



Father Lindesmith's Collection

HISTORY INTO ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY



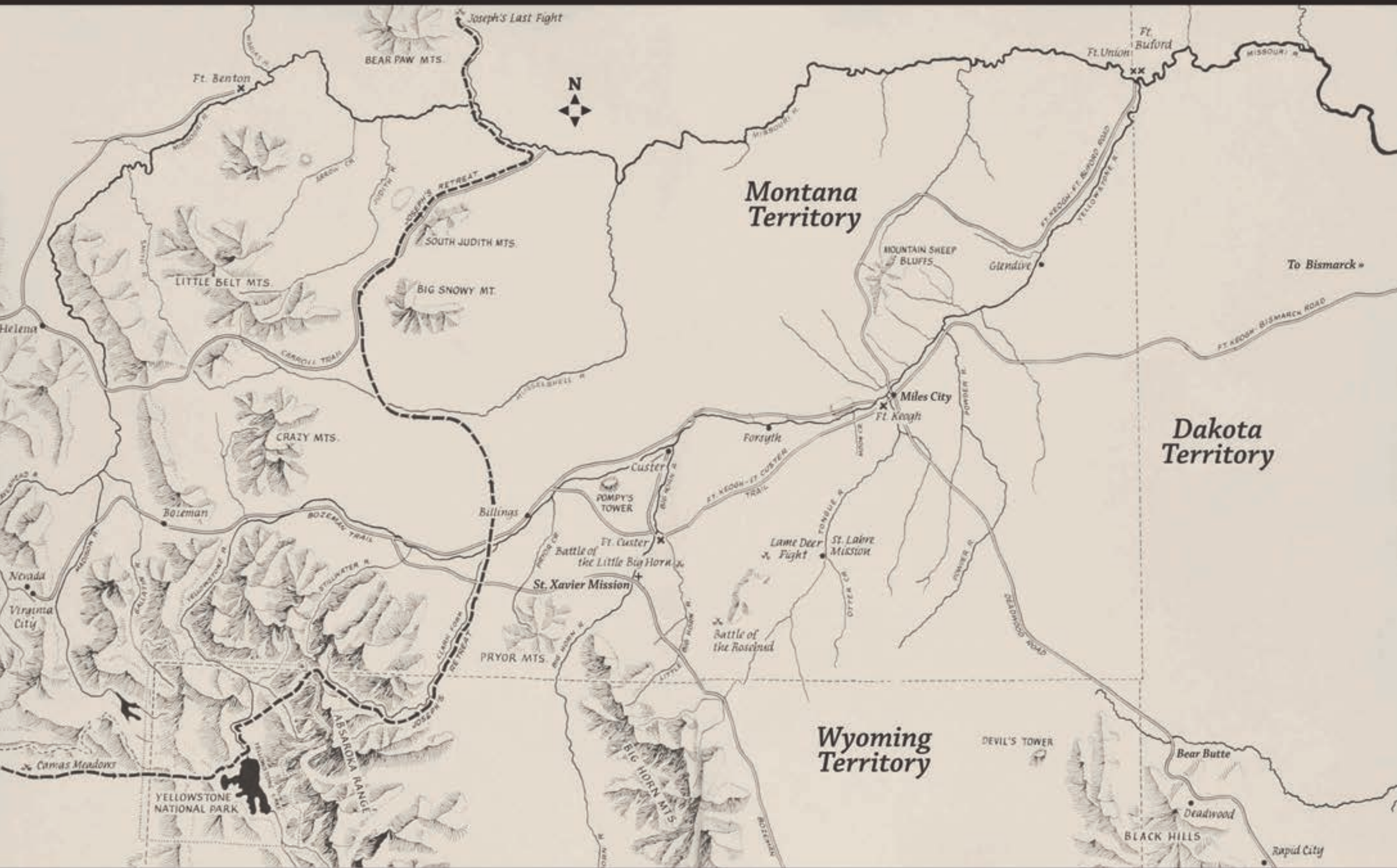
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Map: Base Map modified from Mark H. Brown and W.K. Felton, *The Frontier Years*:
L. A. Huffman, *Photographer of the Plains*, 1955, front piece.



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DIRECTOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Curator of Native American Art and Associate Professor of Anthropology Joanne Mack for organizing this exhibition and publication. Shortly after arriving at the University of Notre Dame in 1997, Dr. Mack became fascinated by the Father Lindesmith collection of Native American art at the university's Snite Museum of Art. Since that time, she has been indefatigable in researching Lindesmith, his collecting, the documentation accompanying his 1899 gifts to Notre Dame, and the subsequent distribution of portions of the collection to a private individual.

I marvel at what Dr. Mack and her undergraduate students have discovered about the man and his collection, and what the information they have found tells us about nineteenth-century Native Americans and Euro-Americans vis-à-vis the myth of the American West.

Dr. Mack's research was greatly facilitated by the archive staffs at Notre Dame and the Catholic University of America as well as by that at the Congregation of the Holy Cross U.S. Province Archives Center. The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History generously shared a half-dozen important Lindesmith-acquired works for this exhibition and provided photographs of them for inclusion in this book. We are especially grateful to that museum's registrar, Susan Crawford, for her assistance.

Dr. Mack and I appreciate the fine essays prepared by former Notre Dame fellow Bethany Montagano and by Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History curator Candace Greene, as well as the contributions made by editor Phil Freshman and assistant editor Susan C. Jones, both of Minneapolis.

The Snite Museum exhibition team skillfully insured, assembled, designed, and installed the exhibition. Therefore, I wish to thank Associate Director Ann Knoll, Registrar Rebeka Ceravolo, Exhibition Designer John Phegley, Exhibition Coordinator Ramiro Rodriguez, and former Staff Photographer and Digital Archivist Eric Nisly for all their efforts.

Neither the exhibition nor this book would have been realized without funds from the Humana Foundation Endowment for American Art, which was established through the vision of Mr. William C. Ballard, Jr.

— Charles R. Loving
Director and Curator, George Rickey Sculpture Archive
Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame



CURATOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals have contributed to the effort of exhibiting the Native American portion of the Lindesmith collection at the Snite Museum, thereby fulfilling Father Lindesmith's stated desire to enlighten the public about the American West and its significance to United States history. Over the past fifteen years, the following undergraduate research assistants, under my supervision, have delved into the records here at the University of Notre Dame and meticulously examined the objects themselves in order to understand all aspects of the collection and its accompanying documentation: Melissa Besada, Sara Brandon, Melissa Coles, Kevin Danchisko, Erin Dunnagan, Ann Froyen, Brittany Haas, Lindsey Hays, Sara Kimball, Shaun Martinez, Kate Musica, Elizabeth Olveda, Charlie Otterbeck, Lucciana Ravasio, Christine Reiser, Shaun Rooney, Dan Schmid, Ashton Spatz, Kyle Strickland, and Megan Sutton. Bethany Montagano not only contributed an essay to this book but also helped with some aspects of the research. Most recently, Amanda Joseph assisted with research and photography for the exhibition. And Jessica Bock, even after her recent graduation from the University of Notre Dame, contributed volunteer time to help further the project. In addition, the staffs of the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America, the University of Notre Dame archives, and the Congregation of Holy Cross U.S. Province Archives Center facilitated the research by providing access to records and photographs pertaining to Lindesmith and his collection.

The object photographs in this catalogue are the result of the professional skills of former Snite Museum Staff Photographer and Digital Archivist Eric Nisly and of Donald E. Hurlbert, staff photographer at the Smithsonian Institution National Natural History Museum, who photographed the six pieces loaned by his museum for the exhibition. Two of the Snite Museum's registrars, Rebeka Ceravolo and Robert Smoger, expedited the logistics of borrowing those half-dozen objects from

the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History, as did that museum's registrar, Susan Crawford, who was indispensable to the process. John Phegley, the Snite Museum's exhibition designer, was responsible for the display of both objects and explanatory material in the gallery. And Charles Loving, the museum's director, steadily supported not only the concept of the exhibition but also the research necessary to contextualize both the collection and the life of Father Lindesmith. He and two accountants, Stephanie Mead and Caroline Niemier, successfully procured funding for and monitored the costs of both the exhibition and this book.

The University of Notre Dame and the Snite Museum of Art supported the research and assumed responsibility for certain costs associated with the exhibition and catalogue as well as the costs of borrowing six important items—originally donated by Father Lindesmith to the Catholic University of America—from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History. That museum arranged for me to view the portion of Father Lindesmith's collection in its holdings several years ago; thus began research on the Catholic University of America's part of the collection. The Congregation of the Holy Cross U.S. Province Archives Center provided two early photographs of Father Lindesmith for this book. Primary funding for the exhibition and catalogue came from the Humana Foundation Endowment for American Art.

— Joanne M. Mack
Curator of Native American Art
Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame



FOREWARD

JOANNE M. MACK

For slightly more than a decade during the late nineteenth century, Father Eli Washington John Lindesmith served as the first Catholic chaplain ever commissioned in the U.S. Army during peacetime.¹ Assigned to Fort Keogh, Montana Territory, he interacted daily and directly with infantry, cavalry, and Native American scouts—primarily Cheyenne. He also traveled to important historic and natural-history sites. Over time, he amassed a collection of objects that can be divided into six major categories: military, Montana history, Native American ethnohistory, natural history, personal, and religious. Father Lindesmith's collection provides unique snapshots of the Northern Plains during the 1880s; this exhibition and accompanying catalogue highlight some of its most beautiful Native American works.

Outstanding among the items in the collection are the singular examples of beadwork produced by the wives and sisters of Cheyenne scouts who, with their families, lived at Fort Keogh. Lindesmith also purchased objects at the Crow Agency near the Little Big Horn battlefield, which he visited twice while stationed at the fort. During his eleven years there, he traveled west to St. Ignatius Mission on the Flathead Reservation and from there into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, during one furlough he went to upstate New York and Minnesota and on to Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C.² On his travels, he purchased or received as gifts Native American objects that he considered historically important and that also have artistic merit. The part of his collection exhibited and catalogued here also includes Native American objects he had either found or was given before arriving in Montana.

From the standpoint of art history, anthropology, and American history, a remarkable feature of the collection is Father Lindesmith's superb record keeping. For almost every object he obtained, Lindesmith described the circumstances surrounding its acquisition. If, for example, he bought an item, he duly noted exactly when and for how much, and he often assessed what he considered its historical value. His meticulous documentation includes account books, diaries, letters received and sent, memoranda, sermons, and other written records.

Accompanying every object he donated in the late 1890s to several educational institutions was a handwritten tag containing relevant facts. Unfortunately, among them these institutions lost a great number of the original tags and some of the

objects, too. All of Lindesmith's written records, however—thirty-four boxes of files—are now in the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. And the data in his letters and on the surviving tags accompanying objects he sent to the University of Notre Dame are housed in the university's archives and at the Snite Museum of Art.

