valued the former one equal to the umbrella. With this he endeavoured to push the trade, and after I had with great difficulty made him understand that I was sick, and could not part with it, he turned and rode back towards the village, and

⁷⁸ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, (London: By the Author, 1844), The eleven citings are on the following pages 49, 60, 263 (5), 264, 340, 341(2), these appear in letters 8, 10, 41, and 55. <http://www.xmission.com/~drudy/mtman/html/catlin/index.html>

⁷⁹ Ibid., 4, backcover (color image of Wi-jun-jon after trip to Washington). Image of Wi-jun-jon before and after trip to Washington are portrayed in Catlin’s illustrations 271 and 272 that were part of the original edition of *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*.

in a short time returned again with one of the largest and finest mules I ever saw, proposing that, which I also rejected; when he disappeared again.

In a few moments my friend Captain Duncan, in whose hospitable tent I was quartered, came in, and the circumstance being related to him, started up some warm jockey feelings, which he was thoroughly possessed of, when he instantly sprang upon his feet, and exclaimed, "d-----mn the fellow! Where is he gone? Here, Gosset! Get my old umbrella out of the pack, I rolled it up with my wiper and the flying-pan-get it as quick as lightning!" With it in his hand, the worthy Captain soon overtook the young man, and escorted him into the village, and returned in a short time-not with the mule, but with the second horse that had been offered to me.⁸⁰

It is impressive to realize the value of umbrellas on the 19th-century Great Plains. The fact that Catlin's umbrella had the equivalent value to a horse is something to think about. Living in such a harsh climate, such as the Great Plains, required adaptive ingenuity, which meant spending capital on umbrellas.

Goggles

By the end of the nineteenth century Native Americans were often photographed wearing goggles (fig. F-49). Goggles are a valuable piece of rudimentary material culture often overlooked in historical analysis of the American West. Goggles were a significant artifact. First, they were a proven useful technological invention for eye protection from blowing dust and bright sunlight. Second, people traveling across the North American continent during the nineteenth century wanted them. Third, Native Americans incorporated goggles into their own material cultures. The nineteenth-century Great Plains landscape was dotted with an assortment of Euro-Americans and Indians donning goggles. Throughout history there have been many documented pieces of material culture, like goggles, that simply fulfilled a practical need. As the

⁸⁰ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, (London: By the Author, 1844), 263-264 (letter #41). <http://www.xmission.com/~drudy/mtman/html/catlin/index.html>

sunlight grew too bright or the alkaline dust grew too thick, all one had to do was to pull out their goggles from their metal storage box and tie them in place over their eyes.⁸¹

The great Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull, in his last years, was afflicted with painful, light-sensitive eyes.⁸² Goggles provided him relief and guarded his eyes from the bright sunlight of the Great Plains. Major Guido Ilges, Commander of the Poplar River Agency in what is now northeastern Montana, drew a picture of Sitting Bull wearing protective goggles. The drawing was printed in the Bismarck Weekly Tribune in North Dakota. The Tribune article accompanying the drawing reported that it was not unusual to encounter an Indian thus equipped on the Plains.⁸³ The famous leader was photographed many times during the last thirteen years of his life wearing goggles.

Turn of the 19th to 20th century Native American artists continued Indian self-determination to remind the transnational world that Indian people were alive and well through their art. For example, historian James A. Hanson pointed out that the Lakota artifacts of this period display enduring craftsmanship and artistry with transcultural adaptations. Hanson noted that “In the early years of the twentieth century it was fashionable among the Lakota to create realistic beadwork; it was especially the height of fashion and style on Cheyenne River Reservation.”⁸⁴ The Museum of the Fur Trade located in Chadron, Nebraska acquired some of

⁸¹ Alida S. Boorn, “Goggles in the Rocky Mountain West,” *The Rocky Mountain Fur Trade Journal*, 4 (2010): 125.

⁸² Markus H. Lindner, “Family, Politics, and Show Business: The Photographs of Sitting Bull,” *North Dakota History* 72, no. 3 (2005): 2.

⁸³ “Sitting Bull,” *The Kansas City Evening Star*, August 1, 1881, in “America’s Historical Newspapers 1690-1922 Newsbank” <http://infoweb.newsbank.com> [Here after AHN]; “Sitting Bull: The Terror of the Plains on His Way to Fort Yates,” *The Duluth Daily Tribune*, August 1, 1881, AHN; and “Sitting Bull at Bismarck,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, (Milwaukee) August 8, 1881, AHN.

⁸⁴ James A. Hanson, “Matching Photograph and Artifact,” *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 13.

these items in 1970. One of these valuable pieces of material culture art that is attributed to Martha Two Bulls handiwork is a robe called a courting blanket that was worn by young Lakota men on the Cheyenne River Reservation. The large blanket “is made from two equal strips of saved list indigo blue stroud, sewed together so that there is a white stripe about two inches wide up the center.”⁸⁵ This pattern is known as a skunk blanket. On the blanket is a horizontal strip embellished with Martha Two Bulls beadwork. The beadwork depicts images that include the American Flag, horses, a spread eagle contained in a circle, and stars.

The increased presence of the horse promoted the Great Plains as a geographically accessible interwoven trade commodities market. Jablow pointed out that,

All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp and Indian hemp-twine were transported across the mountains. . . The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kinds of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes were also often bought from the Plains tribes.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ibid., 12.

⁸⁶ Joseph Jablow, *The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations 1795-1804*, ed. Maeian Smith, (New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1951), 13.

It must be stressed that there were costs to any of the benefits gained in trade. Benefits were transportation provided by the incorporation of the horse into Plains Indian lifeways. But, anthropologist Benjamin Jewell found that the trade market had costs. He said,

The expansion of this trade throughout the 18th century, and most explosively in the beginnings of the 19th century, led to the depletion of the beaver and the increased demand for the bison robe trade. The importance of the fur trade to the Lakota is two-fold. First, it created a steady source for the acquisition of European trade goods such as firearms, metal ammunition, glass beads, knives, blankets, and cloth. Second, the demand for fur in the Eastern U.S. and Canada (and later for the leather thongs in industrial manufacture)—combined with the increased efficiency in the hunt and aided by new technologies from trade—would ultimately catapult the bison into the same fate as the beaver.⁸⁷

By the third quarter of the 19th-century the Plains Indian consumers' tastes in foods evolved toward fast-food like products such as canned sardines. Due to availability of Euroamerican preserved canned and dry processed foods, the Plains Indian dietary tastes expanded. The people developed a fondness for -prepackaged foods. Historian James A. Hanson pointed out that the introduction of "white Man food" made a significant impression on the Indians. Hanson added that "especially army rations, led the Indians to broaden their cuisine preferences." For example, canned peaches, canned oysters, coffee, tea, sugar, and hard tack were joined in the pantry by bacon, ham, syrup, leavened bread, crackers, and cookies.⁸⁸

The seemingly simple act of societies trade contact presented intermingled cultural dynamics held by material exchanges. Archeologist John R. Triggs recognized that the sociology of the communities was affected. Triggs said that the communities "social organization, ideology and belief systems, are reciprocal with both groups adopting or sharing

⁸⁷ Benjamin Jewell, "Lakota Struggles for Cultural Survival: History, Health, and Reservation Life" *Nebraska Anthropologist* Paper 19, (2006), 131.

⁸⁸ Hanson, James A., "List" *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 44, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 5.

some traits of the other culture.”⁸⁹ For example, 19th-century Native American consumerism and internal political patterns reflected changes and new choices made by Native consumers of Euroamerican goods. Historians Thomas F. Schilz and Jodye L. D. Schilz observed that trade patterns changed noticeably. Schilz and Schilz said that the desired European goods were items for adornment and durable goods such as weapons, tools, and cloth. Schilz and Schilz said that these items provided “status and allowed for the accumulation of new wealth.”⁹⁰

There is no doubt that technology exchanges through trade create cultural consequences. Historian Mark A. Judy explained that losses and changes in material culture exposed new detrimental lifeway problems to Native cultures. For example, Judy conjectured, “the loss of arrowheads seriously threatened not only the tribe's defense capabilities, but its food production as well.” And, added Judy, “Another important factor in analyzing the effects of European products on a tribe is the amount of time it takes for the new item to become fully integrated within society, for if changes occur rapidly, they could produce tensions as new values compete for dominance with more traditional ones.”⁹¹

In spite of peaceful transculturation exchanges, in the 19th-Century many non-Indian people held prejudice misplaced beliefs that Indian people were uncivilized and childlike. Some thought that any transfer of technology, could only move in one direction. The assumed logical direction was toward Euroamerican technology and social behaviors to keep governed order in the world. Due to Euroamerican stereotyped images and beliefs about an uncivilized childlike

⁸⁹ John R. Triggs, “The Mississauga at the Head-of-the-Lake: Examining Responses to Cultural Upheaval at the Close of the Fur Trade,” *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, 33 (2004): 153.

⁹⁰ Thomas F. Schilz, and Jodye L. D. Schilz, “Beads, Bangles, and Buffalo Ropes: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Fur Trade Along the Missouri and Des Moines Rivers, 1700-1820.” *The Annals of Iowa*, 49, no.1 (1987): 5.

⁹¹ Mark A. Judy, “Powder Keg on the Upper Missouri: Sources of Blackfeet Hostility, 1730-1810,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 11, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 131.

aboriginal people, a paternalistic forced guidance was proffered to civilization. By the mid-1800s Native American people were witnessing the encroaching movement onto the Great Plains, now United States territory, by Euroamericans via steamboats and railroads. Historian Michael Adas noted that, “By the early 1850s, major advances in transportation and communications technologies were binding together what had become a transcontinental nation, . . . Railroad lines formed the backbones of networks of commerce that spread overland across the farmlands and on to the mining centers of the West, making it economically feasible to export the produce grown and raw materials extracted from these once remote areas.”⁹² Adas emphasized that, “For centuries Anglo-American settlers had dismissed the indigenous peoples of North America as primitives, who lacked not only the farm implements but also the cultivation techniques and work habits to make effective use of the abundant resources of the vast lands they inhabited.”⁹³ The Euroamerican racist conceptions about North America’s Native peoples developed upon the first Contact. Adas explained that, “Whether they were peoples of the eastern forests or the western plains, the indigenous societies of North America were almost invariably judged to be technologically primitive, materially impoverished, and backward in their modes of social organization.”⁹⁴

As United States colonization crept across the Great Plains the Native people were being ever more pressured to create new lifeways for cultural survival techniques. Oglala historian Jeffrey D. Means pointed out that at the same time, “U.S. assimilation policies concerning the incorporation of Indians into American society emerged.” The policies were

⁹² Michael Adas, *Dominance By Design: Technological Imperatives and America’s Civilizing Mission*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

shaped around teachings of such revered men as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison who believed that” Native Americans needed to be assimilated into white society in order to survive, and, ultimately, through miscegenation, to become white.” Means added that, “President Jefferson made yeoman farmers the foundation of an economic strategy based on the perceived contributions of farmers to the American ideals of democracy and independence.” Further, Means emphasized that, “In other words, Native Americans might survive but only by forsaking their own culture for another.”⁹⁵

Historian David Wishart declared that the early 19th-century dynamic intermingling of Indian and Euroamerican cultures on the Northern Great Plains was a pragmatic “alliance” of convenience. But, it is truer that early 19th-century Great Plains trade sites mirrored the challenges, such as losses of knowledge of traditional technology manufactures from intercultural trade contacts. These contacts laid the groundwork and stresses for future material culture household inventories. For example, from 1807 to 1840 the Northern Great Plains fur trade between Native American and Euroamerican people exhibited a pragmatic system of exchange that Wishart called an “alliance between two sets of cultures each with a demand for the other's products.” The intercultural transfers for a time attempted to utilize Indian lifeway acquisition patterns. However, Wishart noted, “in the process of this culture contact the relationship between the trader and the Indian soured, and the trader became an agent in the destruction of Indian populations and the modification of Indian cultures.”⁹⁶ Thus, Wishart

⁹⁵ Means, Jeffrey D., “Indians Shall do Things in Common: Oglala Lakota Identity and Cattle-Raising on the Pine Ridge Reservation,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*; 61, no. 3 (Autumn 2011), 3.

⁹⁶ David Wishart, “Cultures in Co-operation and Conflict: Indians in the Fur Trade on the Northern Great Plains, 1807-1840,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, no. 4 (1976): 311.

concluded that, “the trader was an unwitting agent in the destruction of Indian populations and the modification of Indian cultures.”⁹⁷

The material culture of 19th-century Native American Plains people was not static. It was an intercultural tangible organic and plastic entity that allowed interesting exchanges of technologies, which had both positive and negative consequences. Resources were maximized. Trade created introductions to new tools, foods, clothing materials, medicines, and luxury items. The Indian consumers learned how to combine their own traditional trade protocols with Euroamerican identified commercial practices.

Section 1 - Conclusion

Material culture world connections brought people together. Objects and art enriched peoples’ lifeways. Native scholars have reminded us that objects/artifacts in cultural centers and museums are living entities. Over many years, warrior valor stories have been preserved in pictographic paintings, ledger books, oral histories, and the living spirits retained in objects that belong to the warriors, such as pipes. Throughout the 19th-Century a number of European and American transnational ethnologists/artists and photographers recorded the Plains Indian people and their lifeways and material culture. In addition, trade and its natural subsequent human to human interaction facilitated material culture acculturation. Plains people personalized and repurposed their acquired trade goods. The beadwork produced by Indian women is a valued North American ethno-heirloom. The introduction of imported glass beads made possible for the women artists to have a less labor intensive medium in which to work their creative magic.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 319.

Section 2 - Transnational Collectors and Material Culture

Interpreters

Section Two opens a look at biographic painters, photographers, storytellers, and heirloom material harvesters. It discusses transnational collectors of Plains Indian ethno-heirlooms and art. It points out motivating forces, such as politics, science, art appreciation, and the sheer pleasure to acquire, as the force behind collectors gathering objects for museums and expositions. Transnational 19th-century collectors included educators, artists, ethnologists, government agents, tourists, and cultural scavengers. Textile Scholar Beverly Gordon said that the passing of the Dawes Act created an urgent impetus amongst Euroamerican collectors to save, what they interpreted as the vanishing of Native America. The February 8, 1887 Dawes Act, is also known as the General Allotment Act. The Act's purpose was to "Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations." It, "emphasized severalty, the treatment of Native Americans as individuals rather than as members of tribes." The Dawes Act "focused specifically on breaking up reservations by granting land allotments to individual Native Americans. Very sincere individuals reasoned that if a person adopted white clothing and ways, and was responsible for his own farm, he would gradually drop his Indian-ness and be assimilated into the population."¹ This drive to change Indian people and their cultures into one generic white Christian culture awakened a Euroamerican lament decrying the "passing of the Indian." This philosophy fueled a National nostalgic passion amongst many to collect, record, and preserve material culture of the "vanishing Indian." This salvaged Indigenous material culture was placed in museums and displayed at World expositions. In

¹ "Dawes Act (1887)," *OurDocuments.gov*, U.S. National Archives & Records Administration
https://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=true&page=&doc=50&title=Dawes+Act+%281887%29

theory, these collectors believed that they had rescued Native America.²

Chapter 4 - Transnational Ethnographic Artists

Transnational artists produced drawings, paintings, and engravings of Plains Indians and depictions of Native American material culture throughout the 19th-century. As the century commenced, they were followed by other artists, actors, and authors. These artists were de facto ethnologists and contemporaries of the Plains Indian people. The new imaging technology of photography created art and journalistic photographers to join the corps of pioneer ethnographic artists in the field and studio. These artists and journalists employed the white man's version of biographic pictographology to collect and interpret in an Euroamerican mode of recording Indigenous peoples on, what I argue, were enclosed reality stages.

Samuel Seymour (documented artist from 1796 to 1824)

Historian John Francis McDermott documented a number of Euroamerican artists who accompanied scientific missions to the Great Plains to record the peoples' lifeways and the territory's geography during the 19th-century. He praised these artists for their accurate renderings. Among these artists was Samuel Seymour, who came to the attention of one of his more notable contemporaries, Alexander Philipp Maximilian Prince of Wied the German naturalist and ethnologist (fig. F-50). The Prince was impressed by Seymour's work and said "I was particularly interested by some oil paintings of Indian villages and scenery by Seymour."³

McDermott believed that artist Samuel Seymour was not given enough credit by later

² Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988*, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 5-6.

³ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1846 Volume XXII: Part I of Maximilian, Prince of Wied's, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834*, trans. Hannibal Evans Lloyd, (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 70. The Project Gutenberg eBook <http://www.gutenberg.org>

historians for his artistic ethnographic work recording the people and scenery of the West. McDermott praised Seymour, just as Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian had earlier. McDermott pointed out that Seymour was not the first staff artist employed in exploratory missions, but he had a special drive. Even though Seymour was not “the first man to sketch the Indian and wild life in the new west, but no one with the same inclination and opportunity had penetrated the western and northern regions of the Mississippi Valley before him.”⁴

McDermott added, that fewer than twelve of Seymour’s pictures were “used to illustrate the American and English editions of Edwin James’ report of Major S. H. Long’s western expedition of 1819-20; but he made at least one hundred and fifty landscape sketches and an unknown number of drawings of Indians, sixty of which were finished for submission to the publisher. What did he do with this large and valuable portfolio? On the 1823 expedition to the Upper Mississippi he was again Long’s staff artist, and again he made dozens of sketches of all kinds of which eleven were published in Keating’s Narrative.”⁵

In the 1830s, George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, along with contemporaries like Seymour, were primary biographic ethnographic image chroniclers of the Plains Indians living in the Upper Missouri territory. These two artists’ work is well respected because many believe that they executed careful attention to detail in their biographic lifeway drawings and paintings (fig. 51). For example, historian Kartis Karktins explained that,

The paintings of George Catlin and Karl Bodmer provide graphic details concerning the ornamentation of the Plains Cree during the early 1830s. Executed at Fort Union, Catlin’s portrait of Brocas-sie, The Broken Arm, one of the foremost and most renowned warriors of the tribe, shows him with a strand of glass beads and hair pipes hanging from either temple, a cluster of silver (?) drops suspended from the earlobe, and a beaded double strand choker about the neck.

⁴ John Francis McDermott, “Indians and Artists,” *College Art Journal* 8, no. 2 (Winter 1948-1949): 101.

⁵ Ibid.

The latter ornament was composed of two long rolls of buckskin enwrapped in beadwork. His wife, Tow-Be-ka-wet, is adorned with several strings of beads suspended from the rim of the ear, as well as a necklace and choker.⁶

George Catlin (1796-1872)

George Catlin was one of the most famous ethnographic collectors, chroniclers of American Indian lifeways, and exhibitors of Plains Indian material culture (fig. F-52 through F-55). In the late winter of 1832, George Catlin awaited in St. Louis for official governmental permission to travel to the Upper Missouri River Territory where he would paint many notable portraits. Historian John Francis McDermott explained that,

Of all these painter-reporters Catlin became the best known because he was the most assiduous in the collection and exhibition of a wide variety of portraits as well as many valuable pictures of Indian customs, western landscapes, and hunting scenes. He knew that in a gallery of Indian pictures he had a chance for riches. He was not a boy painting when he could; he was not a government employee expected to turn over to higher authority his finished work. He was an independent artist and enterpriser who could go where he wanted and paint what he chose. It would be difficult to say how many paintings Catlin made of Indian subjects and landscapes; the Smithsonian Institution has at the present time over five hundred oils of his; other museums and private collectors must have at least a hundred more, not counting the volumes of sketches such as those in the Newberry Library and the New York Historical Society or the lithographs which are to be met with in many collections.⁷

In 1848, Catlin published *A Descriptive Catalogue of his Indian Collection. The catalog Contained Portraits, Landscapes, & Representations of the lifeways of North American Indians "Collected and Painted Entirely by Mr. Catlin, During Eight Years' Travel Amongst Forty-Eight Tribes, Mostly Speaking Different Languages, also Opinions of the press in England, France, and the United States*, London: Published by the Author, at his Indian Collection, No. 6, Waterloo Place, 1848. "A Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin's Indian Collection. Exhibited three

⁶ Karlis Karklins, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada: A Source Book*, (Ottawa: National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1992), 113.

⁷ John Francis McDermott, "Indians and Artists," *College Art Journal* 8, no. 2 (Winter 1948-1949): 103.

years, with great success, in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London.”⁸

Catlin stated that he traveled widely and met many people to collect the materials and images for his extensive ethnographic exhibition reproduced in his catalogue. Catlin explained that “I visited with great difficulty, and some hazard to life, forty-eight tribes (residing within the United States, British, and Mexican Territories), containing about half a million of souls. I have seen them in their own villages, have carried my canvas and colours the whole way, and painted my portraits, &c., from the life, as they now stand and are seen in the Gallery.”⁹

During the creation of his collection, Catlin emphasized that he gathered, not only a number of “costumes and manufactures,” but also “near six hundred paintings, 350 of which are Portraits of distinguished men and women of the different tribes, and 250. Other paintings, descriptive of Indian Countries, their Villages, Games, and Customs; containing in all above 3000 figures.”¹⁰

Finally, Catlin requested that his viewing public might appreciate and share his enthusiasm for his collection, and understand that “As this immense collection has been gathered, and every painting has been made from nature, by my own hand and that too when I have been paddling my canoe, or leading my pack-horse over and through trackless wilds, at the hazard of my life—the world will surely be kind and indulgent enough to receive and estimate them, as they have been intended, as true and fac-simile traces of individual life and historical

⁸ George Catlin, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Catlin's Indian Collection Containing Portraits, Landscapes, Costumes, & Representations of the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians, Collected and Painted Entirely by Mr. Catlin, During Eight Years' Travel Amongst Forty-Eight Tribes, Mostly Speaking Different Languages, also Opinions of the press in England, France, and the United States*, (London: Published by Author, 1848), 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

facts, and forgive me for their present unfinished and unstudied condition as works of art.”¹¹

Leading to Catlin’s 1848 London exhibit and catalog, he opened museum exhibits in the United States, England, and France. Catlin truly believed that he was preserving the memory of those people whom he thought were disappearing for posterity. Catlin accelerated his desire

“to paint the portraits of these vanishing tribesmen, and in 1832 went west with this purpose in view. Eight years were spent in native lodges and fur-trade camps; then, with a wealth of material widely known as Catlin's Collection, he opened a museum--first in the United States (1837-39), then in London (1840-44). In 1845 he took his collection to Paris, where he remained until expelled by the Revolution of 1848. He thereupon re-opened his London museum, with additional material; but in 1852 became involved in debt, and his collection was shipped to the United States, where it remained neglected until 1879, when it was presented to the National Museum at Washington.”¹²

Karl Bodmer (1809-1893)

In 1832, Swiss born artist Karl Bodmer was recruited by the German Prince Alexander Philip Maximilian of Wied to accompany him to the North American Great Plains. Prince Maximilian was a scholar of natural science. He chose Bodmer to join his expedition of the Americas to help report and record. The people, animals, and geography of the Americas. Bodmer collected this data in sketches and paintings. Bodmer is primarily remembered for his interpretations of the North American Great Plains (fig. F-56 through F-58). During the period from 1833 to 1834, he recorded many images of Plains Indian tipi camps.¹³

History scholar and writer Marshall B Davidson said that Bodmer, under the tutelage of

¹¹ Ibid., 4.

¹² Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1846 Volume XXII: Part I of Maximilian, Prince of Wied's, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834*, trans. Hannibal Evans Lloyd, (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 36 (Footnote 11 to Translators Preface). The Project Gutenberg eBook <http://www.gutenberg.org>

¹³ Nancy B. Rosoff and Susan Kennedy Zeller, ed., *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2011), 15.

Maximilian produced a well-received published account of the two men's, Upper Missouri, "two-year expedition [1832-1833], including a magnificent atlas with eighty-one reproductions of Bodmer's western water colors, [that] has maintained a unique importance since its original appearance in 1839."¹⁴

Maximilian and Bodmer's notes and images have provided one of the best 19th-century documentary collections of the American West's ethnographic studies, geography, flora, and fauna that is still a valuable teaching heirloom. Davidson explained that, "Almost everything Bodmer produced on his American journey was intended for reproduction, to provide specific graphic reports of the Prince's observations. . ."¹⁵ And for today's students "Bodmer's meticulous renderings of costumes and artifacts are often more helpfully informative than photographs."¹⁶ Today the documentary records of Maximilian's extraordinary study can be experienced in Omaha, Nebraska at the Joslyn Art Museum. The collection consists of Maximilian's diaries, journals, account books, and correspondence. Plus, the museum has the fortune to house "more than four hundred of Bodmer's original sketches and paintings."¹⁷ This collection was purchased from Maximilian's German home by the Northern Natural Gas Company of Omaha, Nebraska in 1962.¹⁸

Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874)

A contemporary of Catlin and Bodmer, American artist Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874), like Bodmer, was contracted to go West and document North American Indigenous peoples' lifeways, the geography, flora and fauna. He was commissioned as expedition artist by the

¹⁴ Davidson, Marshall B., "Karl Bodmer's Unspoiled West," *American Heritage*, XIV, no. 74 (April 1963): 43.

¹⁵ Ibid., 48.

¹⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷ Ibid., 43.

¹⁸ Ibid., 65.

Scottish nobleman Sir William Drummond Stewart (1795-1871). Miller accompanied Stewart on an expedition of the 1837 Rocky Mountain fur trade season. Stewart hired Miller to document his interactions with the Indian and Euroamerican participants during this fur trade expedition. Stewart wanted a special record of his trip, as he was unsure as to whether he would be able to return to the American West after his return to Scotland. However, most of Miller's work was not finished until he returned to his home in Baltimore. Art historian Lisa Strong commented that, "the time Miller actually spent in the West (approximately six months) and the number of works he produced while there (probably about one hundred) are each relatively small. For most of his career, he lived and worked in Baltimore, and he found success there producing and reproducing nearly one thousand works of western genre between his return from the Rocky Mountains in 1837 and his retirement in 1872."¹⁹

Miller's Western paintings were mostly reproductions of his field sketches. Strong noted that Miller "did not, however, conceive of his enterprise as scientific illustration, as George Catlin or Karl Bodmer did, nor did he include testimonials as to the accuracy of his accounts. Rather, at the very outset of his trip he compared the process of painting Native Americans to that of poets weaving verbal garlands out of flowers."²⁰

Art historian Jennifer McLerran said that, Miller traveled in the West "during a crucial decade in American history when the fur trade was in the last years of its prosperity, immediately preceding extensive Euro-American settlement. He carried with him the Enlightenment ideal of the 'Noble Savage' and an optimistic faith in the West as an unspoiled Eden. He joined these

¹⁹ Lisa Strong, *Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller*, (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 2008), 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

conceptions with the artistic influence of French romanticism to produce highly idealized depictions of life in the West.”²¹

McLerran pointed out that, Miller was one of the few 19th -century artists who portrayed Native American women participants of the fur trade in their ethno-biographical paintings (fig. F-59).²² McLerran noted that, “Indian women often independently engaged in the trapping and trading of the furs of small game. Hudson's Bay Company officer David Thompson reported, ‘Among the Natives the snaring of hares and trapping of martens are the business of the Women and become their property for trade.’”²³

And, added McLerran,

Fur trade society developed as a unique mixture of Euro-American and Indian cultures.' Its participants inhabited the margins of polite society. By most accounts, they demonstrated a much higher degree of tolerance for Indian-white intermarriage (usually according to native custom) than did the majority of early Euro-Americans. Most of the continent's newcomers had contact with Native American women only through literary and visual representations. Those visual representations of native women with which New World explorers and colonists would most likely have been familiar were allegorical figures of America as a native woman or depictions that conformed to the Indian princess stereotype.²⁴

Stewart was adamant about Miller making him appear as a native player of the West. Strong explained that Miller chose images from his sketches that showed “Stewart and Native Americans alike engaged in activities that constitute traditional aristocratic pursuits: big game hunting, deer stalking, horse racing, and archery competitions. In both content and style, these works establish parallels between Native American and Scottish aristocratic culture, suggesting that Stewart saw Native Americans as a kind of indigenous aristocracy. Highlanders were lauded

²¹ Jennifer McLerran, “Trappers' brides and country wives: Native American women in the paintings of Alfred Jacob Miller,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18, no. 2 (1994): 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

for similar traits of honor, martial skill, and hospitality, and the images that show Stewart hunting and entertaining with Native Americans could make Stewart appear the more authentic Scotsman as well as aristocrat.”²⁵

One cannot forget that Stewart had hired Miller to create a visual memory-sake of his Rocky Mountain adventure. Miller depicted Stewart as an active participant in the pictures that he created. Strong explained that, “Several images in the collection that show Stewart eating, smoking, or conversing with Indians during visits to their camps constitute one of the dominant subthemes within the [Miller’s] sketch album. Stewart’s use of identifiable artifacts, particularly pipes, is marked in these images.”²⁶ When Stewart returned to Scotland he shipped, along with his other luggage, a collection of Indian artifacts, live American animals, and plants. His plan to recreate the Great Plains of North America was conceived before he left for Scotland.

In his Scottish home, Strong stated that with his American collections Stewart, created an environment with an American theme that ranged from the intimacy of the boudoir to the more public and wide-ranging effect of redesigned estate grounds. From the microcosm to the macrocosm, the collection and its consumption created a context that suggested an abbreviated narrative of Stewart’s adventures. Insofar as the paintings, the robes, the pipes, and the tomahawk prompted recollections, they allowed Stewart the supreme pleasure of nostalgia. Integrated into a Scottish environment, the plants, animals, and artifacts helped to re-create the environment in which those adventures took place. As they grew, bred, or were used, the plants, animals, and artifacts gained new life, new meaning, and, in a very literal sense, reinvigorated the Scottish environment. Stewart’s act of cultural translation, making the material culture of American Indians intelligible to Scotland, thus became a kind of cultural production as well.²⁷

McLerran explained that Miller spent several years in Scotland creating a Western American interior for Stewart’s home (fig. F-60). She said that,

²⁵ Lisa Strong, *Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller*, (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 2008), 34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

Upon his return [to Scotland], Stewart invited Miller to join him at his estate. There the artist worked on a number of large-scale paintings, including the first version of the Trapper's Bride, which was completed in November 1841. Miller produced seventeen additional oil paintings and eighty-seven watercolors for his patron within a period of less than two years. These were hung in Stewart's lodge, which was furnished so as to remind its owner of his Rocky Mountain excursions. Miller's paintings, including *Return from Hunting* (1840), *Indian Belle Reclining* (1840), and *The Death of a Panther* (1840-41), joined buffalo robes, Indian pipes, and other paraphernalia of native life in Stewart's lodge to create an atmosphere reminiscent of the American West.²⁸

Stewart spared no expense to create his own transnational American Great Plains inspired habitat. For example, one of the most intriguing furnishings that Stewart commissioned for his home, around 1851, was a pair of chairs made of mahogany and rosewood to portray the American bison (fig. F-61). These bison inspired chairs were intricately carved. Unfortunately, the artist who made these wonderful ethno-heirlooms is unknown. Strong said that Miller extolled the craftsmanship involved that created these chairs. Strong emphasized that "Stewart's commission for a pair of hall chairs enacted the kind of synthesis of New World and Old on a small scale that, . . . was taking place on a larger scale on the grounds of the estate. In June of 1841, Miller recorded the appearance in the vestibule of two 'buffalo chairs . . . richly carved of mahogany and . . . very curious'. They are not buffalo chairs in the sense that they contain buffalo motifs in the carving or possess upholstery made from buffalo hide or fur. Rather, they are carved mahogany in the form of individual buffalo: the backs are composed of huge heads covered in a pile of thickly carved curls with rosewood bison horns curving outward."²⁹ Strong added,

The pose of the chairs is striking. Spread wide and bowed slightly inward, the legs of the buffalo chairs appear to be firmly planted in an effort to resist a pressure

²⁸ Jennifer McLerran, "Trappers' brides and country wives: Native American women in the paintings of Alfred Jacob Miller," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18, no. 2 (1994): 4.

²⁹ Lisa Strong, *Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller*, (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 2008), 58.

downward and outward. With their seats carved to look like fur, and the hair of their manes falling across the seam where the back of the chair meets the seat, the chairs present one continuous body that slouches forward, hips slid outward, as if to create a wide lap for a sitter. As such, the chairs are not just composites of inanimate and unrelated body parts put together to form a chair. They seem to be buffalo making themselves into chairs. Thus we are encouraged to imagine the chairs as whole living animals, transformed into domestic objects and transported to the vestibule for us to experience intellectually and physically, if we dare.³⁰

Miller and Stewart's partnership is one of the more entertaining Euroamerican transnational duos I encountered in my research. From this partnership Miller produced a number of Plains Indian and fur trade genre paintings by rarely having to leave his Baltimore home. And, Stewart created a unique Scottish American bison preserve in his homeland.

More Transnational Artists of Tableau Paintings

In the first half of the 19th-century The North American West was a popular transnational tourist destination for scientific and adventure expeditions. Many hired artists to record their experiences. A number of other transnational Euroamerican Artists, like Miller, took advantage of the opportunity to expand profit from the art works they had been commissioned to produce. They created tableau scenes in their biographical reproductions in staged Genre interpretations of the groups of Native American people they had visited. The artists transformed their Western collections into merchandise for a market desiring commercially produced pictures of America's Indigenous people and the Western landscape.

John Mix Stanley (1814-1872)

John Mix Stanley (1814-1872), born in Canandaigua, New York, was one of the many biographical image documenters and interpreters of the lifeways of the Indigenous Western Great Plains people. In 1834, he studied portraiture art in Detroit, Michigan. In 1842 Stanley journeyed to the Great American West and began collecting and recording Indigenous images.

³⁰ Ibid., 59.

“Stanley’s travels as an explorer, documenter and arbiter of the landscapes and peoples of the West took him as far as present-day New Mexico, California, the Pacific Northwest, and even the kingdom of Hawaii.³¹

In 1842, Stanley became an enthusiastic user of the new image reproduction technology of the daguerreotype. Art historian Emily C. Burns explained that the production of daguerreotypes became a central part of Stanley’s narrative of encounters with Native Americans. Stanley shared these images with the people whose images he reproduced. “He made duplicate daguerreotypes in each sitting, keeping one for his portfolio and leaving one with the [Indian] sitter.”³² Burns added that the American Indian sitters were “delighted” to receive copies of their images from Stanley. Burns said that the sitters were reported to be, “delighted and astonished to see their likenesses produced by direct action of the sun. They worship the sun, and they consider that Mr. Stanley was inspired by their divinity, and he thus became in their eyes a great medicine man. According to these accounts, Stanley used his photographic equipment as a tool to elevate his status among his sitters, and then drew from his imagery as he developed his gallery of American Indian portraits.”³³

Stanley traveled and collected in the West between 1842 and 1854. At this time, Emily Burns pointed out that Stanley,

In his engagement with government survey projects, Stanley followed in the footsteps of the earlier survey artists from the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, such as Titian Ramsay Peale (1799-1885). These expeditions offered a model of survey representations and of collecting American Indian artifacts that mid-nineteenth-century excursions replicated. Stanley likewise acquired many American Indian objects throughout his travels. . . . [Stanley

³¹ Emily C. Burns “The Itinerant John Mix Stanley and the Circulating Spectacle of the West in Mid-Century America,” in *Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015, 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 21.

³³ *Ibid.*, 21.

acquired] moccasins, clubs, saddles, clothing, lassoes, pipes, painted animal hides, jewelry, and arrows, mainly from the Blackfeet Nation,. . . The shield, donated among the other objects in 1929 to the Museum of the American Indian, was described as a buffalo-hide shield with a deerskin cover on which is a painted decoration representing an insect. In his North American Indian Gallery, the artifacts from his travels supplemented his displays of American Indian lands and peoples. Artists who, like Stanley, traveled with expeditions occupied a middle ground between the expectations of documentation and the desire to show that the western territories were accessible? American perceptions of the Midwest and Far West were also colored by the language of James Fenimore Coopers Leatherstocking series, published in the 1820s and widely circulated. In producing paintings, Stanley moderated between these culturally determined expectations and his actual experiences in the West.³⁴

Stanley was skilled at painting Indigenous people performing universal leisure activities, such as playing card games (fig. F-62). Stanley created genre scenes in his paintings of Indians. Burns said that these scenes “imagined anecdotes of American Indian episodes in daily life, such as communication and gambling.”³⁵ Burns explained that,

Stanley’s later genre scenes, such as *Gambling for the Buck* of 1867, offered more monumental, European-inspired compositions in which the figures become characters in a story rather than ethnographic types. In *Gambling for the Buck*, three carefully posed figures play cards, wagering on the large buck at the lower left of the composition. The figures are arranged in a triangular central grouping in which gesture and costume move the viewer’s eye around the painting. . . . Stanley draws from his ethnographic studies but applies them to a narrative. While Catlin’s representations of American Indian landscapes, . . . framed a wide-angled representation that distanced the viewer from the subjects, Stanley focused on the figures rather than the setting. In *Gambling for the Buck* the, figures are pressed to the front of the picture plane, and their environment seems like a stage set, revealing Stanley’s studies of American Indian artifacts, which surround the card players.”³⁶

Stanley painted a number of genre pictures of Blackfoot men playing cards. One of Stanley’s oil on canvas paintings of Indians playing cards, *Game of Chance*, (1855), features two Indian men playing cards. In this painting one views, said historian Peter J. Hassrick,

³⁴ Ibid., 6.

³⁵ Ibid., 18.

³⁶ Ibid., 18.

