

Rhetorics of Colonialism in Visual Documentation

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Dept. of Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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Abstract

The original face-to-face encounter of American Indians in portraits and pictorial field studies reiterates the encounter between the colonial state, settlers and Indigenous communities. Mechanical reproduction had extended visual technologies creating a revolution in communications which began with the early use of the woodcut (around 1461). A tradition of portraiture from the eighteenth century then re-imagined American Indian peoples for new social and political uses. This dissertation begins by introducing the frontier representations of artists Benjamin West, George Catlin, Paul Kane and William G. R. Hind. Attention then shifts to the collaborative relation between photographer and subject required by the photographic technology of the period. The pictorial contact moment was an interactive communication between photographer and subject. Hence the image-making contact moment is a dialogue, an interchange. Thus the image became a meeting ground where cultural processes were intersubjective and where the present interacted with the past. At the centre of these representations is a two-way looking within a dialogical imagination.

As colonial powers expanded and increased control territorially, changes in the dialogic relations were marked in the subject's presentation of self, the artists' renditions and the photographer's aesthetics. Earlier artists like Benjamin West in "The Death of General Wolfe" (1770) used the publishing industry to challenge monologic stereotypes.

However, as colonial powers exerted greater repressions, lucrative popular culture industries like the Wild West Shows constituted an imagined frontier which called for several other perspectival approaches: Lakota Chief Red Cloud used the photographic medium for peace activism and community building, Harry Pollard's photojournalism documented Indigenous communities in Alberta and Edward S. Curtis's pictorialism became a genre of ethnography in the twenty volume, "The North American Indian".

Using a historical framework and interdisciplinary methodologies, this dissertation examines early representations of the North American West in a dialogue as a frontier of difference iterated through technologies of illustration and photography.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The visual public record of the colonial American West is a site of national, continental and global configurations of territory, power and imagination documented in face-to-face encounters between American Indians and artists and photographers of European origin. This dissertation will examine these practices as a way of ‘writing the body’ through a dialogue between the early period artists, photographers and American Indians. As art became more like a field science based on direct observation, description and classification (Troccoli, 1993), a dialogue emerged from multiple voices invested in the image and between the participants within an interpretive community. Red Cloud, as chief of the Oglala Lakota (Sioux), led his people in the transition to reservation life and used photography to enable Native American agency and influence public policy. Community as locality is a ‘space’ in a relational understanding of the social world (Bourdieu, 1998). Representational portraits reproduce encounters of Indigenous communities with the colonialising state and are multi-voiced relational dialogues that contemporary Indigenous peoples can use in telling their stories. This dissertation will evaluate the American Indian presence as a ‘double voiced’ utterance (Bakhtin, 1975) in face-to-face encounters in paintings, prints, drawings and photographs and as sites of performativity.

A colonial gaze embedded itself into popular culture; its spectacles – the display of artifacts, sometimes of people, Wild West shows and as visual rhetorics in paintings in Europe and North America. Portraits were incorporated into publications of ‘stories’ with captions and written narratives that iterated dominant worldviews. Cultural critics have

addressed how ‘ways of being’ are defined by and crafted from appearances (Debord, 1983; Ewen, 1988; Kellner, 1995; Rickard, 2005; Kuhn & McAllister, 2006). Yet a dynamic network of non-centralised forces penetrated narrativisations that regulated the construction of space, time, desire and embodiment (Foucault, 1979). Sovereignty and cultural continuity were at stake for American Indians who needed to document their presence at political encounters. They quickly recognised the value of portraiture and photography as a way to move and affect other people in a pull and a push of transpersonal space – and as an inheritance for contemporary Indigenous peoples. An understanding of Indigenous continuance must also include the resurfacing of their religion despite the assault of Christianity (Tsinhnahjinnie, 2003). I will briefly discuss the Ghost Dance and religion; however, this discussion will not be central to this dissertation.

The earliest phototechnology required collaboration between subject and photographer within a larger frame of dialogue of which the photograph is the physical record. Just as the ‘high art’ of the novel maximized oral and popular culture, the photographic portrait through spectacle and narrative produced a ‘reading’. Photography was implicated in positivist and empirical recording, but yet the photo-eye is a ‘being there’ in a third space of politics. The early technology required people to pre-meditate on their pose. The photographed subject then consciously collaborated with the photographer and camera to create an image and aura of presence – Chief Red Cloud told his community’s story as a historical mark (Goodyear III, 2003).

The making of an authentic portrait embedded the social organisation of its production in a document time. ‘Authenticity’ was described by Walter Benjamin as “the

essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced” (Benjamin, 1931, p. 51). The subject always had a physical relationship that was a lived reality, part of the camera’s reality, part of the reality being filmed, and part of the reality in the photograph. Appearance is a type of visual knowledge and a physical showing is a way of saying the unsayable. The early photograph thus was an expression of real relationships between camera and human interactions. The camera enabled utterances of the ‘other’ in a dialogic imagination that lived on in a photographic image (Lippard, 1992; Agnew, 2004; Brown & Peers, 2006; Hudson & Thomas, 2001, 2005). What the subject actually says is a dialogue of the moment of speaking (Billig, 1987; Davies & Harré, 1990) – with the photographer, the subject’s home community and the current topics that impact their exchange as photographic production – and it is a premeditated expression of the subject’s intention. The photograph’s reproduction, however, detaches it from the domain of tradition and with this, its authenticity ceases to be. Its function becomes political since the photograph’s exhibition is a creation with an entirely new function (Benjamin, 1931). At a time when the socialist states were in formation and fascism was on the rise, photography was paradigmatic of the dual potential of modern memory and the optical unconscious (Kuhn & McAllister, 2006). Ulrich Baer argues in *Spectral Evidence: Photography of Trauma* (2002, p. 7) that “we need to return to a concept of aura that may permit us to partially recover the troubling realities potentially lingering in photographs of historical trauma”. The ‘ephemeral’ aura is a performative intervention: an index of a dynamic, fraught relationship between the beholder and the artifact (Geulen, 2002, p. 135). Antithetical conditions signify changeable variables by a

juxtaposition to proximity, repetition or similarity. 'Aura' in its heterogeneity and contradictory aspects, enriches the vocabulary of trauma studies as an affective in the imagination and in the afterlife of visual media (Briggs, 2006, p. 115).

An account of the early camera technology introduces the story of photographing Chief Red Cloud in the nineteenth century United States (Goodyear III, 2003). The ambiguities of his photographic image emerge in the intersection between Red Cloud as embodied presence and as agent in the photographic moment. Once in public document time, his image is incorporated beyond his presence and agency into stereotyped representations of *Indians* as I describe in chapter seven. Red Cloud's likeness is reiterated in multiple manikins in the Smithsonian Museum in a symbolic domination within a colonial paradigm. However, if we examine a more complete view of Red Cloud's photographic archive we see how masterfully he communicated to the major photographers of his age and to the American public. The camera marked the moment of interaction between subject and photographer in a human communication within historical relations.

Though the portrait arts and the camera as tool of colonization yielded symbolic control over the bodies of others (Pultz, 1995; Tagg, 1988), I argue in this thesis that they also enabled a 'looking back'. Michel Foucault recognized that modern power (as opposed to sovereign) produces and normalises bodies in relations of dominance and subordination. As a language of 'writing the body' and as an 'inspecting gaze' portraits and photographs managed boundaries. Difference in the colonial paradigm was exoticised without contextualisation; whereas for the home community its original expression related to their sovereignty and entitlement.

Because ethnic identity emerges as a response to tension in intergroup relations, the importance of boundary development and maintenance is often conditional upon the degree of pressure exerted on these boundaries by outside groups. As pressure mounts, ethnic groups tend to fortify their boundaries by creating clear distinctions between the categories 'Us' and 'Them' so as to preserve an enclosed space in which to exercise autonomy over the development of their own identity (Schouls, 2003, p. 13).

Performativity and its theoretical power have enabled an appreciation of how identities are constructed iteratively through complex citational processes (Parker & Sedgwick, 1995). Native North Americans confront the 'us' and 'them' of an ethnic binary objectified in paintings and photographs in shifting subjectivities, voices and forms of resistance. A dialogic 'looking back' is like Bakhtin's 'hybrid' utterance in the novel (or any creative work) where a speaker or writer inserts the voice of another. Though the writer is 'author', the other voice inserted is an utterance in its own voice with its evaluative tones that we assimilate, rework and re-accentuate (Bakhtin, 1986). Portraiture as a language always includes a speaker and an audience in dialogue with what has come before and what will come after. Nineteenth century photographic technology required the active participation of the subject who premeditated, assumed and maintained a pose in a physical relation to the photographer. The subject's iteration is the portrait photographer's hybrid utterance of an 'other'. Portrait painters like Benjamin West, George Catlin, Paul Kane and William Hind also incorporated this dialogical imagination.

As I examined images in the photo archives across Canada they spoke of their

physical encounters in assemblages with other photographs in the archive. Otto Buell's documentation of the Northwest Rebellion was particularly sympathetic to the Cree and Métis participants in a photographic chronicle. The highly charged lived encounters of the frontier became embodied picture narratives in a continuum of resistances, assimilations and disidentifications. My hands in white cotton gloves flipped through one-of-a-kind late 19th century collector albums around a big table in the Yellowknife Archive. Suddenly a baby picture from the forties brings forth a cascade of laughter as two Inuit women, an aunt and her niece, discover their family and early life in government produced photographs. The archive vibrated with life that made a powerful connection with these people in a Deleuzian encounter: "the past and the present do not denote two successive moments, but two elements which coexist: One is the present, which does not cease to pass, and the other is the past, which does not cease to be but through which all presents pass" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 59). To my amazement, the aunt then ordered prints for her personal collection: a standard practice for this archive. Continuities flow and powerfully communicate across generations and disjunctures.

In the interactive encounter of difference, artists and photographers preserved a presence - theirs and their subjects - in a cultural system of references as a primary source of knowledge. This dissertation tells the story of that dialogic relation as it developed between the colonialist interests of the artist/photographer and those of the Indigenous subjects. For the photographers the dialogic relations altered with changes in the repression and subjection imposed on Indigenous people and with the later uses of the photograph. Contemporary Native Canadian artists like Loretta Todd, Greg Staats, Robert Houle, Rebecca Belmore and others appropriate, resignify and incorporate

European art forms, photography and other popular culture into commemorative and community building practices. Early uses created the foundations of a secondary history: an alteric and alternative history of Amerindians – an oral storytelling within a cultural immunity system (Haraway, 1989) relevant to traditions and negotiations with federal governments. Tsimshian photographer Benjamin Alfred (B. A.) Haldane participated in potlatches on the Nass River and took photographs that made explicit reference to clan and hereditary positions; his photographs reveal a counternarrative by documenting the subversive means by which outlawed ceremonies were performed (Askren, as cited in Rickard, 2006, 2). Filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin uses “*the sense of the local, specific, and embodied as a vital locus of social subjectivity*” in her performative documentaries (Waugh, 1990-91, pp. 11-12) – a telling situated in First Nations collectivity. Métis/Cree filmmaker Loretta Todd in the documentary film, *Kainayssini Imanistaisiwa (The People Go On)* (NFB, 2003), uses old photographs and portraits, such as those by photographers Harry Pollard and E.S. Curtis, to re-appropriate and re-contextualise national identity in a crossreading and powerful address to First Peoples. In an investigation of the restorative and mnemonic cultural remembrance, artist Greg Staats combines found audiotapes of his grandfather’s collection with visuals from the Grand River Six Nations landscape.

The exhibition catalogue describes his video, *Red oak condolence*, (3:11:20):

The movement of the leaves allows an entrance into the “Indian hymn” singing cultural interpretation of spirit, a place where 2 overlap and create a third space. This specific song was written anonymously in Mohawk as opposed to others which were translated from existing English hymns. Audio track – Indian Hymn sung in Mohawk perfect

harmony, recorded in 1965 by Leonard Staats Sr. Singers: Hardy Porter, Jesse Porter and Clarence Porter: Six Nations Reserve. (2007, p. 35).

In Staats's artist statement for the exhibition, *Reciprocity* (2007), at Kitchener-Waterloo Art Gallery he describes his method: "*While redefining the parts of self via visual documentation of people and place, I discovered that the convergence of ceremonies, both traditional and Christian, creates an in between place that allows remembrance to appear from various places of identity. Carrying over certain core beliefs from one system to another then creates an interchangeable space for personal re/creation*" (2007, p. 39). The experience of *Red oak condolence* with its imagery of leaves and Mohawk a cappella hymn transported multi-media Salteaux artist Robert Houle to family funerals and Ojibwa songs: "*silently, without warning my memory for an instant opened into an empty space where time intersects and our relation with things is reversed: rather than remembering the past, the past remembered me*" (2007, p. 12). Houle described Staat's quartet of short videos - which included *Red oak condolence* - as "*poetic portals through which memory has coded the verification of our existence*" (2007, p. 11).

Jolene Rickard, the guest curator of the National Museum of American Indian (NMAI) exhibition, *Our Lives*, described another form of convergence in Rebecca Belmore's sound performance, *Ayummee-aawach oomama-mowan: Speaking to their mother* (1991). Declaring it "*one of the most significant expressions of sovereignty beyond political boundaries*" and an act of self-determination using a giant megaphone like a birch bark cone used in moose calling; the performance *contested an existing 'western' epistemological structure* while recovering the spoken word of aboriginal tradition. "*To bring a thought to life through the spoken word is one of the most powerful*

acts of reinserting aboriginal knowledge or epistemes into aboriginal and Canadian cultures” (Rickard, 2005, p. 69). Aboriginal languages are the foundation for indigenous knowledge and ‘traditional teachings’.

Cultural and feminist theory understands textual transformation as a ‘writing the body’ process (Weedon, 1987; Waskul & Vannini, 2006; Elkins, 1999). From the moment of creating an image the different social uses by the creator or subject draw on practices that organise consciousness culturally, socially and temporally. If identity is an enacted fantasy or incorporation, it needs a corporeal signification (Butler, 1990) - a ‘looking back’. A portrait produced in the exchange between painter, photographer and ‘the American Indian’ thus survives as a dialogical and iterative bridge to contemporary viewers. The creators of the image produce a historically situated meaning regulated by visible elements. A portrait thus draws on past and present relations from an oral to a visual realm that addresses future generations. I will argue that the marginalised here find a space to assert agency in a profound cultural revolution of transnational communications (Hall, 1995).

As the world reinvented itself in the 18th Century and later, artist entrepreneurs became risk-takers, visionaries and storytellers in a ‘double voiced’ virtual nation. This dissertation, as a story of the transformations of North American Native peoples, opens with the work of painters that established the colonialist images that the photographic medium both perpetuated and transcended. Painter Benjamin West’s ‘epic representation’ in *The death of General Wolfe* (1770) incorporated portraits and referenced personal relationships to Native Americans in an alternative framework to European notions of historical evolution. Engravings of West’s spread commercially through the civilised

world in publications in a market that exalted art to instruct “*mankind in honourable and virtuous deeds*” (Rather, 2004, p. 328).

George Catlin’s painted Indian portraits were fixed on his sitters’ features, individuality and personalities in an Enlightenment paradigm that replaced the classicising stereotypes of the late sixteenth century produced by Theodor de Bry (Berkhofer 1978). Unlike West, Catlin’s interest was character study and description, not history painting. Effects like embodying himself in the illustrations and the deconstructive aesthetics of *Pigeon’s Egg Head (The Light). Going to and returning from Washington* (1837 – 39) introduced a self-reflexivity and third eye perception as a critical texture that cannot be reduced to Romanticism or a vanishing race trope.

Narrativisation involves a manipulation of reality in the self-reflexive or participatory documentary. Robert Flaherty’s early film collaboration with an Inuit hunter in *Nanook of the north* (1922) demonstrated that the Inuit could “*understand and maintain their own cultural identity in the face of our methodical attempts to recreate them in an image that suits our fantasies of the ‘primitive’ and the ‘peasant’*” (Ruby, 1979, p. 73). The uses of illustrations or photographs as a ‘window’ expand our powers of observation and create new signifying practices:

The space between human bodies is not only physical space, culturally specified, but also moral and ethical space, to do with the nature of relations between persons. The camera, as a technology extending the eye, is a great potential violator of that space. And visual anthropology, which traded in the past on the power relations of colonialism... today

often trades on the personal relations of face-to-face social worlds....

(Devereaux, 1995, p. 71)

A genealogy that investigates the political stakes in designating an ‘origin’ and ‘cause’ exposes the effects of institutions, practices and discourses (Butler, 1990). Spatio-temporal configurations sustain and apprise particular histories. Saulteaux First Nations artist Robert Houle appropriated West’s *The death of General Wolfe in Kanata* (1992) in an ex-centric redefinition that spoke *to* a discourse from *within* it (Hutcheon, 1988). This ‘visual’ powerfully examines the complex dimensions of reconstruction and deconstruction in public memory. We will study this in more detail in chapter three.

In a time when Indigenous people were denied their religious practices and were forcefully relocated on reservations by federal governments, a ‘writing the body’ with its boundary and surface is a public performance and mediation-in-the-moment. Each artist messenger iterates a changing dialogue through political climates of repression and subjection where their subjects make conscious efforts to tell their story through ‘hybrid’ utterances. Catlin produced books with detailed ethnological descriptions and then reinvented himself as an entertainer. Paul Kane’s visionary sketches were published with journal memoirs for a worldwide readership. William G. R. Hind collaborated with his brother on unique ‘multi-media’ experiences of the North West utilising an industrial training in visual arts. Photographers Pollard and Curtis followed similar itineraries to these painters; Pollard became an early photojournalist and Curtis incorporated a high art Pictorialist aesthetic into ethnological documentation.

This dissertation builds on what I have learned on a road trip through public archives from the Ontario Public Archives in Toronto to Yellowknife and then to

Vancouver - and the critical examination of visual documents that followed. The dissertation moves from the early paintings and portrait studies to their uses in representing the frontier in publications, exhibitions and tableaux vivantes. The early photography became a significant and alternate medium to illustration - from Red Cloud's use of the photographic medium for peace activism - to the aesthetically different documentation purposes of photographers Harry Pollard and Edward S. Curtis' in his twenty-volume, *The North American Indian*" (1907 – 1930)¹.

We will examine their shifting aesthetics and interlocutory presence as witnesses on the frontier in a dialogue anticipating an expanding publishing industry. From knowledge collectors to roles in forming public consensus, these painters and photographers could not be neutral as they did align with social and political movements. Benjamin West recited *Apollo Belvedere* (n.d.) in his illustrations of American Indians. George Catlin made visual biographies of his subjects. Paul Kane documented a pre-Christian Amerindian world. Later, William Hind turned a Realist gaze on the Métis and Indians with whom he traveled. We will follow these storytellers and their ability to stay true (or not) to their original purpose in their documentation projects. What were their compromises and concessions? What is the narrative when a longer sequence is evident or read in its historical context? How were allegiances expressed to Amerindian, British, French, American or Canadian identities from the Enlightenment period into Modernity?

As no artist or subject could fully anticipate the future uses of their imagery, this dissertation will examine the dialogical representation through aesthetic trends,

¹ E. S. Curtis and Pollard both worked with some of the same individuals including

discursive practices, genres and face-to-face relations between three entities: the public, the artist/photographer and the Amerindian subjects.

Chapter Two

The Hypertext of Visual Documents and the Performativities of Culture

The path to self-determination is uphill with obstacles, but we must take it; the thread to our existence as indigenous people is so immediate that we cannot afford not to. The only way we can survive is to recover our strength, our wisdom, and our solidarity by honouring and revitalizing the core of our traditional teachings. Only by heeding the voices of our ancestors can we restore our nations and put peace, power, and righteousness back into the hearts and minds of our people (Alfred, 1999).²

A photographic image produced within the conventions of nineteenth century colonial rhetoric may address and *speak* very differently to a contemporary Native American reader. Within the National Museum of American Indian in the United States thousands of images communicate an American history through a saga of conversion and transition felt today. Native North Americans today can read this visual history in a variety of frames of reference.³ Photography, as an invention more than a century and a half ago, transformed communication, enabling a form of non-sequential writing with

² Alfred's quote on self-determination framed a reproduction of *Ayumee-aawach omama-mowan: Speaking to their mother* on display at the Smithsonian's NMAI in Washington.

³ I make an effort to use a term that calls up a particular history and so I use Native American, American Indian, Indigenous and Amerindian when writing about the 18th and 19th Century. In Canada, terms that dominate the 21st Century are First Nations, First Peoples, Aboriginal, Indigenous and Amerindian. A word like an image ties into personal histories and to accounts of a people's resistance to colonialism and to a cultural past largely destroyed.

semiotic links and emotional pathways to knowledge, identity and memory. These early photographic images call up a history through linkages with other images and cultural memories. As with language, the 'orientational' features of visual conventions are relative to the time and place of utterance (Lyons, 1963) and interpellate the production of an image and its later reading. As rhetorical forms they reiterate a narrative of preferred reading specified by historical context.

The technology of the early view camera enforced an engagement with an original actuality. However represented, the embodied subjects were fixed in a photograph's documentary time and still had a presence in a past that was theirs - despite the photographer's staging and visual montage. Another framework emerges to express difference:

The experience of colonization both shapes and reinforces the awareness of Aboriginal identity as a form of ethnic identity. Aboriginal identity is furthermore the outcome of a process of self-definition by those linked to one another through the experience of colonization. Having been marginalized in the past, the political project of Aboriginal peoples is often presented as their desire to survive as distinct communities, a process said to involve their right to control the building of their community identities (Schouls, 2003, p. 53).

The contemporary Native American Art movement uses the term *message carriers* (Harlan, 1993) for practitioners using film as a medium to carry messages to their own cultures and to the non-Indian and pan-Indian communities. Hopi photographer Victor Masayesva uses the term 'language of intercession' for an Indigenous aesthetic of

a language in communication with the Ancients (Loft, 2005, p. 96). In a sense, the archives' resources of photographs of Native Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, at a period of the most acute and destructive impact of colonialism, are a storehouse of message carriers. My examination will follow how images of First People's embodiment at historical encounters reintegrate into continuums that we live in and live through our bodies today: a Deleuzian encounter in which a virtual present is lived through a coexisting past that is a transcendental field conditioning and generating the actual (Deleuze, 1983, 1988). Subjectivity and agency are constituted performatively by the very 'expressions' represented as its results (Butler, 1990): *"not as a singular or deliberate "act", but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names"* (Butler, 1993, p. 2).

When we examine the bodily traces in the photograph, we may ask what these representations and resistances mean. Colonial culture has a theatrical element grounded in the application of physical force. Dress and comportment realise differences which do not exist without the acts, words and objects that perform them (Butler, 1990). A performative marking of status and role provides colonial culture with a local regularity and predictability enacting a fiction (Gosdan & Knowles, 2001) through the ambiguities of what is being negotiated. Physical stance and stylized stagings are symbols of power in a process of identity building in an ongoing community's *"politics of cultural recognition"* [through forces that are] *"overlapping, interactive and internally negotiated"* (Tully, 1995, p. 10). A community is the product of work or struggle: *"it is inherently unstable, contextual; it has to be constantly reevaluated in relation to critical political priorities; and it is the power of interpretation, interpretation based on an attention to*

history, to the concrete, to what Foucault has called subjugated knowledges” (Martin & Mohanty, 1986, p. 210). The body becomes a performative site in the dialogue between the internally negotiated and ‘the other’.

A language of speaking through the body was practiced by both the photographer and the subject in the photographic production of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For its participants the early photograph’s interactive production offered the most writerly text - expressive of culturally specific meanings in the North American western frontier. Both photographer and subject brought certain actions and materials to the representation. At particular points of his life, Chief Red Cloud refused to be photographed if he wasn’t dressed appropriately and could be mistaken for a white man. An early power dynamic existed as the photographer needed the subject’s full attention as a participant, and knowledge of the technical limitations and capabilities positioned the photographer in a role similar to a mentor. Celebrity subjects developed a competence in a body performance language to advance their public work. Red Cloud, for example, used his photographic performance for peace work with a dialogue invested in the image. Portrait photographs were an expression of cultural values and people generally marked the occasion with their choice of dress and body positioning. Acceptable poses and gestures of the portrait did not include smiling - also not a characteristic of the painted portrait tradition. Experienced subjects like Sitting Bull understood the photograph’s iterative value to extend celebrity, monetary gain and as promotion. He charged a fee on a sliding scale - and more for a signed photograph.

The earliest photographs were experimental in technology but with advances photographs soon inherited the role of the wood block to illustrate published stories. As

the photographer kept the original, it could later have different and secondary uses. Photographers looked towards secondary markets. When a portrait was made speculatively a photographer did not expect to share the profits with the subject. During the nineteenth century two kinds of photographs were produced commercially: 1. Private images made for and paid for by the sitter or individual and 2. Public images made speculatively and designed to be marketed and sold to consumers as stereographs, cabinet cards, exhibition prints, and postcards – generally these images were marked with words scrawled across the image, with titles printed along the mounts, brief narratives printed on the backs, or appearing in captions or texts in a descriptive pamphlet. Through words, one particular reading of a photograph could be reinforced at the expense of others, thus erasing ambiguities and promoting a preferential reading.

The context of reading the photograph accents a preferential reading or narrative. A portrait of Sitting Bull as a souvenir of a Wild West show would be very different from Chief Red Cloud's portrait hanging in a Mathew Brady twenty year National Portrait Collection of *illustrious Americans* on display in his New York and Washington galleries. These are genres of colonial rhetorics limiting the dialogue in their distinctive ways. While the various genres of colonialist rhetoric conceal the original interchange of the photographic moment, a different dynamic of power was established by personal relationships generated in the original encounter between the photographer and the subjects. Here a dialogical 'looking back' has responsibility in a much larger interpretive community where the rhetoric of the image brings a rich history of multivalent reading competencies, preferences and interlocutions. The private space of the home became a personal gallery for generations of Afro-American minorities in an alternative

iconography to the popular culture forms of the 20th century America (hooks, 1995).

As had been the custom of portrait painters, early photographic portraits were commissioned by sitters and were negotiated personally. Secondary uses in postcards, stereographs and illustrated publications shifted the terms of relations. When commissioned for a personal use, these representations stayed within a family. However, the emerging publication industry quickly valued the public relations potential and powerful imperial forces invested in this use. Accelerated by the World Fairs, photography re-invented itself for scientific and imperial roles. President Roosevelt endorsed Curtis's transformation (see chapter 9) from a Seattle based portrait photographer to artist and ethnologist funded by the railroad magnate J. P. Morgan. Roosevelt understood E. S. Curtis's role in public relations and commissioned family portraits for this use.

From the Native North American perspective, the American expansion narrative is tragically marked by the Wounded Knee Massacre of December 29, 1890, which destroyed any hopes for a self-determined future (Johnson, 1998) for the Amerindian peoples living in the United States. An intertribal spiritual movement known as the Ghost Dance led by Wovoka, a young Paiute with visions of a reunion with ancestors and an Indian promised land, divided Indians into two factions: the 'friendlies' who feared resistance and the 'hostiles' who fled to a corner of the Pine Ridge Reservation committed to the Ghost Dance (Fleming & Luskey, 1986).

At the request of the friendly Indians, Big Foot and his band of Miniconjou Sioux arrived in an attempt to make peace. Unfortunately General Miles presumed they were heading for the hostile encampment

and tried to intercept them. On December 28, they were tracked down by the Seventh Cavalry, and the Indians and soldiers camped side by side at Wounded Knee Creek. On December 29, the Cavalry was joined by Colonel Forsyth's forces. The 340 Indians were surrounded by over 500 soldiers and four Hotchkiss cannons. Emotions ran high, and when an attempt was made to disarm the Indians, shots were fired. Within a short time, two-thirds of Big Foot's band had been killed or wounded (Fleming & Luskey, 1986, p. 48).

General Miles refused to defend the massacre: *"I have never felt that the action was judicious or justifiable, and have always believed that it could have been avoided. It was a fatality, however, that Indian hostilities, uprisings, and wars, should finally close in a deplorable tragedy"* (Miles, 1911, p. 243). Though no photographs exist of the massacre itself, George E. Trager was the first photographer to record the carnage which he distributed widely through his company, the Northwestern Photographic Company. Trager's photograph, *Big Foot Lying Frozen in the Snow After Battle of Wounded Knee* (Copyright 17 Jan. 1891), features Big Foot facing the camera, eyes covered with snow and his full body propped up by the elbows, hands and expressive fingers gesticulating agony in the air. Trager's documentation of the aftermath made him a celebrity photographer as the Wounded Knee pictures were popularly collected. Clearly, of course, no dialogue was here possible as the subjects were no longer living. The Indigenous voice, as well, became even more absent through the generic title.

As one of the few evidences of U.S. genocidal practices coinciding with oral history Big Foot's photograph is an *"image of supposed hopelessness"* (Tsinhnahjinnie,

2003, p. 46) that produced a dream for photographer Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie of the Seminole and Muscogee Nations:

I was an observer floating - I saw Big Foot as he is in the photograph, and my heart ached. I was about to mourn uncontrollably when into the scene walked a small child, about six years old. She walked about the carnage, looking into the faces of those lying dead in the snow. She was searching for someone. Her small moccasin footprints imprinted the snow as she walked over to Big Foot, looking into his face. She shakes his shoulders, takes his frozen hand into her small, warm hand, and helps him to his feet. He then brushes the snow off of his clothes. She waits patiently with her hand extended, he then takes her hand and they walk out of the photograph. (Tsinhnahjinnie 2003, pp. 45 – 46).⁴

General Nelson A. Miles donated to the National Museum of American Indian over two hundred photographs made between 1869 to 1892 of Indian leaders, portraits and scenes. His collection featured the convulsive violence between Indians and whites in which the Amerindian people lose their struggle for political power and control of their lands. By the 1880s many Indians were confined to reservations and dependent on the government. *“Portraits of great men give way to photographs of warriors on prison trains and horsemen reduced to digging ditches. In many of these images, the Native American is still the unfathomable or fearsome other, the alien who in some abstract*

⁴ Rebecca Belmore’s installation, *blood on the snow* (2002) refers to the U.S. Cavalry’s massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where 300 unarmed Sioux, mostly women and children lay dead and frozen under a blanket of snow for four days. A dramatic gash of blood interrupts a massive white quilt covering a centrally located chair.

sense justifies his own depression” (Martinez & Wyaco 1998, p. 81). A new dimension of stereotyping emerged in which Native Americans became collaborators in strange and staged poses in combinations of vanishing noble savages, ‘before’ and ‘after’ portraits and as official delegations in tribal dress with top-hatted colonial officials (Hill, 1998, p. 141). The stereotyped, superficial, exoticised, or trophy nature of the vast majority of images of American Indian peoples says much about intercultural relations. Out of context these images silence their subjects in monologic genres with particular meaning for the coloniser. Army photographs, treaty signings, postcard images construct cultural differences as either positive or negative but never as neutral.

Though Red Cloud in the late 1880s selected his moments, he could not imagine the uses his images had in an expanding new nation - as the Smithsonian example of Red Cloud’s manikin will show in chapter seven. The interactive narrative of the photograph documented an interlocutory address: where a self enables and instantiates the existence of an ‘I’ and its referent (Butler, 2005). The construction of a symbolic ‘I’ depends on the existence of a conceptual ‘you’. Before snapshot photography, meaning in the photographic image was an imprint by the lived body interactions between photographer and human subject: the subject actively poses while the photographer coaches a performance of body language before the camera. The relationship is not on fully equal terms as only a few subjects, such as Presidents and celebrities, control the use of their images

As a secondhand or surrogate seeing, the images we make of our bodies reflect the body’s activities as a whole, its physicality, its shifting postures and its conflicting impulses. A photograph or film is a complex construction with an animal origin

(MacDougall, 2006) as it is produced in a living being's interaction within physical relations to other living beings. Art historian James Elkins argues that pictured bodies are expressive in two largely opposite modes: 1. Through physicality connoting in the beholder sensations and thoughts of pain and death and 2. Through fantasy projection, transformations and metamorphosis (Elkins, 1999). Elkins describes a 'first seeing' as relaxed and languorous and the way we look when there is a body to be seen: "*my eye rests in the eyes of the person I see, and it slides and caresses the person's skin as it moves from place to place*" (Elkins, 1999, p. 5). (Note: It is not clear here whether Elkins is describing a professional viewing stance as art historian, or simply a personal preference.) 'Second seeing' animates and directs everyday sight in a "*restless, nomadic way of looking*" in search of a body (Elkins, 1999, p. 6). When we look purposefully or when we think, this seeing process is complicated with our desires and heightened emotions invested into the image. Photography addresses our senses and extends them while it gives form to a knowledge of being. A photographer articulates images of looking and being through a sensory knowledge located in the embodied experience of historical collectivities (MacDougall, 2006).

Framing both encloses a world and makes speculative what is beyond the frame. To ask what is outside the frame reconstructs the field of representation in an active relation. A disruption of the existing closure and its conceptual space creates a site for an alternative power. Collaborative works "*need to be appreciated as fruitful, contingent coalitions rather than performances of postcolonial virtue*" (Clifford, 2004, p. 22) - there is a learning process in the way that relations develop. Mediated by technology, a photograph of a person or of people is an interchange in which the person imaged is

always a presence with intentions. Framing with a camera produces various modes of seeing: a responsive camera observes and interprets without provoking; an interactive camera records its interchanges and a constructive camera interprets its subject by breaking it down and reassembling it according to an external logic (MacDougall, 2006). A photograph as a text may have very different uses for the photographer and for his human subject. Meanings are both temporal and embodied within practices that organise consciousness culturally and socially; photographer and subject are positioned differently in these relations.

As a discursive enterprise, photography aligns in North America and Europe to the notion of observation (Crary, 1990) through a complex intermeshing of technology, mass culture and state surveillance (Faris, 1996). Focus is fundamental to a camera's operation; camera images select and centre. The monologic centring principle stabilises a core of European values in a new geography. Within the photographic encounter and collecting practices, the West has privileged its desire, ambition, obsession and pathology. The vast photographic collection at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)⁵ was created by George Gustav Heye (1874 – 1957) (Martinez, 1998) who appropriated objects by and representing *Indians* of America and opened the first Heye Museum in Manhattan in 1906 (Zittlau, 2007). A lack of Native involvement was the standard and evident in all aspects of the museum exhibitions, collections, care, education and administration. Not until 1977 were Native Americans George Abrams (Seneca) and Vine Deloria Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux) appointed to serve as trustees for the museum (Lonetree, 2012, p. 7). The collection then became endangered as the

⁵ The National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989 established the NMAI and transformed the Heye Museum from a private museum to a national public institution.

neighbourhood deteriorated at 155th and Broadway in New York and visitor attendance dropped to under 50,000 in 1989. Deloria Jr., who had served as a trustee for nearly two decades, in a written testimony for the establishment of a new museum (NMAI) claimed that the collection was “*as significant to Native Americans as the Elgin marbles and the Parthenon are to the Greeks, as the Museum of Chinese History and the Forbidden City are to the Chinese, as the pyramids and their contents are to the Egyptians.*”⁶ Asian American senator Daniel Inouye’s testimonial stressed the collections’ importance to the study of American Indian history and culture and the new museum’s potential to educate the general public about the great contributions of Native Americans, i.e., their influence on the Founding Fathers and American system of government and democracy. The supporters of the Heye collection had framed its rescue as a tool of education and source of pride for Native communities (Lonetree, 2012, p. 81). The National Museum of American Indian’s mission statement committed to interpretive programming and tribal communities’ exhibitions. In an interview Gerald McMaster, the former NMAI’s deputy assistant director for cultural resources stated: “*We have really taken it [the collection] away from certain anthropological paradigms and even art paradigms by really constructing and shifting more to a model of working with Indigenous peoples that is really significant*” (Lonetree, 2012, p. 82). Native peoples’ participation and primacy of voice was now possible in this museum.

Curators, as cultural brokers, use the museum or gallery as a performance stage and contested terrain of local and global politics (Karp & Lavine, 1991; Cronin, 2000; Lonetree, 2012). Encounters with the ‘other’ are not neutral. Contemporary exhibitions

⁶ Establishment of the National Museum of the American Indian, 22.

are agents of the discourses of public history. The NMAI effort to achieve a new Native multivocality, however, was critiqued for failing to address the needs of the audience. P.P. Hilden and S. Huhndorf's review essay argued that while the NMAI embraced a new museum theory and practice, the master narrative of conquest and colonisation was reinscribed: "the displays...merely replicated – though with more sophistication and ...obfuscation" (1999, p. 167). Curatorial goals were undermined if the message was misunderstood.

As documents of lived encounters early photography joins narratives of public memory. Photographs of Native Americans need to be understood as registering the problematic intercultural relations between them and the colonising peoples. The moment of taking the picture is selected from a living stream in which the photographer marks time, place and presence thus congealing them within historical and institutional relations. The agonism of the encounter between photographer and subject constructs a myth (Barthes, 1972) that normalises sign systems based on the physical world -- gestures, facial expressions, clothing and visual embodiments of ideological perspectives. These myths constitute memorial spaces where a 'learning to live with ghosts' (Derrida, 1994) extends community, embodiment and relationship and reconfigures both a "politics of relationality" and the character of a public life (Simon, 2006, p. 187).

The representational deixes of the photograph organize time, distance and social relations; they locate the spatial temporal dimensions of 'now', 'here', 'there', 'then' and the subjective frame of 'we', 'I', 'they', 'you'. The image, however, is present to us in a different time, severed from its original deictic coordinates - or aura - and open to other judgments and protocols than those that ordered the original photographer-subject

encounter. It addresses us to read it and assign meaning.

Marianne Hirsch, in her study of family photographs, introduced the concept of *postmemory* to distinguish deep personal connection across generations from the impersonality of history (Hirsch, 1997). ‘Postmemory’ initially related to the generation of children from Holocaust survivors and their capacity to recognise the layers of voices and gazes in the painful and confusing postmemories through their struggle to mourn and transform their relations to a violent past (Kuhn & McCallister 2006, p. 4). As visual evidence from past generations, personal connections can be made on many levels that include knowledge of persons, geography, place or culture. The photographic aesthetics of postmemory is “*a capacity to signal absence and loss and, at the same time to make present, rebuild, reconnect and bring back to life*” (Hirsch 1997, p. 243) – or hope. A politics of relationality not only implicates us in a past we did not live, but impacts us with a reckoning with future possibilities and with what it means to live relationally with the living, the dead and the unborn.

Despite photography’s emergence as a public commodity, a traditional core of Iroquois leaders maintained in photographs their own national structures and identities as a presence to be read as instruction. Pictorial storytelling as public performance is framed and composed to make the story relevant. Family photographs document the processes of cultural continuity and transformation from a deeply personal perspective. When a cataclysmic loss such as historical trauma is experienced, a conception of how to live a meaningful life is desperately needed (Lear, 2006). Lakota scholar and social worker Maria Yellow Horse Brave defined historical trauma as “*cumulative social and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from*

massive group trauma experiences” (2003, p. 7).

In this way Big Foot’s and Chief Joseph’s photographs continue to advocate the cause of their people. Despite Curtis’s project of producing knowledge in the desire and gaze of the colonizer, his Chief Joseph portrait’s gaze projects forward in time - as a moral leadership and framework for descendants and as a public performance for what needs to be born.

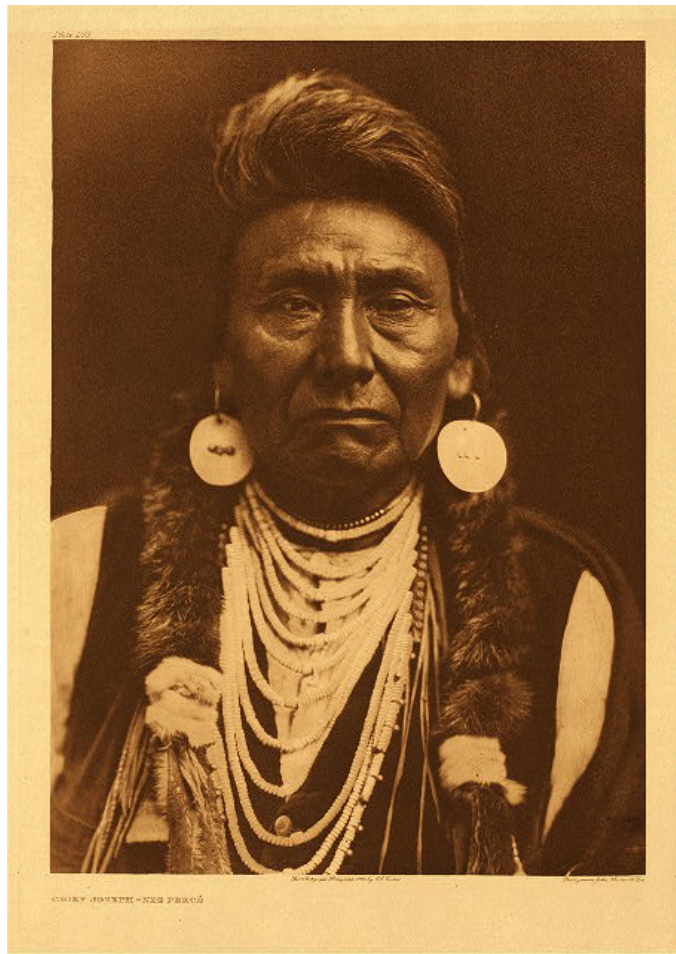


Fig. 1. Curtis, E.S. (1903) *Chief Joseph–Nez Perce* (*The North American Indian*; vol.08). [Photogravure: brown ink; 46 x 32 cm.] *Hienmot Tooyalakekt* (1841-1904) (commonly known as Chief Joseph, the leader of the Wallamotkin band of Nez Perce. Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

Portraits thus offers possibilities of hope that go beyond anyone’s ability to formulate an

idea of what is to be hoped for. We will examine this in more detail in chapter 7 and 9.

In retrieving traces of the past fixed in document time (Smith, 1990), a power is activated in repetitions and resistances in the present. The photographic encounter has both a synchronic and diachronic narrative within a material history and an intertextuality with other representational forms. Intertextual dialogism refers to the infinite and open-ended possibilities generated by all the practices of a culture within which an artistic text is situated and includes its dissemination (Stam, 2000). Colonial systems reiterate their hegemony through monologic systems that perpetuate fictions wherein a preferred reading appears naturalistic.