The Native American objects in the Father Lindesmith collection represent what the collector deemed historically important, in that they characterized Native American life before it was irrevocably altered by interaction with Euro-Americans. Like most Americans and Europeans, Lindesmith assumed the people he saw as Native Americans on the Northern Plains were changing due to their contact with Euro-American culture. But because they were willing to sell objects they no longer used, he could advance the cause of historical and cultural preservation. Of course, the items he acquired reflected the results of more than two hundred years of contact and cultural change, not to mention circumstances that were specific to Father Lindesmith. Because he had relatively easy access to the Cheyenne and to a few Lakota who lived at Fort Keogh, and also could buy items for sale both at the Crow Agency and in Miles City, his collection from the Plains contains some Crow and Lakota items; it is, however, primarily Cheyenne. Furthermore, he obtained Native American objects from the West Coast, upstate New York, and New England during his travels. Finally, some of the military men who had served in other Western forts before being stationed at Fort Keogh during Lindesmith's time of service gave their chaplain gifts related to his interests.

It is difficult to know if Father Lindesmith possessed a particular talent for choosing exceptionally beautiful beadwork or if he simply was fortunate in encountering women known to be some of the best bead workers on the Northern Plains—particularly Cheyenne and Crow. In the present exhibition, the young girl's dress (see p. 4-5 and 93) and the baby carrier (see p. 24-25 and 95), both made by the same woman, demonstrate the technique and the design expertise of Cheyenne women bead workers.³

Lindesmith bought items from men, women, and children. Some he bought indirectly from women through their husbands, such as the Cheyenne baby carrier. He purchased others, such a pair of Lakota moccasins and a pair of Iroquois moccasins, directly from the women who had made them.⁴ He bought or sometimes found at abandoned camps such utilitarian items as a discarded hide scraper and the arrows he purchased from Cheyenne boys. Among the military items he collected were clothing, such as his own dress forge cap, swords (fig. 1, 2, and 3), horse tack, and tents. His consistent intention was to acquire disparate objects from a range of sources that would provide a historical and cultural perspective on both Native Americans and Euro-Americans of the Northern Plains.

Father Lindesmith was fifty-three years old when he was commissioned and went west, in 1880. Until then, he had lived in Ohio, a fourth-generation American of German-Swiss ancestry who attended seminary and became a diocese priest. Twice before, he had volunteered to be an army chaplain during wartime but was turned down.⁵ During the Civil War, he lent his squirrel rifle to a neighbor because he could

not join the military himself. The gun was returned to him after the war, and he later donated it to the University of Notre Dame.⁶ Upon retiring from the army, he returned to Ohio and spent the rest of his career as a diocese priest and then as a chaplain for various institutions. He died in 1921 at age ninety-four.

When Lindesmith returned to Ohio from Montana in 1891, he intended to display his collection for the edification of his parishioners. But when he realized that his priestly duties did not allow him the time to organize and exhibit the collection, he decided to donate it.⁷ He began by giving roughly half the collection to the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., in 1898. The following year, he donated approximately one-quarter of it to the University of Notre Dame and most of the rest of his holdings to St. Ignatius College in Cleveland. He also gave a few items to the American College of Rome.⁸ He probably felt that donating his acquisitions to Catholic colleges meant that the objects would be used to help educate younger generations. Significantly, he had personal reasons to honor three of the institutions he chose: He had baptized Father John W. Cavanaugh, a president emeritus of Notre Dame, and a nephew of his was enrolled in a seminary at the school. Lindesmith had visited Washington, D.C., just after the Catholic University of America was founded. And St. Ignatius College, a Jesuit institution, was near the area of Ohio where Father Lindesmith had a parish.

In her essay in this book, Bethany Montagano explores Lindesmith's motives for collecting. The diaries and other documents in his archived papers confirm his goal of collecting and exhibiting objects that illustrated aspects of late-nineteenth-century life in the American West. He notes more than once that these items, no matter how mundane, would enable people in the future to gain a better grasp of the cultures of the West, particularly of the Northern Plains. The Native American portion of the collection, in particular, increases our understanding and appreciation of that area of art from this period. Of even greater value than the objects themselves is the legacy Father Lindesmith conveyed by thoughtfully documenting the historical and cultural particulars of his acquisitions.

1. Father Lindesmith Collection, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America (hereafter cited as FLC/ACHRCUA): Box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Professor Henry Hyvernatt, D.D., March 1911.

2. FLC/ACHRCUA: Box 5, file 6, memorandum 24; Box 21, account book 4; Box 5, memoranda 27-29; Box 5, memoranda 30-32A.

3. FLC/ACHRCUA: Box 21, file 5, account book 3; Box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Professor Henry Hyvernatt, D.D., April 5, 1911.

4. FLC/ACHRCUA: Box 21, file 5, account book 3; Box 7, file 8, object tag 473.

5. Carlos Davila, "The Mustard Seed in Montana: Father Eli W. J. Lindesmith and the Spirit of Order and Progress in the American West, 1880 to 1891," PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2005 (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2008).

6. FLC/ACHRCUA: Box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernatt, March 1911.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.



Fig. 1



Fig. 3



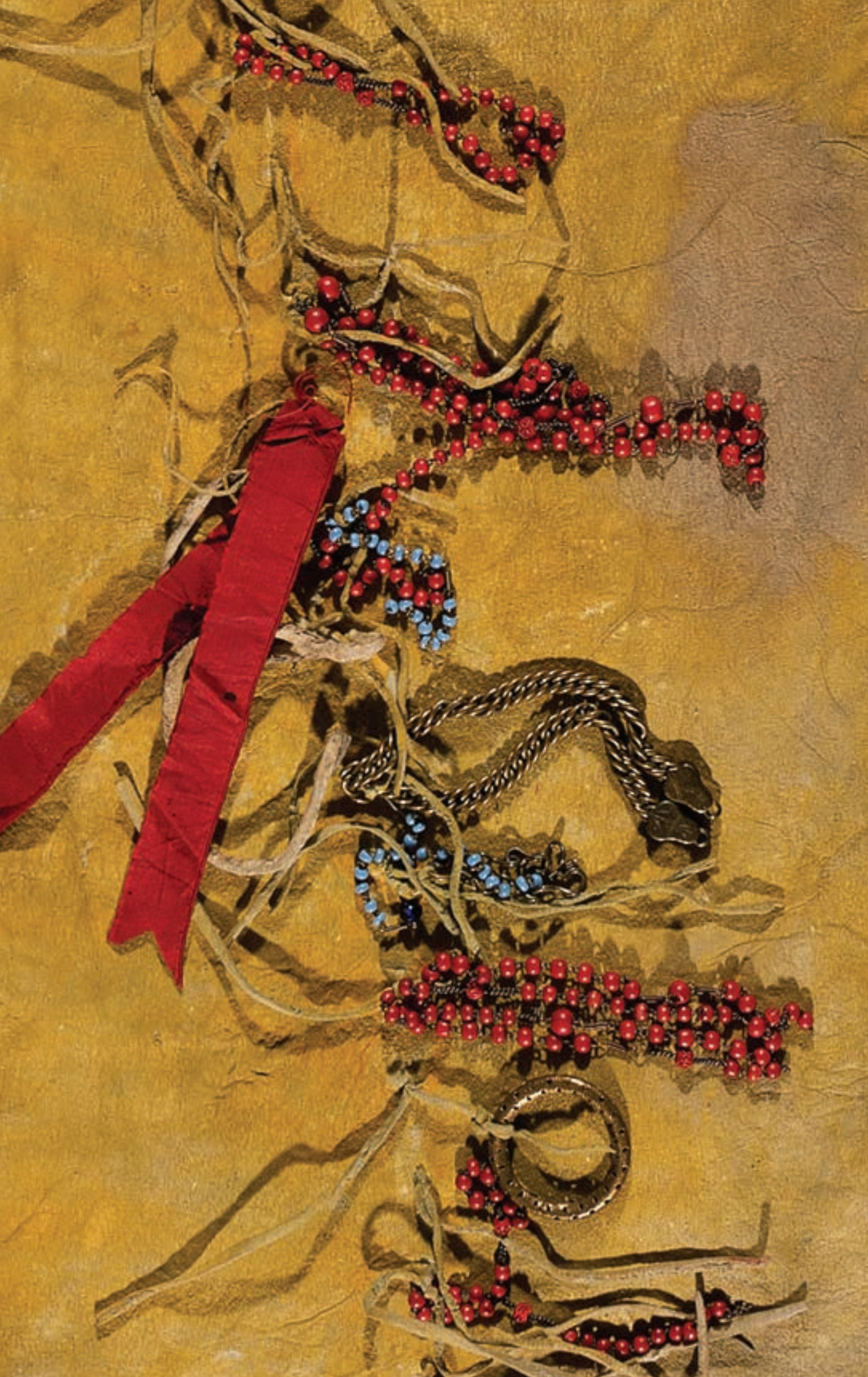
Fig. 2



Fig. 1: Father Lindesmith's Dress Forge Cap; 2012.026.001; SMA, UND

Fig. 2: Officer's Dress Sword; 2012.026.002; SMA, UND

Fig. 3: Knights Eagle Pommel Sword; 2012.026.003; Snite SMA, UND



PREFACE

JOANNE M. MACK

For Father Eli Washington John Lindesmith, his extensive collection of disparate artifacts represented a visual record of everyday life in the American West and in his native state of Ohio from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s that could be shared with the public and used for educational purposes. Because he maintained detailed records concerning the acquisition of each item as well as its historical and cultural context, the collection also is anthropologically significant. In addition, many of the objects in the collection are beautifully made, so they can be appreciated for their artistic merit. Although Lindesmith gathered and preserved a wide variety of items, the present exhibition and accompanying catalogue focus on fine beadwork, weaving, and painting by Native Americans—primarily the Northern Cheyenne.

Father Lindesmith built most of his collection during a period of enormous upheaval and transition for the people of the Northern Plains, Native American and Euro-American alike. The so-called Indian wars were coming to an end, and Native Americans were being forced to live on reservations and adopt Euro-American cultural practices while abandoning their own. The Battle of the Little Big Horn was fought in 1876, just four years before Lindesmith arrived at Fort Keogh in the Montana Territory, and the Massacre of Wounded Knee occurred in 1890, shortly before he retired from the U.S. Army and left the military installation. Around the same time, Euro-Americans were changing the face of the West, building towns and cities, some of which grew and exist today and others that have all but disappeared. Trappers and explorers gave way to families who came west to homestead.

In 1880, when Father Lindesmith arrived in the Montana Territory, there were so few ministers and priests that he was asked to perform baptisms, weddings, and funerals for both Catholics and non-Catholics in the area surrounding the fort.¹ When he left in 1891, to return to Ohio, churches were being built and staffed by ministers and priests. Ursuline nuns established schools on the Crow and Cheyenne reservations during Lindesmith's early days at Fort Keogh, and by the time of his departure—two years after the territory became a state—there also were schools for Euro-American children not only at Fort Keogh and in Miles City but also in towns across Montana.

During the time Lindesmith served as Fort Keogh's chaplain, three men—Christian Barthelmess, L. A. Huffman, and S. J. Murrow—held the position of post photographer. After a year on the job, each of them opened a studio in nearby Miles City. Also, between 1877 and 1879, John Fouch, a commercial photographer, set up a studio and took pictures at the cantonment located about a mile from where Fort Keogh was built in 1877 and 1878.² The pictures these four men made in the late 1870s and 1880s captured the Little Big Horn battlefield, the nascent Yellowstone National Park, and the men, women, and children who lived at the fort and on the Crow and Cheyenne reservations. This remarkable photographic record provides a visual history that complements Lindesmith's collection. Many of its images show individuals he mentions in his diaries, account books, and memoranda, including regular soldiers, commissioned and noncommissioned officers, and Fort Keogh's civilian employees. Among the Native American men and women in the photographs are famous chiefs and warriors as well as many Cheyenne scouts and their wives and children, some of whom comprised the main source of many Native American items in Lindesmith's collection.