Two men play cards on a red trade blanket. They sit beneath a shady arbor of trees with three onlookers and a camp of thatched and hide structures behind them. Two saddled horses look on from the left as if alert to the rules of the game. The older player points to an ace he has just put down. His expression is one of reserved confidence, as he watches his opponent study his own hand in hopes of an effective counter move. It is not known why Stanley became so infatuated with the smoking and gambling habits of Plains Indian men. Nonetheless, he always selected men at cards, though women were inveterate gamblers as well, and he invariably dressed his players as warriors prepared for a major ceremony. This is one of a series of such card game pictures that he produced.³⁷

And, in regards to Stanley's artistic evolution in his genre painting style Art Historian Lisa Strong in referring to his painting *Family Group – Barter for a Bride* (1856) said that,

the painting marks another significant moment in Stanley's career, when the artist began to move outside of the restrictive parameters of the Indian Gallery paintings to create Indian genre that engaged more directly with life and events in Washington, D.C. The period in which Stanley was executing his series of Blackfeet paintings was also a significant one for Blackfeet-U.S. relations. The Blackfeet had been in conflict with the United States since the Lewis and Clark expedition and had the reputation in Washington of being predatory and intractable savages. They had hitherto been known as the neglected tribe because few white Americans visited the region where they lived along the Upper Missouri River, in what is now north-central Montana. In 1853, they were one of the few Indian peoples not to have entered into a major treaty or enjoyed diplomatic relations with the U.S. government.³⁸

Not unlike many 19th-century Euroamerican artists, Stanley believed that his art was a way to collect the images of a vanishing race (fig. F-63). Art historian Mindy N. Besaw described one of Stanley's paintings portraying this belief. She explained that Stanley's painting titled,

The Last of Their Race is an allegory of the vanishing race, yet the painting is also a family portrait of sorts, presenting a sympathetic view and preserving the familiar types identified in the sitters. Stanley arranged a multigenerational group of American Indians on a rocky outcropping before a setting sun sitting low on

³⁷ Peter H. Hassrick and Mindy N. Besaw, *Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015): 204.

³⁸ Lisa Strong, "John Mix Stanley and the Peculiar Advantages of Washington," in *Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 78.

the horizon. A centrally placed warrior, recognized as such from his decorated shirt, buffalo robe, and bear claw necklace, forms the apex of the group. A seated woman, an elder, another man, a boy facing away from the viewer, and a mother holding a child in a cradleboard flank the warrior. In the distance, a family, which includes a man, woman, and child, is clustered with their white horse. Bleached buffalo skulls in the foreground foreshadow their impending demise, as the Pacific Ocean laps at their feet. Legible details identifying clothing and accessories are representative of many tribes, contributing to the reading of the painting as symbolic of the collective race perishing at the edge of the ocean.³⁹

Perhaps, Stanley's paintings represented collections of vanishing ghostly inhabitants of the Plains. One must ponder why Stanley, and many of his contemporaries, believed that Native Americans were disappearing. Especially Stanley, who painted Indian people participating in active transnational pastimes.

Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis (1801-1862)

Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis (1801-1862) served as an Army doctor, amateur artist who sketched Western landscapes and peoples, and collector of Plains Indian artifacts. While he served at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, from 1833 to 1836, Jarvis managed to collect and document a substantial collection of Eastern Plains Indian artifacts (fig. F-64 through F-66). "A catalogue of these objects was printed in 1848, the year that Dr. Jarvis deposited the collection with the New-York Historical Society."⁴⁰ The collection was loaned in 1937 to the Brooklyn Museum in New York, New York and subsequently purchased by the museum in 1950.

In 1833, on his way to Fort Snelling, Jarvis stopped in St. Louis to visit the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, General William Clark. Curator of American Indian Art Norman Feder speculated that The Dr. Jarvis visit with General Clark and visit to Clark's

³⁹ Mindy N. Besaw "John Mix Stanley's The Last of Their Race and the 'Doomed Indian' in American Culture," in *Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 92.

⁴⁰ Norman Feder and Nathan Sturges Jarvis, *Art of the Eastern Plains Indians, The Nathan Sturges Jarvis Collection*, (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1964), 6.

museum most probably influenced him to become a collector of Eastern Plains Indian material culture. “In a letter dated June 18, 1833, after he had been there [with Clark in St. Louis] less than a month, he wrote ‘I have sent by Mr. Rollet a letter to the [Jarvis] family with some Indian curiosities, together with a Dakota pipe presented to me by a chief.’”⁴¹ Feder added, Jarvis’ collecting interest was evidenced by his early artifact acquisitions that he sent east. In a letter concerning, perhaps missing, boxed shipment of Indian objects, he inquired about the status of its whereabouts. Jarvis letter was sent out “May 29, 1836: ‘I can get no intelligence of the box sent last year to Dr. Torrey. If not as yet rec’d., it has doubtless been stolen by those on the boat under the supposition of its containing Indian curiosities, for which there is a great rage.’”⁴²

In 1964, Feder noted that, “It is interesting to note that in spite of the many people who were probably making collections at this time, very little material has found its way into our museums.”⁴³ Feder speculated that Dr. Jarvis collecting desire was a way to pass time between patients. Feder explained his contention,

In September 1848, when Dr. Jarvis gave his Indian objects to the New- York Historical Society he wrote: ‘During a residence of several years in the North and Southwest frontier, I amused myself in making a collection of the dresses, arms, and domestic implements of the various tribes of Indians inhabiting those distant regions.’ Perhaps Jarvis did consider this collecting as simple amusement, for he seems little interested in customs of the Indians or in the Indians themselves, except perhaps as patients. The novelty of these natives of the Great Plains — apparent in early letters written during his trip to Fort Snelling and immediately after his arrival there — soon wore off. On July 4, 1833, just forty-seven days after he arrived he acknowledged: ‘It is true I might describe the beauty of the country & scenery, but descriptions of this kind are tame when compared to actual observation and cannot but convey a faint idea of its attraction, and as to the Indians, they begin to lose their novelty with me, and any further notice to what I have already given would be tiresome both to you & me.’⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid., 9.

⁴² Ibid., 9.

⁴³ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 9-10.

However, Jarvis continued to collect. Not only that, but he began a collection employing his sketching talents. He sketched the environment, people, and provided written descriptions of what he saw. Feder explained that, “unfortunately most of his [Jarvis’] sketches have been lost. His letter of October 10, 1833 includes a sketch of the Fort, the only one of Jarvis's sketches known to this author [Feder].”⁴⁵

Importantly, Feder pointed out that there is more evidence of the Jarvis sketches. Feder said that, “there are other documents which attest to his artistic ability. Colonel John H. Bliss, the son of the commanding officer of the Fort wrote in 1894, in his *Reminiscences of Fort Snelling* “I must not close without mention of my excellent old friend Dr. Jarvis, the eccentric surgeon at the post. The excursions we had together on horseback went into the hundreds, but he could never be tempted in my canoe, although he was a splendid swimmer and taught me that invaluable accomplishment. He was a born caricaturist and very apt with the pencil.”⁴⁶

And, Feder said that Jarvis, “took the time to describe an Indian ceremony in his letters home. On February 2, 1834, he wrote ‘I will, however, add that I have got some pretty Indian curiosities I will send you next spring if an opportunity affords. My room looks something like a Museum, hung around with pipes, tomahawks, [and] war clubs. . . .’”⁴⁷

Jarvis was fortunate, Feder pointed out, because as “the surgeon at the Fort, Jarvis had a unique opportunity to form a good collection. For example, he mentions in a letter dated July 2, 1834: ‘I alone was able to procure the things I have by the interest I have with 1 or 2 traders residing in that country (the area north of the Fort) for medical services render'd them when

⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 10.

stopping here on their passage down to Prairie du Chien with their furs.”⁴⁸

Dr. Jarvis and George Catlin met in 1835 when Catlin visited Fort Snelling. From this meeting, they established a good friendship. Interestingly, Feder pointed out that “in a letter dated December 3, 1837, we find that Catlin offered to buy Jarvis's collection, but the doctor refused to sell.”⁴⁹ It is sad that ignorance has too often hampered preservation of valuable Indigenous material culture ethno-heirlooms. For example, Dr. Jarvis’ youngest son, Nathan Sturges Jarvis, Jr. also collected Native American material culture. He added to his own collection with objects inherited from his father. The unfortunate action that Nathan, Jr. took was, I believe, out of ignorance. Feder explained that, “The youngest [son], Nathan Sturges Jarvis Jr., also left a collection of Indian artifacts to the New- York Historical Society at his death in 1933, including several pieces actually collected by his father. They too were purchased by the Brooklyn Museum. Evidently Jarvis Jr. removed much of the original material for decoration in his own home; as a result, it is now difficult to separate the Jarvis Sr. material from that left to the Society by Jarvis Jr.”⁵⁰

Another example of ignorance was demonstrated by Jarvis and his contemporaries. They did not appreciate the Indians acculturated use of trade cloth and other trade items in their regalia. Feder described this ignorance. For example:

William H. Keating, a trader, who was on the Upper Mississippi in 1823, wrote of the Yanktonai chief Wanotan ‘The chief's dress presented a mixture of European and aboriginal costume; he wore moccasins and leggings of splendid scarlet cloth, a blue breech-cloth, a fine shirt of printed muslin, over this a frock coat of fine blue cloth with scarlet facings, somewhat similar to the undress uniform coat of a Prussian officer; this was buttoned and secured round his waist by a belt. Upon his head he wore a blue cloth cap, made like a German fatigue cap. A very

⁴⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 12.

handsome Mackinaw blanket, slightly ornamented with paint, was thrown over his person. His son, whose features strongly favoured those of his father, wore a dress somewhat similar, except that his coat was party coloured, one-half being made of blue, and the other half of scarlet cloth. He wore a round hat with a plated silver band and a large cockade. From his neck were suspended several silver medals, doubtless presents to his father." The next day, however, Wanotan appeared to Keating again, dressed completely in skin garments. It is regrettable that Jarvis did not deem these cloth garments worthy of his interest. Evidently, he was not the only collector who felt this way; and, as a result, very few examples of cloth clothing from the 1830's are to be found in museums today. Cloth clothing as described by Pond, Jarvis and Keating is commonly shown in the paintings of Indians of this region. For example, the paintings of Peter Rindisbacher show us both male and female styles. In general, his work is extremely valuable in documenting Indian costume and utensils of the period. Rindisbacher, who was born near Berne, Switzerland, in 1806, moved with his family to Lord Selkirk's colony on lower Red River in 1821. Like many of the Swiss immigrants to Red River, he did not stay long but traveled southward again by way of Fort Snelling, eventually to St. Louis. Throughout the voyage he had ample opportunity to observe the Indians and, during his stay at Fort Snelling in 1826, he executed several paintings.⁵¹

Finally, Feder described a "heartbreaking" action that Nathan, Jr. took. Out of ignorance, but with good intention, he allowed important ethno-heirlooms to be lost. Feder explained that "The records of the New-York Historical Society note a heartbreaking loss: in 1900, Dr. N. S. Jarvis Jr. ordered almost twenty-five items destroyed because of moth damage; and no notes of the destroyed items were kept. These included several war bonnets, several otter skin medicine bags, an otter skin quiver, 'a medicine pouch made of the skin and claws of the white eagle,' six pair of moccasins and 'leggings of the skink skin.'"⁵²

A number of Euroamerican artists painted Images of Euroamerican fictional literary interpretations of Mythological Indians inspired by fictional accounts that morphed Plains Indian images into a generic stereotype of a mythological Pan American Indian. Most often, this "Indian" was represented by a generic Lakota warrior.

⁵¹ Ibid., 16.

⁵² Ibid., 17.

George De Forest Brush (1855-1941)

George De Forest Brush (1854-1941), was born in Shelbyville, Tennessee and became one of the artist to paint romantic generic Indian portrait images. He studied classical academic art in Europe. He was one of many 19th-century artists who followed the Euroamerican envisioned romantic siren song to collect images and paint preconceived interpretations of North American Indians. Three of Brush's paintings of Great Plains people were exhibited at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. In the 1880s Brush produced a number of paintings featuring Native Americans. Unfortunately, until the 21st-century many of these works seemed to have disappeared. His paintings are now being studied and appreciated for their unique interpretations on Euroamerican family life a Native American Euroamerican romanticized imaginations.⁵³

Brush shared the view of many of his Victorian contemporaries, that later softened, about Native American people. He saw them as studio models to be collected and reproduce on canvas. Art historian Nancy K. Anderson explained that,

Any discussion of Brush's paintings of American Indians rightfully begins with the artist's own statements. Aside from brief commentary in letters, the most revealing remarks appear in articles written by Brush or in published interviews with the artist. The earliest and most expansive of these, 'An Artist among the Indians,' was commissioned in 1885 by Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *Century Magazine*, who specifically asked Brush to address the question of 'Indians as subjects of pictorial art.'

Brush began his response with reference to the impoverished Indians that travelers often saw as they passed through western railroad towns. He confessed that when he first observed these 'wretched creatures,' he felt 'deceived' by the romantic Indian stories he had read as a boy. Later, having lived with Shoshone, Arapahoe, and Crow Indians in Wyoming and Montana, Brush developed a far

⁵³ Nancy K. Anderson, *George DeForest Brush The Indian Paintings*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 8-29. (Summarized from the article "Layered Fiction: The Indian Paintings")

more realistic and sympathetic understanding of Indian culture.⁵⁴

In Paris, Brush studied Classical art, which taught him the methodology of presenting his human subjects in a neoclassical manner. Brush maintained his strong affinity to the ideal of classical models whose forms should enter the artist's studio. He believed that the artist should strive for classical ideals of the perfect human body type. Anderson said that Brush believed that, "Young Indian men, living independently on their ancestral land, were the equal of the ancient Greeks in physical beauty and thus entirely suitable as subjects for art. Clearly stating his artistic intent, Brush declared: In choosing Indians as subjects for art, I do not paint from the historians or the antiquary's point of view; I do not care to represent them in any curious habits which could not be comprehended by us; I am interested in those habits and deeds in which we have feelings in common. Therefore, I hesitate to attempt to add any interest to my pictures by supplying historical facts."⁵⁵

Brush's painting "Mourning Her Brave" is a fine example of his philosophy for painting human subjects exhibiting universal emotions (fig. F-67). Anderson pointed out that in this painting stands a depiction of a Crow grieving widow. Anderson said that it is a picture showing, "a snowy precipice, beneath the shrouded body of her husband, a grieving widow stands barefoot, her clothing whipped by a cold winter wind. Explaining his intent in composing his painting, Brush declared that the rituals of mourning varied widely among cultural groups, but that all people experienced death and grief. Expression of the common emotion was his aim."⁵⁶ Anderson added, "In 1883, when *Mourning Her Brave* was exhibited for the first time, several critics recognized the artist's intent and applauded his effort. One unidentified commentator

⁵⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 3.

wrote that Brush had ‘sought the elemental thing,’ had ‘laid his hand upon universal passions and emotions,’ and had ‘translated Indian life into a language which we can all understand.’”⁵⁷ For example, other Plains Indians, such as the Blackfoot buried their loved ones as soon as possible after death, which is a very universal custom. Anthropologist Clark Wissler said that the Blackfoot people wore old clothes during their period of mourning. The men and women, both, cut their hair by several inches and let it hang loose as an expression of grief. And, those mourning gave away all of their household belongings.⁵⁸

Brush profited from *Mourning Her Brave* and secured a place as a noteworthy artist. Anderson pointed out that the painting “*Mourning Her Brave* was one of Brush’s earliest Indian paintings. Completed in New York in the fall of 1883, shortly after the artist returned from several months among the Crow Indians in Montana, the painting elicited considerable commentary from the press. For an artist struggling to find a subject that would set him apart from his equally talented and ambitious peers, Brush must have been gratified when he was commended for choosing a ‘distinctly American’ subject (the Indian) and for translating ‘an elemental passion’ into an ‘original and impressive form.’ On a more practical level, the painting sold quickly, thus providing a financial incentive for Brush’s experiment in addressing universal themes through the use of Indian subject matter.”⁵⁹

Brush shared the widely held belief of some of his fellow contemporary artists that paintings of Native Americans should emulate classical body types of European classic images

⁵⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁵⁸ Clark Wissler, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol VII, Part 2: Ceremonial bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, (New York: Order of the Trustees, 1912), 287.

⁵⁹ Nancy K. Anderson, *George DeForest Brush The Indian Paintings*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 3.

of gods. However, it is interesting that he expressed universal human emotions, such as grief, in his paintings.

The use of United States patriotism and Americans being linked into an acculturated unique commercial history was practiced by ethnological academia in the 19th-century and by world exposition promoters. Brush and other artists were absorbed into this patriotic ideology. The 1893 Columbian Exposition, in Chicago commercialized Native Americans and their imaging as the real historic Americans (fig. F-68 and F-69). Art historian Diane Dillon noted that,

a writer for the *Chicago Evening Post* inventoried the representation of American Indians on the fairgrounds: 'He is everywhere. With the tomahawk of history and the peace pipe of tradition he tops the columns of the peristyle and flanks the ideal group of history. His canoes are on the south pond and his bark lodges and totem poles rise beyond; he has a government school building under the intramural loop and a concession for selling basket, blanket, and bead work. He occupies the larger half of the Ethnological Building, forms a most important part of the Smithsonian Institution exhibit in the Government Building, and the Navajo women have an alcove in the Woman's Building. All the western states give space to him.'⁶⁰

Brush's three Indian paintings were exhibited in the Exposition's Fine Arts Palace. These paintings were "listed in the official catalogue as *The Head Dress*, *The Indian and the Lily*, and *The Sculptor and the King*."⁶¹ Dillon explained that Brush's paintings were, "modestly sized" in relation to the overall large grandeur size of the other exhibits and architecture of the Exposition.⁶² And, added Dillon, "For the art-oriented visitors who did notice the paintings, their perceptions were most likely shaped by the more visible Indian representations that they probably saw first, as well as by the fair's larger aesthetic, educational, and economic

⁶⁰ Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianity' at the 1893 World's Fair," in *George DeForest Brush The Indian Paintings*, (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 103.

⁶¹ Ibid., 103.

⁶² Ibid., 103.

imperatives. To appreciate how fairgoers most likely understood Brush's paintings, it is important to view them against this backdrop."⁶³

Tying the Columbus 1492 contact episode and the United States Exceptionalism was the mission of the Exposition organizers (fig. F-70). Dillon said that,

American painters and sculptors who exhibited works in the Fine Arts Palace also seized on the popularity of American Indian subjects. In addition to Brush's works, the pictures included two historical themes (Edward Moran's *First Ship Entering New York Harbor* and Victor Nehlig's *Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain John Smith*), sentimental and battle scenes (De Cost Smith's *Sioux Lovers* and *Driven Back*), and an Indian camp nestled in a Western landscape (Worthington Whittredge's *The Plains*). The most prominent sculptures were five monumental statues: two hunting groups (H.K. Bush-Brown's *The Buffalo Hunt* and Douglas Tilden's *Indian Bear Hunt*), two war scenes (J. Gurtzon Borglum's *Indian Scouts* and Cyrus E. Dallin's *Signal of Peace*), and a religious ritual (Paul Wayland Bartlett's *The Ghost Dance*, fig. 10). And in eight medallions, Olin Levi Warner portrayed the heads of seven famous chiefs and one young girl.⁶⁴

Finally, Dillon pointed out that,

Brush pursued many of the same goals as the exposition's organizers and the exhibitors who displayed Indian-themed objects and Indian peoples. The backdrop of the fair lent emphasis to aspects of Brush's work that had become increasingly prominent over the decade that he devoted to his Indian subjects. In this light, his pictures summarized many of the visual, symbolic, and economic factors that generated and sustained Indianity at the fair. The paintings also pointed up many of the cultural contradictions that structured the fair as a whole: they evoked the interdependence of the primitive and the modern; authenticity and imitation; realism and illusion; education and entertainment; work and leisure; rare objects and mass-produced goods; European and American art; and the lively persistence of native cultures amid predictions about the vanishing race.⁶⁵

Brush's attitude about picturing Indigenous Americans in his paintings in the image of Greek idealized models was a disturbing contrast to his repugnance to the poverty of those Native people living in poverty on Western reservations. Like many Euroamericans of his time,

⁶³ Ibid., 103.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 119.

he believed that Native American people were fading away, never to return. He, it seems, could not grasp the concept that the poor were more “authentic” than his classical conceptions of Indians. After all, the Columbian Exposition was an infomercial for United States industrialization. And, although Brush could not see it, Native America was alive and surviving to participate in the United States history of tomorrow.

Biographic and Art Photography

Early in the 1800s a new medium was evolving to reproduce life images and create new methods to interpret studio posed individuals. Painters were not alone in productions of stereotyping their images of American Indigenous people. Studio art photographers collected Show Indian images and froze these images in time for posterity, ethnology museums, and sale.

Ethnologist John C. Ewers instructed that one must recognize how, in a temporal universe, the image reproduction technology of photography is very new. Ewers said that photography’s development has only existed for a very short time in the history of Indian and transnational contacts. Ewers further pointed out that “By the time the first photographs of Indians were taken during the mid-1840s, many of the tribes living nearest the constantly expanding frontiers of white settlement had been displaced from their aboriginal homelands, their numbers greatly decreased as a result of warfare and disease, and their life-styles greatly modified by influences from the white man’s culture.”⁶⁶

Eventually, studio posed photographs of Native American diplomats and Show Indians became popular collectibles for tourist and others. Anthropologists Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey questioned and answered their question with the obvious, pictures can often

⁶⁶ Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*, Forward by John C. Ewers, (New York: Dorset Press, 1986), 8.

tell the best story. Fleming and Luskey said that, “What value can there be in a stiff studio portrait of a famous Indian chief posed in front of fake rocks and a scenic backdrop? Surely it does not capture a candid moment. It might reveal elements of costume of interest to students. It could even depict a facial expression to inspire reflection upon the whole of Indian history. Each viewer will have a different reaction to and interpretation of an image, whether taken in a studio or in the field. However, it is our belief that even a stiff studio photograph can provide us with a face that makes the sitter come alive. We are lucky to have so many living’ documents of the North American Indians.”⁶⁷

Fleming and Luskey proffered a short abstracted history of the development of photographic technologies (fig. F-71 and F-72). In it they explained that,

In 1826, Joseph Niepce, a Frenchman, produced the earliest surviving photograph made by a camera obscura. The camera obscura, used to observe solar eclipses by means of a pinhole, merely produced shadows. Niepce used a process called heliography to produce an image on a polished pewter plate. Eventually he went into partnership with Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre. It was Daguerre who perfected the first practical method of producing a permanent image. His images were formed by a compound of mercury acting upon a sensitized silver-coated copper plate. In effect, light tarnished the silver in varying degrees as reflected by the subject. This kind of photograph was called a ‘daguerreotype’ in honor of its inventor. On January 7, 1839 Daguerre’s invention was announced to the French Academy of Sciences. By September the first printed account of the process reached America. People who saw these images for the first time were astonished: in 1839, Lewis Gaylord Clark, editor of *The Knickerbocker*, described daguerreotypes as being ‘the most remarkable objects of curiosity and admiration, in the arts, that we ever beheld. Their exquisite perfection almost transcends the bounds of sober belief. The science of photography spread rapidly. There were many experiments in new techniques to produce the best possible images in the shortest amount of time. People rushed to have their portraits made by this new and fascinating invention. In time, the American public also became interested in photographs of scenes that they could not directly experience. Views from foreign countries were in demand, as were images of Indians.’⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1986), 12.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Fleming and Luskey continued, “In 1851 Frederick Scott Archer invented a method of photographic processing by coating a glass plate with a sticky chemical called a collodion, which had been mixed with the sensitized silver. As it had to be exposed and developed while the collodion was still moist, this became known as the wet-plate process. It was extremely time-consuming, and like daguerreotype, was generally practiced only by professionals. Unlike daguerreotype, however, the new process produced negatives from which an unlimited number of positives could be made.”⁶⁹ Additionally, Fleming and Luskey explained that,

the 1850s also saw the popularization of stereographs. These were produced by taking two separate images of a scene, the second image being slightly to one side of the first — in other words, two views produced as two separate eyes would see them. These images were then mounted together, and viewed through a stereoscope, a device that made the eyes combine the separate scenes into one three-dimensional image. The effect was astounding. Instantly the viewer became part of a scene one moment looking down from a high cliff, the next standing at the very edge of Niagara Falls, then peeking into an Indian encampment. With stereographs, the viewer could travel around the world without leaving the security of home . . . photography became increasingly easy with various technical advances. By the early 1880s, the dry-plate negative had become popular. These negatives were easy to use and replaced the cumbersome wet-plate process. Studios sprang up in most medium-sized cities, producing thousands of photographers available to record the Indians. Both amateurs and professionals were attracted to the rich subject-matter afforded them by the Indians as well as to the potential for making a profit from the sale of the images. Their photographs found a market with the white population, who continued to be curious about the ‘savages’ of the frontier, and would remain so as long as the Indian Wars continued.⁷⁰

Through photography Native America was brought into the homes of the United States urban centers. Children and their parents could view and ponder the mythical people of the First Nations. Because American Indians were now seen in photographs, the non-Indian peoples could relate human to human and recognize that the camera can collect all people into the same place.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 13.

Gertrude Kasebier (1852-1934)

Gertrude Kasebier (1852-1934) was a renowned New York art photographer who collected Show Indian images. The people known as Show Indians were Native Americans who performed and traveled in Wild West show style exhibitions. The European and Euroamerican fascination with Indians attracted audiences to these exhibitions. *Oskate wicasa*, another name for Show Indian, comes from a Lakota phrase of respect. Its usage began in the early days of the Buffalo Bill Cody Wild West Show. *Oskate wicasa* is a colloquialism meaning, “one who performs.”⁷¹

Kasebier was another artist rushing to collect and document the alleged vanishing Indigenous American lifeways, ethno-heirlooms, and people. When William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) brought his Wild West Show, complete with Show Indians to New York City, Kasebier took the opportunity to invite the Indian performers to her studio in order to photograph them. Historian Michelle Delany explained that,

Kasebier pursued this priceless opportunity to document the ‘fast-vanishing life and customs of the Western tribes.’ Unlike many other photographers working to photograph Native Americans at the turn of the century— especially Edward Curtis—she initiated a studio project aimed at representing Indian performers as individuals in a time of transition. Her reputation as a pictorialist, or art photographer, may have been discussed with Cody, further encouraging the portrait sessions. Within several years, Kasebier was to establish herself as the leading portrait photographer in the United States and one of the few Americans accepted into the prestigious international photographic salons of Europe.⁷²

Delany made the point that Euroamerican artists, much as Brush, and perhaps even Kasebier herself, ignored the impoverished Indians, “who did not look like Buffalo Bill’s show Indians did not get their pictures taken... certainly not the impoverished, just reservationized,

⁷¹ Alice J. Hall, “Buffalo Bill and the Enduring West,” *National Geographic*, (July 1981): 88.

⁷² Michelle Delaney, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors a Photographic History by Gertrude Kasebier*, (Washington: Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 2007), 3.

defeated, hungry, missionary donation-box clothed aboriginals.”⁷³ Delany said that Kasebier was not unique with the Wild Show audiences in her shared fascination of the American Show Indians. Delany said that the photographer and audience members shared an interest, “in meeting the performers. Many ticket holders visited the Wild West camp prior to performances, meeting with the Indians or other members of the Congress of Rough Riders, and seeing how they lived while traveling with Cody. But Kasebier’s status as a professional photographer allowed her to arrange the private meeting with the Indians for her own purposes.”⁷⁴

In 1898, Kasebier made arrangements with Cody for a group of his show’s Show Indians to come to her studio to be courted and photographed (fig. F-73 through F-75). Delany explained that,

On Sunday morning, April 24, 1898, Kasebier prepared with great anticipation to receive her special guests for tea at ten o’clock, and later to make their portraits. She hoped to photograph three or four of the Native Americans. Cody and his managers selected nine Sioux men to send to the studio: Chief Iron Tail, High Heron, Has-No-Horses, Samuel Lone Bear, Joseph Black Fox, Red Horn Bull, Shooting Pieces, Phillip Standing Soldier, and Kills-Close-to-the-Lodge. An eager Kasebier planned to arrive at the studio an hour early for final preparations, but her guests, equally eager, were waiting for her inside when she arrived. The Sioux and their Wild West chaperone were served tea and ‘hot frankfurters between unbuffered bread,’ followed by a lengthy three-hour portrait session. Kasebier found her visitors polite and candid but, possessing a strong and almost impenetrable reserve when posing for the camera.⁷⁵

And, added Delany,

The tea and portrait session was reported immediately on the women’s page of the *New York Times*, and several years later in the popular journal *Everybody’s Magazine*, January 1901. An article, possibly written by Kasebier or a close friend, reproduced her photographs, drawings made for her by the Sioux Indians at her studio, and excerpts of letters exchanged. In ‘Sioux Chief’s Party Call,’ the *Times* detailed the meeting and friendships made. The resulting portraits were termed a ‘great success ... works of art,’ and as far as the author could discern,

⁷³ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 13.

appreciated by the sitters. *Everybody's Magazine* described the clothing worn by the men especially for the occasion: They wore feathered head-dresses that were marvels; short jackets fairly covered with elaborate designs in solid beadwork; flannel shirts of vivid red, blue, and green; blankets beaded and decorated with patterns of United States flags; moccasins edged with beads or dyed porcupine quills; and furs of otter skin. Brass and silver bands and silver rings . . .⁷⁶

Delany provided excellent descriptive text about the Kasebier photographs of the Show Indians from Cody's Wild West. She showed how written text can bring image art to sighted and unsighted individuals. The art photographers of this time contributed as much as painters to the interpretation of working people such as Show Indians.

Ethnological interpretive imagery has proven to serve as valuable biographical collectibles. From these images we learn about social games, such as cards, between friends and Euroamerican imaginations of Native Americans being presented as Classical Greek statues. What viewers then and now see opens opportunities for conversation and an incentive to want to learn more about the life and times of the artists and their subjects.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 14.

Chapter 5 - Transnational Native American Artists and Storytellers

Chapter 5 is a sampling of Native American authors, artists, and political activists who were biographical creators and collectors that gathered and recorded images and stories about their families and communities.

Nellie Two Bears Gates (1854- 1934?)

Nellie Two Bears Gates (1854- 1934?), *Mahpiya Bogawin*, Gathering of Clouds Woman, was born in North Dakota on the Standing Rock Reservation (fig. F-76). She was an accomplished Teton Sioux quillwork and beadwork artist. Her work told historical and biographical stories.¹ Nellie Gates learned her craft in the traditional way. Nellie Gates' beadwork pictographs transcended traditional gender subject recording in her art. "As a rule, women painted, quilled, and beaded geometric designs onto such objects as parfleches, clothing, and pipe bags. The realm of representational forms, such as the drawings of combat deeds painted on buffalo robes, tipis, and paper pages obtained from whites through trade or capture fell into the purview of men." Going outside gender expectations, Nellie Gates crafted warrior scenes in her beadwork designs.²

Nellie Gates was one of the women artists who, "quilled and beaded pictographic imagery onto some of the objects they made, such as pouches, although it seems likely that prior to the reservation era these images followed patterns that may initially have been sketched on the

¹ Terry A. Winchell, "Nellie Two Bear Gates" in *The Plains Indians: Artist of Earth and Sky*, (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2014), 250 (information to accompany Valise – 1903).

² Ron McCoy, "Fully Beaded Valise with Pictographic Designs by Nellie Two Bear Gates Lakota/Yanktonai," in *Splendid Heritage – Perspectives on American Indian Art*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 2 (Notes to accompany Item WC9206020 Sioux Bag).

surface by men.”³ Dealer in Native American Indian Art, Terry Winchell said that Nellie Gates was an important early reservation bead worker.⁴ Historian Ron McCoy in discussing the Gates’ beaded valise for the *Splendid Heritage* exhibit said that, “On the northern Great Plains around the end of the 19th century a few Lakota (Teton Sioux) women began creating extensively beaded pictographic images on a diverse array of surfaces. Those surfaces included many previously non-traditional items such as vests, gauntlets, and . . . a valise.”⁵

Nellie Gates and a few other Teton women produced pictographic scenes that included horses, riders, and standing figures in the late 19th and early 20th century. It is said that Nellie Gates beadwork exhibited a unique style. Winchell pointed out objects that Nellie Gates was responsible for and show examples,

of early reservation period pictorial-style Sioux beadwork. The phase began in the 1870s and reached its peak between 1890 and 1910. Vests, tobacco bags, and cradles were the forms most often embellished in this way, yet nontraditional Euro-American objects were sometimes ornamented as well. Pictographic imagery had previously been reserved for painted hides, shields, tipis and tipi liners, and drawings on paper, and was typically done only by men. Pictorial beadwork was the result of collaboration between men and women: the men created the underlying drawings in the classic pictorial style and women beaded directly over the images. In the finest of these works, the beadwork closely replicated the drawings in richness of detail. Headdresses, clothing, shields, and weapons were highly detailed, clearly identifying the subjects.⁶

Winchell explained that one of Nellie Gates best works was a valise that she presented her daughter in 1903. Winchell said that,

³ Ibid., 2.

⁴ Terry A. Winchell, “Nellie Two Bear Gates” in *The Plains Indians: Artist of Earth and Sky*, (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2014), 250. (information to accompany Valise – 1903)

⁵ Ron McCoy, “Fully Beaded Valise with Pictographic Designs by Nellie Two Bear Gates Lakota/Yanktonai,” in *Splendid Heritage – Perspectives on American Indian Art* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 2-3. (Notes to accompany Item WC9206020 Sioux Bag)

⁶ Terry A. Winchell, “Nellie Two Bear Gates” in *The Plains Indians: Artist of Earth and Sky*, (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, 2014), 250. (information to accompany Valise – 1903)

Family papers confirm the date beaded into the design; this valise was created in 1903 and presented to Nellie Gates's daughter Josephine in 1909 upon her graduation from Carlisle Indian School. The artist told her daughter that this was the most important valise of the several she had made, as it depicts her family's actions in the 1863 Battle of White Stone Hill. . . . [and] The remaining images on the sides and top include patriotic motifs—stars and crossed American flags—along with classic Lakota geometric designs.⁷

Nellie Gates is remembered for her recorded historic collections of her family legacy. Her work was primarily historic in its subject matter. And now, said Winchell, Nellie Gates work “extends to a far greater audience, and it endures as an important expression of Plains pictorial art and Nellie Gates's legacy.”⁸

Short Bull (1845-1915)

The First Nations peoples of the United States continued to adapt and survive Euroamerican occupation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Short Bull (1845-1915) and other Lakota Ghost Dance practitioners were labeled persons of concern because many white people were victims of fear propaganda aimed at making Indigenous people seem threatening to the colonizers pursuit of happiness prior to the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre, after which they were arrested and incarcerated. The United States Army awarded custody of one hundred Ghost Dance prisoners to Buffalo Bill Cody. The action was a means to solve the problem of housing the Ghost Dancer prisoners in Fort Sheridan's over-crowded jail. Buffalo Bill Cody employed the prisoners of war in his Wild West show then touring Europe in 1891.⁹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Rita G. Napier, “Across the Big Water: American Indians' Preceptions of Europe and Europeans, 1887-1906,” *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays, Across the Big Water: American Indians' Perceptions of Europe and Europeans, 1887-1906*, ed. Christian F. Feest, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 385.

Short Bull (Tatanka Ptecela), a respected Oglala Lakota medicine man, on December 29, 1890 led one hundred followers to the safety of the South Dakota Bad Lands outside Pine Ridge Reservation. It was an attempt to protect these Ghost Dance practitioners from capture by the United States Army. Despite his efforts, the group was forced to surrender on January 15, 1891 to General Nelson A. Miles at Pine Ridge Reservation.¹⁰ In an interview conducted years after the Ghost Dance tragedy, Short Bull said the Ghost Dance was misunderstood. He could not understand why the white society was threatened by the dancing. He added that the Lakota Ghost Dance followers never meant to frighten anyone. Short Bull explained the dancers were weaponless. He said the dancers danced with their fingers linked together holding hands in an unbroken circle as a sign of unity.¹¹

Short Bull, as a Prisoner of War, was hired by Buffalo Bill Cody's 1891 Wild West Show European tour (fig. F-77). During 1891 he performed for various European royalty and dignitaries including Kaiser Wilhelm II in Germany, Queen Wilhelmina in Holland, and Queen Victoria in England. After serving his one-year sentence, Short Bull remained with the show for several more years. In 1893 Short Bull appeared in Chicago with Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World outside the World's Colombian Exposition. He made his film debut in 1894 with Buffalo Bill Cody. Thomas Edison filmed the two men communicating in Indian sign language. Short Bull appeared again on film in the autumn of 1913. The moving picture was made on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The film featured Short Bull and General Miles acting in Buffalo Bill Cody's version of the Ghost Dance and Wounded

¹⁰ Ronald McCoy, "Short Bull: Lakota Visionary, Historian & Artist." *American Indian Art*, (Summer 1992): 57.

¹¹ Ibid.

Knee Creek tragedy. The film was touted as an accurate reenactment of that terrible December.¹²

Throughout his life, Short Bull continuously created pictographic records of his peoples' growing history (fig. F-78). He chronicled the winter count in a pictorial format. The winter count measured the most significant event of each year from winter to winter.¹³ Today Short Bull's informative works can be seen in museums in the United States and Europe. He left one of these notebooks of drawings in Germany when he was on tour with Buffalo Bill Cody. The notebook is housed in the Leipzig's Museum für Volkerkunde. It contains forty-three crayon and pencil drawings.¹⁴ Late in life Short Bull shared his personal knowledge of his peoples' culture and history, and was a valued resource for ethnologists. They had the opportunity to record his recollections through his pictographs and conversations with the elder leader.¹⁵ Short Bull was probably about ninety years old when he died.

Chauncey Yellow Robe (1867-1930)

Chauncey Yellow Robe (1867-1930), the outspoken Brule Lakota activist, was born in Montana in 1867.¹⁶ He was a critic of Indian employment and the Indians who accepted it in Wild West shows. However, he acted as a Show Indian when it helped him to promote Indian causes such as educating the Euroamerican public about Native American culture. He even appeared in exhibitions in western South Dakota for the Black Hills tourists dressed in full Lakota regalia. At the end of his life, Chauncey Yellow Robe acted in a film produced by a

¹² Ibid., 57.

¹³ Ibid., 60.

¹⁴ Ibid., 58.

¹⁵ "Short Bull" at <http://www.olc.edu/shortbull/shortbull.html>

¹⁶ Suzanne Julin. "Return to Pahasapa: The Lakota and Tourism in the Black Hills, 1920-1940." (Paper, Western History Association 42nd Annual Conference, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 19 October 2002).

trustee of the American Museum of Natural History, portraying an elderly Ojibway chief. In spite of or because of the paradox of his actions, his critical analysis of Pan-Indian concerns carried great weight with Indian and non-Indian social reformers such as Richard H. Pratt. He believed the Wild West shows exploited their Show Indians and the Show Indians demeaned themselves by their involvement with the shows.