Genette's more inclusive term, transtextuality refers to all the aspects that put one text in relation to others (Genette, 1982). Genette posited five types of transtextual relations. Intertextuality as the "*effective co-presence of two texts*" in the form of quotation, plagiarism, and allusion. Paratextuality which refers to the relation, within the totality of a literary work inclusive of titles, prefaces, postfaces, epigraphs, dedications, illustrations, book jackets, quoted remarks and signed autographs. Metatextuality refers to the critical relation of one text to another. Architextuality refers to the meanings within the title and hypertextuality refers to an anterior text which can be any aspect of cultural expression and which the former transforms, modifies, elaborates, or extends (Genette 1982) as in Joyce's *Ulysses* with the hypotext of Homer's *Odyssey*.

Hypertextuality is the relationship between a given text (the 'hypertext') and an anterior text (the hypotext) that it transforms. In the colonial frame of early portrait photography, the hypotext would be all that would be known in the anterior conversation between the Indigenous subject and the portrait maker. This conversation represents an interaction

between two entities, each of whom may represent themselves individually, and in addition, as their community of belonging. The subject's knowledge of the use of portraits as communication enabled a 'writing the body'. As often a spoken language was not shared - as in the early portraits of Red Cloud - the hypertext of the portrait photograph extended the subject's agency into a tacit double-voiced utterance of mnemonic knowledge.

Photography uses a language of body idioms and transtextual iterations existing prior to the photographic act. A portrait session represents an encounter with an 'other' in a bodily interaction - a face-to-face relation of agency in which one is active and giving directions and the other is active in bodily performance. A photographic portrait inherits the conventions of painterly portraiture but reinvents the form within a different set of conventions, within technology, and through a transtextuality. A photograph's meaning is intrinsically tentative, oscillating from the intentions of the photographer and the subject, and finally relying on its reader's transtextual understandings. A taken-for-granted in the frame is the social and actual lived relation between the photographer and the subject. The portrait sitter addresses a known community and participates in the construction of a personal memory. An intercultural photograph is thus a collaboration that produces coherent dialogues as visual narratives within divergent reading communities. A photograph may thereby undermine the monologic narrative of public staging achieved through photography's lenses and enlargements. Photography documents these stagings, dislocating time and space, but makes details available to the 'optical unconscious'. Capable of releasing a stream of memories or erupting a psychological wound (Barthes' punctum), photography's 'optical unconscious' emerges

from an instinctual unconscious (Barthes, 1972) and exists as a playground of meaning making for future readers.

Alterity figures into the inter body idioms of three main participants, the photographer, the subject and the receiving public in a form of public address or dialogue. To look, argues Emmanuel Lévinas (1985, p. 85), is knowledge and perception which brings the Other⁷ into a personal ownership and relation. He describes a relation with the Other as something completely outside comprehension and control. In the face-to-face relation the face is the site at which the other exposes his or her otherness; only in this encounter is the Other not stripped of alterity and made an object to be comprehended (Fagan, 2008, pp. 9 - 10). In the direct interactive encounter the Other is present and palpable. Photographs show people who they are or who they most certainly are not. An Oedipal triangle invites two ways of orienting the self in relation to an image: to possess the Other or to be the Other.

Photographs can thus serve as instructions to later generations, and in the case of photographers E. S. Curtis or Harry Pollard, may reference locations, persons and customs. Performance strategies such as open resistance, recontextualization, parody and restraint bring into realism a *third eye* perception which is an attempt by the surveyed to collect a fragmented identity (Rony, 1996) – in effect a ‘looking back’. Oppositional and alternative perspectives arise from a *third eye* perception when the subject’s gaze challenges power relations through an exchange of looks within a

⁷ Lévinas ethics derives from the experience of the encounter with the Other (which he capitalises) The irreducible relation as face-to-face encounter with another is a privileged phenomenon in which the other person's proximity and distance are both strongly felt. "The Other precisely reveals himself in his alterity not in a shock negating the I, but as the primordial phenomenon of gentleness." (Lévinas 1961, 150) When capitalised, the Other can also be God.

photograph and when a *guide* performs *culture* in a specific address to a minority cultural history. Photographers B. A. Haldane and Greg Staats interrogate the historical discursive investments in imagery through visual representations that become imaginative (post)memory mnemonic devices that challenge the silences of historical trauma. In the next few chapters we will look at these conventions and how a ‘looking back’ was constructed by early illustrators and painters in their representations of American Indians.

Chapter Three

Colonial Visual Rhetoric, Painterly Inheritance and Benjamin West

Happiness is more generally and equally diffus'd among Savages than in civilized societies. No European who has tasted savage life can afterwards bare to live in our societies. (Benjamin Franklin, 1770)



Fig. 2. De Bry, T. (1591). *How they till the soil and plant* [After J. Le Moyne, Engraving] In T. de Bry, *Grand voyages; America*, Frankfurt; Theodorus de Bry and sons, 1591. Image Number RC05361. Retrieved Aug. 27, 2013 from http://www.floridamemory.com/photographiccollection/photo_exhibits/plantations/

Unlike earlier European representations of Amerindians, the North American visual artists featured in this and the following chapter grew up with or encountered the American Indian directly. Their fields of vision are a terrain of dialogical play for a

situated western viewer. Yet the works of painters Benjamin West, George Catlin, Paul Kane and William Hind (among other lesser known and less influential) raise interesting questions about appropriating an ‘alien word’ or ‘alien world’. American Indian images were meant for European readers and viewers as a received wisdom through portrait studies; those before the artists’ sketches and canvasses propagate a vision and way to be in the world. Despite the sometime absence of a shared spoken language, there were many good reasons to interact, communicate and honour the ‘other’. The artist as author of the portrait study enables the ‘other’ voice - its evaluative tones – yet assimilates, reworks and re-accentuates (Bakhtin, 1986) within contemporary debates. American Indians learned quickly the value of interacting with a messenger that could extend their story beyond their traditional community.

At the beginning of the period when Benjamin West was painting, the Amerindian cultures had not yet been devastated by the encroachments of settlers or violent appropriations of land. Unlike the European stereotyped images of American Indians derived from secondary sources and printed in books as woodcuts, engravings and linocuts, West referenced personal experiences of Amerindians. In an almost ethnographic fashion he illustrated how they lived and appeared within cultural frames originating in North America. The frontier, as represented by West and other artists in this dissertation, became a site of highly charged political encounters recorded in resistances, assimilations and disidentifications. These artists negotiated their vision in relation to popular demands, ethnocentrism and the expectations of the public or a patron in a duality of civilized worlds as in the works of Benjamin West - or as *message carrier*.

The colonial rhetorics of this period were distinctive. West's best known painting,

The death of General Wolfe (1770), can be seen as incorporating representations of Native Americans, still culturally distinct, in relation to the colonial invaders of their land. The persuasive return of the stereotypical reading as a shorthand rhetoric has been the focus of Jeff Thomas, an Iroquoian photo-based contemporary artist and curator who uses the composition as a point of departure for challenging audiences to rethink stereotypes about Indigenous people and, in turn, rethink their own cultural histories.

About West's *The death of General Wolfe* Thomas states:

The bottom line: How do we create a better space for sharing and understanding our differences? With this painting [Death of General Wolfe], I'm looking at the beginning of marginalization and how indigenous people were once allies and then how quickly they fall to the margins; pushed to the side by historians. It is important to think about the history that followed the era this image was intended to represent and what happened to indigenous people. Structurally, and having the Indian at the margin of the painting, shows open a space to discuss obscurity, how obscure that Indian already is, and what would follow and take place in residential schools (personal communication, Aug. 19, 2010).

Thomas's reference to the marginalisation of Indigenous people as allies resonates with various interpretations of *The death of General Wolfe* and the double portrait, *Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill)* (1776). Art historian Ann Uhry Abrams describes the figure: "*The Indian, who for two centuries had symbolized the American continent in a variety of prints, paintings, and statues, was clearly the most logical and poignant emblem of Britain's conquest*" (1985, 177). The

Iroquois is read as a ‘noble savage’, ‘exotic and unique’ (Fryd, 1995, p. 79), ‘symbol’ or ‘emblem’ (Honour, 1983) and ‘submissive to a commander’ (Francis, 1992) despite West’s efforts in a series of paintings to portray a duality of civilisations.

Benjamin West

An 18th century history painter, Benjamin West (1738 – 1820) incorporated portraits as expressive figures, colours and compositional schemes into grand narratives of national history as ‘epic representation’. In highly charged political and cultural encounters, his interlocutory artworks referenced personal relationships. In this chapter, West’s paintings will be examined as to how they constitute a frontier of difference. I suggest that his appropriation of *Apollo Belvedere* into a ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 1994) of Native American possibility unleashes an affective “*knowing of a third kind*” (Shotter, 1997). We will examine West’s representation of American Indians in a framework of dual hybridised civilised worlds and as sites of performativity and consciousness raising. West’s imagery marked and recalled momentous happenings and mediated action between Amerindian and settler groups.

West’s representation of Native American dress was produced with a historical consciousness and a symbiosis of cultures that defined each other (Reinhardt, 1998). A colonial-born Quaker raised in the Pennsylvania wilderness, Benjamin West reminisced in letters to his early patron, Dr. Jonathan Morris (Abrams, 1982, p. 62) about the many ““*innocent and diverting hours*” he had spent in *Indian Wigwams*” while growing up. In John Galt’s biography he acknowledges the Indians instructing him on how to be an archer and how to make the colours used in their ornaments:

In the course of the summer a party of Indians came to pay their annual visit to Springfield, and being amused with the sketches of birds and flowers which Benjamin shewed them, they taught him to prepare the red and yellow colours with which they painted their ornaments. To these his mother added blue, by giving him a piece of indigo, so that he was thus put in possession of the three primary colours. (Galt 1820, Ch. 1)

William Allen, a merchant of Pennsylvania, financed West's studies in Italy, and in an introductory letter to a merchant of Leghorn, described West as "a young ingenious painter of this city". In a letter from Rome dated 17th September 1760, Philadelphian John Shippen (with whom West had crossed the Atlantic) wrote:

"Mr. Murray the English Resident at Venice....having mentioned to us that he had bespoken a piece of painting to represent the 4 parts of the World, which could not be well finished for want of knowing the particular Dress of our Indians to distinguish America, on which we engaged to furnish him with a Drawing of an Indian Warriour in his proper Dress and accoutrements & his Squaw. But as we cannot fulfil our Promise but thro' the Means of our friend West....both Mr. Allen & myself. . . beg it as a favour....that You paint the above mentioned Figures upon a piece of Canvas as soon as You conveniently can....It would be best that each Figure be at least 18 inches high that the particularities of the Dress may be plainly distinguished. The Warriour's Face should be painted & Feathers in his Head, he ought to have his Gun Tomohawk & Spear but no Dog with him as he is supposed going out to

War” (as cited in Honour, 1883, p. 729).

Indian family (1761) was painted by West in Leghorn after a second period of study in Rome and more than a year after Shippen’s request. As West’s earliest known representation of American Indians, *Indian family*, is one of the first representations of these people in their own environment and native costumes (Honour, 1983, p. 729). West needed to consider the different possible relations an art work plays in people’s lives as the painting was a corrective to what Shippen and Allen had experienced as the fantastic de Bry copper engravings reproduced in Tiepolo’s feather-crowned America – so unlike the Amerindians known at home. Hugh Honour considers it rare ethnographic documentation of the dress and accoutrements of the Delaware and Iroquois. Francesco Bartolozzi engraved the picture of *Indian family* for the frontispiece of the two volume, *Storia degli stabilimenti europei in America* (1763).

Honour’s transposition of the description provided by West but liberally translated and exoticised in its Italian version describes:

....the male figure is an Indian warrior leaving his cabin to join companions in one of the military expeditions these people undertook to bring back their enemies as slaves or collect scalps cut from the heads of the killed and wounded. He is in martial dress wearing a bunch of feathers ornamented with guampum – i.e. wampum – attached to the tuft on the top of his head, the only place on his body where hairs were allowed to grow as it was customary to pull out all others by the roots. His face is painted in red and white stripes. Sometimes, West remarks, the chest is similarly coloured, but he omitted some of the war-paint in the



Fig. 3. West, B. (1761). *Indian family* [Oil on canvas, 60 x 48 cm] (The Trustees of the Hunterian Collection and the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London). Retrieved Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.studyblue.com/notes/note/n/ch-1-1492-1760-the-invention-and-mapping-of-america/deck/1163516>



Fig. 4. Bartolozzi, F. (1763). *Indian family* [after Benjamin West, Engraving, 17.5 x 11.5 cm.]. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. Retrieved August 27, 2013 from <http://s30556663155.mirtesen.ru/blog/43208759144/John-White> (1585-1593).Pervyie-izobrazheniya-korennyih-amerikants

picture to avoid disfiguring the man's form. The rest of the skin is of the natural colour which Indians made still darker brown by the application of bear's grease. A porcupine's quill piercing the cartilage of the nose between the nostrils is worn as an ornament. The ears are given their strange shape by the prevalent custom of cutting away part so that the rim hangs down to be decorated, if so wished, with wampum. What might seem to be an ornament hanging around the neck is a knife of the type American Indians used to cut off the scalps of their enemies. Below it and to one side hangs a powder horn and a bag of shot. A tomahawk is stuck into the belt. The man holds a gun. American Indians are never without one, West remarks, even when they sleep (Honour, 1983, p. 730).

The original painting is solemn and serene; the warrior's pose actually replicates *Apollo Belvedere*, a Roman statue in High Renaissance and Mannerist style considered the embodiment of the Hellenic spirit (Guthrie, 1968) "and a masterpiece of Greek Art" (Havelock, 1974, p. 24).

In the context of the performative, marble figure sculpture may be "*the preeminent or ideal 'art act'*", inasmuch as it represents, mimics, and refers to the whole body, its gestures, and being in actual space (Soussloff, 2000, p. 70). This male figure type was considered universal, immutable, and ideal. Attractive to both the concepts of 'art' and 'performativity' through its physicality, this figure's extrinsic and intrinsic characteristics are relative to other representational art and art theory through overt references to visible classical models, subjects and techniques (Soussloff, 2000, p. 70). In the case of the original *Apollo Belvedere*, the constitutive performative act is the

sculpture, and we can understand its performativity through its represented body and how it is performed upon in history (Soussloff, 2000, p. 77). We see how the ideal male body plays out in historicised situations with political power that adheres to the classical male body and the theory that ensues from it.



Fig. 5. Artist/maker unknown.
(original, ca. 350/325 BC).
Apollo Belvedere [after
Leochares, Dimensions H. 2.24
m (7 ft. 4 in.)] Found in the 16th
century.
Accession number Inv. 1015.
Museo Pio-Clementino, Octagon,
Apollo Hall.
Retrieved Aug. 27, 2013 from
[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wiki
pedia/commons/e/e6/Belvedere
Apollo_Pio-
Clementino_Inv1015.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e6/Belvedere_Apollo_Pio-Clementino_Inv1015.jpg)

An anecdote in Galt’s biography recounts West’s first impression of the *Apollo Belvedere* shortly after his arrival in Rome on tour of the Vatican. After being led through the vast art collection, his Italian friends stopped before Apollo and asked his opinion. West exclaimed, “*My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!*” The

Italians, Galt reported, were “*excessively mortified to find that the god of their idolatry was compared to a savage.*” West assured them that Mohawks were agile, brave, and competent with bow and arrow. The Italians then agreed that “*no better criticism*” had “*been pronounced on the merits of the statue*” (Galt, 1820). A recitation of *Apollo Belvedere* appears as illustrations for William Smith’s publication about the Ohio Indians (Smith, 1769) and in Fig. 6, *Treaty of Penn with the Indians* (1771), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1772.



Fig. 6. West, B. (1771). *Treaty of Penn with the Indians* [Oil on canvas, 190 x 270 cm]. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts] Retrieved Aug. 27, 2013 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Treaty_of_Penn_with_Indians_by_Benjamin_West.jpg

West’s ethnographic approach to representations of Amerindians can be seen in

illustrations he did for a booklet written by William Smith, a Scottish born Anglican minister and Provost of the new College of Philadelphia, *An historic account of the expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764 under the command of Henry Bouquet, esquire, 1765*. One of the illustrations, Fig. 7, *The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet* (engraving 1766), features a plumed Indian orating to a crowd of European men standing and seated in chairs to his right. To his left, Indians are seated on the ground and crouching. Hanging from the orator's left hand is a wampum belt.⁸

Differences between the facial expressions and body positions of the Europeans and Indians are marked. The Indian orator is positioned in the centre; in the left corner, standing or sitting on chairs, are the Europeans in their administrative attire. These figures are individuated. On the other side of the orator, however, are shadowy figures clustered around him and blurred. The Indians are garbed in a classical Roman style. The “*Roman oratorical pose*” (Abrams, 1982, p. 66 - 67) is performed by the chief, his right hand gesticulates skyward, and his left hand fingers the mnemonic and material evidence of Iroquoian record keeping - the wampum belt - before two culturally diverse audiences. Directly behind the orator is an open wall where wooden buildings are visible. As historical document, the illustration dramatises Smith's historical account for the reader with two separate modes of record keeping that are markers of civilisation: the European administrators are making notes and the American Indians are holding up the wampum belt which is the promise written in beads. West, in this illustration, thus provides a corrective to popular pre-conceptions.

Wampum belts were used to mark, record, convey, or recall diplomatic messages,

⁸ The Two Row Wampum records the agreement that sovereign nations travel a journey of mutual respect and coexistence without interference from the other.



Fig. 7. West. B. (1766). *The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet* [Engraving]. Library of Congress. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/14/Indians_giving_a_talk_to_Bouquet.jpg

conferences, momentous happenings, oral traditions and to ratify treaties. The belts are encoded with abstract, symbolic, pictographic symbols to aid the memory. The mnemonic symbols - highly stylized human figures, trees and so forth - convey concepts, metaphors and ideas. What is sacred are the messages, meanings, concepts and ideas they contain, not the belts themselves (Deer, 2007). An Iroquois speaker at a legislative committee hearing in Quebec City in 1983 described the wampum belt:

There came a time when people thought that if we lost this article [ie. wampum belt to a museum], this artifact, this grouping of beads that forms a record, we would also forget the responsibility in our relationship. The relationship is not a material one, it is not written in beads, and that is it... No, the relationship is etched in the minds of our forefathers. It has been etched in the minds of our people, sitting here today. That same understanding of principles will be in our children. It will be in the ones ... that are not yet born (Assemblée nationale Québec, 1983).

After studying with the British artist, William Williams, in Philadelphia, West moved to Lancaster in 1755 where he painted portraits during the beginnings of the French and Indian war when General Edward Braddock's army was decimated at Fort Duquesne. At each meeting where the proprietary government initiated conferences with local tribes to avoid bloodshed, the Indians presented wampum belts in exchange for food and provisions. As more and more Indians joined the French forces, the number of these meetings also increased. The Quakers, including Benjamin Franklin as a new leader, feared these peace conferences were subterfuges for arming the Colony and

argued against them from religious and practical perspectives (Abrams 1982, p. 62). Quakers, Indians and merchants raged with disputes and Indians, previously friends, were now at war. West's interlocutory address through the engraving, *The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet*" (1766), promotes a distinct notion of parallel civilised worlds. His idyllic Pennsylvania boyhood gave him great respect for the Delawares and this illustration presents a juxtaposition of two civilisations where a diplomatic balance of power is evident.

After some years of conflict, William Penn's son, Thomas, commissioned West to commemorate the making of peace in *Treaty of Penn with the Indians* – the treaty was originally signed in 1682. His purpose was "to 'restore favor' with Pennsylvanians by using his father's popular image as a 'man of peace' to support his interests in *Pennsylvania*" (penntreatymuseum.org). He got the English publisher John Boydell to make an engraving of the print in London and it was published and reproduced for a wider audience in reverse image from West's painting from 1775 until 1932.

The legend of William Penn's treaty with the Indians is that in 1682 shortly after venturing in new American territory, Penn met chiefs of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware tribes to sign a treaty of mutual consideration and peace under a great elm at Shackamaxon. In exchange for gifts the chiefs agreed to sell their land to the Quaker leaders. As the first legal agreement between Europeans and American Indians, Penn was regarded as generous for agreeing to pay for land that had already been legally ceded to them by the British Government.

West's *Treaty of Penn with the Indians* suggests peace through "subdued tones, stable horizontal lines, balanced rectangular grid and stationary figures of a

Renaissance composition” (Abrams, 1982, p. 69). To represent the Indians as they actually dressed West acquired authentic robes and headdresses as source material. By depicting what an Indian would have worn before European contact, West demonstrated an awareness of the historical changes in Indian appearance which he used for symbolic weight. The subject’s agency should not be overlooked as the ceremonial aspect of the older costumes was appropriate to the diplomatic mission and the portrait record (Reinhardt, 1998). He drew also on information from William Penn’s account of the Indians published in England in 1683 (Abrams, 1982).

As a popular illustration, Benjamin West’s *The death of General Wolfe* (Fig. 8) influenced perceptions of this historical event through its appearance in many school textbooks where the image may be read as an actual portrayal of Wolfe’s death scene.

The huge canvas depicts the English general, James Wolfe, expiring on the Plains of Abraham outside the walls of Quebec City. In the background, his triumphant army is capturing Canada for British arms. Wolfe lies prostrate in the arms of his grieving fellow officers. A messenger brings news of the victory, and with his last breath the general gives thanks. The eye is drawn to the left foreground where an Iroquois warrior squats, his chin resting contemplatively in his hand, watching as death claims his commander. The light shimmers on the Indian’s bare torso, which looks as if it might be sculpted from marble. (Francis, 1992, p. 13).

West’s painting is both historical document and theatrical tableau for the ‘canonized’ slain general that fell on the Plains of Abraham – a battle that marked England’s victory

over France and inspired patriotism and national pride in the empire (Montagna, 1981).
In his diary he described his History painting approach with *The death of General Wolfe*.



Fig. 8. West, B. (1770). *The death of General Wolfe* [Oil on canvas, 151 cm x 213 cm). National Gallery of Canada. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Benjamin_West_005.jpg

It must exhibit the event in a way to excite awe & veneration & that which may be required to give superior interest to the representation must be introduced, all that can show the importance of the Hero. Wolfe must not die like a common soldier under a Bush...To move the mind there should be a spectacle presented to raise & warm the mind & all should be proportioned

*to the highest idea conceived of the Hero....A mere matter of fact
will never produce this effect* (Staley 1989, p. 54).

‘Modern’ history painting evolved in English studios in the 1760s as a genre that combines an entertaining narrative of a historical event with contemporary issues in a political or social allegory (Abrams, 1985, p. 9). Historical subjects were not Romantic as they were designed to summon the intellect and imagination and dignify their makers as educated practitioners of liberal arts (Rather, 2004, p. 324). Portraits as an interaction between artist and subject were an opportunity for subjects to propagate a vision and way to be in the world. Victor Turner (1977) identified portraits as a liminoid genre displacing rituals with true liminal phases. The combination of realistic portraiture and theatrical performance invites readers into a dialogical reading through expressive figures, colours and compositional schemes articulated into a dynamic network that regulates space, time, desire and embodiment (Foucault, 1979). An image thus is a historically situated genre that addresses its public by dramatically a code.

Eleven years after the historical event, Wolfe’s death was a sublime subject to a patriotic British public and this painting was seen in the King’s residence, galleries and books. Like the ‘audiences’ of West’s other classical paintings, the figures in the corners are compositional devices symbolising the underlying meaning of the narrative and draw viewers into the drama through an exchange of looks. A dialogue not only occurs between multiple voices (heteroglossia) within the narrative, but with all participants in the community that interact with the work.

The painting makes no effort to reconstitute the actual event of Wolfe’s death, as

it is a commemoration of Wolfe's death meant to give homage to other military personnel, and particularly, Sir William Johnson, who will be discussed later.

From 1759 onwards quite a number of people have investigated the question of who actually were with Wolfe in his last moments; and the consensus is that not more than four or possibly five persons were present. In West's group there are 13; and of those of them who can be identified with moderate certainty only one actually seems to have been there. This is Lieut Henry Browne, who is said to be the young officer standing directly above Wolfe and carrying the flag (Stacey, 1966, p. 1). [Note: the American Indian is not considered in the count.]

At London's Royal Academy in 1771, the painting's theatrics prompted actor David Garrick to fling himself in Wolfe's pose and put on a face identical to the dying hero. The gallery visitors burst into applause (Abrams, 1985, p. 161).

West's images of Indians were fictional reenactments through a 'triggered' way of seeing; by which what we see is made sense of by what we know. Ethnographic features -- the tattoo, parfleche, and Mohawk haircut -- are appropriated by the viewer as generic cultural markers and become a problem of the analysis in the image and our seeing practice (Douglas, 2002, p. 755). Stereotyped images of 'American Indians' from secondary sources circulated widely reprinted in books aligned to military, capitalism, colonialism and gender supremacy. Native Americans historically played the role of subject/object, the observed, rather than the observer - the informant and seldom the interrogator or initiator (McMaster, 1992; Tsinghahjinnie, 2003). Western vision marked bodies through a power to see and not be seen (Haraway, 1988). Painterly images did not

require the same collaboration of the subject as did the later technologies of portrait photography. West's Iroquois in *The death of General Wolfe* is a refigurement of the earlier citation of *Apollo Belvedere* who now is crouched as an outsider looking on. As a projected subjectivity, the Iroquois is represented as speaking autonomously – outside notions of authorship. In refiguring the Apollo Belvedere prototype West introduces a 'third space' as a meeting ground where intersubjective cultural processes interact as the present interacts with the past (Bal, 1996, p. 39).

The drama and pathos of West's *The death of General Wolfe* is a powerful enactment of Western scientific positivism and Romantic passion. West's firm linear style, clearly defined narrative, and use of authentic portraiture and uniforms give this epic form dignity and balance. West used four known portraits for the face of General Wolfe. While the men in the tableau are identifiable by their portraits, the Indian appears allegorical. Art historian Charles Mitchell describes the figure as possessing "*aloof calm*" and misrecognizes the Iroquois as a "*Cherokee Indian, indifferent to victory and lost in contemplation of mortality*" (1944, p. 30). West painted five large versions of *The death of General Wolfe*. The original (59 ½" x 84") hangs in the National Gallery of Canada. The five paintings, except for their differences in sizes (the largest being 74 ½" x 109 ½") and varying background details are almost identical. Edgar Wind in an article in 1938 concluded that the painting's popularity is attributed to a curiosity about exotic, distant places and to the revolutionary innovations in theatrical costuming and scenic design. The expectation then was for West to use the classic costume of antiquity for his figures, but he made the figures wear contemporary military dress. George III told West that it "*was thought very ridiculous to exhibit heroes in coats, breeches, and cock'd hats*"

(Galt, 1820, p. 46). He consequently did not buy the painting, although he later commissioned a replica. The second and larger version (60" x 96") then was painted for George III in 1771 and is in the Royal Collection. The American born artist revived traditional forms by combining classical and Christian iconography - Wolfe's pose resembles Christ in a Deposition or Lamentation scene - with popular imagery that made reference to Rubens, Poussin, Sebastiano, Ricci and Penny for the messenger and cloud formations (Abrams, 1985, pp. 171 – 172). Within a convention of historical paintings, the heroic and imaginative idealisation of Wolfe's death places the work into a continuum of Christian narratives and a liberal humanist vision.

This painting earned its creator steady employment in an official appointment as 'History Painter to the King' – the first to gain this distinction. A fine reproductive engraving by William Woollett (1776) realised huge profits for the publisher, Woollett, the engraver⁹ and West as one of the most enduring images of the British Empire (Rather, 2004, p. 324). West's depiction of the death of British General James Wolfe during the seizure of Quebec from France on September 13, 1759 commemorates the British complete control of the Canadian colony - a country divided linguistically, in culture and politics - as Britain lost control of the independent United States of America. France, with its Huron allies, fought against the British colonists and their Iroquois allies. *The death of General Wolfe* enacts Wolfe's death away from the field of battle with a chorus of men rather than the one young officer and the original group present at his actual

⁹ Alderman Boydell commissioned Woollett to make an engraving. For sales of the engraving on the Continent Woollett earned between six and seven thousand pounds; copies were re-engraved in Paris and Vienna; and by 1790 Boydell's total receipts amounted to 15 thousand pounds (Mitchell 1944: 32 - 33)

death. The plume headed bald American Indian warrior, face in profile, squats alone in the left foreground. Wearing a fringed parfleche with a gun at his side, his lower torso is draped in a blanket that makes visible bare arms and legs embellished with fine hand painted lines. His chin rests on his right hand in a pose of absorbed observer at the same physical plane as Wolfe's face in his life-expiring moment. From his relaxed and contained body position the Iroquois is fully present, but in the lower portrait frame, he is detached from the central drama - an outsider looking in - set in alterity to the white men who crowd the canvas. As Francis observes, the eye is drawn to the Iroquois and his idealised body which vividly contrasts with the other men dressed in formal military uniforms and European attire (Francis, 1992, p. 13). Abrams describes the Indian as "*the most logical and poignant emblem of Britain's conquest*" (Abrams 1985, p. 177). But is he represented here as the conquest? Three of the men are kneeling and supporting Wolfe's body under a billowing British flag while the others encircle General Wolfe at a respectful distance with arms outstretched or in prayer - witnessing Wolfe's last breath.

A Romantic fiction of a battle between European powers celebrates the coming together of colonialists and Indigenous peoples with a common goal: the containment of the French. West's evocative Iroquois warrior, a far reaching symbol of the New World, depicts co-operative relations at a colonial battle between the British and the French on contested land. *The death of General Wolfe*, however, conceals and obliterates the real circumstances of Native Americans' sovereignty under siege at the time. Relations between the Indians and European settlers of Pennsylvania were tense after the Seven Years War (also known as the French and Indian War of 1754 – 1763) because the Indigenous peoples continued to lose their land (Abrams, 1982, p. 66). The paradox and

contradiction, in fact, is that while the painting represents Indigenous difference through attitude, physical position and social relation, like West's double portrait, *Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill)* (Fig. 9), it iterates Iroquois sovereignty by the expression of these differences. To be sovereign is to be unregulated and unrestricted by laws you have not made yourself (Biolsi, 1995b). Art historians like Abrams read this character as an emblem of Britain's conquest, despite West's other representations of Indigenous communities as equals.

The double portrait by West, *Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill)*, links Iroquois sovereignty and the critical issue of Mohawk-British alliance during the American Revolution. The sitters in the portrait have been identified as the Mohawk chief Karonghyontye (also known as Captain David Hill (d. 1790)) and Colonel Guy Johnson, a member of the British Indian Department and Sir William Johnson's nephew (and later son-in-law). Guy Johnson commissioned this portrait while in London to secure the royal appointment of British superintendent on the northeastern America's Six Nations. In a letter of November 6, 1784 to the Indian Department of the British government in Canada Karonghyontye wrote:

I want you to bring back with you the picture of my late brother, John Hill. The paper tells that Thayendanegen [Joseph Brant} has already paid for it. The picture of Garaghwadiron and I, Governor Haldimand took it with him. We two really want to have one, Thayendanegen and I, if you could get another one made and bring along with you, we will be glad. This is all (Capt. David Hill Karonghyontye. (National Archives of Canada)



Fig. 9. West, B. (1776). West, B. (1776). *Portrait of Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye* (Captain David Hill) [Oil on canvas, 201.93 x 37.92 cm]. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/8d/Guy_Johnson_by_Benjamin_West.jpg.

Guy Johnson was accompanied by officials from the Indian department and a party of Mohawks on a trip to England in 1775. His political future relied on his leadership to secure the Iroquois military alliance during the Revolution. Though there are unreliable records on who were in his party of Mohawks, Johnson met George III on February 29, 1776 and the new colonial secretary, Lord George Germain, on March 14 and May 7. The Iroquois presented grievances on land encroachments and Germain promised satisfactory settlement after the successful conclusion of the war with their alliance. Germain officially confirmed superintendency of the Six Nations to Johnson (but not of the Canadian Indians). The political climate of the event was appropriately recognized in a portrait commission that portrayed power and authority:

The musket on the right is mirrored by the pipe on the left; they make a visual frame for the two figures, uniting them and symbolizing perhaps peaceful cooperation in readiness for war. The background group of Indians may be read as the embodiment of the British promises made to the Iroquois of remaining in peaceful settlement on their lands (Reinhart 1998, p. 291).

The concept of cooperation is reiterated by picturing an Indian family as gathered peacefully before a British military tent. The background group of Indians embody the British promises for the Iroquois to remain peacefully on their lands (Reinhardt, 1998; Fryd, 1995) in reference to King George III's Royal Proclamation of 1763 - the essential strategic and ideological marker that divided British colonisation on the continent.

Thayendanegen was the Mohawk Joseph Brant (1743 – 1807). Mohawk linguists have confirmed that the painting referred to as “The picture of Garaghwadiron and I”

could only be West's painting as no other double portrait exists. Karonghyonte (Captain David Hill) was a "*renowned chief*" with the reputation of being "*the handsomest and most agreeable Indian they had ever seen...gallant and amiable*" (Reinhardt 1998, p. 284). The letter from an 18th century American Indian portrait subject provides evidence for the cultural, historical, political and personal impulses behind the creation of the painting and its complexities of portrayal (Reinhardt, 1998). Karonghyonte's apparent approval of the portrait by wanting a copy suggests it conveyed more than Eurocentric stereotypes in its use of the language of Anglo-American portraiture; it satisfied the Indian as well as the British sitter. Dignity and sophistication are attributed to both; however, the revelation that the secondary figure is a portrait – as it was usually thought to be a symbol - suggests that individuality in portraiture exists within, and even outweighs, generic conceptions of Native Americans (Reinhardt, 1998).

Guy Johnson's presentation portrays the culturally hybrid life of the frontier. He knew the Iroquois languages and wrote authoritatively on Indian customs for William Robertson's *History of America* (1777). The Iroquois accepted him as William Johnson's successor stating it was a "*great satisfaction to see [him] taking care of our affairs*" since he was "*long acquainted with our customs*" (New York Colonial Documents 8, 500). Johnson's clothing is loosely modeled on British uniforms, but has no braid to indicate military rank. A magnificent fur robe with a geometric design of black and red covers a red jacket and buff waistcoat and breeches: a reminder of the lucrative fur trade and good relations of the Indians. In his paintings with Native American subjects, West first relied on his recollection of Indian appearances, but later acquired a collection of artifacts as studio props. Johnson's red-coated uniform is equipped with moccasins,

wampum belt, Indian blanket and Mohawk cap. His black cap has Indian quillwork and traditional finger-woven work is evident in the powder horn strap, garters, strap and moccasins. X-radiographs have revealed that West originally painted a flamboyant white bow at the neck, which he later painted over with a restrained black stock (Reinhardt, 1998, p. 291).

Karonghyontye in the shadow points to a peace pipe as Johnson balances with a musket in an expression of alliance. The physical action of Karonghyontye's pointing is performative of Six Nation sovereignty. In his painting West invokes three relations: the public as reader, himself as author/artist and the portrait subject(s). The border is a "*recurrent metaphor for the intersection between different spheres through which the identity of each is defined*" (Shevtsova 1992, p. 749).

This painting succeeded *The death of General Wolfe* and *Treaty of Penn with the Indians* for "*picturing contemporary public lives with the grandeur of History painting, and rendering North American scenes with unprecedented detail and authenticity*" (Reinhardt. 1998, p. 290). West's picture of political power is not only of portraits of two influential men, but also an alliance of nations – though not of equal status in an imperial framework. A musket on the right is mirrored by a pipe on the left making a visual frame for two figures and symbolising peaceful cooperation in war. Later in the War of 1812, Six Nations and other Indigenous peoples fought on the British side as they believed the Proclamation bound them to the British cause.

The traditional costume for Hill underscores a meaning that gives symbolic weight to the political roles of the sitters. West's presentation of Hill (Karonghyontye) in clothing worn before European contact demonstrates West's conscious historicism:

In Guy Johnson and David Hill, even though Johnson is the primary subject, the relationship of the two sitters is not simply dominance and subservience, but one of alliance and mutual influence, a symbiosis in which each is defined by the other. At this time, Indians were not subjugated or defeated, as we sometimes assume from later protocols or other colonial contexts, but potentially powerful allies. And as the Mohawks had become influenced and changed by contact with people like Johnson, so Johnson was defined and changed by the Mohawks.... West created his emblematic portrait of Johnson and Hill with a clear awareness of their lives and their political mission and a keen concern for authentic representation of them. At least this Indian figure, and possibly others, is a complex image of a real person at a specific historical moment (Reinhardt, 198, p. 298).

Hill's appearance has none of the hybrid qualities Johnson displays. By the late 18th century most Iroquois wore clothing modified by trade with Europeans. Yet West's painting of Hill shows him in a costume with no European markers; he is bare-chested, without ruffled shirt, wearing silver gorgets and brooches. Leslie Reinhardt argues that the emphasis on traditional costume is a modern, scientific ethnography that makes this a strong character study of two men as representatives of allied nations. The contrast of their clothing reinforces their political roles. West's depiction of the Indian before contact demonstrates an awareness of the historical changes of costume which gives the double portrait symbolic weight. Reinhardt suggests that Hill may even have considered his presentation and the appropriateness of the ceremonial occasion of the portrait record.

A subject's agency was not to be overlooked as the ceremonial older costumes were appropriate to the diplomatic mission and portrait record (Reinhardt, 1998).

The value of the traditional costume was clear in Joseph Brant's petition after the war for recompense for "2 [suits] the best old Indian fashion dress". West's ethnographic depiction of Hill's leggings and moccasins, dark coat, scarlet finger-woven straps across his chest and beaded headdress is studied and carefully rendered: as are the wampum bands, a knife scabbard hanging from a thong around his neck, the traditional Iroquois practice of ears split and bound in wire, the lit pipe with tobacco on fire. Several of these traditional Eastern Woodland Indian dress items were modeled on items from West's collection from 1767- 1770 (British Museum).

A parallel to this may be Joseph Brant's appearance in full Indian costume at a London masque. Done with grace and ease Brant demonstrated his ability to move between the cultural worlds of London and Mohawk society and function within traditional society. The existence of colonial racial taxonomies and the permeability of those racial classifications suggests an alternative conception of empire that puts "*movement and oscillation at the center*" and politics as protean (Stoler, 2006). A moment like this resurfaced in the post-Civil War era with Reconstruction policies in the South.¹⁰ A double identity is also evident in Brant's and Hill's frequent use of both the English and Mohawk names; Hill signed his name in the portrait request as David Hill Karonghyontye. An Indian in traditional dress may have persuaded earlier art historians to view these subjects as emblems and not individuals. The double identity reflects the

¹⁰ See Genetin-Pilawa (2008) analysis of the 1867 interracial marriage between Eli Parker, the Seneca sachem, and Minnie Sackett, the white socialite.

fluidity of these Mohawks' ability to occupy a 'third space' that encompasses two separate communities and places where they see, borrow from, and articulate from within these two spaces. This is a space of radical openness and 'hybridity', or spaces of resistance being opened at the margins: politically charged and highly permeable (McMaster, 1998; Genetin-Pilawa, 2008). The dialogic always assumes (at least) two positions, existing on the same semantic plane but, in content and intonation, often clash and contradict from different ideological positions: two (or more) voices resound in each utterance (Flanagan, 2009). The subject in the portrait always has a physical relationship to the artist that is a lived reality and the portrait tradition upholds an expression of real interactive relations between artist and human subject.

West in *The death of General Wolfe* constructed men in an opposition of Old and New World culture: Wolfe's pale complexion, full attire and coiffed hair contrasts to the Iroquois's tawny exposed flesh, shaved hair and braided tuft of hair decorated with feathers and a string of beads or shells. The Englishman in a green coat next to the seated Iroquois is a critical element to the painting. The final painting includes the inscription, "Sr. William Johnson". Partnered to the Mohawk, Molly Brant, William Johnson was honoured and named by the Mohawks as Warraghiyagey, 'he who has charge of affairs', and made into an administrative chief. The Iroquois requested that Johnson represent Great Britain in negotiations with them and in 1744 he became colonel of the Six Nations. Two years later he became commissary of New York for Indian affairs and by 1748 he commanded all the New York colonial forces in defense of the frontier. Johnson continued to negotiate on behalf of the Crown and in 1756 was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs until his death in 1774. During the French and Indian War, Johnson

convinced the Six Nations to support the British and became a hero in the victory at the Battles of Lake George and in Fort Niagara in 1759. He ensured western tribes British protection and security and British policy for the first time became marked by respect (Fryd, 1995, p. 75). The Royal Proclamation in 1763, designed to make allies of former enemies of the British imperial crown, had been presented at Niagara to a gathering of Indian leaders from twenty-four nations from the Mississippi west, north to Hudson Bay, and east to Nova Scotia (Hall, 2003, p. 156). Promises made by Sir William Johnson, Britain's representative at this congress, were woven into wampum belts with hundreds of coloured shell beads making the Twenty Four Nations Belt that recorded the event as a recognition of existing Aboriginal and treaty rights.

Crown-Aboriginal treaties, therefore, point to a tradition of North American history different from that of the obsessive newcomer frontierism expressed in the need to be born again and again in a steady cycle of physical, psychological, religious, and ideological conquest. As instruments symbolizing an aptitude for compromise and coexistence rather than conquest, these treaties are suggestive of the paradigm of different peoples exercising overlapping sovereignties in shared enjoyment of commonly held territory. The crown-Aboriginal treaties of the northern dominion are a vital medium of intercultural communication as essential to Canada's genesis as the establishment of east-west transportation links in the fur-trade and the railway eras (Hall, 2003, p. 156).

Wolfe's death at the Battle of Quebec eclipsed Johnson's successes and Wolfe

became hero and martyr. West's depiction is a commemoration of the British complete control of the Canadian colony. The rhetoric of *The death of General Wolfe* emphasises public memorial as only four people, Lt. Brown, volunteer Henderson, an artillery officer and a private man were actually witness to Wolfe's death and yet the painting features thirteen. Wolfe's death eclipsed Sir Johnson's successes and so West deliberately inserted Sir Johnson into the painting to redress a historical slight that had undermined the roles of Sir Johnson and the Six Nations in the French and Indian conflict (Fryd, 1995). The painting is an example of the artist appropriating a form from art history which he transforms for his own purposes. By including Johnson and the Iroquois, West guaranteed them recognition and they echo one another in profile:

. . . they share the same hooked nose, open mouth and taut lips, and expressive eyes. Their right arms are bent at the same angle, and both wear tinsel native paraphernalia with thickly painted white dots and rich red fringe highlighted against darker passages of broadly painted color....Finally, with his right hand, Johnson points to himself in a rhetorical gesture that emphasizes his presence and importance (Fryd, 1995, p. 77).