My first essay in this book describes Lindesmith as an army chaplain, collector, priest, and traveler as well as someone who was concerned with history, both that of the West and of Ohio. The essay also traces his connections to the three North American educational institutions to which he donated his collection. Bethany Montagano's essay focuses on Lindesmith as a man of his time, particularly in relation to America's identity and the myth of the West. Next, Candace Greene clarifies the significance of war records on the Plains, focusing especially on the White Swan pictographic war record, which Lindesmith purchased in 1889.³ My concluding essay depicts the setting in which Cheyenne scouts and their wives made and sold many of the objects he accumulated.

On a personal note, I first became aware of Father Lindesmith's collection when I arrived at the Snite Museum of Art in 1997. I was fascinated with the amount of contextual information accompanying many of the objects. I became convinced that the Native American portion of these holdings, in particular, merited an exhibition—even though some of the objects Lindesmith donated to the University of Notre Dame in 1899 seemed to have disappeared, along with some of the paper tags he had provided for each item.

In 1991, while conducting research for an exhibition on White Swan's pictographic war record, Douglas Bradley, the Snite's curator of ethnographic arts, had visited Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., seeking more information about Father Lindesmith and specific items he had acquired.⁴ Unfortunately, the archives there were not yet organized for easy access, and no one with whom Bradley spoke knew what had happened to the part of the Lindesmith collection

given to the university in 1898. A decade later, in 2003, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History curator Candace Greene told me that the Native American portion of Lindesmith's collection previously held at Catholic University of America had been deaccessioned to her museum and was housed at its Suitland, Maryland, facility. A year later, Sue Fitzgerald, an administrative assistant at the Snite Museum, told me that the Catholic University of America archives Web site listed Father Lindesmith's papers in its collection.⁵ As I studied those papers, particularly the ones related to the cleric's years at Fort Keogh and then later, when he donated his collection, I was impressed by his remarkably thorough record keeping for the Native American objects he acquired. Indeed, there were often multiple records for many objects: a particular piece might be noted in an account book, in his diary, in a memorandum, and on the paper tags that accompanied each object when it was donated.

This exhibition and catalogue are the result of my research and the cooperation of the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America, the Smithsonian National Natural History Museum, and the Congregation of Holy Cross U.S. Province Archives Center.

1. Important sources on Father Lindesmith are: Josef James Warhank, "Fort Keogh: Edge of a Culture," M.A. thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 1983; and Carlos Davila, "The Mustard Seed in Montana: Father Eli W. J. Lindesmith and the Spirit of Order and Progress in the American West, 1880 to 1891," PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2005 (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag, Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2008).

2. For these photographers, see: Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, *The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains* (New York: Henry Holt, 1955); Maurice Frink with Casey E. Barthelmess, *Photographer on an Army Mule* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); Wesley R. Hurt and William E. Lass, *Frontier Photographer: Stanley J. Morrow's Dakota Years* (Lincoln, NE: University of South Dakota and University of Nebraska Press, 1956); James S. Brust, "John H. Fouch: First Post Photographer at Fort Keogh," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 44 (Spring 1994): 2–17.

3. Father Lindesmith Collection, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America: Box 20, folder 4, accounts; Box 21, folder 6, account book 4. A tag for the object is in the University of Notre Dame archives. Each of these documents provides the same or similar information on the purchase of the White Swan pictograph.

4. Douglas E. Bradley, *White Swan: Crow Indian Warrior and Painter*, Snite Museum of Art (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1991).

5. See <http://archives.lib.cua.edu/lindesmith1.cfm>.





THE FATHER LINDESMITH COLLECTION:
History, Anthropology, and Art

JOANNE M. MACK

Museum collections are built, in part, upon personal collections that have been donated by the individuals who assembled them. Such donations often help shape a museum's exhibitions. Often lacking actual accounts and records, curators and art historians can only imagine most collectors' motives and the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of objects that so intrigued them. Fortunately, there is no need for such speculation or conjecture in the case of Father Eli John Washington Lindesmith, whose voluminous records have all been archived. These include account books detailing most of the items in his collection, his diaries, memoirs, letters (both sent and received), lectures, sermons, photographs, and perhaps most important of all, descriptive tags for every object and notes for every photograph, which he attached to each item when he donated it.

In a March 1911 letter to Professor Henry Hyvernats of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., Father Lindesmith wrote that he had displayed objects he obtained while serving as chaplain at Fort Keogh in Montana Territory, but came to realize, after sending them to Ohio, that he could not care for them properly. "I shipped my entire collection to Dungannon, Columbianna [sic] County, Ohio," he explained, "and placed it all in a large school room of St. Phillip's church; where the bishop stationed me as a pastor. People came from far and wide to see the curiosities. I soon found I could not attend to it."¹ In a letter to Professor J. H. Edwards at the University of Notre Dame a dozen years earlier, he had asserted that although the items were then not worth much, they would have great value a hundred years hence.²

Father Lindesmith correctly anticipated that his collection would someday be respected for its historical relevance. By affixing an explanatory label to each item, this foresighted collector was shedding light on aspects of America's past. Because he hoped future generations would learn from his holdings, he decided to donate them to several Catholic educational institutions.

Lindesmith began dividing and disseminating the collection by giving about half of it to the Catholic University of America in 1898; he probably had visited the school in 1888, not long after its founding.³ In 1899 he donated approximately one-quarter of his collection, including a recently painted full-length portrait of himself (opposite), to the University of Notre Dame.⁴ His diaries and memoirs note several visits to the university. During one, in 1891, he was impressed by the campus post of the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of faculty members.⁵ Furthermore, he knew of the Catholic Historical Collection in the Bishops' Museum at the university because he had donated a vestment to that collection in 1894.⁶

Father Lindesmith also had a personal connection to the University of Notre Dame: in 1870, he had baptized one of its faculty members, John W. Cavanaugh, who went on to become the school's president in 1905.⁷ When Father Cavanaugh resigned from Notre Dame to assume a position at the Catholic University of America, he wrote Lindesmith and asked him to send whatever personal papers he could; Cavanaugh intended to write a biography of the older priest and an account of his ancestors.⁸ Lindesmith responded by sending him all the written material he had; today this abundant documentation is stored in thirty-four boxes of files in the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. In 1902 he sent eight trunks of items from his collection to St. Ignatius College in Cleveland and, in 1908, seven pieces of military winter clothing to the American College of Rome.⁹

According to his records, Father Lindesmith built most of his collection between 1880 and 1885, but he continued obtaining objects until retiring from the Army in 1891.¹⁰ In addition, he had acquired some items before 1880, and obtained others after he retired and returned to his native Ohio. We can most easily grasp the historical and cultural significance of the collection by considering it within six categories: military, Montana history, Native American ethnohistory, natural history, personal and family history, and religion. According to this arrangement, an item such as George Armstrong Custer's field trunk, which Lindesmith gave to the Catholic University of America, obviously belongs in the military category.¹¹ An example of a Native American item is a pair of Cheyenne man's leggings that Lindesmith bought from High Walking, a Cheyenne scout at Fort Keogh, and later donated to the University of Notre Dame.¹² Plant and animal parts, such as a group of fourteen rattlesnake rattles, qualify as natural history, an altar cloth falls within the religious category, and obviously categorized as personal is the hickory broom Lindesmith made for himself; the rattles, cloth, and broom all were donated to the University of Notre Dame. Of course, some items belong in two or more of these categories; for example, the Indian shotgun (see p. 26-27) he obtained when a band being removed to a reservation surrendered it to the Army might be designated as military, Montana history, and Native American ethnohistory.¹³

The Native American portion of Father Lindesmith's collection, which is the focus of the present exhibition and catalogue, also lends itself to categorization—in this case, under the headings ceremonial items, clothing, containers, drawings, jewelry, tools, trade items, and weaponry. Selected for this presentation are those items that have artistic merit.

During his chaplaincy at Fort Keogh, Lindesmith frequently interacted with Cheyenne scouts, whose wives made many of the beadwork objects he acquired. Cheyenne bead workers had perfected the so-called lane stitch and thus were adept at laying the lanes of beads flat. Their beadwork is also technically exceptional because, often, each row of beads lines up almost perfectly with the rows above and below it.¹⁴ The colors, layouts, and design motifs in pieces featured in this exhibition and catalogue are typical of Cheyenne beadwork art. Common Cheyenne design motifs are evident on both beaded and painted objects, such as a pair of woman's leggings (see p. 101) and a parfleche (rawhide bag), shown on pages 14 and 99.

Some motifs the Northern Cheyenne workers used suggest their frequent association with Lakota relatives and, sometimes, allies; the motifs on the girl's dress included here reflect that influence (see p. 43 and 93).¹⁵

Cheyenne bead workers tended to use a wider range of colors than those of most other Northern Plains cultures, for example, the light-blue Italian beads that are visible in the background color of the cradle beading, in the yoke of the girl's dress, and in the woman's leggings.¹⁶ Other colors that Cheyenne bead workers used, some seen on the items included here, were white, dark or royal blue, dark green, black, rose, pink, yellow, orange, medium or mint green, and red or oxblood. The beaded moccasins shown on page 106-109 provide an excellent example of the vivid color work and complex layouts these Cheyenne achieved. The moccasins are designed in a traditional manner, with a border of two lanes, a group of lanes running up the center from toe to tongue (repeating the border arrangement), one lane running over the instep just in front of the tongue, two narrow lanes going along the top of the border from the cross lane back to the heel seam, and one more lane running up the heel seam.¹⁷

Cheyenne bead workers employed three basic designs. The first two were stripes, as seen in the awl case on page 103, and geometric figures, (mostly squares and rectangles), such as on the girl's dress mentioned above. The third basic motif—animal figures—is not represented in this set of beaded objects. The bead workers were apt to depict solid geometric figures or to put contrasting colors somewhere inside a geometric figure, such as the stepped-triangle design (as seen on the cradle and the girl's dress); this design refers to Sweet Medicine's Cave and Bear Butte—the sacred mountain in Cheyenne religion.¹⁸

Parfleche painting has always been geometric. In general, Great Plains women used geometric designs for beading and painting, whereas men most often used realistic designs.¹⁹ This is most clearly seen by comparing White Swan's muslin (see the illustrations in Candace Greene's essay and on p. 61, 66-67) and Mäeäbut's parfleche (see p. 14 and 99). One can also compare the beading on a pair of Lakota dolls with the shield carried by the male doll (see p. 119); men painted shields.