Chauncey Yellow Robe, like his contemporary Luther Standing Bear, was an alumnus of the Carlisle Indian School. His eldest daughter Rosebud Yellow Robe chronicled her father's life in her writings. She wrote her father entered the school on November 16, 1883.¹⁷ She said that the school's founder, Richard H. Pratt, convinced the tribal elders to enroll the tribe's children in the school and place them under his care to ensure they would adapt to Euroamerican society thus giving them a more stable future.¹⁸ The students experienced culture shock by not being allowed to speak their native language on Carlisle's premises. The school insisted students only speak English. Chauncey Yellow Robe was a good student and eventually became a part of the school's staff. During the summers he attended the Mount Herman School for Boys in Northfield, Massachusetts, a school for underprivileged children with diverse ethnic backgrounds.¹⁹ In 1890 Chauncey Yellow Robe took a brief job as a government interpreter. He worked for the United States Indian Bureau during its investigation of Show Indians from Buffalo Bill Cody's European Indian troupe. The government believed an allegation that the

¹⁷ Rosebud Yellow Robe, *Tonweya and the Eagles, and Other Lakota Indian Tales* (New York: The Dial Press, 1979), 14, and Barbara Landis, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School" <http://home.epix.net/~landis/index> (provides information on Carlisle school and its students from the Cumberland County Historical Society archive for the Carlisle School.)

¹⁸ Rosebud Yellow Robe, *Tonweya and the Eagles, and Other Lakota Indian Tales* (New York: The Dial Press, 1979), 14.

¹⁹ "A Brief History of NMH" at www.nmhschool.org/history

Show Indians had been mistreated by Cody. Undoubtedly this experience planted biases he carried into his later analysis of Wild West shows. In 1893 he represented Carlisle Indian School as a member of the North American Indian Congress of Nations in the opening ceremonies at the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago.²⁰ In 1895, the young Lakota man, now in his twenties, left Carlisle and began a teaching career.

The young teacher worked for the United States Government Indian boarding school at Rapid City, South Dakota from 1905 to 1924.²¹ In 1906 he married Lillian Belle Sprenger, the descendent of German immigrants, a nurse at the school.²² Chauncey Yellow Robe spoke publicly in favor of non-reservation Boarding schools for Indian students. He believed the Indian student received a better education at the non-reservation boarding schools than he/she would at the reservation schools.²³ He advocated education as the solution to Indian survival in the white world.

The Lakota educator worried about many social problems in the Indian community, including finding solutions to the problem of Indian alcoholism and exploitation of Show Indians by Wild West show businesses. He worked for reforms with Indian and non-Indian activists. Late in life Chauncey Yellow Robe ran unsuccessfully for the South Dakota seat in Congress. He actively participated in the Society of American Indians, a Pan-Indian organization formed to seek political solutions to better Indian lives. He addressed the Fourth Annual Conference of the

²⁰ Rosebud Yellow Robe, *Tonweya and the Eagles, and Other Lakota Indian Tales* (New York: The Dial Press, 1979), 14-15.

²¹ Ibid., 15, and Marjorie Weinberg, *The Real Rosebud: The Triumph of a Lakota Woman*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 26.

²² Marjorie Weinberg, *The Real Rosebud: The Triumph of a Lakota Woman*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 27, and Suzanne Julin. "Return to Pahasapa: The Lakota and Tourism in the Black Hills, 1920-1940." (Paper, Western History Association 42nd Annual Conference, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 19 October 2002).

²³ Barbara Landis, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School" at <http://home.epix.net/~landis/index>

Society of American Indians held in Madison, Wisconsin, October 1914. The theme of his speech focused on the degradation the Show Indians inflicted upon themselves through their Wild West show employment. Yellow Robe contended the shows' "commercializing" exploited their Indian performers. He condemned the Bureau of Indian Affairs for granting favors to Wild West shows, fairs, and the motion picture business employing Indians. He spoke passionately against such employment that could restrict the Indian from achieving respect and justice in the dominant society. Further, he insisted the Indian should be protected from the caustic exploitation that would come from Wild West type exhibition. He feared alcohol abuse by Indians would only increase in these entertainment environments. Chauncey Yellow Robe lamented the liberal use of the Indian icon to promote commercial exhibitions and tourist attractions in South Dakota. The commercial depiction of Indians as savages in movies angered the activist. He concluded his address by pleading for equal opportunities for Indians in other vocations.²⁴

Chauncey Yellow Robe acted as a Show Indian to bring public attention to teach Euroamericans Lakota culture. After World War I the United States' new motorcar vacationers eagerly sought tours of the homeland, the United States. Places like the Black Hills in western South Dakota where Mt. Rushmore was being carved and the location of the town of Deadwood, formerly the home of such notables as Calamity Jane and Poker Alice, eagerly capitalized on the burgeoning income. Suzanne Julin, a public historian, explained that Chauncey Yellow Robe acted as a spokesperson for the Black Hills tourist business. In 1927 he represented the Black Hills Commercial Clubs at a conference in Hastings, Nebraska to interest automobile tourists

²⁴ Chauncey Yellow Robe, "The Meanace of the Wild West Show," *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, 2 (1914): 224-225.

into visiting South Dakota. Also in 1927, Chauncey Yellow Robe and his twenty-year-old daughter Rosebud performed in a pageant designed for the tourist entertainment during the annual Deadwood celebration held in the infamous town of Deadwood, South Dakota. The celebration included a rodeo as part of the festivities. In 1927 the Deadwood “Days of ’76” featured Chauncey Yellow Robe welcoming President Calvin Coolidge to the celebration and extolling the familial relationship established between the “red and white” race for promotional purposes (fig. F-79). Then hereditary Chief Yellow Robe ceremonially adopted the United States President into his tribe giving the President the honorary name of First Eagle. Rosebud enhanced the ceremony by placing a feathered war bonnet upon the white leader’s head. The event was grand theater and generated publicity for the tourism industry in the Black Hills. Other Indians from Cheyenne River, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge reservations worked for hourly wages in the Black Hills tourist industry happy to temporarily be away from the boredom and summer heat on the reservations.²⁵

Rosebud Yellow Robe explained that her father let Douglas Burden cajole him into acting in an ethnographic film project. Burden, a trustee of the American Museum of Natural History, wrote and produced the documentary film. Burden convinced Chauncey Yellow Robe this documentary film would be an important an educational bridge between the Indian and Euroamerican cultures. It would teach Euroamerican society about First Nation peoples’ culture and survival history. The film, *The Silent Enemy*, premiered in 1930 (fig. F-80). The film failed to attract audiences in theaters because it was a silent film. The public now preferred to watch talking pictures. Jean Moore, daughter of Molly Spotted Elk, one of the film’s primary actors,

²⁵ Marjorie Weinberg, *The Real Rosebud: The Triumph of a Lakota Woman*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 29-35, and Suzanne Julin. “Return to Pahasapa: The Lakota and Tourism in the Black Hills, 1920-1940.” (Paper, Western History Association 42nd Annual Conference, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 19 October 2002.)

said the film was unique because the entire cast was non-professional Indian actors.²⁶ The film was not entirely silent. Chauncey Yellow Robe wrote and recorded an audio prologue for the film in New York City. The movie dealt with the Pre-Columbian Ojibway peoples' struggle against hunger and the elements. Shortly after recording the film's prologue, the elderly Lakota social activist contracted pneumonia and died in the Rockefeller Institute Hospital in New York City.²⁷

Chauncey Yellow Robe must have truly believed in the educational value of *The Silent Enemy* to consent to the venture. However, scholar Bunny McBride noted the film contained ethnographic inaccuracies. Yellow Robe played the role of a Canadian Ojibway named Chief Chetoga while donning nineteenth century Lakota clothing. Burden and company used Chauncey Yellow Robe, a northern Plains Lakota man and Molly Spotted Elk, a New England Penobscot woman, as informants on northern woodland Ojibway culture. Burden and his crew did manage to reproduce authentic depictions of Ojibway housing, tools, and other material artifacts. But, the inaccuracies outweighed the factual elements. The film exploited white stereotypes of Indians. For example, the medicine man was portrayed as a malicious character.²⁸ In the prologue Chauncey Yellow Robe welcomed the audience in character as Chief Chetoga. He told the audience it would be witnessing an accurate historical portrayal of pre- Columbian Ojibway life. The elderly Lakota man informed the audience the "white civilization" which nearly destroyed his civilization now preserved it on film for posterity. He thanked the producers of the film for this gesture. Chauncey Yellow Robe concluded the prologue by telling

²⁶ Jean Archambaud Moore, Telephone interview by author (29 April 2004).

²⁷ Rosebud Yellow Robe, *Tonweya and the Eagles, and Other Lakota Indian Tales* (New York: The Dial Press, 1979), 17. and Marjorie Weinberg, *The Real Rosebud: The Triumph of a Lakota Woman*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 38.

²⁸ Bunny McBride, *Molly Spotted Elk: A Penobscot in Paris*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 113.

the audience to be aware his people still face many challenges.²⁹ In spite of the film's problems, it is well worth viewing.

Native American storytellers acted as collectors and recorders of tribal and family histories. Native American storytellers are ethnologic history collectors, transnational tribal preservers, and political activists who advocate transnational awareness that Indigenous people are alive, acculturated, and well. They are Cultural family and Tribal Lore collectors for humankind's posterity. Show Indians collected transnational travel memories, a sense of security, and ethno-heirlooms.

Luther Standing Bear (1868-1939)

Luther Standing Bear (1868-1939), the Brule Lakota Pan Indian activist, actor, and author of four books about Lakota culture, used his Show Indian status as a means to gain public attention to promote causes such as Indian voting rights and Indian education. He was born in the mid-1860s and died in 1939. Luther Standing Bear entered the Pennsylvania Carlisle Indian School in 1879 as a member of the school's first class. After graduation he worked on the Rosebud Reservation as a government interpreter and government teacher at the reservation school (fig. F-81). In the 1890s he moved to Pine Ridge Reservation where for a brief time he was an assistant minister, clerked in the reservation store, and owned a ranch. In the early 1900s Luther Standing Bear toured one year with the Buffalo bill Cody show and one season he worked for the Miller Brothers Oklahoma based Wild West show before finally moving to Southern California where he worked in motion pictures, established the Native American branch of the Screen Actors Guild, and wrote books (fig. F-82). He described his various jobs in his

²⁹ Ibid., 123-124, and Douglas W. Burden and William C. Chandler, *The Silent Enemy: An Epic of the American Indian*. With Introduction by Yellow Robe, written by Richard Carver, Directed by H. P. Carver. 84 min. Film Preservation Associates 1992. (originally filmed in 1930) Videocassette.

autobiography, *My People the Sioux*. The book opened the reservation world and Lakota point of view to the non-Indian reader.³⁰

The one-year employment with Buffalo Bill Cody left a lasting imprint on Luther Standing Bear's life. In 1902 Luther, his wife Nellie and their son Luther went on tour of England with the Buffalo Bill Cody Wild West show. Luther senior worked as an interpreter, mediator between the show's Indian performers and the auxiliary staff, and as a show Indian along with his wife and son.³¹ He later wrote about the time he confronted a deliberate act of prejudice perpetrated by the show's cook. The cook served the Indian troupe stale leftover pancakes from the morning's breakfast for dinner. The show's non-Indian cast received meat and the usual side dishes such as potatoes for dinner. He said he composed himself and kept his anger in check. The situation never occurred again after he brought the complaint to the attention to Cody. The Indian performers' meals, for the remainder of the tour, consisted only of the foods they specifically requested.³² He said he and his compatriots would reminisce about the traditional Lakota foods of home while waiting out the rain between shows. They missed wild peppermint tea, roasted ribs, fried bread, and chokecherry soup.³³ In Birmingham, England, Luther and Nellie Standing Bear became the proud parents of a baby daughter whom they named Alexandra Birmingham Cody Standing Bear and asked Buffalo Bill Cody to be Alexandra's godfather. The Standing Bear children enchanted the Wild West show's audiences. Nellie and her newborn daughter posed for show patrons on an elevated platform. Nellie sat in a chair with Alexandra lying in front of her snug in a *hoksicala postan* (cradle) with a box strategically

³⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, with an introduction by Richard N. Ellis, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), xiii-xiv.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 245-247.

³² *Ibid.*, 260-261.

³³ *Ibid.*, 263.

located so the spectators could donate money to the baby. Luther junior proved to be quite a showman. His father bragged about his son's showmanship. He said the boy, dressed in buckskin costume identical to his father's, would pose outside the family's tipi shaking hands with the show's visitors. The English people shook hands with the boy and gave him money which he stowed in his jacket pocket until it was full at which time the young showman would display displeasure with the fawning audience and retreat into the tipi. Luther Standing Bear fondly remembered how much his son's antics made everyone laugh.³⁴ After eleven months with Buffalo Bill Cody's show, the Standing Bear family returned to Pine Ridge. Sadly, both children died after the family's return to the reservation.³⁵ The Cody show contracted Luther Standing Bear to tour in the show's 1903 season, but a tragic train accident and injuries at Maywood, Illinois, April 7, 1903, ended his association with Buffalo Bill Cody.³⁶

Upon his recovery from the train accident, Luther Standing Bear went to work for the United States government as a Show Indian and as a foreman of the Indian performers at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1911 he joined the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Real Wild West Show for a short stint. Finally, he moved to California and entered the movie business.³⁷ Luther Standing Bear played both Indian and non-Indian roles. He appeared in films from 1916 to 1935 which included: *Ramona*, 1916; *Bolshevism on Trial*, 1919 (Saka); *White Oak*, 1921 (Long Knife); *The Santa Fe Trail*, 1930 (Chief Sutanek); *The Conquering Horde*, 1931 (White Cloud); *Texas Pioneers*, 1932 (Indian Chief); *Murder in the Private Car*, 1934 (Indian); *Cyclone of the Saddle*, 1935 (Yellow Wolf); *The Miracle Rider*,

³⁴ Ibid., 265-266.

³⁵ Ibid., 270 and 272.

³⁶ Ibid., 270.

³⁷ William J. Ehrheart, "Chief Luther Standing Bear II: Activist, Author, Historian," *Persimmon Hill*, (Autumn 1997): 45-46.

1935 (Chief Last Elk); *Fighting Pioneers*, 1935 (Black Hawk); and *Circle of Death*, 1935 (Sioux chief).³⁸

In the 1920s and 1930s Luther Standing Bear became politically active with Pan-Indian causes. His employment in the movie industry introduced him to the labor concerns of Indian actors and his involvement in their fight for parity rights. He founded the Indian Actors Association, a branch of the Screen Actors Guild. Luther Standing Bear's activism extended to Washington, D. C. Throughout his life he visited government officials with Pan Indian concerns such as Native American voting rights. He advocated better education for all children, Indian and white. Luther Standing Bear wrote President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on May 2, 1933 expressing his concerns about the United States education curriculum. The letter lobbied for Federal legislation mandating the inclusion, in all schools, the study of Native American "history, culture, arts, and society."³⁹ His contribution to education also included four books on the history, culture, and folklore of the Lakota people: *My People the Sioux*, 1928; *My Indian Boyhood*, 1931; *The Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 1933; and *Stories of the Sioux*, 1934.⁴⁰ He lived the last years of his life in California Luther Standing Bear is buried in the Hollywood Cemetery.⁴¹

³⁸ "Internet Movie Database (IMDb)" <http://www.imdb.com> (confirms the list of films in which Luther Standing Bear appeared and the roles he played)

³⁹ Richard N. Ellis, *Luther Standing Bear: "I would raise him to be an Indian"*, in *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders* ed. L. G. Moses and Raymond Wilson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 154.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴¹ William J. Ehrheart, "Chief Luther Standing Bear II: Activist, Author, Historian," *Persimmon Hill*, (Autumn 1997), 46.

George Dull Knife (1875-1955)

George Dull Knife, an Oglala Lakota, lived outside the Pine Ridge Reservation at the Yellow Bear Camp. He joined the Buffalo Bill Cody Wild West in 1892 when he was 17 years old, two years after the tragedy at Wounded Knee Creek. He spent the next fifteen years, on and off, as a Wild West Show Indian with the Buffalo Bill Cody Wild West, where he learned English. He eventually became an interpreter for the Cody show. George Dull Knife said that in the years following the Wounded Knee tragedy the people of Pine Ridge Reservation, particularly the men, grew despondent and lost the will to continue. These, he said, were the worst years the people had ever known. Alcohol abuse and its consequences increased at this time. George Dull Knife praised the women for having the strength and courage to keep their families together and cared for during those dark days. He said the people were glad when Buffalo Bill Cody's recruiters came to Pine Ridge. The show gave the people a sense of direction and some sustenance. George's show employment was a hardship on his family, yet he and his family felt it was worth the income the work provided. George Dull Knife valued his good relationship with Buffalo Bill Cody.⁴²

The Show Indians' wives, remaining on the reservation while their husbands toured, faced many challenges caring for their families as temporary single parents. The women single-handedly fed and clothed their families, and ensured their children attended the reservation government day schools.⁴³ Reservation day schools began appearing on Pine Ridge Reservation in the 1880s, and by the 1920s about 100 were in operation there. Reservation day schools comprised 20 percent of the government Indian school system founded to assimilate Indian

⁴² Joe Straita. *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 137-138.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 170.

children into the United States Euroamerican centric society. The day schools were established as the bottom tier of the government Indian education program from which the children were expected to transfer to off reservation government boarding schools after the age of ten.⁴⁴

George and Mary Dull Knife recognized the importance of cross-cultural education offered to their children. George Dull Knife married Mary Red Rabbit, also an Oglala Lakota from the Yellow Bear Camp, in 1898.⁴⁵ George and Mary had a fifty-seven-year marriage in which they parented twelve children. Along with other wives of Show Indians, Mary coped with her husband's long absences. She fared better than some of the other wives, because George honored his responsibility to his family by sending money home to his wife while he was away on tour.⁴⁶ One of George and Mary's sons, Guy Dull Knife, Sr. told his son Guy, Jr., that his mother used part of his father's Wild West earnings to buy him a new coat and new leather shoes for school.⁴⁷ He remembered one difficult year his family faced. The family struggled to keep food on the table while George Dull Knife was on tour. Mary Dull Knife had her son Guy hunt coyote puppies to use as meat to make stew to feed the family. Guy Sr. said ". . . we were all happy to see my father when he came home that year."⁴⁸

Guy Dull Knife Jr., a grandson of George Dull Knife, provided journalism professor at University of Nebraska Joe Starita, chronicler of the Dull Knife family history, with family history and antidotes. He told Joe Starita about a treasured family heirloom, the large black trunk in which his family kept mementos and photographs from his grandfather's Wild West

⁴⁴ Thomas G. Andrews, "Turning the Tables on Assimilation: Oglala Lakotas and the Pine Ridge Day Schools, 1889-1920s." *Western Historical Quarterly*, 33, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 408.

⁴⁵ Joe Straita. *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 163.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

days. George Dull Knife praised Cody for taking good care of his performers. He said Cody made sure the Show Indians were well fed. Cody also arranged for the Show Indians sightseeing tours of the European locations where they performed. At the end of the show season Cody gave the performers parting gifts. George Dull Knife and Cody remained friends until Cody's death in 1917. The Dull Knife family kept in the trunk gifts from Cody, which included a pair of black binoculars inscribed with "*La Dauphine - Paris*" and a nickel-plated pistol with a pearl handle and leather holster. Also in the trunk was a stack of photographs tied together with a piece of rawhide. One photograph showed George Dull Knife and Buffalo Bill posing together; another showed George with other members of the Show Indian troupe posing in Paris in front of the Eiffel Tower. They wore blankets and stood in a close group looking directly into the camera. He noted when the show toured outside the United States Cody allowed the Indian performers to speak in their native languages, dance their traditional dances, and worship in their own religion. The Show Indians took advantage of their temporary liberty to continue these practices, banned by the United States government at home.⁴⁹

While touring Europe the Show Indians erected villages mimicking the camps their families once lived in on the plains. The tipis housed animal hide parfleches holding clothing and beaded deerskin bags protecting catlinite pipes. Often many of the performers brought their families on tour. They lived in these temporary villages outside the show tents and sometimes outside the show grounds. The men enjoyed playing games of dominoes and ping-pong between shows. They relished having fun as part of their relaxation times.⁵⁰ The Show Indians adopted

⁴⁹ Ibid., 142-143.

⁵⁰ Thom Ross, "Undiscovered History: The Thoughts of Thom Ross." *The Western History Quarterly*, 35, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 215.

the game of dominoes during European tours. They enjoyed playing dominos for hours, often making wagers on the games.⁵¹

When George Dull Knife returned home between show seasons he was able to buy livestock. One year he purchased a horse, saddle, and a wagon. When at home George Dull Knife, a known good provider for his family, bought his family and friends food and clothing. George Dull Knife thanked Buffalo Bill Cody for personally making the time to teach him to read, write, and speak English. The impresario tutored his friend during the long train rides and transcontinental voyages between engagements. Cody used dime novels, magazines, and newspapers as educational tools. The friendship was so strong Cody gave George several gifts of horses.⁵² George Dull Knife retired from show business in 1907 and took his allotment of 160 acres of land from the United States government. He became a tribal policeman, raised cattle, and tried some farming. George Dull Knife's grandson remarked his grandfather's real love was always horses. Guy Dull Knife, Jr. conjectured that the Lakota would have fared better if the United States government had allowed the Lakota to raise horses, instead of forcing them to struggle at farming the harsh Dakota soil.⁵³

Jake Herman (1891-1969)

Jake Herman (1891-1969), a Brule Lakota, over his lifetime worked as a rodeo clown, artist, and humorist. He began his career as an Indian cowboy in Wild West shows later transitioning into rodeo work as a rodeo clown (fig. F-83 and F-84). The talented man forged a second career as a writer and artist. His great sense of humor was reflected in his writings and

⁵¹ Joe Straita. *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 150-151.

⁵² Ibid., 162-163.

⁵³ Ibid., 175.

rodeo clown act. Herman advocated the preservation and sharing of the Lakota culture.

In the summer of 1967 the American Indian Research Project recorded Jake Herman's oral history. It was the beginning year of this important oral history preservation project. The American Indian Research Project is located on the campus of the University of South Dakota at Vermillion. The center has recorded and made available many oral histories. The index contains histories from people of the various Northern Plains tribes.⁵⁴

Jake Herman said the Lakota men at Pine Ridge Reservation had always been cowboys. Cowboying was part of their cultural tradition. His father taught him the equestrian skills on the reservation, which later became important assets in his rodeo career. In 1914 at age 21, before entering Wild West show work, he left the reservation to attend the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He attended other Indian boarding schools prior to Carlisle. At Carlisle he played football and basketball. Young Jake Herman left Carlisle to try out for a professional Indian football team in Altona, Pennsylvania. He got sidetracked on his way to Altona by joining a Wild West show. The cowboy education he learned from his father seemed more practical. He was skilled in breaking horses and Western trick riding. The new Show Indian took work with a variety of Wild West shows, including Jack King's Wild West Show and Rodeo Royal Circus, Reuben and Cherry, and Colonel McNabe, for the next two years. He performed trick roping, trick riding, and bronco riding. During his spare time, Jake Herman studied the rodeo clowns in the shows. The young man noted that the clowns took the spotlight away from the star performers and so decided to become a clown himself. Show cowboys were paid by the number of skills and tricks they could successfully perform. The starting wage was \$30.00 a month.

⁵⁴ Joseph H. Cash and Herbert T. Hoover, eds., *To Be An Indian: An Oral History*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), ix.

Jake Herman made \$75.00 a month. In addition to the monetary wages, the performers were guaranteed room, board, and transportation. Jake Herman said room and transportation were actually one and the same, a sleeping berth on the train carrying the show and its people onto the next engagement.⁵⁵

After retiring from rodeo work Jake Herman took up writing and painting. He wove his Lakota heritage and autobiographical antidotes about cowboy life into the newspaper column he authored. In the tradition of a cowboy storyteller humorist Jake Herman used the column to explain why he left formal education to join Wild West shows and to give a narrative of his rodeo clown act. Rodeo clowns rescue and protect fallen cowboys from angry bulls and bucking broncos in the performance arena. Taking on the role of rodeo clown empowered Jake Herman. He earned more money than the cowboys plus he received ego-gratifying attention from the audience he entertained. He attributed his successes in life to lessons learned from both traditions of his dual heritage. His mixed Lakota and Euroamerican ancestry was recorded in the agency's census at his birth.⁵⁶ In 1965, at age 73, Jake Herman wrote in his younger days he never imagined his career of choice would be that of a rodeo clown. The elderly rodeo alumnus wrote how he progressed into a clown career. His father, a roundup foreman, taught him the basics of how to rope and ride bareback. One of Jake Herman's Carlisle teachers lectured the class on the virtue of Abraham Lincoln's ability to overcome his log cabin upbringing and "common education" to become President of the United States. The young Jake Herman took his own message from the teacher's motivational lecture proffered to the Indian students. The

⁵⁵ Jake Herman, interview by Joseph Cash, (Summer 1967), interview AIRP 38, transcript, American Indian Research Project, Oral History Center, Institute of American Indian Studies, University of South Dakota, Vermilion, SD.

⁵⁶ Jake Herman, "Pine Ridge," in *The American Indian Reader: Literature Volume 3*, ed. Jeannette Henry, (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1973), 129.

elderly humorist said he decided he would take his own common upbringing and education another direction than Lincoln's so as not to upstage the President's legacy, therefore, he left school with no regrets. Upon leaving school Jake Herman worked for two years in Wild West shows performing many different acts. He concluded that he excelled at none and was exhausted from constantly tramping after work. His fatigue cemented a well thought-out decision to become a rodeo clown. The young man acquired the props required for this new challenge. He procured a trick mule he named Creeping Jenny, a dog he named Tag, a skunk he named Stinky, and a hobo costume. He said a rodeo clown had to write his act's jokes, create physical humor, book the act, and be one's own press agent. He enjoyed the life of a rodeo clown and happily acknowledged the personal rewards he received.⁵⁷

Upon retiring, Jake Herman returned to live at Pine Ridge Reservation. As a hobby, he began transcribing the legends, folklore, and history of the Oglala Lakota people. In addition, he began painting. One day he reminisced about a humorous incident involving one of his buffalo paintings and a woman customer. He painted the picture for a woman patron. While considering whether or not to purchase the painting, the woman asked the artist why he had made the buffalo's legs so long. Jake Herman answered her by confessing that he made the legs so long so that the animal could touch the ground. The woman accepted the explanation and purchased the painting. The artist mused as to whether the woman bought the painting for its artistic value or its humorous story. My assumption is that the painting and the entertainer's "gag" were bought as an ensemble.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid., 130-134.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 130-134.

Collecting comes in many forms. For example, gathering and remembering life experiences. Many life stories can be learned from the people's lives discussed in this chapter. For example, Luther Standing Bear's emphasis on civil rights and education. And Jake Herman's sense of humor teaching one how to laugh and carry on with life.

Chapter 6 - Transnational Collectors of Arts and Crafts Ethno-Heirlooms

Chapter 6 is a detailed conversation about ideas about what makes a transnational Collection of Plains Indian material culture. Additionally, the chapter examines how and why collectors collect. When it comes to collecting the ethno-heirlooms of another's culture one must consider the consequences to the family and community of artists and original owners of the collected objects. For example, ethnologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explained that collectors create the values society places on ethnographic collections. She said,

First, collecting induces rarity by creating scarcity: escalating demand reduces the availability of objects. Second, collectors create categories that from the outset, even before there is demand, are marked by the challenges they pose to acquisition: "By creating their own categories, all collectors create their own rarities."¹ Third, the very ubiquity of the kinds of objects that interest ethnographers contribute to their ephemerality. Commonplace things are worn to oblivion and replaced with new objects, or are viewed as too trivial in their own time to be removed from circulation, to be alienated from their practical and social purposes, and saved for posterity.' But no matter how singular the ethnographic object becomes, it retains its contingency, even when, by a process of radical detachment, it is reclassified and exhibited as art.'¹

Additionally, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explained that human beings have been commoditized by ethnographic collectors. She pointed out that,

Not only inanimate artifacts but also humans are detachable, fragmentable, and replicable in a variety of materials. The inherently performative nature of live specimens veers exhibits of them strongly in the direction of spectacle, blurring the line still further between morbid curiosity and scientific interest, chamber of horrors and medical exhibition, circus and zoological garden, theater and living ethnographic display, dramatic monologue and scholarly lecture, staged recreation and cultural performance. The blurring of this line was particularly useful in England and the United States during the early nineteenth century because performances that would have been objectionable

¹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 391.

to conservative Protestants if staged in a theater were acceptable when presented in a museum, even if there was virtually nothing else to distinguish them. This reframing of performance in terms of nature, science, and education rendered it respectable, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century. If in the scientific lecture the exhibitor was the performer, ethnographic displays shifted the locus of performance to the exhibit proper, and in so doing, made ample use of patently theatrical genres and techniques to display people and their things.²

In the 19th-century museum exhibition hall collections of rare artifacts became spectacle attractions. Science and performance art were combined together to attract public attendance to witness ethnographic and entertainment spectacle.

There are a number of reasons why people develop a passion to collect. Some of the people who have wealth chose to collect and show-off their prizes in public displays. Bibliocollector and philosopher Walter Benjamin declared that collecting gives rebirth to what has been rediscovered and appreciated enough to be collected. He believed that collectors possess childlike collecting desires. He said that, “one thing should be noted: the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner. Even though public collections may be less objectionable socially and more useful academically than private collections, the objects get their due only in the latter. . . . as Hegel put it, only when it is dark does the owl of Minerva begin its flight. Only in extinction is the collector comprehended. . . . {and} ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them.”³

Collector, writer, and museum consultant Richard A. Pohrt (1911-2005) explained that in the late 20th century increased interest in Plains Indian material culture was evidenced by major

² Ibid., 397.

³ Walter Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library,” in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 66.

art museum exhibitions centered around 19th century Plains Indian peoples' material culture and art. Pohrt counseled that this increased curiosity about Native American cultures required standardized knowledge bases from museums in order to better inform the interested public. He proffered his self-taught knowledge of Plains Indian quill and beadwork as an example for explaining his recommendation. Pohrt said that at the time there was not enough available written academic and museum guides to allow informative study about Indian material cultures. Pohrt encouraged standardized ways to learn how to “differentiate between tribal beadwork styles.” He explained that it was essential to understand the artistic beadwork designs and those people who created them. He advised that the student viewing material culture should inquire about,

What is it? How was it used or what was its purpose? Who made it? Where and when was it made? What materials were used and how was it constructed? Such questions may seem elementary, but it is not clear that they have always been posed. Many museum exhibits incorrectly identify exhibited material. In some cases, basic information is not even offered. The same errors exist in almost every publication on Indian art and material culture. The interested student is launched on a path strewn with confusion and carelessness.⁴

Before 1850 “there was little effort to collect or preserve examples of Plains Indian material culture.” Pohrt noted,

That is one reason for the scarcity of objects from before this date in our museums. No museum in the United States or Canada could mount a comprehensive show of pre-1850 material on the basis of its own collection. Most of the specimens that have survived from the early period were collected by artists, explorers and travelers. Since many of these people were Europeans who took their collections back with them, much of this material is found in European museums. The Indians' life-style, of course, is another reason for this scarcity. Having no facilities for the storage and preservation of outmoded or worn out objects, they simply discarded them.⁵

⁴ Richard A. Pohrt, “The Identifications of Northern Plains Indian Beadwork,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 15, no.1 (1989): 72.

⁵ Ibid., 73.

Identifying and collecting late 19th-century Northern Plains Indian art and crafts involves recognizing that these arts and crafts were dynamic and experimental in their expression, as well, as influential on other neighboring tribal artists. Collector and Indian beadwork scholar Richard A. Pohrt explained that beadwork designs evidence this artistic dynamism, and, “No other design innovation caught on as successfully.”⁶ Additionally, Pohrt pointed out that, “Plains Indians often salvaged scraps of bead- and quillwork to convert them into saleable items. This was largely a result of the interest travelers and collectors showed in acquiring souvenirs. These odd, often impractical pieces, though extremely difficult to classify, ought not be regarded with condescension. They make a significant contribution to the richness of the art of this period.”⁷ Pohrt emphasized that,

identification is not always easy. In the area of beadwork alone, the task is complicated by the fact that tribes constantly influenced each other. Indian peoples were not isolated. They were very much aware of what others were doing in arts and crafts. Intertribal marriages, the capture of people and objects in warfare, gifts from other tribes, experimentation by individual beadworkers, and the outright borrowing of ideas and designs all had significant effects on tribal styles, making the task of identification complex. Eddie Little Chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, once stated that the Arapaho sent a delegation of their women to his reservation to learn beadworking designs. It is well known that groups of Cheyennes and Utes lived for a time on the Sioux reservations of Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River. Sifting Bull's people spent time in Canada after the Custer battle. There were numerous cases of different tribes with distinctive art traditions settling for brief or long periods on the same reservation. These experiences inevitably resulted in exchanges of design that affected the arts and crafts of everyone involved.⁸

Descriptive education programs are necessary to understand transnational beadwork styles and origins. Pohrt instructed that “It is important to study every available bit of literature that can be found — such as early travel accounts and museum publications. Old photographs are

⁶ Ibid., 74.

⁷ Ibid., 74.

⁸ Ibid., 77.

an especially rich source of information, invaluable in establishing tribal styles and dating specimens. Often these photographs show items that are seen nowhere else, since the actual items did not survive. Discussion and exchange of ideas with knowledgeable people with similar interests is valuable as well. But the most important source of information is the specimen itself. When possible, it is desirable to handle a specimen, to learn the texture of materials and to inspect the construction techniques.”⁹ Pohrt added,

What is needed is an item by item, tribe by tribe study of a sufficient number of specimens to justify solid conclusions and provide a basis for intertribal comparison. There are many people who can identify most Sioux, Cheyenne, Crow and Blackfeet materials, and who have a good understanding of the work from them. But what about the other Northern Plains tribes? What were the Cree and Chippewa at Rocky Boys Reservation doing at the end of the nineteenth century? How much do we know about the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin at Fort Belknap? Apparently the Fort Belknap people developed a special reservation style during the late nineteenth century. The people at Fort Peck (Yankton Sioux and Assiniboin) and Fort Berthold (Mandan, Ankara and Hidatsa) also maintained the kind of interrelationship that would have led to the development of a distinctive reservation art style. Although Sioux work exhibits a strong sense of tribal individuality, minor differences exist between the work produced on various Sioux reservations. All this is worth sorting out very carefully. In any effort to identify the tribal origin of a specimen, the following features should be considered: the materials used, the tailoring or construction pattern, the decorative medium, the decorative technique, and the design and colors. It is essential to learn to identify raw materials. There is a decided difference between the soft tanned skins of deer, elk, moose, buffalo and domestic cattle. In beadwork, the color, size and quality of beads are all significant. It helps to know that commercial thread was often used in place of or in conjunction with sinew. If a specimen is typical, identification will pose no problem. But careful consideration of all of the important features frequently makes possible the identification of atypical specimens. . . . Finally, there is a need for a careful study of a substantial number of specimens of tribal art. Findings should be recorded on standardized forms using a standard nomenclature that would ensure the gathering of comparable information.¹⁰

Native American and Euroamerican transnational collectors of ethnographic material culture, collected images and ethno-heirlooms – drawings, paintings, photographs, stories, and

⁹ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰ Ibid., 77.

tourist souvenirs. The collectors were acculturating to each other in the changing world of the 19th-century Industrial Revolution. The influences of Native Americans on George Catlin and Karl Bodmer upon introductions to each other was profound. All parties learned from each other. As the 19th -century commenced, Indian people and other Euroamerican transnational meetings increased. The arts and crafts of each provided cultural bridges.

In the 19th-century, transnational ethnographic material culture collectors removed Indigenous artifacts to museums in Europe and North America. In the 20th-century and 21st-century many of these artifacts were repatriated to their First Nation and Native American tribes. Collecting Native American material culture by private collectors and institutions has a long complex history of theft, commerce, and repatriation.

In the second half of the 19th-century the ethnographic study and collecting of indigenous material cultures became a more mainstream study by young anthropologists and historians studying in universities and working in museums. Historian Glenn Penny explained that, “the impetus for creating ethnographic museums lay largely in a new way of thinking about human history and a new emphasis on the empirical value of material culture. During the second half of the nineteenth century, an array of newcomers in the fields of history, art history, and archeology turned to material culture as an alternative means of reconstructing the past. They quickly began challenging older paradigms built on written texts by using material culture as a means to explore areas of human history that had been neglected.”¹¹

At this time, ethnologists in the United States and Europe “began using the material culture of non-Europeans as a means for locating the essential nature of the human being, and

¹¹ H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 25.

establishing museums that not only threatened the universities' monopoly on the production of scientific knowledge but also provided professional opportunities for a range of newcomers who were eager for intellectual and social change."¹² Professor of history at the University of Iowa, historian Glenn Penney pointed out that in Germany scientists recognized and took advantage of the academic world's changing realities. Penney said that, "German ethnologists viewed these changes as full of opportunity and something to be managed and negotiated rather than resisted."¹³ And, added Penney, these German ethnologists, "focused on locating and collecting as much material culture as possible while arguing in their private correspondence, academic journals, and more popular publications, that they had to act quickly."¹⁴

Penney explained that the German impetus to take advantage of a changing scientific atmosphere was so important to German ethnologists because,

it served multiple purposes: intellectual goals, professional desires, and intra-German as well as international competition for status. The movement to create and continuously expand their museums was closely intertwined with three concerted efforts at self-fashioning—the construction of a new history of humanity by ethnologists, the creation of social identities by an intellectual counterculture on the rise, and efforts to enhance cities' images by refashioning internationally recognized scientific institutions into municipal displays. This movement found its most profound expression in Germany because of the modernist, or future-oriented, context in which Germans in a variety of cities were operating, because of the high number of these individuals who shared a strong cosmopolitan vision of the world, and because the polycentric nature of Germany at this time promoted an ardent and ongoing competition among cities, regions, and clusters of scientists that made their desires to excel beyond their competitors (and thus to expand their museums and collections) essentially insatiable.¹⁵

At the turn of the 19th-20th-century transnational museums went on frantic collection sprees to collect as much Native American artifacts as possible. Art scholar David W. Penney

¹² Ibid., 30.

¹³ Ibid., 30.

¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵ Ibid., 49.

explained that, “During the period between the end of the [American] Civil War and the beginning of World War I, hundreds of thousands of objects were excavated from the ground or collected (purchased, gifted, stolen) from Native people and placed in museums. During the first years of the twentieth century, museum collecting among Native communities became so competitive that curators often ran into each other in the field, racing to procure artifacts before their colleagues could find them. A vast network of traders and field agents who collected items from Native communities waited for the parade of curators to line up at their door and purchase them.”¹⁶

Native American material culture has been collected since the first contact with Europeans. The collectors were governmental and private consumers. Anthropologist Ira Jacknis, explained that,

the principal agents were explorers, scientists, and merchants. Given the colonial situation, the very earliest collections are in Europe. One of the earliest American endeavors was the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6, the first of many national reconnaissance surveys. The objects obtained on the trip went to President Jefferson and to Charles Willson Peale, whose Philadelphia museum served as an unofficial national repository. Like many museums before the Civil War, Peale’s was a commercial operation, devoted to entertainment. Another institutional model was the many collections of local amateur societies, devoted to history or natural science. For example, the Peabody Museum, founded in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1799 as a maritime society, has significant Native American collections, especially from the Northwest Coast.¹⁷

Charles Wilson Peale (1741-1827)

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Charles Wilson Peale (1741-1827), in 1782, opened the United States first sky lighted museum. Historian Irwin Richman pointed out that the museum’s

¹⁶ David W. Penney, *North American Indian Art*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 15.

¹⁷ Ira Jacknis, “A New Thing? The National Museum of the American Indian in Historical and Institutional Context,” in *The National Museum of the American Indian Critical Conversation*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 4.

galleries “skylights were equipped with screens and curtains, which could be adjusted by lines concealed in the walls, to control the amount of light in the room.”¹⁸ On the gallery walls hung portraits of political leaders, diplomats, and Indian warriors painted by noted artists. Richman said that the Peale museum, in which charged its visitors admission, early on, became a tourist destination for travelers to Philadelphia. For example, Richman said that in November, 1783, “Francisco de Miranda, later to become famous as a Latin American revolutionary, visited Peale's Gallery and was much impressed by the portrait collection, which had grown to include about a hundred paintings.”¹⁹

Additionally, added Richman “It was not until Peale opened his museum that America got its first scientifically organized museum.” The displays in the museum classed and arranged the objects according to species. On each object display was “inscribed the place from whence it came, and the name of the Donor.”²⁰

By the turn of the 18th to the 19th century Peale was conducting his museum as a transnational venture. For example, stated Richman, “To further improve his collection, Peale in May, 1791, through the services of his friend the Reverend Mr. Nicholas Collins, undertook to enter into relations with the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, Sweden, whereby he could exchange specimens of scientific interest with that body. Besides this, Peale entered into business relations with other societies, and also with private individuals.”²¹

Richman said that Peale advertised for more artifacts for his museum in the General Advertiser on April 26, 1796. Peale was seeking items for the museum that included American

¹⁸ Irwin Richman, “Charles Willson Peale and the Philadelphia Museum,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 29, no.3 (July, 1962): 258.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 259.

²¹ Ibid., 266.

Indian artifacts. Peale was successful in acquiring more artifacts; in fact, he found that the original museum site on Lombard in Philadelphia had become too small for its collections.

Richman explained that Peale found it necessary to move to larger quarters. Richman explained that,

by the early part of 1794, he[Peale] was contemplating a new building in addition to the existing gallery at Third and Lombard streets. This, however, was at the same time the American Philosophical Society was completing its new hall, and since the society needed only one or two rooms, Peak's friends suggested that he rent the rest of it to house his museum. The curator took this suggestion seriously because he felt that being located among the public buildings around the State House would add prestige to his institution, and also from a more practical standpoint he felt the rent he could collect from his old quarters would cover the expense of the new.

By early June, 1794, Peale had made the necessary arrangements for leasing his new quarters. Besides being the building's principal tenant, he was also to serve as the society's librarian and curator, and to be responsible for the hall's maintenance. The building was to house not only Peale's museum, but his family as well, so before the move could be accomplished he had to make arrangements to convert several rooms into living quarters and to build a kitchen in the basement. The new home of the museum was six blocks from the old, and the move took two weeks. The way in which Peale handled the move proved that he had some of P. T. Barnum in him.

This [removal] in that early period of the Museum was a work of considerable magnitude, as almost the whole of the articles belonging to the Museum must either be carried in hands or on hand barrows. However, to make it easy and at the same time expeditious, he hired men to go with the hand barrows. But to take the advantage of public curiosity, he contrived to make a very considerable parade of the neighborhood, and he began a range of them at the head of which was carried on men's shoulders the American buffalo then followed the panthers, tiger cats and a long string of animals of smaller size carried by the boys. The parade from Lombard to the Hall brought all the inhabitants to their doors and windows to see the cavalcade. It was fine fun for the boys. They were willing to work in such a novel removal, and Peale saved some of the expense of the removal of delicate articles. He was obliged to use every means to prevent injury and loss with so numerous a medley, and yet with his care he lost only one article, a young alligator, and had only one glass broke among so many boxes of that kind.

Once settled in the larger quarters of the Philosophical Hall, Peale expanded his inter-museum trading activities by entering into relations with a Mr. Veauvoisin of the 'public Museum at Paris.' Even with increased interior room, the new quarters, however, were not ideal, and soon after he had made the move, he felt

the need for a yard in which to keep living animals; so he petitioned the legislature to grant him a piece of land in the State²²

As demonstrated by Charles Wilson Peale, 19th - century museum curators had to wear a number of hats. The three most important hats were those of scientist, ethnologist, and carnival barker. It is important to note that these museums were responsible for connecting working people with academic professionals and tactile scientific access.

William Clark (1770-1838)

William Clark (1770-1838) is most famous as the Clark half of “Lewis and Clark.” In 1822 President Monroe appointed Clark Superintendent of Indian Affairs, headquartered in St. Louis, Missouri. This appointment allowed him to exercise his interests in history, ethnology, science, and Native American material culture. Clark began collecting in 1804 during his service on the Corps of Discovery (1804-1806) that he headed with Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809). In 1816 Clark was able to establish his collections under one roof in a museum in St. Louis.

During the Corps of Discovery journey Clark practiced learned medicine to help cure the Indian peoples’ ailments. Additionally, Clark, himself, learned Native American cures from the people he met. Lewis and Clark historian Jay H. Buckley explained that Clark mainly treated the Nez Perce people he encountered. Buckley said that Clark, “helped cure a number of ailments, particularly eye disorders, which he treated by applying an eye ointment made of white vitriol and sugar of lead. He also used the common practices of purging, bleeding, and vomiting to treat various symptoms. [Also,] He learned the value of Indian treatments, the use of herbal remedies and the curative properties of the sweat lodge. Throughout their journey, Lewis and Clark and their fellow travelers learned a lot about Indians. They developed an intimate relationship with

²² Ibid., 270-271.

many of the tribes.”²³

Clark’s museum building in St. Louis housed Indian offices, a factory house, stables, and a blacksmith shop. In 1825 the museum burnt down, but was soon rebuilt. Buckley said that Clark,

had an adjoining council house built for use as an Indian office. The office had a large hall that was used for conducting Indian treaty negotiations and assembling with Indian visitors. It also doubled as an occasional meeting place for public gatherings, Masonic meetings, and balls and banquets. Clark amassed a considerable collection of Indian curiosities — Indian regalia, bows and arrows, battle clubs, axes, birchbark canoes, musical instruments, pipe stems, painted buffalo robes, animal skins and horns — that he displayed in cases and along the walls. In the center of the hall was a long table where he usually sat when he entertained Indian guests, foreign visitors, and other respectable persons. He kept a detailed catalog of his collection, indicating the provenance and donor of each item, or at least the tribe that it came from. The collection, which numbered more than 212 items, included objects from at least twenty-five different Indian nations. Clark also had a number of rocks, mammoth teeth, and other fossils, and even an alligator skin.²⁴

What is of much interest is the fact that William Clark’s museum was the “first museum in the trans-Mississippi West.” Ethnologist John C. Ewers was impressed by William Clark’s knowledge of Native American lifeways and natural history. Ewers said that, “few if any other men of his time possessed a more extensive practical knowledge of the natural history and the Indian tribes of the Great Plains, Rocky Mountains, and Columbia Valley.”²⁵

On April 2, 1816, Clark purchased a piece of land near the Mississippi Bluffs in St. Louis in order to build a museum to house his collection of Native American material culture and portraits of Indian notables painted by such artists as George Catlin. Ewers explained that the museum was part of Clark’s domestic compound. Ewers said that, “at 103 N. Main Street, Clark

²³ Jay H. Buckley, *William Clark Indian Diplomat*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁵ John C. Ewers, “William Clark’s Indian Museum in St. Louis,” in *A Cabinet of Curiosities Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia 1967), 49.

built a large two-story brick house, one of the finest homes in St. Louis. To the south end of the residence he added a brick wing about 100 feet long and 30 feet wide fronting on 101 N. Main Street. This addition served a double purpose as an Indian council chamber and a museum.”²⁶

In July of 1818, ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft visited Clark’s museum and remarked on being impressed on how well the artifacts were displayed. Returning to the museum in 1821, Schoolcraft praised Clark’s museum. Schoolcraft observed that Clark presented his displays with a philosophical understanding, “in the preservation of many objects of natural history, together with specimens of Indian workmanship, and other objects of curiosity collected upon the expedition [Corps of Discovery].”²⁷ Ewers said that Clark, “guided many distinguished visitors through his museum, and his enthusiasm, as well as his displays, spurred their interest in the West. [For example,] In 1823 the German Prince, Herzog Paul Wilhelm von Wurttemberg, arrived in St. Louis, armed with authority from General Clark's superior, the Secretary of War, to travel in the Indian country of the Upper Missouri. He visited Clark's council chamber, a room especially arranged for such interviews.”²⁸

Clark’s council hall was decorated with a number of artifacts that included a, “number of Indian weapons, garments, and articles of ornament which Mr. Clark has collected on his journeys from a great number of nations. This collection is very complete and most of its objects, especially the costumes of the tribes of the far west, deserve to be painted and described. Moreover, it is extremely unfortunate that vermin will in a short time destroy the best pieces, especially the beautifully embroidered animal skins.”²⁹

²⁶ Ibid., 53.

²⁷ Ibid., 54.

²⁸ Ibid., 56.

²⁹ Ibid., 56.

Ewers continued his distinguished visitor parade reports with more European nobles. For example, he said that,

the Marquis de Lafayette, stopped in St. Louis during his American tour in 1825 and, of course, saw Clark's Museum. His secretary, Auguste Levasseur, was especially impressed by the Indian hunter's necklace of bear claws 'from the most terrible of all the animals of the American continent, the Grizzly Bear, of the Missouri' and by an Indian riding whip in which 'the knots . . . are very complex, and actually arranged like the knout of the Cossacks.' Levasseur wrote, 'We could have remained a considerable longer time in Governor Clark's museum, listening to the interesting accounts which he was pleased to give us relative to his great journeys, but we were informed that the hour for dinner had arrived.' Nor did the Frenchman fail to record that the American general gave Lafayette 'a garment bearing a striking resemblance to a Russian riding coat.' It was 'made of buffaloe skin, prepared so as to retain all its pliancy.'³⁰

Albert C. Koch (1804-1867)

Anthropologist R. Bruce McMillan pointed out that in the 1800s the museums in the United States were influenced by European natural history private collections. The American museums strove to emulate their ideal images of these European private collections and to present educational and scientific displays. For example, one of these American museums was established in St. Louis, Missouri in 1836 by a German immigrant from Saxony, Albert C. Koch (1804-1867). Koch, "opened the St. Louis Museum on Market Street near where the Gateway Arch stands" today.³¹ McMillan emphasized that Koch played,

a significant role in the emergent scientific endeavors of the 19th century. Although accounts of exhibitions at his museum tend to relate the spectacular or the bizarre, the museum did contain a number of important natural history collections that provided substance for inquiry by scholars of the time. Of the many collections of the St. Louis Museum, two ranked high in importance. One was a large collection of American Indian costumes, ornaments, weapons, pipes, knives, cooking utensils, cradles, and musical instruments collected by General William Clark, of Lewis and Clark fame. Clark had begun the collection during

³⁰ Ibid., 57.

³¹R. Bruce McMillan, "Objects of Curiosity: Albert Koch's 1840 St. Louis Museum" *The Living Museum* 42, no. 2-3 (1980): 35.

his famous pioneering trip up the Missouri River and to the Pacific and then continued to assemble more materials when he served as Indian Agent for the tribes west of the Mississippi. Although the records are sketchy, Koch apparently came into possession of Clark's American Indian collection at the time of Clark's death [in 1838].³²

Although collections of Upper Missouri Indian artifacts were important examples of lifeway material culture, what gave it attention in the transnational museum world was its association with William Clark and the Corps of Discovery (1804-1806). The Lewis and Clark Expedition was also responsible for bringing future adventure seekers and motor tourists to the North American Great Plains.

George Gustav Heye (1874-1957)

Material scholars Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne noted that in the United States, from 1870 to 1920, many “wealthy private collectors” assembled “huge amounts of Indian arts and crafts, some of which became the basis of important museum collections. [For example,] George Heye, who established his own museum in New York, the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, was probably the most important of these [collectors]. The contents of his museum were absorbed into the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington DC and New York, in the 1990s.”³³ Along with Heye, other prolific private wealthy collectors accumulated substantial numbers of Native American artifacts that were placed and displayed in museums.

The name of George Gustav Heye (1874-1957) has come to be associated with wealth and collecting everything on site, including the proverbial kitchen sink. Heye’s personal collecting mission of Indian objects spanned a period of sixty years. However, now, Heye is thanked by many for his obsessive “salvage” collecting, because his collections have become the

³² Ibid.

³³ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 6.

base for impressive National museums. Anthropologist Ira Jacknis pointed out that in,

1916 George Gustav Heye, a wealthy engineer and financier, founded the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. According to one curator, Heye (1874-1957) ‘managed over some sixty years to acquire the largest assemblage of Indian objects ever collected by a single person, . . . now including more than 800,000 objects.’ Heye served as director of the museum, which opened to the public in 1922, until 1956. In 1989, after several decades of financial problems and declining attendance, the Heye collections were transferred to the Smithsonian Institution, where they became the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). The original buildings in upper Manhattan and the Bronx have now been replaced with three structures: the George G. Heye Center, which opened in lower Manhattan in 1994; the Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland (completed in 1998 and fully opened in 2003); and the main exhibit building on the Mall in Washington DC, opened in September 2004.³⁴

Heye traveled widely in the North American West and Europe seeking objects from Indigenous individuals, tribes, other private collectors, and museums. He spent his time and money gathering and bringing these ethno-heirlooms together in his New York museum.

Dutch Anthropological Collectors

Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate, Jr. (1858-1931)

Between November 1882 and December 1883 the Dutch anthropologist Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate, Jr. (1858-1931) traveled in Canada and the United States. His tour mission was to educate himself on the lifeways of the North American Indian tribes. Anthropologist Pieter Hovens; historian William J. Orr; and anthropologist Louis A. Hieb pointed out that, “during Ten Kate’s sojourn Ten Kate undertook small-scale archaeological excavations and carried out somatological, ethnographic, and linguistic fieldwork among these tribes, most of whom were recently forced to settle on reservations in the American West. In 1885 the academic publishing

³⁴ Ira Jacknis, “A New Thing? The National Museum of the American Indian in Historical and Institutional Context,” in *The National Museum of the American Indian Critical Conversation*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 3.

house of E. J. Brill in Leiden printed Ten Kate's travel narrative *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noord Amerika* (Travels and Researches in North America). The author intended to publish an English translation at a later date, but research and work across the globe prevented him from getting around to it."³⁵

Ten Kate included in his anthropological studies, studies of Indian "imagery" in Euroamerican art and Literature.³⁶ Ten Kate incorporated all four fields of anthropology in his studies of Native American cultures. It was noted that,

During his physical anthropological fieldwork, Ten Kate conducted observations on physical types; the color of skin, hair, and eyes; hair types; artificial deformation of the head; and so on. He took anthropometric measurements from many Indians, often only after overcoming initial opposition. To ensure the representativeness of his samples, he traveled to remote areas of reservations. He also took photographs and collected pictures to illustrate physical types. For his measurements he made use of anthropometric instruments developed at the Ecole d'Anthropologie in Paris. His final somatic typology included five types or varieties: a Pueblo type (Pueblo, Hopi, Zuni), a Red Indian type (Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche), an unnamed third type (Ute, Kiowa), a Baha type (with Melanesian characteristics), and a Mongolian type, found especially among Indian women, whose somatological homogeneity he emphasized. Ten Kate was always careful to base his conclusions about intertribal relationships on as broad a database as possible, using the results of physical anthropological, archaeological, ethnolinguistic, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric research. He collected a few Indian skulls and received several craniums from colleagues and friends; he donated these to the museum in Paris.³⁷

Ten Kate shared with some of his contemporaries the rationale to collect Indigenous peoples' skulls for the betterment of scientific research. This study of eugenics was practiced by many transnational non-Indigenous ethnologists and scientists. They truly did not see that any ethics had been violated. Unfortunately, in this theater Indigenous people were specimens.

³⁵ Herman Ten Kate, *Travels and Researches in Native North America, 1882-1883*, trans and ed. Pieter Hovens, William J. Orr, and Louis A. Hieb, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), ix.

³⁶ Ibid., 32.

³⁷ Ibid., 27.

Meinard Sprenger (1860-1951)

Dutch collector Meinard Sprenger (1860-1951) accumulated a significant collection of Blackfoot artifacts during the time he lived and worked in Canada. In December 1888 Sprenger purchased attract of land from the Canadian Pacific Railway. The land was located six miles from the Siksika (Blackfoot) reserve. Sprenger became friends with Indian Agent Magnus Begg and a number of Blackfoot people and learned their language. Anthropologist Pieter Hovens and ethnologist Caroline Van Santen said that the Blackfoot visits with Sprenger took place, “especially during the winter months when Indian parents visited their children at a nearby school.”³⁸

Hovens and Van Santen explained that, in 1900 Sprenger, “fell from his horse and broke his knee.” Hovens and Van Santen added that, “Not feeling able to keep up his life as a rancher because of his stiff leg, he decided to leave the Domburg Ranch and to return to the Netherlands. As part of his luggage he brought a collection of Native Canadian objects to Zeeland. This collection included objects that related to horses, like cruppers and a saddle bag, a woman's dress, several pairs of moccasins, fire bags, war clubs, and gun cases. Besides the aforementioned Blackfoot objects, he also had some objects from other Canadian First Nations, like a revolver case and knife sheath from the Interior Plateau. In all it must have been about 40 objects.”³⁹

Sprenger’s collection, which received renewed interest and care in the 21st-century, provided the Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg Netherlands, with a brilliant introduction to Dutch visitors of the lifeways of the late 19th- century Blackfoot reservation material culture. Hovens

³⁸ Pieter Hovens and Caroline Van Santen. “Collecting Blackfoot: Dutchmen and Indians on the Northwestern Plains,” *European Review of Native American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 2.

³⁹ Ibid., 3.

and Van Santen emphasized that this Blackfoot collection of objects, “can be subdivided into items of clothing, tools, personal adornment, subsistence, weapons, and transportation. For many specimens, Western materials were used in their manufacture: glass beads, mainly real and seed beads, trade leather, and metal. The extermination of the buffalo and the subsequent lack of leather meant that various objects were made with trade cloth, like wool and canvas. Many of the objects have been used extensively and show signs of wear and repair. Considering this, the Blackfoot collection as a whole not only shows extensive contacts with non-Natives, but is also witness of the changing towards reservation life. This last point might be the most important aspect of the collection.”⁴⁰

Additionally, it must be noted that, “When Pieter Hovens was appointed as such [curator] in 1991, he made an initial survey of the Sprenger collection and its background. In 2004, in light of a refurbishment process, a renewed interest emerged in the Zeeland Society's ethnographic collections within the Zeeuws Museum. Since then, Caroline van Santen, the assistant curator, has launched a research project focused on Sprenger and his Indian collection. The museums in Leiden and Middelburg are also collaborating on research regarding all Blackfoot collections in the Netherlands. A part of Sprenger's ethnographic collection is on long-term display at the Zeeuws Museum since June 2007.”⁴¹

Tourists Experiences in Collecting

From the mid-1800s with the expansion of steamboats river routes and passenger rail transportation increased tourism opened the Great Plains to Euroamerican entertainment recreation seekers. These tourists became valuable consumer collectors for encounters with

⁴⁰ Ibid., 3.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

Native American Show Indians and collectors of Indian souvenirs.

The Dutch, other Europeans, and Euroamericans were lured by their fellow European romantic writers' tales about "exotic" American aborigines. By the eighteenth century romantic literature served as the major American West data base "for the armchair adventurers of Europe." English literature depicted all French traders as scoundrels plying the unsuspecting Indians with liquor. The nineteenth century brought the Western Adventure Novels to the general public. In the nineteenth century French Western novelist Gustave Aimard wrote numerous embellished tales about American native peoples and their relationships with Europeans and Euroamericans. At the same time, in the United States, the iconic myth of Buffalo Bill Cody was born in two hundred dime novels loosely based on William F. Cody's life. The novels led to his stage career and finally to his larger than life Wild West show. Cody never wanted his production to be referred to as a show as the term "show" gave the connotation of a circus or medicine show. Rather he wanted the spectacle accepted as an authentic retelling of his life and that of the American West and its peoples.⁴² Buffalo Bill was known in France as "Guillaume Le Buffle." Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the dime novels written about him remolded and enhanced the European image of the American West. The Lakota warriors of the Plains pushed aside James Fennimore Cooper's Woodland Indians for a period of time. Both are still alive and well between the pages of their respective novels and in reenactment clubs. The people of France have enjoyed playing Indian by joining clubs such as "Le Cercle Peau-Rouge Huntka" (Redskin Circle). Often it is human nature to prefer the myth over the reality, especially

⁴² Steve Freisen. (Director Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden CO), interviewed by on the author (21 May 2007).

for our entertainments.⁴³

Western Canada and the United States were popular tourist destinations from the 1800s and into the present. The Blackfoot entertainments were among the favorite tourist venues. By the 20th-century trains, buses, and automobiles opened up the Great Plains to many nationalities of tourists, including Dutch tourists, seeking unique vacations that they had envisioned in their romantic dreams and commercialized fictions in tourists' brochures, as well as, word of mouth stories brought home by friends and relations who had already enjoyed their own adventures on the Great North American Plains. Hovens and Van Santen explained that,

The completion of transcontinental railroad lines across the United States and Canada opened up the interior for travelers and tourists in the 1880s. Glacier National Park in Montana and Banff and Waterton National Parks in Alberta attracted rapidly increasing numbers of visitors. The Blackfoot who lived adjacent to or in the vicinity of the parks became an added attraction, exploited by White entrepreneurs. The interior decoration of hotels and restaurants often was executed in a Plains Indian theme. These establishments not only employed Indians as low-skilled employees, they were also hired as guides and entertainers. Blackfoot men and women in full regalia welcomed visitors arriving by train, bus, or car, and during the evenings entertained them with stories and dances. In addition, the American and Canadian railroad companies enlisted artists to advertise the natural and cultural attractions along their routes.⁴⁴

Hovens and Van Santen said that "The image of the Plains Indians which had gradually become romanticized by popular novels around the turn of the century made for a receptive audience, and back home they related their experience with much fervor to family and friends. In 1912 the journalist and publicist J. W. Van Balen published a popular account of an extensive journey through the United States and Canada, discussing his encounter with

⁴³ Ray Allen Billington. *Land of Savagery Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company 1981). and Ray Allen Billington. "The Plains and Deserts through European Eyes." *Western Historical Quarterly*, 10, no. 4 (October 1979): 468.

⁴⁴ Pieter Hovens and Caroline Van Santen. "Collecting Blackfoot: Dutchmen and Indians on the Northwestern Plains," *European Review of Native American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 5.

the "tipi Indians" of the Plains and the "totem pole Indians" of the Pacific coast. In the Netherlands he was an early advocate for North America as a destination for tourists and emigrants, being very effective as he published numerous travel letters in Dutch newspapers and several books."⁴⁵

Blackfoot Indians have posed for artists, photographers, and tourists visiting Glacier National Park, located in Montana, since the late 19th-century (fig. F-85 and F-86). One of the more remembered Blackfoot people who posed regularly for artists/tourists was Tribal Historian and Story Teller Weasel Tail (1859-?). Anthropologists Pieter Hovens and Caroline Van Santen explained that, Weasel Tail, "After gaining a reputation as a successful horse raider and warrior, he became increasingly involved in ceremonial affairs, participating frequently in Sun dances and powwows. He also became somewhat of an attraction for tourists visiting Glacier National Park, appearing on horseback in full regalia, including hair roach, eagle feathers, facial paint, bear claw necklace, painted and beaded shirt, and shield. He also appeared in the parades at the Calgary Stampede. In 1929 he was among the informants who told Blackfoot oral traditions to Apikunni, James Willard Schultz, who published these in 1930."⁴⁶

In the first half of the 20th-century, to lure transnational tourists to the North American Great Plains, a number of European travel writers wrote about collecting travel adventures and encounters with Indigenous people. For example, Dutch Chemist, collector, storyteller, and tourism publicist W. G. N. (Wicher Goshen Nicolaas) van der Sleen (1886-1967) traveled through Canada in the 1930s and, again, after World War II. Van Der Sleen

⁴⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁶ Pieter Hovens and Caroline Van Santen. "Collecting Blackfoot: Dutchmen and Indians on the Northwestern Plains," *European Review of Native American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 5.

wrote about the Canadian First Nation people as Canadian novelties.⁴⁷ He was part of a number of European promoters of the North American Great Plains.

Hovens and Van Santen said that Van der Sleen was “partially sponsored by the Canadian government and the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In his newspaper articles and books Van der Sleen always took great pains in stressing that Canadian Indians were far from extinction and could be encountered by travelers and tourists at any occasion, not only in remote wilderness areas where many still live by hunting and trapping, but also in rural areas and near urban centers, thus almost guaranteeing a close encounter with this most exotic species of mankind.”⁴⁸

Pageants and other entertainments celebrating treaties and other important historic events became popular annual dates for tourists to meet Native North Americans in non-threatening situations. Hovens and Van Santen explained that,

Van der Sleen informed his readers that as late as 1877 a definitive peace treaty had been signed with the Blackfoot, Stoney, Sarcee, and Cree. Every ten years the treaty was commemorated in dance. The Indian Days, organized on an annual basis by White entrepreneurs in that Rocky Mountain town, were the most spectacular occasion to see and meet Indians. The Stoney from the nearby Morley Reserve and the Blackfoot from several reserves in the region took part in a pageant for tourists, sold arts and crafts, and competed for prizes in a variety of games and sports, including lassoing, bow and arrow shooting, rodeo, etc. The Banff Indian Days were widely advertised by the Canadian Pacific Railways, months in advance, not only in Canada and the United States, but also in Europe, including the Netherlands. It was the highlight of the tourist season and the weeks following saw the largest number of visitors to the town, the park, and the Indian reserves of the area. The railroad company's Banff Springs Hotel offered the finest accommodation according to Van der Sleen, and the widest variety of services for visitors. The hotel had a large music hall where concerts took place, and several large rooms where exhibitions of western art and Indian arts and crafts attracted numerous visitors.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 6.

With the popularity of Wild West shows and later Western movies, rodeos were popular tourist destination events. Hovens and Van Santen added that, “Another attraction promoted by Van der Sleen was the Calgary Stampede, the largest rodeo in North America, in which not only White cowboys participated, but also a substantial number of Indians, mostly Blackfoot. The stampede embodied the quintessential spirit and soul of the Wild West and offered bronco riding, bull riding, chuck wagon races, calf roping. Cowboy and Indian souvenirs were widely available for purchase and to collect.”⁵⁰

Adventure Collector Transnational Tourist

British museums have long gathered artifacts from the material culture of those people whom were colonized by the British Empire at some time. The North American Plains people of Canada and the United States were among these people colonized by the United States, and the British empire of which Canada was a part. For example, anthropologist Alison K. Brown explained that,

First Nations were not affected solely by the actions of Canadian and American collectors. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, British museums assembled substantial ethnographic collections on an unprecedented scale. Artifacts deemed to show the progress of technological and cultural evolution, as well as botanical and zoological specimens and human remains, were gathered from around the world, especially from regions where British colonial authorities asserted political power and military interests or where settler societies had established themselves. During this period, First Nations cultural materials entered British museums through a number of routes: as donations, bequests, or purchases from former colonial officers, traders, missionaries, and tourists who had visited or lived in Canada, or from their descendants. Others were purchased, often with scant provenance, from specialist dealers, auction rooms, or house sales. With the exception of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) at Cambridge University, . . . few British institutions had the resources — or the inclination — to support collecting activity like that of Canadian or American museums. Instead, their First Nations research and collecting projects were (and are) on a much smaller scale, and were primarily undertaken by people employed by or associated with university or national

⁵⁰ Ibid., 6.

museums. This by no means implies a lack of interest at the popular or scholarly level or that UK museums rarely exhibited First Nations artifacts. Indeed, British museums, art, and literature have a long history of representing the indigenous peoples of North America. Moreover, throughout the nineteenth century, with increased travel and emigration, and the resulting global circulation of Native-made arts, the British public was not unfamiliar with First Nations artifacts or with the images and descriptions of them that appeared in journals, newspapers, and letters from friends and relatives.⁵¹

In the late 19th and early 20th -centuries Collection of First Nation peoples' material culture by museums was written into Canadian legislation in an effort to assimilate First Nation People into the mainstream Canadian population. As in the United States, the Canadian government had previously taken actions to prohibit the Indigenous, "expression of spiritual and cultural ways and wearing traditional clothing, as well as the deliberate attempt to wipe out indigenous languages, created an environment in which the use and circulation of ceremonial artifacts, in particular, were threatened."⁵² Brown added, "It is important to note that colonial policies were not implemented consistently and that First Nations responses to them were not uniform."⁵³

Brown further pointed out problems of transnational and Canadian anthropological collecting of Indigenous ethno-heirloom artifacts. She said that,

The reticence of some anthropologists to support First Nations, as well as the invasiveness of some anthropological research, the lack of time spent with [Indigenous] communities, and the use of ethnographic data against indigenous peoples contributed to tensions between First Nations and the discipline that persist to this day. Anthropology was deeply embedded within colonial processes, . . . ,the relationship between the Canadian government and ethnographic collecting was ambiguous. Anthropologists were not permitted to conduct research on reserves without the consent of the deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, and their work was often facilitated by Indian agents and other

⁵¹ Alison K. Brown, *First Nations Museums Narrations Stories of the 1929 Franklin Motor Expedition to the Canadian Prairies*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 78.

⁵² Ibid., 36.

⁵³ Ibid., 36.

officials. As a result, their views regarding the legitimacy of assimilation programs often remained private.⁵⁴

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries British museums created substantial transnational collections that included North American Indigenous artifacts. Brown explained how the collections for the British museums were assembled. She said that,

During this period, First Nations cultural materials entered British museums through a number of routes: as donations, bequests, or purchases from former colonial officers, traders, missionaries, and tourists who had visited or lived in Canada, or from their descendants. Others were purchased, often with scant provenance, from specialist dealers, auction rooms, or house sales. . . . [but] few British institutions had the resources — or the inclination — to support collecting activity like that of Canadian or American museums. Instead, their First Nations research and collecting projects were (and are) on a much smaller scale, and were primarily undertaken by people employed by or associated with university or national museums.⁵⁵

Early in the 1900s, Canadian legislative efforts began to be made to repatriate Canadian First Nation material culture from outside transnational collectors and museums. In 1927, the Canadian government passed legislation to protect First Nation cultural properties. Brown said that, in order to bring legislative change, a section of the Indian Act was amended. Brown explained that,

Under the act, removing or altering certain cultural items such as carved house-posts, grave-houses, and rock carvings found on reserves could result in a \$200 fine, seizure of the materials, and a jail sentence in default of payment. This amendment also enabled the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) to veto the sale of any totem pole on reserve land. Furthermore, whereas totem poles that served as tourist attractions were to be preserved in situ, the rest were to be put in museums, preferably in Canada. As few Canadian museums could afford to buy them, the legislation did little to prevent their sale to public institutions elsewhere, and the control of totem poles and their movement was effectively handed to Ottawa. Limited as the 1927 amendment was, it did at least provide some protection to the material heritage of Northwest Coast First Nations.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 71-72.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 90.

At the end of the 1800s, North American Plains people were learning how to accommodate transnational museum population's desire for ethno-heirloom artifacts. British museums have long gathered artifacts from the material culture of those people whom were colonized by the British Empire at some time. At the turn of the century governmental legislation took on new dynamics. Effort to assimilate Indigenous people turned to protecting Indigenous material culture. It was a recognition of the value of First Nation contributions to North American and British appreciation of this heritage.⁵⁷

Private collectors played an important role in the foundations of North American public museums establishment of Native American Indian artifact collections. Anthropologists Shepard Krech and Barbara A. Hail explained that, "The purposes of these collections and the accompanying exhibitions were (and still are) mixed: scientific, historical, educational, entertaining, monumental or commemorative."⁵⁸

History shows that many Euroamerican collectors, "viewed their activities as the accumulation and preservation of a material record of the romantic past of the Indian peoples they believed to be vanishing."⁵⁹ A brief summary of some Canadian Provincial museums chronological establishment was described by Alison K. Brown, which pointed out that, beginning with,

The Provincial Museum of Natural History in Regina, known today [as]the Royal Saskatchewan Museum, was the first provincial museum to be founded in the Prairie provinces. It was established in 1906 . . . 'to secure and preserve natural history specimens and objects of interest. Launching an ethnology program in a museum appealed to the public to donate any First Nations artifacts it might find, and its collection grew through donations and purchase Farther east, Manitoba did

⁵⁷ Shepard Krech and Barbara A. Hail, ed., *Collecting Native America 1870-1960*, (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1999), 1-3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., v.

⁵⁹ Ibid., v.

not have its own provincial museum until 1970. The Museum of Man and Nature (now the Manitoba Museum) opened in Winnipeg that year, though its origins lie in 1932, when six local doctors formed a museum association for the city to collect and display items of human and natural history. Manitobans had access to formal and informal displays of First Nations material long before this, however, which is unsurprising, given the demographics in the province and the complex backgrounds of many families. Most HBC fur traders who retired to the Red River Settlement had accumulated material made by Aboriginal people (including their own wives and daughters), which they would have arranged in their homes with varying degrees of formality and visibility. These displays would have included utilitarian items, such as clothing and snowshoes, as well as decorative silk-embroidered cushions and beaded wall pockets. Winnipeg did not have a publicly accessible museum-style exhibition until the twentieth century, after several retired fur traders proposed a permanent collection of HBC historical artifacts. Their plan was authorized by the HBC in 1919, with the intent of commemorating the company's 250th anniversary the following year. In 1922, the Hudson's Bay Company's Historical Exhibit opened in the HBC Main Street store in Winnipeg. This display, organized thematically with sections titled 'Early History,' 'Life in the Service,' and 'Indians,' was relocated in 1925 to the new HBC retail store on Portage Avenue, where the Franklin Motor Expedition team may well have visited it. It remained open until 1959, when it was transferred on permanent loan to the Province. In 1994 the loan was converted to a donation, and a new Hudson's Bay Company Gallery was opened in the Manitoba Museum in 2000. By the turn of the twentieth century, Calgary's leading citizens were troubled by Alberta's lack of a provincial museum, and they lobbied hard for the funds to build one in their city, rather than Edmonton, where the provincial government was located. In their view, the museum would not only draw donations from local people, who would willingly offer their prized collections, but would also boost Calgary's image, branding it as a cultural centre rather than a rough frontier town.⁶⁰

Since the 20th-century, the repatriation of Indigenous material culture has increased.

Indigenous self-determination politics and transnational politics have energized tribal efforts.

Additionally, tourism has brought new attention to Native material culture and lifeways and how they are interconnected in Pan North American history.

And, added Alison K. Brown at the beginning of the 20th-century "Like many museums during this period, the Calgary Museum collected and displayed specimens of natural and human

⁶⁰ Alison K. Brown, *First Nations Museums Narrations Stories of the 1929 Franklin Motor Expedition to the Canadian Prairies*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 75-76.

history, which were acquired largely through donation and occasionally through purchase. Around the late 1920s, it began to collect directly from First Nations people, albeit on a limited scale, motivated as much by salvage concerns as by the increased prices of First Nations handiwork. In a 1929 lecture, for example, its curator, Thurston, emphasized the need for speed in developing the collection.”⁶¹

Repatriation and Collectors

The subject of repatriation of tribal material culture is difficult. It is fraught with issues of religiosity, as well as ownership. Sensitivity and cooperation need to be of main concern. Additionally, the topic of artifacts that were created especially for museums and collectors are configured into the discussion of repatriation and what will be repatriated and what objects were given and/or sold by Native American crafters and artists on their own volition. Repatriation, nevertheless, is greeted with positivity. For example, ethnologist Peter Bolz, pointed out that “In 1974 the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, Canada (the former National Museum of Man), celebrated the "repatriation" of the Speyer collection from Germany.”⁶²

Along with repatriation, deciphering what objects were made for museum collectors is an interesting inquiry. The conception that these objects were stolen from the Indigenous people who owned and created them can be misleading. Bolz pointed out that “In the Native American Department of the museum in Berlin alone there are numerous examples which show that important objects (e. g. a Ghost Dance shirt of the Sioux, sacred wands of the Omaha, a "Chief seat" of the Bella Bella) were made especially for collectors. And these are only those few objects which are well-enough documented to include this information. There may, in fact, be

⁶¹ Ibid., 76.