Johnson, the Iroquois and Wolfe form a secondary pyramid with the Iroquois as the apex which counterbalances a central pyramid with Wolfe at the base and the flag as apex.

Their connectedness is echoed in their poses:

Johnson frames the seated Indian, reiterating his rounded back and directing the line of sight to Wolfe, whose curved arm completes the circular trajectory. Similarly Johnson's raised arm

with pointed fingers mirrors Wolfe's extended right hand. This triad thus establishes another narrative separate from that of Wolfe's death, to underscore the contributions made by Johnson and the Native American to the British campaign. (Fryd, 1995, pp. 77 - 78)

This early painting of the New World emphasizes a difference between two cultures as an interval where two visions of the New World come together in solidarity after the historical encounter with the French. The Iroquois holds firm on his ground while the Englishmen are drawn into the gravitational emotions of Wolfe's dying. The cultural difference displays two narratives within a fiction of the New World where the Iroquois/Six Nations' are recognised as equal, but as 'other' - not subordinated to a 'commander'. In this way consciously or unconsciously the artist has made a painting that has a purpose much like the two rows of the wampum belt. This foundational art work of New World cosmogenesis identifies a peaceful coexistence without hierarchical violence. The painting frames its subject within Western terms with direct reference to the richness of 'other' discourses originating with the Iroquois and the transitional figure of Johnson. Though West as 'author' inserts an 'other' voice from possibly an 'alien world', he rearticulates a received wisdom. The dialogic mode of address takes account of the 'specific conceptual horizon' (Bakhtin, 1994, p. 282) of the public, while retaining its own consciousness and the importance of its context of meaning.

Contemporary multi-media Salteaux artist Robert Houle challenges the illusion of colonialism through spatio-temporal configurations that incorporate West's *The death of General Wolfe* in his acrylic and conte crayon canvas work, *Kanata* (1992) (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Houle, R. (1992). *Kanata* [Acrylic and conté crayon on canvas, 228.7 x 732 cm; panels: 228.7 x 183 cm] National Gallery of Canada., Ottawa. Accession No: 37479.1-4. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artwork.php?mkey=43533>

The approach of combining the conceptual with historical in Houle's *Kanata* produces an ideological horizon in a third eye perception that questions the myth of two founding cultural extremities (French and English) in the 'common culture'. Through the work he states:

Maybe somehow ... I can ... say to the viewer, 'Look, as Native people we are just voyeurs in the history of this country.' [In "Kanata"] the Indian is in parentheses, the Indian is surrounded by this gigantic red and this gigantic blue and is sandwiched in that environment ... And that is reality because the English and the French are still the major players in the making of this history, history as it was. That is what I would like to get across (Houle, 1993).

Houle's re-presentation of a painting that was a Euro-American exercise in creative historicising, drains it of colour, and shifts the focus from the solitary Indian as passive witness to the battle, to a crouching man in ceremonial attire. The red and blue of this clothing echo in the monochromatic border panels, and physically and symbolically

re-frame the work. The viewer's pleasure is in recognising the critical edge of the parody through the altered rhetorics of colour that reveal a political agenda. Houle's re-mash of *The death of General Wolfe* is an ex-centric redefinition which allows Houle to speak to a discourse from *within* it in a redefinition of the present and the past (Hutcheon, 1988). The 'visual' powerfully examines the complex dimensions of reconstruction and deconstruction in the public memory. In our critical engagement with it, we slow down and experience "*a radical de-centering, an un-selfing, a giving up of an imaginary centre*" (Pazienza, 2010, p. 20).

Performativity and complex citational processes (Parker & Sedgwick, 1995) activate visual regimes as culturally constructed fictions. Skillfully combined with archival, oral traditions, and multiple voices these perspectives produce a 'counter-cartography' (Nabokov, 2002). Beneath the landscape of this past is a repository of meaning and memory ripe for "renewing, remembering, and resisting" (Nabokov, 2002, p. 172) - or appropriating as Robert Houle does in his critical art practice. To see together without claiming to be an 'other' can be a reframing of the past or present in a third space – and a dialogical framing that apprises a future.

Chapter Four

Dialogue Without Words: George Catlin, Paul Kane and William G. R. Hind

Whereas Benjamin West did portraits with the Mohawk allies of the British following the Seven Years War with France, American George Catlin painted traditional Amerindian peoples for a colonial public. Later painters Paul Kane and William Hind travelled the breadth of Canada. Kane's sketches anticipated uses within imperial discourses and represented Amerindian life with an ethnological accuracy as it was lived (Lister, 2006). William Hind set his Realist gaze on the Métis and Amerindians with whom he traveled. Next we will examine painter George Catlin and the shifts in the dialogue as relations between colonial powers, artists and Indigenous peoples altered.

George Catlin

The representational portraits of painter George Catlin (1796 - 1872) and other painters raise interesting questions about appropriating an 'alien world'. Catlin's Amerindian images were meant for future readers as those subjects reiterated a way to be in the world. Despite the absence of a shared spoken language, Catlin as author of the portrait study enabled "those who were not given such a space to speak" (McMaster, 2007, p. 6) to participate in a performative rejoinder in the sovereignty dialogue (Bakhtin, 1994). Performativity and its theoretical power enable an appreciation of how identities are constructed iteratively through complex citational processes (Parker & Sedgwick, 1995). Catlin's American Indian portraits are a two-way looking in cultural sites of competition, performance and materialization (Browne, 1993; Zelizer, 1995, 1998) and in a counterpublic memory of American Indian presence. As such, they are a

meeting ground where cultural processes are intersubjective and where the present interacts with the past (Bal, 1996) with agential, ethical and knowing subjects (Godzich, 1986, p. xvi). Amerindians learned quickly the value of interacting with a messenger and extending the dialogue.

Catlin's work belongs to the early days of the United States when Native American sovereignties were eroded. By the passage of the U.S. Congress's Indian Civilization Act of 1819¹¹, which defined Indians as wards of the nation¹², painters had used the Indian to symbolise America, but rarely represented an Amerindian in a native setting¹³. His skill in watercolours and as portrait painter in oils got him elected to the Academy whose members were Charles Willson Peale, Rembrandt Peale and Thomas Sully. On his visits to the Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum, Catlin had seen nineteenth century natural history grounded in observation, description and classification (Troccoli, 1993). The sight of a handsome Indian delegation in traditional costumes gave Catlin a major career switch. Catlin had exhibited painted miniatures at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1821. Only three years after becoming a lawyer in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, Catlin gave up law to become "the historian who would record justly and correctly the character and customs of a people" by living among them

¹¹ James Monroe's Indian Civilization Act of 1819 was an attempt to incorporate them into White culture by converting them to Christianity and changing their hunter/gatherer way of life (which required huge amounts of land) to farmer through general education and instruction in agriculture.

¹² At first Indian tribes were treated as sovereign but Congress changed this when they became wards of the state (Fleming and Luskey 1986: 20) whereupon this practice was used to impress Indians with the government's power and to negotiate treaties aimed at obtaining Indian land.

¹³ In 1822 Thomas L. McKenny of the Office of Indian Affairs commissioned a first series of oil portraits of visiting Indian dignitaries negotiating treaties. In 1842 when the collection numbered around 150 paintings of Indian leaders and diplomatic envoys the practice was abandoned.

(Catlin 1841 (1973), 86). Applying a painter's interest in physiognomy and a writer's fascination with biography Catlin used a seductive, vivacious style of portraiture popularized by British artists like Sir Thomas Lawrence to portraits such as of Seneca Chief Red Jacket painted in New York 11).



Fig. 11. Catlin, G. (1826). *Red Jacket* [Oil sketch]. In B. Eisler, *The red man's bones: George Catlin, artist and showman*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2013.

Briefly associated with the National Academy of Design he was influenced by cultural nationalists and the artists' group "Knickerbocker", whose philosophy was that American art should serve education. The writers of the group wrote about the negative effects of progress on both the wilderness and Indians - identified as the most 'American' (Troccoli, 1993). Catlin's writerly attention to character and physiology was a

revolutionary shift to the subject of ‘Indianness’. His portrait subjects took ownership of their representations by body positioning, dress and self presentation in a physical relationship with the artist and in a speech act of “communal interchange” (Gergen 1985, p. 266). His efforts to catalogue tribes and landscapes were a model for successors Seth Eastman, John Mix Stanley, Henry H. Cross, Joseph Henry Sharp, Elbridge Ayer Burbank, and later, photographer Edward S. Curtis (Troccoli, 1993). They followed the itinerary of travel and immersion in the physically demanding and dangerous western environment for artistic authenticity.

Catlin’s visual art is a first person witness account reinforced by a self-reflexive work method described in Letter No. 27 of “Letters and Notes”:

...I painted in regular succession, according to their rank and standing, Wan-ee-ton, chief of the Susseton band; Tah-zee-kah-da-cha (The Torn Belly), a brave of the Yancton band; Ka-pes-ka-day (The Shell), a brave of the O-gla-la band; Wuk-mi-ser (Corn), a warrior of the Nee-cow-ee-gee band; Cha-tee-wah-nee-chee (No Heart), chief of the Wah-nee-watch-to-nee-nah band; Mah-to-ra-rish-nee-eeh-ee-rah (The Grizzly Bear That Runs Without Regard), a brave of the Onc-pa-pa band; Mah-to-chee-ga (The Little Bear), a distinguished brave; Shon-ka (The Dog), chief of the Ca-za-zhee-ta (bad arrow points) band; Tah-teck-a-da-hair (The Steep Wind), a brave of the same band; Hah-ha-ra-pah (The Elk's Head), chief of the Ee-ta-sip-shov band ; Mah-to-eeen-nah-pa (The White Bear That Goes Out), chief of the Blackfoot Sioux band; Shon-ga-ton-ga-chesh-en-day (The Horse Dung), chief of a band, a great conjuror and magician.



Fig. 12. Catlin, G. (n.d.). *71 Ka-pes-ka-da, the shell. Brave, of the Oglala band, upper Missouri*. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://amertribes.proboards.com/thread/963/lakota-portraits-catlin?page=1&scrollTo=6690>

Catlin gives their standing as chief, brave or warrior, phoneticises names and translates them into English: thus each is afforded a uniqueness. Painting according to the subjects' standing in their community affirms a recognition of their practices and habitus. Catlin follows their embodiments as a “*process by which the object-body is actively experienced, produced, sustained and/or transformed as a subject-body*” (Waskul &

Vannini 2006, p. 2) in lived social networks. Public reflexivity takes the form of a performance of gestures, names and symbolic objects that are dramatic and ‘doing’ codes where the presentation of the self is a negotiation of power. The performative is a ‘doing’ by which meaning is context dependent in a relation (Butler, 1990). Bodies are subject to the regimented norms of posture and rules around garments, that conceal as much as they are physical markers of social institutions including age, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion (Waskul & Vannini, 2013). Clearly the body involves enormous expressive and impressive appearance management by its display. Socialisation makes us aware of whose bodies we gaze upon, where and how long we gaze, and at what proximity.

For Indigenous peoples political representation is exercised through the re-implementation of traditional forms or through the adoption of Western-style institutions (Alfred, 1994, p. 13). The subject’s agency is evident in the ‘disposition’ of iterative and patterned interactions with the artist where permissions are granted in terms of the gaze and what gets represented. A ‘projective identity’ materialises in illocutionary gestures constituted by language, gesture and social signs which Catlin recorded. Note Catlin’s rendering of biographical detail in his character study of Ka-pes-ka-da: a confident serene facial expression, slightly open mouth as if in conversation, and a twinkle in his eyes. Catlin records the colour and detailed patterning of the traditional beadwork on the leather - its positioning and prominent display is an aspect of Ka-pes-ka-da life story in dialogue with the artist. He accords Ka-pes-ka-da body into a theatre of identity, social order, moral order, and emotional order—where it is given a presence that is personal and communal, private and political, confidential and public all at once (Waskul &

Vannini, 2013; Goffman (1963b), (1971). The body becomes something that the subject *does* within social practices:

The [body], then as a performed character is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited (Goffman 1959, pp. 252-253).

Catlin's hasty use of the sketch in fieldwork inferred he had worked in the presence of his subjects: "*the values assigned to the sketch by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century artists and theorists were appropriate to a style that expressed the conditions that Catlin laid down for western art, in which travel, scientific discovery, and authenticity bestowed by firsthand experience were all-important*" (Troccoli, 1993, p. 31). These sketches 'live' in re-accentuations beyond his presence as message carrier and through his words: "*yet, phoenix-like, they may rise front the "stain on a painter's palette," and live again upon canvass, and stand forth for centuries yet to come, the living monuments of a noble race*" (Catlin, 1844, Letter No. 2). As transcriptions, these sketches involve culturally specific genres 'within the reach of memory' in oral traditions where geography and natural landscapes may have excited his subjects as their past and present are grounded in the land through migrations.

Interactions with a non-native artist then can be seen as participation in Western-style institutions, such as Catlin's distribution systems of galleries and publications. These interactions become "*the self-assertion of nationhood on different axes and to differing degrees by various distinct political communities*" (Alfred, 1994, p. 13). Such a

concept of nationality exists in transactions and in more comprehensive demands of sovereignty. In fact, nationalism has a powerful symbolic aspect and a relatively stable core of peripheral elements that adapt to the demands of a political environment (Alfred, 1994, p. 14). While theoretical literature about nationalism has ignored the nation-centred political activity of Indigenous communities, the concepts of ethnic and sub-state political communities have become analytic tools within the Native context (Alfred, 1994, p. 8). Thus performances as interactions with an artist reiterate core messages in a transference of cultural knowledge in oral traditions (Vesey, 1991, p. 21).

A central assumption of discursive work in psychology is that meanings are constituted in talk. Social construction psychology proposes that what is described, understood and seen is not a direct consequence of the world, but of the meanings carried in a society (Taylor, 2006; Gergen, 1985). A subject position can be a temporary identity conferred or taken up by a speaker, which then becomes both who she or he is seen to be, and a perspective from which she or he sees the world (Davies & Harré, 1990). Rhetorical work (Billig, 1987) suggests that a speaker orients to the immediate interaction and to wider social debates. Illocutionary acts respond to verbal assurances or promises within moral relationships governed by language: what it is “to do” vs. what one ought to do (Searle, 1969). A speaker presents a version of what has been said before and shapes it to work in the context of the telling of a life narrative. In the interactive moment artist Catlin invests in a completely new subject position in ‘storeys’¹⁴ of the

¹⁴ Roland Barthes (1977) in his *Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives* proposed that identity is constructed through narratives within a hierarchical integration wherein ‘storeys’ are ‘thread on an axis’ (p. 87).

Amerindian made visual when a spoken language was not shared.

Painting according to his subjects' standing in their own community affirms a recognition of their practices and habitus. Catlin follows their embodiments as a "*process by which the object-body is actively experienced, produced, sustained and/or transformed as a subject-body*" (Waskkul & Vannini, 2006, p. 2) in lived social networks. The subject's agency is evident by their 'disposition' in iterative and patterned interactions with the artist. A 'projective identity' materialises in illocutionary gestures constituted by language, gesture and social signs which Catlin recorded. Note Catlin's rendering of biographical detail in a character study of Ka-pes-ka-da through his confident serene facial expression, open mouth as if in conversation, and a twinkle in his eyes. Catlin records the colour and detailed patterning of the traditional beadwork on the leather - its positioning and prominent display is an aspect of Ka-pes-ka-da life story in dialogue with the artist.

The two volume *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians* (1841)¹⁵ originated as a series of reports from western outposts in the genre of epistolary travel journalism published by the New York Commercial Advertiser. Readers were expected to dip in and out of his accounts and so needed a constant reminder of the story narrative. Reprinted many times, the volumes are

¹⁵ As illustrator with watercolours Catlin collaborated with ethnologist James Cowles Pritchard on his second edition of "Natural History of Man" (London: Hippolyte Bailliere, 1845) and provided jewel like small portraits with delicately applied colour and almost photographic detail.

illustrated with 312 plates of little line drawings (some less than 2 ½” x 3 ¼ “, none larger than 5” x 7”) and demonstrate Catlin’s talent as a writer: “*Every page speaks volumes for its own time, and the book seems to be perennially renewable in its address to successive generations of Americans*” (Troccoli, 1993, p. 14). Most pictures in the publication were engravings of simplifications of original oil paintings exhibited in Catlin’s Indian Gallery prior to 1840.

Catlin describes Tchon-su-mons-ka whose portrait he had made:

[Tchon-su-mons-ka was] *very richly dressed, the upper part of her garment being almost literally covered with brass buttons; and her hair, which was inimitably beautiful and soft, and glossy as silk; fell over her shoulders in great profusion, and in beautiful waves, produced by the condition in which it is generally kept in braids, giving to it, when combed out, a waving form, adding much to its native appearance, which is invariably straight and graceless.* (Letter No. 27, “Letters and Notes”)

The interactive moment between artist and subject reveals aspects of both in the ‘looking back’. Catlin’s hand follow a ‘looking back’ of character study in a narrativisation that regulates the construction of space, time, desire and embodiment in a straddling of two cultures - his and Tchon-su-mons-ka’s. Embodiment is a dialogical and iterative bridge that enables Tchon-su-mons-ka to contextualize an address to her own community through religion, kinship or culture and as a resistance to the dominant rhetoric that defines Indians as wards of the nation. The dialogic mode of address takes account of the ‘specific conceptual horizon’ (Bakhtin, 1994, p. 282) of the listener, while retaining

consciousness of its own unique value and context in a reciprocal, two-way relationship. Here in the relationship with the artist, a community based sovereignty is asserted with integrity by the ethnic subject in an accommodation to a colonial institution (Alfred, 1994, p. 15). Catlin's images and written text thus mark the "*cutting edge of translation and negotiation*" (Bhabba, 1996) of a third space in a spatial politics of inclusion.



Fig. 13. Catlin. G. (n.d.). *83 Tchon-su-mons-ka—The sand bar. Woman of the Teton band, upper Missouri*. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://amertribes.proboards.com/thread/963/lakota-portraits-catlin?page=1&scrollTo=6690>.

Through description Catlin makes an effort to fix a preferred reading of chief Hawn-je-tah (The One Horn) of the Mee-ne-cow-e-gee band:

a superior chief and leader, a middle-aged man, of middling stature, with a noble countenance, and a figure almost equaling the Apollo, and I painted his portrait....He told me that he took the name of "One Horn" (or shell) from a simple small shell that was hanging on his neck, which descended to him from his father, and which, he said, he valued more than anything he possessed; affording a striking instance of the living affection which these people often cherish for the dead, inasmuch as he chose to carry this name through life in preference to many others and more honourable ones he had a right to have taken, from different battles and exploits of his extraordinary life. He treated me with great kindness and attention, considering himself highly complimented by the signal and unprecedented: honour I had conferred upon him by painting his portrait, and that before I had invited any other. His costume was a very handsome one, and will have a place in my INDIAN GALLERY by the side of his picture. It is made of elk skins beautifully dressed, and fringed with a profusion of porcupine quills and scalp-locks; and his hair, which is very long and profuse, divided into two parts, and lifted up and crossed, over the top of his head, with a simple tie, giving it somewhat the appearance of a Turkish turban. (Catlin, 1844, letter no. 26)

One Horn's comparison to *Apollo Belvedere* is a recitation (much like West's in the previous chapter) and is Catlin's effort to fix One Horn in a western aesthetic and gaze. In the original *Apollo Belvedere*, the constitutive performative act is the sculpture (Soussloff, 2000, p. 77) and the political power that adheres to it. However, as a

character study this portrait iterates an ethical exchange. The story of One Horn's name humanises him as a man of family, honouring his father, rather than his many accomplishments as in names earned in battles and an extraordinary life. Catlin's descriptions of dress, porcupine quills, scalp locks and elaborate hair style are also ethnographical.



Fig. 14. Catlin, G. (n.d.). *66 Ha-won-je-tah—One Horn, first chief of the tribe*. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://amertribes.proboards.com/thread/963/lakota-portraits-catlin?page=1&scrollTo=6690>

After Congress passed the Indian Removal Act (1830) to resettle Indians of the Southeast of the Mississippi River, Catlin left New York to make St. Louis his base for travels. As mediator between two cultures unintelligible to each other his observations

as a painter and writer would become the only extensive visual and written record made by an artist actually and consciously present at their encounter.



Fig. 15. Catlin. G. (1846-1848) *Catlin and his Indian guide approaching buffalo under white wolf skins* [Oil on canvas 50.9 x 69.2 cm]. Smithsonian American Art Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/?id=3984>

In making narratives of Amerindian practices, Catlin meshes epistemological systems in a method akin to participant observation. In *Catlin and his Indian guide approaching buffalo under white wolf skins* (1846 – 1848) he positions himself inside the Amerindian community, rather than as an outsider looking in - in a dual orientation of the self. The reader may either possess the other or be the other. A dialectical method is exercised through a working out of detail and by a sympathetic internal experience based on an

inner necessity (Jameson, 1971, p. xi). Authorial identification and authorial desire are mutually referential and an investigation of one sooner or later opens on to the other (Silverman, 1988). Effects like embodying himself introduce a third eye perception and critical texture to a multivocality that cannot be reduced to Romanticism or the vanishing race trope. Performativity and complex citational processes (Parker & Sedgwick, 1995, p. 2) activate visual regimes. Combined with archival, oral traditions, and multiple voices these perspectives produce a ‘counter-cartography’ (Nabokov, 2002, p. 144)

He painted a ‘before and after’ portrait of The Light, or Wi-jun-jon, the Assiniboine chief, and official delegate and guest of the Secretary of War in Washington.

Catlin first painted 'The Light in Saint Louis', when the latter was en route to Washington in the fall of 1831, as an official guest of the Secretary of War. The two met again next spring on the upriver voyage of the Yellowstone, and Catlin watched 'The Light' debark from the steamboat at Fort Union, where he was scarcely recognized by the members of his own tribe.

Astonishment and disbelief gradually turned into fear and hostility as 'The Light' recounted his travel experiences, and in time he was killed by a young Indian who could not comprehend what was probably an accurate description of a building in Washington.

As far as Catlin was concerned, the episode illustrated the tragic gulf between Indian culture and white civilization, and he traced the steps of The Light's downfall through many pages of Letters and Notes (vol. 1, pp.

55-57; vol. 2, pp. 194-200).

The subject is not included in the 1837 catalogue, but does appear in the Egyptian Hall catalogue of January 1840, indicating that it was painted in the interval. Catlin has finished both figures with unusual care, and 'The Light' in uniform, whose swagger and vanity are an amusing change from a long line of stoic chiefs, is one of the artist's most successful characters.

Quoted From: The Catlin Collection

The Light was painted as a dual portrait. On one side Wi-jun-jon is in a buffalo skin robe decorated with porcupine quills and fringed with enemy scalp locks and in a headdress of eagle plumes. On the other side he appears in a colonel's blue uniform. On his return home from Washington in 1831, The Light is dressed in beaver hat, colonel's blue uniform with gold epaulettes, sword, high-heeled boots and blue umbrella. The chief was hardly recognized by his people. He whistled "Yankee Doodle" and carried a keg of whiskey (Donaldson, 1887). His people were astonished and frightened by his transformation. A young Indian murdered him to rid them of a menacing presence and "comprehensions that could not be true" (Donaldson, 1887).



Fig. 16. Catlin, G. (1837-1839). *Wi-jún-jon, Pigeon's Egg Head (The Light) going to and returning from Washington* [Oil on canvas, 736.6 mm x 609.6 mm]. Smithsonian Art Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Catlin_-_Wi-jún-jon,_Pigeon's_Egg_Head_\(The_Light\)_Going_To_and_Returning_From_Washington_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Catlin_-_Wi-jún-jon,_Pigeon's_Egg_Head_(The_Light)_Going_To_and_Returning_From_Washington_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg)

Catlin's representation of *The Light* presents two semantic positions by which an 'irruption of the other' becomes a deconstructive force that 'lives' through re-articulations. Jeff Thomas describes the portrait of Wi-jun-jon (*The Light*) as "*a poignant road sign of the impending tidal wave that would engulf the Plains tribes at the conclusion of the American Civil War*" (Thomas, 2001). Two distinct policy directions emerged after the American Civil War ended in 1865: one had the premise that dispossession and cultural assimilation were disruptive processes that needed to be softened with incentives for Indian individuals and communities; the other sped up dispossession and assimilation through coercion. What ultimately prevailed were crass, white, middle-class Christian reformers who guided U.S. Indian affairs into coercive policy (Genetin-Pilawa, 2010, p. 198).

Situated feelings and everyday details are used in a deconstructive exploration of a cultural terrain in destructive transformation (MacKinnon, 1982). Combining the conceptual, historical and mythological Catlin produced a third eye perception into his main project, *Catlin's North American Indian portfolio*, published in 1844. The radical de-centering and deconstructive elements within Catlin's dual portrait are revolutionary in a painting's educational approach. As in Houle's ideological horizon in *Kanata*, Catlin questions the founding mythologies in a recontextualisation and 'scopic turn' in a challenge to our 'white' seeing practices. It is all the more powerful as his painting is a witness to *Light's* actual transformation.

What Catlin did in his later period also influenced artists. His unique ethnological approaches included painting himself into a Native American scene. He painted several theme versions of *Catlin and his Indian guide approaching buffalo under*

white wolf skins (1846 to 1848) where Catlin himself was under a wolf skin indistinguishable from his guide in a performance of Indigenous hunting practices.

Catlin's legal training provided a framework through which Catlin would recognise Indigenous title to sovereignty. His attention as a painter to their social practices and their differences would one day be the only visual and written record made by an artist actually present and active in how things were. With the clear identifier of his name in the painting's title, these life views were an embodiment by him of a genuine empathy for the unjust treatment of a people. His representation of his performance of Indigenous culture was an effort to advance their separate sovereignty at a time when settlers and colonial powers were curtailing their freedoms and appropriating their land. Placing himself inside Indigenous practices makes his work very different from salvage ethnologies that appeared elsewhere. Catlin himself imaginatively crossed over in the buffalo hunt. Narrative tropes from two mutually incomprehensible cultures emerge and interconnect in an illustrative, colourful painting of the buffalo hunt. Produced in his later life, could he have identified with the Assiniboine chief La Light?

In embodying himself in the practices of the people he studies, he shares an insider's knowledge and meshes separate epistemological systems in a method akin to participant observation. The self-referential element in the work positions him inside the community, rather than as an outsider looking in. Placing himself in his paintings expressed an identification with the other in a concrete working through of detail - a sympathetic internal experience based on the inner necessity of a system (Jameson, 1971). Authorial identification and authorial desire are thus mutually referential and an

investigation of one sooner or later opens on to the other (Silverman, 1988).

Paul Kane

In 1842 Paul Kane (1810 – 1871) met George Catlin and saw his one man show in the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, London, which featured Catlin's six years (1830 – 1836) of painting Indians and life on the American plains. Catlin had published his best seller, *Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and conditions of the North American Indians* (1841) and was at his peak as a celebrated artist (MacLaren, 1989). Catlin's paintings, book and methods inspired Kane to do a visual study of Indians of the North West and became a guide to Kane's own book, *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America*" (1851) (Harper, 1971). Like Catlin's art, the myriad complexities of Kane's sketches, painting and writing and their production have much to do with articulations of knowledge as technologies of observation, classification, investigation and surveillance (Dawkins, 1986). In his preface to *Wanderings of an Artist* Paul Kane describes his project as "*illustration in visual and written texts of the manners and customs of the aborigines in their original state, and as a representation of an almost unknown country.*" Kane, accompanied by anywhere from one to 70 Indian or Métis guides, described the codified differences of Indigenous people during the imperialist expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Dawkins, 1986).

On borrowed money in 1845 Kane left with his portfolio, a box of paints, a gun and a stock of ammunition en route to Lake Simcoe. He had no promises of assistance, no special knowledge of the west and no prior contacts with Indians. Kane moved from one centre to another around the Great Lakes, chiefly where the Ojibwa congregated



Fig. 17. Kane, P. (1845). *Ojibway Chief Mani-tow-wah-bay or "He-Devil"* [Oil on paper]. Collection of Glenbow Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from http://farm5.staticflickr.com/4042/4616000586_d70e789111_o.jpg

using light and compact sketching materials. He sketched principal chiefs Menominee of Wisconsin and Oscosh. Most of his early studies are portrait busts and occasionally a full length work, such as the sketch of *Mani-tow-wah-bay* or “*He-Devil*” at Mackinac. Kane’s plan was to visit any locale where Native American tribes – Ojibwa, Ottawa, Menominee, Wyandot and Potawatomi – congregated in the summer and paint the principal chiefs (McLaren, 1989). He would walk up to an Indian, sit down and sketch a portrait without a word. If the subject objected, it was quickly communicated. In his journal Kane describes the interaction between artist and Indians:

*they Indans [sic] crowded about
the boat and wanted to
know what we wanted
I tould [sic] them that I
came to rite [sic] thare [sic] po
-rtraits (the way they
express them selfs [sic]) a man
stept up and tould [sic] me to
take him he was as natur [sic]
made him (he was nacad [sic])
I declined the honner [sic]
I wanted take a young wom
-an but she sade [sic] that she
could not dress her self
as she had lost sum [sic]*

*of her frinds [sic] I got a
young Gerl [sic] to set in
her Native costume
her Mother wanted
know if she would
not com [sic] to sum [sic] har
-m by it her name was
the constant scie [sic.] (MacLaren 1989: misspelling as in Kane original)*



Fig. 18. Kane. P. (Later 1848 -1856). *CAW-KEE-KA-KEESH-E-KO, The Constant Sky: July 5, 1846* [Oil on canvas, 25 x 30"]. Collection, Royal Ontario Museum. In I. S. MacLaren, trans. Journal of Paul Kane's Western Travels, In *The American Art Journal*, Vol XXI (2), p. 29.

Simpson was preoccupied with the Oregon dispute on behalf of the British government and felt that the Hudson's Bay Company had the primary claim to these regions (McLaren, 1989). At this time the Company territory covered over seven million square kilometers – roughly a quarter of North America and the company had exclusive trading privileges in the regions where waters drained into the Hudson Bay in 1670 – effectively the whole area that stretched to the Pacific from the Arctic, and south to the northern American border, including Oregon. Simpson agreed to help Kane and gave his signature to letters of introduction to: The Gentlemen of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Co.'s Service, Rupert's Land and Elsewhere which requested that "*Mr P. Kane, an Artist*" be given "*kind attentions and hospitalities and passage from post to post free of charge*" (as cited in Benham, 1977). Simpson's letter thus gave Kane the right to travel in the voyageur canoes and free hospitality at all Company posts (Blair, 2001-2002). His American contemporary, Catlin, in the 1830s claimed to have covered his own travel expenses.

Kane traveled the portage highways inland forty to eighty kilometers a day in a brigade of three canoes with eight men in each. Some days they had to make six portages with birchbark canoes that were light and strong. Each canoe carried its crew with twenty-five 'pieces' weighing forty kilograms a pack. It was customary for the travelers to live off the land and shoot duck, catch sturgeon and white fish and collect wild rice - sometimes they got extra supplies from Indians and trading posts. Voyageurs took a break at one hour intervals for a five minute pipe and measured their travelling by pipes. These merry and boisterous voyageurs dipped their paddles at fantastic speed and were colourful in long toques, bright coloured Hudson Bay blanket coats, striped shirts,

deerskin moccasins, piebald belts with knives and tobacco pouches hanging from them. Mainly Métis, they spoke a French patois sprinkled with Indian and English phrases (Benham, 1977).

As Kane moved west the character of the faces and dress in his paintings of Indians changed; they were no longer wearing European clothing or government medals around their necks. Art historian Harper J. Russell evaluated Kane's representation of Indians:



Fig. 19. Kane, P. (n.d.) *Mick-Cranium. A Cree from Fort Carleton*. Stark POP6; CRIV-103

These men of the plains have not the quiet submissive air of the men of Manitowaning who had been in contact with Europeans for generations and foresaw the end of their free native life as hunters. Instead, his Sioux chieftain, the Assiniboin named Mah-Min or the Blackfoot, Big Snake, are noble beings. Muck-Cranium, the Cree from Fort Carlton, is above all the haughty Indian looking far out over the plains which are his empire. (Harper, 1971, p. 18)

Sir George Simpson may have understood the importance of Kane's work to Hudson Bay's interests in North America. Kane could generate good public relations that were 'independent' to HBC – perhaps somewhat like biographer John Galt's role with Benjamin West.

At times Kane was regarded as a medicine man because he produced a 'second self' (Harper, 1971). He used materials that were highly responsive to the local setting and the activities of the people. Portraits and landscapes were water colour studies and fresh direct drawings. For more important work he carried oiled paper on which he sketched using oil paints that could be packed into much smaller spaces than canvasses or paintings on board. He sketched pipes, ceremonial articles of all kinds, tools, houses and villages. He sought rituals, ceremonials, scalp dances and coffin burials. He bartered glass beads, scarlet and blue cloth, looking glasses and other items for poses. He traded buffalo and moose skins with the company stores. His paintings and sketches, like Catlin's, identify particular geographical regions and land uses.

Some of his books for pencil and water colour studies are no more than ten inches across; a larger one, 10 by 14 inches, with marbled cover,

contains Whatman paper watermarked 1843. Reference sketches are in pencil; portraits and landscapes in water colour are fresh, direct drawings. For more important works he carried oiled paper (possibly prepared pages from the larger sketchbook) on which he sketched using oil paints. These oil sketches on paper were light and could be packed into a much smaller space than either canvases or paintings on board....Many of Kane's oil sketches were taken from life. Preliminary studies in water colour exist for others, and presumably he transcribed them into oil at the first available moment while the immediate mood was still upon him. Sometimes the fur trade brigade with which he traveled halted for so brief a stop that he was forced to work in the faster water colour (Harper 1971, p. 15).

He noted the names of his portrait subjects and the vast differences in looks, habits and customs from tribe to tribe. His sketchbooks' style is deft outlines, précised curves and delicate shading used to make quick studies of Indian paddlers and the Canadian countryside. The sketches recorded the food, interiors and exteriors of lodgings, ways of life, religious and hunting customs, dress, games and crafts and how the landscape and animals changed on his western travels. He passed through the territories of nearly eighty Indian tribes when smallpox and tuberculosis were decimating their numbers and before white settlers arrived. Kane, like Catlin, returned with a trunk full of 500 sketches of a high quality unsurpassed for that period by any other painter of Indians in America (Harper, 1971). From these he produced more than 100 canvases and became



Fig. 20. Kane, P. (1848). *Winter travelling in dog sleds (a wedding party leaving Fort Edmonton)* [Oil on canvas, 19 x 29"]. Collection, Royal Ontario Museum. In I. S. MacLaren, trans. Journal of Paul Kane's Western Travels, In *The American Art Journal*, Vol XXI (2), p. 57.

an authority on the westernmost Indian tribes – cited in works of ethnology, such as *Prehistoric man* by Daniel Wilson (1982).

His travel and writing tended to suspend native subjects into a timelessness while his adventures were narrated temporally. Kane's representations of beliefs, customs, and habits took two forms:

One is the explanation of some otherwise inexplicable behaviour as the product of a ridiculous and superstitious belief. The other is the account of habits as they relate to mundane activities—how a fish was cooked or caught, how utensils or canoes were made, and so on. In these accounts

the experiencing and perceiving author is completely suppressed, the information appears to have no social and historical condition of production, and the activity is often described in a suspended tense (Dawkins, 1986).

Like Catlin, Kane's observational gaze in his sketches, paintings and writings are deeply implicated in, and constitutive of, western frameworks of power. This power relation was understood by Benjamin West through creations like *The death of General Wolfe* and by Catlin in his portraits of The Light and Osceola (Catlin's only government commission never delivered because he wanted to make the profit himself). Intimately bound up in practices of surveillance, discipline and knowledge production (Foucault, 1972, 1984), the publishing industries advanced Kane's Romantic vision of the artist, his adventure and spin doctoring. Unlike Catlin's entourage, Kane's Indian and Métis guides scarcely spoke his language, nor shared his culture. In them he saw "a race, who, keeping themselves distinct from both Indians and whites, form a tribe of themselves...more attached to the wild and savage manners of the Red man"¹⁶. His Irish Romantic artist of the wilderness had a worldwide appeal. Whereas in his book Catlin expressed sympathies with the Indian peoples drastically altered by starvation, imprisonment and the reservation system, Kane's "untouched" North West was a refusal to accept their cultural values on their terms. The written text as travel writing registers Kane's unease and repulsion, whereas his sketches and paintings never do. Titillating the Victorian imagination through a genre of travel writing, Kane's sketches become reframed as a provocation and revulsion that confirmed a European superiority and a need for

¹⁶ Kane read a paper at the Canadian Institute on Nov. 13, 1855. With some revisions it was incorporated into "Wanderings of an Artist, 49 – 66.

intervention.

Kane's journal presents an understated character who views the world with curiosity and an equanimity of dry, laconic wit (McLaren, 1989). His French-speaking travel companions nicknamed him "Bushway". He wrote his western journal phonetically, dictated his letters and had his wife write the fair copy of the manuscript. Kane's journal contains much of what became *Wanderings of an artist* – the tone, the style, the degree of sophistication of the narrator's persona and the chapter divisions. The structure, however, diverges from the publication as Kane actually kept two narratives: a journal of travels and the other an annotated record of the Indians and landscapes that were painted. Many sections are not to be found in the original travelogue as other writers contributed creatively to the translations from the journals to the manuscript. These were blended together for the publication (McLaren, 1989) and Kane's spontaneous eye-witness account was transformed into the conventions and idioms of the day: Indians became savages, artists became gentlemen and landscapes were wild.

Kane's own narrative went through a process of translating kidspell to armchair readability. Four of Kane's books are written in ink, but not in Kane's own hand and two are in a handwriting style taught to clerks in the mid-nineteenth century and are manuscript drafts for a book (McLaren, 1989). In 1855, when the Canadian Journal published the first article, the prose altered remarkably. Kane's *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon through The Hudson's Bay Company's territory and back again* (1859) spread Kane's



Fig. 21. Kane, P. (1846). *Wounded buffalo bull* [Watercolour on paper. 4 1/8 x 5 3/8"]. Collection. Stark Museum of Art. In I. S. MacLaren, trans. Journal of Paul Kane's Western Travels, In *The American Art Journal*, Vol XXI (2), p. 27.

fame throughout the English-speaking world and in translations in French (1861), German (1862) and Danish (1863). It could be argued that the book branded the Hudson's Bay Company by its bold use of the Crown Corporation's name in its title – as an endorsement to his host. It was the first and only book on the lands northwest of the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean not written by an employee of the fur trade. That same year the Hudson's Bay Company sought renewal for its exclusive right to trade in their vast lands.

Though Catlin had no success in getting the American Congress to acquire his work, Kane met a different reception by the Parliament of Canada in 1856 with a commission for twelve paintings (Harper, 1971) and for one hundred paintings by a newly found patron, George William Allan of Toronto (Harper, 1971; MacLaren, 1989). As Catlin exhibited abroad, so would Kane in the Canadian display at the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1855. Kane's published account of his travels attracted interest in his art and took more than a decade to publish (MacLaren, 1989). The sketches in their immediacy are a rare and fresh pre-photographic record of fur trading, canoe travel, dog teams. The original sketches, however, are highly valued colonial documents as spontaneous renderings of the contact moment (Lister, 2006).

Kane's reworking of his sketches into a hundred oil paintings was done following his return to Toronto in October, 1848. By 1856 the sketches were carefully executed into classical and Romanticised Victorian expressions – as society wished to see them with reference to the aesthetic values, compositional framings and associations of his fine art studies in Italy.

Kane, by his own standards, felt that his canvases were factually truthful, yet certain embellishments he added to the subject-matter shown in the sketches can cause dismay. His oil sketch of Coe-coosh or "The Hog", a Fox River Potawatomi, emphasizes the Indian's painted face, his ugly scowl and his disreputable robes. In the canvas, Coe-coosh has the same red face, but is wearing an elaborate roach on his head (which, indeed, Potawatomi sometimes wore), brooches of trade silver in his hair (and many Indians of the Fox River did wear such brooches), and has a

quite respectable buttoned jacket. The old scoundrel has become rather a romantic individual, and his appeal to the eye has been enhanced. Is Kane being completely truthful! Certainly all of the articles added come from the Fox River region, but is this canvas still Coe-coosh? (Harper 1971: 37).



Fig. 22. Kane, P. (1845). *Coe-coosh or "The Hog", a Potawatomi, Fox River*. Oil on paper. 11.625 x 9.375 inches, Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas, 31.78.193.

An exhibition of Paul Kane's work, *Wilderness to Studio: Four Views of Paul Kane*, at the Royal Ontario Museum in 1998 gave him public recognition as the founding father of Canadian art. The oil paintings Kane produced addressed an overseas gallery system in a historical continuum of Fine Art practices in an imperial world. His rapid sketch techniques as ethnological documentation connote a scientific status for the art objects - without an acknowledgement that his ethnology was fractured or complicated by his travel writing genre, multiple writers, Irish characterisation, Victorian righteousness and the promotion of the Hudson Bay Company. Whereas Catlin introduced a double gaze and a 'looking back' in his imagery of "The Light" and his self portraits in buffalo hunts, Kane's illustrations were distorted in the travel genre by racist collaborating writers and an autobiographical character - as Irish artist and raconteur – and the worldwide appeal to a readership for Paul Kane's art and as promotion for the Hudson Bay Company and the settlement interests in Canada.