The woven pieces featured in this exhibition and catalogue include four baskets and one apron (see pp. 86-87, 88, and 91). Lindesmith likely collected three of the baskets on one of his trips east. In 1888 he traveled to Niagara Falls, where this type of brightly colored ash-splint basketry was made for the tourist trade. The bright, so-called Easter egg colors are a characteristic feature of these baskets.²⁰ The fourth basket and the apron are from northwestern California but were in his collection before he traveled to that part of the country. He noted on the tag accompanying this basket that it had been sent to him as a symbol of ridicule for his being a Union supporter during the Civil War.²¹ Woven into the girl's apron are strands of maidenhair fern (black) and bear grass (pale yellow). Also on the apron are several large glass beads of the kind traded during the mid-nineteenth century on the West Coast by Russian Fur Trade Company agents to various Native American groups stretching from Alaska to Northern California; these are interspersed among the large pine nut beads (p. 86).²²

Father Lindesmith frequently misinterpreted the function of a given object in his collection, the practices it might represent, and the significance of its design. For example, he acquired six Egyptian necklaces that he believed were typical of Native American jewelry; he donated five of them to the Catholic University of America and one to the University of Notre Dame (see p. 125). Although Cheyenne or Lakota men and women he knew no doubt wore these necklaces, they consisted of beads from abroad—ones that were not typical on the Northern Plains or, for that matter, anywhere else in North America. Probably, a soldier or settler acquired the necklaces from a tourist who had traveled to Egypt and then traded them to the Cheyenne or Lakota. The movement of these beads from Egypt to North America as a commodity prompts us to consider a kind of globalization that operated on the Northern Plains in the 1880s: The clay beads were pulled from their original cultural and symbolic contexts when the tourist bought them and, presumably, took them to America; and they arbitrarily entered other contexts, with different meanings, and became mingled in with all the other tokens of Lindesmith's experience in the American West.²³ The priest also misinterpreted the crosses formed from glass beads on a pair of Lakota moccasins (see p. 117); he assumed they represented crucifixes and thus reflected a belief in Christianity.²⁴ Such cross designs, however, are typical of Lakota symbols and appeared frequently in Native American beadwork.

Of course, Father Lindesmith did correctly learn the importance and cultural significance of some of the items in his collection. The cradle he commissioned through Wolf Voice that was designed and made by his wife Ameche (also known as Elk Woman) is an example (see p. 94). Lindesmith described the cradle as to its importance for the child who used it and the child's family. Thus he could not buy an already-made cradle without thereby obtaining an object that had been stolen from an enemy's grave—something he would not do.²⁵

Father Lindesmith likely thought that two additional items employing Christian iconography represented conversion. The "Indian rosary" from his collection consists of wooden beads (designed to be used as rosary beads), a metal cross, and a Virgin Mary medal (see p. 44 and 122). (Common Native American materials were employed: The rosary beads are strung on rawhide; the larger beads, the ones held when reciting the "Our Father"—the Lord's Prayer—are the toe bones of a small animal, either a dog or a fox.) This object's use as a rosary undoubtedly represents its owner's conversion to Christianity. The rosary sections on a pair of Cheyenne men's leggings, on the other hand, probably do not represent conversion, though Lindesmith might have interpreted them that way (see p. 20 and 105). In practice, they might have been used simply because they were beads, or because the owner wished to add an element of Christian power to the garment, much as certain items were added to shields and other pieces worn in battle to lend the wearer power and protection.

Father Lindesmith's records indicate that he often bought, was given, or found items he thought were generally representative of Native American culture. Some items, however, were ones he particularly coveted for his collection; his notes and descriptive object tags show that was clearly true, for example, of the cradle Wolf Voice's wife made, of a pipe tomahawk (fig. 4), and of a sinew-backed bow Lindesmith donated to the University of Notre Dame.²⁶ He wrote that he was lucky to be able to buy the latter two objects.

Lindesmith's ready access to Fort Keogh's Native American scouts biased his collection toward work by the Northern Plains Cheyenne; he acquired only a few items from the Lakota and Crow and none at all from several other Northern Plains tribes. Therefore, even though his posting at the fort put him in a position to acquire a nearly complete collection of the material culture of the Northern Plains, circumstances beyond his control limited the ultimate scope of his holdings. In addition, Lindesmith's knowledge about Native Americans in that region was relatively limited, causing him to lump together the material cultures of tribes with which he came in contact—the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Lakota, and Gros Ventre. Each possessed certain unique characteristics that he, like many other Euro-Americans then and now, tended not to recognize. Despite these circumstances, Father Lindesmith's knowledge of Northern Plains cultures was more sophisticated than that of most Americans of his time, as is reflected in the impressive range of his collection and the detailed records he left behind.



Fig 4: Pipe Tomahawk; 2012.026.006; SMA, UND

1. Father Lindesmith Collection, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America (hereafter cited as FLC/ACHRCUA): box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Professor Henry Hyvernat D.D., March 1911.
2. Father Lindesmith Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives (hereafter cited as FLC/UNDA): Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, August 10, 1899.
3. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, March 1911.
4. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 8, file 8, J. F. Edwards to Lindesmith, [n.d.] 1899.
5. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 28, file 1, one-page description of events and biographies of individuals at the University of Notre Dame associated with the Grand Army of the Republic.
6. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 4, Lindesmith to J. F. Edwards, December 7, 1894.
7. FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to the Rev. John Cavanaugh, July 19, 1905.
8. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 1, Cavanaugh to Lindesmith, October 17, 1919.
9. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 7, John I. Zahm, S. J., St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, to Lindesmith, December 7, 1902; box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, March 1911.
10. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, April 5, 1911.
11. Ibid. Lindesmith was given Custer's field trunk by a soldier in Company D, Fifth Infantry, who had participated in Battle of the Little Big Horn reburials.
12. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 20, folder 4, accounts; box 21, folder 5, account book 3; FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, June 12, 1899.
13. FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, August 2, 1899; box 20, folder 4, accounts; box 21, folder 5, account book 3; FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, June 12, 1899; FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, March 1911; FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, August 10, 1899.
14. Dick Conn, "Cheyenne-Style Beadwork," *American Indian Hobbyist* 7, no. 2 (1961): 57–62; Ronald P. Koch, *Dress Clothing of the Plains Indians*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).
15. Conn, "Cheyenne-Style Beadwork." The Lakota are one of three tribes sometimes called Sioux by Father Lindesmith and others. The two other tribes are the Dakota and Nakota. Nearly all bands inhabiting the northwestern Plains during the nineteenth century were Lakota.
16. Conn, "Cheyenne-Style Beadwork."
17. Ibid.
18. For the central role of Bear Butte and Sweet Medicine's Cave in Cheyenne religion, see John P. Lukavic, "Southern Cheyenne Orthodoxy: A Study in Materiality," PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, 2012 (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC, 2012), 207; Father John Peter Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A Story of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies 1830–1879*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979); and George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Way of Life*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1923).
19. Mary Jane Schneider, "From Plains Indian Art," in Margot Liberty and W. Raymond Wood, eds., *Anthropology on the Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 197–211.
20. FLC/UNDA: Lindesmith to J. H. Edwards, June 12, 1899; Liz Olveda, "Commercialized Forms: The Difficulties of Identifying 19th-Century Splint Baskets," Snite Museum of Art object files, 2010.
21. FLC/UNDA: tag, August 2, 1899.
22. Jamie Allen, bead consultant, personal communication to author during meeting, October 2011.
23. FLC/ACHRCUA: tag 750.
24. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, tags 469 and 471.
25. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, March 1911.
26. FLC/UNDA: tags for tomahawk pipe and bow.



Wolf Voice and Yellow Robe and Families, NAA, SI from TMMC, UT-A



The Relationship between Myth, Native American and Western Material Culture, and American Identity in Father Lindesmith's Collection

BETHANY MONTAGANO

On August 14, 1882, U.S. Army chaplain Eli Washington John Lindesmith left Fort Keogh to “hunt” for an Indian skeleton¹. He knew where to look, walking his Indian pony along the north side of the Yellowstone River in Montana Territory to a sacred site that the Lakota dubbed Big Cooley. Later, Father Lindesmith wrote, “On the west side about half-way up, under a cedar tree, whereon had been placed the dead body, but now scattered on the ground, I found this jaw bone and two other bones, and this piece of board [on] which the body had been placed.”² He made off with a jawbone and a forearm bone still tethered to the burial plank belonging to an infant.³

Lindesmith recorded this as a singular find; it represented the 644th object in his collection of Western, Native American, military, natural history, personal, and religious artifacts and samples, most of which he amassed during his 1880 to 1891 tenure as the first Catholic chaplain in the U.S. Army commissioned during peacetime.⁴ Although he acquired many items legitimately—ones given to him by friends, paid for in cash, or traded for with luxury items such as bacon⁵—he also obtained other items illegitimately.⁶

Father Lindesmith left behind fastidious notes about how, when, why, and from whom he obtained his items, what he considered their historical and/or cultural significance, and exactly what he paid for the ones he purchased. A close examination of those notes and various objects in the collection reveals something about the extent to which cultural stereotypes, romantic appraisals of the American West, identity, race, religion, Native participation, and the market for Native American cultural goods affected the practice of misappropriation in the West during the late nineteenth century (fig. 5, opposite).

Through the prism of misappropriation, it appears that Lindesmith was not simply participating in benign forms of curiosity collecting; indeed, he was purposely accumulating a vast array of disparate objects to validate his Western experience. Among these were beaver and grizzly-bear fur coats, arms and swords (fig. 6) associated with several famous Indian battles, George Armstrong Custer's field trunk, one of Captain Myles Keogh's rib bones, saddles, lariats, Indian guns, scalping knives, war clubs, tin cans, and even coveredwagon tarps. His cataloguing notes reveal the degree to which he regarded these artifacts as a means of authenticating not just the makers' identities but also his own identity (fig. 7). As a U.S. Army chaplain, collector, and museum benefactor, Lindesmith contributed to and helped perpetuate the myth of the American West.⁷

Fig. 5: Father Lindesmith in his leather outfit and broad brim hat from Montana Territory; CHCUSPCA

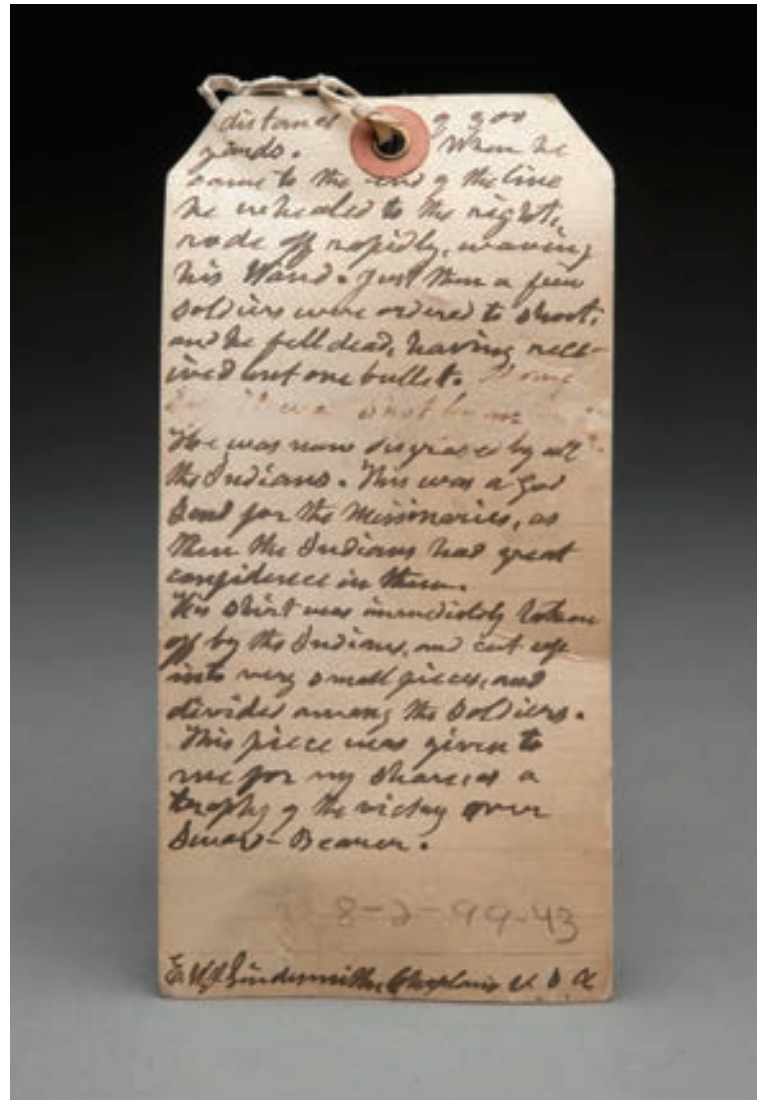


Fig. 7
One of Lindesmith's Handwritten Tags-Backside; Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame

The Army did not send Father Lindesmith to Montana Territory to study American Indians but rather to help deal with unruly soldiers at Fort Keogh. By the time he arrived, in 1880, Protestant missionaries had given up on and abandoned Fort Keogh and nearby Miles City, which serviced the fort. With its population of “buffalo slaughterers,” soldiers, and Indians, the town had a reputation for “consuming the wages” and “corrupting the morals” of Fort Keogh’s military men.⁸ Named for the Indian fighter Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles, it was a gritty hustlers’ junction—the very antithesis of what its namesake had envisioned.⁹

Shortly after the Custer disaster at the Little Big Horn in June 1876, the Army ordered Miles to establish a fort and force the rest of the territory’s Native population—the Northern Cheyenne, Crow, and Lakota— onto reservations. Strategically placed at the confluence of the northflowing Tongue and Yellowstone rivers, Fort Keogh existed to help squelch the “Indian problem” and pave the way for Euro-Americans to settle in the territory.¹⁰

By 1880, Protestant missionaries believed that the residents of Miles City and soldiers of Fort Keogh had lost their moral compass. A visiting missionary reported that the fifteen people who attended one Sunday service did so in a room above a carpenter’s shop, surrounded by coffins, sitting atop sawhorses, and in the company of stray dogs that were devouring scraps of food. “At the same hour,” he continued, “there were probably more than three hundred men congregated in the bar-room and gambling halls.”¹¹ It was clear, at least to this missionary, that the new fort and town were fostering a population of unabashed heathens.

On the face of it, sending the fifty-three-year-old Father Lindesmith to Montana would not seem to indicate the Army thought it had chosen someone who could deal effectively with Fort Keogh’s morality problem. On two prior occasions—during the Mexican-American War and Civil War—the Army had turned Lindesmith away. The Montana commission was not one for the faint of heart. In 1880 the national military was downsizing, the so-called Indian wars were highly controversial, and relations with the Northern Cheyenne, Crow, and especially the Lakota were notoriously volatile. Furthermore, relations among these native groups were strained, exacerbated by increased land dispossession and by the intertribal warfare of Indian scouts who worked cooperatively, and for pay, with the Army.

Many Euro-Americans who fought in the West’s Indian wars were first-generation immigrants from countries such as France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, and Poland. The fact that 40 percent of Fort Keogh’s enlisted men were Catholics helped prompt the Army to commission Father Lindesmith to be its first peacetime Catholic chaplain.¹²

Lindesmith came from a long line of Ohio natives who had served in the military, first in the Revolutionary War and later in the War of 1812. But for reasons never fully explained, the Army rejected Lindesmith’s offers to serve in the Mexican-American War and the Civil War. (He apparently was so lastingly affected by these earlier rejections that he tried— unsuccessfully, after his time in Montana—to procure an Indian War Badge for his service in a campaign against the Sioux.¹³) Lindesmith lost his father when he was seven years old, an event followed by traumatizing experiences of abandonment and servitude. He was thirteen when his mother remarried, and she and her new husband forced the adolescent to live and labor on a neighboring farm for three years.



Fig. 6
Officer's Dress Sword, SMA, UND
2012.026.002

By the time he entered St. Mary's Catholic Seminary in Cleveland, in 1849, Lindesmith was keenly aware of the persecution directed at local Catholics.¹⁴ And at seminary, he recalled, he was subjected to "the crucible of fire," complaining that no one else there endured such hardships.¹⁵ Although Lindesmith was ordained in 1853 and oversaw two successful Ohio parishes (Saints Peter and Paul's in Doylestown and St. John the Baptist in Canton), it is likely that his mother's rejection of him, his two failed attempts to join the military, and the prejudiced treatment of him as a Catholic by both immigrant Catholics and Protestants produced lasting psychological wounds.

For Father Lindesmith, the chaplaincy commission represented an opportunity for self-affirmation. Appointed by President Rutherford B. Hayes, approved by the U.S. Senate, and accepting the post via the Bishop of Cleveland, Lindesmith took his oath of office before a probate judge in New Lisbon, Ohio, on June 19, 1880. Four weeks later, he began his westward journey, stopping in Chicago; at Fort Snelling, Minnesota; in Bismarck, North Dakota; and at Fort Buford, on the Missouri River. On August 11, after three weeks of travel on the Northern Pacific Railroad, the steamer *Big Horn*, a small riverboat, and in an Army ambulance, he arrived at Fort Keogh.¹⁶

Lindesmith's fascination with all things Indian took hold during that journey. Of his first encounter with Native Americans he wrote, "I saw two Indians, man and woman, watering three horses . . . these were the first wild Indians I have ever seen."¹⁷ Also, from the deck of *Big Horn*, he observed "Indians dressed in Indian stile [sic] buckskin," carrying guns and whipping the mosquitoes off of their horses with their wide-brimmed hats. In his initial encounter with a Native man, who apparently called himself "Old White Man," the priest exchanged a paper dollar for two half-dollar coins, thus making the first trade and acquisition for his collection in the West. Of that exchange, he noted an opinion expressed by the *Big Horn's* captain: "You can't cheat an Indian if you would try." Before reaching western Montana, Lindesmith observed a U.S. Army cantonment holding "wandering Indians, some of whom robbed [sic] the mail and killed the carrier." This was one of several diary entries that reflected his adherence to stereotypes about Indians—namely, that they were wild, primitive, dangerous, eager to trade, murderous but honest, and skilled in the ways of the West.

Like most Americans during the mid- and late nineteenth century, Lindesmith was susceptible to the two most widely accepted images of Native people, that of the vanishing Indian and of the noble savage. Writing about Native Americans, Thomas Jefferson drew upon the concept of the popular eighteenth-century French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau that Indians were noble savages doomed to extinction. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, editors of the essay anthology *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures* (2001), contend that the notion of the vanishing Indian neatly served those nineteenth-century expansionists who characterized Indians as relics of the past whose presence hindered the progress of white civilization.¹⁸ James K. Polk, U.S. president from 1845 to 1849, adopted the term Manifest Destiny to help justify the nation's

westward expansion. Meyer and Royer suggest that it was John Louis O'Sullivan, a political journalist, who first told white Americans it was their manifest destiny to overtake the lands American Indians "let lie fallow."¹⁹

The concepts of the vanishing Indian and Manifest Destiny profoundly influenced common views of Indians, views Lindesmith wholeheartedly embraced. His biographer, Carlos Davila, suggests that Lindesmith's perception of Indians as dangerous, primitive, and uncivilized stemmed in part from personal experience. According to Davila, Lindesmith recalled the fear his Ohio community felt during the Seminole rebellions in Florida of the 1830s. He also noted in his diaries that he had been chided as a young boy by relatives and peers who called him an "Indian" for not wearing a hat and for hunting with a bow and arrow.²⁰

Not surprisingly, Lindesmith's collection cataloguing notes reflect prevailing notions. For instance, in describing the cultural context of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, he wrote:

*The [Sioux] refused the right to building the Northern Pacific Railroad through Montana. They refused to sell any of their land. They refused to go to farming or stock raising. They refused to give up their savage life. They refused to send their children to school. They refused to receive missionaries. They refused to live on a reservation, where missionaries and good people would build churches for them, and schoolhouses for their children. . . . They refused everything that belongs to a civilized Christian life. They would do nothing but continue their heathen savage life.*²¹

This passage not only demonstrates his belief that Indians were uncivilized, and therefore unworthy of the land they occupied, but also illuminates a stereotypical view that came to dominate his attitudes about collecting their cultural materials. For Lindesmith, Native people's refusal to adopt or conform to a "civilized Christian life" marked them as primitive.²² His notes accompanying the small piece of a shirt he acquired that had been worn by the slain Crow warrior Sword Bearer (fig. 8) clearly reflect this: "[Sword Bearer] prophesized . . . that with his wand he could make the soldier's bullets fall off him like small hail"; in reality, the warrior fell dead after being shot once.²³

Reasoning that Native Americans were simply primitives on the verge of extinction, Lindesmith projected onto their material culture a singular historical value. By perceiving the Indian as a symbol of history and casting himself as a rescuer of that history, he absolved himself of whatever moral hesitation he otherwise might have felt about misappropriation. Indian bones were more than human remains for Lindesmith; they were highly prized relics, as he made clear in this note accompanying a skull he acquired:

*On August 1, 1882: Girard Whistler son of Leut. Col J. N. S. Whistler found this Indian skull under a tree on the north-side of the Yellowstone in one of the Cooleys, where it had been placed as a burial on the tree, but fell down. He presented it to me. I am indeed very thankful to him, as I [consider it] quite a relic.*²⁴



Fig. 8
Shred of Sword Bearer's shirt in bottle.
Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame

The aggrandizement of this Indian skull as a “relic” suggests Lindesmith’s rationale for such theft and also reflects the attitude that shaped his cataloguing practices. In recording the artifacts he gathered, the collector noted the provenance as well as what he considered the historical and/or cultural significance of each item. For example, his notes accompanying the Lakota remains and burial plank mentioned at the beginning of this essay include the assertion that “the reason for placing the dead on trees or posts is to prevent wolves from getting at them.”²⁵ His comment reflects ignorance of the spiritual context of the scaffold-burial custom and its importance in Lakota culture. In this and other instances, Lindesmith imposed his own beliefs and biases onto his descriptions.

Father Lindesmith was one of many Euro-Americans who gathered and catalogued Western and Native American artifacts, most notably Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, George Armstrong Custer, and the artist Frederic Remington. These collectors’ historical legacies depended in large part upon perpetuating romantic notions of the West by means of the region’s material culture. Like Custer and Remington, Lindesmith used artifacts to legitimize myth and mold his own identity. His notes for the squirrel rifle he loaned to a neighbor during the Civil War illustrate this tendency:

When during the Civil War, David Todd, governor of Ohio, called on the Squirrel hunters of the state to hasten at once to the line of danger, against the approaching Confederate Army. Andrew Sothammer came running, late at night, almost out of breath to get my rifle. Of course I let him have it, and all the bullets, lead and powder I had, along with the bullet mold. We spend [sic] a good part of the night in molding bullets; and on the following morning, he and other squirrel hunters took the first train for the front in defense of the Union, the State of Ohio, and the City of Cincinnati. This is the rifle.²⁶

Although the U.S. Army had denied Lindesmith the opportunity to serve in the war, the loaned squirrel rifle, which saw use during the conflict, provided evidence to help authenticate his loyalty to the Union cause. This example is one of many demonstrating how Lindesmith redefined himself through his collection.