⁶² Peter Bolz, “Repatriation of Native American Cultural Objects — Confrontation or Cooperation?,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd 118, no. 1 (1993): 69.

many more "sacred objects" in museum collections which were made not for ceremonial use, but for sale to collectors."⁶³

Bolz emphasized the importance of transnational collectors being involved in repatriation activities. He related the story of one of these European collectors who helped return artifacts to Canada and its First Nation people. Bolz explained that,

Arthur Speyer Sr. (1894-1958) was a German collector of North American Indian artifacts. He was systematically searching in European countries, first of all Germany and Great Britain, to track down Indian artifacts from people whose ancestors had travelled to North America. For this reason, his collection contains many artifacts originally owned by German and British noblemen. In addition to this he traded objects with museums and other collectors or bought from dealers. In this way he and later his son Arthur Speyer Jr. brought together 270 objects of various tribal origins. The collection was shown for the first time in 1968 to the general public in Offenbach, Germany. This exhibition awakened the interest of the National Museum of Man, and in 1974 Speyer Jr. sold the collection for 1,5 million Canadian dollars to Ottawa. This 'sell-out' was regretted by German private collectors as well as ethnological museums, especially those which had contributed to the collection.⁶⁴

And added Bolz, "On the other side of the ocean, however, the collection was greeted by Indian newspapers as "the return into the country of origin."⁶⁵

In 1922 the Canadian government established an emergency purchasing fund to be used to repatriate Canadian First Nation treasure that had been taken to European museums during a period when the Canadian government was apathetic about its Indigenous peoples' material culture. Bolz explained that, "These objects from the Northeast, the Subarctic and the Northern Plains region, dating back to the 18th and early 19th century, were originally obtained as souvenirs by European travelers, some being especially made for the early Indian souvenir

⁶³ Ibid., 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 69.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 69.

market.”⁶⁶

Bolz declared that, “The fact that a Canadian museum had to buy back old Indian objects from a European private collection shows both the early interests of Europeans in collecting "exotic" items and a lack of interest of the early Canadians towards the cultural heritage of their native peoples. Only at the end of the 19th century did Canada start to establish museums which collected Indian artifacts. The same is true for most other countries on the American continent, including the U.S.A.”⁶⁷

Plus, importantly, emphasized Bolz,

This example shows very clearly that ethnographic artifacts from North American Indians were collected not as rare "cultural treasures", but as ordinary examples of the plentiful objects which were available at these times. Even after the destruction of the original native cultures, most Indian tribes on reservations continued to produce ‘traditional’ objects to fulfill the demands of anthropologists who collected for museums or to serve a growing tourist market. Only the increasing interest in American Indian history and culture and the tremendously escalating prices for ‘original’ objects on the ethnographic art market turned these artifacts into ‘cultural treasures’. As long as these objects were simple artifacts, no one cared about their location. Now that they are ‘cultural treasures’, nationalistic feelings arise and with them the demand to bring these objects home, to repatriate them.⁶⁸

Chapter 6 showed that the passion for collecting involves more than desire. To become a public collection involves education and organization. The final chapters will continue this multifaceted discussion about collection housings and interpreting cultural displays. Collectors evolved their collections into more expanded interpretations of Native American and transnational acculturations. In these venues important topics such as repatriation will be discussed.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 69.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 70.

Section 2 Conclusion

Native American and Euroamerican transnational Collectors of ethnographic material culture, collected images and ethno-heirlooms— Drawings, Paintings, Photographs, stories, and tourist souvenirs. Many of these collectors shared, at the end of the 19th-century, an assumption that North American Indigenous people were on the verge of extinction. However, this was a misguided assumption. The collectors were acculturating to each other in the changing world of the 19th-century Industrial Revolution. The influences of Native Americans on Euroamerican transnational de facto tourist-explorers was profound.

When it comes to collecting the ethno-heirlooms of another's culture one must consider the consequences to the family and community of artists and original owners of the collected objects. Identifying and collecting late 19th-century Northern Plains Indian art and crafts involves recognizing that these arts and crafts were dynamic and experimental in their expression, as well, as influential on other neighboring tribal artists.

Transnational artists provided drawings and paintings of Plains Indian lifeways and material culture early in the 19th-century and were followed by others as time commenced. These artists were de facto ethnologists and contemporaries of their subjects, the Plains Indian people. Later in the 19th-century, photographers joined this corps of pioneer ethnographic artists in the field and studio. I argue that these artists were employing the white man's version of biographic pictographs to collect their subjects' lifeway imagery and joint histories.

Native American artists acted as biographical creators who collected images and stories along with their Euroamerican contemporary artistic and ethnographic communities. Native American storytellers acted as collectors and recorders of tribal and family histories. Native American storytellers are ethnologic history collectors, transnational tribal preservers, and

political activists who advocate transnational awareness that Indigenous people are alive, acculturated, and well. They are Cultural family and Tribal Lore collectors for humankind's posterity.

In the 19th-century, transnational ethnographic material culture collectors removed Indigenous artifacts to museums in Europe and North America. In the 20th-century and 21st-century many of these artifacts were repatriated to their First Nation and Native American tribes. Collecting Native American material culture by private collectors and institutions has a long complex history of theft, commerce, and repatriation. It is important to note, that North American Indigenous peoples' self-determination is active in repatriation efforts to return and preserve their material culture to its rightful homes.

Section 3 - Collections

Section Three discusses transnational museum, archival, exposition, tourist, literary, and incorporated borrowed Indian image interpretations depicted in exhibits designed to attract the curious transnational public. The interpretation of how this subject has been depicted in exhibit cases and in other formats are discussed. The purpose and care of these material culture collections are shown for how they interconnect with a global world vision, as well as tribal visions. These collections are housed and displayed in a number of ways—from museums, to archives to libraries, and to entertainment venues as World's fairs and tourist attractions.

Self-determination and a transnational spirit is strongly evidenced by the Plains Indian tribal art and material culture interpretation evolution. The European and American private collectors and museums' interests have posed concerned rhetoric and debate over whose authority control should direct transnational interpretations of the Plains Indian arts, crafts, and other material culture. The focus here is showing the strengthening self-determination of Plains Indian ownership and cooperation with European and American collectors and scholars' efforts to protect past, present, and future material culture examples. Transnational Plains Indian private and museum collections have been affected by and bring questions about creation, repatriation, provenance, housing, preservation maintenance, world politics, religious protocol, public access, and commercially reproduced images of Native people.

Chapter 7 - Transnational Museum Exhibits and Collections

Chapter 7 delves into the subject of how artifact collections have been displayed to acculturate public transnational cultural ideologies. The creators, collectors, and collection manager-custodians all share an integrated space in this venture. Interpreting Plains Indian arts, crafts, and other ethnic-heirlooms trigger many questions about ownership, politics, and other educational discussions.

Throughout the 19th-century Plains Indian material culture artifacts from the Great Plains of Canada and the United States were harvested and deposited in museum curiosity glass cases throughout Europe and the United States.(See Appendix B and Appendix C) The transnational interest and harvesting of Native American artifacts actually was to some extent positive, in that it protected some items that might have been lost and encouraged Native peoples to reproduce objects to sell to fill out museum collections, as well to continue craft and art skills for the future tribal generations. It protected objects that might have been lost during colonizing attempts at exterminating Native peoples' tribal cultures. Material culture scholars Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne pointed out the effort that museum representatives went to in creating collections. Johnson and Yenne explained that,

Some of the earliest collections of North American Indian material culture were gathered by Europeans in their colonies in eastern North America such as the Tradescant items now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England, and objects in the Musee du quai Branly, Paris, (formerly the Musee de l'Homme) and the British Museum, London. From the eighteenth century contents of aristocratic cabinets of curiosities ultimately passed into public museums such as these. A number of important Eastern Woodland collections were taken to Europe by military personnel and later, in the early nineteenth century, the acquisitions of Prince Maximilian of Wied 1833-34 were dispersed in museums in Berne, Berlin and Stuttgart. The Berne Historical Museum also has the collection assembled by Lorenz Alphons Schoch, who returned to Berne from St Louis in 1838, which may contain material from William Clark's Indian Museum dispersed about that

time in St Louis.¹

At this time, it was not unusual for American Indian artifacts to be distributed transnationally in museum display cases and advertised as curiosities. And, continued Johnson and Yenne,

In the United States major institutions began procuring during the nineteenth century. [Because of these acquisition efforts,] A small collection of Indian material survives from the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-06 at the Peabody Museum, Harvard, but nothing can be found from either the Zebulon Pike or Stephen Long government expeditions of 1807 and 1819-20 respectively. William Clark, however, later assembled some objects in St Louis after his appointment as the first Indian agent for all tribes west of the Mississippi River, but this collection also largely disappeared. The artist George Catlin collected Indian relics which he took to Europe but was forced to sell his acquisitions to Joseph Harrison. These were placed in storage in Philadelphia where some material was lost and damaged in two fires. However, the surviving objects were presented to the U.S. National Museum and remains the largest traceable single collection made before 1850 in the United States.²

It is amazing that as many Indigenous ethno-heirlooms survived physical damage from age and handling, as well as, the fires so many museums were challenged by in the 19th-century.

Early American Museums

The nascent Euroamerican transnational museums were rooms crowded with oddities and curiosities housed in glass cases, usually with no descriptive narrative. For example, historian Edward P. Alexander said that, “In 1782 Pierre Eugene du Simitiere (1736-1784) opened the American Museum in his Philadelphia home. Though it contained mainly library materials with which he hoped to write a history of the American Revolution, he did collect coins and medals, natural history specimens, Indian antiquities, and rarities. . . .Du Simitiere charged fifty cents to

¹ Michael Johnson and Bill Yenne, *Arts and Crafts of the Native American Tribes*, (Buffalo: Firefly Books, 2011), 6.

² Ibid., 6.

guide visitors about his holdings, but he died two years later before he could achieve his dream of establishing a national museum.”³

Another Philadelphia museum, one that is known as a National icon was established by Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827). Alexander said that Peale’s museum, “had the best of the early collections.” The museum opened in 1786 and it remained under the care of the Peale family, via Charles Wilson Peale’s sons until 1850. Alexander said that Peale strove to juggle his philosophy that the museum exhibits should be interesting enough to be considered academically valid, while be entertaining enough to attract paying customers. Alexander noted that,

The museum was devoted mainly to natural history and art but it contained American Indian objects as well as Oriental wares brought back by sea captains engaged in the China trade. Peale collected, conserved, and exhibited his holdings with much ingenuity; and though he believed in providing ‘rational amusement’ (for example, live animals, a pipe organ, electrical machine, compound blowpipe for chemical experiments, physiognotrace, and Magic Mirrors) in order to attract numerous viewers at twenty-five cents a head, he did not resort to showing freaks or indulging in vaudeville acts. Curiosity or entertainment museums dominated the American scene for a time. Found in most sized towns, they were the property of individual entrepreneurs.⁴

From the early 19th-century, the very intriguing American West was proffered to United States communities, large and small in museums that had assembled collections from artifacts that were brought back from the West by tourist adventure seekers and members of scientific expeditions. Historian John Francis McDermott said that science was the purpose for these scientific collections filling the Nations burgeoning museums. McDermott explained that,

Educated men took an interest in science and the phenomena of the world about them. Even though they made no pretence to knowledge of skill, they were sufficiently well read and curious enough to collect representative specimens and

³ Edward P. Alexander, “Historical Prologue: The Rise of American History Museums,” in *Leadership for the Future: Changing Directorial Roles, in American History Museums and Historical Societies: Collected Essays*, ed. Bryant F. Tolles Jr., (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1991), 5.

⁴ Ibid., 5.

strange objects. Pierre Chouteau, for instance, in the 1790's sent to Baron Carondelet, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, a collection of mammoth bones from the Osage River. When Meriwether Lewis in 1803-04 wintered on the Dubois River nearly opposite the mouth of the Missouri, he spent much of his time becoming acquainted with the French at Saint Louis and learning what he could of the western country. On the 18th day of May 1804, he sent to Jefferson a list of articles that had been forwarded to him by Pierre Chouteau as presents from himself, his brother Auguste, their sister Mrs. Gratiot, and others. These included ore and rock crystal from Mexico which Chouteau had obtained from the Osage, and a number of specimens of lead ore from the Osage River and from the famous Mine-A-Breton in the Meramec valley. Mrs. Gratiot sent a horned lizard from the plains frequented by the Osage Indians far out on the Arkansas and Auguste Chouteau contributed a portion of rock salt from the Great Saline of the Osage, on the Cimarron, some six hundred miles west from Saint Louis. Add to these a chart of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Missouri to New Orleans, made from the observations of Auguste Chouteau, observe that six weeks earlier Lewis had sent Jefferson slips of the Osage plum and Osage orange from trees in the garden of Pierre Chouteau, remember that all of this is incomplete, and one has the makings of a not uninteresting museum.⁵

McDermott pointed out that William Clark's notable collections established the first St. Louis regional museum. McDermott said that, "The first person to make a collection was William Clark, who began his on the famous expedition made with Lewis. Certainly his position for many years as Indian Agent for the tribes west of the Mississippi gave him ample opportunity to increase his collection. For many travelers passing through Saint Louis in those years Clark's museum was a regular tourist stop, since the Governor, as Parton expressed it in his St. Louis Directory (1821), was "so polite as to Permit its being visited by any person of respectability at any time."⁶

The second quarter of the 19th - century saw a Burgeoning of tourism west and north to the Upper Missouri River. And, tourism became more popular after the Civil War as rail transportation provided travel opportunities to the growing middle-class families in the United

⁵ John Francis McDermott, "Museums in Early St. Louis," *The bulletin - Missouri Historical Society* 4, no.3 (1948): 129.

⁶ Ibid.

States. Also, Native American material culture exhibits, in such venues as World Fairs, were popular tourist destinations.

Early 20th-Century Native American Art Exhibitions

The 1930s was a period of Euroamericans acknowledging the existence of the multicultural Native American heritage of the United States. Museums took a lead in bringing Native American historical culture to the United States public. For example, painter John Sloan and anthropologist Oliver LaFarge organized the 1931 *Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, Inc.* in New York. The mission of the exposition was to celebrate Indian art, past and present. The exposition was held in the Grand Central Art Galleries in Manhattan, New York, New York. Sloan and LaFarge explained that they wanted the exposition to be a “stimulating” venue that supported contemporary American Indian artists and honor their contributions to American culture.⁷ In their explanation about the art and artists in the exhibition, they proffered that the art was,

applied to the decoration of useful things; before the white man stepped in, this was always so, if we accept the Indian’s view of religious objects as being among the most highly useful. This embodiment of the Indian’s conception of use and beauty in the materials of his daily life is art in its widest sense; not up on a shelf to be regarded occasionally, but adorning and giving meaning to everything about him. Just so his religion permeates each least commonplace of his universe, and the search for harmony and success within himself and within the tribe, is voiced in dances by forms, designs, rhythms, symbols, until one is lead from them back to his art again, realizing that they are all beats of one pulse. The modern Indian artist may not be as orthodox as his ancestors, he may even have embraced the Christian faith or be, like most white men, religionless, but he still derives from the traditional forms and takes his strength from his ancestral pattern.

It is only recently that white teachers of Indian children have stopped trying to educate them away from their own art. For decades we tried, and in some cases unfortunately succeeded, in instructing Indians to forget their own culture and to force themselves into ours. Indian artists were given reproductions of

⁷ Oliver LaFarge, *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*, (Glorieta: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1970), 64.

masterpieces, Currier and Ives prints, or mere advertisements, and told that these only were art. We tried to mechanize their crafts and induce them to use factory mass production instead of their own individual tools and technique.⁸

And, it is important to remember that the Tribal Arts Exposition was conceived with valid goodwill and an intention of transnational cultural understandings. Cultural anthropologist Molly H. Mullin noted that it is also necessary to remember that, “The sponsors of the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts sought instead to ally Indians with the romantic discourse of art rather than with commerce, with the museum rather than the carnival, with the elite rather than with the crowd.”⁹

Mid-20th-Century Native American Collections

Colin F. Taylor (1937-2004)

The Hastings Museum and Art Gallery Collection of Colin F. Taylor (1937-2004) is illustrative of how much museum and other collections can be hyper dependent on cooperation by experts’ knowledge and drive to support collectors, in order to create collections with transnational ethno-heirloom value.

The Hastings Museum and Art Gallery is located in southern England in Hastings, United Kingdom. Its collections of Native American material culture have been widely praised. The Colin F. Taylor Collection, specifically, is responsible for gaining Hastings this reputation. The collection has been nurtured for a number of years. Anthropologist Max Carocci pointed out that “In 2012 Hastings Museum & Art Gallery received as a donation the second part of a more than 300 piece strong collection of Native American art that once belonged to Colin F. Taylor (1937-

⁸ Ibid., 59.

⁹ Molly H. Mullin, “The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art ‘Art, Not Ethnology’,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 4 (November 1992): 402.

2004), a renowned expert in Plains Indian art, collector, and museum ethnographer”¹⁰

Carocci said that the Collin Taylor Collection, “contains rare and historically significant objects, which provide a window in the history of Native American art collecting in Britain, and its vicissitudes are testament to the long lasting relationships connecting British, European, and Native North American peoples through art and material culture.”¹¹

Taylor’s extensive collection in the Hastings Museum contains a number of rare objects. Carocci pointed out that,

Objects worth a special mention in the collection are the several examples of raw materials, pigments, and working tools that Taylor kept due to his interest in manufacturing techniques, and the various processes involved in the preparation of hides, skins and pelts. The collection also includes samples of blue earth, buffalo hooves, vertebrae, various types of furs showing seasonal colour changes, and a rare bison’s penis used in Mandan fertility rituals. Although some of these materials may look rather inconspicuous, they were crucial for Taylor, helping him to determine with a fair degree of confidence the source of the materials with which his items were made.¹²

Carocci explained that Taylor became as a young man, involved in the hobbyist movement that was so popular in Europe. The hobbyists dressed in homemade “Indian” regalia and crafted reproduction artifacts. The hobbyists strove, through much research, to reproduce Native American clothing and crafts as accurately as possible. Carocci said that,

Since the mid-1950s Taylor displayed a sincere desire to deepen his interest in Native cultures of North America. By 1955 he had published various articles for amateur magazines. In 1957 he won a competition for the best article in the magazine *The American Indian Hobbyist*, and in later years he became acquainted with several individuals that were part of Hobbyist groups in Europe and America. In 1960 he had become one of the youngest members of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1962 the prestigious magazine *Plains Anthropologist* published his first scholarly article on quilling

¹⁰ Max Carocci, “The Colin F. Taylor Collection of Native North American Arts in Hastings, UK,” *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 26 (March 2016): 97.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 102.

techniques, marking his official entrance in the academic world. . . . His scholarly accomplishments of later years would eventually become canonical texts in the interpretation and analysis of Plains Indian art, manufacturing techniques, regional differences, ethnic origins, and chronologies.¹³

Taylor collaborated with world famous specialists in Native American art academia.

These people included: “Hugh Dempsey of the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Arni Brownstone of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Christian Feest of the Volkenkunde Museum in Vienna, William Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and Jonathan King of the British Museum, amongst others. Academics of the likes of Raymond de Mallie, Douglas Parks, George Horse Capture, Åke Hultkrantz, Winfield Coleman, and Paul Raczka were among the many scholars that gladly accepted his invitations to be included in his edited collections, and who alongside additional colleagues eventually wrote about him and his professional career.”¹⁴

Carocci observed that Taylor’s work with museum collections influenced his collecting choices. For example, Carocci said that in the 1950s Taylor, “bought objects through local shops while living in Brighton, quickly gaining a local reputation as the ‘young Indian expert’. Among these early objects there are a (probably) Blackfoot waistcoat, a Sioux pipe bag, a Navajo blanket, and a pipe-tomahawk head. But the most prized of all, was the long-tailed feather bonnet owned and worn by Sioux Iron Tail (1847-1916), which Taylor obtained from renowned ex-Buffalo Bill cowboy and silent movie actor Tex McLeod (1889-1973) who had relocated to Brighton.”¹⁵

Finally, Carocci concluded that,

Taylor managed to cross the boundaries between armchair collector, amateur, and museum ethnologist, adding a layer of engaged investment in the work he did

¹³ Ibid., 99.

¹⁴ Ibid., 101.

¹⁵ Ibid., 102.

with the collection. In Taylor's hands the objects were not just examples of exquisite craftsmanship, historical pieces, or aesthetically pleasing items, but they were living testimony of beliefs, knowledge and technologies manifested in concrete form. The way in which he used his collection reveals the commitment he had to share his findings. While using his objects in publications and exhibitions, he rendered them simultaneously as educational tools and agents of change. For Taylor, objects spoke beyond what the eye could see. The unexpected connections and details he discussed with unwavering passion in his books indeed revealed the illuminating potential inherent in things. All this made Taylor's collection a living body that told him many stories, which continued to enchant his readers with their revelations with every new publication.¹⁶

Hobbyist collectors like Taylor held a passion that inspired generations of individuals to pursue learning about American Indian cultural lifeways. The hobbyists groups played Indian. However, they also opened transnational avenues to Native America. I do lament that it seems that the hobbyists did not celebrate contemporary Native Americans.

United States Bicentennial Exhibition

The Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan was the first presentation venue for the bicentennial exhibition of *The American Indian and the American Flag*, in 1976. Historian G. Stuart Hodge said that there is a "surprising amount of American Indian material using patriotic designs"¹⁷ in, such things as in Indian pictographic painting and beadwork renderings (fig. F-87 through F-91). Further, describing the exhibition, Hodge added that, "the American Indian used such patriotic motifs at all is somewhat astonishing. The material lent us so generously from many museums and private collectors dates approximately from the period of our nation's Centennial birthday to the present. These symbols, which are found in American Indian art of the past 100 years, have many bases for their use. . . ."¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid., 108.

¹⁷ Richard A. Pohrt, *The American Indian: The American Flag*, Introduction by G. Stuart Hodge, (Flint: Flint Institute of Art, 1975), 1.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Hodge continued his description of this enlightening exhibition with his emphasis on the diversity of the collection. He said that, “this Bicentennial exhibition, totaling 200 items, have come from museums and collections in many states, and from England and Canada. . . . A variety of media is represented — from traditional quillwork to today’s acrylic. Always outstanding and significant in the appreciation of traditional American Indian material is the ingenious use of natural materials — feathers, quills, deerskin, birchbark, clay, reed, etc., based not only on an admiration of Mother Earth’s beauty and bounty, but also with a respect for the ecology involved.”¹⁹

Hodge added that he and his team, with the aid of Indian scholar and collector Richard A. Pohrt, had accomplished much in the creation of this exhibition. Hodge said that, “Historic photographs, which are rare and precious records of a bygone day, are an integral and essential part of the exhibition. Some photographs, such as the one of tepees painted with pictographs, may be our only record — [because] the painted tepees themselves are no longer in existence. (The pictograph paintings in the exhibition on skin and muslin are stylistically akin to these painted tepees.) The historic photographs also show authentic use of apparel and accouterments as a reminder of the quality and design now disappearing in many cases.”²⁰

In 1976, the United States Bicentennial inspired many patriotic exhibitions. One of the most interesting was arranged by the Flint Institute of Arts in Flint, Michigan. Collector and scholar Richard A. Pohrt directed the organization for the displays of American Indian crafted ethno-heirlooms featuring the American flag and other objects featuring patriotic subjects. Curator Stuart Hodge commented that the Flint exhibition was created to celebrate the history of

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

the United States and promote the Native American peoples place in this history.²¹

The Flint exhibit was lent many artifacts from a number of other museums and private collectors. Hodge explained that the artifacts date from approximately from 1776 to 1976. The United States patriotic symbols used to decorate these artifacts had various purposes. Hodge said that some of the objects were, “purely [to show] a pride in things American, some for [use in] Buffalo Bill shows, rodeos, pow-wows, 4th of July celebrations, and trade with tourists.”²² Hodge added, some of the 20th-century Indian artists work from such artists as, “Fritz Scholder and Wayne Eagleboy, can be tongue-in-cheek, ironic or scornful when using the flag.”²³

Hodge added that, “All work in the exhibition was done by American Indians exclusively. . . . The exhibition represents the work of 35 tribes. Loans to this Bicentennial exhibition, totaling 200 items, have come from museums and collections in many states, and from England and Canada.”²⁴

Hodge pointed out that, “Also important to observe is that native American art is generally an applied art, an art for everyday use — on clothing, household utensils, etc., — and not an art which is relegated to a temple or museum environment. The historic painted shirts, the beaded or quilled vests and moccasins, leggings, breech cloths, knife sheaths, tobacco bags, gloves, etc., show the quality of original design and craftsmanship inherent in this art. The exhibition focuses attention on the excellent artistic standards of the Native American.”²⁵

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Late 20th-Century Collections

Ralph T. Coe (1929-2010):

Museums that create exhibitions of Native American Art collections tread on paths that require empathy and educated curatorship to teach the differences between what is art and what is ethnographic artifact.

For example, in 1976 and 1986, Art historian, tribal art collector, and museum curator Ralph T. Coe (1929-2010) influenced the art-museum world by creating two distinct traveling exhibitions centered on Northern American Indian Art that promoted contemporary Native American art. Coe defined the differences between ethnology and Indian art. In 2003, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, presented an exhibition honoring Coe *The Responsive Eye: Ralph T. Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art* (2003). The text on the flap of the catalog for the exhibition commented that Coe promoted “a climate conducive to exhibitions of Native American art in which work was recognized and presented as art rather than as ethnology or anthropology, as it generally had been in the past.” Therefore, it is important to remember that one of Coe’s major contributions to the museum art world was to challenge the outdated thinking about the world of modern American Indian art exhibition.²⁶

Coe’s friend, New York art collector, art dealer, and museum trustee Eugene V. Thaw praised Coe, who Thaw knew as Ted, for the collection that he assembled for the exhibition titled *Lost and Found Traditions: Native American Art 1965-1985* (1986-1993). Thaw explained that, “This show, commissioned and circulated by the American Federation of Arts, was conceived by Ted to demonstrate that the traditions of Native American art were alive and well throughout the

²⁶ Ralph T. Coe, *The Responsive Eye Ralph T Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), Front Flap.

various tribal regions and that, in fact, a little-noticed renaissance of such cultural activities was under way.”²⁷

Thaw continued, he said that Coe,

traveled widely to prepare this now-legendary exhibition and met with artists whose talent and craftsmanship often matched or even exceeded that of historic examples in museum collections. Carvers, basket weavers, potters and painters, beadworkers, quillworkers, woolen-blanket and button-blanket makers—in all the fields of traditional Indian artifacts, Ted found contemporary masters. The stunning effect of seeing so much recent Native American art of such high caliber more than verified the thesis of the show and was an overwhelming experience. The exhibition traveled to nine museums and remained on the road for seven years, from 1986 to 1993.²⁸

Plains Indians, along with other Native American Indian tribes have a well-established history of collecting beautiful crafted treasures. Ethnologist J. C. H. King pointed out that,

Museums of Native American art provide a contrasting paradigm for collecting. Long before Europeans arrived in the Americas, Native peoples accumulated regalia and paraphernalia for ceremonial and religious purposes. The burial of pipes by the Indians of the Hopewell culture at Mound City, Ohio, more than fifteen hundred years ago represents one type of collecting. The production and preservation of crest regalia on the Northwest Coast could also be said to be a form of collecting, as could, perhaps, the accumulation of sacred objects in medicine bundles. These can be seen by outsiders as a kind of portable shrine. Indeed, Plains peoples may see museums as vastly enlarged medicine bundles.²⁹

Importantly, King emphasized that tribal museums are significant components in the museum world. King said that,

The creation of Native-run museums is often seen, erroneously, as a recent phenomenon. In 1826, for example, Cherokee leaders attempted to found a museum at New Echota, Georgia, although they were prevented from doing so by the destruction of the incipient Cherokee state and by the forced movement westward of the tribe. Direct Native involvement in museums in fact extends back

²⁷ Eugene Victor Thaw, “Forward”, in *The Responsive Eye Ralph T Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 2.

²⁸ Ibid., 2.

²⁹ J. C. H. King, “Marginality and Intelligence in Collecting of Native American Art,” in *The Responsive Eye Ralph T Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 37.

at least one hundred fifty years. The New York State Museum (then Cabinet) in Albany, founded in 1836, was the repository for two collections built in the mid-nineteenth century by Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) and by the Seneca sachem General Ely S. Parker (1828-1895). Parker's nephew Arthur C. Parker (1881-1955) headed the influential Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences in the early twentieth century and, at the suggestion of the New-York Historical Association, published *A Manual for History Museums*. The book includes a pithy section on collecting material for historical displays, such as period rooms, and emphasizes the importance of documentation.³⁰

The topic of early 19th – century tribal museums is one that deserves new investigation by historians. As tribes are establishing new tribal archives and museums, it is important to relate them to those tribal museum discussions of two hundred years ago.

Artist and art historian Judith Ostrowitz succinctly explained,

The history of response to Native North American art since the great acceleration of its entrance into non-Native life in the mid-nineteenth century was mediated at first by the projects of influential scholars.' That the appreciation of indigenous art by outsiders was, and is, a cross-cultural endeavor suggests that these projects were acts of interpretation specific to the histories of those who generated them. For the most part, early scholarship identified Native American works as artifacts, the props and traces left behind by Native practice. They were not yet thought of as autonomous works of art, objects that could be considered for their beauty alone. Consequently, authorities linked these pieces with explanatory texts. Volumes were written by anthropologists, collectors, and others who sought to know the nature and meaning of objects that originated in Native cultures, in what they considered a systematic and scientific way, and ultimately to share that knowledge with larger audiences, particularly in museum environments. Non-Native standards for the evaluation of beauty, as an issue separate from didactic purpose, were eventually developed, initially as an adjunct to this quest for information about cultures of origin. This information was recorded by non-Native authors who observed native practices and participated in consultations with those who were termed Native 'informants,' the local authorities and community representatives whom they interviewed. Only very infrequently did Native thinkers make direct contributions that affected the written record or strategies for museum collection.³¹

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Judith Ostrowitz, "Full of Blood, Thunder and Springy Abandon – History, Text, and the Appreciation of Native American Art," in *The Responsive Eye Ralph T Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 45.

How to describe the difference between Indian art and artifact is not a simple visual determination. It helps to understand if the piece is art if the creator can provide an oral description for the viewing audience, who might also have blind people wanting descriptions from audio text and/or tactile access, if possible.

Museums featuring Native American Art collections have acculturated into the transnational museum community. King emphasized that,

Today, Native museums and cultural centers are a focus for the expansion of collecting. The principles involved are rather different from those invoked by private collectors. Museums are important as symbols of nationhood, particularly as expressed by those tribes enriched by the gaming industry. They promote preservation, recovery, and the development of tribal identity, and they assume moral practice as a central tenet. This is combined with an emphasis on cultural specificity. In contrast, in the globalized world, urban museums emphasize shared, universal values. Most important, Native museums contribute to the education of the public in cultural values—the cyclical and non-linear nature of time, for example, and the importance of land and family.³²

American Indian cultural centers are important community centers. They bring a population of elders and grandchildren together in a zone that is conducive to inter-generational learning, human to human.

21st-Century Exhibitions

Transnational traveling Wild West Shows acted as pseudo museums purveying ethno-heirloom exhibitors and souvenir merchants for willing visitors. On May 23, 2014 I had the pleasure to visit “Plains Indians” a temporary exhibition (April 8 to July 20, 2014) at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, France. Gaylord Torrence, Senior Curator of American Indian Art, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Arts brought this exhibition to Paris from Kansas City, Missouri. The museum is located near the Eiffel Tower and Camp de Mars near the southern bank of the Seine

³² J. C. H. King, “Marginality and Intelligence in Collecting of Native American Art,” 37.

³² Ibid., 38.

River. In 1889 and 1905, near this site, William F. Cody presented Lakota Sioux Indian performers to the citizens of Paris in his Buffalo Bill Wild West shows.

The exhibition focused on the vibrancy of the material culture and art of the Plains Indian people living on the North American Plains during the 16th to the 20th centuries. The exhibition's leaflet explained that, "Despite the fundamental cultural upheavals that the Plains artists experienced, they never stopped creating. The power of their culture is characterized by this continuity in terms of forms and motifs,"³³ of which examples are shown in this exhibition.

The exhibition's leaflet further pointed out that Plains people's, "Art offered a means of preserving the memory of their world, a world threatened with disappearance by the cumulative assaults of epidemics, American soldiers, government agents, bison hunters, railways and colonists. However, spirituality continued to act as a source of inspiration. But the Indians would also adopt objects from American culture, such as the gloves used by cowboys, shoes and spectacles, adding to them their own world view."³⁴

Chapter 7 showed how much can be learned from simply viewing tactile and images of ethnic heirlooms gathered in public collections. Indian and non-Indian artifact collections have been displayed for decades. These collections have been used to acculturate public transnational cultural ideologies. The creators, collectors, and collection manager-custodians all share an integrated space in this venture.

³³ "Plains Indians," Leaflet to accompany the exhibition (April 8 to July 20, 2014) at the Musee Du Quai Branly in Paris, France.

³⁴ Ibid.

Chapter 8 - World's Fairs, Expositions and other Tourist

Destinations

Chapter 8 discusses World's fairs and other tourist destinations where visitors could view and purchase North American Indian arts and crafts. These encounters were organized, most often, by non-Indian promoters, such as the trans-continental railroad companies, international events, and regional museum chamber of commerce. Native Americans (Show Indians) and their arts and crafts were gathered at these venues for display and performance. Additionally, local politicians and transnational diplomats took advantage of these gatherings for political activity.

The heyday of the World's Exposition touting the greatness of the Industrial Revolution's colonizing "North Atlantic metropolitan world," began in 1851 and crescendoed just before World War I. World's fairs continued after this time, well into the 20th-century, but not with the same intensity (See Appendix D). Anthropologist Curtis M. Hinsley explained that the age of the industrial exposition was begun,

with the Great International Exposition in London's Crystal Palace in 1851 and the American response, New York's "Crystal Palace" fair of 1853, for seven decades—until World War I—every few years saw the organizing, funding, and launching of a new exhibition enterprise: London, New York, Paris, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Buffalo, San Francisco, Seattle, Atlanta, New Orleans, Nashville, and many others announced regional, national, and international presentations. Like most of the buildings that housed them and the landscapes on which they stood, these exhibitions were ephemeral constructions, at once catalytic and celebratory events, economic risks taken in expectation of future return. They were carnivals of the industrial age, communal activities undergirded and directed by

corporate boards and interests of state. None lasted more than six months; collectively their ideological impact was profound and permanent.¹

World fairs combined the ancient living, i.e. Indigenous people, with exhibits of technologies of the imagined future. The major flaw in this scenario is the fact that American Indians working at the fairs as Show Indians were not ancient vanishing people. They interacted with the fair patrons in the role of Show Indian. The fair integrated scientific exhibitions with agricultural exhibitions and art.

World's Columbian Exposition

At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, the Native Americans contracted by the Columbian Exposition were presented to the Fair's visitors on pseudo tableau stages. The Indians performed re-enacted scenes of everyday Indigenous activities. These activities included dance performances and selling tourists Indian Made arts and crafts.

Textile Scholar Beverly Gordon pointed out that Euroamerican academic and domestic design interest grew, at the end of the 19th-century, in collecting Native American material cultural artifacts and art. She said that, for example "The Field Museum of Natural History [in Chicago, Illinois] was itself established to permanently house the artifacts that had been amassed for display at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. This fair and others like it in the turn-of-the-century period can be credited with some of the first presentations of Indians and Indian objects in personal settings—in family and community groups, performing everyday tasks, etc. The fairs helped stimulate interest in Indian lifeways and contributed strongly to the collecting

¹ Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press 1991), 344.

boom.”²

The Indians participating in the Columbian Exposition were interpreted, by their presence, as living ethno-heirlooms, evidence of a United States patriotic progress to the Industrial Revolution initiated by the “discovery” of America by Columbus. Art historian Diane Dillon pointed out that “As subjects of artistic and educational exhibits, American Indians advanced the fair’s high cultural ambitions. As symbols of America, Indians affirmed the fair’s patriotic ethos. The link to Christopher Columbus positioned American Indians at the starting point of a narrative of progress, which celebrated the nation’s development from a mythically untamed wilderness to a modern, industrial civilization. As icons of the primitive, they set in high relief the fair’s displays of the latest commercial achievements in technology and manufacturing.”³

Canadian First Nations

In the mid-1800s, cities around Great Britain began presenting exhibitions displaying people and material cultures from territories ruled by Great Britain’s colonial empire anthropologist Alison K. Brown explained that,

Beginning with the Great Exhibition of 1851, a series of displays and expositions held in cities throughout the United Kingdom promoted Britain’s overseas interests and introduced the public to indigenous peoples from the colonies in ways that museums could not replicate. These expositions were designated both as ‘scientific demonstration’ and ‘popular entertainment,’ . . . {The exhibits} usually offered information about a country’s natural resources and industrial potential, but they also presented packaged cultural narratives through the use of reconstructed villages inhabited by people representing particular nations, which

² Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988*, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988),14.

³ Diane Dillon, “Indians and ‘Indianicity’ at the 1893 World’s Fair,” in *George DeForest Brush The Indian Paintings* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 102.

were intended to introduce the public to the lives of colonial subjects.⁴

Some of the Canadian First Nations people who were hired to participate in exhibits, sometimes lived for weeks in the living exhibit tipi villages that they were living displays in.⁵

Brown emphasized and pointed out that,

Like the ever-popular Wild West shows that toured Europe from the 1880s to around the 1930s, these cultural representations fulfilled the expectations and fantasies of an indiscriminating British public, allowing it to make judgments about indigenous-people based on identifiers such as the clothes they wore and the artifacts they used. Some of these artifacts were produced specifically for exhibition; others were loaned by Canadian museums. During the late 1920s, for example, the National Museum of Canada sent photographs of First Nations people for display at London's Royal Colonial Institute, and in 1929 it loaned ethnological material to the Native Exhibit of the Canadian Section of the Imperial Institute to create 'an exhibit worthy of a prominent position in the halls of the Imperial Institute and one in which the National Museum of Canada can take pride. The material is excellent, representative and valuable, and a great deal of it could not be replaced.' British museum curators made the most of opportunities to acquire First Nations materials that entered the country with the participants of travelling shows or as contributions to larger expositions, but the collection of First Nations objects was generally rather haphazard: The personal interests and experience of staff often dictated the areas in which a museum would collect, but even museums that actively amassed ethnographic materials rarely had the resources to undertake field trips abroad. Those that did were generally associated with the wealthier universities and benefited from collections gathered on university-sponsored scientific expeditions.⁶

Exhibitions that combined both Native American and Euroamerican special historical connections have been surprising. Questions of motivation of exhibition promoters and organizers range from actual desire to teach the connected history and desires to commercialize in order to collect tourist dollars.

⁴ Alison K. Brown, *First Nations Museums Narrations Stories of the 1929 Franklin Motor Expedition to the Canadian Prairies*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014), 80.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Native American Ethnographic Themed Museums that Attracted Transnational Tourist

Euroamerican and tribal museums act as cultural centers housing archival materials, material culture, and art collections, as well serve as education centers and tourist destinations.