William G. R. Hind

During the early industrial expansion William G. R. Hind (1833-1889) documented the lively culture of Indian peoples, Métis and diverse settlers across the breadth of Canada in a Realist tradition. He documented their practices with naturalist detail and their everyday life experience as commercial interests shifted from furs to agriculture. By 1830 the classical art education taught in London at the Royal Academy of Arts since 1768 was not fulfilling the industrial needs for utilitarian design (Jones, 1993). William Hind, educated by the new system of Government Schools of Art and

Design in Nottingham, England, was taught drawing and painting as a practical and functional tool for the pictorial press (Jackson, 1885) and as a visual teaching aid (Gignac, 2002). At eighteen in 1851, Hind immigrated to Canada to join brother, Henry, who taught chemistry, and soon joined the faculty at the Normal and Model Schools of Upper Canada in Toronto. In 1855 William was one of three artist members (one was Paul Kane) of the Canadian Institute, which brother Henry founded with Sanford Fleming. Hind may have attended Paul Kane's lecture on March 14, 1855 entitled, *The Chinook Indians (of the Pacific North West)*, illustrated with paintings based on sketches of his overland travels through the North West (Gignac, 2002).

William Hind brought with him the *plein air* painting approach common in Europe and concepts about new utilitarian uses of imagery in lithography, wood engraving, the steam press and photo-mechanical reproduction technologies. The brothers, William and Henry, shared a common interest in teaching and in the broader social, economic and political mission it embodied. This included the pedagogical role of imagery. In 1857 William left teaching and assumed the role of "artist/illustrator" in response to his brother's need for illustrations for publications and exhibitions. This symbiotic relationship affected the purpose, function, style and aesthetics that Hind utilised in his imagery. His brother Henry's participation as a geologist in the 1858 Canadian Red River expedition resulted in a commission for William. For one hundred dollars he created 20 large watercolour paintings based on expedition sketches done by Sanford Fleming. Hind's paintings of these sketches were exhibited at the Toronto Union Exhibition from Sept. 14 – 17, 1859 with a full report of diagrams, plans, maps, photographs by photographer/surveyor Humphrey L. Hime. William Hind's landscape

won a first prize and the display got favourable press and went to the Provincial Exhibition at Kingston. The *Montreal Gazette* gave high praise for Hind's paintings:

[The exhibition] had successfully brought a "virtual" North-West, not only privately to Government ministers, but publicly to ordinary people who had been reading about the North-West on a daily basis for years. In the installation, descriptive texts allowed people to read an exact geological description of the North-West. Maps, plans, and cross-sections provided a conceptualized topographical view of the distances, scale and relationships of its lands, lakes, and rivers. The monochrome photographs claimed to present objective truth in views of North-West people, objects, buildings, rivers, and lands. The large watercolour paintings conveyed the great geographical spaces and broad skies, the atmosphere and brilliant light of its landscape through the spectacle of vivid colours. (Gignac 2002, 50)

As reported by the *Hamilton Spectator* (1880, Sept.) this exhibition was held in Toronto and Kingston and viewed by more than 25,000 people. It represents one of the first collisions of photography and painting concerned with the North-West to be exhibited in Canada.

Over the winter 1861 – 62 the brothers undertook another exploration and publishing project of an expedition up the Moisie River, Labrador, with William as expedition artist. *The Globe* newspaper of Sept. 30, 1862 reported that Hind finished more than 90 painted illustrations that Henry took for publication to England. Their collaboration on *Explorations in the interior of the Labrador Peninsula* (1863) was their

greatest personal success (Gignac, 2002) and was published in two illustrated volumes with colour lithographs and black and white wood engravings based on William's paintings and sketches. The work describes the topography of the river and reports on local natives from a six week river experience which Jacques Cartier had described three centuries earlier as "*the land God gave Cain*" (Biggar, 1924, p. 22). More than a hundred Hind pencil, water colour and oil studies have survived from this Labrador expedition. They document cutting a road, portaging, forest fires, mosquito assaults, the Indian use of birch bark for mapping, rapids and spectacular canyons. Hind resisted Romanticizing and kept his imagery factual. He told his brother, "*You can paint the rocks, the trees and ice, but the radiance and light are beyond human art*" (Hind, 1862, p. 68). Twelve of Hind's finished watercolours were selected as models for chromolithographs to illustrate the expedition report and his pencil sketches were made into wood engravings. Hind also painted the Labrador Indians¹⁷. Former chief curator of the McCord Museum, Russell Harper, describes Hind's record of the Labrador Indians: "*Yet while William portrayed the factual elements of Indian life, he also must have had some feeling for the exotic and unknown in Montagnais and Naskapi life, a feeling which was rooted in a romantic strain that was an integral facet of the Victorian age*" (Harper 1976, 15). Could Hind's resistance to the trends and aesthetics be misinterpreted by visual art historians?

The watercolour, *A visit to Otelne in his lodge*, recorded at Sept-Iles is an example of Hind's visual translation of his brother's descriptive writing and a record of their interactive relations. Great attention is given to the twelve natives crouched in their

¹⁷ Coincidentally, Kane had made an effort to paint these Indians a year earlier but Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona, of the Hudson's Bay Company at Sept-Iles, did not provide the required document from the company

circular lodge, the unique headdresses of the women, the style of the snowshoes and the cooking pot over the fire. The artist was so fascinated by the scene on which the painting was based that he spent an hour sketching in the hot lodge and recorded that afterwards he smelt like a loon or seal (Hind, 1862). Interestingly, Hind illustrates his brother Henry in the front centre of the composition with a sleeping dog against his back.



Fig. 23. Hind W.G.R. (1861-1862). *A visit to Otelne in his lodge* [Watercolour, pencil on paper, 16.5 x 30.8 cm]. Agnes Etherington Art Centre. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.aeac.ca/mobius/detail.php?t=objects&type=browse&f=CATEGORY1&s=FINE+ART&record=14>.

What makes *A visit to Otelne in his lodge* unique is that Hind documents a European presence inside the Indian lodge; his presence as artist documenting the scene is palpable. His brother's presence is a legitimation of the authenticity of the social relations between the host community and the settlers - a sight upon which Kane never set his gaze. As a rare look into an interior space, the view over Henry Hind's left shoulder is an embodied

social engagement with a group involved in cooking. Though Henry's reclining body position is strikingly different from Otelne's family and guests, Hind's meticulous attention to the material details of their clothing shows little difference between them. In removing the fourth wall *A visit to Otelne in his lodge* is a noteworthy domestic experience and exception to Hind's 'still life effect'.

Dramatic action is frozen as though on a stage, with the foreground removed some distance from the easel. The artist views all as if from a seat in a theatre balcony, a position of detachment which removes him from any direct personal involvement in the unfolding drama. Exciting things are happening in front of his eyes, but his mission is to record them as dispassionately as possible. (Harper, 1976, p. 15)

Hind's subject matter took a turn with the discovery of gold on the Fraser River in 1858. Brother Henry influenced his decision to go overland in 1862 and they rushed to put together a travel guide publication, *A sketch of an overland route to British Columbia*, for those contemplating the trip. It was published in April complete with a map and guidebook on how to organize a trip, what dress, food and supplies to bring, how to pack, financial costs, topography, distances between points and included descriptive information on the five major passes through the Rocky Mountains (Gignac, 2002; Spry, 1968). For the 1862 trip William brought along artist materials which included a portfolio and various sizes of papers and sketchbooks, painting materials, and likely an easel and the small pocket-size, leatherbound metallic sketchbook from Bain's Book Seller on King Street (Overlanders '62 Sketchbook, National Archives of Canada, accession number 1963-97). He faithfully transcribed his observations during that

summer from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains. This sketchbook was used almost daily. Its 93 sheets of dated and titled drawings show he used it to record life during his progress across the Prairies.

His acute sense of the use of field sketches as potential published illustrations would inevitably shape the frame through which the images upon which he focused were selected and sketched or painted (Gignac 2002, 54).

During the Overlander Trek of 1862 William Hind walked across the plains through the mountains to the Cariboo goldfields with a group of 200 prospective goldminers. At first the company traveled by train, stage and riverboat through the States. Hind's tiny sketchbook begins with the Overlanders in Fort Garry and documents a trying journey where men near starvation consume their pack animals, suffer from dysentery and drown in rafting and canoeing efforts on route to the Rocky Mountains. The sketchbook drawings are quick renderings, done on the spot or from memory after dramatic events like a thunderstorm:

They are a combination of graphite and ink drawings; some coloured with water colour, possibly after the fact. They capture the difficulties of the journey, the daily activities of camp life, the novel aspects of prairie travel, and the monotony of the journey across treeless and seemingly endless prairie (Hughes, 2002, p. 127).



Fig. 24. Hind, W.G.R. (1862). *Overlanders expedition sketchbook*, p. 14 of 92. McCord Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/08725>

Hind's paintings clearly lay out the details of how things were done as in *Crossing the Battle River, north western prairie Saskatchewan district, 1860s*".



Fig. 25. Hind, W.G. R. (about 1863). *Crossing the Battle River, north western prairie Saskatchewan District* [Watercolour, graphite and opaque white on wove paper, 21.8 x 30.6 cm]. McCord Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/M464>

The Red River carts are dismantled and piled into the boat. The oxen can be seen in the background swimming across in a sizable group escorted by another boat. Hind informs us about the location, the shoreline rock and detailed leaves on the plants. The figures are convincing individual portraits and his attention to clothing styles shows the various cultural differences of the Métis through their fashions to hand crafted detail of footwear and woven red wool sashes. The Métis are represented in active physical roles and in egalitarian and cooperative work relationships.

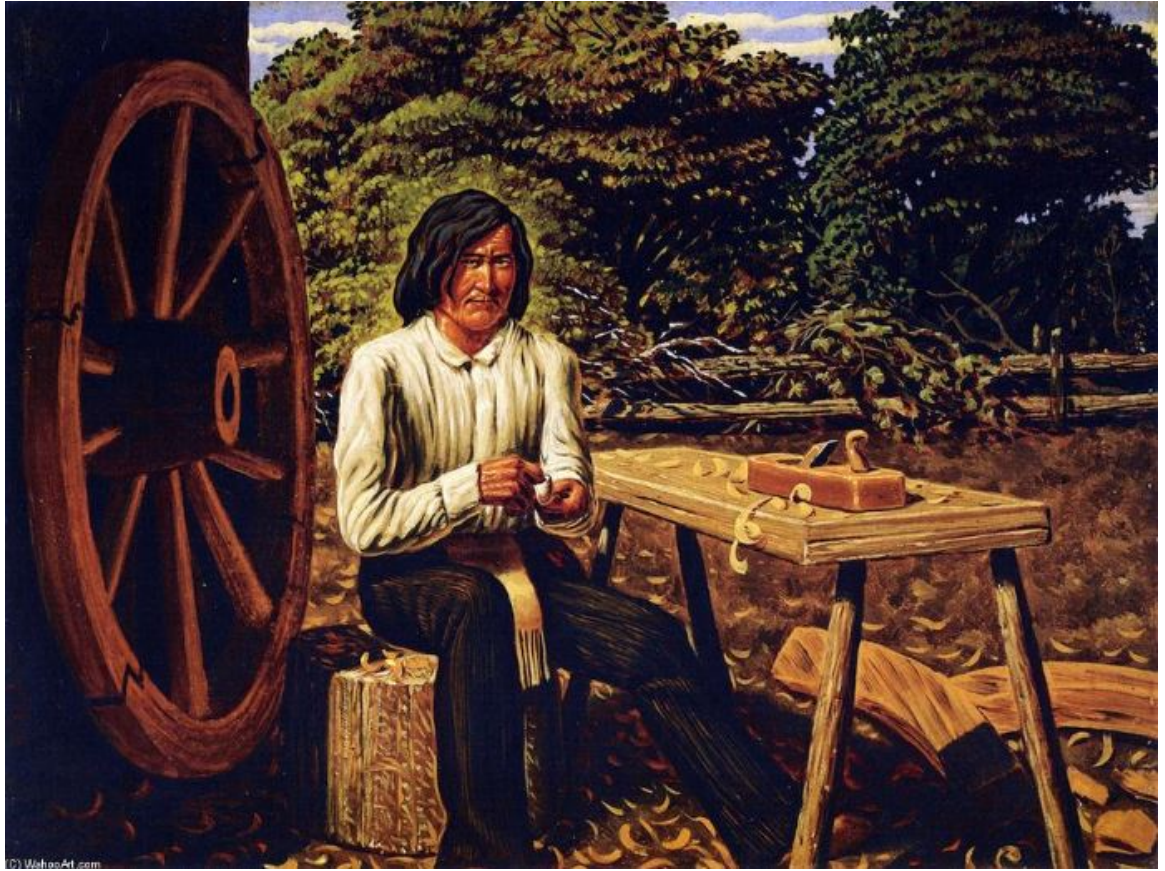


Fig. 26. Hind, W.G.R. (1870). *Metis making wheel for red river cart*. Manitoba. [Oil on Panel]. Toronto Public Library. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://EN.WahooArt.com/@/8YDFZJ-William-George-Richardson-Hind-Metis-Making-Wheel-for-Red-River-Cart,-Manitoba>

At Fort Garry Hind painted the Métis wheelwright who paused for a smoke while working on a massive wheel from the Red River carts in which pioneers, prospectors and himself were rolling westward. Perfectly adapted to the muddy prairie trails these carts were a unique invention of the Métis.

The very believable worker, in plain white shirt and black pants, looks at his portrait painter with a guarded glare; nine years later he was probably one of the Metis whom Louis Riel was to call on to defend their Manitoba homeland....Hind sets down his sitter's expression along with

every other detail as accurately as he can, being careful to note the jackplane on the workbench, and exactly how the four sections of the zig-zag joints. Hind's interest is that of the scientist, as he documents with equal accuracy the worker, his production process, and the landscape in which he is fully at home. This is vividly realistic painting (Lord 1974, 98).

In 1872 John Lovell, a Montreal publisher, printed the four page document that announced an ambitious scheme for a five volume subscription based publication to be authored by Henry Hind: It was to contain illustrations “*of upwards of two hundred and twenty engravings*” by William that were based on pencil sketches done during his 1862 trip across the continent. This ambitious project required first hand visual records of a complete national scope and the topics that Henry proposed influenced the subjects of William’s art. These topics ranged from physical geography, geology, travel and transportation, forest and mining industry and inhabitants specified as “*Metis, - Prairie and Forest Life, - the colonizing races: ..., The Agricultural Settler, - The Miner, - The Lumberman, ...the old Nor’-Wester*””. In this context Hind’s illustrations were to be precise information about the regions. His engravings were “*greatly influenced by various iconographic aspects of illustration*” and particularly interesting narratives with a heightened sense of visual immediacy (Hughes, 2002, p. 121). The effect, analogous to the snapshot, creates a feeling of presence positioning the viewer in an embodied relationship to the subject without Romantic embellishment. The immediacy of contemporary illustration, its intimacy in the artist-journalist tradition of Harper’s by Sweeney and Marble, resonates in Hind’s visual rhetoric which anticipates a technological and institutional use.

The pictorial press impacted on the development of photography and pioneer Louis-Jacques-Mande Daguerre's detailed expressive portraits soon displaced many representational painters a hundred and fifty years ago. William Hind's hyper-real imagery and talent for colourful rendering influenced his brother to choose his work over Humphrey Hime's photography for the earlier official expedition report. Hind's drawing favoured adapting the medium to the needs of the subject and enhanced character. His composition and framing followed social and technological conventions with details in clear focus. His use of Albertian perspective for distance between subject and the viewer was comparable to the camera lens. Art historian J. Russell Harper described his realism: *"By outlining every stone on the beach, every leaf on the tree, and by rendering birds and flowers with an exactitude which makes the species readily identifiable, he sees with the eyes of Darwin or of Audubon. Even such subjects as Cariboo tavern scenes are treated with the detachment of Dutch or Flemish genre which makes their subject matter acceptable in a moralizing age"* (Harper, 2000).

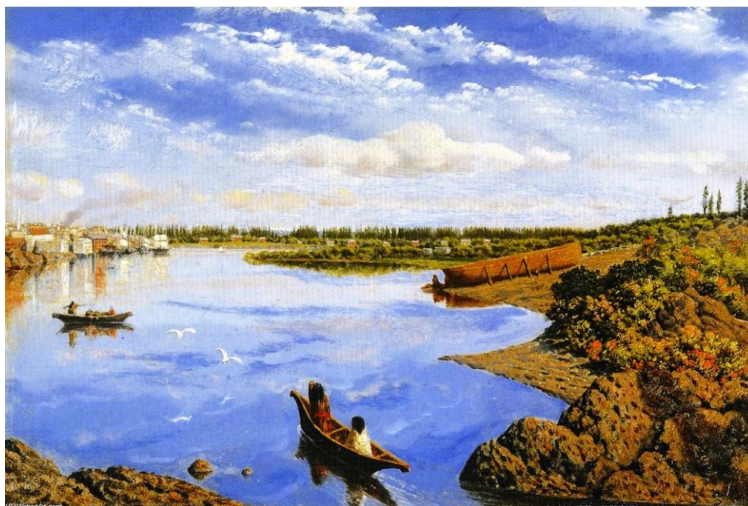


Fig. 27. Hind, W.G.R. (1863). *Victoria* [Oil on panel]. 1863. Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://EN.WahooArt.com/@/8YE78A-William-George-Richardson-Hind-Victoria>

In *Victoria* the shoreline is a backdrop to the canoeing of the Indians in the centre foreground. His sensitivity to cultures in British Columbia is evident in *Chinese goldwashers on the Fraser River, B.C.* which presents the figures in the mining camp demonstrating different activities: one figure sifts gold from the water using a woven box; another lugs rocks with two buckets balanced at the ends of the pole.



Fig. 28. Hind. W.G.R. (1860). *Chinese goldwashers on the Fraser River* [Watercolour]. McCord Museum. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/M609>

Hind appreciates the unique technologies of diverse cultural presences. *Indians Gathering Shellfish, Victoria Island* features a quiet scene as Salish men search the shallow water for shellfish. Hind shows through various active poses how men and women use sticks to move rocks and gather shellfish in woven baskets on their backs. The details of the environment locate it to specific landmarks through the bull kelp and the background snow capped mountains. The shadows in the foreground mark Hind's presence in the painting which give it an unusual immediacy with the artist's autobiographical presence. Like the earlier watercolour, *A visit to Otelne in his lodge*, the snapshot effects and by his framing, Hind acknowledges his embodied relationship



Fig. 29. Hind, W.G.R. (about 1863). *Indians gathering shellfish, Victoria Island* [Watercolour]. McCord Museum M607. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/en/collection/artifacts/M607/>

The Painterly Inheritance

The painterly inheritance as commemoration in West's *The death of General Wolfe* or as educational mission in the paintings of Catlin, Kane and Hind set precedents for uses of the photographic forms emerging in the mid 19th century. Photography not only applied itself to all the existing genres of painting, such as portraits, landscapes, geological and religious painting (some of the most extensive photographic archives are with church collections), it competed for the same patrons. Though West in his lifetime received royalties from publishers, later artists Catlin, Kane and Hind anticipated more varied and multiple uses for public education. William Hind's paintings are an example of the painter's medium incorporating a vernacular adapted from technology, i.e., the snapshot effect and compositions influenced by new technologies, utilitarian design education and popular publications. Hind anticipated educational uses through an

expanded technology and multidisciplinary exhibitions. Photography eventually took over these roles and dominated the technological industries with its immediacy and realism.

Chapter Five

The Camera's First Appearance: Geologies of Knowledge

As the early western artists were replaced in their function as knowledge producers by photographers, the latter strove to accommodate, appropriate and extend the taxonomies and systems of knowledges inherited from artists (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994). In the coming of age of nation states, the material cultures of photography, art, science and technology served as rhetorical forms to the founding narratives of history and to geographies of appropriation. The earliest photographers used the apparent objectivity of a new technology to reproduce their world. Their images appear in illustrated histories, transferring past discursive fields and relations into the present - reproducing and naturalising an earlier material history. The colonial visual record follows two stories of historical change – one that illustrates a trajectory of progress and, the other, a downward spiral of decline. Each narrative as “truthful delineation of nature” (Hayden, 1870, p. vii) through photographic frame, grey range and composition produces a semiotics of material culture with powerful mythic associations. As multiple copies of the original were possible and easily reproduced, the visual language of drawing, painting, lithography and of the artisan photographer expanded beyond science and art into public relations and propaganda. Combined with writing, a preferred reading was extended to a global readership of photography.

Photographing Geologies and Geographies

President Thomas Jefferson signed the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the United States doubled its territory: the nation's western boundary moved from the Mississippi

River to the Rocky Mountains, acquiring 828,000 square miles of a territory (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994). Funded by the American Federal government, the State of California¹⁸, commercial firms and foreign royalty, a series of expeditions set out to map the land and make an inventory of its resources. Much of this work was in the form of scientific descriptions and field samples collected for study and classification. By the 1850s geological painters and illustrators had become important adjuncts to western expeditions. Their early art appeared in scientific and popular publications as lithographs, engravings and woodcuts and were exhibited as originals in a limited circulation. Expedition leaders and sponsors recognised the value of photographs as description in their final reports and as evidence of sights seen. The public also wanted to see proof of the existence of the fantastic wonders described by explorers and artists and photography provided it.

The American federal government took an active interest in defining real versus ersatz Indians and it was important to confirm ‘chiefs’ to legitimize the transfer of land through treaty. The U.S. federal government thus regulated ‘the free market of ethnicity’ and retained the right to define the criteria determining a ‘real’ Indian (Prucha, 1962; Castile, 1999). Land was allotted to a small number of ‘real’ Indians so that a surplus would be left over (Unrau, 1989) for settlers. Under these programs reserve lands legitimated by treaty were reduced in the States through a bookkeeping by ‘blood’ where one quarter blood became the common minimum for the genuine Indian: government kinship rules refused recognition to maternal lines of kinship or inheritance.

¹⁸ California was acquired by the United States under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo following the defeat of Mexico in the Mexican-American War. American westward expansion intensified into Mexico during the California Gold Rush of 1849. California joined the union as a free state in 1850.

In the United States visual representation of Plains Indians became part of the public record in the 1820s and 1830s when both government agents and independent entrepreneurs produced them for factual and remunerary purposes. Thomas McKenney, the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, collected painted portraits of Indian leaders for an educational “Indian Gallery” as a lasting visual record. He also commissioned painter Charles Bird King of Washington D.C. to make oil portraits of tribal delegates conducting business with the federal government which anticipated a publication in a three part portfolio of lithographic reproductions of paintings, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America (1836 – 1841)*. James Hall, McKenney’s collaborating writer, wrote a historical text with biographical sketches which directed readers’ understanding of each image by recounting the sitter’s tribal history and personal character. The text’s relation to the image was transformative and instructive: the Sauk chief Keokuk was “*a magnificent savage. Bold enterprising, and impulsive, he is also politic, and possesses an intimate knowledge of human nature*” (McKenny & Hall, 1842, p. 71). The preferred reading and its ‘instruction’ offered contradictory messages of praise deflated by the dominant racism of McKenny’s time: “*magnificent savage*” exoticises the ‘other’ and “*impulsive*” undercuts “*bold enterprising*”. The value of the historical text in this example reveals more about the dominant stereotypes that the EuroAmerican writer uncritically reproduced as ‘instruction’. Here the relation between a visual and written text fixes a particular reading as historical event.

The daguerreotype invented in 1839 was the first practical photographic form used widely for portraiture. Produced on a highly reflected silver-plated surface of a copper sheet, it needed to be mounted behind glass to protect the fragile image. The

magical mirror with memories was made to be viewed privately in the hand. These images were unique and could not be duplicated except by re-photographing or by being reproduced as woodcuts or engravings. The formality of nineteenth century portrait photographs was an effect of the camera technology of that period; subjects had to hold a still position for several minutes. A relaxed pose or smile was an unrealistic expectation. These images of rigid, still formality contributed immensely to our perception of the Victorian era as a time of solemn propriety.

In 1843 a delegation of southern Plains Indians from a conference posed for their portraits in Tahlequah (present day Oklahoma) for portrait painter John Mix Stanley with his associate Caleb Sumner Dickerman - who had in their possession likely the first daguerreotype to appear on the southern plains. Lewis Ross, the brother of the Cherokee leader and conference organizer, invited Dickerman and Stanley to his home to make ten daguerreotypes of his family. These portrait sessions are examples of the sitters having their own uses for their portraits as they are made at their request in their home; such commissions would have the value of marking an occasion for the family. The Cherokee brother incorporated the revolutionary new technology for use as family portraits emphasising a family narrative in portraiture – a different genre from the diplomatic portraiture of Charles Bird King that anticipated publication in a book.

Travelling by steamboat along the Missouri River from a reservation in Kansas, chief Keokuk and his company arrived in Saint Louis presumably to conduct business with an Indian agent. While in the city the chief and ‘ten of his warriors’ performed a ‘war dance’ with the Grand Olympic Circus “*superbly decorated in genuine Indian style*” (Kilgo, 1994, p. 125; St. Louis Daily Union, 1847). Keokuk and his associates were then

daguerreotyped by Thomas Easterly in Saint Louis in March 1847. These portraits raise the question of whether Keokuk's pose with its silver-tipped cane, bear-claw necklace, and peace medal are worn to impress negotiators or the visitors paying to watch the 'war dance'? One-of-a-kind Easterly daguerreotypes of Keokuk's family members such as his son, wife and grandson suggest a bartering by Keokuk by which he got images he wanted (Sandweiss, 2001). However, Keokuk's eclectic combination of steamboat ride, 'war dance', daguerreotype production and negotiating with an Indian agent demonstrates a richly creative facility and competency to use intertextual forms and EuroAmerican technologies to advance tribal interests.

The earliest known delegation photography was made in 1852 after the Fort Laramie Treaty (1851) in a daguerreotype studio in Philadelphia (Fleming & Luskey, 1986). This treaty was signed on September 17 between United States treaty commissioners and representatives of the Cheyenne, Sioux, Arapaho, Crow, Shoshone, Assiniboine, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nations. The treaty set forth the traditional territorial claims of the tribes among themselves and guaranteed safe passage for settlers on the Oregon Trail in return for promises of an annuity in the amount of fifty thousand dollars for fifty years. Though Native American hopes were dashed, the portrait session represented a plateau in turbulent relations between the Indians, the U.S. government and the settlers. The willingness of the Indians to be photographed marked a positive direction in relations and Native American hopes for the future – though at this time traditional livelihoods were at great risk with the declining buffalo herds and the oncoming gold rush. The treaty was an action by the U.S. government to contain Indians on reserve lands. Indians, at first hesitant to have their pictures taken, became accepting

as U.S. government delegations used photography for public expression and as evidence of their presence in treaty negotiations in Washington.

Photogenic drawing, introduced by William Henry Fox Talbot in England in 1841, had revolutionised photography with the calotype that used a negative to produce unlimited prints. There were technical problems and unpredictable results that arose with the sheet of paper being used as a support; the calotype also took longer to expose. The glass plate negative of the newer collodion process was a significant technical breakthrough with a new chemically inert transparent support. From the original commercially produced daguerreotype camera of 1839 up until 1851 when the wet collodion plate process was introduced, photographic equipment was cumbersome and prohibitively expensive. This new system offered limitless prints without the 'soft' image quality of the calotype and less exposure time for taking pictures and making prints. The photographer put the light sensitive coating on the glass plate and exposures were made when the coating was damp and at its greatest sensitivity. The glass plate was then processed immediately with solutions that penetrated the soft collodion in a darkroom nearby. Though this sequence of processes slowed down the photographic process, the results were immediate. The studio equipped with materials and a darkroom was the ideal environment. Outdoor photography remained challenged by the heavy and large load that needed to be carried, the various modes of transportation, variable weather conditions and the quality of available good water.

The wet plate process in 1851 produced a negative capable of being reproduced an indefinite number of times. This meant that photography in the field had a shorter exposure time which enabled photographers to travel farther afield and embrace new

subjects. On the distribution side, a good image could have a life in many media and commercial growth in photography made possible new uses in collecting through postcards, single photos and stereograph entertainments. The equipment was still cumbersome and made any journey slow. The view camera had large wooden boxes with bellows and primitive lenses that needed to be supported by a tripod. The photographer needed time to set up and frame the image. Without exposure meters professionals developed a method of calculating exposure time by daily experiences of reading the light on their subjects.

The camera's first appearance in the Canadian prairies in 1858 was the year the Canadian government funded the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition to the Red River led by Henry Youle Hind. A young photographer, Humphrey Lloyd Hime was to furnish a series of collodion negatives for the full illustration of all objects of interest in relation to the narrative of the Expedition. Only thirty-five print images survived from the complex and cumbersome wet-plate process used. Hime had to carry heavy glass plates, a black tent, chemicals, water and a large box camera throughout the expedition. Hime's chromolithographic images were included in Henry Hind's final report in the two-volume, *Narrative of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition of 1858* published in London. This transitional moment in Canada elevated Hime's photography from commissioned scientific studies to a public form anticipating untold commercial and political uses. Photographic representations of geography, like cartographic and textual counterparts, were not neutral as their goals were establishing European settlement and commerce.

The book sold well and presumably it was designed to encourage interest in the

Canadian prairies. It is interesting to note that there is no reference in the text to settler culture or the farming or fur trading industries of that time. The resurgence of terms like ‘red natives’ and ‘halfbreeds’ was indicative of a shifting trend and political perspective from earlier European trends of intermarriage with Native American families (i.e., Sir William Johnson and Mary Brant). These terms were later used freely in government documents relating to the Louis Riel Rebellion. A disavowal of centuries old networks of relations originating with the French and early settlements, these terms became a naming of an underclass and legitimated a reduction of privileges to the entrepreneurial classes of the fur trade. They also enabled a government to win support from the new immigrant classes of white European settlers for a treaty system that separated Indians onto reservations and reduced Métis rights of citizenship.

As the technologies of photography advanced and became easier to use, Indian resistance to being photographed took various forms. Humphrey L. Hime records an exchange in May 1858 when he tried to photograph a group of Ojibways at Fort Frances:

When an attempt was made to take a photograph of the interior of one of the lodges, several squaws, who were seated with their children around the fires, instantly rose, and driving the children before them, hastened off to the neighbouring forest, and no argument or parents could induce them to remain. They said that “the white wanted to take their pictures and send them far away to the great chief of the white men, who would make evil medicine over them, and when the pictures were sent back the Indians who were drawn would all perish.” They know this was the way the white man wanted to get rid of the Indians and take their land (Huyda, 1975, p.

11).

Located on the international border with Minnesota, Fort Francis is the oldest European settlement west of Lake Superior. Established as Fort St. Pierre in 1731 during the fur trade with native peoples Fort Francis was known as a site where word traveled quickly about treaty transactions - such as The Fort Laramie Treaty and The Treaty of Washington¹⁹ of 1858. Many Amerindians relocated to Canada because of their refusal to sign treaties with the American government during the gold rush as settler traffic intensified along the Oregon Trail and their traditional grounds. Relations became more strained by the mass starvation of the plains peoples who in their weakened state had no choice but to sign treaties or go north. After the American Civil War during the Reconstruction Era many like Ely Parker, President Grant's appointed Seneca military secretary, believed that profound changes in Indian affairs were possible. His opponents, however, wanted government to coerce assimilation on the Native peoples (Gentin-Pilaw, 2010). Teams of scientists documenting geography through samples, note-taking and photography represented the foreign interests that had decimated the buffalo herds - they were now laying railroad tracks across the continent. The Ojibway belief in white '*evil medicine*' and actions to '*get rid of the Indians and take their land*' was an appropriate assessment of the geologists and scientists as change agents in the Dominion of Canada.

A photograph of a lodge interior could no longer be understood as a neutral

¹⁹ The Yankton Sioux by the Treaty of Washington were to cede more than 11 million acres of land, between the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers, in exchange for a 430,000 acre reservation and \$1.6 million in payments or money expended "for their benefit," paid over 50 years. Both this treaty and the Fort Laramie treaty never fulfilled their terms of payment. Yankton leaders agreed to sign the treaty only after they were given the rights to the quarry at Pipestone, Minnesota.

encounter. Outright refusals to participate in photography followed the traumatic events in the States from the Grattan ‘Massacre’ (1854) near Fort Laramie which marked the beginning of U.S. intermittent warfare on the plains²⁰, Red Cloud's War (1866 – 1868), the Great Sioux War (1876 – 77), Wounded Knee in 1890 and Chief Sitting Bull’s death by police gun in 1890. Treaty promises were repeatedly broken, war and the subsequent actions by Indigenous peoples were mixed with refusals, frustration, anger and anxiety in the general ritualised dynamics of what Goffman (1967) called ‘face-work.’ Emerging from this horror was the popular conception and stereotype that Indians were afraid of the camera.

By the 1860s British explorers had used photography for romantic adventure, commercial prospecting, military conquest, geographical discovery and scientific knowledge. Expeditionary photography was a reprocessing of a longer tradition of picturesque ‘views’ within scientific imperial survey (Ryan, 1997). In 1870 Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden wrote in his book, *Sun Pictures of Rocky Mountain Scenery*, that photographs provided “*the nearest approach to a truthful delineation of nature*” (Hayden, 1870, vii). Photographer William Henry Jackson recognized another value to his work with Dr. Hayden:

[he] saw how a widespread public interest could keep his survey alive permanently. Hayden knew that Congress would keep on with its annual appropriations exactly as long as the people were ready to foot the bill, and he was determined to make them keep wanting to. That was where I

²⁰ Later became the Minnesota Sioux War (1862) which led to the largest mass execution in U.S. history of 38 Dakotas.

came in. No photographs had as yet been published, and Dr. Hayden was determined that the first ones should be good. A series of fine pictures would not only supplement his final report but tell the story to thousands who might never read it...but an astonishing number of people bought finished photographs to hang on their walls, or to view through stereoscopes (Jackson 1940, 196).

Jackson often created images of the Western landscape that were large and grandiose in scale: “His mountain ranges were longer and higher, his vistas stretched farther, his terrains were wilder, more rugged, and more filled with a sense of wonder than conventional topographic views, highlighting a wilderness that was waiting to be tamed and made available to the American citizen” (Johnson, Rice & Williams, 1999, p. 209). The ‘truthful delineation of nature’ combined into genre aesthetics and picturesque ‘views’ associated with Manifest Destiny. What appeared to be ‘truthful’ or neutral as geological record became a transparent propaganda for nation building.

The challenges of creating these records were physically demanding with technologies that required precision skills. Clarence King asked Maj. General Andrew A. Humphreys, U.S. Chief of Engineers on April 22, 1867, to approve this “memorandum of Photographic Instruments and Materials Required for Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel” (Clarence King [memo]):

One Camera-Box for 9 x 12 plates
One Tripod Stand for same
Camera for Stereoscopic views
One Tube for 9 x 12 views, by Zentmeyer of Phila.
One Pair of globe tubes for stereoscopes
75 English Patent Plates 9 x 12 in boxes of 25
50 English Patent Plates 8 x 10 in boxes of 25

1 Extra plate box to contain 25 plates for each size, vs 9 x 12 and 8 x 10
1 Hard Rubber bath for 9 x 12 plates with 2 dippers
Two Hydrometers for silver solutions
1 Eight ounce fluid measuring glass
1 Glass filter and 2 packages of 13 in. filter paper
1 small photographic tent
1 Plate holder for cleaning plates of 9 x 12 in.
1 Plate holder for cleaning plates of 8 x 10 in.
6 pounds nitrate of silver
3 pounds rotten stone finely powdered
6 oz. Iodide of Potassium
3 oz. Iodide of Cadmium
3 ounces Bromide of Ammonium
3 ounces Bromide of Cadmium
6 oz. Crystallized Iodine
5 Pounds Cyanide of Potassium
4 Pounds Negative Varnish
1 Black cloth for focus shade

If the trails were accommodating, a horse drawn dark-room wagon was used. Otherwise remote regions required pack-mules, horses or backpacking. Photographer Jackson described transportation for one project in 1873 that required backpacking: *“Tom taking the camera, Coultrer the plate boxes & I the chemicals, etc., in all about 100 lbs. Tom and I having about 40 each”* (Hayden 1870, vii). *A great deal of time was spent on locating a photographic site, setting up the darkroom and coating the plate. With an assistant Jackson could make as many as fourteen negatives in half a day* (Jackson, 1940, p. 229).

Photography for these early expeditions was physically demanding because of the equipment, chemicals and supplies needed. Protective packing and special care was needed for the bottles for chemicals and for 11 x 14 inch glass plates that were the same size as the final prints. Usually two cameras were used, one for regular format photography and the other for stereo work, in addition to a tripod and darkroom tent.

In the 1870s the photographer would set the camera in position, compose the

scene and focus the camera lens. A portable darkroom served as the location where the light sensitive coating was made and the chemically treated, honey-thick, collodion solution poured onto the plate. The solution was distributed across the glass plate surface by tilting and rotating it. The excess was poured back into a container. A dip into a chemical mix produced a light sensitivity. The plate then was inserted into a light tight holder, similar to sheet-film holders used by contemporary photographers. The holder was placed in the camera and the exposure was made. The plate then was developed and fixed in the portable darkroom which was generally a light-proof tent. Washing was done outside the tent. Exposure times varied depending on the sensitivity of the chemical-coating mixtures, subject matter (dark or light and its colour) and daylight conditions. Jackson reported his exposures varied from “instantaneous [approximately 1/10 second]...with a primitive drop shutter, to 10 to 15 seconds on a clear day” (Taft, 1938, p. 310).

The discovery of gelatin as a base in 1870 resulted in a dry emulsion which lasted longer and was ten times faster than the collodion process. Until the 1890s all photographs were taken on glass plate negatives that were either five by seven or eight by ten inches. While cellulose nitrate film became available, most professionals continued to use glass into the mid-1920s because they could have more control over the printing. The weight and special travel needs of glass influenced the content of photography and how far from roads photographers could travel.

The early nation in both Canada and the United States was celebrated in paintings and photographs of growing western towns. Photographers were commissioned by the government to document work sites, railroad building and town developments. These

documents functioned as looking toward the integration of the West into a nation's expanding economic and political order (Sandweiss, 2002, 1996). In Canada, the North West Mounted Police was designed to facilitate the formal transfer of land (or appropriation and occupation) from the Indigenous peoples to the federal government with minimum expense and bloodshed.²¹ Created in 1870, the NWMP was to maintain peaceful relations between the traditional hunters, Métis and fur traders and the land owning farmers and new industries. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of upheaval for the Blackfoot nations. They defended their traditional territory stretching from Ponokasisahta (Elk River and the North Saskatchewan River) south to Otahkoitahtayi (Yellowstone River) (Blackfoot Gallery Committee, 2001). Unstable relations and distrust existed between the Blackfoot bands and the whiskey and fur traders. Oral accounts from the 1860s and 1870s relate the random attacks where entire Kainai families were slaughtered, women raped and camps burned (Brown & Peers, 2006). The most sympathetic officers of the NWMP had a paternalistic 'white man's burden' view of Indigenous culture. Relations with outsiders became less violent in 1874 when Mi'kai'sto (Chief Red Crow) made friends with Colonel James Macleod of the North West Mounted Police; his troops stemmed the whiskey trade (Brown & Peers, 2006), kept peace between Indians, Métis and settlers and promoted economic

²¹ The British North America Act of 1867 (currently officially called the Constitution Act) created the modern state of Canada by combining the Province of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a dominion within the British Empire. A Governor General fulfilled the constitutional duties of the British Sovereign on Canadian soil. In this dissertation I have not traced the dissolution of King George III's Proclamation of 1763 which was a promise (likely not kept) of the central regions of North America granted to the Native American allies of the Seven Years War. The Royal Proclamation continues to be of legal importance to First Nations in Canada and is significant for the variation of Indigenous status in the United States.

development.

By the time there was a significant presence of photographers on the Canadian prairies in the 1870s Amerindians had then moved onto reservations chosen by the Canadian government consequent to the signings of treaties 4, 6, and 7 in the 1870s. Furthermore, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Winnipeg to Calgary in 1883 brought in an influx of photographers to the west: These included J. D. Doherty (active 1876 - 1886), Adam B. Thom (active 1884 - 1900) Otto B. Buell (active 1884 - 1910) who photographed Louis Riel in the courtroom, William McFarlane Notman (active 1857 - 1913) and the prolific Frederick Steele (b. 1860 -1930).

Travelling along the incomplete line of the CPR as far as the Rocky Mountains in July 1884, Notman established his photographic headquarters in Calgary. After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 many photographers and painters were given free passage through a policy of Sir William Van Horne which intended to encourage settlers and tourism: “*Acts of patronage like Van Horne’s, extended the making of picturesque views of the colonial landscape all the way to the Rockies*” (Lord, 1974, p. 76). In Canada an art patronage relation already had historical precedents with the Hudson’s Bay posts’ accommodation of artists like Paul Kane and William Hind. Through awesome images of the Rocky Mountains the photographers transformed the public’s fear of the unknown into a fascination that defined Canada as an eponymous place of recreation and spiritual renewal.

However, government policy and its enforcement ensured that tensions were present. In 1884 Thomas C. Weston of the Geological Survey of Canada photographed a band of Cree in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. Only one of the Cree consented to having

the picture taken, insisting on holding a rifle so that he could shoot the photographer if he was hurt in any way. A few years later in 1887 Geronimo²² was photographed by A. Frank Randall (Fig. 30) in a famous pose where he grimaces and looks fierce brandishing a rifle.



Fig. 30. Randall, A.F. (1890). *Goyathlay* (whose name morphed to Geronimo) [photograph]. National Museum of the American Indian. (P06812). Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/horsenation/guns.html>

²² Geronimo earned his name during a raid where he continued fiercely attacking with a knife, despite intense gunfire while his embattled Mexican enemies cried aloud to the Spanish Saint Jerome (Jeronimo) to save them. It is ironic that this enemy of Mexico would be known to the white world---and history---by a Mexican name rather than his own name Goyathalay.

According to John Delmar (2002), the image reinforced “*the narrow perspective of non-native observers of that era: Indians were fierce savages*”. This self-presentation of Geronimo, however, can be understood if we refer to a U.S. military action on June 23 and August 7, 1885 where thirty Chiricahua Apache women and children were captured. Among the group in August were Geronimo’s wives, five children and a granddaughter with her mother. The capture was not peaceful. A woman was killed and other women and children died of injuries while in transit to Fort Bowie – including Geronimo’s child “Little Robe” (Pearson & Wesley, 2002).

These dramatic photographs exemplify early representations of native resistance. Weston and Randall produced dramatic perspectives that may well have been inspired by the recent struggles against the controls exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company and the U.S. military. In a few years the leadership of Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont would take up arms and be joined by prairie bands resisting the treaty process.