Going west offered Lindesmith an opportunity to feel, act, and serve as an American. And as a priest, marginalized by rampant sentiment that sought to cast Catholics as un-American, he regarded his Western adventure as proof positive of his identity as a stalwart citizen.²⁷ Lindesmith sought to defend Catholicism against the roiling anti-Catholic movement by conflating his religion with material culture. He firmly believed that the acquisition and display of objects resonated with a meaning relevant to marginalized Catholics, who would embrace evidence that proved they were American and that might hinder discrimination and violence (fig. 9).

Lindesmith’s characterization of the significance of a Catholic altar stone he obtained in September 1882 offers another example of how he sought to find and express an American national identity through artifacts:

The broken altar stone was used by Rev. John S. Venneman S. J. on the Montana missions during 3 years. He had dispensation to use it. He traveled at least 24 days each month. He gave me the stone. . . . This stone was carried many thousands of miles, among whites, Indians, soldiers, trappers, miners, explorers, and frontiers men of every kind on car[t]s, boats, stages and even muleback and often afoot through almost impenetrable, mountains, bluffs, cooleys [sic], rocks, canyons, forests, Badlands, prairies and over rivers without bridges— at all [hours] of the [day] and night—not knowing at what minute they might fall into the hands of road-agents or hostile Indians by mistake.²⁸

For Lindesmith, this traveling altar stone symbolized the rugged, masculine Wild West and the dangers associated with its unsavory characters and unforgiving terrain. Possessing it gave him something tangible to help prove that he, like the stone, had survived the West. Although the object was only about ten inches tall, it was also, in his words, a “moveable Catholic Church”²⁹; as such, Lindesmith relied on the story surrounding it as evidence that the Catholic Church deserved recognition and respect in America’s Western narrative.

If possessing Western artifacts helped authenticate Lindesmith's Western experience and legitimize the American aspect of his identity, then removing Indian burial remains helped confirm his racial identity. In attempting to justify why he donated Indian remains he had collected to the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., he wrote: "My chief intention for sending those bones . . . was that in the future skilled anatomists might examine them and see any difference between the Indian and white man's bones."³⁰ By taking and then donating human remains in the name of science, he apparently believed he was advancing legitimate efforts to evaluate racial differences, thus encouraging non-Indians to distinguish themselves positively in opposition to indigenous peoples.



Fig. 9
Rosary made with rawhide, beads, and animal toe bones, ca 1885; AA1999.049.003; SMA, UND

Lindesmith's embrace of popular beliefs about the character of Native Americans and his attempts to legitimize a national and racial identity only partly explain his taking of burial remains. A discordance inherent in these justifications must be noted: How could Lindesmith carry out his duties as a Catholic priest, on the one hand, and desecrate Indian graves on the other? It is important to point out that his theology and acts of misappropriation were not always contradictory, given that he collected both Christian and non-Christian remains. However without question, he viewed Indians as non-Christians and thus had no scruples about taking their remains. There was, however, a line he refused to cross, which reflects how his theological views sometimes influenced his collecting decisions.

In his cataloguing notes, Lindesmith censured Native peoples for their practice of robbing the graves of their enemies' children to commandeer, and then sell, cradleboards:

They consider the pouch sacred. All the children of the same mother must be raised in the same pouch. In case the baby dies, it is buried in the pouch. In time of war between tribes: they will open the graves of the enemy and steal the pouch. They will never use the stolen pouch, but they will sell it. They offered to sell me that kind of pouch, but I refused to buy it. So I paid an Indian Squaw forty dollars to make for me this new pouch.³¹ (see page XX)

According to Lindesmith, it was grotesque for Indians to rob children's graves and seize burial items. This example illuminates the disjuncture between the primitivism he projected onto Indians and the pragmatism of his religious views. He distinguished himself from Native Americans who misappropriated as someone who sought to instill Christianity in them: "The Church in the name of God, calls you all to assist in the Spread of the Gospel and education. For the love of thee, O' my God, I will assist in the conversion of the Coloured Indian People in our Country. Amen."³²

Lindesmith typically characterized Native peoples as heathens and devil worshipers, as is evident in the notes that accompanied some Lakota medicine sticks he had obtained:

As soon as the sun rises, they begin their prayers to the Great Spirit—that is God. If they do not receive what they pray for: after some time: then they will assemble at night under the sky near their wigwams-teepees: beat drums with only one head on it. Sing, pray, and make a dreadful noise. . . All of this is the worship of the evil Spirit—the devil. They first worship God; and if they think he does not hear them; they then turn to the devil.³³

Because he cast himself both as a servant of God and as an American with an eye for the historical value of Indians' material culture, Lindesmith apparently was unable—or unwilling—to recognize the contradiction inherent in his actions. He equated Native acts of misappropriation with savagery and his own, similar acts with expressions of benevolence.

Not incidentally or surprisingly, many Native Americans also participated in misappropriation and so were not necessarily passive victims of exploitation in the marketing and consuming of their own goods.³⁴ Buying, selling, and trading Indian materials were essential to the development in the West of a consumer-driven capitalist economy, which Native Americans both created and fostered long before Lindesmith arrived in Montana. Lindesmith observed how this transition to capitalism tempted them to misappropriate. "[M]any Indians will rob the graves of other Tribes," he wrote, "if white men will pay them for the things they robbed."³⁵ Although such acts had taken place among warring tribes for some years, the expansion of consumer economics into the West exacerbated the practice.

Because Lindesmith did not belong to a Catholic order, he could accept a full salary as an Army chaplain and was, therefore, able to pay both non-Indians and Indians top dollar for artifacts. Wolf Voice, a Cheyenne U.S. Army scout, and his wife were among those who profited from Lindesmith's largesse; he paid them more than a hundred dollars, a small fortune in the 1880s, to make and sell him cultural goods.

Lindesmith, in turn, claimed that such Native participation in the marketing of their own goods was indicative of successful Catholic conversions. Further proof, he believed, was evident in such objects as the Indian-made rosary beads, strung on rawhide, that he sent to his sister Catherine in 1890 (see p. 123); or perhaps in the traditional Indian buckskin man's leggings, partially decorated with rosary beads, that he bought from High Walking, a Cheyenne, in 1887 (see p. 105).³⁶

Grover Wolf Voice, Wolf Voice's grandson, suggested that his grandfather had an ulterior motive for attending Lindesmith's church services and engaging in commerce with whites. Grover enjoyed recounting how his grandfather managed to attend several services in a single day:

*Once, a hopeful Catholic priest [presumably, Lindesmith] who had observed the old man's ways for a few weeks and thought he was church shopping, asked which church he preferred. The old man quickly replied, "Pentecostal." When the disappointed priest asked why, grandfather replied that they simply had the best food.*³⁷

According to this anecdote, the incorporation of recognizable Catholic materials in commissioned Native goods did not necessarily reflect successful conversions. In fact, however, it often revealed how Native Americans reacted to the demands of the market. Although Lindesmith sought Indian-made objects as evidence of pre-modern peoples, Native American participation in the capitalist market closed the economic gap that often characterizes the historical relationship between Native Americans and Euro-Americans in popular belief.

In 1919 the Reverend John W. Cavanaugh, president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, told Father Lindesmith, then ninety-two years old, that he wanted to write a "patriotic" biography of the elder priest and his ancestors.³⁸ This was the recognition for which the priest had long waited—and, likely, anticipated after donating his collection to several museums at educational institutions. Apparently, however, the thirty-four boxes of material Lindesmith shipped him proved to be overwhelming, for Cavanaugh never wrote the biography.

Contained in Notre Dame's archives was the tag for a seemingly innocuous tin cup. For Lindesmith, however, the item was associated with a harrowing story and an inspiring example:

*This cup was found by Fannie Hurly; one of seven most noted "bone girls" in Montana. She picked it up among the rubbish, where a dead Indian had been laid, on the highest Butte southeast of Fort Keogh. It is the custom of the Cheyenne Indians, to place several vessels near the corpse, containing different kinds of food. She gave me this cup on Tongue River June 1881. She could easily ride 60 miles per day, and tire out 5 ponies. She was an excellent cook, a good housekeeper and had received a convent education . . . she was a good Christian and brave service girl. Her father, Michael Hurly, was a union soldier in 1861 to 1865, and in the Frontier Wars.*³⁹

The tin cup signified for Lindesmith his idealized narrative of the West: a vast wilderness once inhabited by the now-vanishing Indian, evidenced by Indian bones that lay scattered for the taking, who had been conquered by fellow loyal service people who also were devout, adventurous Catholics. The cup, like his other misappropriated goods, recalls a time and place in which stereotypes, entitlement, race, religion, and consumerism intersected.

What Lindesmith and others were doing in the late nineteenth century was not only legal but was also common practice. Not until 1906 and 1990, respectively, were the Antiquities Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) enacted by Congress and signed into law. The activities of collectors like Lindesmith still have consequences today. The essayists contributing to *Selling the Indian* argue that the appropriation and ultimate commercialization of Native artifacts comprise a form of cultural imperialism and are, therefore, detrimental to American Indian culture and identity because of the distortion and exploitation they entail.⁴⁰ And in *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace* (2008), Erika Marie Bsumek shows how the process of standardizing the authenticity of work by Navajo artisans denied that group the autonomy to define the meaning and significance of their art to a national audience.⁴¹ Similarly, Lindesmith's misinformation about Native American culture, as reflected in his cataloguing notes, exemplifies the threat some collectors pose to cultural resilience by imposing their own meanings onto the artifacts they gather.

Lindesmith's collection and extensive notes survive in several major institutions, including the Catholic University of America, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, the University of Notre Dame, and The American College of Rome. Therefore his legacy continues to help color public perceptions of the American West and of Native Americans.

As a Catholic priest who amassed an impressive array of Native American artifacts and Western memorabilia, Lindesmith typified other marginalized Americans who devised alternative strategies—in his case, cultural appropriation—to help authenticate themselves as Americans. Therefore, his story is not simply the tired one of a benevolent Catholic priest who saved important "relics" of Indian culture. Nor is it the tale of a morally dilapidated cleric who contradicted his religious views by misappropriating human remains and sacred objects while Plains Indian people stood idly by. Instead, Lindesmith's story is a complex one involving pervasive, deeply embedded stereotypes about Indians and the West. His collection and cataloguing notes demonstrate the powerful, and enduring, role that Native American and Western artifacts play not only in perpetuating the myth of the West but also in affirming both individual and national identity.