For example, Museum of the American Indian in New York City, plus two other museums, associated with George Gustav Heye, became notable tourist destinations. (See Appendix B)

They were created from collections passionately assembled by Heye. Anthropologist Ira Jacknis explained that Heye had,

managed over some sixty years to acquire the largest assemblage of Indian objects ever collected by a single person, . . . now including more than 800,000 objects.” Heye served as director of the museum, which opened to the public in 1922, until 1956. In 1989, after several decades of financial problems and declining attendance, the Heye collections were transferred to the Smithsonian Institution, where they became the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). The original buildings in upper Manhattan and the Bronx have now been replaced with three structures: the George G. Heye Center, which opened in lower Manhattan in 1994; the Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland (completed in 1998 and fully opened in 2003); and the main exhibit building on the Mall in Washington DC, opened in September 2004.⁷

Before Heye established his collections of Native American material culture, Jacknis said that,

Native American objects had already been the subject of four centuries of collecting.’ During the first, extended period, from European exploration through the Civil War, collecting was both governmental and personal, and the principal agents were explorers, scientists, and merchants. Given the colonial situation, the very earliest collections are in Europe. . . . [Additionally,] many collections of local amateur societies, devoted to history or natural science. For example, the Peabody Museum, founded in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1799 as a maritime society, has significant Native American collections, especially from the Northwest Coast.⁸

Importantly, Jacknis further explained that,

⁷ Ira Jacknis, “A New Thing? The National Museum of the American Indian in Historical and Institutional Context,” in *The National Museum of the American Indian Critical Conversation*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 3.

⁸ Ibid., 4.

Although the national collections at the Smithsonian were founded in 1846, it took at least until the Centennial of 1876 for the Smithsonian to accumulate significant American Indian artifacts.' At the Smithsonian, Native American cultures became the concern of the research Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879, assisted by the related U.S. National Museum, opened in 1881. Soon the primary venue for Native American collections would become the great municipal natural history museums, most notably New York's American Museum of Natural History, founded in 1869, and Chicago's Field Museum, founded in 1893. It was also at about this time that anthropology became a specialized scholarly profession, in Europe as well as in America. Among the earliest homes for the discipline were the university museums of anthropology. Founded in 1866, the Harvard Peabody Museum of Anthropology is the oldest American museum devoted exclusively to anthropology. It was followed in 1889 by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and in 1901 by the University of California Museum of Anthropology (now known as the Phoebe Hearst Museum).⁹

As cultural centers, anthropologist Ira Jacknis said that Tribal museums are a recent development, most were founded after 1960. Jacknis further explained that,

Today there are more than two hundred tribal institutions in the United States and Canada. Many, in fact, avoid the term 'museum' in favor of 'cultural center,' implying a broader scope that goes beyond the collection and display of artifacts. With the notable exception of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center in Connecticut (opened in 1998), most suffer the problems of many smaller museums, such as a lack of collections, trained staff, funding, and facilities. With its relatively abundant resources, the National Museum can be of enormous assistance to its sister institutions. As an institutional genre, the tribal museum is a Native American variation of the more general museum type of a community museum. While most are addressed to fairly small-scale populations of interacting people, such as the Chinatown museums in New York and San Francisco, some are larger ethnic museums working in a national perspective, such as the Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles) and the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center (near Dayton, Ohio). At first glance, the NMAI seems more like one of these ethnic museums, being national and located in Washington. Yet it must also be something few other tribal museums are: multiracial. It cannot simply present one Native viewpoint, given the tremendous diversity within Native American cultures. One way out of this dilemma is a certain focus on the local Native peoples who originally inhabited the museum's homes in Washington and New York. For instance, the cafe in the Mall building is called Mitsitam, which means 'Let's eat' in Piscataway and Delaware. The other approach is multiple perspectives. For instance, the cafe

⁹ Ibid., 5.

contains five stations, each featuring a different geographic and culinary tradition¹⁰

The continued development of North American Indian cultural centers has fundamental significance. The cultural centers allow tribal self-determination in the display of art and material culture, as well as, the telling of their own cultural story to transnational visitors.

International Events and Transnational Material Culture Museum Politics

North American Indigenous art interpretation falls into two categories: old traditional and new contemporary. Cultural anthropologist Patricia Pierce Erikson explained that “The old art is the product of exotic societies, now extinct or *so* changed as to be difficult to understand on the basis of their modern representations. The new art is made by artists who belong to an ethnic minority but share most cultural forms with the non-Indian members of the larger society.”¹¹

The Glenbow Museum and the XV Winter Olympics political turmoil

During the XV Winter Olympics, the Glenbow Museum found itself in the center of a political storm. The special exhibit created for the event to showcase Canada’s First Nation people was the impetus for the storm. The exhibit, “Spirit Sings” exhibition raised many questions about First Nations material culture Canadian heritage value, ownership, control, repatriation, and other politics of shared transnational nationhood.

The Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta, Canada was founded by the wealthy philanthropist Eric Harvie (1892-1975), who like Heye, was a bulk collector. He was born in Orilla, Ontario, Canada and made his fortune in oil. Harvie had a passion for preserving Canada’s Western history and First Nations culture. Native American Studies scholar Samantha

¹⁰ Ibid., 31.

¹¹ Patricia Pierce Erikson, “Decolonizing the Nation’s Attic: The National Museum of the American Indian and the Politics of Knowledge-Making in a National Space,” in *The National Museum of the American Indian Critical Conversation*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 71.

L. Archibald explained that, “the Plains represent the largest groupings of ethnographic collections held by the Glenbow. Along with objects representing Plains material cultures, the Glenbow has preserved Plains songs, stories and histories. Today, many people find these records and artifacts valuable to an understanding of history, and they have helped Plains people recreate and revive past traditions.”¹²

In 1988 Canada used its position as host of the XV Winter Olympics to showcase Canada’s multi-culturism in an ethnological exhibit at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary. The exhibition was created to tell the world about Euro-Canadian and First Nations people cultural relationships in Canada’s National history. But, the exhibit, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples*, for several years was already embroiled in political controversy. Indigenous Studies scholar Gerald T. Conaty explained that,

In Canada, the controversy that accompanied *The Spirit Sings* exhibit became a touchstone for museums to evaluate their relationships with First Nations communities. *The Spirit Sings* brought First Nations artifacts to Calgary, Alberta, as part of the cultural exposition accompanying the XV Winter Olympics. These items had been dispersed around the world, some having left North America in the seventeenth century. The exhibit was intended to celebrate First Nations’ heritage and to educate Canada and the world about this rich legacy and the enduring cultural vitality. The Lubicon Cree of northern Alberta were trying, unsuccessfully, to make treaty with the government of Canada. The Cree realized that protesting the exhibit would be an effective way of bringing global attention to their predicament; while their past was on display, they had no forum for resolving their current situation. The Cree effectively raised awareness of their issues and museums across Canada understood that they (the museums) were part of the country’s political debate.¹³

Archibald observed that, “the theme underlying *The Spirit Sings* was one of metaphoric repatriation: to bring First Nations material cultures home. It is not surprising, then, that the

¹² Samantha L. Archibald, *Contested Heritage: An Analysis of the Discourse on the Spirit Sings*, (master’s thesis, University of Lethbridge, 1995), 103.

¹³ Gerald T. Conaty, “The Effects of Repatriation on the Relationship Between the Glenbow Museum and the Blackfoot People,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23, no. 3 (2008): 246.

artifacts on display at the exhibition were often identified as belonging to both Canada's heritage and to First Nations' heritage in the discourse.”¹⁴

The Glenbow Museum has had its share of transnational and diplomatic challenges during its assembling activities of First Nations material culture. Conaty pointed out that,

Glenbow's First Nations collections come from a number of sources. Material from regions more distant from Calgary, such as the Northwest Coast, the Arctic or the southern Plains, were often purchased from commercial dealers or collectors, although some donations were also made. During the 1960s and 1970s museum staff made collecting trips to First Nations communities in southern Saskatchewan and Alberta where they bought a variety of items, including sacred material, directly from the residents. Sometimes the reasons for selling were recorded and these range from a need for money to a concern that the sacred bundles were no longer safe, and that few people were learning the ancient traditions. First Nations people who visit our collections sometimes express concern that some of this material was acquired inappropriately or from individuals who did not have the right to dispose of it.¹⁵

Additionally, Archibald pointed out that,

Following *The Spirit Sings*, [a]conference *Preserving Our Heritage* was held to address the question of who holds the rights to the objects of specific material cultures and their interpretation. The conference was a joint effort by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association. Its intent was to come to terms with issues that had been raised with respect to the ownership of First Nations material cultures, and the rights to re/present them. Prior to the conference, those concerns had not been seriously dealt with by the broader museum community. The controversy that surrounded *The Spirit Sings* served as a catalyst in bringing several of these issues to a head, and the conference was called as a positive way to deal with concerns common to both First Nations and Canadian museums.¹⁶

¹⁴ Samantha L. Archibald, *Contested Heritage: An Analysis of the Discourse on the Spirit Sings*, (master's thesis, University of Lethbridge, 1995), 224.

¹⁵ Gerald T. Conaty, "The Effects of Repatriation on the Relationship Between the Glenbow Museum and the Blackfoot People," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23, no. 3 (2008): 247.

¹⁶ Samantha L. Archibald, *Contested Heritage: An Analysis of the Discourse on the Spirit Sings*, (master's thesis, University of Lethbridge, 1995), 88.

Conaty explained that the Blackfoot community had a positive relationship with the Glenbow Museum during the troubles during the *Spirit Sings* exhibit and the protests of the Lubicon Cree of northern Alberta. Conaty said that,

“Of course, Glenbow is not the only museum to develop productive relationships with communities. Others have focused on exhibit development. Our situation concerns the management and disposition of First Nations collections in terms that, in many ways, meet First Nations’ criteria rather than museum standards. The care of these collections is a long-term core museum function and, therefore, our relationship has endured beyond the usual three to five-year span of an exhibit project. It has also led the Glenbow to understand our roles and responsibilities toward Indigenous people. So far, our close relationship has developed only with Blackfoot people. Proximity and personalities have certainly been important in directing this focus. Interestingly, other First Nations have not approached us for the return of sacred material with the same directness of the Blackfoot. Perhaps the requirement that organizations be registered under the Alberta Societies Act is a bureaucratic step that many First Nations people are unwilling to take. It may not make sense to them. Certainly those who come from outside Alberta are disheartened to learn that no mechanism presently exists to return objects to them. The request by the Blackfoot for the return of sacred objects occurred at a time when there were no legislative restrictions; when Glenbow found this to be a priority, and when staff had the time and motivation to devote to a long term, deep learning about Blackfoot culture. In the end, the bundles brought the Glenbow and the Blackfoot communities into a balanced, respectful and mutually beneficial relationship.”¹⁷

In 1986 the Lubicon Lake Cree of northern Alberta brought to the political forefront questions about exhibit sponsorship and political responsibility accompanied by requesting a boycott of the *Spirit Sings* exhibit. Shell Oil of Canada was not only a sponsor, but, an adversary due to its drilling on the Lubicon land. Anthropologist Julia D. Harrison described the situation. She said that,

In mid-April 1986 the Lubicon Lake Cree in northern Alberta announced a boycott of the 1988 Winter Olympics to draw attention to their unresolved land claim. Shortly thereafter, their boycott focused on The Spirit Sings. The exhibition was an appropriate target; it was about native peoples, was sponsored by one of the oil companies which were drilling in the area claimed by the

¹⁷ Gerald T. Conaty, “The Effects of Repatriation on the Relationship Between the Glenbow Museum and the Blackfoot People,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23, no. 3 (2008): 256.

Lubicon as their traditional lands, and it was thought that the boycott would be likely to find support among the world museum community rather than the sports people who could be expected to have less interest in native issues. The Lubicon claimed that the sponsorship by Shell and the federal government was an attempt to make the sponsors appear supportive of Native peoples, whereas they were actually destroying their Native peoples' existence with drilling activities and taking a hardline stance on the Lubicon land claim negotiations. The boycott effort was initiated by a massive letter writing campaign by Lubicon supporters and staff. It was supported by funds given to the Lubicon band by the Federal government to prepare their case for land claims negotiations. Organizations such as the World Council of Churches, the European Parliament, some national and regional native political bodies, and some members of the academic community added their support for the boycott. It is interesting to note that none of these organizations contacted the Glenbow directly to verify the statements made by the Lubicon concerning the nature and purpose of the exhibition. Nor did the museum ever receive any written communication from the Lubicon. The entire campaign was conducted through the media. Newspaper articles which could be interpreted in any way to reflect negatively on the Federal government, the Alberta government, the oil industry, the Glenbow or the Olympics were distributed far and wide throughout Europe and North America.¹⁸

Harrison added that the Exhibition,

comprised over 650 Indian and Inuit objects drawn largely from foreign collections and opened in conjunction with the 1988 Winter Olympics. The exhibition was displayed in Calgary from 14 January to 1 May 1988. It then moved to Ottawa for four months under the auspices of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The Spirit Sings, organized by the Ethnology Department of the Glenbow, was designed as an important vehicle to educate the Canadian people about the Native heritage of their country and to bring the wealth of Canadian Native materials held in foreign museums to light. Such seemingly modest goals do not seem to be sufficient fodder to fuel a controversy the like of which has never before been seen in the Canadian museum community. And yet The Spirit Sings raised many issues and struck deep into the heart of the professional community through the politicization that encumbered it at every turn. Many predicted it to be the 'last song' for any major historical exhibition of Canadian native materials. In addition to the lament over the political issues that surrounded The Spirit Sings, the Glenbow encountered an ever-growing bureaucratization of museums which challenged its ability to secure the necessary loans for the exhibition and clouded the objectives of the profession.¹⁹

¹⁸ Julia D. Harrison, "The Spirit Sings: The Last Song?," *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 7, no. 4 (1988): 354-355.

¹⁹ Ibid., 353.

The Glenbow Museum controversy is a cautionary tale that museums and sponsors need not to forget. Person to person contact is necessary to ensure compromises will be attained with mutual respect left intact.

This chapter brought a focus on the importance of interpersonal contact through world fairs and tourist venues. One can only speculate as to whether the controversy during the 1988 Winter Olympics would have been more productive or not if there had been more diplomatic contacts between the people involved. However, World's Fairs and other international events serve as important venues for Indigenous people and others to present cultural interpretations to a global world. The main lesson of this chapter is the one that diplomacy depends upon person to person patient and thoughtful communication.

Chapter 9 - Transnational Travel Logs, Adventure Literature, and Photo Journalism Collections

Chapter 9 discusses how Native American people came to be inserted into and interpreted by transnational travel logs, adventure stories, dime novels, and photo journalism. It shows the influence this literature and imagery had on the transnational global populace.

At the end of the 19th-century, museum exhibits, World's fair expositions, and popular publications energized Euroamerican households to collect the "exotic and vanishing" Native American material culture. Textile scholar Beverly Gordon explained that: "Ironically, the assumption of assimilation led to a sentimental, nostalgic new interest in Indian things. Once the public felt that 'night was about to swallow' the Indian way of life, it wanted to hold on to it in some way, and a craze for collecting Indian objects began."¹

And, Gordon added,

There were two aspects to the turn-of-the-century collecting boom, although they interpenetrated one another at many points and both stemmed from the same belief in the vanishing Indian. On one hand there was interest and activity on a professional or institutional level. New museums, including the Museum of Natural History in New York and the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, began to send people out on collecting missions to get as much material as they could from the 'dying' cultures. Attempts were made to fill in 'gaps' in the collections. . . . The second major thrust of turn of the century collecting took place on a more popular level. The general perception that Indian ways were a phenomenon of the past was so pervasive that a 1899 illustration in *Harper's Weekly* satirically portrayed two Indians on wooden merry-go-round horses and the 1902 Sears and Roebuck catalogue offered a stereopticon set entitled 'The Passing of the Indian' Everyone wanted to capture some small piece of this vanishing part of America and eagerly sought examples of Indian beadwork, baskets, and other objects.²

¹ Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988*, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 6.

² Ibid.

Nostalgia is a universal human thought process of remembering. Indigenous people of the Great Plains were sucked into the colonizers nostalgia material culture and fairytales. This was addressed in the discussion about the Arts and Crafts movement in Chapter 3.

Plains Indian Stereotypes

19th-century European and Euroamerican adventure seekers and tourists traveling the Great American West, returned home to write travel logs and adventure literature collections that portrayed the Native American people and their homeland in dioramic romanticized images. This literature stereotyped Indian characters in such forms as the “Indian warrior” and the “Indian squaw.” Amazingly, these stereotypes of Indian people and their homeland were reinforced by dioramas and dramatic reenactments in museum ethnographic exhibits, world fair exhibits, and American traveling Wild West Shows. By the eighteenth century romantic literature served as the major American West data base “for the armchair adventurers of Europe.” English literature depicted all French traders as scoundrels plying the unsuspecting Indians with liquor. The nineteenth century brought the Western Adventure Novels to the general public. In the nineteenth century French Western novelist Gustave Aimard wrote numerous embellished tales about American native peoples and their relationships with Europeans and Euroamericans. At the same time, in the United States, the iconic myth of Buffalo Bill Cody was born in two hundred dime novels loosely based on William F. Cody’s life. The novels led to his stage career and finally to his larger than life Wild West show. Cody never wanted his production to be referred to as a show as the term “show” gave the connotation of a circus or medicine show. Rather he wanted the spectacle accepted as an authentic retelling of his life and that of the American West and its peoples.³ Buffalo Bill was known in France as

³ Steve Freisen. (Director Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, Golden CO), interviewed by the author (21 May 2007).

“Guillaume Le Buffle.” Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and the dime novels written about him remolded and enhanced the European image of the American West. The Lakota warriors of the Plains pushed aside James Fennimore Cooper’s Woodland Indians for a period of time. Both are still alive and well between the pages of their respective novels and in reenactment clubs. The people of France have enjoyed playing Indian by joining clubs such as “Le Cercle Peau-Rouge Huntka” (Redskin Circle). Often it is human nature to prefer the myth over the reality, especially for our entertainments.⁴

The Wild West Lakota Show Indians are the archetype for the theatrical Indian icon reproduced on Wild West posters, coins, stamps, calendars, plates, mugs, and dolls.⁵ Wild West venues have always had a market for these collectible souvenirs. The Lakota warrior preserved in Wild West exhibitions and fiction represents bravery and fierceness. Another outgrowth of the fictionalization of the Lakota warrior was adopted by early aviation manufacturers and World War I fighter pilots. For example, the iconic Lakota warrior image preserved in Wild West exhibitions and fiction is a simulated generic stereotype.⁶ Twentieth century venues, such as military weapons manufacturers, employed the Wild West iconic warrior image in logo iconography. The Savage Arms Company, producers of ammunition during World War I, reproduced the image of a generic Lakota Indian warrior wearing a feathered war bonnet as its company logo. Major Bill Thaw, one of the United States pilots serving in the French air corps

⁴ Ray Allen Billington. *Land of Savagery Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company. 1981), and Ray Allen Billington. “The Plains and Deserts through European Eyes.” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 10, no. 4 (October 1979): 468.

⁵ Joe Straita, *The Dull Knives of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 141-142.

⁶ “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show” Press Information Disneyland Resort Paris, And Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

during World War I, noticed the company's logo and in 1916 initiated its placement onto the French Nieuport fighters as the Cachy squadron's unit emblem. Once the United States declared war on Germany, in 1917, the American military pilots, now flying the Spade fighters, requested a more threatening looking Indian emblem on their aircraft. Ed Hinkle and Harold Buckley Willis, squadron pilots, chose the Lakota warrior as their portrait for the new insignia. They painted the warrior's face reddish brown and dressed him Wild West show fashion in blue tipped feathers in recognition of the French tricolor.⁷ In 1918, Major Bill Thaw insisted that the Lakota warrior be continued as the insignia of the 103rd Aero Squadron of the United States Signal Corps.⁸

German Travel Logs and Literature

In Germany, at the end of the 19th-century, many Germans were enthralled with the fabricated myths developed through romanticized literature written about Native Americans and cowboys. Historian Julia Simone Stetler pointed out that the influence European and American literary fiction and American Wild West shows acted as a siren song on the German population and created, "the development of specific German ideas about the nature of the Indian and the American West, which found expression even in tangible objects: Germans started to dress like cowboys and Indians, and indigenous objects that accompanied the ethnographic exhibits often ended up in German museums."⁹

In the 19th-century, Europeans were as much in love with romanticized fictional Native Americans, as I argue, that they were in love with their own fairy tales and fables that were used

⁷ Walter A. Musciano, "Lafayette Escadrille: Ace of Aces." *Aviation History*, (January 2004), 29.

⁸ Ibid., 31, and Alida S. Boorn, *Oskate Wicasa (One Who Performs)*. (master's thesis Central Missouri University, 2005), Chapter 3.

⁹ Julia Simone Stetler, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany a Transnational History*, (PhD diss. University of Nevada, 2012), 17.

to teach lessons about life and proper social behavior. Additionally, Stetler pointed out that the North American West was used, “as a self-reflecting mirror. Often freely mixing facts and fiction, writers and travelers produced thousands of books and reports, which reflected the idea that America was a utopia that was formed in peoples’ minds just as much as (or even more than) in reality.”¹⁰

Stetler contended that German society was heavily influenced by the “self-reflecting mirror” that the tales of the American West proffered. Stetler explained that, “The printed materials related to the United States, the West, and the Indian significantly shaped German culture, politics, and philosophy, which in turn influenced Germany’s interactions with the United States.”¹¹

About the German readers’ sources of armchair travel and American adventure tales, Stetler said that, “A major contributor to the expanding knowledge about Indians and the West was the German publishing industry, which quickly became one of the most developed in Europe. . . . Germans were frequently exposed to conceptions about Indians that consisted of a mingling of fact and fiction drawn from reality as well as dramatic travel narratives and legends.”¹²

Further, German writers incorporated sociological theories about capitalist versus Indigenous values cited in theories as those of philosophers like Karl Emil Maximilian Weber (1864-1920), who discussed his fears about the effects of capitalism on societies and ideas of individualism. Weber had a romanticized fanciful vision of the “American Indian.” He Viewed Native Americans as people unrestrained, “it also was fresh and original, offering Europeans a

¹⁰ Ibid., 92.

¹¹ Ibid., 93.

¹² Ibid., 93.

glimpse of everything they were longing for: open spaces, abundance, an epic struggle with a worthy yet doomed foe, exotic animals, adventure in the wilderness and exploration, a sense of freedom of movement and of a new beginning, the free expression of individualism, no traditions or entrenched customs that had to be adhered to, and a reinvention of one's self and whatever other personal desires people projected onto the West."¹³

Stetler pointed out that many of these writers and philosophers, like Weber, were Europeans who had returned from America with ideas formulated on their collections they assembled on observations and other data they saw in American Indigenous societies and individuals. Stetler said that these European tourists "usually published their experiences, which greatly added to the genre of travel literature."¹⁴

The transnational nature of the armchair travel literature allowed a sharing of stereotyped ideas about the American West. "The literary products originating in England, France, Germany, and the United States cannot be thought of as separate entities but instead cross-fertilized each other and gained new ideas, genres, and concepts."¹⁵

Importantly, the transnational literary travel fairytales collections were profoundly peppered with the images of European created images of Native Americans portrayed as parts of a two sided coin embellished with the noble savage on one side and the ignoble savage on the other side. Stetler described this well documented literary genre that promoted a generic Indian modeled in the image of a Lakota warrior in feathers and living in a tipi. Stetler said that,

The literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is split between two contrasting depictions of Native Americans: that of the Noble and the Ignoble Savage. Writers who chose the side of the noble savage often also contrasted the

¹³ Ibid., 149.

¹⁴ Ibid., 93.

¹⁵ Ibid., 98.

purity, freedom and compassion of the noble savage with the cruelty, debauchery and anarchy of 'civilized' societies and attributed to the Indians the highest moral values and chivalry. (This reference to the Indians as chivalrous was of course connected to Europe's past of knights and chivalry, which did not go unnoticed). Authors used the noble savage concept to criticize Europe's decadence and stress the fact that this Indian lifestyle came naturally to a people who had never experienced any form of oppression. However, the notion that they were about to be made extinct by the evil forces of civilization shone through very strongly as well, and thus it also evoked emotions of sympathy and regret. These emotions were quickly discovered as a new device by authors to draw their readers in.¹⁶

Stetler continued,

The image of the Ignoble Savage was also perpetuated in the popular genre of captivity narratives that portrayed the Indian as ravaging 'reincarnations of the Wild Men of medievalism.' Throughout the nineteenth century and with the increasing settlement of the American West and a simultaneous expansion of knowledge about circumstances and conditions there, the conflict between white settlers and Indians became much more real and better known in Europe and fed the image of the Indian as a bloodthirsty and dangerous adversary. These tropes were increasingly assimilated into novels, which served as the 'principal avenues for the armchair adventurers of Europe to learn of the American West.'¹⁷

Stetler further explained that,

In the case of the 'Indian,' Germans regarded (and still do) him or her as an essentially positive, spiritual, and heroic human type who lives in tune with nature; individual examples that contradict this view are considered deviations, not the reverse. Also, no matter how reductive such stereotypes may be, usually they are not completely devoid of actual information, for example in certain elements of Native American attire that are applied widely to *any* Native American populations. Such stereotypes are considered 'real' to the groups who create them. For example, even though the newspaper coverage, advertisements and pamphlets of the *Wild West* were naming different ethnic groups, the picture of one ethnic group, one Indian race with a homogenous culture remained. Again, the reason for that is the firm establishment of the stereotype of the typical Indian in Germany in the course of the nineteenth century. It was an ideological pattern that was superimposed on all Indians and their shows, and if appearance or behavior did not match that pattern, the group was simply excluded and ignored.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid., 98.

¹⁷ Ibid., 99.

¹⁸ Ibid., 116.

German and other nationalities have created an abundance of literature about Native Americans that has seeped into other depictions of Indians. The stereotyped American Indian was dressed in a pseudo genre interpretation of a Plains Indian warrior wearing buckskin and a feather trailing bonnet. Today, many non -Native people just assume this is what all Indian persons look like. For example, I own some Chinese manufactured composite figures of Pilgrims and Indians (fig. F-92). The figures that represent the Wampanoag people are dressed in stereotypical Plains Indian regalia based on Lakota regalia, just as William Cody's Wild West Show Indians wore these same fact simile costumes of Sioux buckskin clothing. According to Plimoth Plantation, in 1620, the Wampanoag in Indians, players in the United States Thanksgiving fairytales, both men and women actually wore a breach cloth type of clothing. And, in cold weather they wore deerskin leggings with wraparound mantles made from raccoon, otter, or other fur bearing animals for warmth.¹⁹

Photographic Journalism

In the second half of the 1800s, journalistic photographic collections of Native American leaders, important diplomatic events, and Western landscapes began to supplement painted images on canvas. The fear that the American Indigenous people were disappearing was a dominant belief, thus there was a Euroamerican belief of urgency to record this myth of the disappearing Native American and his lifeways.

Indian Portraits Created by Alexander Gardner (1821-1882)

On January 24, 1865, a fire in the Smithsonian Museum "destroyed many priceless American Indian paintings." Following this disaster, Paisley, Scotland born photographer

¹⁹ Plimoth Planation, "What to Wear: Wampanoag Clothing, <https://www.plimoth.org/learn/just-kids/homework-help/what-wear>

Alexander Gardner (1821-1882)²⁰ along with photographer Antonio Z. Shindler (1823-1899), was contracted by “a wealthy English collector and speculator, William Henry Blackmore, “to produce a photographic collection to replace the lost paintings of portraits of Native American diplomats (fig. F-93 through F-95) visiting Washington, D. C.²¹ The reason Blackmore contracted the photographers was because, explained Scholar D. Mark Katz,

it was suggested by Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry that photographic portraits of Indian delegations visiting Washington be taken. The idea was vigorously supported by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Lewis V. Bogy, who wrote that it was time to begin anew ... a far more authentic and trustworthy collection of likenesses of the principal tribes of the United States. The negatives of these might be preserved and copies supplied at cost to any who might desire them. . . . The Indians are passing away so rapidly that but few years remain within which this can be done and the loss will be irretrievable and so felt when they are gone. The photographs . . . should be single and of what is known as Imperial size, the half length being sufficient, and the head divested of any covering so as to show its conformation. In short the pictures should be portraits of the men and not of their garments or ornaments.²²

Additionally, Katz added that,

Unfortunately, Congress did not agree and failed to provide the necessary funding. However, a wealthy English collector and speculator, William Henry Blackmore, was willing to finance the endeavor. . . . One of Gardner’s first commissions was to photograph the Sauk and Fox delegation at the White House in February 1867.² Over the next few years he took many pictures of Indians from a variety of tribes, and in 1872 Gardner became the official photographer for the Office of Indian Affairs, charged with photographing all the incoming Indian delegations. Gardner’s portraits were eventually installed in the William Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, England.²³

During the American Civil War Gardner had established himself as a journalistic documentarian, therefore, it is not a surprise that the United States Government and Blackmore

²⁰ Joseph Wilson, “A Eulogy on the Life and Character of Alexander Gardner,” (eulogy Lebanon Lodge, No. 7, January 19, 1883).

²¹ D. Mark Katz, *Witness to an Era: The Life and Photographs of Alexander Gardner*, (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1991), 235.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

hired him to record important negotiations with American Indians. For example, in 1868 Gardner was commissioned to document the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty (fig. F-96). Gardner, thus went to Wyoming to record some of the most significant treaty signings on the Great Plains. Katz explained that,

The Crows signed their treaty on May 6 and 7, whereupon the commissioners distributed presents to them. Gardner photographed the Crow camp, the disbursement of the gifts, and numerous individuals. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes signed their treaty on May 10. Gardner photographed the signing, and the campsites, and made more portraits. While awaiting the Oglalas, Gardner photographed Fort Laramie and the nearby plains. . . .Gardner returned to Washington with some two hundred negatives; half were approximately 8x10 and the rest were stereoviews. The large-format views, published as ‘Scenes in the Indian Country,’ were given to the members of the commission in a bound portfolio.²⁴

During the Laramie Wyoming Territory treaties Gardner recorded his own set of photographs of the Plains Indian acculturation. Gardner called these images his Indian Country Series. Curator of Photography, Jane L. Aspinwall said that there is no known inventory of this series of photographs. She explained that, “The photographs do not appear to have any particular order, and none are titled. Most of the prints are adhered to an official mount with ‘Scenes in the Indian Country’ printed prominently across the bottom; ‘511 Seventh Street, Washington’ on the left; and ‘A. Gardner, Photographer’ on the right.”²⁵

According to Aspinwall, in documenting the Fort Laramie proceedings, Gardner “worked with both his large-format and stereo cameras. For the most part, he used his large-format camera for portraits of Indian leaders, members of the Peace Commission, and views of the area

²⁴ Ibid., 239.

²⁵ Jane L. Aspinwall, *Alexander Gardner: The Western Photographs, 1867-1868*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 94.

around Fort Laramie. He relied on his faster and lighter stereo camera for most of the views of everyday Indian life.”²⁶

Aspinwall pointed out that, in another series of Indian lifeways photographs, Gardner used his images to, “portray an acculturated American Indian, he photographed school groups (fig. F-97) in which white and Indian children stood side-by-side and white family groupings interspersed with Indian subjects. Tidy Indian farms on reservation land were nearly indistinguishable from those of white settlers.”²⁷

Finally, Aspinwall observed that, “The variety of his stereo images was remarkable. Because the smaller, more portable camera provided a more candid and spontaneous vision than the larger one, the resulting stereo views allowed an unprecedented record of daily life in an Indian camp. Working relatively quickly, Gardner moved around the camp, photographing a woman in the act of cooking (fig. F-98), smoke from the fire obscuring much of her form. . . . [And,] He included views of groups of Indians waiting for fellow tribe members to arrive or for talks to resume. Considering that the tribes traveled to Fort Laramie to try to protect this traditional way of life, these images are especially poignant.”²⁸

Chapter 9 discussed briefly the literature of travel log adventure, fiction, and the photo journalism of Alexander Gardner. It also offered a discussion of acculturated stereotyped images of generic Pan-American warriors dressed in Lakota regalia. Stereotyped images prevailed in the literature. But, it is evident that Gardner did succeed in producing photographs of the lifeways that the Crow people maintained while still acculturating to the colonizers lifeways.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Chapter 10 - Archives, Archeological Sites, and Repatriation

Conversations

Chapter 10 completes this section discussing organized collections that interpret transnational Plains Indian lifeways and ethno-heirlooms. In this chapter a special focus on Indigenous archives was made and, special effort was made to a discussion about the very important topic: repatriation of Indigenous material cultures.

Indigenous Archives

Indigenous archives contain collections that have a range from transcriptions of oral histories to ledgers of pictographs. Cultural perspectives in administration of Native American archives need to be acknowledged with the understanding that “stewardship implies” power and responsibility.¹ The archive’s creator becomes the steward of the facility and owner of the power of the archival repositories collections and the responsible entity for care of the collection of the native community. “It must be remembered that Native communities have colleges and libraries, historians and genealogists, researchers and librarians, all of which value scholarship, and a library’s vital role in collecting, preserving, organizing, and access.”²

Many Native Americans are managing and protecting tribal transnational archives (See Appendix E). One of the most valued Native American cultural source is that of the passing of history and culture through the oral tradition. Anthropologist Amy Cooper explained that for centuries the passing of heritage has been through the oral tradition. But, there are concerns about interpretations by some non-Indian academics and others whose thinking has kept Indians

¹ Brian Hosmer, “Field Notes: The Research Library and Native American Collections: A View from the D’Arcy McNickle Center” *Western Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2007): 364.

² Ibid., 365.

in windows of the past. Cooper pointed out that, “this has resulted in a paucity of written documentation, the documentation that is most widely regarded as ‘legitimate’ in society today. Because of this, the view of Native American historical materials is skewed. American society’s master narrative—the one that includes the story of Indian and white relations—is, as Thornton and Gramsick note, ‘biased towards [a view of] American Indians as members of traditional and historical cultures rather than as modern, contemporary peoples.’”³

Cooper strongly emphasized that, “What most people think of when they think of Native American archives are the extensive collections at places like the National Archives, the Smithsonian, or the Newberry Library. They do not think of the collections at small tribal libraries, found on reservations across the country. It is a fact that non-Indians are administering the most well-known, though not necessarily the most valuable, Native American collections.”⁴

And, added Cooper, “Archival material is, essentially, the stuff that researchers and scholars use to interpret and even create those stories we call our history. Yet there are two key problems with history and our collective memory about events: perception and limited material. First, we must recognize that the past is always colored by perception History, as it is collected, may well bear very little resemblance to the reality it tries to represent. Second, there is limited material. Archives, libraries, and museums seek to provide the raw materials of history, but they cannot provide materials that are not there.”⁵

Thus, it is important to be aware that Native American archival materials are held by repository institutions ranging from local tribal archives to federal government archives (See Appendix E). Tribal archives belong to sovereign governments in territories with laws, and with

³ Amy Cooper, “Issues in Native American Archives,” *Collection Management* 27 no.2 (2002): 45.

⁴ Ibid., 43.

⁵ Ibid., 44.

“legal restrictions surrounding cultural issues.”⁶ Indian archive repositories began increasing in the late 1980s and really took off in the 1990s. The problem with library and museum archive collections in tribal groups is the fact that interest and support in Indian archives by tribal administrations fluctuates according to the will of standing tribal government officials. Elections take place frequently, one administration will be enthusiastic about supporting and maintaining a tribal archive, while the next will let the archive close.⁷

Indian archives symbolize Native American self-determination of cultural preservation and control of own life destinies. These archives demonstrate Indian cultural pluralism.⁸ Indian Native American archive institutions create cultural preservation environments for tribes and work to enhance their collections by acquiring materials from tribal members and others in order to preserve tribal language, history, teaching myths, and overall culture. This is a sensitive topic. At the Oklahoma Historical Society, Director of American Indian Culture and Preservation Office Bill Welge noted, “cultural preservation ought to be neutral . . . it should not have a political guillotine hanging overhead.” The tribal archive will be successful if there is a level of independence from politics and allowed to continue throughout changes of administrations and “do what they need to do.” Unfortunately, raising money, as with non-Indian archive institutions, is a constant struggle while convincing the tribe why it should maintain and give money to a tribal archive. It is believed peoples physical needs should come before the intangible, as archive maintenance. It is different for non-tribal institutions like the Oklahoma

⁶ *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*, sponsored by Northern Arizona University.

<http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>

⁷ William (Bill) Welge. (Director: Research Division, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, acts as consultant to Native American tribal archives and their establishment) interviewed by the author (23 February 2008)

⁸ Steven J. Crum, “Indian Activism, the Great Society, Indian Self-Determination, and the Drive for an Indian College or University, 1964-71.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31 (2007): 1.

Historical Society and National Archives who also hold tribal archive materials. They are supplemented with government funding. These institutions are not beholden to any specific tribe and work to remain politically neutral with all, thus, researchers do not need tribal affiliation to use.⁹

The Oglala Lakota College Archives is the United States oldest college tribal archive, founded officially in July of 1983, as the Oglala Curriculum and Resource Center. It is located in Kyle, South Dakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation. This college archive exemplifies local tribal archives. Its mission is to, “preserve materials valuable to the maintenance and enhancement of Oglala Lakota history and culture and to serve as a focal point for tribal members, tribal agencies, students and educators who seek information about Oglala Lakota history and culture.” The Oglala Lakota College Archives holds the college records, Oglala Sioux Tribal records, manuscripts, microforms, video and audio tapes, photographs, maps, posters, rare books, and Sioux artifacts.¹⁰

In Kansas the Haskell Indian Nations University is home to the Haskell Cultural Center and Museum. The university began as one of the first nineteenth century federally operated Indian boarding schools. Today the school is a premier national center for Native American research, education, and culture preservation. Its archive collections include “administrative records, history books, student rosters, theatre and music programs, photographs, films, and videotapes of Haskell events, and the student-run *Indian Leader* newspaper and yearbook.” Haskell educates future Native American tribal archivists and museum managers. The Haskell American Indian Studies program in Tribal Archives and Tribal Museum Management provides an internship for hands-on experience in the Haskell Cultural Center’s museum and archives

⁹ William (Bill) Welge, interviewed by the author (23 February 2008).