Weston and Randall’s representations, however, conform to the adventure fantasy of the tourist genre of ‘warlike’ Indian: the Cree man and Geronimo consent to this image with their guns positioned in the photographer’s face. Their acts of resistance are translated into a discourse of tourist adventure and become a reproduction sold to tourists and collectors. As it enters the colonial novelty of New World adventure and Wild West show, a representation of empowerment is transformed into its opposite. An example of the complicated power relations of cultural production, a performance of resistance is disempowered as it circulates as tourist novelty within an institutional frame out of the subject’s reach. These men may have understood the public relations value of offering a

public employee of the federal government such a representation, but not likely the complex institutional relations of an emerging popular culture. As the publishing industry expanded into curios, their presentations of self were disempowered as entertainment, joke and as collectible – in a misrecognition as a Wild West show.

Chapter Six

Early Portraits, Tableaux and Chronicling History

Transcultural portrait photography became a public stage where the dominant culture with its preconceived ideas about ‘other’ peoples negotiated their relations. American Indians, like Chief Red Cloud, quickly grasped how to use photography to give a powerful presence to a global dialogue as diplomatic exchange. Publications soon accorded visuals as the main content in books and not just as illustrations of the book’s written narrative. Earlier, Catlin’s *Letters and notes on the manners, customs and condition of the North American Indians* (1841) combined “*tall tales of an adventure book with sound ethnological information*” (Ewers, 1957, p. 490) interspersed with engravings of simplifications of original oil paintings. Institutional settings used exhibition titles and written descriptions to guide the public’s experience into an intensity that combined educational and entertainment values. The public stage of transcultural photography utilised setting, genres and written texts to produce ‘instruction’ to fix a preferred reading.

The encounter between photographer and Indian had greater commercial potential as multiple paper copies could be made. The interests of a sitter became increasingly less important as the marketplace’s demand for a public imagery of western settlement obscured the actualities of a political transformation with its denial of citizenship to the Native Americans. (It was not until the 1879 Standing Bear trial that American Indians were recognized by Judge Dundy as people within the meaning of the laws, and that they had the rights associated with a writ of habeas corpus. Indian citizenship in the U.S. was only to be enacted in 1924 by the Indian Citizenship Act.)

Photographers objectified their subjects and inscribed Eurocentric stories across their prints, but their subjects were not completely silenced. Hunkpapa Sioux medicine man and chief Sitting Bull made a contract with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1885 in which both retained the exclusive right to sell souvenir photographs and charge a fee to patrons to pose with them (Bara, 1996, p. 153). Each photograph was thus inscribed with a counternarrative that marked their stakes in the marketplace. However, celebrity stakes for prisoners of war could neither buy them or their families freedom - nor citizenship.

Though Indigenous responses to public images could sometimes be defensive, Native American leaders saw the public relations advantage to the photographic portrait. Chief Red Cloud required a certain presentation of his public self when photographed and often refused to if he could be mistaken for a white man by his dress. In Winnipeg, Frederick Steele produced a portrait of Red Crow (Makesto [sic]), Head Chief of the Blackfeet Nation, 1895) (Fig. 31) with the senior chief proudly dressed in the coat that was part of their treaty negotiations – the Queen's medal across his chest. The clarity of the image on the glass plate is evidence that he physically concentrated on the pose. This particular photograph commemorates Red Crow's role as peacemaker in the region. Red Crow signed Treaty Seven after developing cooperative relations with Colonel Macleod and the Northwest Mounted Police in an effort to curtail the further destruction of his own people through the whiskey trade.

The documenting in Canada of the functioning transcultural communities of fur traders, Métis and Indians was done sporadically at the interest of the photographer - as by C.W. Mathers who was Edmonton's only photographer during the Klondike Gold



RED CROW. HEAD CHIEF OF THE BLACKFEET NATION, 1895

Fig. 31. Steele, F. (1895). *Red Crow* (Makesto [sic]), *Head Chief of the Blackfeet Nation* [Photograph].

Rush. In 1901 Mathers made his own journey along the same rivers of the Edmonton goldseekers in the company of a Hudson's Bay Company trader. He reached Fort MacPherson on the Peel River and took the first professional photographs of Inuit in the region (Mattison, 2006). Mathers also documented voyageurs, ox drawn Red River carts and early settlements on the rivers of the fur trade, Canada's first industry.

As relations between Native Americans and the U.S. government became more tense - and, for Native Americans, disastrous - photographers working for the military or the Bureau of Ethnology required Indians to pose, both head on and in profile. These photographers moved easily across national borders and their photographs appear in Canada's photo archive (See Fig. 32, *Ethnologist measuring and photographing Indian, Macleod District, Southern Alberta 1910s*). Note that ethnology at this time was related to a military use.

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Fig. 32. Unknown. (1910s). *Ethnologist measuring and photographing Indian, Macleod District, Southern Alberta* [Photograph]. University of Saskatchewan, University Archives & Special Collections, Brock Silversides fonds, 11-p.33.

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Macleod District, Southern Alberta). Note that ethnology at this time was related to a military use.

Portrait Photography

The professional portrait photographer made a conscious effort to develop a stable source of customers – and created photographic genres for paying clients: wedding, family, individual character and portraits wherein the persons photographed consider the details of a self presentation in the enactment of a genre. Preparations about what to present in the picture were made before the picture taking and during the actual picture making. Dress, body position, facial expression and significant objects and background became specialised as a genre and staged like a tableau vivant. The ritualistic interaction between the photographer and the person photographed enabled both to consider the future uses of the portrait. The person photographed had to consciously and physically hold a position for several seconds - an action that is itself a commitment. If there was an equality in the relations between the photographer and subject, the image would reflect it. However, the ‘commitment’ of the subject at the dropping of the shutter may not have shared equal stakes in the photograph’s distribution networks. Though the examples of Sitting Bull and Geronimo are indicative of an imbalance of power as they are not free men (as prisoners of war), another imbalance exists in the commercial networks of the photographer not shared with his subject. Payment for a photographic portrait sitting could be nominal when compared to the vast and expanding commercial world of reproductions for the photographer. Later unions of 20th Century performers

protected artists' rights to the commercial use of their images and extended copyrights to performers in artistic properties such as books, artworks, songs and their documentation.

Differences within the genre make the reader contemplate technical aspects, materiality, costuming, composition, and lighting. A critical perspective arises through comparison with other portrait studies, wedding pictures and family groupings of a genre. A subject's expression of self may either conform or deviate as an expression of individuality. The photographic portrait inherited the character study from the illustrative arts; its early uses similarly required holding a pose. As photographic production conformed to expectations from both participants, it represented a unique and interactive dialogue between subject and photographer in which both participants make efforts to create a memorable image. The terms of the production were, of course, quite different if commissioned by the subject or a third party like a government office. Photographers, as artisans, had their own interests in making images and not all images got published – despite their expenses in production. Independent travelling photographers became the country's storytellers, moving from town to town with transportable portrait studios in search of employment and recognition. Portrait photographers found many settlers in the West willing to create respectable and proud images of themselves for family records or for relatives and families abroad.

In the last century and a half, the family portrait has become an almost universal expression, a public art with a general audience and countless practitioners. These pictures have multiple roles in our society as folk art, as an industry and as a fine art that developed from the lively push and pull between art and commerce (Canadian Museum of Contemporary

Photography, 1994).

Portraits depended on a mechanisation of production guaranteeing availability, cheapness and authenticity of subject. Images were taken for personal reassurance and as proof of success. An advertisement in the *News* (1902), Alexandria, Ontario illustrates the point:

*If you call at Duncan Donovans you can see yourself as others see you.
Duncan does city work at country prices, so if you don your best clothes
and adjust your Christmas features and stand before his camera you will
have a pleasing and lasting souvenir to present to your friends.*

Tableaux Vivants

The American magazine *Knickerbocker* published a story in 1839, Tableaux vivants “down east”, which featured a ‘special new amusement’ described as ‘theatre’ and “*very intellectual, and all the rage of the city*” (Deering, 1839, p. 190). Known as ‘living pictures’ in Europe and as professional and amateur entertainment (Catlin used this form in Europe), tableaux vivants were performances of well-known works of art or dramatic scenes from history and literature. Mary Chapman describes the early form:

*guests chatting in the parlor are suddenly alerted by music or the
extinguishing of lights that a tableau is ready to be unveiled. The curtains
roll up and suddenly costumed figures appear; the silence of the scene is
broken by cries of appreciation and delight, or guesses as to the identities
of well-known paintings or literary figures. After twenty or thirty seconds
of intense physical control for the performers, perhaps accompanied by*



Fig. 33. James, W. J. (1885). *'Gentleman Joe' McKay and Chief Mistawasis (a.k.a. Big Child)* [Photograph]. PAHS Archives collection, 04 - Joe McKay 004

music, the curtains roll down again, one by one, until "the tableau appears to vanish entirely" (Arnold 1858: 156) and the performers hasten to prepare for the unveiling of another tableau a few minutes later (Chapman, 1996, p. 22).

Tableaux vivants are collectively rather than individually produced and depict a single instant that implies a complete narrative. This form of popular entertainment drew from painting and soon expanded from a theatrical form into genres of photography.

'Gentleman Joe' Mackay and Chief Mistawasis (a k a Big Child), photographed by William J. James in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in 1895, Fig. 33, features a crossing over of fashions in a tableau of a masculinised frontier. McKay presents himself as tall fighter, left hand on a long knife at his left side and a pistol tucked in his pants. His leather pants look very new with elaborate stitching and fringed sides. He is the quintessential cowboy presented with hat, leather shirt and a cotton scarf tied around his neck. Next to him is Chief Mistawasis, hair braided, holding a gun from the floor. His left hand, next to a pistol tucked in his belt, clutches a knife handle. He wears a blanket draped over his shoulders and a government issued medal. Indigenous jewelry and hand beaded tasseled boots elevate him as a man of great status. This portrait, quite different from Regnault's²³ ethnographies where the westerner is positioned as flaneur, makes us aware of how these two frontier men of Canada with their different histories express in

²³ A disciplinary trope of anthropology, medicine and imperialism can be uncovered in the chronophotography from 1895 and the writings of French anthropologist and physician Felix-Louis Regnault, who wrote about the human body within an evolutionary conception of history. Chronophotography, invented by Etienne-Jules Marey in 1882, was a form of proto-cinema which used cameras with oscillating shutters, so that precise intervals of movement could be distributed over one fixed plate. Marey, together with Eadweard Muybridge, produced the first serial photography which many scholars consider the defining moment of cinema. Marey's time motion studies focussed on the movements of European male athletes' muscular bodies and displayed western men and women performing gender specific actions. The subjects of Regnault's chronophotography in West Africa and Madagascar were colonised performers and French soldiers in motion designed for expositions *ethnographiques*: a positivist record to be stored in archives and examined repeatedly, frame by frame (Rony 1996, 23).

their poses a solidarity of purpose and attitude. The dual portrait is staged to look like a real event through studio techniques. The image enacts dramatically a desire for closure and a belief in revelatory endings within stable relations. Every detail is a montage created in concert by the photographer, performers and the artists of the studio. Hand positions and tilts of the head are deliberate performances held intentionally for seconds for the camera. The careful arrangement is a purposeful allusion to history texts. The camera operator and performers work collaboratively to synthesise the scene.

Photographed in the year of the Northwest Rebellion their transcultural clothing styles are indicative of deeper structural relations between Indigenous and settler cultures. Significantly that year, McKay shot Gabriel Dumont's brother and caused the first death of the North-West Rebellion. According to Gabriel Dumont (and the Métis version of the Battle of the Duck):

Crozier, accompanied by an English half-breed, approached one of our Indians who was unarmed and, it seems, gave him his hand. The Indian then tried to grab the gun out of the hands of the English Métis who was, I believe John Dougal McKay [““Gentleman Joe” McKay]. This English Métis fired, and I think it was this rifle shot which killed my brother Isidore and made him fall from his horse, stone dead... (Duck Lake Regional Interpretive Centre 2013)

Given the proximity of the Northwest Rebellion, the photograph, *'Gentleman Joe' McKay and Chief Mistawasis* (Fig. 33), gives rare evidence of the shifting material worlds of the English Métis and the Cree. The subjects competently enact characterisations in a public performance meant to entertain, rather than educate. The

photograph's fiction or fantasy, however, does not underscore the very real and tense relations of the time. In retrospect, the photograph may raise the question of whether McKay or Chief Mistawasis used tableaux vivants to manage public relations when hostilities were evident. Interestingly, Chief Mistawasis chose not to get involved on either side of the Northwest Rebellion.

Gentleman Joe fulfills the archetypal icon that ranks with the Romantic Indian: the cowboy - a Romantic, free spirited and heroic horseman living by his own moral code. By 1881 the western townships were surveyed and federal legislation allowed for the lease of grazing land up to 100,000 acres at one cent per acre per year (Silversides, 1997, p. 25). The ranch owners, 'the western aristocracy', came from Britain, Ontario and Quebec and their ranch hands, the West's first working class, were mainly from the northern United States. The cowboy persona inspired a popular culture industry comparable to the Wild West shows with spectacles of rodeos, books, musical entertainment, films and photographic genres. Like the Indian in the popular imagination, the cowboy was becoming a 'dying race' after the turn of the century dissolution of the great ranches of southern Saskatchewan and Alberta (Silversides, 1997). *The Banff Crag and Canyon* (1907, May 18) printed an editorial: "*The quick passing of frontier conditions in the west, with its picturesque setting of Cowboy and Indian, is one of the features of the times which is regretted by many*".

The studio offered the photographer a controlled environment where props could be added for effect and installation environments could be recycled for other purposes. Celebrating a control over an environment physically different from the homeland, the camera became the fourth wall, establishing a safe distance between the spectator and the

subject in a studio construction. Through elaborate sets and realistic backdrops the photographer ameliorates fears of wilderness isolation, starvation and exposure by constructing a community of independent able men. Our relation to this scene is controlled by the artful attention to every material detail from background to facial gesture. Fantasy and adventure are interlaced in a photographic representation that ignores the real hardships and uncertainties of a people under colonisation.

Professional photographers continued to use the older technology with glass plates to control artistic effects. In the early years they sold mounted eight by ten inch prints and by the 1890s were making postcards that were cheap to produce and earned a steady revenue. Photographers made a distinction between local and international consumers by their choice of photographic paper and by using a photomechanical printing process such as chromo-lithography, photogravure, or halftone for larger quantity reproductions.

Chronicling History: The Back Story of the Great Northwest Rebellion in Pictures

Nineteenth century U.S. government leaders launched a campaign to wipe out buffalo to force American Indians into a sedentary lifestyle more in line with the European notions of private property and ‘civilization.’ Secretary of Interior Columbus Delano made the following remarks in 1873, a year after Yellowstone National Park was established: “ *The civilisation of the Indian is impossible while the buffalo remains upon the plains. I would not seriously regret the total disappearance of the buffalo from our western prairies, in its effect upon the Indians, regarding it as a means of hastening their sense of dependence upon the products of the soil and their own labors.*” (Annual report

of the Department of the Interior). Chiefs of the plains peoples in Canada realised that if they did not sign treaties with the Crown, their people would starve.

Steam-driven rotary presses and efficient transport enabled faster communications, swift transmission and circulation of information between publishers. Otto Buell's photography of the prairies must have anticipated new uses in his documentation of the Northwest Rebellion. In 1885 he created an exceptionally attractive father and son portrait of Chief Bobtail, a signator of Treaty Number 6²⁴, and his son: both gloriously decked in distinctively Cree fashions with the son wearing the Hudson Bay blanket coat (Fig. 34). The pair direct themselves towards the camera as to an imaginary public. Their stillness has an aura that makes their relationship palpable. The father seated higher in the portrait holds a long carved pipe in his lap. Tassles and elaborate beading make this pair a very elegant two person portrait projecting optimism through their personable and proud presentation. Images from this year by photographer Otto Buell specifically featured Louis Riel and his men on trial. This portrait is part of a much larger study as Buell meticulously tracked kinship as a motivating factor in the outcome of events of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion (Devine, 2004). A much larger

²⁴ Edmonton is within Treaty 6 territory and has the second largest Aboriginal population of any municipality in Canada. A family of five covered by Treaty 6 received 4.45 square miles (11.5 km²) of land (128 acres (52 ha) per person), which they could sell back to the Government of Canada for compensation. Each person immediately received \$12 (CAD) and an additional \$5 a year. The chief and other band officer would receive a salary of \$25 per year plus one horse, one harness, and one wagon or two carts. The people would, collectively, also receive \$1500 per year for ammunition and fishing net twine. As well each family was to be given an entire suite of agricultural tools including ploughs, axes, hoes, and several bags of seed, as well a payment, at the Indian agent's discretion of up \$1000 per year for the first three years after a reserve was surveyed. One of the selling points of the treaty was that a medicine chest would be kept at the home of the Indian agent for use by the people. Another of the selling points was the guarantee of assistance for famine or pestilence relief.

narrative of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion, however, emerges when photographs from several different collections are brought together in a view that expands the role of First Nations in this rebellion (Thomas, 2007).



Fig. 34. Buell, O. (1885). *Chief Bobtail and his son* [Photograph b& w, 20x25 cm]. University of Saskatchewan Archives, Brock Silversides Fonds, 10-p.5. Retrieved on Aug. 27, 2013 from <http://sain.scaa.sk.ca/items/index.php/chief-bobtail-and-son;rad>

The portrait of Poundmaker by Otto Buell made in Regina in 1885, Fig. 35, is of a politically significant figure. Adopted as an adult by Blackfoot Chief Crowfoot, family ties were made between two nations. Poundmaker's father, Sikakwayan, was a well-known Assiniboine medicine man and his mother was a mixed-blood Cree, the sister of

Chief Mistawasis. Poundmaker had originally opposed Treaty No 6 in 1876 but later signed it. He then became chief of 182 people that settled a reserve about forty miles west of Battleford. A fine orator, Poundmaker spoke out against the failures of the federal government to live up to treaty commitments. In 1885 Poundmaker, members of his band, and members from other nearby bands traveled to Battleford to ask for rations. When they arrived, the village was deserted and they helped themselves to supplies. In response, Lieutenant-Colonel William Otter and 325 troops²⁵ were sent to Cut Knife Creek, where Poundmaker and his Cree followers camped. On May 2 a battle occurred, and Otter was forced to withdraw, with Poundmaker stepping in to prevent further bloodshed. When Poundmaker heard of Riel's defeat at Batoche, he traveled there and surrendered his arms. He was immediately imprisoned and then tried and convicted of treason and sentenced to serve three years at Stony Mountain Penitentiary (Manitoba). He served only seven months of his sentence and, though his prison time was shortened, shortly after release while visiting Chief Crowfoot in 1886 he suffered a lung hemorrhage and died at the age of 44 (Thompson, 2010).

Otto Buell took two photographs of Poundmaker to have a choice between two poses – but more particularly to increase his chances of getting one good photograph. The pictures were taken in the same location. However, the poses Poundmaker makes are very different – as is the positioning of the Hudson Bay blanket. In Fig. 35, Poundmaker is standing tall wearing a vest with American Native bead work over a white shirt. His long partially braided hair hangs below his hips. On his left arm is draped the famous

²⁵ I have contacted the source to see if there is a typographical error in this number or if the record was actually 325 troop members.



Fig. 35. Buell, O.B. (1885). *Poundmaker* [Photograph, b & w], Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B8775. Retrieved Aug. 27, 2013 from http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/poundmaker_c_1842-86.html



Fig. 36. Buell, O.B. (1885). *Poundmaker* (at his trial) [Photograph]

Hudson Bay blanket. The clarity of the image is a result of Poundmaker's commitment to the photographic encounter with Buell who was taking photographs of many participants during the 1885 Northwest Rebellion. The empowering pose he strikes could have many readings as he is actually in captivity with leg irons. Notice the chain on the post to the right of his right wrist. This detail is easily camouflaged by Poundmaker's richly detailed dress and presentation – untypical of a prisoner. The entire effect is within a genre that could easily be seen in Mathew Brady's National Portrait Collection of 'illustrious Americans'. He stands on an angle with his legs apart holding a pipe in his left hand while supporting his pose with his right hand on a wooden post. The medicine pipe symbolises peace in the Blackfoot Religion and this detail addresses both his captors and his people with a proposal offered by his body posture. His head is turned to the right and he appears very alert and in the stance of a leader.

In the second image Poundmaker (Fig. 36) appears more relaxed, possibly seated. He clutches the pipe in both hands and has draped the Hudson's Bay blanket over his left shoulder. More visible in this photograph is the chain at the lower left bottom of the frame. Yet the leg iron detail could here easily be overlooked as Poundmaker's image has so much detail on his face, long loose braids of dark hair and fine fashionable clothing. Buell's coverage of the figures of the Northwest Rebellion is respectful and documents their use of the pipe and their roles as leaders. The pipe was also positioned in Chief Bobtail and his son's portrait (Fig. 34). Compared to another photo by Otto B. Buell, likely shot around the same time if not the same day, *Mistahi maskwa (Big Bear, v. 1825-1888 a Cree Chief of the prairies)* (Fig. 37) appears in everyday clothes in what appears to be the same location as in Poundmaker's photographs.

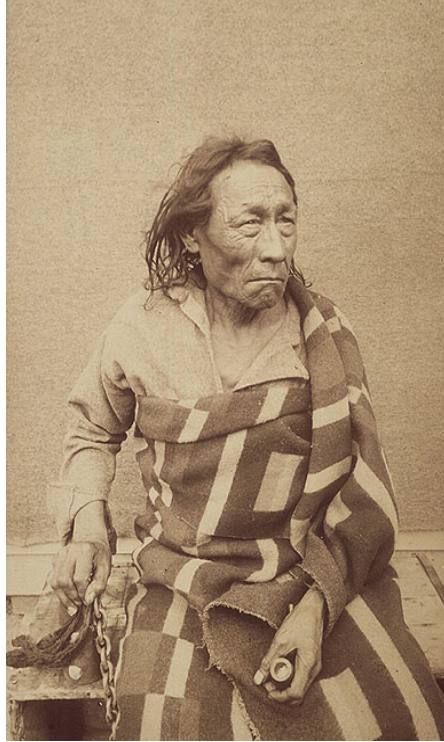


Fig. 37. O.B. Buell. (1885). *Mistahi maskwa* (Big Bear, v. 1825-1888 a Cree Chief of the prairies) [Photograph]. Library and Archives Canada/MIKAN 362944.

The background has a pebbly surface and Big Bear is sitting on a bench. His right hand clasps the wooden post which also brings our attention to the chain that drops to the floor. The seriousness of expression on his face is palpable and he also holds a pipe.²⁶ This photograph illustrates the consequences of Big Bear's stand against the Canadian government for better living conditions for his Cree people during the 1885 Riel Rebellion (Thomas, 2007).

²⁶ One year after the Riel Rebellion, patriotic Blackfoot and Cree chiefs (who abstained from the Riel Rebellion) were brought east for the unveiling ceremonies of the Brant memorial. But Big Bear was imprisoned at the Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba serving a three-year sentence for treason-felony. This series of events sent a strong message to Aboriginals across Canada. It would not be until 1990 and the conflict of Mohawks at Oka and Kahnawake, Quebec, that Aboriginals would again make headlines by standing up for their rights in an armed confrontation with the Canadian government (Thomas 2007).

The preponderance of Métis ancestry among Cree bands was acquired by a long association with the Hudson's Bay Company trading forts. The Plains Cree chief Mistawasis was Métis. As was his daughter Métis who married the Plains Cree Chief Ermineskin, whose name may reflect a Métis parentage. Ermineskin (whose Cree name was Sehkosowayanew) was also known by the French-Métis name of Baptiste Piche. The Plains Cree chief Poundmaker was the brother-in-law of Ermineskin. Ermineskin's brother was the Plains Cree chief Bob Tail known by the Cree name Keskayiwew, in addition to his French/Métis name Alexis Piche (Devine, 2004). These portraits in their very connectedness show a historical slice of life in a family narrative associated with the 1885 Northwest Rebellion.

Otto B. Buell expressed sympathies for the struggles of the Northwest peoples to make such a comprehensive visual document of the participants of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion. In another picture in a formal pose his wife Alice Buell studies Crowfoot's medal (45), her hand holds Crowfoot's hand in what appears to be a long hand shake.²⁷ Rarely, in these intensely political moments do we see women in the archive's visual record. Taken in 1886, Buell's placement of Alice and Crowfoot in a scene of friendly contact addresses women readers through a visual representation. Both figures in elaborate dress wearing hats project a solemnity in the aftermath of the Northwest Rebellion. A belief shared by Native Americans across the continent is that decisions made today must consider the unborn seven generations into the future. Iroquoian photographer Jeff Thomas believes his ancestors brought this belief with them as they

²⁷ Buell suggested that Crowfoot might wish to have his photograph taken with one of his wives but Crowfoot preferred to include Mrs. Buell. Glenbow Museum.

posed before the photographer's lens (Thomas, 2007). One wonders if photographers like Buell understood this?



Fig. 38. Buell, O.B. (1885). *Mrs. Alice Buell examining Crowfoot's treaty medal* [Photograph b & w]. Glenbow Museum, NA-4140-8.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a camera technology was introduced that no longer required the same level and quality of focused dialogue between photographer and subject. In the 1880s photography became less expensive with mass produced photomechanical printing and new popular culture uses. Amateur photography, the Kodak camera and personal collecting gave photography a new meaning. As “a social rite, a defense against anxiety, and a tool of power” (Sontag, 1977, p. 8), photography had a function to “help people take possession of a space in which they are insecure” (Sontag, 1977, p. 9). The sustained effort and partnership of dialogue between

photographer and subject of the early photographic technology altered with snapshots, as the 'tool of power' gave its user freedom to move around their subjects. The photographer's possession of a space became more secure.

Indigenous photographer Richard Hill describes the shift in the colonial relation associated with the snapshot technology:

Once the camera was a symbol of the outside world, trying to invade the Native nations, to capture our souls. Anthropologists and other tourists would sneak photographs of our people. Indians were the most popular subjects of turn of the century films and stereo view cards. Tour buses of vacationing whites would visit the quaint Indian villages and capture snapshots of "real live Indian." Taking a picture became an act of oppression that many Native people came to resent. People on the reserve are still leery of the caucasian with a camera.

The results of the photographic transgression has (sic) lasted for years. Scholars republish the stiffnecked photos of Indians, unsmiling and unattached. The tourists return every summer even though they may now find signs that say "NO PHOTOS ALLOWED". The public, however, believes the images of Indians that they saw.... The Indian reaction to photography was very negative. Indians are constantly being asked to pose for the outsiders' camera, to look "mean" or "stoic". If you fold your arms across your chest, you will be an instant hit for their instamatics (Hill 1986, 21).

Photographers appropriated systems inherited from artists, including the technologically enhanced publishing. Portraiture and tableaux vivantes gave subjects expressive character roles in educational and entertainment forms that served public relations functions. The colonial visual record thus follows two stories of historical change – an illusory narrative of progress through representations in the photographer’s studio – and that of war and community break up on the frontier. As technology expanded popular culture’s visual imagery and its distribution, so too did it negotiate different systems of power. We will next examine Red Cloud’s photographs and how a Smithsonian exhibition challenged his peace-making role.

Chapter Seven

Winning or Losing the West: The Photographic Act

Early photography articulates a vision of the world with a graphic imaginary that is a site of an embodied subject. From 1839 photography altered the spectator position substantially (Crary, 1990). A new reality was framed by the photograph, one that was subject to local conditions, conventions, beliefs and circumstances of time and place. As a physical and material encounter, the photograph was a site of negotiation between a subject and a photographer making possible for the reader a range of historical and popular culture discourses: to access, to evaluate and to negotiate. The documentary accuracy of a photograph made the encounter between Indigenous subject and Euro-American photographer a mediation in relations among nations. Photography introduced by Euro-Americans became the significant vehicles to record, for example, Oglala history (Goodyear, 2003) for both the Sioux and the Americans. It allowed Chief Red Cloud (1822 – 1909) to become visible to colonial authority and offered him a medium to contest the efforts of a settler society to define him on their terms. As he was legitimated by photography, Red Cloud would at the same time mediate, question, and even undermine the dominant public authority of the visual medium.

Chief Red Cloud, in efforts to preserve an independent space for his Lakota people, produced forty-five photographic sessions over forty years. Of these, some were destined to be used by collectors as documentary evidence and some as forms of entertainment. These early exchanges in photography extended beyond the physical lives of their participants to become a living frame in a long narrative of encounters linked to

cultural myth, visual iconology and historical memory. Transcultural photography is never neutral as photographer and subject come together from distinctly different worlds to participate in a contested exchange (Goodyear, 2003) with different commitments. The photographer, for one, has already made a major investment to his profession by his specialised training, equipment and material purchases. Through repeat performances before a camera, a person develops a vernacular of presentations. A smile for the camera is a learned response and soon becomes established convention. Both participants of the production may have a public relations purpose. For the photographer this means the commercial or artistic potential of his imagery. A well crafted and original photograph demonstrates the photographer's skills to a wider public. Exchanges of gifts, money or different uses of the photographs alter the 'equality' of the exchange which varies by copyright law, historical context and social networks²⁸.

Foucault insists that our subjectivity and identity do not exist outside or prior to language and representation, but are brought into play by discursive strategies and representational practices (Foucault, 1972). Identity is complicated by the ways pleasures, knowledges, and power are produced and disciplined in language and institutionalized across multiple social fields. The representational practices of photography implicate a performance based on the body idioms of at least two participants – one in front of the camera and one behind it. As an act of division and exclusion in the service of knowledge production, the portrait photograph is an act of power extending beyond the physical lives of the photographer and the subject and their

²⁸ In present day Canada copyright law accords the subject and photographer equal partnership in the photograph. However, a simple contract can buy out all rights of one partner.

historical circumstance. However, the encounter has a hugely different reading when the subjects act in freedom, or must perform as prisoners.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, portrait photographic sessions were highly formalized events with bulky photographic equipment, long exposures and elaborately designed studio settings. This photography often preceded or followed ‘official’ public engagements and may have taken a couple of hours for a sitting. Outside the studio a similar organization structured the performance between the photographer and subject. Red Cloud, the Oglala chief (Makhpiy-luta to his own people), is likely the most photographed nineteenth-century Native American subject and was sought after by the most outstanding photographers of his time: Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, Charles Bell, David Barry, Frank Rinehart and Edward Curtis.

At middle-age he was credited with the leadership and annihilation of Fetterman’s command near Fort Phil Kearny on December 21, 1866 and forcing the abandonment of three soldier forts from the Powder River country considered by the Lakota as their last great hunting ground (Paul, 1994; Larson, 1997). This achievement made him the foremost political leader and a major strategist as he became one of few Indians in history to make the American federal government back down from achieving an important territorial goal (Larson, 1997, p. 31). He was admired in the east for his courage and hated in the west for “the bloody war that bore his name” (Larson, 1997, p. 31) - now associated with the ‘Sioux’ problem (Lakota was the tribe’s preferred name). This contradictory status had the capacity to ‘sting’ the American public psychologically – and photography’s punctum served Red Cloud’s mission of peace mediation across

languages, cultures, territories and factions. In 1868 Red Cloud reluctantly signed the peace accords at Fort Laramie which reaffirmed the Lakota's hunting rights, sectioned off the Great Sioux Reservation and required the government to remove military forts. The Bozeman Trail War then ended and government abandoned the trail as a proposed federal road for those seeking gold into the Black Hills. Red Cloud went to Washington in 1870 to negotiate with President Ulysses S. Grant about Lakota issues and the tortured transition of the free Lakota people to reservation life.²⁹ Later he returned for the aftermath of the Great Sioux War and the Ghost Dance (1890 – 1891).

On his trips to Washington he distinguished himself from the other members of his party by wearing only one eagle feather when others wore eagle feather bonnets. Six feet tall, he appeared muscular for his forty-nine years of age. On June 16th, 1870, he spoke through a translator at New York's Cooper Institute. He began his address as follows: "*My Brothers and my Friends who are before me today: God Almighty has made us all and He is here to hear what I have to say to you today*" (as cited in Larson 1997, p. 25). Perhaps these words of peace and friendship served as a comforting fantasy for an American public that associated an enduring enmity with the 'Sioux problem'. However, Red Cloud, through his visual and spoken presence was laying the foundation for friendship with the most influential of America's white community - this friendship

²⁹ Indian affairs in the post Civil War era of President Grant's administration had a Peace Policy which historian Francis Prucha described as "a state of mind, a determination that since the old ways of dealing with Indians had not worked, new ways which emphasized kindness and justice must be tried" (Prucha 1976). Reforms took the shape of the Board of Indian Commissioners, an attempt to transfer the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the War Department (where it was housed before), allowing religious organizations to staff specific Indian agencies, increased Native populations on reservations, and government appropriations for subsistence, agriculture, and educational staff and facilities (Genetin-Pilawa 2010, 198).

became a symbol for the advocacy of better relations between the government and the still-free Western tribes.



Fig. 39. Brady, M. (1872). *Red Cloud* [Photograph]. National Anthropological Archives Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC (53551).

Red Cloud, a great military leader in the years prior to the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty which established the Great Sioux Reservation, initiated his trips to Washington - whereas most Native American delegations were summoned. Through an interpreter he stated, *“I want to take some of my people and show them the White Man’s ways. I want to be better acquainted with [President Grant] and have a talk about many things. I want to tell him what I have done since I saw him”* (as cited in [agent] James W. Daniels to Francis A. Walker, April 11, 1872, Bureau of Indian Affairs Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC as in Goodyear 2003, 19). Red Cloud led four different delegations to Washington DC to meet with government officials between 1870 and 1877. Refusing to sit before Mathew Brady’s camera in 1870 (some sources claim it was because he was not dressed for it), he soon recognized photography’s use as a way of extending relationships and attracting attention to himself and his people’s concerns. In 1871 the American Congress passed a law prohibiting the making of further treaties with Indian nations inside the borders of the United States. Meeting President Grant, Red Cloud expressed his frustration and was quoted as telling Secretary of the Interior Jacob Cox that the treaty was ‘all lies’.

In 1872 as a diplomatic gesture prior to an appointment at the White House, Red Cloud with several members of a delegation presented themselves to Mathew Brady’s camera. Brady seated Red Cloud in a chair reserved for presidents, senators and high ranking officials. (See Fig. 39) A newspaper reported that the Oglala chief and a group of leaders met President Grant ‘in full war costume’ at the White House where Grant expressed hopes for their people ‘to become self-supporting’:

The time must come when, with the great growth of population here, the game will be gone, and your people will then have to resort to other means of support; and while there is time we would like to teach you new modes of living that will secure you in the future and be a safe means of livelihood. I want to see the Indians get upon land where they can look forward to permanent homes for themselves and their children....If, at any time, you feel like moving to what is known as the Cherokee country, which is a large territory, with an admirable climate where you would never suffer from the cold and where you could have lands set apart to remain exclusively your own, we would set apart a large tract of land that would belong to you and your children (The Indians at the White House. (1872. May 28). Washington Evening Str 39, p.1 as quoted in Goodyear, 2003, p. 19).

Brady's Red Cloud photograph would occupy a new space in the public's imaginary - a Brady twenty year National Portrait Collection of 'illustrious Americans' on display in his New York and Washington galleries. Two days after his session with Brady, Red Cloud had a session with Alexander Gardener that was arranged by the wealthy land speculator William Blackmore³⁰, who was collecting photographs for a museum about Native Americans in his hometown of Salisbury, England (Broach, 2005). A comparison of his presentation of self in the Brady portrait with the portrait taken by

³⁰ Trained as a solicitor, Blackmore helped fund Ferdinand Hayden's Survey of the Territories, contracted photographers to record the Indians or acquire images already in their possession and collected artifacts.

Gardner reveals the same costume with some highly significant differences (Fig. 40). In the Brady portrait (Fig. 39), Red Cloud asserts himself in a stately pose with his back straight and his hands relaxed in his lap. Dressed in European fashions, he marks himself as Indian with his two long braids, his moccasins and the elegant blanket draped across his lap. He also wears a scarf tied around his neck and ribbons in his braids. The Brady portrait was taken just before the meeting with Grant where he was to address the increasing encroachment of Euro-American settlers on Lakota lands (and the gold rich Black Hills) and try to get government authorities to supply more goods, guns and ammunition for hunting game.



His delegation spent a long morning in Gardner's studio. Gardner's national reputation had been made earlier with his photographic reportage of the Civil War and the government's peace talks with the Lakotas at Fort Laramie in 1868 (where Red Cloud and Gardiner likely first met). Earlier in 1865, Gardner had published a volume of frontline Civil War scenes, *Gardner's photographic sketch book of the war*.

Fig. 40. Gardener, A. (1872). *Red Cloud* [Photograph]. Amon Carter.

As an innovator of photojournalism Gardner made his mark by affecting public awareness through authentic images of the horrors of the battlefield or mug shots of the Lincoln assassination conspirators (Katz, 1991). He understood how a sequence or collection of photographic images produce their own narrative. However, these photographs of Red Cloud were now destined to be exhibits in Blackmore's museum of Native Americans in England which was beyond Gardner's curatorial control. He photographed the sixteen members of the Oglala delegation and took at least four images of Red Cloud.

Frank H. Goodyear III gives Gardner's Red Cloud portrait from 1872 (Fig. 40) this description: "*Red Cloud's hair is braided and he wears a single feather, indicative of his rank as a chief. He has wrapped a blanket around his waist, wears moccasins, and holds a beaded pipe bag*" (Goodyear, 2003, p. 20). Goodyear made no comment about the elaborate pattern on the blanket around Red Cloud and its mnemonic value. Nor the importance of the sacred pipe bag held in his hand which has a similar traditional Lakota geometric design to the blanket. Both objects are held purposefully identifying the region of the bag maker and making reference to the Lakotas' promises in the Fort Laramie treaty. Though the photograph is taken two days after Brady's, Red Cloud appears in the same dress, except now he stands tall and identifies as a chief with the feather rising above his head. He is very conscious of his pose as he must hold it for several breaths while clutching the blanket. In the photograph is visible the base of a brace used by photographers to keep a subject's head and body still during exposure. This full length pose and display of the Lakota pattern and sacred pipe bag have a particular sacred and political significance for Red Cloud's community. In Gardner's studio they are a living

frame in a sequence of Gardner photographs about war and peace. In Blackmore's museum in England they will be exoticised as the 'other' in a trope of vanishing Indians. However, in all these exhibitions Red Cloud is in command of his presentation as it is meant to recall the reason for the delegation's visit.

In another Gardner frontal portrait Red Cloud wears a European jacket (or coat) and his hair is unbraided and loose around his shoulders (Fig. 41). The blanket strip designs are harmonious and easily read as circles divided into four fields and parallel linked triangles crossing a white field in both photographs (Fig 40 and 41). This pictographic language has no resonance as 'war costume' and is an early performance of message carrier. The photographic form associates a sacred message with Red Cloud's bodily presence and is shot from a low angle to be an empowering view of him.³¹ The photographic framing enables Red Cloud to have a powerful presence from his hip that towers over or meets the viewer head on. He holds the blanket with his hands to display the design. Gardner's hip length frontal image of Red Cloud gives him an immensely powerful presence as his eyes meet the viewer in a scrutinizing gaze like a reflection of the personal self in a mirror. His slightly out of focus hands draw our attention to the trim design. Red Cloud's forward looking gaze is strikingly modern. Goodyear (2003) says, *"He's at the top of his game as a diplomat and tribal leader. You can sense this is not a defeated man"*. Red Cloud's presence re-states his formal reasons for meeting President Grant and, like the wampum belt gift at the acceptance of the Royal Proclamation of

³¹ Aside from the tribal blanket around his waist, Red Cloud's dress is simple. "My great-great-grandfather was both a leader and a warrior, but he was also a man," says Dorene Red Cloud, 34, an artist in Gardner, Massachusetts. The chief, she says, wanted Washington leaders to see him as a diplomat, "minus the glamour or pomp or circumstance of feathers and beads."
http://www.smithsonianmag.com/specialsections/heritage/Chief_Lobbyist.html#ixzz1BnNquOX1

1763, becomes a public record that evokes historical consciousness in a temporal frame and matrix (Rusen, 2006, p. 67). The photographic image addresses both the diplomatic occasion and the Native American public interests.

As photography chronicled longer narratives of Indigenous engagement and survival, many of these images were re-contextualized for new uses in journalism, advertising, art, propaganda, anthropology and entertainment. The portrait photographs of Red Cloud were a stage provided by a technology that engaged larger transcultural conversations (Goodyear, 2003, p. 4). Red Cloud was frequently featured in the news -- a review of *The Evening Star* for 1872 shows that he was the most frequently mentioned Indian in this D.C. newspaper being mentioned no less than 18 times that year. The reproducibility, accessibility and popularity made photography a powerful medium for paying deference to and resisting Euro-Americans whose aim was to subjugate the Sioux. Despite the paralysing Euro-American gaze that removed Native Americans from their political struggles, Red Cloud participated in an oral and visual diplomatic dialogue between dominant American culture and his own people – addressing both through his self presentation. Red Cloud seized the opportunity of the new technology to display authority and ensure the Oglala’s political sovereignty.



Fig. 41. Gardner, A. (1872). *Red Cloud* [Photograph]. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC (3235).

Red Cloud was interested in making himself visible on his own terms. An external political economy, however, reorganized the photographic collaboration and

mediated the encounter differently for popular culture narratives of pleasure, knowledge and power. Although photo sessions may have been marked by awkward power imbalances, Native Americans were not rendered as mute and could engage in ‘mimicry’ – enabling a sense of autonomy and control (Bhabha, 1994) that allowed deliberations with government officials while at the same time potentially sabotaging that authority. Red Cloud wanted to be seen by others and embraced photography as a mediating tool to formalise exchanges and friendships. Because he spoke no English, he traveled with an interpreter who was often photographed at his side. A photographer had a similar role of communicating his message of peace to the larger audience.

On occasion, Red Cloud would spend several hours in the photographer’s presence. His lived encounters provide a richly provocative and autobiographical narrative of continuity, resistance, assimilation and disidentification. It can be read in the photographic frame through his presentation of self through body position, posture, transcultural clothing fashions, hair style and also in his relationship to other subjects within the photograph - all of which were consciously constructed in at least 128 photographs requiring long exposures. These photographs were destined for at least three different spaces: First, collected as curiosities by American consumers they were affixed to inexpensive cardboard backings as cartes de visite, cabinet cards, stereographs and postcards. The collecting of these cards was both a form of entertainment and served as a marker of social and racial standing. Second, noteworthy photographs were used by an expanding publishing industry to hold together a reader and a story. Third, such photographs were used by the scientific community as a tool for investigating tribal

cultures (Goodyear, 2003, p. 2). For these reasons photographs of Indigenous peoples were highly in demand.