1. Father Lindesmith Collection, American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America (hereafter cited as FLC/ACHRCA): box 7, file 8, tag 644, Indian Bones and Burial Plank, Fort Keogh, M.T., August 14, 1882. In his notes accompanying this item, Lindesmith wrote that he went to Big Cooley “on purpose . . . to hunt an [Indian] skeleton.”
2. Ibid.
3. E-mail to author from W. J. Shepherd, Associate Archivist, Catholic University of America, March 14, 2012: “As part of the Lindesmith collection [Catholic University] we have a forearm bone attached to a funerary board for an infant, two jawbones, and some skull fragments. Some years ago, in accordance with NAGPRA [Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act], we had the bones examined by experts at the Smithsonian to determine possible Native American tribal affiliation. The forearm and jawbones were determined to be most likely of Crow affiliation, while no further information could be determined for the skull fragments except to confirm they were human. The Crow refused repatriation of the remains so we still have them.”
4. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, tag 644. The jawbone and burial plank are listed together as item 644.
5. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, tag 473, Moccasins, Fort Keogh, M.T. April 2, 1881. Lindesmith's notes describe the trading transaction by which he acquired this item: “These moccasins were made by a Sioux Indian squaw, by the name of Blink-eye so called because she had an eye shot out in the Indian fight with Crow Indians. She is a notorious and well-known character among the North-Western Indians, soldiers and frontiers men. She made the moccasins for her son Harry Eads, who was educated in an eastern college but on returning to his tribe, became if anything, more savage than they. He and his mother took an active part in the Custer massacre. The moccasins were bought for 40 cents and four pounds of bacon from Blink-eye and presented to me by an army friend of mine.”
6. In this context, illegitimate means procuring artifacts through the looting and robbing of Indian graves, Indian prisoners of war, sacred sites, human remains on battlefields, or burial goods.
7. Several key sources on the myth of the American West are: Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950), David Hamilton Murdoch, *The American West: The Invention of a Myth* (2001), and Osianna Rose J. Miller, *The Myth of the American West: The Emergence, Revision, and Significance of Hegemonic Western Narratives* (2004).
8. American Home Missionary Society, Congressional Home Missionary Society, *Home Missionary* 53 (New York: Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society, 1881): 163.
9. Henry Romaine Pattengill, “General Nelson A. Miles,” *Timely Topics* 2 (1897): 617.
10. George Armstrong Custer, *My Life on the Plains: Or, Personal Experiences with Indians* (New York: Sheldon, 1876), 102. Custer wrote: “My firm conviction, based upon an intimate and thorough analysis of the habits of characters, and natural instinct of the Indian, and strengthened and supported by the almost unanimous opinion of all persons who have made the Indian problem a study, and have studied it, not from a distance, but immediate contact with all the facts bearing thereupon, is that the Indian cannot be elevated to that great level where he can be induced to adopt any policy.”
11. “The New North West” *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 24 (New York: Century Company, 1882): 10.

12. Carlos E. Davila, “The Mustard Seed in Montana: Father Eli W. J. Lindesmith and the Spirit of Order and Progress in the American West, 1880 to 1891,” PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2005 (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2008), 87; FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Professor Henry Hyvernat D.D., March 1911. “I am the first Catholic Chaplain commissioned by the US Government for life, in the Regular Army,” Lindesmith wrote. “All before me were appointed only to serve for a certain war or time of war.”
13. FLC/ACHRCA: box 12, file 4, memorandum, 1909. Lindesmith secured endorsements from five high-ranking Army officers at Fort Keogh, sent to the U.S. War Department, contending that his “service rendered . . . in the field against hostile Sioux during the Sioux campaign of 1890–91” made him a deserving recipient of an Indian War Badge. The War Department decided otherwise.
14. FLC/ACHRCA: box 3, Lindesmith Notes, 1938. Here Lindesmith wrote that Father Conlan, a Cleveland priest, developed ways for his parishioners to keep a low profile in order to forestall violent outbursts by anti-Catholic Protestants.
15. FLC/ACHRCA: box 3, Lindesmith Notes, 1849. Lindesmith here detailed the humiliations he endured and degrading tasks he had to perform at seminary. He reasoned that the bias against him was due to the fact that he was the only American-born student there at the time and that his fellow students and the immigrant-born faculty believed it was “impossible and wrong for an American to become a priest.”
16. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernat, March 1911. Here he described his appointment and subsequent journey to Fort Keogh.
17. FLC/ACHRCA, box 5, file 21, July 26, 1880, diary entry. The quotes that follow in this paragraph all come from this entry.
18. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, eds., *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 2001), xiii.
19. Ibid.
20. Davila, “Mustard Seed in Montana,” 118–19.
21. FLC/ACHRCA: box 12, file 4, diary entry titled “Montana and other Indians that I saw at Fort Keogh, and other places, during my active service as Chaplain in the Regular Army of the United States: from August 11, 1880 to September 7, 1891.”
22. The word primitive here reflects an attitude of superiority on the part of non-indigenous peoples that categorizes American Indians as being close to nature, childlike, backward in belief, unchanging, and pre-industrial.
23. Father Lindesmith Collection, University of Notre Dame Anthropology Department, Sword Bearer's shirt. The object tag reads: “A Piece of Sword Bearer's shirt, an aspiring Crow Chief. He prophesied . . . that with his wand he could make the soldier's bullets fall off him like small hail. The Indians were inclined to believe him, but by the advice of the Jesuits and nuns who had lately come there they waited to see results. . . . Sword bearer had agreed to ride along the line of soldiers without being shot. . . . Just then a few soldiers were ordered to shoot and he fell dead, having received but one bullet. Some say it was shot by an Indian. He was now disgraced by all the Indians. This was a Godsend for the missionaries, as then the Indians had great confidence in them. His shirt was immediately taken off by the Indians and cut up into very small pieces and divided among the soldiers. This piece was given to me for my share as a trophy of the victory over Sword-bearer.”

24. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, tag 677, August 1, 1882, Indian Skull. Skull collecting became scientifically respectable in the nineteenth century. Ann Fabian explores this topic in her book *The Skull Collectors*, focusing particularly on the American natural scientist and anthropologist Samuel George Morton (1799–1851). Fabian argues that the practice, as promoted by influential figures such as Morton, left a lasting impression on America’s racial consciousness. Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America’s Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
25. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, tag 644.
26. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernath, March 1911.
27. James Oswald Dykes, *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review and Quarterly Record of Christian Literature*, “The Roman Catholic Press,” (Frankfurt, Germany: Johnstone and Hunter, 1856), 140–41. A key element of the widespread anti-Catholic sentiment Lindesmith dealt with is described here: “[Americans] are apt, therefore, to conclude from it, not only that the mass of Catholics are foreigners, or of foreign birth and manners, tastes, and education but that Catholicity itself is foreign to the real American people and can never coalesce with our peculiar national sentiment, or prevail here without altering or destroying our distinctive nationality.”
28. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, tag 668, Broken Altar Stone, Fort Keogh, M.T., September 12, 1882.
29. John R. Dichtl, *Frontiers of Faith: Bringing Catholicism to the West in the Early Republic* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 93. “Well into the nineteenth century,” Dichtl writes, “priests . . . carried altar stones in their ministrations to dispersed Catholic settlements. Until a sacred space was constructed, and a permanent altar was built, a priest carrying a portable altar stone was a moveable church.”
30. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernath, March 1911.
31. Ibid.
32. FLC/ACHRCA: box 5, file 34, March 1887 diary entry, “Missions among the Heathens.”
33. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 8, Lindesmith to Hyvernath, March 1911.
34. Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Market Place (1868–1940)* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 5.
35. FLC/ACHRCA: box 12, file 4, note 24.
36. FLC/ACHRCA: box 4, file 6, Testimonials of F. Lindesmith’s Work as Chaplain . . . Fort Keogh, April 11, 1890.
37. Grover Wolf Voice quoted in Jerry Mader, *The Road to Lame Deer* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 31.
38. FLC/ACHRCA: box 7, file 4, Rev. John Cavanaugh C.S.C. to Father Lindesmith, October 17, 1919.
39. University of Notre Dame, University Archives, Father Lindesmith tag collection, Tin Cup. Over half the items Lindesmith donated to the university have been listed as missing since the 1960s, including this one.
40. Meyer and Royer, eds., *Selling the Indian*.
41. Bsumek, *Indian-Made*.



Fig. 10: Survivors of Major Marcus A. Reno's Forces from the Battle of the Little Big Horn, White Swan on far right, June 25, 1886; NAA, SI



THE WHITE SWAN MUSLIN:
Deeds of Honor

CANDACE S. GREENE

In recent decades, we have become increasingly aware that the meanings of objects are never static. Views of them shift as they change locale and move through a social world, employed by different people for different purposes. The anthropologist Igor Kopytoff introduced the idea that objects have “cultural biographies”; this has proven to be a productive way to think about objects in museums—exploring the hands through which they have passed and the various meanings they have assumed over time.¹

Kopytoff’s approach has been applied most successfully in considerations of the life of an object after it has left the person who made it, particularly when the maker is from a community without a tradition of literacy; this is the method’s major limitation. Often, considerably more information is available about the object’s subsequent owners than about its creator. Such is the case with what is known as the White Swan muslin, a large sheet of fabric in the Father Lindesmith collection at the Snite Museum of Art that is covered with paintings of war scenes by a Native American artist. Dynamically executed images of men and horses race amid flying bullets and arrows. The clash of arms, the glorious charge, and the uncertain outcome all impart drama to the stained and aged cloth, which the collector called a “blanket.” This essay examines the context within which the White Swan muslin was created and focuses on the early part of its “life.”

THE LINDESMITH MUSLIN

In August 1889, Father Lindesmith bought several items, including a pictographic muslin, from the Custer Store at the Crow Agency in Montana. He placed a tag on the object reading “Crow Indian Blanket. I bought it on the Big Horn River, Montana for 6.00” and noted, in both his account book and a memorandum of that year, “Bought a Crow Indian Blanket, Custer Store, 1889.” Lindesmith carefully recorded specifics about his purchasing of objects but provided minimal information about other relevant aspects of his acquisitions. As a result, in this case, several questions arise: Who painted the muslin? What motivated him to paint it? How did it come to be available for purchase in the Custer Store? Fortunately, careful study of the object itself can provide some answers to these tantalizing questions.

We know, for a start, that the Crow warrior White Swan painted the muslin. His identity was established by recognizing similarities in style and content to other works he is known to have made. At least fifteen paintings have been attributed to him, linked to one another by the many scenes they share and to White Swan by the few for which his name is definitively known. Others likely remain to be discovered. With that many examples spanning a number of years, a picture emerges of White Swan as a professional artist who created works for sale. Like

many other Plains artists of the late nineteenth century, he found a ready market among military men, government employees, and other visitors to the Crow Reservation. They all wanted to return home with something representing their encounter with Indians in the West. And paintings depicting war deeds ideally captured the essence of the “Wild West,” a graphic accompaniment to narratives of personal adventure. No doubt White Swan’s immediate motivation was largely financial, but he was producing a form of art that long predated the presence of agency stores and outside buyers. In many ways, the muslin is an excellent example of that earlier model.