¹⁰ Oglala Lakota College Archives <http://library.olec.edu/Archives/archhist.htm>

collections. The students conduct and transcribe “history interviews with tribal elders.” The students learn how to handle records and artifacts, write grants, produce exhibits, and website development for the Cultural Center website. Haskell works in tandem with the University of Kansas at Lawrence where students can continue archive graduate level education in Indigenous Nation studies, and Museum Studies. The curriculum focuses on, “oral traditions and the spiritual dimension of objects of power needed to prepare them for careers in tribal archives and tribal museums.” Haskell’s archive education is important because it assures that American Indians are in control of the preservation and description of their own records.¹¹

Publicity, brochures, and web sites are important to archives, no matter how small. The public needs to know that archive repositories are there and accessible. The centers need to send registered users newsletters about special events and projects.¹² In today’s media centric universe, “web technologies have the potential to expand the depth and scope of the knowledge base by including other, often underrepresented, sources of knowledge.” Native American communities use the tribal archive web technologies to self-define and control public distribution of sensitive subjects while upholding “traditional laws pertaining to secret/sacred objects.” Additionally, self-control will prevent misuse of, “indigenous heritage in culturally inappropriate or insensitive ways; ensure proper attribution to the traditional owners; and enable Indigenous communities to describe their resources in their own words.”¹³

¹¹ Haskell Indian Nations University Cultural Center and Museum

http://www.haskell.edu/archive/haskell_archive.htm

¹² Laura Coles. “Public Relations and Reference Services.” *Preserving Tribal Records*, (Shawnee: Citizen Potawatomi Cultural Heritage Center, 2008), 8.

¹³ Michael Vulpe and J. Sledge, “Expanding the Knowledge Base: Managing Extended Knowledge at the National Museum of the American Indian”, in *Museums and the Web 2005: Proceedings* ed. J. Trant and D. Bearman, (Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2005) <http://www.archimuse.com/mw2005/papers/vulpe/vulpe.html>

Tribal archives are an absorbing topic. Native American tribal archives have claimed the rightful stewardship of their archival materials. They employ university educated Native American archivists who know records management and know how to handle donations. For example, a regional Indian archive cooperative, the Great Basin Indian Archives at Great Basin College located in Elko, Nevada offered guidelines to others through its web site on how to develop and administer an archive repository. Tribal nations from California, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah participate in this venture. Its mission is, “to collect primary source materials generated by individuals and organizations having direct lineage or interaction with Great Basin Indians,” thus, preserving cultural memory.¹⁴ The rescuing of languages from loss preserves cultures. The traditions that are handed down become “new contexts” and use “contents of tradition.” The “archives” system operates from a “core collection of visual and written materials.” The tribal elders to the tribal children are the “essence of this human archives of living culture.”¹⁵ Despite struggles for political survival, interest in saving tribal archives is growing. Stewardship of tribal archives by their members ensures self-determination will provide responsible care for the repositories.

Archeological Sites - Fort Clark Historical Site, North Dakota

Archeological sites, such as the Fort Clark Historical Site located on the Upper Missouri River in North Dakota, provide valuable information that aid in the interpretation and understanding of past Indigenous lifeways. The sites are ethno-heirlooms that deserve respect

¹⁴ Great Basin Indian Archives (the information on this site has changed over time but the mission statement still notes the collection of primary source material) http://www.gbcnv.edu/gbia/gbia_collections.html

¹⁵ John A. Fleckner, *Native American Archives: An Introduction*, (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1984), vi.

with transnational cooperation in preserving and protecting these sites and the artifacts on the premises.

Archeological sites have the power of a story teller to interpret transnational lifeway interactions. The sites and artifacts explain the lives and material cultures of the people who lived on the sites before the sites became ghosts of another time. In 1998, the North Dakota State Historical Society officials created programs to investigate various North Dakota archeological sites, which included Fort Clark, with the intent to better interpret the state's history to its citizens. The Fort Clark Interpretation Project had another purpose, anthropologists W. Raymond Wood and Randy H. Williams and archeologist William J. Hunt, Jr. said that the purpose was that, "the Fort Clark Interpretation Project, was a byproduct of the state of North Dakota's anticipation of its historic parks experiencing a significant increase in tourism during the 2004 to 2006 Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration, especially those sites along the route taken by the Corps of Discovery."¹⁶

Fort Clark is a valuable transnational ethno-heirloom, because of its importance as a commercial and congregational site where different cultures could interact. Wood, Williams, and Hunt explained that,

During its tenure, the fort was visited at least briefly by almost everyone traveling on the river, and its facilities provided opportunities for the observation of nature and of new and alien cultures, as well as occasionally providing a stopover for prominent artists, scientists, missionaries, traders, soldiers, and other western chroniclers. Fort Clark is thus a unique archaeological, anthropological, and historical resource. It is the only such site on the Missouri River where the interaction between resident Indians and whites can be studied in such close detail, for it has never been plowed, and what resides in the soil there remains remarkably intact. Fort Clark also attracted visiting nomadic Indians for trade, and it is the only location where research on Mandan culture took place before that

¹⁶ W. Raymond Wood, William J. Hunt Jr., and Randy H. Williams, *Fort Clark and its Indian Neighbors: A Trading Post on the Upper Missouri*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), xiii.

tribe's near-destruction by smallpox in 1837. The written and pictorial documents produced there before that epidemic recorded many aspects of Mandan culture that could no longer be sustained by the hundred or so of its people who survived that catastrophe. The importance of the site is reflected in its listing in 1986 in the National Register of Historic Places, and it is, indeed, worthy of nomination as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.¹⁷

In the 19th-century, Fort Clark was a major and well documented Missouri River transportation destination. Wood, Williams, and Hunt pointed out that, "Virtually every steamboat ascending or descending the turgid Missouri River stopped at least briefly at Fort Clark throughout the history of its occupancy. The fort was therefore visited by many people who left written or visual representations of the fort, its inhabitants, and the Native residents of the area. There is a long roster of distinguished visitors, the most significant of them being the scientists and artists who left a rich legacy of written documentation, as well as a gallery of landscapes and portraits of the fort"¹⁸

Fort Clark held a good location for the trade activity for which it was famous. This archeological site has provided a bountiful supply of artifacts to help tell its story. The Native people acquired items for gaming, relaxation, decorative bobbles, as well as, practical items at the Fort's trading post. For example, Wood, Williams, and Hunt said that,

the plain brass 'gilt' buttons, also known as 'orangies,' recovered at Fort Clark were commonly used in the trade as fasteners on Euro-American clothing. Indians, however, generally used them as decorative items. Karl Bodmer illustrated this in his portraits of Piegan principal chief The Iron Shirt and the Siksika Blackfeet chief The Low Horn, who attached the 'orangies' to their ceremonial and war dress. A variety of high-status clothing is indirectly represented in the archaeological record if one assumes that the buttons recovered were from EuroAmerican clothing. Buttons of shell, iron, copper, ceramic, and bone are of sizes suggested for use on pants, shirts, vests, and overcoats. These were largely used on men's clothing, although one copper button with a floral motif stamped on the front is of a type commonly used on women's dresses of the Civil War era. An American-made military cuff button of the type used on an

¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 142.

army dragoon coat sleeve may reflect the dress of an Indian visitor. Military surplus coats were often presented as ready-made ‘chief’s coats’ to important Indian men who came to the post to trade. Numerous sewing items included straight pins, scissors, and a thimble; these could have been trade goods or used in the home manufacture or repair of clothing. There is little information or evidence for how people passed their leisure time at Fort Clark. Excavation recovered a few circular ceramic fragments from dishes or other tableware that suggest that a version of the Mandan plum-pit gambling game may have been played. This game was popular with Indian women, and the presence of these disks hints that perhaps the women of the fort were engaged in this form of gambling. The markers also resemble those seen in an 1848 Seth Thomas painting of Chippewa Indians playing checkers. Evidence for alcoholic beverages is not common, as most of this product was imported in barrels. Bottle fragments recovered suggest that whisky, ale, wine, and Champagne, beverages that were beyond the means of lower-status workers, were imported during the final years of the post. The indulgence most prominently used by employees of all stations was tobacco in pipes. Fragments of kaolin or white ball pipes were the most common items and occurred in almost every excavation. These pipes were decorated with a variety of designs and were probably from Belgium and Bristol, England, as well as Grossalmerode and perhaps other locations in Germany. Reed stem (sometimes called ‘terracotta’) pipes were rare and most probably were made in the eastern United States. A unique reed stem pipe with ‘ram’s horns’ on each side of the bowl base is marked with a Mathias Rauch/Schemnitz cartouche on the side of the stem. Schemnitz is the German name for the town of Banská Štiavnica, a town in central Slovakia. A few fragments of lead-inlaid red-stone pipes also were recovered. Though Indians commonly made such items, Euro-Americans also quarried the stone and manufactured pipes and pipe blanks in quantity for the trade at what is now Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota, by the late 1850s.¹⁹

Archeological sites are vital depositories of material culture. The sheer presence of the artifacts left on site conjure up ghosts of those living and visiting the place. Material culture scholars benefit from what is still being discovered as these sites are explored

Repatriation Conversation

Repatriation is a necessary transnational topic to discuss in order to activate mutually acceptable conclusions with respect and understanding. It must be approached carefully and with awareness that respect and understanding need to be observed at all times. Repatriation of

¹⁹ Ibid., 242-243.

Native American material culture that has, for whatever reason, been contained and held in museums far from the creators is a difficult subject to discuss. There are a number of reasons how the ethno-heirlooms came to be located far from their original creators and owners. In some cases, the artifacts were actually crafted and sold by request to transnational museums by the Native American dealers, who were also the original crafters, on their own volition for a profit. Indians are business people too.

At the end of the 20th-century Canadian, United States, and other transnational museums advanced efforts to repatriate Indigenous artifacts to their rightful places. For example, the United States Government passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) into Federal Law in 1990. NAGPRA created a process that allows “museums and Federal agencies to return certain Native American cultural items - human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony - to lineal descendants, and culturally affiliated Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations.”²⁰ NAGPRA is a necessary law that assists American Indian people to regain control and the self-determination to manage and protect family and tribal remains and material culture. Ethnologist Peter Bolz said that with colonization, “The Indians did not only lose their land during the struggle with the white colonizers, but also part of their ethnic identity.”²¹

A larger, long standing, concern for Indigenous tribes have been the state and respectful return of their ancestors’ bones. At the end of the 20th-century progress was made in this area by the efforts of transnational museums. For example, one of these efforts that Bolz praised was,

²⁰ U.S. Dept. of Interior, National Parks Service “NAGPRA,” <https://www.nps.gov/nagpra/FAQ/INDEX.HTM>

²¹ Peter Bolz, “Repatriation of Native American Cultural Objects - Confrontation or Cooperation?,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 118, no. 1 (1993): 71.

the return of 401 skeletons to the Pawnee tribe by the Nebraska Historical Society. The bones were reburied at a historical Pawnee graveyard near Genoa, Nebraska, together with about 37,000 objects which were associated with them. This spectacular case was made possible through a Nebraska state law, the "Unmarked Burial Sites and Skeletal Remains Protection Act", which was passed in 1989. The driving force behind the case was the Native American Rights Fund and its senior attorney, Walter R. Echo-Hawk, a member of the Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma. The Native American Rights Fund estimates that museums in the U.S.A. possess about 600,000 skeletons or parts of skeletons of Native American origin. Institutions like the Smithsonian in Washington or the American Museum of Natural History in New York have been involved in discussions about the scientific value of these collections. The demand to repatriate and rebury these skeletal remains has split the anthropological profession.²²

In the early 1990s, the Congress of American Indians and the Native American Rights Fund "made repatriation a political issue as well and have successfully focused media attention on it."²³ At this time, Bolz pointed out that, "The whole movement has now spread international and various indigenous groups are beginning to demand the return of their ancestral bones and artifacts from museums around the world. Native Americans are now beginning to look into European museum holdings of these items with the intention of seeking their return."²⁴

Furthermore, Bolz emphasized that along with acknowledgement of repatriation discussions about how sacred objects arrived in various non-Indian museums; it is also important to acknowledge that many tribal objects were reproduced and sold to museum collectors for displays from Indigenous people. In 1993, Bolz pointed out that,

In the Native American Department of the museum in Berlin alone there are numerous examples which show that important objects (e. g. a Ghost Dance shirt of the Sioux, sacred wands of the Omaha, a 'Chief seat' of the Bella Bella) were made especially for collectors. And these are only those few objects which are well-enough documented to include this information. There may, in fact, be many more "sacred objects" in museum collections which were made not for ceremonial use, but for sale to collectors. These examples suggest that each case has to be

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 72.

²⁴ Ibid., 72.

examined carefully and a call for the return of all museum objects because they are presumed to have been stolen during the process of colonization is wrong. But an investigation of the true meaning of an important object, sacred or not, can be done much better in cooperation with members of the native group to which this object originally belonged. Publications and exhibitions as a common effort can be beneficial for both sides: for the Indians because they can work with the original objects of their ancestors, and for the museum because the documentation of these objects can be improved.²⁵

I note that, Bolz advice is still relevant. Additionally, in the United States and Canada, efforts towards repatriation of Indigenous bones and artifacts continue today in the 21st-century.

Section 3 - Conclusion

Collections of Native American and First Nation material culture and art have been collected and housed globally in museums for several centuries. Transnational museum, archival, exposition, tourist, and literary Indian image interpretations have been incorporated into pseudo transnational acculturations, as well as, assembled into museum collections under the guise, sometimes, as paternalistic preservation cultural rationales. The collections are housed and displayed in a number of ways—from museums, to archives to libraries, and to entertainment venues as World's fairs and tourist attractions.

The Heyday of the World's Exposition touting the greatness of the Industrial Revolution's colonizing "North Atlantic metropolitan world," began in 1851 and crescendoed just before World War I. The World's fairs were many times were the only place where Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples intersected.

At the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the contracted Native American participants acted in shows and as re-enactors in reconstructed villages on the mid-way. Many non-Indian Fair visitors believed, mistakenly, that the Native American Show Indians and cultural interpreters were members of living ethno-heirlooms who were on the cusp of extinction.

²⁵ Ibid., 75.

Eventually, Euroamericans finally have realized that Native Americans were strong and, not only that, they and their culture had acculturated to survive the dominant culture. Thus, repatriation of Indigenous artifacts was about to take a major place in both Native and Euroamerican political relations. It is a necessary transnational topic. Discussion of transplanted Native American material culture collections is important, as well, in knowing and learning what artifacts are sacred, and what protocols are necessary for their care and protection, order to activate mutually diplomatic conclusions.

Approaching the subject of North American Indian archives requires stepping lightly across the threshold. Cultural perspectives in administration of Native American archives needs to be acknowledged with the understanding that “stewardship implies” power and responsibility.²⁶ And, it is important to be aware that: Native American archival collections are held by repository institutions ranging from local tribal archives to federal government archives. Tribal archives belong to sovereign governments in territories with laws, and with “legal restrictions surrounding cultural issues.”²⁷

Archeological sites provide valuable information that aid in the interpretation and understanding of past Indigenous lifeways. They have the power of a story teller to interpret transnational lifeway interactions of those who once occupied the site.

Finally, 19th-century European and Euroamerican adventure seekers and tourists traveling the Great American West, returned home to write travel logs and adventure literature collections

²⁶ Brian Hosmer, “Field Notes: The Research Library and Native American Collections: A View from the D’Arcy McNickle Center” *Western Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2007): 364.

²⁷ *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* Sponsored by Northern Arizona University
<http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/index.html>

that portrayed the Native American people and their homeland in dioramic romanticized images. This literature reinforced myths that were used in creations of museum exhibits by non-Indians.

Chapter 11 - Conclusions

In my dissertation I have highlighted the relationships between acculturation and transnational Plains Indian private and museum collections repatriation, provenance, housing, preservation maintenance, salvage ethnology, world politics, religious protocol, knowledge regeneration, public access, commercially reproduced images of Native art and tribal archives. I attempt to show in this overview, how Plains Indians and their material culture has been interpreted in art, museums, world expositions, and literature since the 19th-century. Artifacts (ethno-heirlooms) provide important narratives about their creators and re-creators lifeways. The stories interpret the Plains Indian cultural world through Indigenous and Euroamerican eyes. Anthropologist Peter H. Welsh commented that,

An artifact, for a historian or an anthropologist, can be used like a multifaceted lens for looking at another time or another culture. As one becomes trained in ways of looking at artifacts, one sees woven into them means for understanding different aspects of a culture, from technology and ecology to politics, symbolism and aesthetics. By shifting our intellectual angle of observation, these different elements of the culture become clearer. One point of view focuses attention on the fine details of a culture—such as quillwork techniques or the striking of a coup—while from a different angle the piece can reveal a broad cultural panorama in which areas such as aesthetic values or social relations can be seen more clearly. It is this quality of multiple interpretation that makes the study of art and artifacts particularly compelling. They are a special kind of historical document.¹

Transnational museums that house collections of North American Indian, European, Canadian, and United States material culture share common venues that allow global discourse for human to human understandings. Museums offer places in which people can learn what they have in common and what can be acculturated. At the end of the 20th-century, Blackfoot archeologist Eldon Yellowhorn emphasized that, “Public museums that take the political and

¹ Southwest Museum, *Akicita: Early Plains and Woodlands Indian Art from the Collection of Alexander Acevedo*, (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1983), 11.

legal power of Indians seriously, and whose researchers and interpreters work in the framework of theories that respect the integrity of indigenous cultures, have been and will be a resource for deepening the understanding of tradition. They will help us grasp how profound and problematic change has been for Indian peoples and thus may contribute to the revitalization of Indian culture. If museums do that they will contribute to a richer understanding of European culture as well.”²

Noticeable changes have occurred since 2000, in museum relationships with the Indian World community. Native people are taking control of how their ethno-heirlooms are interpreted in transnational museums. The acculturation of global museum staff is beginning to fulfill what Yellowhorn called for in the late 1990s. Yellowhorn said that, “It has been the case for far too long that whenever Indian heritage was exhibited in museums it was generally a European interpretation of the native culture. As more Indians receive training in history, anthropology, and museology, they will present interpretations of Indian history and culture from new perspectives and ones recognizable to that Indian community. They will also be making a contribution to the world of learning.”³

The 19th-century North American Great Plains was a region where Native American and non-Native dominance and resolve were frequently tested. Trade was one vehicle that provided transnational exchanges. Plains Indian peoples have a long history of consumerism, fostered by trade networks. Over the course of the 19th-century Plains Indian people embraced Euroamerican manufactured goods and adapted them to fit into their own unique cultural lifeways. Plains Indian peoples’ lifeways were altered both intentionally and unintentionally by

² Eldon Yellowhorn, “Winter Count,” in *The Scriver Blackfoot Collection: Repatriation of Canada’s Heritage*, ed. Philip H. R. Stepney, and David J. Goa, (Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1990), 28.

³ Ibid.

creation, acquisition, repurposing, and reproduction of traditional artifacts in the 19th-century consumer world market that encouraged collectors and institutional collections of American Indian art and material culture.

In spite of peaceful transculturation exchanges, in the 19th-century many non-Indian people held prejudice misplaced beliefs that Indian people were uncivilized and childlike. Some thought that any transfer of technology, could only move in one direction. The assumed logical direction was toward Euroamerican technology and social behaviors to keep governed order in the world. Due to Euroamerican stereotyped images and beliefs about an uncivilized childlike aboriginal people, a paternalistic forced guidance was proffered to civilization. By the mid-1800s Native American people were witnessing the encroaching movement onto the Great Plains, now United States territory, by Euroamericans via steamboats and railroads. Historian Michael Adas noted that, “By the early 1850s, major advances in transportation and communications technologies were binding together what had become a transcontinental nation, . . . Railroad lines formed the backbones of networks of commerce that spread overland across the farmlands and on to the mining centers of the West, making it economically feasible to export the produce grown and raw materials extracted from these once remote areas.”⁴ Adas emphasized that, “For centuries Anglo-American settlers had dismissed the indigenous peoples of North America as primitives, who lacked not only the farm implements but also the cultivation techniques and work habits to make effective use of the abundant resources of the vast lands they inhabited.”⁵ The Euroamerican racist conceptions about North America’s Native peoples developed upon the first Contact. Adas explained that, “Whether they were peoples of

⁴ Michael Adas, *Dominance By Design: Technological Imperatives and America’s Civilizing Mission*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

the eastern forests or the western plains, the indigenous societies of North America were almost invariably judged to be technologically primitive, materially impoverished, and backward in their modes of social organization.”⁶

As United States colonization crept across the Great Plains the Native people were being ever more pressured to create new lifeways for cultural survival techniques. Historian Jeffrey D. Means pointed out that at the same time, “U.S. assimilation policies concerning the incorporation of Indians into American society emerged.” The policies were shaped around teachings of such revered men as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison who believed that, “Native Americans needed to be assimilated into white society in order to survive, and, ultimately, through miscegenation, to become white.” Means added that, “President Jefferson made yeoman farmers the foundation of an economic strategy based on the perceived contributions of farmers to the American ideals of democracy and independence.” Further, Means emphasized that, “In other words, Native Americans might survive but only by forsaking their own culture for another.”⁷

The transnational acculturation of Plains Indian material culture is rich and a valuable American ethno-heirloom source. It is important to remind all citizens of North America that it is peopled with not only the new comers, transnational people from other continents, but also the many First Americans. Both have contributed to a unique shared transnational acculturated history.

Section One introduced a discussion about the interconnections of human shared creativity and artistic aesthetic prowess. It introduced the reader to some of the Plains Indians

⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁷ Jeffrey D. Means, “Indians Shall do Things in Common: Oglala Lakota Identity and Cattle-Raising on the Pine Ridge Reservation,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*; 61, no. 3 (Autumn 2011), 3.

material culture creators, creations, and Native American and Euroamerican painterly images of Plains Indian objects and history. These objects and images represent creations that were put on display in museum and World's fair exhibits. In order to manage the magnitude of data I collected from museum and exposition catalogs, I only presented a sampling of material culture stories from a few tribes that include the Blackfoot, Cree, Crow, Mandan, Teton Sioux, and other transnational people that include American, Canadian, and European ethnologists, artists, traders, and governmental representatives. These peoples' creations were interpreted in collections in a number of transnational museum and world fair exhibitions.

The material culture of 19th-century Native American Plains people was not static. It was an intercultural tangible organic and plastic entity that allowed interesting exchanges of technologies. Resources were maximized. Trade created introductions to new tools, foods, clothing materials, medicines, and luxury items. The Indian consumers adapted their needs to combine their own traditional trade protocols with Euroamerican identified commercial practices.

Material culture world connections brought people together. Objects and art enriched peoples' lifeways. Native scholars have reminded us that objects/artifacts in cultural centers and museums are living entities. Over many years, warrior valor stories have been preserved in pictographic paintings, ledger books, oral histories, and the living spirits retained in objects that belong to the warriors, such as pipes. Throughout the 19th-Century a number of European and American transnational ethnologists/artists and photographers recorded the Plains Indian people and their lifeways and material culture. In addition, trade and its natural subsequent human to human interaction facilitated material culture acculturation. Plains people personalized and repurposed their acquired trade goods. The beadwork produced by Indian women is a valued

North American ethno-heirloom. The introduction of imported glass beads made possible for the women artists to have a less labor intensive medium in which to work their creative magic.

Section Two concentrated on biographic painters, photographers, storytellers, and heirloom material harvesters. It discussed transnational collectors of Plains Indian ethno-heirlooms and art. It pointed out motivating forces, such as politics, science, art appreciation, and the sheer pleasure to acquire, as the force behind collectors gathering objects for museums and expositions. Transnational 19th-century collectors included educators, artists, ethnologists, government agents, tourists, and cultural scavengers. Textile Scholar Beverly Gordon said that the 1887 Dawes Act and the governmental pushing of further assimilation awakened a lament decrying the “passing of the Indian” that fueled a nostalgic passion to collect, record, and preserve material culture of the “vanishing Indian” in museums.⁸

Native American and Euroamerican transnational Collectors of ethnographic material culture, collected images and ethno-heirlooms— Drawings, Paintings, Photographs, stories, and tourist souvenirs. Many of these collectors shared, at the end of the 19th-century, an assumption that North American Indigenous people were on the verge of extinction. However, this was a misguided assumption. The collectors were acculturating to each other in the changing world of the 19th-century Industrial Revolution. The influences of Native Americans on Euroamerican transnational de facto tourist-explorers was profound.

When it comes to collecting the ethno-heirlooms of another’s culture one must consider the consequences to the family and community of artists and original owners of the collected objects. Identifying and collecting late 19th-century Northern Plains Indian art and crafts

⁸ Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988*, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 5-6.

involves recognizing that these arts and crafts were dynamic and experimental in their expression, as well, as influential on other neighboring tribal artists.

Transnational artists provided drawings and paintings of Plains Indian lifeways and material culture early in the 19th-century and were followed by others as time commenced. These artists were de facto ethnologists and contemporaries of their subjects, the Plains Indian people. Later in the 19th-century, photographers joined this corps of pioneer ethnographic artists in the field and studio. I argue that these artists were employing the white man's version of biographic pictographs to collect their subjects' lifeway imagery and joint histories.

Native American artists acted as biographical creators who collected images and stories along with their Euroamerican contemporary artistic and ethnographic communities. Native American storytellers acted as collectors and recorders of tribal and family histories. Native American storytellers are ethnologic history collectors, transnational tribal preservers, and political activists who advocate transnational awareness that Indigenous people are alive, acculturated, and well. They are Cultural family and Tribal Lore collectors for humankind's posterity.

In the 19th-century, transnational ethnographic material culture collectors removed Indigenous artifacts to museums in Europe and North America. In the 20th-century and 21st-century many of these artifacts were repatriated to their First Nation and Native American tribes. Collecting Native American material culture by private collectors and institutions has a long complex history of theft, commerce, and repatriation. It is important to note, that North American Indigenous peoples' self-determination is active in repatriation efforts to return and preserve their material culture to its rightful homes.

Section Three discussed transnational museum, archival, exposition, tourist, literary, and incorporated borrowed Indian image interpretations depicted by non-Indian consumers of Native American culture history. Collections are housed and displayed in a number of ways—from museums, to archives to libraries, and to entertainment venues as World’s fairs and tourist attractions.

Collections of Native American and First Nation material culture and art have been collected and housed globally in museums for several centuries. Transnational museum, archival, exposition, tourist, and literary Indian image interpretations have been incorporated into pseudo transnational acculturations, as well as, assembled into museum collections under the guise of, sometimes, paternalistic preservation cultural rationales. The collections are housed and displayed in a number of ways—from museums, to archives to libraries, and to entertainment venues as World’s fairs and tourist attractions for consumption by the masses.

The Heyday of the World’s Exposition touting the greatness of the Industrial Revolution’s colonizing “North Atlantic metropolitan world,” began in 1851 and crescendoed just before World War I. The World’s fairs were many times the only place where Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples intersected. At the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893, the Native Americans acted in the Fair’s venues as living ethno-heirlooms.

Euroamericans finally are acknowledging that Native Americans are alive and here to stay. Native America must be included in United States history interpretations. This is why the topic of repatriation is so important. Discussions about lost and found Native American material culture collections are necessary for transnational cultural understandings.

Approaching the subject of North American Indian archives through the eyes of a Euroamerican requires stepping lightly across the threshold. Cultural perspectives in

administration of Native American archives needs to be acknowledged with the understanding that “stewardship implies” power and responsibility.⁹ And, it is important to be aware that: Native American archival collections are held by repository institutions ranging from local tribal archives to federal government archives. Tribal archives belong to sovereign governments in territories with laws, and with “legal restrictions surrounding cultural issues.”¹⁰

Archeological sites provide valuable information that aid in the interpretation and understanding of past Indigenous lifeways. They have the power of a story teller to interpret transnational lifeway interactions of those who once occupied the site.

19th-century European and Euroamerican adventure seekers and tourists traveling the Great American West, returned home to write travel logs and adventure literature collections that portrayed the Native American people and their homeland in dioramic romanticized images. This literature reinforced myths that were used in creations of museum exhibits by non-Indians for transnational audiences.

Epilogue

Over the last two centuries transnational individuals, institutions, and expositions have gathered North American Plains Indian ethno-heirlooms into collections. These ethno-heirlooms are important pieces of the changing transnational histories of the multiple peoples of the United States and Canada. Not only do these heirlooms reside in museums and art galleries, they also are found in pictographic writings, oral histories, incorporated into pow wow regalia, and in the cedar chest at Grandma’s house.

⁹ Brian Hosmer, “Field Notes: The Research Library and Native American Collections: A View from the D’Arcy McNickle Center” *Western Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2007): 364.

¹⁰ *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* Sponsored by Northern Arizona University
<http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/index.html>

Examples of Ethno-heirlooms, such as beaded Moccasins, that are housed in museums tell the story about Plains Indian material culture Creators, collectors, and collections. These heirlooms pay homage to the history of a people and culture that is alive and thriving today. Additionally an important resource that helps tell the story about material culture has been neglected. This resource is the multitude of museum exhibit catalogs available for free in public and university libraries. They are important archive sources right under our noses. Museum exhibit catalogs should not only sit on Coffee tables, but should be read for the excellent academic essays within them. They should be read to blind people and others who cannot read. Museum exhibit catalogs are valid research tools and ethno-heirlooms that need to be appreciated.

In the course of researching my dissertation, I learned that the sharing of borders intellectually, culturally, and physically is an important aspect of transnational human to human contact. Transnationalization has always been a major factor in human to human activities such as in trade and marriage. In my dissertation I show that when the North American Great Plains Indigenous people and the non-Indigenous colonizing people came in contact with each other, they did not dilute the other's culture. Rather, they shared and adapted both of their material cultures.

My dissertation is a Spider Web that caught the Indigenous Great Plains descriptions of arts, crafts, tools, and interconnections of politics, tourism, and transnational dominant national states. I hope that those who read my dissertation will be enticed to further investigate one of the many subjects that I discussed and present their own new findings to other scholars in order to broaden all of our knowledge about the contributions of Plains Indian people and their ever adapting material cultures. For example, areas for further investigation include museum exhibit

catalogs, tribal museums and cultural centers, tribal archives and oral history centers, tribal colleges, the European hobbyist's organizations, and interchangeable technologies. Also, I hope my readers will research more ways to learn to see, touch, smell, and hear the stories and music that illustrate American Indian material culture.

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Appendix A - Exhibition Catalog Lists

The tables below represent a sampling of major Native American Art and craft Exhibits that include significant Plains Indian Images and material culture. Each of the exhibitions was accompanied with a detailed exhibit catalog. These catalogs include photographs with detailed information about the objects and art that were exhibited. Additionally, the catalogs included relevant essays written by experts in such fields as tribal culture, art history, and ethnology. These catalogs acted as archives for resource data in my investigation. Table A-1 is a list of Exhibitions of painters and photographers from the 19th – century. Table A-2 is a list of Native American Ethnic-Heirloom Exhibitions.

Table A-1 Native American Images Exhibitions

Year	Title	Sponsor
1963	Artist Explorers of the 1830s: Catlin, Bodmer, Miller	Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska
2008	George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings	National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
2008	Sentimental Journey: The Art of Alfred Jacob Miller	Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth Texas.
2014	Alexander Gardner: The Western Photographs, 1867-1868	Nelson-Atkin Museum, Kansas City, Missouri
2015	Painted Journeys: The Art of John Mix Stanley	Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming

Table A-2 Native American Ethno-Heirloom Exhibitions

Year	Title	Sponsor
1931	The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts Inc	Grand Central Art Galleries, New York, New York
1941	American Indian Art of the United States	Museum of Modern Art, New York, New York
1976	The American Indian: The American Flag	Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan
1982	Quillwork of the Plains	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta, Canada
1988	Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First People	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta, Canada

1990	Change and Continuity An Exhibition in the Heafitz Hall of the North American Indian	Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts
1990	The Scriver Blackfoot Collection: Repatriation of Canada's Heritage	Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, CA
1991	Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York
1992	Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life	Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota
1993	Art of the American Indian Frontier The Chandler-Pohrt Collection	Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan
1993	War Paint: Blackfoot and Sarcee Painted Buffalo Robes	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada
2001	Beauty, Honor, and Tradition: The Legacy of Plains Indian Shirts	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
2003	The Responsive Eye: Ralph T. Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York
2005	Crossing Cultural Fences: the Intersecting Material World of Americans and Euro-Americans	Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana
2007	Identity By Design: Tradition, Change, and Celebration In Native Women's Dresses	National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
2008	Honouring Tradition: Reframing Native Art	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta, Canada
2009	Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art	Utah Museum of Fine Art, Salt Lake City, Jane UT
2011	Ritual and Honour: Warriors of the North American Plains	British Museum, London, United Kingdom
2011	Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York
2011	Native American Art at Dartmouth: Highlights of the Hood Museum of Art	Hood Museum of Art, Hanover, New Hampshire
2014	The Plains Indian Artists of Earth and Sky	Musee du quai Branly, Paris, France and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art,
2015	Indigenous Beauty: Masterworks of American Indian Art from the Diker Collection	Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington

Appendix B - Transnational Collections Lists

The tables below provide a list of major museum and private collections of North American Plains Indian art and Material culture. These collections range in time from the early natural history museum collections to modern ethnographic and art museum collections. The Ethno-Heirloom collections (Table B-3) are limited to collections with significant Plains Indian artifacts. The majority of these collections can be viewed on-line. The on-line collections provide images and detailed information about the objects in the collection.

Table B-1 Private North American Native Arts Collections

Collection	Location	Collectors
The Diker Collection	On loan to various museums	Charles and Valerie Diker
The Hirschfield Collection	On Loan to various museums	Alan Hirschfield
Haub Family Collection of Western American Art	Tacoma Museum of Art, Tacoma, WA	Erivan and Helga Haub
The Louis Warren Hill, Sr. Collection of Indian Arts	Plains Indian Museum and the Science Museum of Minnesota	Louis Warren Hill Sr.
The Scriver Blackfoot Collection	Provincial Museum of Alberta	Bob Scriver

Table B-2 19th-Century Paintings of Native Americans

Collection	Location	Painters
Art of the American West	Joslyn Museum, Omaha, NE	Karl Bodmer Alfred Jacob Miller Charles Bird King
Nineteenth-Century Art	Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington D.C.	George Catlin - Original Indian Gallery (includes online Exhibits) Charles Bird King John Mix Stanley
American Paintings	National Gallery of Art	George Catlin
Western Paintings	Amon Carter Museum of Art, Fort Worth TX	John Mix Stanley Alfred Jacob Miller
American West	Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa OK	George Catlin Alfred Jacob Miller Charles Bird King
The David I. Bushnell Collection	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,	George Catlin Charles Bird King

	Harvard University, Cambridge, MA	Seth Eastman
Canada's Heritage	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada	Paul Kane

Table B-3 North American Native Ethno-Heirloom Major Museum Collections

Collection	Location	Sub Collections
Plains Indian Collection	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL	Isaac Cowie Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture from Central Alberta (1892) Material Culture of the Blackfoot (Blood) Indians of South Alberta (1893 and 1897) Ethnographic Collections from the Assiniboine and Yanktonai Sioux (1900) Ethnographic Collection from the Northern Ute (1900) Simms Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture (1903)
North American Ethnology: Plains Indian Collection	National Museum of the American Indian, Washington D.C. and New York	George Gustav Heye Collection - collected and purchased from numerous collectors. William Wildschut and Donald Cadzow Museum collectors General Nelson Miles and Major John Gregory Bourke and other military officer collections
American Indian Collection	The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MS	Fred Harvey Company Numerous Individual Donations
Plains Indian Museum Collections and Exhibits	Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY	Paul Dyck Plains Indian Buffalo Culture Collection Milford G. Chandler and Richard A. Pohrt, Robert L. Anderson, J.R. Simplot, Royal B. Hassrick, and Adolf Spohr Collections
American Indian Art	Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO	Native Arts – American Indian
Western History Digital Collection	Denver Public Library, Denver, CO.	Western Art Collection – Native Artwork. – Photographic Images

Arts of the Americas	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, NY	Stewart Culin (1903-11) and Herbert Spinden (1929-1950) curators collecting. Nathan Sturges Jarvis Collection (1833-36)
Native American Collection	Hood Museum, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH	Plains Collection
Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection	Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA	Individual donations of objects, photographs, and ledger art.
North American Ethnographic Collections	Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, Providence, RI	Plains Tribes collections
Anthropology Collection	Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK	Native American
Ethnographic Collection - North American / Plains And Photographic Collection	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA	William Claflin Plains Collection Fletcher & LeFlesche Collection Lewis and Clark Collected Items Plains Photographs – 1893 World's Columbian Exposition
Native American Art	Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA	Charles Goddard Weld – 1908 Museum Purchases – 1880s, 1940s Numerous Gifts 1820 - 1970
Native North America	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta, Canada	Plains Collection Metis Collection Other First Peoples Collection
Ethology and Archaeology Collection	McCord Museum, Montreal, Quebec, Canada	The First Peoples Collection
First Peoples and Early Canada	Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada	Plains Collection
First Nations Collections	Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC, Canada	Photographic, films, recordings and object collections
Canada's Heritage	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada	Daphne Cockwell Gallery of Canada: First People
Ethnology Collection	Royal Alberta Museum, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada	Northern Plains – Blackfoot, Cree, Dene, Nakoda, and Metis

Appendix C - European Museum Collections of Native American Material Culture

The table below provides a list of some of the major European museums that acquired exhibit collections of Native North American material culture. The majority of the artifacts in these museum collections came from collecting through trade and purchase in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by European academics and tourists.