An early photograph, *Red Cloud*, 1880, by Charles Bell (Fig. 42) has had a unique biography. Bell's palatial studio in Washington became the place where Indian bureau officials most routinely did business. Bell frequently posed his subjects in front of painted backdrops and outfitted them in elaborate Native American costumes.



Fig. 42. Bell, C. (1880). Red Cloud [Photograph], National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC (PO3586).

In this photograph Bell places Red Cloud into a completely fictionalised setting to create a highly romanticised portrait. The pile of hay at Red Cloud's feet, a paper mache rock beside his chair and the painted sea scape back drop were used in dozens of individual portraits of Native Americans. Bell has dressed Red Cloud in the same tasseled shirt and breast plate that Little Wound, another American Indian, wore in a previous group photograph. Though Bell was representing Amerindians as untouched by 'civilisation', the popularity of this overtly faux image in an expanding market of reproductions, showed that the 'wild Indian' also had a currency for Red Cloud in his peace message. Or more specifically, his presentation of self recalled a diplomatic prerogative that complicated the 'mythologising' colonial gaze of vanishing cultures; Red Cloud's presentation of self was a living interaction with colonial powers read as diplomatic exchange within his community.

As a 'free' man, Red Cloud infused every photographic genre with his unwavering promise of friendship and integrity over forty years of costume changes and photographers' gazes. Bell shot at least three other photographs of Red Cloud in this session. Seen together, these images served scientific goals as Bell was supplying photographs to the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington. The organizers of the archive believed that close-up views would provide information about mental faculties and the character of Native Americans as the field of phrenology was thriving.³²

³² More recently his portrait from this painting was issued as a ten cent stamp in August 1987 by the United States Postal Service. During the 1960s portraits like these were used in the American Indian Movement (AIM) in a series of posters featuring Native American leaders. Among them was the image used by the U.S. Postal Service which then was reinvested with a larger political significance where the photographer's studio represented an important battleground for Native rights and respect.



Fig. 43. Grabill, J.H. (1891). *Red Cloud and American Horse – The two most noted chiefs now living* [Photograph]. Library of Congress, Washington.

One of his strategies of diplomacy was to reinvent himself as an ‘American’ (Goodyear, 2003) with neatly cropped hair, three piece suits and fashionable statesman attire. He posed with professors, businessmen, translators and friends in a declaration of friendship. For a while in the 1880s he used this statesmanlike presentation in efforts to persuade the U.S. government to live up to their treaty agreement with the Sioux. After the Wounded Knee massacre in 1889, Red Cloud abandoned the groomed statesman look

and appropriated a more western persona of scarves and cowboy hats. Some of the later posed images like *Red Cloud and American Horse – The two most noted chiefs now living* (Fig. 43) are like celebrity action photography from a Wild West Show. In this theatrical photograph a narrative about their relationship is formed by their actions. Both men are posed in front of a teepee shaking hands and their gaze follows an action in some distance.

The commercial photographer John H. Grabill traveled to take photographs of the survivors of the Wounded Knee massacre and took a photograph of Red Cloud and American Horse. Red Cloud is handsomely dressed as the stylish and quintessential cowboy, a watch chain hangs from his vest, a holstered gun on his right and Lakota moccasins on his feet. American Horse appears in a full head-dress wearing western clothes. As fashionable contemporaries they are already legends of their time in an image evocative of the Wild West as entertainment - a genre these two chiefs performed for Grabill's camera. This image could be read within intersecting discourses of history and entertainment: two chiefs as fictional (and 'real life') partners act a scene in the transcultural clothing styles that Benjamin West recorded in *The death of General Wolfe*. Designed as celebrity photos for a popular American mainstream public that collected such photos, this image incorporates the reiterative potential of photojournalism: and draws the viewer into a narrative of the subjects' actions as if in a living present. These collaborative constructions were possible as the subjects enjoyed privileges by expanding their celebrity and often payments for posing; however, celebrity has a circle of meaning and self-references earlier photographs. In the wake of Wounded Knee, this image re-imagines the Native American as a vital contemporary assimilated into the persona of the

white cowboy: a good sport, heroic, ethical and fair playing. This was a good public relations image to circulate as widely as possible. It was also lucrative for the photographer as a representation of the real Wild West.

Within six weeks of Red Cloud's delegation's visit in 1872, Sidney Moulthrop, the sculptor had been paid fifty dollars on July 11 by the Smithsonian Institution to make a manikin head of Red Cloud. Moulthrop's manikin (Fig. 44) provides information about stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and of Sioux men of the late nineteenth century.

Fig. 44. Jarvis, J.F. (n.d.) Half of stereograph of the manikin, Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives. Washington, DC.



The manikin's features were based on the pictures of Red Cloud, but the clothing, ornaments, and handicrafts used on the manikin had

never been owned by Red Cloud and were not in the style nor bore the symbols of the Sioux people. Red Cloud's assertion of his Native American identity in both garb and positioning became reproducible as a manikin, but now was out of his control and influence. Whatever the intention, the use of Red Cloud's features suggest an aim at popular appeal rather than an accurate rendition of Sioux or any other Native American

culture. A comparison of Gardner's photograph of Red Cloud with photographs of manikans in Indian dress in 1873 and in 1876 show great similarities in the face (Scherer, 2007) (Fig. 45). Stereographs of the manikin identified as "2613. Indian Chief. Red Cloud" were on sale by the Centennial Photographic Company in 1876. *The Evening Star* (1886, September 18) of Washington, D.C. reported: "When the series of Indian figures was prepared for the Centennial Exposition the heads were all taken from one mask.... The gentleman who arranged them did the best he could by painting the face differently, which gave them some variety."

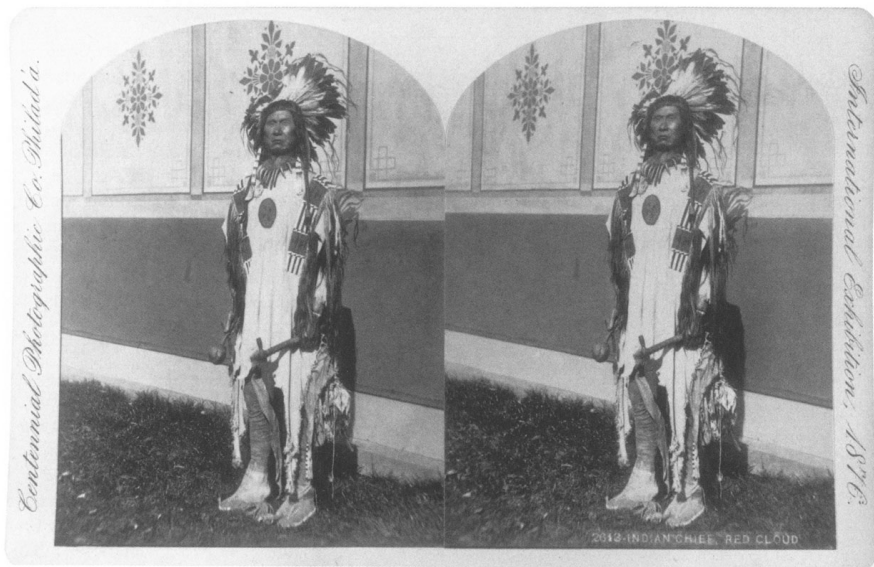


Fig. 45. Centennial Photographic Company. (1876). *Indian Chief, Red Cloud* [Photograph]. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (2613).

The transposition of Red Cloud's message of peace from the Gardner photograph to the museum exhibit pieces and their souvenir stereographs deserves comment. The museum's primary interest was to have a manikin to display their ethnological collection of Indian artifacts. The 1873 photograph exhibits a Sioux drum, Arapaho moccasins and

Sioux earrings which were all part of the Army Medical Museum Indian collection transferred to the Smithsonian in 1869. A Sioux headdress collected by Lt. G.K. Warren in 1855, originally had a feather trailer. The leggings, also part of the Warren collection, were displayed in 2002 on a Sioux manikin at the Smithsonian's NMNH. The bear claw necklace and the drum rattle could not be found in the contemporary collection. The shirt is easily identified on the manikin and is currently labeled "T-1120 War shirt, Sioux??" A "T" (temporary) stands for an unidentified object in the collections. A catalogue card gives detailed information about the shirt from an accession letter and notes that the shirt was a gift to William O. Collins from Chief Smoke prior to Smoke's death in the autumn of 1864; in 1866 Collins donated it to the Smithsonian. Chief Smoke or Sóta [pronounced Shota] was an Oglala Sioux and raised his nephew Red Cloud when his parents died in 1825.

The shirt was decorated with well-executed seed beads, a V-shaped neck flap, and a large circular beaded disc attached to the center of the front and back, surrounded by small circular quilled discs. The designs and colors of this early beadwork example have a decidedly Cheyenne look, possibly the result of the tendency of Oglalas to marry Cheyenne women. The back of the shirt has more decorations than the front. According to the accession letter, the back also had a number of horsehair locks dyed yellow and blue along the margins of the beaded bands together with ermine, both winter white and summer brown. According to an analysis of the hairs on the skin, the shirt is made of two

elk skins with the hair fringe preserved on the edge. The yellow and blue/green painted horsehair fringes represent horses captured in war and herald Chief Smoke's military accomplishments. The extensive decoration of this shirt, the presence of the neck flap (a symbolic remnant of a knife sheath worn at the throat--a symbol of a successful war chief), and the use of the colors yellow and blue indicate that the shirt belonged to an important chief (Scherer, 2007)

Throughout the years, Chief Smoke's shirt was used as a studio prop by 19th century Smithsonian photographers and ethnologists for dressing up their Indian subjects. Interestingly, the later photograph is an effort to construct an iconology of war and a 'hostile Indian' in an ethnological present. Joanna Scherer, Anthropologist/Illustrations Researcher of *Handbook of North American Indians* describes the photographic representation: "*According to some reporters who visited the Centennial exhibits, the manikin of Sioux Chief Red Cloud was a "repulsive looking image with raised tomahawk and a belt of human scalps."* The changes in Red Cloud's paraphernalia, especially the substitution of a tomahawk for a drum, was most likely an effort to make this manikin of 1876 look more warlike. The manikin presented a hostile Indian, despite the fact that Red Cloud's mission to Washington had been specifically one of peace and that he and his people had been at peace with the government since 1868. The manipulation of Red Cloud's image as a diplomat, then as manikin, adds yet another ideological tool to a transcultural stage. A trope of the vanishing Indian, peace activist and message carrier, Red Cloud is reduced to a museum 'instruction,'

transformed from the respected diplomat and the most photographed Indian leader of his generation.

In the Smithsonian example, Red Cloud's representation morphed into multiple manikins with his facial features - a living person - for a public exhibition of war culture framed in an ethological present. The manikan's use as a prop for artifacts of war, its celebrity Indian face and direct reference to a living person and an ethnohistorical present are an anesthesia to Custer's defeat; they contradict and distort the very reasons that Red Cloud made his presence before the camera. Whereas the space before the camera was a transcultural meeting ground where Indigenous peoples like Red Cloud used the dialogue with their 'other' as a space to further personal and political ends, the museum's site transformed these purposes through a co-mingling of peace and war in a public reconciliation. New meanings thus were inscribed into the 'ethnohistorical present'. The Smithsonian museum exhibition became a public stage where political ends were enacted and where peace read as anesthetised war - an expedient to the educational value of an ethnohistorical present, deeply ingrained with a politics of colonial origin.

Portraits of Red Cloud in his personal dress, body position and gestures inscribe a long standing peace mission; they actively address his own locale; the highly fashionable and trend setting clothes and his public personas are indicative of deeper relations of the time. By requiring an exchange between two socially interactive performances on opposing sides of the camera, early photography escaped many of the hierarchies of binaries found in spoken and written languages. Like theatre, an imaginary fourth wall framed the performance montage as spectacle and as a dramaturgical event consolidating

a relationship. As social participants we express and impress ourselves in embodied performances and in dynamics of dramatic body-rituals that maintain the tenuous balance between social, emotional, and moral order (Waskul & Vannini, 2013; Genetin-Pilawa, 2008). As dramaturgical event, this performance is intended to have a life independent of the photographer and subject. The men with their early bulky cameras and tripods did not simply pin a human being into a corner like a dead butterfly and take a photograph. The photographic production was a collaborative physical dialogue between a man with the camera and a subject in a living social interaction. If the participants have the freedom to consent to the interaction (and are not prisoners of war), the very holding of a position for several seconds for the camera is a secondary consent. At any point the subject can renege by moving out of frame.

Presentations of self and social constructions followed cultural rules that were an expression of the subject's status and competence in their home community. Bodily presentation signified a negotiation between a photographer and his subject. Portrait or otherwise staged photographs from this period thus preserve traditional storytelling practices and knowledges in suspension for future generations to assimilate through observation. In periods of social transformation, "ideologies – explicit, articulated, highly organized meaning systems (both political and religious) – establish new styles or strategies of action. When people are learning new ways of organizing individual and collective action, practicing unfamiliar habits until they become familiar, then doctrine, symbol, and ritual directly shape action" (Swidler, 1986, p. 278). For Red Cloud the pipe

and tobacco bag were recurring symbols in the earlier portraits and again in his later years; in the American statesman stage of the 1880s he noticeably appropriated the eastern style of dress without Lakota artifacts. The notable exceptions to these were the photographs by Frank A Bowman during the session with Yale professor of paleontology, Othniel C. Marsh. In one view, Professor Marsh, Red Cloud and his translator, Ed Laramie, pose elegantly as eastern statesman with each of them holding a pipe.



Fig. 46. Bowman, F.A. (1883). *Othniel Marsh, Red Cloud, Ed Laramie* [Photograph]. Yale Collection of Western American, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven CT.

The image as an expression shows an equality and friendship between the men and it must have read this way for the public of the time. The picture is a dialogue in the moment between the photographer and subject in anticipation of a fourth wall and a public reading. The purposes of the picture production are organised differently in the consciousnesses of the photographer and the subject, but mutually through their collaborative act.

Does Gardner's photograph of Red Cloud get across the latter's message of peace? Is it a Gardner photograph or a Red Cloud photograph? Likely it is just as much the beholder's photograph as the beholder reads it as a narrative of experientiality. In the year that Custer lost his battle, an Apache paranoia set the terms of reading representations of the 'other'; the quick translation from diplomat to Wild West performer was possible in a wink. We know that Red Cloud stood before Gardner's camera in anticipation of making a public statement and a sacred promise. As message carrier his presentation evolved through traditional Lakota dress and braids to fashionable suits and short hair in his role of warrior, diplomat, critic of federal Indian Policy, father and respected elder. The collective narrative of Red Cloud's photography reveals the complexity of the man and his ability to adapt to change and circumstance for diplomatic effect.

Photography's vision articulates, recites and re-circulates a history in a relation by which meaning is reconstituted in historically constructed power relations. Butler's decentred notion of the subject and agency applies to this encounter with the 'other':

The paradox of subjectivation (assujettissement) is precisely that the subject who would resist such norms is itself enabled, if not produced, by such norms. Although this constitutive constraint does not foreclose the possibility of agency, it does locate agency as a reiterative or rearticulatory practice, immanent to power, and not a relation of external opposition to power (Butler, 1993, p. 15).

Perhaps this paradox is lived out by Red Cloud in the many photographs that connect the diplomat to the popular Wild West show. Red Cloud's celebrity created a cycle of opportunity, which had the effect of reiterating a narrative of images that powerfully addressed specific issues. His participation in the various genres of photography from scientific studies, Wild West shows, Lakota chief and diplomat, all work together in an intertextual relation to effect a reading with influential whites, the general public, scientists, Native Americans and the government. The photograph, not Red Cloud, is a framework upon which the beholder negotiates a meaning. Whether picture entertainment, postcard, museum gallery exhibit or advertising campaign, each genre increases the aura of Red Cloud's photograph, extending his message and reiterating a cultural capital in a sequence of photographs that reference what has come before. The manikan, along with the excorporation of images within the Wild West entertainment, are a counter example of an attempt to defuse Red Cloud's aura.

Chapter Eight

Photojournalism: Whose Narrative Is It Now?

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 had been a philosophical and political marker that distinguished the United States³³ and Canada and their relations with First Nations. A year after the Canadian federal government's 1867 Confederation, the Hudson Bay Company's territories were purchased which raised the hopes of Ontarians for settlement west.³⁴ Expanding the country to the Pacific Ocean was sanctioned by the Crown providing that treaties were negotiated with the First Nations, pursuant to British policy. The Proclamation attempted to bring peace and secure First Nations allegiance to Britain by addressing the primary First Nations discontent: the forced loss of traditional land occupancy. Government authorities were empowered to enter into negotiations with First Nations on behalf of the British Crown but both sides had to agree to the terms upon which First Nation territory would be made accessible to settlers, and what benefits were then to be returned. The Proclamation had outlawed private purchase of Native American land and gave the Crown a monopoly on all land purchases from American Indians.

In the United States, the Royal Proclamation ended with the American Revolutionary War because Great Britain ceded the land in question to the United States

³³ Prominent American colonists had joined with land speculators in Britain to lobby the government to move the Proclamation Line further west. As a result, the boundary line was adjusted in a series of treaties with Native Americans. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the Treaty of Hard Labour (both 1768) and the Treaty of Lochaber (1770) opened much of what is now West Virginia and Kentucky to British settlement.

³⁴ The most vocal for this settlement were members of the Orange Order and the Canada First movement, anti-Catholic groups that cared little for the nearly 100,000 French-speaking Métis or First Nations in the region.

in the Treaty of Paris (1783). The Proclamation in Canada, however, remains the basis of land claims of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis and is thus mentioned in section 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The treaty negotiations began with the Ojibway of the Lake of the Woods region in 1869, but the first successfully negotiated agreements was Treaty 1 at Fort Garry in 1871.

The Métis led by Louis Riel in 1869 were alarmed that their land along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers could be taken from them and protested the lack of consultation in an assertion of their political and land rights: they established a Provisional Government in 1870 and prevented the appointed Canadian governor from entering the territory (Stonechild, 2006). They seized Fort Garry imprisoning some Canadians. At that time Prime Minister Sir John A Macdonald understood that a military response was not possible because the transfer of the territories to Canada had not been ratified by the British and no Canadian laws were broken. Ontario Orangeman Thomas Scott then escaped from the Fort Garry prison and was executed after trying to start a counter-rebellion amongst Scottish settlers. The federal government then sent troops during the summer of 1870 in support of Adams Archibald, Manitoba's new lieutenant-governor. Riel fled to the United States. The province of Manitoba was then established with provisions that included a large section of land reserved for the Métis, no land already occupied could be taken away, denominational schools were established and French was to be a language of debate.

Earlier in chapter six I discussed Otto Buell's photojournalistic photography of the Northwest Rebellion and how it brought a Canadian war story into the public realm through visual documents sympathetic to the local community. Buell, as message carrier,

enabled a dialogue to perpetuate about the region into a broader political forum - as had his American counterparts Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan with their photography of the American Civil War (1861–65) twenty years earlier. The Métis and First Nations are powerfully alive with dissenting voices in face-to-face encounters that reiterate the forcible quelling of the Métis movement and the partial settlement of grievances under the Manitoba Act (1870). Their Canadian settlement story followed a different trajectory from the more violent American one, but treaties, reservations and residential schools were instituted by both.

The Canadian Pacific Railway finally reached Alberta altering the western landscape irrevocably - bringing artists and photographers to document the west. The half-tone process in 1880 allowed magazines and newspapers to print photographs directly and transformed how photographs were disseminated and consumed through magazine journalism. In the public realm, photographers, publishers and viewers expanded the picture's interpretation. Photographs were costly to produce and photographic portraiture was not affordable for everyone. Hence it was a visible sign of wealth or celebrity. A portrait of a community member engaged its viewers in local knowledge and memories. Corporations developed settlement and the exploitation of natural resources in the West through artists' paintings and photographs that generated public interest; the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) offered free transportation out West for artists – Harry Pollard was among them.

Harry Pollard - Photojournalist Pioneer

The Canadian photographer Harry Pollard (1880 – 1968) used photojournalism

to document Indigenous peoples in Alberta. He photographed these communities in their adaptation to the terms of Treaty Number 7³⁵ between Queen Victoria and the Blackfoot, Kainai (Blood), Piegan, Sarcee, Stony and other Indian inhabitants north of the United States boundary line. Treaty Number 7 signed by the mark of an X³⁶ by Crowfoot, Head Chief of the South Blackfoot and several other Head Chiefs whose names appear with inscribed Xs, was a relinquishing of ““all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands” they occupied”. These early photographs delineate a cultural immunity system (Haraway, 1989) that resists colonial absorption: a network-body with an ability to regulate itself using only itself (Golub, 1987). In photojournalism, ‘writing the body’ is a public performance (Butler, 1990) among people rather than in a studio. Pollard’s photographs of these native peoples reproduce their alterity within the natural rhythms of their local environments. In this chapter I will examine how a photograph’s meaning is negotiated by two subjectivities in a dialogical relationship through embodied interaction. In chapter two I discussed how performativity marked status and role and provided a local regularity (Gosdan & Knowles, 200, pp. 14-15) and process of identity building in an ongoing community’s survival. The embodied interaction with the newcomer is a performative act in a dialogue between the internally negotiated and ‘the

³⁵ Treaty 7 is one of 11 Numbered Treaties signed between First Nations and the Crown between 1871 and 1921. The treaty established a delimited area of land for the First Nations (a reserve), promised annual payments and/or provisions from the Queen and promised continued hunting and trapping rights on the "tract surrendered". In exchange, the First Nations ceded their rights to traditional territory, of which they had earlier been recognized as the owners. Another signing on this treaty occurred on December 4, 1877 to accommodate some Blackfoot leaders who were not present at the primary September 1877 signing.

³⁶ Mekasto or Red Crow, Head Chief of the South Bloods is a name on Treaty Number 7, but does not appear to have an X inscribed next to his name. See <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028793/1100100028803>

other'. In the context of colonialism a "politics of cultural recognition" (Tully, 1995, p. 10) becomes a resistance in the photograph which on its own, and when published in other media and exhibitions, becomes a reiterative public address that engages viewers with the subject. As regional photojournalistic narrative, Pollard's photography is a significant locus for Western knowledge, cultural exchange and Indigenous alterity – as his subjects or their descendants were signators of Treaty Number 7.

Harry Pollard's early career as a photographer overlapped that of E. S. Curtis (1868 -1952) as they photographed some of the same people and communities. Both began as independent artists and developed respected reputations with First Nations. Pollard's photography documented a Blackfoot iteration of culture through the accoutrements of their trading practices - such as Hudson Bay blankets, western style hats and the display of the Queen's medals on their traditional and ceremonial lands. In this respect, in particular, he developed a photojournalist practice by following public performances among a people and his documentation by photographs can be contrasted with E. S. Curtis's Pictorialist studies. Pollard, who worked from the frontier city of Calgary on the newly created Canadian Pacific Railway, never commercialised his early Blood and Blackfoot photographs to the degree of Curtis. Whereas Pollard included contemporary transcultural effects and focussed on human relationships within a community, Curtis used Pictorialism and photo darkroom methods to remove evidence of White civilisation, thereby exoticising Indigenous cultures. Though both photographers bring into circulation different visions of nation by visual representations of Amerindian sovereignty, a double process of construction exists in the relations between the photographer's framing, aesthetics and genre. These photographers enabled their

partnering Indigenous communities to use photography as a voice and story in a collaborative expression.³⁷

Harry Pollard's photojournalistic aesthetic grew from a family practice where Pollard as a young boy learned the production of daguerreotypes and wet plate photography. His father, the principal photographer of Tillsonburg, Ontario, raised him in the entrepreneurial world of portrait photography where he developed great technical skill and mastery. In an unpublished essay his granddaughter, Joy Firmstone (1975, p.1), recorded Pollard's words: "*That was in the days when the flash went off with a big belch of smoke. My first job was coating the old tin types that father made*". Spectacular views of mountains and primeval forests produced through the CPR inspired Harry Pollard to board the CPR to Calgary in 1899 and to open a studio on Stephen (8th) Avenue, five years after Calgary had incorporated as a city with a population under 4,000. Active within the professional photographic fraternity of Alberta, Pollard soon gained national prominence with his promotional pictures of the Rockies, Calgary and, much later, forty foreign countries in Europe and Asia. His early work in Alberta, particularly his photography of Indigenous people fell into obscurity when he became the press photographer for the Associated Screen News and Canadian Pacific Railway in 1924. He circled the globe doing photography no less than fifteen times (Provincial Archives of Alberta) and eventually this early work in Alberta became available in the public archives.

The Harry Pollard Collection totals 12,000 negatives in the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The collection includes at least 200 portraits of Indigenous peoples

³⁷ The exception to this would be Curtis's use of actors.

photographed between 1900 and 1910. Sixty of these are portraits of Blackfoot, Blood, Cree, Sarcee, and Stoney Tribes, with some 8 by 10 glass negatives enlarged to 16 by 20 inch portraits and tinted with oils. Pollard's collection contains the portrait of Chief Crowfoot (1885) (See Fig. 47) with a C.P.R. perpetual pass around his neck³⁸ for his role in the Blackfoot uprising.³⁹



Fig. 47. Brown, E. (1885). Chief Crowfoot [Photograph, Harry Pollard Collection, P 129]

³⁸ When the Canadian Pacific Railway sought to build their mainline through Blackfoot territory, negotiations with Albert Lacombe convinced Crowfoot that it should be allowed. In 1877 Colonel James Macleod and Lieutenant-Governor David Laird drew up Treaty Number 7 and persuaded Crowfoot and other chiefs to sign it. In gratitude Canadian Pacific Railway President William Van Horne gave Crowfoot a lifetime pass to ride on the CPR.

³⁹ A standard practice in the early days of photography was for photographers to acquire and store under their own copyright portraits of important individuals by other photographers. Collected photographs by William Hanson Boorne and others in the Pollard collection are attributed to Pollard.

There were already two established photographic studios in Calgary as competition; Pollard diversified and made excursions to ranches, farms, cattle round-ups and Indian reserves. As an artist entrepreneur, Pollard stated, *“I took pictures of anything and anybody - anywhere I could earn an honest dollar”* (Firmstone, 1975, p. 4). According to the Archive leaflet (PAA (n.d.)), Pollard saw beyond the superficial: *“To him a picture had to convey more than simply a scene. The subject had to be revealed in all its characteristics, be it a portrait or a resource development”*. An easterner in a 1906 issue of the *Calgary Eye-Opener* described his studio as *“one of the most elaborate, complete and thoroughly adapted Ateliers in Canada, if not in America”*: in Pollard’s opinion the studio was *“some punkins for Calgary in those days!”* (Firmstone, 1975, p. 3).

On a visit to the Blackfoot camps, Pollard met the American western artist and wrangler, Charles M. Russell, whose paintings portrayed the people in domestic and warlike activities, often as traders and self-sufficient individuals (Aldrich, 1975, p. 3). By its partial ‘insider’ perspective based on a six-month experience with the Blood Indians, Russell’s imagery challenged Eurocentric representations of the West. He showed how Indians on the Great Plains were independent before the extermination of the great buffalo herds (Ewers, 1987, pp. 40 - 42). Nearly fifty of Russell’s paintings illustrate Indians on swift horses riding close to the buffalo.



Fig. 48. Russell, C.M. (1890). *Indian hunters' return* [oil painting] (accurately portrays an aspect of Indian buffalo hunting rarely attempted by white artists where Russell depicts a late autumn or early winter camp in protected river bottoms). Montana Historical Society, Mackey Collection.

Many of Russell's paintings are unique as they picture actions from an Indian-white relation at a historic place (Ewers, 1987, p. 46) and are sympathetic to the Indian context. Russell may have been the first artist to visit the site known as Writing-on-Stone in the valley of the Milk River of Canada, north of Sweetgrass Hills. There, Indians incised and painted numerous figures on soft sandstone. In an illustrated letter (1910) Russell pictured an Indian writing on the wall standing on the back of his patient horse.

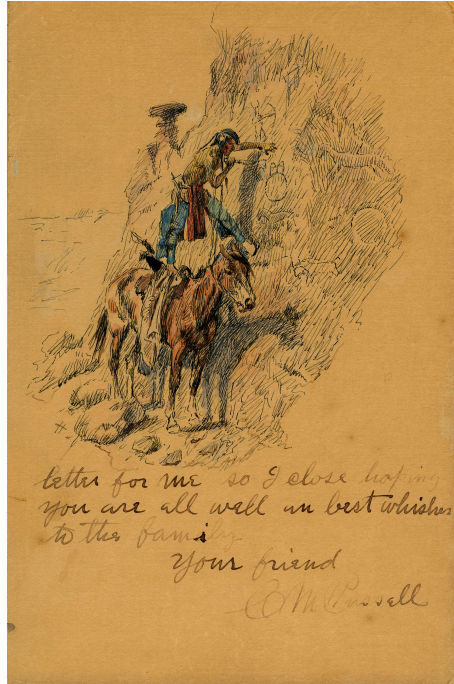


Fig. 49. Russell, C.M. (1910). *Friend Pike, December 7, 1910* [illustrated letter, p. 4, 1910] C.M. Russell Museum, Great Falls, Montana.

This image depicts an act of record keeping which like the wampum belt chronicles a historical presence in the Great Plains.

Russell's artistic aesthetic may have excited Pollard but no public photographic record appears to have documented their acquaintance⁴⁰. While sketching, Russell said to Pollard, "*Why don't you do what I'm doing - make records of this great west?*" (Firmstone, 1975, pp. 4 - 5). Then following the example of photographer Father Lacombe, an influential priest, Pollard soon established friendly relations and trust before visiting the Indian camps with his camera. His scrapbook contains this undated article from *A.T.A. Magazine*:

⁴⁰ Photographs of Russell with the Indians at the 1919 Calgary Stampede are with the Sarcees. In two of the photographs he poses between the chief, Big Belly and his wife. When Russell was sick he went to Big Belly's teepee for Indian medicine treatment.(Dippie, 1999).

Photographing Indians isn't a job for a timid soul either and more than this pioneer photographer felt the sting of an Indian's stick. But painstakingly he [Pollard] did win the confidence of the chiefs. Accompanied by a driver from the local livery stable, Harry Pollard would load up a democrat [horse drawn wagon] with provisions of tea, sugar, flour and tobacco and drive out for a pow wow on one of the reserves in the southern part of the province. There, given permission to set up his tent, he would patiently set about making the Indians understand his genuine interest in them and their tribal customs (Firmstone, 1975, pp. 5 - 6)

Firmstone reports that Pollard traveled to the various Indian reserves at Gleichen, Cluny, Morley, and Sarcee to photograph individual chiefs and braves: “*On a good day the chief of the tribe would have a teepee set up next to the chieftain's and then order his minor chiefs and braves to pose*” (Firmstone, 1975, pp. 5-6). The photographic spectacle was performative, honourable and prestigious; it was also collaborative, possibly entertaining, and materially rewarding as Pollard would bring supplies.⁴¹ Pollard's granddaughter and Brawn, the journalist from the *Herald Magazine*, describe the chief's role in directing aspects of Pollard's photography which include Pollard's use of their guest teepee and not his own portable tent. But Pollard constantly had to re-emphasize trust and collaboration for his enterprises.

⁴¹ I have not been able to establish whether Pollard's photographs were used by his original subjects in Alberta. They are now available in the Province of Alberta Archives and have appeared in films like Loretta Todd's *Kainayssini imanistaisiwa* (The people go on). (NFB 2003).

The big 8 by 10 camera would be set up on its tripod, the photographer would disappear under the thick black cloth, and the picture would be taken – often the Indian would be unwilling and all were somewhat superstitious of the hidden eye... Often a brave simply refused to have any thing to do with “the white man’s mystery box”. But generally the photographer was successful because the chief generally was near at hand to see his orders were obeyed (Brawn, 1967, cited from Silversides, 1994, p. 7).

Pollard's photography anticipated new technological uses through framing, composition and montage endorsed by the chief. Though Pollard's Indigenous subjects may not have understood the photographers' artistic purposes, they actively interpellated the dominant photographic forms with traditional knowledge and core values. On one side of the camera, the photographer aims for a dramaturgical effect and a performance for the public in *his photograph*. The subject's expression reflects the competent performance in a collaboration as “*fruitful, contingent coalitions*” (Clifford, 2004, p. 2). The interaction is a storytelling with coherency for both subject and photographer whose roles double as performers and audience members and may be simultaneously both.

Complementing the discovery of self as performance (Goffman, 1959) with the postmodernist emphasis on dialogue is of special analytic relevance to the portraits of this period. Part of the dialogue is the construction of alterity in the face to face relation. If we examine Pollard's portraits we can recognise a performance dialogue between photographer and subject which is an in-the-moment negotiation between the subject and the photographer in a public space. The positioning of Pollard's teepee directed by the

chief signified a formal and hierarchical relation in the community under the chief's direction which gave unparalleled access to document the everyday within a social stage familiar to his subjects, and perhaps not so familiar to the photographer. His camera then became an extension of oral forms and Indigenous knowledge as in the following example with Kyaiyi-stamik, a Blackfoot cultural historian.



Fig. 50. Pollard, H. (1910). *Inside the medicine lodge* [Photograph]. (Harry Pollard Collection, P 52). Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Inside the medicine lodge (Fig. 50), for example, features two men and two women in cotton clothing and blankets among handmade, highly portable personal furnishings. The centre frame displays two large cushions. Taken from the inside of the teepee, the photograph reveals the interior teepee architecture and a relaxed comfort level in the photograph's participants' poses - despite the use of a blinding flash which was

required in this low light setting. For the initiate, medicine bundles and sacred ceremonial objects are easy to recognize – as if on display. The topknot on the head of the man in the centre left signifies spiritual healer and is Kyaiyi-stamik (Bear Bull), a member of the Blackfoot Nation (see also Curtis's 66)⁴². In this much earlier 1910 photograph with Pollard (Curtis's is dated 1926⁴³) Kyaiyi-stamik is willingly participating in local visual history through Pollard's photojournalism.

Pollard's body of work is ethnographic in its approach. Scopic views consistently treat domestic and ceremonial occasions with an eye trained for telling cultural narratives through a realist picture mode. By invitation Pollard attended the Blackfoot ceremonies in 1904 on the Bow Flats south of Cluny. At least a hundred teepees were set up in preparation for the Sundance, which included ceremonial dances that took two or three days to perform. Privileged to photograph aspects of the ritual (but not the ceremony itself) as practiced by the Medicine Man, he was present to photograph the 'calling', a Sundance performed by virgins. In several of the Sundance series shot in 1910 and 1912 he photographed the ceremony of the erection of the Sundance Lodge (P49 Ceremony of erection Sun-dance lodge), Fig. 51, a full view shot of a huge community construction effort in which women, children and men participated. He also collected photographs from other photographers on this ceremony. His knowledge and experience guided him over the years to document sequences with a photojournalistic approach.

⁴² Curtis stated for his study: "One of the principal Blackfoot informants was Kyaiyi-stamik, Bear Bull, also called Sotai-na, Rain Chief, born 1859 between Battle River and Sakatchewan River." Library and Archives Canada

⁴³ Curtis publication dates were often later than the actual photographic production dates.



Fig. 51. Pollard, H. (n. d.). *P49 Ceremony of erection Sun-dance lodge* [Photograph, 5 x 7" Gelatin Cellulose Nitrate Negative]. Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Observances like the Sundance were objectionable to the federal authorities because they took time to organize and enact – which was time away from farming. White observers regarded the piercing rituals barbaric – thongs attached to a central pole were inserted in the participant's chest who would then dance backwards in the ceremony. A generation away from buffalo hunting, the Kainai people were adapting to a more sedentary lifestyle based on crop cultivation and a ranching industry (Peers & Brown, 2006, p. 20).⁴⁴

Pollard's photograph of the Blackfoot Council (Fig. 52) witnesses a formal event, which he composed with elaborately clothed elders. Two life-size painted horses are

⁴⁴ Other elements of ceremonials regarded as unlawful by the federal government were giveaways such as the potlatches of the NorthWest Coast peoples; both considered as causing impoverishment. An 1895 amendment to section 114 of the Indian Act of Canada specifically prohibited Native peoples from gifting and declared wounding and mutilation of bodies as illegal (Brown and Peers 2006: 30) (Pettipas 1994: 95).

clearly visible on the background teepee. The Council's formal arrangement in front of the teepee may have been mutually decided by the photograph's participants. Of interest in Pollard's record is the listing of only three persons when five were actually present. Perhaps the unnamed two were unfamiliar and he planned to add their names later. That four men are standing and one sits on his haunches makes the picture an unusual group portrait. The facial expressions are relaxed and the men standing appear to exchange gazes between them. Interestingly, the man in the foreground on his haunches assumes a pose similar to the Iroquois in Benjamin West's *The death of General Wolfe*. Identified as Calf Child, he is the only one that looks away from the scene. A subject's direct look at the camera is an expression of the impulse to 'pose' and control one's photographic representation (Nichols, 91). In the composition Calf Child separates himself from the others by body position and where he looks. Does this squat have a specific meaning in this arrangement? As a custom of resting the body assumed by Native Americans across the continent, this is a rare photographic representation. Deeper structures of knowledge are linked to the surface reality of a photograph, and a community's use of these photographs functions within family and local historical knowledge (Poignant, 1996) to activate deep memories (Edwards, 2001) and to retrieve missing names and stories. Marked by an uncommon warmth and informality, Pollard's image expresses a balance of power between the photographer and the subject.



Fig. 52. Pollard. H. (n.d.) *Blackfoot Council*. Left to Right: Calf Child, Weasel Child, Many Turning Robes [Photograph, 5 x 7" Gelatin Cellulose Nitrate]. (Harry Pollard Collection, P 25). Provincial Archives of Alberta.

In another photograph, Big Belly (Fig. 53) proudly displays the treaty medals and the clothing from Article 6, Treaty Number 7. The clothing was a negotiated treaty benefit that provided every chief a set of European style (or white man) clothes. The full outfit was a brass-buttoned coat, side-stripped trousers and plug-hat. A portrait of a chief wearing the Queen's Medal is a display of faith in the great 'White Mother.' As an item

that the Sarcee listed in a treaty negotiation with the Queen, the clothing represents the Canadian government's assimilationist policy. The act of wearing it, however, did not make Big Belly, with his waist-long braids, pass for a white man. In fact, the complete presentation of the self is not only for Pollard, the photographer, but also for the little girl at the left side of the frame who is part of this public stage. The clothes and medal, as symbols of assimilation, become an appropriation from the coloniser that take on a new political meaning in a reservation camp. These are not simply the Queen's clothes. His profile clearly presented to the camera, Big Belly's gaze to the side places him in a spatial relationship to the land as one who surveys and commands the space in a symbolic representation. His body position shows an active participation in the photographic process with the two Queen's Medals in full display on his chest. Everyday events, like the girl's appraisal of Big Belly's camera performance - a defining difference from the visual records of 'vanishing race' - are the human interests of Pollard's gaze. The girl's presence introduces a generational perspective through her gaze - which never appears in Curtis's luminous portraits. The composition is unique as an early postmodern moment that calls attention to the construction of the performance by emphasising the girl's gaze. The wearing of the full outfit at a ceremonial camp can be read as an integration, but as well, is a decisive rejection of assimilation. This clothing has a special ceremonial value before the camera.



Fig. 53. Pollard, H. (1910). *Big Belly, Sarcee chief* [Photograph, 8 x 10" Gelatin cellulose nitrate negative]. (Harry Pollard Collection, P 58). Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Photographs of everyday activities, like *Woman Smoking Meat* (Fig. 54) at the Blackfoot camp, offer a longer narrative through the dramaturgical language of photography. The teepee in the background painted with buffalo heads commemorates tribal history and the centrality of the traditional buffalo hunt. A narrative of resistance emerges through the buffalo imagery which figures prominently in other photographs of the Sundance Lodge, as well as in the woman's transcultural attire which locates her as a contemporary – and

not as a vanishing type. Her performative body is enshrined in rituals. A metallic hook dangles from a meat curing pole, documenting the food preparation practices. Pollard selects a moment when the woman looks away from the camera to compose an iconology that reveals life's physical demands written on her body. Unlike the Blackfoot Council photograph, he does not include the subject's name in the title of the photograph suggesting that the photograph's interest is in documenting food preparation, or perhaps a lack of familiarity and that it was inappropriate to name a woman.



Fig. 54. Pollard, H. (1910). *Woman smoking meat* [Photograph, 5 x 7" Gelatin Cellulose Nitrate Negative]. (Harry Pollard Collection, P 40) Provincial Archives of Alberta.

In *Making of a Brave*, photographs taken from 1904 to 1916, Pollard's collection documents aspects of the Blackfoot Sundance Ritual. Pollard's is possibly the most complete record extant of this native spiritual and resistance movement since he also collected photography on this subject from Alex J. Ross and William Hanson Boorne. The Sundance represents a creative challenge of photographing a live, ongoing event with a technology best suited for posed images. Through repeat performances, the photographs' subjects took the photographer into the moment as a witness to live the moment with them. Views from different years of the Sundance Lodge are evidence of Pollard's commitment to a serious humanist documentary effort produced in collaboration with his subjects.



Fig. 55. Pollard, H. (n.d.). *Sun-dance lodge* [Photograph, 5 x 7" Gelation cellulose nitrate negative], (Harry Pollard collection P120). Provincial Archives of Alberta.



Fig. 56. Pollard, H. (n.d.). *III Medicine men at Sun-dance*. Left to right Yellow Old Woman and Calf Bull. (Harry Pollard collection P121). [Photograph, 5 x 7" Gelatin cellulose Nitrate Negative]. Provincial Archives of Alberta.



Fig. 57. Pollard, H. (1913). *Crazy Dog society*. P105 [Photograph, 5" x 7" Gelatin Cellulose Nitrate Negative]. Provincial Archives of Alberta.



Fig. 58. Pollard, H. (1912). *Inside Sundance lodge*. P119 [Photograph]. Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Pollard's documentary approach did not anticipate a unified position or genre for the viewing subject. Produced over more than a decade in collaboration with his subjects, his subjects may well have anticipated their own uses of the imagery. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Pollard's work does not reproduce what Donna Haraway calls the 'view from nowhere' (Haraway, 1991). Rather it aspires to a historical consciousness as it adheres to a local and specific moment. Like his predecessor William J. Hind, Pollard chronicled assimilation and resistance in the contradictory moment of colonial expansion. He documented the reserve, a place which Gerald McMaster has described as:

a negotiated space set aside for Indian people by oppressive colonial governments to isolate them, to extricate them from their cultural habits, and to save them from the vices of the outside world. Paradoxically,

isolation helped maintain aboriginal languages and many other traditional practices. Although it may be difficult to view these places as prisons now, at one time Indian people needed special passes to leave the reserve boundaries (1998, p. 19).

Pollard's attention to the local and specific can be compared to what Alanis Obomsawin has used in her performative documentaries - "*the sense of the local, specific, and embodied as a vital locus of social subjectivity [which]gives figuration to and evokes a dimension of the political unconscious that remains suspended between an immediate here and now and a utopian alternative*" (Waugh, 1990-91, pp. 11-12). A decolonising aesthetic exists in Pollard's notes and references to people by name, place and date, recognizable skylines, campsites and their spatial formations. The long exposures made demands on the subject, but it also offered opportunities for them to express fears and desires in a physical performance of culture which the photographer facilitated.

In landscape photography both Pollard and Curtis present views of the Blackfoot camp that show a pattern of teepee placement. In 1925 when anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood visited the Kainai Reserve, many people still preferred to camp in clan or band clusters of extended family in the summers (Brown & Peers, 2006). As expressions of the community's complex social structures and governing principles, these spatial structurings are expressions of sovereignty. In Canada, First Nations have sovereignty by virtue of original occupancy which has never been relinquished by treaty agreements (Dickason, 1992) (Note: an international treaty guaranteed sovereignty). Picture-making

with photographers like Curtis and Pollard are examples of co-operative and constructive engagement as these relations were practised and sustained in difficult circumstances.

Earlier photographers like Frederick Steele of Steele & Co. had followed the well-travelled paths of the railways and their branch lines or used stage coaches or riverboats. Generally the Indigenous community did not go to the photographers' studios for portraits: the photographers came after them in their territory and environments. Several important collections were made by non-Natives who lived near the Kainai people and recorded more personal, respectful views aware of the people's struggles – in quite different relationships from those of scientists, tourists or artists. For example, Robert N. Wilson's collection from the 1880s recorded ethnological photographs of the Blackfoot published in the Royal Society of Canada. Wilson retired from the North West Mounted Police and operated a trading post on the Belly River near Standoff in the 1880s and was an Indian Agent at the Peigan Indian Agency from 1898 to 1903 and on the Kainai Reserve from 1904 to 1911. Wilson's photographs include standard subjects such as portraits of Chief Red Crow, arrangements of objects in his possession and a series of photographs of a Sun Dance camp of 1892.

Pollard's portraits were taken in his studio, homes and outdoor locations. Wolfe Collar (Fig. 59), a senior man with traditional braids is photographed at chest level making him appear to be looking down at the photographer and meeting his gaze. Wolfe Collar, also known as Makoye-Kin, was a Stony Councillor that signed X next to his name in Treaty Number 7.



Fig. 59. Pollard, H. (1910). *Wolfe Collar (Blackfoot)* (P7)
[Photograph, 5 x 7 gelatin cellulose nitrate print]. Provincial
Archives of Alberta

The relaxed facial expression is evidence of his comfort and full participation in the portrait making process where he presents himself in a neck scarf and European style jacket. White Buckskin's portrait (P18 White Buckskin c 1910) (Fig. 60) is a profile that may have been influenced by early ethnographic studies. His straight nose and angular jaw feature prominently with the blanket style coat from a Hudson's Bay post. Two arrows appear in a pouch on his back. This portrait is an attempt at an iconology of

traditional livelihood and, like a few other Pollard images, can be seen as Pollard's nominal production of the Romantic Indian - a highly sought after portrait which few photographers could refuse to produce. However, perhaps Pollard's representation has more in common with Charles M. Russell's independent, active and agential Blackfoot. In this low angle framing Pollard has carefully considered the details of the unbraided hair, Hudson's Bay coat, positioning of arrows in the carrier on the coat back. A dramatic play of light on his subject's face against the dark background gives the image a quality of retinal retentiveness. Anishinaabe artist Norval Morriseau used thick black outlines and bright colours to paint ancient legends and dream visions with a retinal retentive effect.⁴⁵ Pollard also enlarged many of his portraits to life size and tinted them.



Fig. 60. Pollard, H. (1910). *White Buckskin* [Photograph, 8 x 10' gelatin cellulose nitrate negative] (Harry Pollard Collection. P18). Provincial Archives of Alberta.

⁴⁵ He was originally criticised by the native community because his images disclosed traditional spiritual knowledge.

On location Pollard used the 8 by 10 view camera with a Bosche and Lombart lens which could take both a close-up picture or a wide angle group shot - the first of its kind in the Canadian West. Other cameras were a 5 x 7 view camera and a 4 x 5 Graflex, as well as smaller format cameras. With the larger cameras he frequently used interchangeable lenses. Pollard also had the first 360 degree circuit camera, which produced panoramic pictures in a complete circle.

Pollard's photography was produced over many years of returning to the same locations, persons and subjects; later work makes reference to earlier photographs and events shared in collective memories. The photography is self-referential as it surveys time passing, children growing, people ageing and the physical world in a photojournalistic form. Much like bell hooks' Black American photographic wall (hooks, 1995), Pollard records the quotidian in an Indigenous history that is alternative to the popular cultural forms circulating outside the reserves. Like hooks' wall the photographs survey resistance within a continuity of a dynamic culture.

Susan Sontag advocates in her essay *On Photography* that photography be evaluated by the criterion of distinction, singularity and creative spirit. By these criteria, Pollard's photographic documentation of the preparations towards the Sundance represented a major achievement with respect to a knowledge production, involving as it did his photographing of live ongoing events, with a technology best suited for posed images. In addition to his ethnographic photography, he recorded many aspects of the development of Alberta from agriculture, mining, construction and scenery, frequently using a photo essay approach to tell an entire story with the intention of writing an

illustrated history of southern Alberta. He photographed the Dingman oil well at Turner Valley in 1914 and later shot the first 16 MM film of the oil industry.

His compositions enabled the photograph to tell the story in a realist mode much like William Hind's social document paintings. As a redefinition of a landscape genre, Pollard's photography especially offers a deconstructive power in a close reading of certain images where we experience an empathy between sitter and subject within a narrative of Pollard's life experiences. He appears not to register in the photographic scene and yet he is physically present with his camera and tripod documenting the everyday flow and motion of a world he inhabits. Pollard's body of work may be taking a step towards what Georges E. Sioui has termed "*Amerindian autohistory*" - making correspondences between Amerindian and non-Amerindian sources (Sioui, 1992, p. xxii) as testimonies of Indigenous perceptions of themselves and their world. If the photographer is as translator, images are validating native sources of historical account. Local community readings re-contextualise Pollard's photographs in ways that teach cultural knowledge of a past of disruption and its social consequences.

Chapter Nine

Negotiating the Apparatus for Indigenous Storytelling: Photographer Edward Curtis



Fig. 61. Curtis. E.S. (1904). *The vanishing race—Navaho*. [Photomechanical print: photogravure]. Reproduction number: LC-US262-37340. Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

Much of the earliest western photography in North America was used to document the land visually by surveyors and explorers. American photographer Edward Sheriff Curtis sought to create a photographic record as a salvage operation of the traditional cultures that survived colonial devastation. Unlike Pollard who visually

documented an ongoing way of life distinct from that of the colonial settlers, Curtis stage managed his photographs, made his subjects perform traditional cultural ceremonies for his camera and on occasion provided wardrobe items – as he did for Geronimo on the Presidential tour. Within the Pictorialist art movement, Curtis conceived *The North American Indian* – a life long project that demanded a delicate balance as a photogravure artist, cultural historian and entrepreneur. For this he needed the financial support of establishment America and, in particular, J. P. Morgan who financed the transcontinental railroad across the states. His celebrity as photographer enabled a partnering with Indigenous communities but Curtis’s colonial encounter was shaped into a period, time frame and binary figuration – and genre. His subjects collaborated in *staging* their traditions in a storytelling resistance to the assimilationist policies of late colonialism; yet paradoxically at the same time they embraced new cultural hybridities. Curtis would argue that “staging was part of Native American cultures” (Arrivé, 2010). Indigenous peoples resisted making public the sacred knowledge passed down person to person⁴⁶ which gave Curtis many challenges. Today in a postcolonial encounter with his photography, we may re-read transculturation as cultural translation, “destined to trouble the here/there cultural binaries for ever” (Hall, 1996, p. 247); or as the perseverance and persistence of the same religion that ensures Native survival (Tsinhnahjinnie, 2003). A ‘postcolonial’ reading becomes a dialogic encounter between the ‘here’ and ‘there’ of centre/periphery relations (Hall, 1996) where a ‘first’ world agenda is no longer simply reproduced. Curtis’s stage managing removed and neutralised his subjects from their real life contexts which included forceful removal from their homelands, starvation and

⁴⁶ The Our Legacy site of the University of Saskatchewan Library is quite conscious of offending communities and have protected sacred knowledge by not digitising it.

imprisonment. However, the fact that he made thousands of photographs with Indigenous peoples asserts that he had a relationship with them. Re-reading Curtis's photography acknowledges the material and discursive oppression across multiple contexts and its changeability.

Though the title, *The vanishing race ---Navaho* (Fig. 61) makes an effort to fix the public's reading of the photogravure image, Navaho-Laguna filmmaker Aaron Albert Carr cannot make out whether Curtis really believed the Navaho were a vanishing race or not. Carr, however, recognizes that a subject's agency is implicated in portrait making:

If you allowed your picture to be taken—which is an issue in itself—you would want to make yourself look good, even if it is an old photograph, just like the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] photographs. In the government's photographs, you would get a sense that people—men or women—put on their best clothes and jewelry, and really set it up in a nice way. And so that is a reflection of a person taking charge of the photo, of his own image. "I am choosing the way I want to present myself" ..
(Arrivé, 2010).

Contemporary curators like Jeff Thomas use strategic essentialism in museum displays to deconstruct the fixity of colonialist representations and expose their construction. The idea of an essential character can be a recognition of a group's need to critique and debate issues related to identity. Whereas Charles Bell's faux painting background placed Red Cloud (Fig. 42) into a completely fictionalized setting in a highly romanticized photograph, the American Indian Movement (AIM) invested it with a larger political significance wherein the photographer's studio or methods become an

important battleground for Native American rights. Through postcolonial reinscription Edward Curtis's photographs with their luminous beauty and rich documentation become sites where a politics of race and material history are reevaluated within Indigenous values. As a model of artistic entrepreneurship in 20th Century America, this chapter evaluates Curtis's career and interdisciplinary methods as photographer, Pictorialist and ethnologist. Curtis's genre and *Vanishing Race* trope, however, served the demands and dominant interests of American expansion which both elevated his status as a celebrated photographer and his photography's use in America's grand narratives.

Edward Curtis: Photographer, Pictorialist, Ethnologist

Edward Curtis's (1868-1952) first business venture was a brickyard; it was not a success. Having learnt photography in St Paul/Minneapolis, he used the proceeds of the sale of the brickyard to buy a photographic gallery, Rothi and Curtis, in Seattle (Gidley, 1998). After a year he reorganized into a better business location as Curtis & Guptill, Photographers and Photo-engravers. In his studio he produced "art study" portraits and fine family pictures. Public recognition came through magazine publications of photographic art studies: *The Cuban Patriot*, *Summer*, *Spring* and others made in his studio in 1894 and 1895. These were portraits and not photojournalistic studies. In 1896 a group of Curtis's 101 portraits of Seattle citizens was awarded a bronze medal at the National Photographers Convention in Chatauqua, New York. He was introduced to the Roosevelts by a portrait painter, Walter F. Russell, and in 1904 (possibly also 1905) Curtis made a series of portraits with the family at their home in Oyster Bay, Long Island. These portrait series consisted of formal and informal compositions. Eight of these were

presented to give maximum exposure to both the subject and Curtis in *McClure's Magazine*, July 1905, as *The president's family from photographs by E.S. Curtis now published for the first time* (Gidley, 1998, p. 62). As with the photography of Canada's first prime minister, Roosevelt could take a decisive role in revealing character as a public display. Generally photographic sessions included both sitting and standing poses.

A surprise visitor, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, had appeared at Curtis's studio with his nephew, Red Thunder and Professor Edmond S. Meany⁴⁷ of the University of Washington in 1903. The three men were giving a lecture in Seattle calling for the return of the Wallowa Valley, the Nez Perce homeland in Oregon, and wanted Curtis to photograph them. Standing in position Chief Joseph stared straight into the camera, unsmiling and dignified (Fig. 1). Named the 'Indian Napoleon' by the newspapers and the symbol of Nez Perce resistance for outwitting 2,000 soldiers for 1,700 miles from Idaho to northern Montana, he was only forty miles from Canada and the protection of the Canadian government, when he and his followers were captured and forced to surrender in 1877 (Lawlor, 1994, p. 47).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ By studying summers at the University of Wisconsin Edmond S. Meany earned a Master of Letters degree in 1901, with a thesis on Chief Joseph. Meany was always a friend of the Indians, and over the years became very close to Chief Joseph especially. In 1907 he traveled with Edward S. Curtis to South Dakota to do research and conduct interviews with the Indians of that area. Part of the history of the Sioux Indians in Curtis' *North American Indian* was written by Meany. University of Washington Libraries.

⁴⁸ The treaties had come at the time the buffalo had disappeared from the prairies around 1880, and the next few years would see widespread starvation as First Nations struggled to survive. The Canadian government was inadequate in addressing the deteriorating conditions. Starving plains peoples south of the U.S. border went to Canada in a refusal to sign treaties. Sioux Chief Sitting Bull sought refuge in Canada in 1876 following the defeat of General Custer at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in the United States.

Chief Joseph's reasons for getting his picture taken are presumably similar to Red Cloud's attempt to engage in delegation photography. As stated, the occasion of the photograph was a lecture addressing a local public in an attempt to have an influence on upcoming land settlements and presidential elections. The photograph of Chief Joseph in full ceremonial dress affirmed the diplomatic significance of his presence. Moments like these are evidence that Indigenous activism and oral story telling were expanding their influence technologically. His arrival at Curtis's studio was likely prompted by Meany who in his former role as editor and publisher of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer understood news-making. Picture making was a way of extending his influence through various distribution networks.

Curtis's Pictorialism was an expression of the photo secession movement that included photographers Alfred Steiglitz, Edward Steichen and Gertrude Kasebier who followed an aesthetic that resembled impressionist painting. Pictorialism arose at the end of the nineteenth century as the first fully international group of advocates and practitioners of photography as art and as a response to the emerging and widespread use of Kodak's amateur photography. The Pictorialists sought to see and create beauty so that the viewer enjoys the photographer's perspective (Nordstrom & Wooters, 2008); their work is characterized by painterly reproductions, impressionistic imagery effected through soft focus, lighting, manipulated tones, combination printing, darkroom effects such as the use of techniques such as gum bichromate (which greatly lessened the detail and produced an impressionist effect). For them, any photograph that stressed atmosphere or viewpoint raised photography above a merely mechanical process. Pictorialism put the finished picture first and the subject second; it emphasized an

emotional effect, rather than what actually was in front of the camera. As an aesthetic, however, it made possible a narrative performance by the subject not entirely in the control of the photographer. Following Red Cloud's use and his peace messages, others used the photographic medium as message carriers to their own communities.

Edward. S. Curtis's Pictorial *photographs* in ***The North American Indian*** (twenty volumes of text and photographs, plus twenty portfolios of photogravure plates) are not reproductions of the original photographs but rather prints using the photogravure method. In photogravure, a platemaker first etches the photographic image from a glass positive onto a copper plate to produce hand pulled ink prints. After etching, artisans face the plate with steel, then treat it with sepia-toned ink. Finally, the plate is placed in a high-pressure printing press and the image is printed onto paper specially prepared to receive the ink. These new techniques became the repertoire of High Art photography. Curtis's original photographs are rare and are referred to as Master Prints. These include platinum, silver, gum bichromate prints and orotone, or goldtones (which Curtis dubbed the Curt-tone). Curtis wrote of the process:

The ordinary photographic print, however good, lacks depth and transparency, or more strictly speaking, translucency. We all know how beautiful are the stones and pebbles in the limpid brook of the forest where the water absorbs the blue of the sky and the green of the foliage, yet when we take the same iridescent pebbles from the water and dry them they are dull and lifeless, so it is with the orthodox photographic print, but in the Curt-tones all the translucency is retained and they are as full of life and sparkle as an opal (Michaelis).

Pictorialism is not realism; indeed it seems in direct contradiction to the practices of photojournalism that other photographers adopted to tell a story in the living present. As an aesthetic, it combined documentation with an idealised reconstruction. Curtis could remove unwanted details like clocks and other traces of Western material culture to reinforce a 'vanishing race' in a mythologising gaze of art photography. Compared with the transformations of Red Cloud from Indian Chief to 'eastern' statesman to cowboy in forty years of self-presentation, Curtis's portraiture has been criticised as manipulations that ignored the real life trauma and starvation he experienced first hand.

The public expectation is to read a photograph as a document of a culture at a particular time and as an inheritance for future generations. Curtis, as a Pictorialist, emphasised emotion, composition and artistic effects whereas his subjects, in performing their culture expressed individuality and competence in their community. We will explore the tensions of this collaboration in the photograph with Geronimo and others in this chapter. Sioui (1992) argues that what is important in documenting is not the transformation of culture, but how a dynamic culture has continuity. Curtis's emphasis on the peaceful traditional arts and crafts of eighty tribes in a Pictorialist form in *The North American Indian* is a series of publications alive with several voices - including those of otherwise silent Indian individuals. At a time when Indian distrust of foreigners was at record levels, Curtis' presence was both tolerated and ignored during religious events.

Photographers, equipped with technologies of chemicals and materials, were heavily dependent on good weather conditions for outdoor photography. Natural

phenomena were significant to the success of their photographic compositions and artistic enterprises. For thirty years Curtis travelled by foot, horse and wagon, mule, boat, train and auto into every kind of terrain and climate to produce more than 40,000 pictures for ‘*a broad and luminous picture*’ of *The North American Indian*, which chronicled Indigenous cultures in photographs, words and sound recordings. The *New York Times* article dated April 16, 1911 also credits Curtis for the following statement:

*Word [of my project] passes from tribe to tribe. A tribe that I have visited and studied lets another tribe know that after the present generation has passed away men will know from this record what they were like and what they did....Tribes I won't reach for four or five years yet have sent word asking me to come to them...*⁴⁹

His access to these communities was assisted by permissions obtained from the U.S. government and by monetary payments and gifts of feasts to people that posed for portraits.

Curtis's Pictorial observations were influenced early in his photographic career by prominent scientists like Dr. C. Hart Merriam, a physician and naturalist and chief of the U.S. Biological Survey, George Bird Grinnell, a naturalist and the editor of *Forest and Stream* magazine and railroad tycoon Edward Harriman. Harriman interpreted his doctor's orders to take a vacation by organizing a scientific expedition to Alaska. Curtis was the landscape photographer on that trip and was exposed to professional methods of

⁴⁹ This article in the *New York Times* (see appendix 1) is not attributed to any author and is without a page number. This made me question if it was written by Curtis as a promotion for his work which may in fact be the case.

ethnology and how to use wax cylinders to record speech (Lawlor, 1994, p. 36). These early scientific methods were then used to document Indigenous performances of culture.

After serving as the Official Photographer on the expedition, Curtis's national recognition enabled him to envision a project to document '*the old time Indian, his dress, his ceremonies, his life and manners.*' George Bird Grinnell had written him to accompany him to the Piegan Reservation in Montana in 1900 where thousands of Blood, Blackfoot and Algonquin Indians were celebrating the Sun Dance – a complex ritual of thanksgiving and prayers for spiritual strength. Curtis took the train to Browning, Montana, and then he and Grinnell rode horseback across a plateau to a high cliff, where they saw a mile-wide circle of tipis. Curtis wrote that the sight was “unforgettable” and “wild, terrifying, and elaborately mystifying” (Lawlor, 1994, p. 42): “*Neither house nor fence marred the landscape. The broad, undulating prairie stretching toward the little Rockies, miles to the West, was carpeted with tipis.*” (Lawlor, 1994, p. 41) Whites had outlawed the Sundance. Grinnell said to Curtis, “*Take a good look. We're not going to see this kind of thing much longer. It already belongs to the past*”.

In a letter to G. Bird Grinnell, Curtis wrote:

You and I know, and of course everybody does who thinks of it, the Indians of North America are vanishing....There won't be anything left of them in a few generations and it's a tragedy – a national tragedy....I believe I can do something about it. I have some ability. I can live with these people, get their confidence, understand them and photograph them

in all their natural attitudes. I can start and sell prints of my pictures as I go along.

The Sun Dance⁵⁰ became the inspiration for Curtis to produce, in a limited edition, *The North American Indian*, the most ambitious and controversial representations of traditional American Indian culture ever produced. It was the outcome of a major project spanning the years from 1907-1930. It required that he obtain sustained patronage and in the summer of 1903 he journeyed to Washington to approach U.S. Government agencies. Frederick Webb Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology encouraged him. On October 12, 1904 Curtis wrote to Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S Forest Service and fellow Harriman Expedition member, about his summer fieldwork in the fall of 1904:

Well, my trip to the South-west has been a very successful one. One of the hardest trips that I have ever made, met with more trouble from rains, accidents, and that sort of thing than I have in my work heretofore, but, withal, succeeded in getting a very large amount of splendid new material. Saw the Snake Dance of the Mokis [Hopis]; also the Buffalo Dance and Antelope ceremony of the Acomas, the annual ceremonies of the Jiciralla

⁵⁰ The United States Secretary of the Interior's order of 1884 prohibited many traditional ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance for almost 50 years. " It was decided, from March 9th, 2003 and forward, there will be no non-Natives allowed in our sacred Ho-c'o-ka (our sacred altars) where it involves our Seven Sacred Rites," Looking Horse said. "Our purpose for the Sun Dance is for the survival of the future generations to come, first and foremost. If the non-natives truly understand this purpose, they will also understand this decision and know that by their departure from this Ho-c'o-ka (our sacred altar) is their sincere contribution to the survival of our future generations." "Looking Horse Proclamation on the Protection of Ceremonies." Indian Country Today. 25 April 2003 (retrieved 23 Feb. 2011). In 1951 the legislation that prohibited the Sun Dance was dropped in Canada.

[sic] Apaches and a nine day ceremony of the Navahos. Eight hard, happy weeks! But you know how it is – results is what a fellow wants, and if you get them, what matters a few camp hardships, and the occasional loss of more or less of one's outfit in cloud bursts, freshets, etc.

Until the first of the year I shall be in Seattle doing portrait work and working up the field work of the summer, and after that, a trip to Washington and New York, at which time I hope...to show you what the whole collection is like. No one [h]as ever seen it yet, and I am now going to try and get a complete set of prints from all my negatives to show just what I have (as cited in Gidley, 1998, p. 18).

Curtis reported to Hodge:

The longer I work at this collection of pictures the more certain I feel of their great value...the thing has grown so...The only question now in my mind is, will I be able to keep at [it] long enough....as doing it in a thorough way is enormously expensive and I am finding it rather difficult to give as much time to the work as I would like.

In the same letter he stated that his interests extended beyond photography and that he wanted to return to the White Mountain Apaches “*more for information than pictures.*” Hodge’s superior, William Henry Holmes, the chief of the bureau could not offer any funding and wrote a letter on March 9, 1905 intended to assist Curtis’s project: “*I sincerely hope that you will succeed in this most commendable undertaking. The*

series...would be a monument to yourself, and especially to the institution or person making the publication possible” (Gidley, 1998, p. 19).

On December 16, 1905 President Roosevelt wrote in a letter to Curtis, *“I regard the work you do as one of the most valuable works which any American could now do.”* Curtis soon outlined his project on paper for J. P. Morgan of Morgan Bank, a major art collector and president of New York’s Metropolitan Museum and showed him his photographs on January 24, 1906 and a couple of days later again. Morgan *“was so moved by what he saw – including the portrait of “Mosa” (1903), a young Mojave woman, the lines of whose face painting and beaded necklaces seem subtly to accentuate the wistfulness of her gaze – that he was prepared to become the patron Curtis had been seeking”* (Gidley, 1998, p.19).

In 1906 railroad magnate J.P. Morgan lent him \$15,000 per year interest free for five years so that he could do the fieldwork to produce the twenty volume set. The agreement with Morgan exacted a heavy obligation from Curtis: Out of his own funds he was responsible for the publication of the expensively produced volumes and, as well, their sale on a limited edition subscription basis. The lavishly illustrated series of books on the very best paper was to come out of subscription sales at the staggering sum of \$3,000 per set (or \$150 per volume) printed on Van Gelder paper and \$3,850 per set (or \$192 per volume) if printed on Japanese tissue.⁵¹ The building of a subscription list took time and a severe depression of 1907 caused printers and engravers to demand their money. Curtis’s own bankers refused to service the large loans he used to tide him over.

⁵¹ Over the years these prices rose and in 1924 the Van Gelder set sold for \$4,200 and the Japanese tissue for \$4,700 (Gidley 1998: 110).

Curtis wrote desperate letters to Seattle businessmen through the summer and autumn of 1907. As security he was asked by his friend Meany on behalf of the businessmen whose loans and promissory notes he was arranging to store the negatives and manuscripts of *The North American Indian* permanently at the University of Washington.

“If you hear any one say I am not to succeed,” he admonished Meany, “tell them they don’t know me.” “I am not going to fail and the sooner the whole ‘Damn Family’ know it the better,” he asserted. “Remember I am doing the best I can and keeping 17 helpers from having cold feet and at the same time get together something over forty five hundred dollars a month to pay the bills.” Then, without a pause, he added: “ask the studio for a new prospectus”(Gidley, 1998, p. 111).

By June 1908 Curtis began presenting some volumes of *The North American Indian* to the University of Washington Library ‘in the name of’ individuals that Meany had raised loans from. In 1908 Curtis then undertook fieldwork in the Southwest. Curtis sought to renew his agreement with Morgan and in 1910 an additional \$60,000 was advanced, not to Curtis, but to The North American Indian, Incorporated retained by the Morgan Company. Each subsequent shortfall led to further appeals to Morgan interests. Between 1911 and 1915 loans rose from \$20,000 to \$30,000 with Morgan’s agreement. Curtis eventually passed more of his rights and between 1923 and 1928 through a succession of legal documents, he relinquished copyright for all the pictures published in *The North American Indian* (Gidley, 1998, p. 113).

Curtis's specialisation in the photography of Indians was awarded national prizes and embodied a particular vision. *The North American Indian* included over 2,000 photogravure plates and described the traditional customs of eighty Indian tribes in twenty volumes, each with an accompanying portfolio, organized by tribes and areas encompassing the Great Plains, Great Basin, Plateau Region, Southwest, California, Pacific Northwest, and Alaska. The published photogravure images included over 1,500 illustrations bound in the text volumes, along with over 700 portfolio plates.

Virtually all the fieldwork was performed with official permission on reservation lands controlled by the policies of the governments of the United States and Canada. The project involved the cooperation from Presidents and Secretaries of the Interior to Indian agents⁵². Curtis usually worked with an interpreter and assistant W. E. Meyers.

Assistants were hired to compile ethnological data, to record oral histories, creation myths, ceremonies and religious rituals. Interpreters were recruited out of the field as needed. Likely the most important Native American fieldworker was Alexander B. Upshaw, a school-educated Crow who worked with Curtis and his associates from 1905 – 1909. Admired by his own people as a tireless campaigner for Crow land rights, Upshaw contributed substantially to the plains culture volume on the Crows (vol. 4) which has been acknowledged as a particularly rich collection of data (Gidley, 2001).

The North American Indian was a collective effort with photographic exhibitions, two 'supplementary readers' for the general public, lectures, the 1911 epic entertainment called the 'musicale' or 'picture opera', popular magazine articles, a feature length

⁵² I have not been able to track the permissions received in Canada.

narrative documentary film, *In the land of the headhunters* (1914), and vast numbers of photographs reproduced and available to the public. Curtis was the prime mover behind these activities and his project is likely one of the largest anthropological projects ever undertaken (Gidley, 2001, p. 43).

By the end of the 19th century, most of the American Indians in the U.S. had been removed from their homeland and forced to live on reservations west of the Mississippi. The government imposed assimilation effort forced children to attend boarding schools isolated from their families and punished for speaking their home languages. Sacred practices were banned and replaced by Christian values. The traditional subsistence life styles and economies were replaced by government enforced farming programs in Canada and the United States. Yet this dramatic conversion narrative is entirely ignored by the ‘scientific methods’ Curtis relied on. His emphasis was on creating a photographic legacy of the vanishing culture and not on its incorporation or rebirthing into present day circumstances. Neither did he follow a narrative of ‘how a dynamic culture has continuity’ (Sioui, 1992).

The great change that now comes to the Sioux and to other tribes of the plains with the opening of the reservations to settlement and in the consequent increased contact with alien influences will, within the present generation, further demoralize and degenerate. This, however, is one of the stages through which from the beginning the Indians were destined to pass. Those who cannot withstand these trying days of metamorphosis must succumb, and on the other side of the depressing period will emerge the few survivors (Curtis, 1908, 3, pp. xii-xiii)

More than a hundred years after the shutter opened in front of his subjects, Curtis's prints give readers an opportunity to experience his work and to examine the historical impact of his photography in ongoing debates about the representation of Native Americans. Curtis's published and unpublished works are being examined from various critical perspectives. For example:

. . . his Navajo work was completely set up, using not only "phoney" costumes, additions, and poses (all non-Navajo photography of Navajo has some of this) but, indeed, in some cases, actual phony Navajo (Faris, 1996, p. 108).

In a famous photograph of the Navajo Nightway reprinted in dozens of publications, two God impersonators were Charlie and Sam Day, the sons of an early non-Navajo trader at Chinle . According to Faris, Charlie may have actually been a photographer of some of the Nightway photographs as the images lack the formal symmetry of Curtis's work. Curtis (1904) in correspondence wrote about Navajo hostility to his photography and did not attend the Nightway, a wintertime healing ceremony held after the harvest and before the next planting season. Faris speculates that the Nightway photographs were staged because of resistance to the photography from assimilationists (Navajo and non-Navajo) who resented Curtis's manipulation to "*achieve some representation of 'aboriginality'*" (Faris, 1997, p. 115). Nightway sand painting sketches were drawn by a non-Nightway specialist. Navaho culture, however, does not allow images used in sand paintings to be produced outside their ceremonial context (<http://spirittalknews.com/HosteenKlah.htm>).

Photographs taken of distant locales “were sites – defined by Western needs, beliefs and expectations – where distant facts were transformed into Western fictions” (Schwartz, 1996, p. 30). Curtis’s genre erased the context of broken treaties, displacement and war and placed the Indigenous subject back in time in a Pictorialist representation - an art movement from the 1890s to 1917 influenced by the Impressionist and Romantic art movements. However, despite questions of representational authenticity for the Indigenous subjects, Curtis’s staging of events in 1904 has comparative and historical value. The God Impersonators knew how to arrange themselves as in an actual ceremony because they had participated in the ceremony. The close-ups of the masked impersonators are useful documents that can be used in tracking down Nightway masks out of Navajoland. Some of his subjects’ names are identified, as medicine men Laughing Singer, Tall Chanter and Little Singer are known as Navajo medicine men that performed The Nightway ceremony within their community (Spirittalknews.com) and only passed this knowledge as an inheritance to family members. Their familiarity among the Navaho and then appearance in Curtis’s volume gave a false validation to the inventory of Nightway pictures enacted by non-Navaho actors. Perhaps this mix of documentation by medicine men and actor/models fulfilled the demands of generating content for *The North American Indian*. Did the medicine men withdraw their participation and force Curtis to invent methods to complete his project? Many communities, not just Navaho or Indigenous, forbid photographing sacred ceremonies. Did the need for a complete inventory make Curtis disregard moral and ethical space (Devereaux, 1995, p. 71), as perhaps Catlin did with sacred stone quarries of the Blood line?

Curtis photographed Navajo (or their surrogates) in four styles – studio close-ups with plain backdrop; posed “action” photograph (frequently with canyon backdrop); distant long focus of broad landscape and silhouette. Distant landscapes with a few Navajo disappearing into the field form the basis of a *Vanishing Race* trope. The Pictorialist imagery presented a nostalgic virtual world of ‘Glory Days’ back in time which obfuscated the real present day issues that Chief Joseph and others desperately wanted the public to know. More specifically, Curtis in his scientific approach was appropriating the material effects of a living culture for a High Art annihilation project. Nonetheless, within his subjects’ home community Curtis’s images continue to reiterate cultural core values and continuity. A postcolonial reading examines the photographer’s constructive engagement with elders and subjects and his methods become a site of critical reading. Like Catlin, he did not always respect ethical boundaries. Curtis needed to meet shortfalls from unreliable sources and, though done with ‘integrity’, these needed to meet the demands of his public.

Curtis’s bust close-ups are rigidly ‘documentary’ in a Boasian scientific style, that accord with anthropological notions of preservation and recording (Faris, 1997, p. 120). Boas was possibly the first visual anthropologist to use the motion picture camera in natural settings to study gesture, motor habits, and dance as manifestations of culture; he salvaged and, if necessary, reconstructed as much of the traditional culture of the Kwakiutl as possible (Ruby, 1980, p. 7). By contrast to the bust close-ups, Curtis’s staged ‘action’ poses were a stylistic innovation of translating what was essentially in motion into a frozen form that photographic technology required. These innovations have been both condemned and honoured.

Producing these volumes placed the Indigenous peoples in a spatial and temporal distinction, an 'over there' which was 'back in time' in a Romantic Pictorialist aesthetic. Curtis's project, however, aspired to an objectivity conceived as detached and neutral within the positivist-empiricist principles of a museum archivist. The contradiction of using a 'neutral' framework for a documentation of peoples in an 'over there' and spatial and temporal 'back in time', however, limits the subject's agency in their living present. The political context of Curtis's enterprise can be compared with the anthropological studies of Rev. Henri-Alexandre Junod in Africa:

One of the major reasons for undertaking extensive anthropological studies in Africa, according to Junod (Rev. Henri-Alexandre Junod was Swiss missionary and ethnographer) was to provide Europeans with a picture of their own prehistoric, primitive past. The view that Europe's past could be found in Africa's present drove Junod to produce a form of salvage anthropology that uncoupled "traditional" society from any form of change. This image was reinforced as he strove to present Europeans, experiencing the trauma of industrialisation, with a picture of a primitive, uncomplicated society living close to nature. Junod's vision of what he wanted to find in Africa had an immediate impact on the choice and organization of his illustrative photographs. So, although almost 100,000 workers drawn from southern Mozambique were employed in the mines, farms, plantations and ports of South Africa by the turn of the century, not one photograph of a migrant worker appeared in his anthropological monographs (Harries 2002).

Junod and Curtis removed or altered aspects of their subjects' worlds that would be evidence to adaptation to an industrial world. Though each of them was involved in salvage projects, Junod, in the dual role of missionary and ethnographer, was aligned to Christian conversion; whereas Curtis was merging a fine art practice to field studies and ethnology within a corporate structure that demanded a Romantic Pictorialism for widespread distribution.

A genre is a standard style in which presentation aesthetics are more important than the actual content within the image. Over Curtis's life long production he established a genre of photography exclusive to *The North American Indian*. The later work adheres to the stylistic and formal qualities of the early work within the standards of an archival project. As the style is reproducible with countless variations, an illusion of political neutrality is naturalised and reinforced. Curtis erases modern lifestyle from his representations, often in collaboration with community members and elders that valued documenting a continuity of their culture. He used techniques acquired in a photo studio practice for an artistic effect consistent in all twenty volumes.

Despite the mixed reception of Curtis's work and its contradictory claims to ethnology, Indigenous people value Curtis's legacy of photography. His celebrity as photographer removed many obstacles to his project of recording songs and customs. His subjects are someone's real family members beautifully presented in fine quality photography. Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor wrote in 1987, "[W]e were caught dead in camera time, extinct in photographs" and "now ...in search of our past and

common memories...we walk right back into these photographs" (as cited in Gidley, 2001, p. 50). Curtis reiterates the past as he imagines it. His description of *Hopi man* (*The North American Indian*; v.12) (Fig. 62) is another example of how he negotiated the colonial power relation:

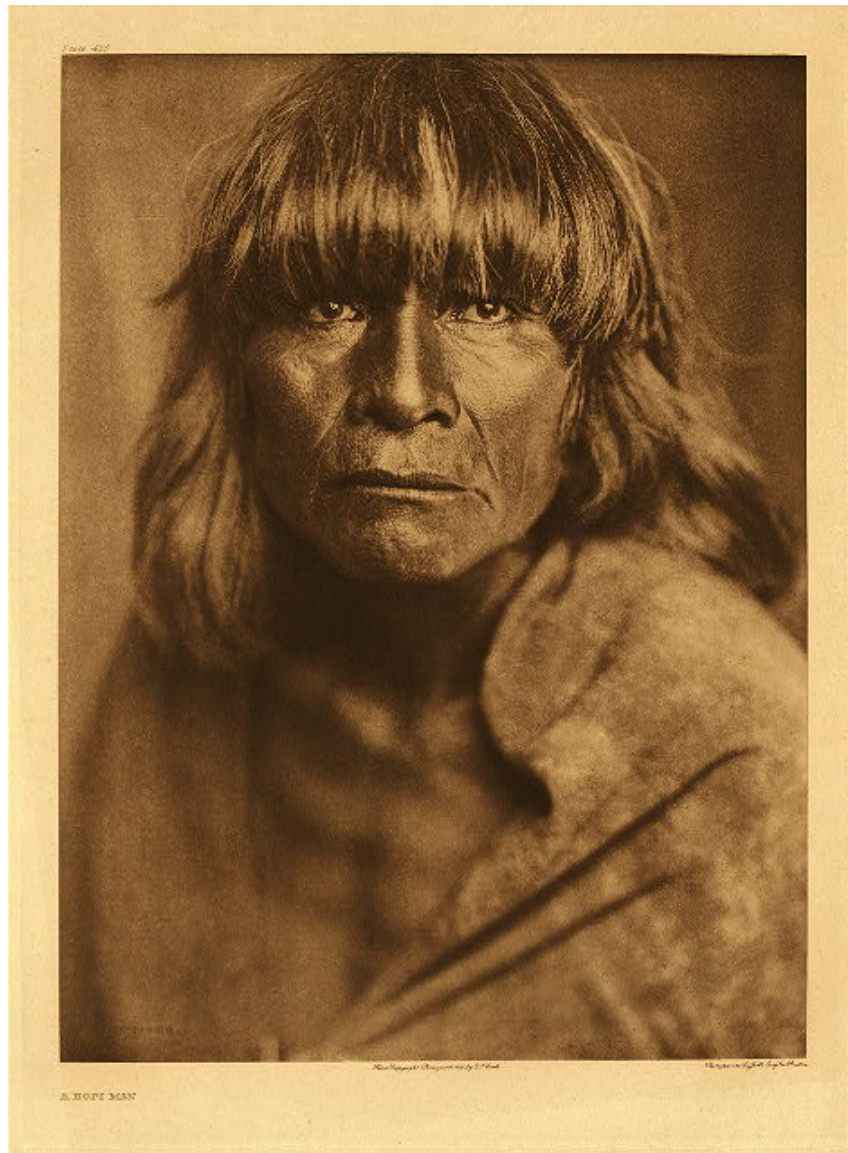


Fig. 62. Curtis. E. S. (1922). *Hopi man* (*The North American Indian*; v. 12) [Photogravure: brown ink; 45 x 33 cm.] Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

In this physiognomy we read the dominant traits of Hopi character. The eyes speak of wariness, if not downright distrust. The mouth shows great possibilities of unyielding stubbornness. Yet somewhere in this face lurks an expression of masked warmheartedness. And humanity.



Fig. 63. Curtis, E.S. (1926). *Calf Child – Blackfoot*. (E. S. Curtis *The North American Indian* v.18) [Photogravure: brown ink 46 x 34 cm.] Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

In Curtis's *The North American Indian*, *Calf Child*⁵³ appears in a portrait in an everyday western shirt with his hair braided (Fig. 63). His relaxed face expresses a half smile and the portrait is without exoticisation and is as nuanced as Farm Security Administration (F.S.A) photographer Dorothea Lange's, *Migrant Mother*. *Calf Child* uses the social occasion to express individuality and a performance of culture. Curtis's institutional context in *The North American Indian*, however, accords *Calf Child* a presence in the *vanishing race* narrative which, with its expiration date, becomes a form of exoticisation, if not exclusion.

Despite the fact that the photographic record of the West documents asymmetrical power relations and solidifies the racial and gender hierarchies that produce these images (Faris, 1996), a method of reading the image is to consider the tensions of the moment recorded and the long histories that bring the participants into this encounter. The social and actual lived relations between the artist/photographer and the subject belong to a network of institutional relations. In the examples I have discussed a patronage model was a key determinant in the public address that an artist or photographer ultimately made.

Curtis's idyllic representations of reservation life, with a blindness to the actual harsh realities, contrast with the later Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.) projects. One of Franklin Roosevelt's most famous programs, F.S.A. of the New Deal, was formed as an act of Congress in 1937 to help struggling farmers endure the Great

⁵³ *Calf Child* appears in Pollard's Blackfoot Council photograph

Depression. The F.S.A. organized a historical section to create and promote a record of the Depression's devastation on average Americans and the positive outcomes of F.S.A. projects for needy farmers. Roy Stryker, director of the project, circulated photographs as 'a cultural document the likes of which we may never see again' to picture magazines like *Life*, *Look*, and *Fortune*.

Documentary photography's primary appeal in these documents was to the emotions of American readers of the thirties who lacked a critical perspective on photojournalistic rhetoric. "Documentary is not about an objective, verifiable, neutral fact, but about the interpretation and arrangement of what is 'out there' in a way that best fits the documentarian's purposes and sense of social responsibility" (Finnegan, 2003, p. XV). Deserving comparison with Curtis, the F.S.A. photographs animated lively ideological debates about nation and region through a photojournalism of labour camp workers in California and influenced progressive American social movements. Curtis's nostalgic portraits, though they focus on geographical regions and American Indians, are an anathema to a critical consciousness about their conditions.