Table C-1 Native North American Ethno-Heirloom Major European Museum Collections

Museum	Location	Contact	Collection Information
Cambridge Museum of Archeology and Anthropology	Cambridge England	Rachel Hand	Holds over 700 items from the American and Canadian Plains
British Museum	London, England	James Hamill	Largest collection of Plains material in England
Pitt River Museum	Oxford, England	Jeremy Coote Curator and Joint Head of Collections	Database report of Plains holdings - 761 objects
Royal Albert Memorial Museum	Exeter, England	Curator World Cultures	Regalia of Crowfoot, Siksika leader of the Blackfoot nation
World Museum	Liverpool, England	Joanna Ostapkowicz,	Database summary of Plains holdings
The University of Manchester Museum	Manchester, England	Susan Martin PhD Curatorial Assistant (Human Cultures)	List of the Americas collections
Birmingham Museums	Birmingham, England	Adam Jaffer Curator of World Cultures	List of Americas material
Bristol Museum	Bristol, England	Sue Giles Senior Curator World Cultures	Plains material is on database
Saffron Walden Museum	Saffron Walden, England	Leah Mellors Collections Officer (Human History)	Database report of Plains holdings
University of Aberdeen Museums	Aberdeen, Scotland	Louise Wilkie Assistant Curator, Collections Access	Small collection of Native American material

National Museum of Scotland	Edinburgh, Scotland	Antje Denner Principal Curator Oceania, Americas and Africa	Excel spreadsheet with an overview of records
Kelvingrove	Glasgow, Scotland	Curator of North American Ethnography	Material from Buffalo Bill Wild West
Bernisches Historisches Museum	Bern, Switzerland	Martin Schultz	Very large collection from various sources
Musée d'ethnographie de Genève	Geneva, Switzerland	Carine Durand	Holds several Plains Indian artifacts
Museum der Kulturen	Basel, Switzerland	Alexander Brust	Small list of plains material
Museum für Volkerkunde (Ethnologische Museum)	Berlin, Germany	Not Available	Wied/Kohler and Boa/Bastian collections
Linden Museum	Stuttgart, Germany	Dr. Doris Kurella	Objects from the Wied expedition
Museum Fünf Kontinente	Munich, Germany	Wolfgang Stein North American Department	North American Indian Collection – 5000 objects
Museum für Volkerkunde	Dresden, Germany	Silvia Dolz	Collection search on- line
Museum für Volkerkunde	Hamburg, Germany	Christine Chávez Curator Americas Department	Plains collection over 600 artifacts many destroyed in WW II.
Musée du quai Branly	Paris, France	Curator The Americas Collections	Sponsor of The Plains Indian Artists of Earth and Sky Exhibit
Museum für Volkerkunde	Vienna, Austria	Gerard Van Bussel	Collection search on- line
National Museum of Ethnology	Leiden, Netherlands	Pieter Hovens	Collection search on- line

Appendix D - Early American and World Expositions

The table below provides a list of some of the early Expositions that included exhibits showcasing Native Americans and their arts and crafts.

Table D-1 Expositions with Native Americans and Their Arts and Crafts

Year	Title	Location
1876	Centennial Exposition (2)	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1887	American Exhibition (1)	London, England
1889	Exposition Universelle (1)	Paris, France
1893	World's Columbia Exposition (1)	Chicago, Illinois
1894	California Midwinter International Exposition (4)	San Francisco, California
1898	Trans-Mississippi Exposition (1, 3)	Omaha, Nebraska
1900	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France
1901	Pan-American Exposition (5)	Buffalo, New York
1904	Louisiana Purchase Exposition	St. Louis, Missouri
1905	Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition	Portland, Oregon
1907	James Town Exposition (6)	Jamestown, Virginia
1939	Golden Gate International Exposition	San Francisco, California

Notes:

1. Buffalo Bill's Wild West was present at the following Expositions: American Exhibition (1887), Exposition Universelle (1889), World's Columbia Exposition (1893), Trans-Mississippi Exposition (1898)
2. Centennial Exposition: Department of Interior exhibit in the Government building was devoted mainly to Indian Specimens.
3. Trans-Mississippi Exposition included The Indian Congress and Ryan Collection of Indian Curios from Chadron Nebraska (ref: Omaha Public Library)
4. California Midwinter International Exposition: Had an Arizona and Sioux Indian Village.
5. Colonel Frederick T. Cummins' Indian Congress appeared at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition
6. Miller Brother's 101 Ranch Wild West Show made its national debut at the Jamestown Exposition in 1907

Complete Worlds Exposition List refer to – Pelle, Findling ed. *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. McFarland & Company Inc. 2008.

Appendix E - Native American Plains Indian Archives

The table below provides a list of some of the Plains Indian Native and non-Native organized archives and museums.

Table E-1 Native American Plains Indian Archives

Museum / Archive	Location	Nation
Great Basin Indian Archives	Elko NV	Western Shoshone, Paiute and Washoe
Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Museum	Fort Hall Indian Reservation, Fort Hall, ID	Shoshone/Bannock
Museum of the Plains Indian (1)	Browning, MT	Blackfeet, Crow, Northern Cheyenne, Sioux, Assiniboine, Arapaho, Shoshone, Nez Perce, Flathead, Chippewa, and Cree
Blackfeet Heritage Center	Browning, MT	Blackfeet
Crow Tribe – Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO)	Crow Agency, MT	Crow
Fort Peck Tribal Museum	Poplar, MT	Assiniboine and Sioux
Western Heritage Center	Billings, MT	Arapaho, Shoshone, Crow, Cheyenne, and Nez Perce
Cheyenne Indian Museum	St. Labre Indian School, Ashland, MT	Cheyenne
The People's Center	Pablo, MT	Salish and Kootenai
Shoshone Tribal Cultural Center	Fort Washakie, WY	Shoshone
Three Affiliate Tribes Museum	MHA Nation, New Town, ND	Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (MHA Nation)
Sioux Indian Museum (1)	Rapid City SD	Sioux
American Indian Research Project	University of South Dakota, Vermillion, SD	Lakota
The Heritage Center	Red Cloud Indian School, Pine Ridge, SD	Oglala Lakota
Akta Lakota Museum & Cultural Center	St. Joseph's Indian School, Chamberlain SD	Sicangu Oyate (Upper Brule) Lakota
Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum	St. Francis Mission, St. Francis, SD	Lakota
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Archives	Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Eagle Butt, SD	Cheyenne River Sioux

Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate Tribal Archives	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate Tribe, Agency Village, SD	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate
Harry V. Johnson, Jr., Lakota Cultural Center	Eagle Butte, SD	Cheyenne River Sioux
Woksape Tipi - Academic/Public Library and Archives	Oglala Lakota College, Kyle SD	Lakota
Southern Ute Museum and Cultural Center	Ignacio, Colorado	Ute
Ponca Tribal Museum	Niobara, NE	Ponca
Haskell Cultural Center and Museum	Lawrence, KS	Multiple Nations
Kiowa Tribal Museum	Carnegie, OK	Kiowa
Cheyenne Cultural Center, Inc.	Clinton, OK	Cheyenne
Osage Tribal Museum, Library, and Archive	Pawhuska, OK	Osage
Comanche National Museum and Cultural Center	Lawton, OK	Comanche
Southern Plains Indian Museum (1)	Anadarko, OK	Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Southern Cheyenne, Southern Arapaho, Wichita, Caddo, Delaware, and Ft. Still Apache
Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre (SICC)	Saskatoon, SK, Canada	Plains Cree, Swampy Cree, Woodlands Cree, Dene, Nahkawē (Saulteaux), Dakota, Nakota and Lakota

Notes:

1. These museums are operated under the U.S. Department of the Interior's Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Mission Statement:

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) promotes the economic development of American Indians and Alaska Natives of federally recognized Tribes through the expansion of the Indian arts and crafts market. The IACB provides promotional opportunities, general business advice, and information on the Indian Arts and Crafts Act to Native American artists, craftspeople, businesses, museums, and cultural centers of federally recognized Tribes. Additionally, the IACB operates three regional museums, conducts a promotional museum exhibition program,

produces a "Source Directory of American Indian and Alaska Native Owned and Operated Arts and Crafts Businesses", and oversees the implementation of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act.

Appendix F - Images to Accompany Text

Chapter 1

Figure F-1 Indian Utensils and Arms

Bodmer drawing, Indian utensils and arms, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, 2003654215



Figure F-2 War Club, Early 19th Century

Eastern Sioux, War Club. Wood, brass nails, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.75. This wooden club is the gunstock type but it is without a metal blade. It is ornamented with chip carving and brass tacks, but one side is decorated with incising applied by fire or a hot metal tool. The original Jarvis (collector) inscription for the piece reads, "Chippeway War Club."

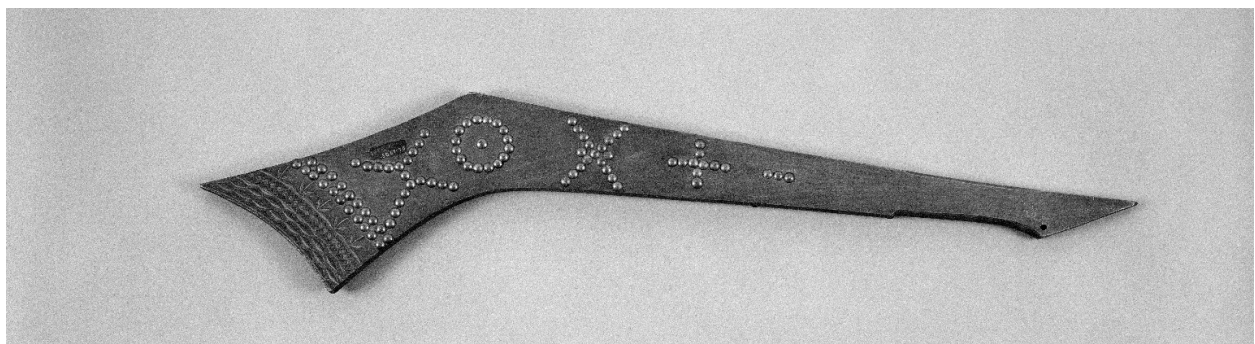


Figure F-3 Winnebago Drum

Winnebago Drum, Anthropology Collections Management National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, E357894. Shell made of wooden tub; joined with sinew lashing; decorative appendages of wampum beads, deer claws, blue strouding, 5 silver disks, beaded flaps with woolen fringes, ferruled with thimbles



Figure F-4 Frame, Cradle, and Attached Toys

Sioux. Frame, Cradle, and Attached Toys, 1870-1900. Buffalo hide, wood, beads, metal, ceramic, porcupine quills, brass nails, pigment, Brooklyn Museum, 38.630.



Figure F-5 Maize Cast Iron Fence

Kempton, Maize – Our Heritage from the Indian, Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute, 1937, Plate 3



Chapter 2

Figure F-6 Moccasins with Thunderbird Motif

Osage, Pair of Moccasins with Thunderbird motif, early 20th century. Hide, beads, Brooklyn Museum, 11.694.9035a-b.



Figure F-7 Plains Cree Tipi Cover

Plains Cree Tipi Cover, National Museum of the American Indian, 14/7974



Figure F-8 Lakota Tipi Cover

Lakota Tipi Cover, National Museum of the American Indian, 20/7873



Figure F-9 Oglala Lakota, Winter Count

Long Soldier, Oglala Lakota, Winter Count, Fort Yates, Standing Rock Reservation; Sioux County; North Dakota; USA, National Museum of the American Indian, 20/7873



Figure F-10 Winter Count

Lone Dog (Shunka Ishnala), Nakota (Yankton Sioux), Winter count recording events from 1800 to 1870, National Museum of the American Indian, 1/617



Figure F-11 Shirt for Chief's War Dress,

Sioux, Shirt for Chief's War Dress, 19th century. Pony beads, porcupine quills, buckskin, maidenhair fern stem, human hair, horsehair, dye, feather, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.1a



Figure F-12 Painted Buffalo Robe

Sioux, Painted Buffalo Robe, National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections Management, E393163



Figure F-13 Ghost dance shirt

Sioux: Teton (Lakota), Ghost dance shirt, Cheyenne River Agency, National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections Management, E165107-0



Figure F-14 Painted Buffalo Robe

Painted Buffalo Robe, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 2004.24.27515.1



Figure F-15 Four Bears Watercolor

Mató-Tópe (Four Bears), Battle with a Cheyenne Chief, 1833, watercolor and pencil on paper, Joslyn Art Museum, 1986.49.384



Figure F-16 War Shirt

Front view War Shirt from the Schoch Collection, Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, Switzerland, 1890.410.0015.



Figure F-17 Muslin Paint Pictographic

Sioux, Muslin Paint Pictographic scenes of warfare painted on muslin, National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections Management, E358425-0



Figure F-18 Nacoista drawing

Nacoista drawing of man and woman playing shinny ball game, ca. 1881-1891, Dakota Territory
Pine Ridge Agency, National Anthropological Archives, NAA MS 166,931



Figure F-19 Ledger Art

Bear's Heart, or Nock-ko-ist, "Buffalo Chase and Encampment," Ledger Art, drawn between
1875 and 1878 at Fort Marion, Florida National Museum of American History, 2008.0175.054



Figure F-20 War Exploit Robe

Running Rabbit (Blackfoot Siksika), War exploit robe, Painted buffalo hide 1909, Siksika Reserve, Alberta, Edmund Morris Collection, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM2004_948_20



Figure F-21 Sioux Pottery

Sioux Pottery – Wedding Vase and smaller vase, Purchased at Sioux Pottery Rapid City SD. Photography by James Boorn.



Figure F-22 Drum

Skin drum stretched on a wooden hoop-like frame, painted with animal designs, British Museum, Am1949.22.145



Figure F-23 Head-dress

Head-dress (with fringe) made of leather, horns, cloth (serge), feathers, quills (porcupine), Sioux's Cante T'inza, or 'Strong Heart' society wore similar headdresses. A similar version of the split horn headdress was also worn by Blackfoot's Brave Dogs, British Museum, Am.7478



Figure F-24 Gourd Rattle

Sioux, Gourd Rattle, Wooden handle covered with beadwork; rattle decorated with etched and painted designs of eagle, rising sun, crosses, spider, and other symbols, National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections, E360258



Figure F-25 Shield

Oglala Lakota Sioux, Shield, National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections, E359063-0



Figure F-26 Parfleche

Eastern Dakota, Parfleche, Hide, pigment, Brooklyn Museum, 11.694.9042



Figure F-27 Painting – Wolf Dance

Shoshone, Painting – Wolf Dance, American Museum of Natural History 50.1/1323.



Chapter 3

Figure F-28 Painted Tipi Photo

Edward S. Curtis, Painted Tipi, Photo Lot 59, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 03029500.



Figure F-29 Blackfoot Tipi Photos

Walter McClintock, Blackfoot War Tipi, Beinecke Library, 2008188 and Blackfoot Tipis, Beinecke Library, 2008461.

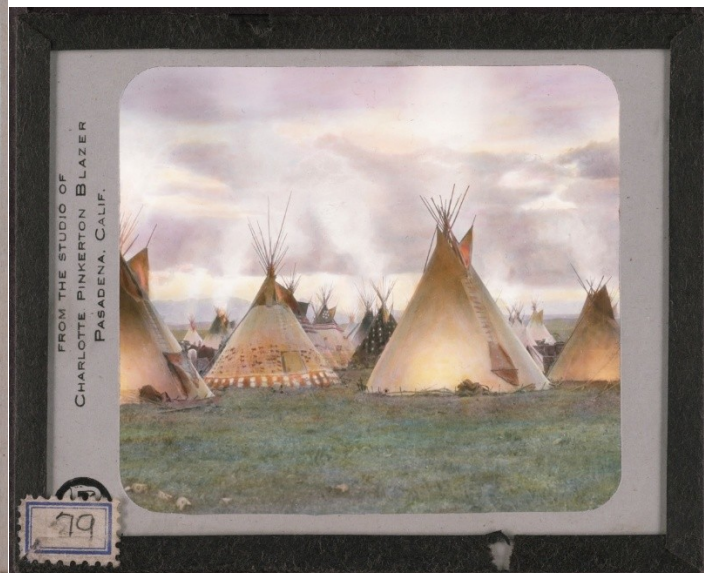
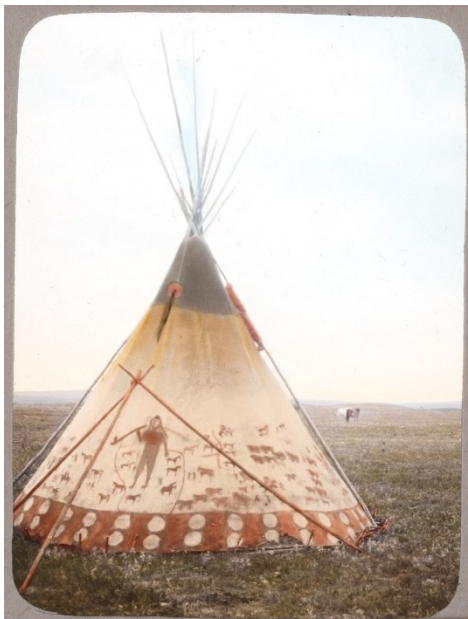


Figure F-30 Red Stone's camp

Stanley J. Morrow, Red Stone's camp Jerking venison Yankton, Dakota Territory, George V. Allen photograph collection of American Indians and the American frontier, circa 1860-1935, Photo Lot 90-1, number 314, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

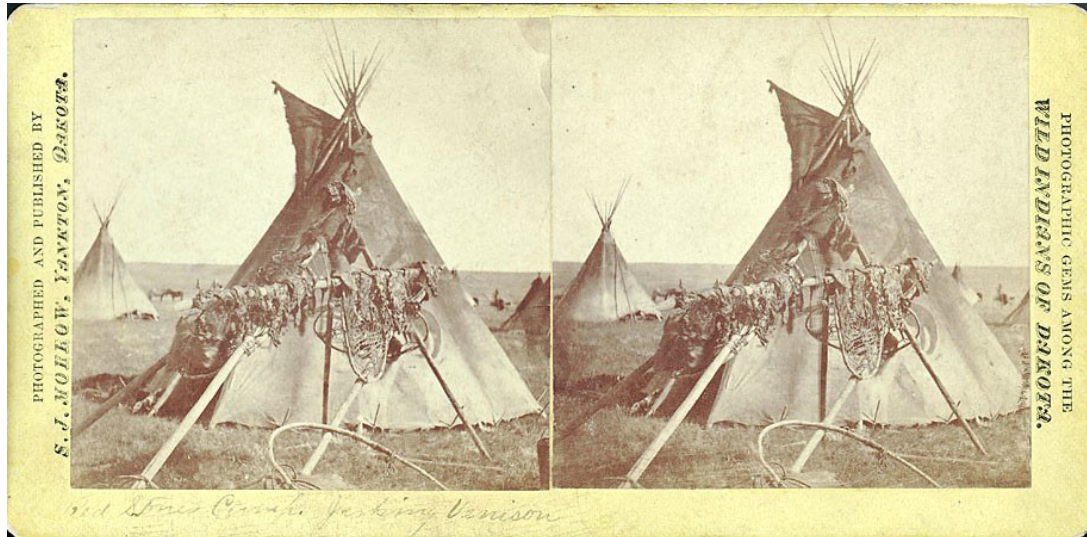


Figure F-31 A Little Sioux Village

George Catlin, A Little Sioux Village, 1861/1869 oil on card mounted on paperboard, Paul Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, 1965.16.4.



Figure F-32 Kiowa drawing

Anonymous Kiowa drawing of two women standing between two painted lodges, with a lance hanging on a pole located between the women, ca. 1875-1877. Manuscript 4656, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure F-33 Baby Carrier

Baby Carrier, ca. 1880, red wool cloth, canvas, cotton, glass beads, hide, silver chains, walnut boards and German silver conchos, Flint Institute of Art, Museum, 1985.27



Figure F-34 Carved Dance Mirror

Sioux, Carved Dance Mirror, early 19th century. Wood, pigment, glass, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.96



Figure F-35 Dress, 1875-1900

Sioux, Dress, 1875-1900. Wool cloth, dentalium shells, ribbon, glass beads, brass bells, cotton, Brooklyn Museum, 46.96.12.



Figure F-36 Tablecloth

Sisseton Sioux, Tablecloth (1900-1910), Wool cloth, glass bead/beads, brass beads, cotton thread, National Museum of the American Indian, 12/814.



Figure F-37 Table Cloth

Sioux, Tablecloth, Buffalo Bill Center for the West, NA_203.673



Figure F-38 Hymnal

Lakota, Hymnal (1894-1906), Paper, hide, porcupine quills, dye/dyes, thread, National Museum of the American Indian, 23/8300.



Figure F-39 Quill Work Moccasins

Sioux, Pair of Moccasins, early 19th century. Hide, beads, bird quills, porcupine quills, tin, deer hair, sinew, pigment, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.23a-b.



Figure F-40 Quill Work Moccasins

Moccasins, Hard sole, buckskin upper solidly quilled with bounding white beaded band. Design three stepped-triangles, green and orange, blue and white, on red ground, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 97-84-1057



Figure F-41 Quilled Shot Pouch

Cree, Quilled Shot Pouch, early 19th century. Hide, dyed porcupine quill, deer hair, glass beads, thread, fur, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.16



Figure F-42 Quilled War Shirt

Red River Metis, Chief's War Shirt, 19th century. Buckskin, porcupine quills, garnet beads, pony beads, seed beads, thread, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.4



Figure F-43, Child's Hard-Soled Moccasins

Lakota, Child's Hard-Soled Moccasins, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology Collections, E387848-0



Figure F-44 Beaded Moccasins

Blackfoot, Pair of Men's Moccasins, late 19th-early 20th century. Leather, beads, orange horse hair, tin, Brooklyn Museum, 46.96.9a-b.



Figure F-45 German Silver Bracelets

Oglala Lakota, Pair German Silver Bracelets 1876, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology Collections, E42656-0



Figure F-46 Cheese Box Drum

Kiowa, Drum, Single-headed drum on cheese box foundation, rawhide head gathered with rawhide thong on back and further secured around hoop with rawhide lashing, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology Collections, E165232-0.



Figure F-47 Drawing with Umbrella

Cheyenne Drawing with Umbrella, Manuscript 4653, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure F-48 Catlin Lithograph

Currier & Ives, lithograph, color of George Catlin's Wi-Jun-Jon - The Pigeon's Egg Head Going to Washington: Returning to his home, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-pga-05077.



Figure F-49 Sitting Bull and Sitting Crow with Goggles

Sitting Bull, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-12228555 and Alexander Gardner, Portrait (Profile) of Kan-Gi-I-Yo-Tan-Ka or Kah-Re-Eo-Tah-Ke (Sitting Crow) in Partial Native Dress and Holding Pipe, Bag and Fan 1872, National Anthropological Archives, NAA INV 06514500



Chapter 4

Figure F-50 Samuel Seymour, Pawnee Council

Samuel Seymour, "Pawnee Council," The original views: drawn during the Long expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Beinecke Library, 2001461.



Figure F-51 George Catlin, Portrait of Brocas-sie

George Catlin, "Portrait of Brocas-sie – The Broken Arm," Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1985.66.176.



Figure F-52 George Catlin, Sioux Village Lake Calhoun

George Catlin, "Sioux Village, Lake Calhoun, near Fort Snelling 1835-1836," Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1985.66.335



Figure F-53 George Catlin, Ball Players

George Catlin, "Ball Players 1844," National Gallery of Art, George Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio 1844, Plate # 21.



Figure F-54 George Catlin, Mandan Chief

George Catlin, "Mandan Chief: Ma-To-Toh-Pah (Four Bears), 1851," Joslyn Art Museum, 1966.623.



Figure F-55 George Catlin, Jú-ah-kís-gaw

George Catlin, "Jú-ah-kís-gaw, Woman with Her Child in a Cradle, 1835," Ojibwe/Chippewa, Smithsonian American Art Museum



Figure F-56 Karl Bodmer, Assiniboin Camp

Karl Bodmer, "Assiniboin Camp 1833," Joslyn Art Museum, 1986.49.379



Figure F-57 Karl Bodmer, Mandan Buffalo Robe

Karl Bodmer, "Mandan Buffalo Robe," n.d., Joslyn Art Museum, 1986.49.309



Figure F-58: Karl Bodmer, Mató-Tópe (Four Bears)

Karl Bodmer, “Mató-Tópe (Four Bears), Mandan Chief, 1834,” Joslyn Art Museum, 1986.49.383



Figure F-59 Alfred Jacob Miller, Indian Girl – Sioux

Alfred Jacob Miller, "Indian Girl – Sioux," The Walters Art Museum, 37.1940.22



Figure F-60 Alfred Jacob Miller, The Trapper's Bride

Alfred Jacob Miller, "The Trapper's Bride, 1850," Joslyn Art Museum, 1963.612



Figure F-61 Buffalo Chair

Buffalo Chairs – 1842, Autry Museum of the American West, 91.41.1 and Stewart Fotheringham with Buffalo Chair, American Heritage Center, 2006-03-16, ah003183



Figure F-62 John Mix Stanley, Gambling for the Buck

John Mix Stanley, Gambling for the Buck, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas, 2007.9



Figure F-63 John Mix Stanley, Last of Their Race

John Mix Stanley, "Last of Their Race," Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Whitney Western Art Museum, dated 1857, accession # 5.75



Figure F-64 Knife Sheath Collected by Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis

Eastern Sioux, Knife Sheath, early 19th century. Rawhide, buckskin, porcupine quills, tin, sinew, thread, Collected by Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis, at Fort Snelling, 1833 - 1836, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.41.



Figure F-65 Moccasins

Eastern Sioux, Pair of Puckered Moccasins, early 19th century. Smoked buckskin, deer skin, deer hair, porcupine quills, copper, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.20a-b



Figure F-66 Sioux, War Club

Sioux, War Club, early 19th century. Wood, metal, cotton cord, Brooklyn Museum, 50.67.67



Figure F-67 George De Forest Brush, Mourning Her Brave

George De Forest Brush, "Mourning Her Brave (1883)," Gilcrease Museum, 0126.1189.



Figure F-68 George De Forest Brush, The Indian and the Lily

George De Forest Brush, "The Indian and the Lily," Crystal Bridge Museum of American Art, 2010.83. George De Forest Brush, The Indian and the Lily

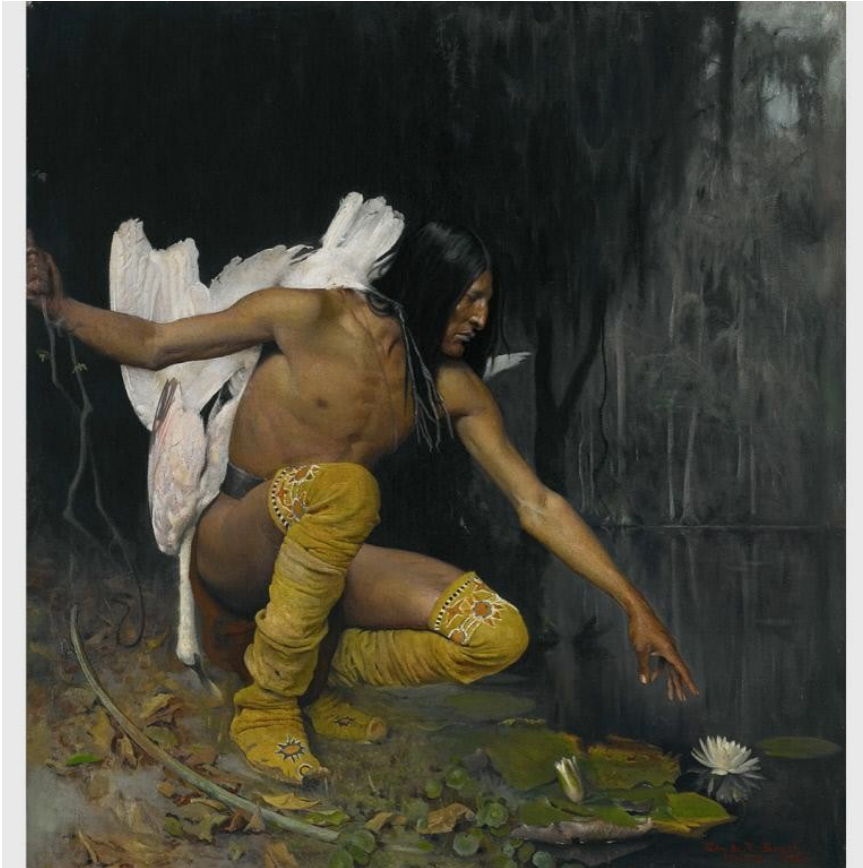


Figure F-69 George De Forest Brush, Sculptor and the King

George De Forest Brush, Sculptor and the King, Portland Art Museum, 0048_0001_0012

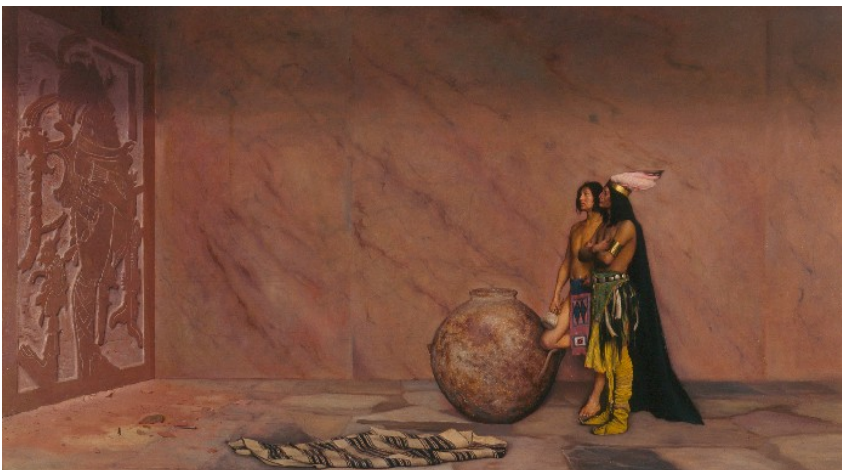


Figure F-70 De Cost Smith, Driven Back,

De Cost Smith, Driven Back, (1892), Oil on canvas. Birmingham Museum of Art, 1973.123



Smith first exhibited *Driven Back* at the 1892 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Historians there called the western frontier a distinctive feature of American life, vital to our country's exceptional character. The closing of the frontier had just been declared earlier in the decade, so this work – considered the most significant military painting at the exposition – must have resonated for gallery audiences familiar with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Shows, underscoring the already passing frontier.

Figure F-71 Daguerreotype Portrait of Oh-Lochta-Mico

Shindler, Antonio(n) Zeno, Portrait of Oh-Lochta-Mico (Billy Bowlegs) in Native Dress with Two Peace Medals and Headdress 1858, Copy of Daguerreotype Made in 1852, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, BAE GN 01175 06237100,



Figure F-72 Daguerreotype Portrait of Chief Kiyo-Kag

Thomas M. Easterly, Portrait of Chief Kiyo-Kag (One Who Moves About Alert), in Native Dress, Roach, Bear Claw Necklace, Peace Medal, and Cane 1847, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo Lot 24 SPC BAE 4605 01601605.



Figure F-73: Gertrude Kasebier, Sioux Indians

Gertrude Kasebier, Sioux Indians photographed in Gertrude Kasebier's Studio, National Museum of American History, 69.236.007.



Figure F-74 Gertrude Kasebier, Sioux Indians

Gertrude Kasebier, Sioux Indians in Kasebier's Studio (The Image shows all the items noted in the text), National Museum of American History, 69.236.005



Figure F-75 Gertrude Kasebier, Lone Bear

Gertrude Kasebier, "Lone Bear," National Museum of American History, 69.236.046



Chapter 5

Figure F-76 Mrs. Nellie Gates

Frank Bennett Fiske, Mrs. Nellie Gates portrait, (Mrs. Nellie Gates sits posed for a portrait. She wears a dark checked dress. Next to her sits a case decorated with horses, buffalo, a bird, and two human figures. The initials "M.C." are visible at the top of the case.) State Historical Society of North Dakota, sh19525111.



Figure F-77 Short Bull with Wild West

Photographer unknown, Johnny Baker, Mrs. V. R. Day, Short Bull, Mrs. Short Bull, and V. R. Day, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, ID# 70.005



Figure F-78 Short Bull Drawing

Short Bull, Untitled (Short Bull Counting Coup on a Chaticks Si Chaticks (Pawnee) Warrior), page number 21, from a Short Bull notebook, about 1885-1890 Watercolor, graphite, ink, colored pencil on wove blue lined notebook paper, Hood Museum of Art, 2005.28



Figure F-79 President Coolidge, Chauncey and Rosebud Yellow Robe

Photograph Unknown, President Coolidge, Chauncey and Rosebud Yellow Robe, Dead Wood, South Dakota 27 August 1927, Wikimedia Commons

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President_Coolidge,_Chauncey_and_Rosebud_Yellow_Robe.jpg



Figure F-80 Chauncey Yellow Robe "The Silent Enemy" 1928

Photographer Unknown, Chauncey Yellow Robe "The Silent Enemy" 1928, Wikimedia Commons, Source <http://www.silentfilm.org/pages/detail/2162>



Figure F-81 Luther Standing Bear

Photo by Fowler, Chicago, Luther Standing Bear, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-56421.

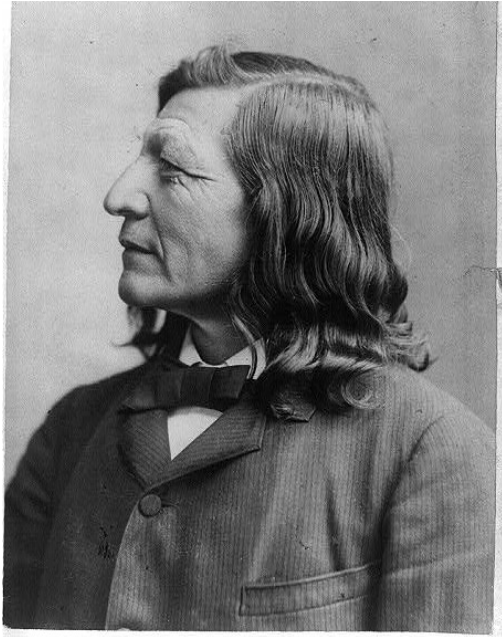


Figure F-82 Luther Standing Bear

Luther Standing Bear; Indian; Native American; Buffalo Bill's Wild West; BBWW; cast, Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, 71.0219.



Figure F-83 Jake Herman holding a Steer

Photographer Unknown, Jake Herman holding a steer, Buffalo SD, Harding County, South Dakota State Historical Society, 2015-04-08-343.



Figure F-84 Jake Herman, Rodeo Clown

Frank Bennett Fiske, Jake Herman, a rodeo clown, and his mule perform for the crowd at the Cheyenne River rodeo, State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1952-4250.



Chapter 6

Figure F-85 Blackfoot Indians at Glacier Park Hotel

Harold Hanneman, Blackfoot Indians at Glacier Park Hotel, Beinecke Library, 2014255.



Figure F-86 Female Indian telephone switchboard operator

Bain News Service, Female Indian telephone switchboard operator - "Helen of Many Glacier Hotel.", 26 June 1925, Library of Congress, LC-B2- 6385-8 [P&P] LOT 11943.



Chapter 7

Figure F-87 Beaded Pouch with Flag Motif

Beaded pouch with design of stars and stripes, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 33-77-10/1777



Figure F-88 Sioux Vest with Flag Motif

Sioux, Vest, (Indians in war bonnets on horseback and with U. S. flags), University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 97-84-1071



Figure F-89 Sioux Girl's Dress with Flag Motif

Sioux, Girl's Dress, Department of Anthropology Collections, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, E200633-0



Figure F-90 Half Pair Men's Leggings with Flag Motif

Half Pair Men's Leggings (Sioux, Eastern [Santee] Dakota), Department of Anthropology Collections, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, E338843-0.



Figure F-91 Cradle with Flag Motif

Sioux, Cradle, American Museum of Natural History, North American Ethnographic Collection, 50.1/ 126



This Lakota Sioux cradle board commemorates Oglala leader Red Cloud's return from Washington D.C. in 1871 as he was given a gift of horses from his escort Major ("Genl.") Smith. Collected by Lt. C. Overton at Fort Washakie, WY, it is part of the Erastus Tefft collection of over 1100 objects purchased by American Museum of Natural History in 1910.

Chapter 9

Figure F-92 Chinese Produced Thanksgiving Figures

Chinese produced Thanksgiving Figures, Stereotype Indians, Photograph by James Boorn.



Figure F-93 Portrait of Black Horse

Alexander Gardner, "Portrait of Black Horse in Partial Native Dress with Ornaments 1872,"
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, BAE GN 01309A 06253400.

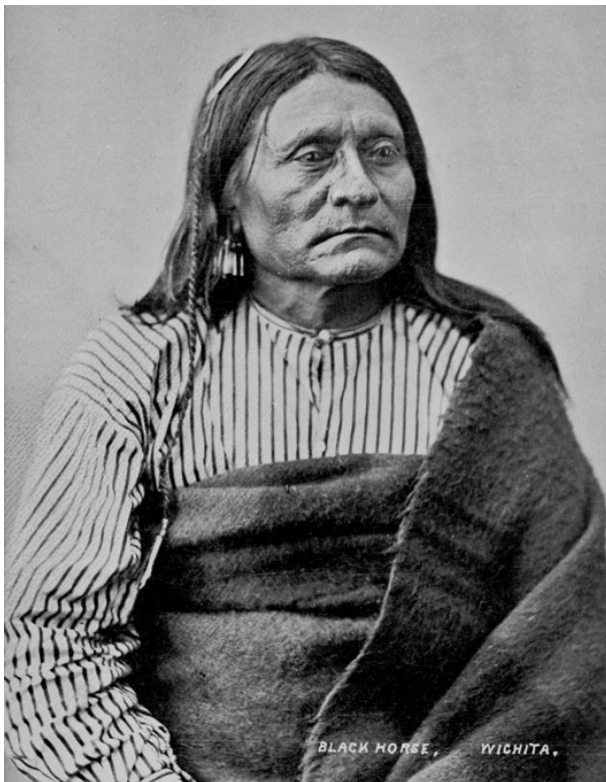


Figure F-94 Council with the Sacs and Foxes, and Kaws 1867

Alexander Gardner, “Hon. Lewis V. Bogy and Chas. E. Mix in Council with the Sacs and Foxes, and Kaws 1867,” National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo Lot 24 SPC MW SAUK/FOX, NAA INV 01607300.



Figure F-95, Portrait of Pehzi

Alexander Gardner, “Portrait of Pehzi or Pah-Zhe, Known As John Grass, in Partial Native Dress with Headdress and Holding Pipe, Bag and Fan 1872,” (Showing the staging of these portraits), National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 06513200.



Figure F-96 Crow Chiefs Who Signed the Treaty of 1868

Alexander Gardner, "Crow chiefs who signed the treaty of 1868, Fort Laramie," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo Lot 90-1, number 29, NAA INV 09823800



Figure F-97 Group of Boy and Girl Students

Alexander Gardner, "Group of Boy and Girl Students with Teachers Near St Mary's Mission 1877," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, BAE GN 00763A 06181300.



Figure F-98 Miniconjou Indians near fire and cooking pots 1868

Alexander Gardner, "Miniconjou Indians, including Gray Eyes, Running Water, Mrs. Moran, Young Elk, and children, near fire and cooking pots 1868," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Photo Lot 4420, NAA INV 01000302.