Curtis's *Portrait of Geronimo* (1905) (Fig. 64) was taken when Geronimo was on a government enforced tour with President Theodore Roosevelt after officially being a prisoner at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for more than 20 years. It was January, bitterly cold, and pictures of Geronimo at the parade show him warmly wrapped in a blanket provided by Curtis from his portable props. Daklugie his nephew said, "*we wore only the breechclouts, belts, moccasins, and our medicine hats*" (Magee, 2003). Curtis renders Geronimo in a blanket and ceremonial headdress which disguises Geronimo's contemporary clothing and obliterates the political situation by which the photograph

was constructed. Geronimo was posed and dressed the part of the ‘historical old Apache’ which Curtis needed for his first volume of *The Native American Indian* portfolio: “*Wrapped in a blanket, his wrinkles accentuated and facial details softened, Geronimo seems a relic of the past, a poster boy for the vanishing race*” (Sandweiss, 2001, p. 31). But like Sitting Bull, Geronimo a year earlier at the Saint Louis Fair sold photographs for twenty-five cents, keeping ten cents for himself and anywhere from ten to twenty-five cents for his autograph. Geronimo boasted, “*I often made as much as two dollars a day, and when I returned I had plenty of money – more than I had ever owned before*” (Barrett, 1906, p. 197). For a time Geronimo wanted to believe that a new economic order was possible for his family.

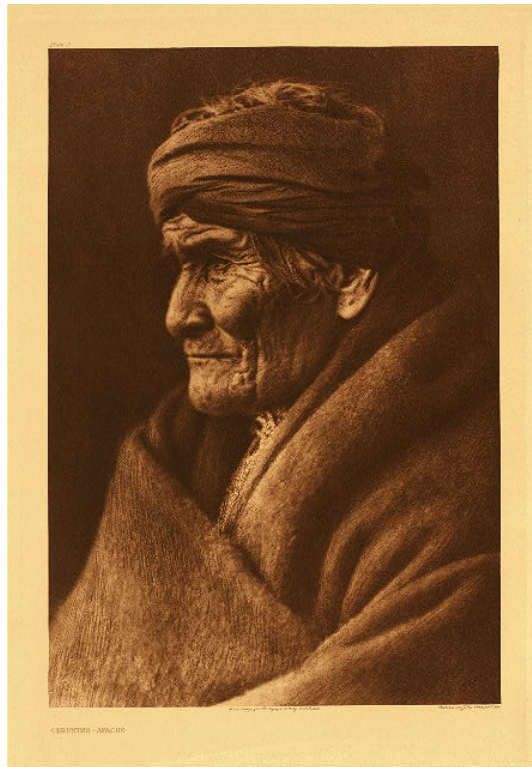


Fig. 64. Curtis. E.S. (1907) *Geronimo –Apache* (The North American Indian; v. 01) [Photogravure. brown ink. 46 x 31 cm.]. Retrieved from

Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

As one of Curtis's most political representations, the photograph is a prime example of how a non-European subject is represented in ways congenial to the coloniser. Geronimo's portrait denies the political complexity of the Indigenous experience and completely ignores the struggle that is really lived by him in the moment of picture making. The portrait in its 'dressed' state, can offer future generations insight into Apache and settler relations of that time. Geronimo, the Apache leader of the last American Indian fighting force to surrender to the United States in 1886, died a prisoner of war, unable to return to his homeland four years after riding in Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade. In this paradoxical moment of photography Geronimo, himself, seemingly graciously performs 'Glory Days'. But why would this legendary living figure want to be remembered otherwise? The pain of being a prisoner of war is anesthetised by a ceremonial headdress that reinforces Geronimo's authority as a fearless guerilla. A year later Geronimo – still in military custody – published his own 'as-told-to' autobiography which blasted the military establishment. (The copyright of Geronimo's story stayed with S. M. Barrett, the editor.) He was specifically critical of the photographs that illustrated his life dressed as in 'days of old' and 'ready for church', by implication invalidating Curtis's typecasting of him within traditional culture.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ As Geronimo was then a prisoner of war, S. M. Barrett, author of the classic text, "Practical Pedagogy" (1908), had made appeals to President Teddy Roosevelt for permission to record the words of the "Indian Outlaw." Geronimo came to each interview knowing exactly what he wanted to cover, beginning with his telling of the Apache creation story. When, at the end of the first session, Barrett posed a question, the only answer he received was a pronouncement --"Write what I have spoken." Geronimo, His Own Story by Geronimo, S. M. Barrett; Narrated by Pat Bottino, Blackstone Audio, Inc. Published: Tuesday, March 11, 2008

Geronimo's performance through photographs and his autobiography are desperate attempts at negotiating public interest and support for his political circumstances and the harsh treatment of his people. In performing the leader in the photograph, he reinvigorates and reiterates his vital role within his imprisoned community – claiming what has been repositioned and neutralised by his riding in Theodore Roosevelt's parade. The photo staging as a reincorporation of difference strips opposition and ensures the stability of the dominant system (Fiske, 1989) at the expense of advancing any public debate.

Blind and almost deaf, the grey haired eighty-three year old Red Cloud sat before Curtis's camera, his eyes closed.



Fig. 65. Curtis, E.S. (1905). *Red Cloud – Oglala* (The North American Indian; v.03) [Photogravure. brown ink. 46 x 36 cm.]. Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

In this photograph Red Cloud positions his face to the side with his right side face in shadow. A three toned cotton scarf is tied around his neck over a fashionable cotton shirt. Here no pipe appears in this solemn representation and yet it feels like Red Cloud has stopped time through the play of light on the face, which Curtis emphasises by focusing on his facial expression. Red Cloud holds this position very long as it reads clean and clearly focused as if pre-meditated. Nearly forty years had passed since the Fort Laramie treaty was signed and Red Cloud has seen the government break every treaty promise. With the discovery of gold in 1874, the Black Hills became white man's territory and the Great Sioux Reservation was quickly sold off to homesteaders after it was cut in half by the railroad in 1889. Red Cloud's courage and tenacity through his subjection to betrayal, poverty and abandonment speak luminously beyond Curtis's genre.

Curtis's aesthetics in ethnological documentation would often result in ambiguous images. In *Hopi Girls Grinding Peke Bread Meal* four unmarried women (recognised by their distinctive hairstyle) in a posed 'action' photograph are grinding corn, an everyday household activity wearing ceremonial clothing (Fig. 66). Traditional handicrafts are featured in the woven basket cover raised on its side for the photograph to show a spiral pattern. As theatrical montage, this image presents the women in a horizontal row for the entire width of the photograph. The women have identical hair styles with their long dark hair wrapped in a single coil on both sides of their heads. All are grinding corn. Except for the woman at the far left whose eyes meet ours, the women attend the action of their hands. Valuable information on food preparation through the tools and method is displayed. The ceremonial clothing and tropical bird framed in the upper left corner, exoticise the everyday work in a luminosity of image. A light glows

from the wall behind their work elevating the moment to a mythological level. A plate shaped basket collects the meal in the centre frame as if a symbolic offering to the public. A metonymic reading of the image places an incongruent ceremonial value on the food preparation. This interpretation of the ethnographic moment compares to contemporary advertisement practices where an image uses two conflicting or contradictory events to attract the public's attention. Intellectual montage takes two conflicting ideas, such as everyday food preparation and ceremonial clothing to create a third idea, i.e., magical or nostalgic past. The Hegelian triangle would equate food preparation as a force, ceremonial clothing as a counterforce and their synthesis into a new idea – perhaps Curtis's marriageable Hopi girls prepare a ceremonial meal. This image, despite its detailed and theatrical rendering of objects and people, is a richly textured montage stage managed as a vanishing people's ethnology.



Fig. 66. Curtis, E.S. (1907.) *Grinding meal*. (The North American Indian; v.12) [Photogravure: brown ink. 18 x 22 cm.] Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

The glow of the backdrop, the orderly staging of the women's bodies hunched over their work, the display of the traditional hair style in a rhythmical horizontal line and its echo as visual rhythm in the horizontal axis of corn grinding invite a mythical relationship. The interactions between Curtis and his Hopi subjects re-complicate our readings of Curtis images when they reveal how sitters or actors collaborate in the staging, sometimes gaining something of personal value for cooperation (Gidley, 2001). W. W. Phillips wrote an unpublished memoir about the project on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in southeastern Montana concerning events likely of 1905:

Curtis, Upshaw and I, with fresh supplies, decamped on the upper Rosebud stream, along which numerous Cheyenne camps were strung. "Haste," was the watchword of that brief sojourn and pictures the primary object, for plans provided for a revisit a year or more later. The camp site was decided upon at noon; by night the big photo tent, a square "A" sleeping tent, and a "catch all" Indian teepee adorned a small fenced-in patch that lacked little of being an island, and a dozen or more Cheyenne portraits had been taken.

With a youthful Cheyenne Indian, Davy Bear Black, as interpreter, I rode about telling the Indians of our purpose and asking them to call at camp and see us. They did so, scores of them...The Cheyennes were pictures of poverty. [T]hey had almost no live stock. The chance of getting a square meal, of selling some bit of handiwork, or being paid for a portrait, appealed to them. Soon our camp became a busy scene....We fed as many

as twenty at a meal, sometimes, old and young, men, women and children
(Gidley, 2001, p. 53).

At the George Eastman House in Rochester, the museum staff invited an advisory committee of regional Native American organizations and community members to address the issues raised by the exhibition, *The Master Prints of Edward S. Curtis*. *Indian Art/Facts* held in the summer of 2002. Local Six Nations educators, historians and artists who grapple with the day to day struggles of living by core traditional values considered how to present Curtis's prints and the Indigenous' point of view and place in history. The dialogue called for the inclusion of contemporary Indigenous artists and for the examination of how the camera and motion pictures shaped American's perception of American Indians, how parents first used amateur photography and how Indigenous artists use it to express a point of view. Of note was how Curtis's images over the years had perpetuated (mis)understandings of American Indian issues. However, the exhibition at the George Eastman House, included Curtis's sound recordings, photography, collected artifacts and descriptive writing. As a formidable foundation of ethnological information it provided a paradigm by which to recognise the gaps and blind spots of a Eurocentricism which the Native American artists and curators described in the pamphlet:

It was Curtis's intention to preserve a record of what he believed was a disappearing people. The intention of Indian Art/Facts is to provide a broader context in which to view Curtis's photographs...Embodied in much of the work are questions of self-identity and representation. By exploring these questions common to us all, an invitation is extended to

each viewer to consider his or her own experience and reconsider the images of other cultures presented to us every day.

One of the premises of the exhibition was to re-evaluate Curtis's perspective as an 'outsider looking in'. Unlike the Brady gallery of Americans where Red Cloud's portrait would hang, Curtis's subjects would not understand the uses of the subscription project, nor the new uses and accessibility of a complete digital collection on a museum website. Curtis's alignment with corporate interests elevated his work in the public American memory enabling his photography to be exhibited widely in his lifetime.

The captioning of images of Indians in this early period rarely commented on the political context in which the photograph was created. Curtis's views followed an aesthetic of "*the best of modern methods and of a size that the face might be studied as the Indian's own flesh*". Curtis describes his project in his introduction:

While primarily a photographer, I do not see or think photographically; hence the story of Indian life will not be told in microscopic detail, but rather will be presented as a broad and luminous picture. And I hope that while our extended observations among these brown people have given no shallow insight into their life and thought, neither the pictures nor the descriptive matter will be found lacking in popular interest (Curtis, 1907, p. XV).

A photographer that doesn't 'see or think photographically' must be following another discourse. Whether it be scientific or Pictorialist, Curtis's photography got significant attention from both communities in his lifetime. As tribal histories Curtis also

never acknowledged the divide along the 49th parallel – and the Indigenous nations were repeatedly referred to as tribes – and not ever as nations through international treaties. A power dynamic will always be evident on both sides of the fourth wall (as in theatre) through the subscription system that financed his *The North American Indian*. How different was Curtis's genre from Sidney Moulthrop's manikan of Red Cloud?

Curtis does grant this concession: "*As a body politic recognizing no individual ownership of lands, each Indian tribe naturally resented encroachment by another race, and found it impossible to relinquish without a struggle that which belonged to their people from time immemorial*" (Curtis, 1907, p. XV). The removal of entire communities from their homelands to reservations paradoxically created sites of cultural reproduction and reorganisation where local language and customs could be practiced as inheritances. The Pictorialist form, however, erased the day to day and location to location differences that Curtis paradoxically wanted to record - and became a conventional framing and representation of an *outsider looking in*.

Curtis's side view extreme close up facial portrait of Kyaiyi-stamik and its caption, "*Illustrates an ancient Blackfoot method of arranging the hair*", exoticises a cultural tradition which is very much a living tradition. (Fig. 67) (See also Pollard's Fig. 50. "Inside the Medicine Lodge"). This particular image of Kyaiyi-stamik has much to do with early 20th century interest in physiognomy and phrenology as it is an in depth study of the face and skull shape when aspects like these were used to study race, i.e., "*the face might be studied as the Indian's own flesh*". Some of Charles Bell's photography supplied to the new Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington

positioned Red Cloud's face in the exact same angle. In utilising the conventions of the study of science, Curtis's work perpetuates his own photography's use as ethnology alongside Bell's.



Fig. 67. Curtis, E.S.. (1926). Bear Bull –Blackfoot (The North American Indian; V. 18 (Kyaiyi-stamik) [photogravure. brown ink. 45 x 33]. Retrieved from National Archives of Canada, C-019753.

For his Blackfoot community Kyaiyi-stamik's presence in this photograph denotes a particular reading and educational value in the photographic image authenticated by his

being a known spiritual healer. Curator Jeff Thomas brings an Indigenous perspective to a reading of Curtis's portrait of Kyaiyi-stamik, a Blackfoot whose portrait is often seen without Curtis's descriptive caption or text:

The Curtis portrait of Bear Bull was designed, through the use of profile and open space, to illustrate the top knot over his forehead.

Curtis' brief caption provided the following information:

"Illustrates an ancient Blackfoot method of arranging the hair." In Bear Bull's community the top knot was a signifier of his role as a spiritual healer, its origin reaching back into Aboriginal history.

Bear Bull was also a cultural historian who Curtis

used to describe the warrior society structure. Looking at his profile, the deep lines in his skin reveal a roadmap to that ancient society, a place of pride, dignity and autonomy. Bear Bull's

portrait should also be read along with the social realities facing his community at the time. Bear Bull was born in 1859

between the Battle River and Saskatchewan River and this portrait was taken ca. 1900 when he was living on the Piegan Reserve, in the soon-to-be established province of Alberta. His world was

disrupted, first by smallpox and fur and whisky traders; followed by government and railway survey teams; then the loss of the buffalo herds, government treaty delegations, the

reserve system, settlers, farms and cities. As a result, his family and community were torn apart by government policies of

assimilation and his children forced to pass through the dark corridor of the residential school system. Museum field teams descended upon Bear Bull's community to collect and preserve, in white museums, the words and artifacts that were representative of his vanished world" (Thomas, 1997).

An act of self-definition always has another reference point in the double narrative of the photographic encounter - whether by the subject's community or the photographer's readership. In the interval of the contradiction between the splendid sight and a negative appraisal of classical ethnography, a deconstructive process may emerge. In a resistance to one form of knowing, the photograph offers a multiplicity of others in a hypertext that oscillates between oral and visual conventions in the negotiation of a reading. *Spirit capture: Native Americans and the photographic image* at The National Museum of the American Indian in 2002 stated:

There are three parties to every photograph: photographer, subject and viewer. By viewing we are drawn into this triangle. What preconceived notions do we bring to viewing? And what were the agendas of the journalists, soldiers, tourists and anthropologists who took these pictures? And who were the subjects? (Delmar, 2002)

Old photographs are multi-level constructions and dynamic mnemonic vehicles of "a personally situated process of knowing" (Fabian, 1995) - of embodied cultural encounters within narratives of social relations. Museum collections are examples of broader collecting practices and reveal the relations involved in their collecting and

monetary or other values attached to their collections. Photographic representations circulate these relations of power and produce difference as an effect (Kuhn, 1988). The repatriation of a photograph is thus a reclaiming of stories from an oral to visual text.

For many First Nations people, their real frame of reference for assessing images, though, is how useful they are for understanding the past and for knowing their ancestors. Photographs in which subjects were dressed up as romantic Noble Savages are useful at some levels because the subjects were known individuals, and the image would thus recall stories about that person, but were also wasted opportunities to understand what life was really like in the past. Thus, where copies of Edward Curtis's and other romanticized images are hung on the wall in First Nations homes, it is not for the same reason as they might be hung on the wall of a non-Native home or gallery, for their iconic meanings, but rather as lovely formal portraits of grandparents and great-grandparents, hung alongside snapshots of children and grandchildren (Brown & Peers, 2006, p. 99).

Butler's concept of *performativity* understands simple acts like walking reflect unconscious forms of socialisation and are sequential chains of bodily actions; their constant repetition and reiteration are effects in the physical world that enact community. An object such as a photograph fixes subjectivity in a discourse of time, distance and social relations with a 'non-indifference' (Simon, 2006, p. 186). The context of the placement of the photograph is itself a reiteration and enactment of community. The photograph's reading, however, may never quite be fixed as it is negotiated in the subjectivity of a third and unknown relation in the triangle of photographer, subject and

viewer. In this relation Chief Joseph's portrait by Curtis can be read as a Romanticisation and an exoticisation which deflects the political reason for its existence. As part of a production framework a series of spatial and temporal dimensions give rise to a political economy that may be valued in distant places by people other than the maker (Gosden, 1994) and unknown by the subject. Chief Joseph's home community reads the image in a specific historical reference to his ancestral lands.

The re-encounter of the actual lived presence, its individual's intentions, is a powerful instance of the subject's agency. George P. Horse Capture describes a personal revelation and the new meaning in his life with his first experience of a Curtis reproduction of his ancestor:

After passing through many corridors and doors, we came to a large file in a remote section of the archives. Opening a drawer, the priest carefully removed an immense sepia toned photographic print. He held it out to me, saying, "This must be your relative." And there, in that hidden place, for the first time, I saw Horse Capture, my great grandfather. The world stopped for several moments as I peered at my direct blood ancestor. He was handsome and strong. His classic tribal hairstyle, clothing, and proud bearing marked him as a leader of the A'ani. He was free from restricting complexes, his moccasins were firmly planted on the earth. This was the moment when my great grandfather and I met for the first time, across the ages. Scanning the treasured photogravure, I saw in the left corner, next to my great grandfather's English and Indian names, the word Atsina, a derogatory and incorrect term used to designate our tribe. In the center,

smaller printing spelled out the name of the photographer: E.S. Curtis. So, at the very time I met my great grandfather, I also met Edward S. Curtis, and they both have been with me ever since (Horse Capture <http://curtis-collection.com/horsecapture.html>).



Fig. 68. Curtis, E.S.. (1908). *Horse Capture – Atsina* (The North American Indian: v.05) [Photogravure. brown ink. 46 x 32 cm]. Retrieved from Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's 'The North American Indian': the Photographic Images, 2001.

Curtis's photography thus opens a site of reinscription where ambiguity and anomalous readings enable a strategic essentialism to emerge in the Indigenous need of a common past and memories – a “*walk right back into these photographs*” (Vizenor, 1987). Curtis's photography is appropriated by the community's need to make a positive subject position in a politics of continuity, Indigenous core values and the family narrative. The Pictorialist aesthetics in *Portrait of Geronimo*, *Hopi girls grinding peke bread meal* and Chief Joseph's portrait are expressions of an *outsider looking in* – in an outsider's expressive form. Herein an alteric reality undermines Curtis's photographic gaze and challenges the public's reading with something unseen.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

Clearly the historical photograph collections currently available on line reproduce the familiar historic amnesias, lapses and sins of omission, while continuing to overemphasize powerful, dominant and hegemonic structures. In this way it resembles the historiography of the first half of the 20th century with its great men theories and inattention to workers, to women, and to people of color. The photo archives valorize assimilation models, a peaceful bucolic past, upward mobility, and order at the expense of cultural diversity, domination and conflict. (Margolis 2000,19)

Jeff Thomas's interest in historical photographs arose in the 70s when he looked at a Curtis portrait: "*I was drawn to the person, I thought about the family elders I knew, I thought about history and about how little I knew, and I wanted to know about the person and era*" (Thomas, 2007, p. 4). The artists, photographers and their subjects as I have discussed here were driven to be cultural brokers, translators or cultural agents in an expanding dialogue. My examples have focussed on European males with technologies of illustration in interactions with Amerindians on traditional lands or reservations - with studio portraits being the exception⁵⁵. Though painter Emily Carr and photographer Geraldine Moody were considered in this study, the gender difference raised many more issues that could not be developed in this dissertation. This investigation was also

⁵⁵ A notable female painter was Emily Carr (1871 – 1945) whose painting and writing about the Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest was considerable. Photographer Geraldine Moodie was best known for her work with Inuit and Aboriginal peoples and her studios in Battleford (1891–96), Maple Creek (1897–1900) and Medicine Hat (1897).

complicated by the fact that several of the Amerindian communities were matriarchal, as were the Six Nations, and that more than one colonising nation collided interests with clashes against Indigenous sovereignties, i.e., the Spanish, French, British, American and Canadian. The artists and photographers made efforts to represent what they saw with authenticity through their privileged access to education, technologies, communication networks, transportation and resources; these then provided economic, cultural and symbolic capital in relations of power (Bourdieu, 1980) and discursively constituted subjectivity in an ongoing dialogue. Authorship and ownership figure into these ‘fragile dynamics’ (Threadgold, 1997) when a subject relies on a stranger as message carrier who may not understand the originary issues for First Nations, such as their religion or relationships to others, the land and nature. The selection of subject material consequently was gendered by a patriarchal system and the necessities of the artist/photographer’s livelihood. Chiefs were represented as men, when the reality is that women are chiefs, as well. My final selection of artists and photographers then relied on a connectedness between them through their methods, itineraries, roles as artist messengers and their openness to a moral relation in the dialogue.

Painters Benjamin West, George Catlin and Paul Kane collected material artifacts to make their illustrations more authentic and as an added attraction for their exhibitions. Publications and exhibitions were planned by each of these artists and photographers and driven by commercial forces. Their subjects were motivated by factors such as marking a moment, prestige, celebrity, ceremony, entertainment, socialising and small payments. Like archivists, these artists and photographers created a social memory in popular images – and though mostly produced for a non-native audience - these images have

great significance for First Peoples (Cronen, 2000; Thomas, 1996). One of the main aims of *Aboriginal portraits from the National Archives of Canada*,⁵⁶ of which Jeff Thomas was a part of the curatorial team, was to revisit and see in a new light the archive's collection of photographs and "break down some of the common stereotypes surrounding Aboriginal society" (Thomas, 1996, p. 11-12). Many argue today that on-line media and new technologies can democratise exhibitions in cyber-galleries and take the museum experience away from concepts of authenticity, aura and originality which are the museum's claim to knowledge (Witcomb, 1997; Cronin, 2002). However, arguments against multivocality and not about meeting the needs of the audience (Hilden & Huhndorf 1999; Lonetree 2012) or inadvertently reproducing and reinscribing the status quo into newer forms of master narratives is still very possible. Despite these criticisms, a sharing of knowledge and power between museums and community partners is desirable - as Loretta Todd's documentary tells us. Photo-elicitation or visual repatriation are meaningful in building relationships of trust. They spark lively stories of the people or makers, the cultural knowledge and intention encoded in them, and link the past with the present (Peers & Brown, 2003).

Painted portraits are a liminoid genre that people voluntarily enter into as the relationships by which portraits are made (Turner, 1975) and like other liminoid phenomena develop "*along the margins, in the interstices, on the interfaces of central and servicing institutions*" (Turner, 1977, p. 51). Portraits then in the face-to-face encounter of Amerindians and settlers reproduce an encounter of 'the self-assertion of

⁵⁶ "Aboriginal Portraits" consisted of one hundred and forty photographs ranging from daguerrotypes to contemporary prints taken by First Nations photographers Shelley Niro and David Neel.

nationhood' through local transactions in a stable core of peripheral elements (Alfred, 1994). Performances by the subject reiterate core messages in a transference of oral traditions (Vecsey, 1991). Rereading the archive's social memory through a counternarrative to White Western constructs of self and subjectivity (Weedon, 1987) then becomes a walk back into an interactive dialogue for First Nations. Marginalised subjects need to construct their histories from fragmented archives. Photographs of distant locales were "*defined by Western needs, beliefs and expectations – where distant facts were transformed into Western fictions*" (Schwartz, 1996, p. 30).

In chapter three we traced West's appropriation of Apollo Belvedere into a 'third space' in History Painting where the ideal classical male body is a Mohawk warrior with political power. In *The death of General Wolfe* he is refigured into a crouch – a form recited later by Rodin in his bronze sculpture, *Thinker* (1902). As West's imagery marked and recalled momentous happenings, it also mediated discourse and action between Amerindian and settler groups. Karonghyonte (or Captain David Hill) may have had a personal use for West's double portrait featuring Guy Johnson and himself. More copies of the painting or its publication would expand the circulation of the sovereignty dialogue.

In 1826 Catlin made his first Indian oil sketch portrait with Red Jacket on one of the shrunken parcels allotted to reservations near Buffalo. In the image President Washington's gift of the engraved oval silver pendant fastens the folds of his robes and reinforces Red Jacket in the "*classically tragic role of deposed leader*" (Eisler, 2013). Red Jacket was the celebrated Seneca orator whose speech, *Religion for the white man and the red*, famously argued that each community should have the right to worship the

religion that suits them. Today you can find several variations of this speech on YouTube which is a testament to its value as oral culture to the Seneca and as an inspiration for a popular culture. In his last years Red Jacket was to see most of his people convert to Christianity (including his wife) and witness the seizure or sale of lands assigned to them by treaty (Eisler, 2013). Later in his life Red Jacket asked Catlin to paint a full-length life-sized portrait of him standing at the edge of Niagara Falls (McCracken, 1959). In this portrait the Seneca chief with maroon red blanket over his shoulders and two feet solidly on the ground is famously regal. His left hand points down the falls where the touring boat, Lady of the Mist, every summer visits Canada's most breathtaking World Wonder. Can magnificence ever be painted? Social realist William Hind once stated: "*You can paint the rocks, the trees and ice, but the radiance and light are beyond human art*" (Hind, 1862, p. 68). The stunning and spectacular spray of water as a portrait background made it an unusual but sophisticated request. Now summer tourists line up every year with their digital cameras to mark their presence. Red Jacket's image, however, is in no way a tourist view. The portrait asks us to consider its meaning in the present in which we live. Some of us like Thomas or Staats may be drawn to the person and the history of Niagara Falls – and to the originary issues of the Six Nations.

Our research does not have to go far to discover Red Jacket's role on behalf of his Seneca nation with the newly formed United States. As British allies, the Six Nations who called themselves the Haudenosaunee (which included the Seneca), had been forced to cede land. Red Jacket was one of the fifty sachems and war chiefs representing the



Fig. 69. Catlin, G. (n.d.). *Seneca Chief Red Jacket*.

Grand Council of the Six Nations that signed the Treaty of Canandaigua (1794)⁵⁷ which granted the Six Nations sovereignty and their aboriginal land rights.⁵⁸ Red Jacket's biography is herein part of Catlin's portrait study. Like a photograph it raises the initial questions and "*those that we often have difficulty putting into words.*"⁵⁹ These instances are evidence that the Six Nations had access, sophistication and a real need to use these larger networks of communication. Catlin's portraits give his subjects a voice and interlocutory presence as message carrier.

Chief Joseph, Red Cloud and several others clearly participated in a dialogue about sovereignty, ownership of land and grievances. Their portraits as genre had many uses for the sitter and in the cult of remembrance the portrait puts that person (dead or alive) in a social role of guide or teacher. As the human body is a central locus for understanding and exploring political change (Bordieu, 1987; Mirzoeff, 1999), it is also a source of mnemonic knowledge through embodiment, material details, context, framing, colour and style.

Photography accumulates a material history through its production and in its

⁵⁷ Land issues dominated the 1794 Canandaigua Treaty, and they remain equally critical 200 years later to the Six Nations and 60,000 members of the Iroquois people who live both in the United States and in Canada. The treaty restored to the Six Nations lands in western New York State that had been ceded by the Fort Stanwix Treaty. The Haudenosaunee also won recognition of their aboriginal land rights and their sovereignty to govern and set laws as individual nations. In return, the Haudenosaunee recognized and continue to recognize the sovereignty of the United States government.

⁵⁸ Quaker representatives also attended the treaty council invited by the Seneca people because Quakers were trust-worthy, peaceful and could read English and ensure fair negotiations. <http://www.ganondagan.org/CanandaiguaTreaty.html>

⁵⁹ Text panels from "Where are the Children?" which was on display at the National Archives of Canada from 18 June 2002 – 2 February 2003.

relations to memories and stories. It plays a central role in modern Western memory because it interacts with other texts and is seen and read in a complex interplay with other symbolic codes (Ryan, 1997). Photographs assist us in resisting dominant readings of history and narrate more complex histories. A photograph implies an interaction between living persons; its continuing presence allows it to perform doubly, i.e., to record an authentic moment and then in its exhibition to call its presence into question. Deeper structures of knowledge are linked to the surface reality and a community's use functions within family and local historical knowledge (Poignant, 1996) to activate deep memories (Edwards, 2001) through a 'circuit of contagious' experience. Affect circulates changing in tone in a radical openness to others. Agonistic pathos is transformed to obsessive compulsion and to other community responses. The intricate relationships between interaction order, emotional order, and moral order are subtle and powerful in the photograph. When people disrupt the rules of decorum, actions get realigned with corresponding negative emotions (frustration, anger, anxiety, etc.) that impact on the moral tone of the situation (Waskul & Vannini, 2013). The photograph as writerly text invites the reader to gaze, rewrite and reconstruct meaning in an open system. Despite a colonialist paradigm, these image-makers enabled a knowledge transfer from their subjects in an expression of a symbolic 'body' that enacts the old with agential potential.

Though Catlin merchandised the Indian when his exhibitions began to fail, the merchandising of Curtis photographs gained momentum after his death when suddenly they were everywhere in books, calendars, posters, postcards, museum exhibitions and postcards to T-shirts (Thomas, 2007). An image-maker's theatre of presence made it possible for Native North American subjects to participate in a dialogue both inside and

outside their community. The early illustrative portraits as interactions and exchanges between the subject and artist/photographer thus recall and reiterate a cultural presence. In the critical reading of what is left outside the image, we may consider a continuum of oral culture in public memory – and such items as government documents. Each artist/photographer participated agentially in a ‘circuit of contagious experience’ with expectations that a future public would write their meaning into the reading. Though many subjects did not see themselves as activists like Red Cloud or Red Jacket, the documenting of presence was ultimately political as a marginalised voice made an utterance in the dominant historical narrative. These presences in portraits can raise questions that are difficult to express in words and thus open up a dialogue of healing (Thomas, 2002-2003). Across Canada and the United States outstanding photographers and artists journeyed to make life-long documentation projects. Through these exchanges and encounters, multiple voices speak of ‘living’ worlds - made more powerful in a triangulation with other images, documents, oral stories and political goals.

Amerindian and Postcolonial Perspectives: Whose Story Now?

A challenge in the province of Alberta is the telling of local history in a way that is inclusive of the newcomer (as a majority of people do not have a fifty year family history in the province). The Kainai people (of the Blood tribe and of the Blackfoot Confederacy of the Original People) in Loretta Todd’s film, *Kainayssini Imanistaisiwa (The People Go On)* (NFB 2003), consider the address of repatriation at the Galt Museum. The incomprehensibility of beautiful and still useful craft items lying in a frozen time behind glass seem a concession to colonial rhetorics and education. Despite

the organisational display the Kainai people believe a new era has begun with a commitment to examine the relationships between Indigenous peoples and Euro-Canadian institutions as part of the story of First Peoples heritage - where scientific rights no longer take precedence over cultural and religious rights (Crop Eared Wolf 1997, 40). A significant difference with the Galt Museum is that now Kainai people are at the centre and empowered to teach the newcomer through a postcolonial address that includes their next generation.

Postcolonial representational practices embody a plurality of ‘new voices’ and utilize silence as a resistance to the dominant colonial forms. Native American self-identity in images is epistemological, ideological and subversive because the images challenge the Euro-American trope (Zonn & Winchell 2002, p. 144). A mnemonic outpouring of impressions and historical encounters enable Indigenous subjectivity to surface within a continuum. Provocatively, in Todd’s film the interviewee considers his present life as the very same life lived two hundred years ago. Land, memory and knowledge re-circulate through colonial photographs that are descriptions of specific elder actions and interactions in a transformational time. *Voice* from photographs is orchestrated in a cinematic Pan First Nations address. The claims of the local are not an essentialising of a position, rather they become a parallel for allying with others (Chow, 1998). Todd’s documentary revisits the Kainai traditional camp of sloping coulees and open sky of Pollard’s early photography and tells a narrative situated in First Nations’ collectivity. Inside the dominant culture, as in the infrastructure of the National Film Board of Canada, Todd uses established documentary techniques, while at the same time

calling attention to their use and making us note their construction. Guided by a strong sense of community she draws on her own experiences:

I thought of myself as being a means to give voice to the Native community. Because I was from somewhere else, was Cree and Métis from Alberta, and now living on the West Coast, I was conscious of being in someone else's territory, and in someone else's culture. I think my filmmaking allowed me to really respect that—the camera helped me negotiate the relationship between myself, this other territory, and these other Native cultures.... I began to recognize my internal voice, my intimate voice, my personal voice...By speaking for myself, I'm engaging in an act of transformation and liberation (Silverman 2002).

It is a strategy for intervening in the public sphere as a *third space* that resists both assimilation with the status quo and an imagined counter-identification: a moment of temporality, history, specificity, conflict and crisis where discursive 'exchange' is contested (Bhabha, 1994). A reunion with the ancestors is staged by incorporating the non-native photographers' work in a cinematic narrative that introduces a contrapuntal reading. Pollard and Curtis's photography, in a unique appropriation of images are reinscribed within an alternative and positive subject position through a 'strategic essentialism' in a politics of territory and Indigenous core values. Years after Pollard's photograph's production, the meaning and its reception alters in Todd's address from Indigenous as 'other' into a reversal and naturalisation of Indigenous as us, the people. Her informant tells us, "The land has the memory".... "All we need to do is retell the stories in Blackfoot and the knowledge will all come back" (Todd, 2003). Ancestor

portraits are projected lyrically on white flags waving and rippling over lush prairie grass. Powerfully evocative of peace, memory and cultural renewal, these photographs still conform to European aesthetics. However, in recognisable First Nations' territory they tell their story differently, and as both re-enactment and reinscription, de-colonize a modernist framework of galleries, museums and institutions of higher learning and tropes like *Vanishing Race*.

Jeff Thomas's curation of *Emergence from the shadow: First People's photographic perspectives* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1999, Oct. 22 to 2002, Jan. 6) used a transdiscursive language of synergism. By juxtaposing images from two distinct and emergent photographic perspectives - the anthropological gaze and that of the contemporary Indigenous photographer - his curatorial role became as collaborator in the "Aboriginal quest for self determination and reclaiming the past".⁶⁰ The process contests existing 'western' epistemological structure and recovers the spoken word of aboriginal tradition (Rickard, 2005). The Canadian Museums of Civilization website also offers another value: "*the sitters have, in effect, ensured that evidence of their world would be guarded for future discovery by their descendants.*"⁶¹

In the original anthropological encounter, however, we know there could be no descendants' interest in a perpetuation of a dialogue that silenced them into a monologism. Photographers hired by the military or the Bureau of Ethnology stereotyped images of 'American Indians' in their alignment to military, capitalism, colonialism and gender supremacy. Native Americans were the subject/object, not the observer

⁶⁰ <http://www.civilization.ca/event/emergence-from-the-shadow-first-peoples-photographic-perspective>

⁶¹ <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/jaillir/jailline.shtml>

(McMaster, 1992, p. 66). The exhibit's 'fieldwork portraiture' thus emphasised "how the past influences the present in both cultural and artistic terms"⁶². Ironically Thomas describes the witnessing of the sitters' vanishing world as a 'gift to future generations'. In a monological culture they were not equal participants in the picture taking.

Poundmaker, who initially did not want to sign treaty number 6 with the Canadian government and eventually did, was an untypical prisoner. He stage managed his own representation in leg irons with legs apart holding a medicine pipe to symbolise peace. He addressed both his captors and his own people within a genre that could have appeared in a National Portrait Gallery. Compare his image to Curtis's photograph of Geronimo where breech clouts, belts, moccasins and medicine hats were camouflaged under a blanket and ceremonial headdress (provided by Curtis) obliterating his real situation of being a prisoner in Roosevelt's parade tour. The public may not have known that Geronimo was a prisoner. Otto Buell's sympathies in the Northwest Rebellion, however, enable an illocutionary expression that upholds Poundmaker's leadership despite his imprisonment. The photograph draws us into the history of the Northwest in a dialogue with what we think we know and the question of whether an injustice has been witnessed: "we see things as we do because of what we expect" (Arnheim, 1970), but representations like this make us want to know more.

Thomas's inclusion of excerpts from government and school curriculum documents in the exhibition makes the address more inclusive of First Peoples in an intervention into institutional aims and racism. The juxtapositions break down stereotypes (Thomas, 1996, p. 11-12) and potentially extend knowledge into sites of First

⁶² Thomas, <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/jaillir/jailline.shtml>

Peoples' empowerment and exploration (Cronin, 2000). This interventive approach was understood by Catlin in his painting, *The Light*, and by Houle in his recitation of *The death of General Wolfe*.

No language is neutral or strong enough to overrule the dominant cultural impact or the Western 'hidden curriculum'. James Clifford (1988) discovered a White jury's bias in the courts over the Mashpee Indian tribe's land claim, particularly as their distinct language had been lost. "*The jury's members seemed to have an all-or-nothing perception of culture: a 'body' which had lost one of its vital 'organs' (e.g., language) could not remain 'alive.'*" (Harris, 1994, p. 145). The principle of social construction argues that cultures are not 'lost' and evolve and change. Continuing aspects of the old provide strong symbolic, identity-forming images and ideals by which a first culture expands, innovates, evolves and reenacts the old, the inherited, the source of roots, claims, and identity (Harris, 1994, p. 151). Stuart Hall identified two perspectives on cultural identity: 1. The 'true self' as part of the shared and unified collective culture and 2. The identity as process and positioning in intersubjective relations. The 'true self' can be a recuperation whereby marginalised peoples resist, reinterpret and reconstruct histories of domination (Hall, 1990). All the images I have discussed thus have this recuperative value, despite the force of the institutional frameworks that recall a stereotype. A value lies in the capacity to articulate ideals and focus action, powerful symbolic images, decision-making and problem-solving about Indigenous ways of doing and being.

As objects of history the Kainai community's collection of anthropological

photographs manifest the larger processes of colonial will and negative representation; their meaning in cross-cultural encounters are remembered by narratives of pride tinged with sorrow (Brown & Peers, 2006). As the focus of ancestors is on survival, nineteenth century images are significant for filling the pages of family albums (Tsinhnahjinnie, 2003). Western notions of space and locality were what created the conditions by which Indigenous land was colonised and controlled. Indigenous contexts of ‘family’ challenge Anglo European notions by an emphasis on extended family and overlapping communities. Family albums thus enable a dialogue about the conditions under which images were made. Kainai readings of their early photographs re-contextualise them in ways that teach how the ancestors lived.

As artists and photographers interacted and lived amongst the Indigenous peoples image production ‘re-functioned’ the contact moment with Indigenous core values and a face of ‘difference’. Photographer Tsinhnahjinnie takes the camera into her hands as an act of ‘photographic sovereignty’ acknowledging a ‘responsibility to reinterpret images of Native peoples’ and redressing the voyeuristic (Meier, 2005). Each of the images examined in this dissertation has been marked by an autobiographical relation in social relations that are personal, and yet, local and global in a political economy of exchange. With the exception of Curtis these artists and photographers’ practice actually altered as they lived amongst the Indigenous communities. They brought a knowledge, critical awareness and vision to a global public from embodied personal experiences. Certainly, a passion for their documentation projects and a possession of entrepreneurial skill were prerequisite for these varied visual storytellers.

Earlier artists like Benjamin West reshaped the dominant Christian or Graeco-Roman styles. As History Painter, West's imagery raises some of the critical questions that address issues of power, voice, ethnocultural diversity and social interactions relevant to future generations - issues that each of these later artists and photographers negotiated. Catlin used his consummate writing skills to create a virtual New World idealism and Knickerbocker philosophy through sketches, paintings and enacted stories. As a character in his own paintings his New World cross over art was grounded in autobiographical experience and became a model for the younger contemporary Paul Kane and photographer E. S. Curtis. Paul Kane's text in *Wanderings of an Artist* (1859) when reproduced, edited and translated by other writers and publishers, however, reinscribed dominant stereotypes of racism that were not present in Kane's original sketches. Like Benjamin West's descriptive text exoticised by its Italian translation, Kane's work became aligned to Victorian stereotypes.

Much of the work I have discussed here was produced by artists and photographers whose images carry these broader meanings as documents of anthropological thought, as records of careers and autobiographies, as records of oppressive relations and struggles for agency, and as glimpses of human lives. Jeff Thomas recognised that portraits of high-profile lawyers, architects and others from an exhibit entitled, *Contemporary role models*, are significant because "*the survivors of the residential school experience are powerful symbols that a future does exist for Aboriginal people*" [Thomas, Text panels from "Where are the Children?"]. Different cues from the subject photographed address a continuum of oral stories for the Indigenous community in body idioms, objects like traditional pipes or geometric patterns. As custodians of social memory both participants

in the portrait are invested in a dialogue and in the reiteration of the presence they record. With these representations 'points of fracture' (Edwards, 2001, p. 12) recuperate narratives in the image that do not serve the hegemony of the colonial ruling apparatus. So it is that these presences are invested in "*building a bridge between the historical images of Aboriginal people found in the library and the archive and the present day Aboriginal world*" (Payne & Thomas, 2002, pp. 110 -111).

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