The Great Plains of North America was always a dynamic cultural landscape of shifting populations, where, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, change accelerated, creating a region marked by explosive conflict. Tribal control of a substantial territory was important both for hunting and for access to critical trade resources, such as horses and guns. White expansion was forcing Native American tribes into new territories, but they were also being drawn into those areas by improved hunting opportunities and access to trade networks that resulted from the presence of Euro-Americans. Intertribal wars increased as tribes sought to gain or to hold on to resources. Warriors took pride in their combat achievements, and honors were awarded for certain types of deeds. Most tribes accorded the highest honor to a fighter who touched the enemy with an object held in his own hand. Men proudly displayed insignia denoting the distinctions they had achieved. Some insignia were purely symbolic—a wolf tail tied to the heel of a moccasin, for example, or a particular type of feather worn in the hair—while others more directly represented the recipient’s feat.

Plains warriors were entitled to display pictures of their deeds, or *coups*—French for strokes—on the buffalo-hide robes they wore or on the animal hides that hung as draft screens inside their tipis. Men painted scenes of their own combat deeds, although a warrior sometimes asked a more talented artist to depict his achievements, working under the warrior’s direction. As trade materials such as muslin and paper became available, men began incorporating them in what was, essentially, autobiographical art. These pictures were intended to show the honored coup in sufficient detail to make it recognizable to members of the community and to distinguish it from others the warrior had achieved. Important elements might include the opponents’ weaponry and mounts, distinguishing marks of protective war medicine—such as a specially painted shield or painted body designs—and wounds given or sustained. These visual accounts always sought to represent publicly recognized deeds truthfully for public review. The practice of public display created a forum in which claims were presented for challenge or validation.

Visitors to the Plains found these paintings of war appealing and worth acquiring, yet typically obtained them without knowing just what made the depicted feats heroic or learning the names of the warriors who had performed them. Yet even in paintings they made specifically for sale, Plains Indian men continued to pursue accuracy and honesty in representing their subjects. The creation of paintings and

drawings of coups provided an opportunity for men to display their achievements, to remind their community—and perhaps themselves—that they had claim to prestige and dignity within their society, if not outside it.

WHITE SWAN, CROW WARRIOR

White Swan was a member of the Crow nation, a tribe that ranged across a broad territory in what is now western Montana. He was born about 1851 and lived until 1904. Among the Crow, as in many other Indian societies, the role of warrior was highly respected. During White Swan’s youth, when competition for resources increased among the Plains tribes, the Crow came into conflict with the Cheyenne and, especially, with numerous Lakota bands. At the same time, the U.S. Army was establishing a series of military posts across the Northern Plains, intent on protecting American economic interests with regard to miners, hunters, traders, and travelers in the region. Unlike some tribes that fought bitterly against this increased intrusion, the Crow sought to secure their position through treaties, allying themselves with the U.S. military against common enemies.

Since colonial times, French, British, and then American armies had engaged Indians to serve as scouts and local advisors. By the 1860s, Crows actually were enlisting as scouts in the U.S. Army, assisting in the field in response to Lakota and Cheyenne raids and in government efforts to control Indian movements. In light of the nation’s general treatment of Native Americans, it might seem puzzling that Crows were willing to assist the Army. At the time, however, Native people’s allegiance was to their individual tribes rather than to a more widely shared ethnic identity, which developed eventually. For the Crow, scout service was an honorable occupation: those who secured it helped protect their people from the incursions of enemy tribes while also receiving pay; this remuneration became increasingly welcome as buffalo herds on the Plains diminished. For ambitious young warriors, scout duty also offered opportunities to earn glory in battle.

In April 1876, White Swan, then about twenty-five years old, signed up at the Crow Agency to become a scout, serving with the Seventh Infantry. Two months later, he was reassigned to the Seventh Cavalry and, just days after that, was seriously wounded in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, fighting alongside Army troops. Permanently disabled, he nevertheless managed to remain a scout for much of the following five years. White Swan’s earliest paintings appear to date from around the time his Army career ended. No doubt he was glad to supplement his income once he lacked steady employment. Producing art, however, also offered a means of asserting his position as a warrior of renown.

The Indian victory at the Battle of the Little Big Horn hardened the resolve of the U.S. Army to pursue tribes relentlessly and drive them into submission. Portrayed by the frontier press corps as a “massacre,” the engagement captured popular attention immediately—and has remained a subject of enduring fascination. Army survivors

recounted their experiences not only to the semiofficial government investigation into the event but also, repeatedly over the years, to a public audience. Only a few Indian scouts were actively involved in the combat; nearly all perished, including the Arikara scout Bloody Knife, who, like White Swan, was an artist. Immediately following the battle and even after their eventual surrender, Lakota and Cheyenne participants were understandably cautious about sharing stories of their victory. In time, however, persistent American interest in the battle convinced Indian people that their firsthand knowledge was a valuable commodity; they told what they knew and drew or painted what they had experienced.

To non-Indians, White Swan's participation in the Battle of Little Big Horn was fascinating; indeed, it was the only thing about him that seemed worth knowing. But the battle was only part of his life story, the final act in his distinguished career as a warrior.

At least three people interviewed White Swan in his later years; all sought information about his last fight but not about his previous war honors. One of them, the artist E. A. Burbank, visited the Crow Reservation in 1894 to paint portraits of warriors, including one of White Swan. The portrait shows him with red and yellow stripes painted on his arms. Burbank reported that the red stripes indicated the number of Sioux White Swan had killed, while the yellow ones represented Cheyenne. It is likely that the stripes symbolized various achievements spanning his entire career, a history displayed on his own body; but Burbank evidently did not grasp this and inquired no further. He persuaded the middle-aged former warrior to visit the Little Big Horn battlefield site with him and explain what he knew of the battle. Because a blow to the head during the combat had cost White Swan both his hearing and his speech, he communicated through the Plains sign language and by drawing what Burbank called "rude" pictures. Not a perceptive commentator, Burbank concluded that White Swan was "bragging" about his role in the fight. The European-trained artist failed to understand the very essence of Plains art, which was to present one's accomplishments for public scrutiny.

White Swan had been one of six Crow scouts assigned to accompany George Armstrong Custer's cavalry troops in their advance toward the Little Big Horn Valley. Sent ahead on a scouting mission, White Swan ended up with Major Reno's battalion, which had split off from Custer's troops. While soldiers with Custer were encircled and annihilated within a few hours, Reno's men were surrounded, attacked over the course of two days, and finally relieved after suffering horrible losses. The full range of White Swan's war deeds during the battle is still being identified, largely through a study of his many paintings. It is certain that there were many, and equally certain that they brought honor to the Crow people.

WHITE SWAN'S WAR RECORD

The White Swan painting that Lindesmith purchased at the Custer Store is made of two lengths of muslin seamed together crosswise to create a square measuring slightly more than two yards on each side. It is painted with a series of war scenes: figures of men and horses outlined in pencil and ink, and filled in with brilliant watercolors. These commercial materials were readily available through trading stores, such as the one where Lindesmith made his own purchases. White Swan, however, used them in ways that were distinct to his culture. Much as Crow women crafted statements reflecting personal and tribal identity using glass beads and red cloth, he produced a Plains Indian statement about his identity.

The muslin contains nine vignettes, each showing White Swan engaged in combat with an enemy. The pictures do not fit together to constitute an overview of a single battle, in the mode of Western military art; rather, they represent individual encounters from throughout the artist's career as a warrior. Each scene illustrates an episode worthy of being counted as a coup. Of the nine pictures, apparently only one shows the Battle of the Little Big Horn; the others record earlier experiences that earned him honors.¹²

White Swan depicts himself recognizably and consistently in each scene. His hair is dressed with the forelock cut short and pomaded to stand upright above a high forehead; sometimes a line of red is painted along the hairline. His lower face is always painted for war, either solid red or with a series of red stripes. A yellow streak floats from the back of his head, probably a downy feather tied with red cloth. He is dressed simply, usually in a green cloth shirt—apparently fringed along the bottom edge—and a short breech cloth with vertical stripes. In one scene, a billowing red blanket covers his clothing; fastened around his neck like a cape, it flows dramatically behind him as he races toward an enemy (fig. 11). In another scene, he wears a yellow hooded coat; in reality, this garment may have been white, like the yellow feather in his hair. White is difficult to show against the near-white muslin background. Known as capotes, these hooded coats were made from heavy trade blankets and were popular with both Indians and frontiersmen across the Northern Plains. The presence of the coat as well as the wool leggings (the only time they appear) indicates a cold-weather engagement. The ring of embattled enemies White Swan faces may be wearing similar heavy winter coats, but in green. Many wear their high peaked hoods over their heads, while his hangs down his back. (fig. 12)

White Swan never portrays himself with a shield or other forms of so-called war medicine, an element prominent in the warrior art of tribes such as the Lakota and Cheyenne. Instead of carrying shields into battle, Crow warriors treated them like medicine bundles, praying and invoking their power before going on the warpath. Another Crow warrior, Plenty Coups, reportedly "detached the feather decoration from the shield and wore it as a hair-lock attachment, believing it gave him the same protection he would have received from the shield itself."¹³ The feather floating from White Swan's hair may have held similar associations.

An essential part of a man's armament was his warhorse, specially trained to remain steady under fire, to ride down fallen enemies without shying, and to respond to knee pressure alone, leaving the rider's hands free for weaponry. Although wealthy men might own many horses, each warrior favored a single mount. Acknowledging the benefit of this close association, the U.S. Army encouraged scouts to provide their own mounts, paying them an additional allowance for their use. In the various scenes on this muslin as well as on White Swan's many other works, he nearly always shows himself riding either a red or a yellow horse; these may represent the only horses of his war career, which perhaps lasted fewer than ten years. He rode the yellow steed at the Little Big Horn, where it was killed. The red, perhaps a bay, probably was his war mount during his youth.

The simplicity with which White Swan represents himself stands in marked contrast to the detail he lavishes upon the figures of his opponents. Several wear feathered war bonnets, the flaring headdress that originated among the Lakota and was adopted as an insignia of honor by tribes across the Central Plains. Two enemy warriors are shown carrying shields, a part of their war medicine that they invoked for protection in battle. Both headdresses and shields attest to the prestige of these adversaries and, therefore, the honor of victory over them. White Swan paid particular attention to depicting the details of enemy dress and adornment—including coats with sides of different-colored cloth, elaborate beadwork designs on the leggings, and horses with painted faces and complex bridle fittings.

The most exquisite individual shown is the warrior in figure 13. Besides displaying a painted shield with a feathered cloth drape hanging below and an eagle-feather war bonnet, he wears a beautiful shirt. It is fashioned from green wool cloth, with panels of red and white quillwork or beadwork adorning the front and the sleeves. Attached to these are rows of ermine-skin pendants, shown flying outward; the black tail tips of the skins stand out against the white fur of the winter pelt. Bits of red cloth tied to the pendants on the right side of the shirt accentuate the contrast. White Swan was clearly remembering and savoring the details of his encounters with specific enemies.

White Swan repeatedly depicted certain scenes in the paintings he made over the years. Although he never drew them in exactly the same way twice, he included key elements that mark them as the same event. The Lindesmith muslin includes two such recurrent vignettes (figs. 11 and 13). The first appears in no fewer than eleven of his works, and the second at least six times; they must have been of particular importance to the artist, who usually positioned them prominently within the larger array of events. In the muslin, they appear at the top, one above the other.

In the scene that appears most often (fig. 11), White Swan shows himself mounted on the red horse, suggesting that the event occurred early in his war career. One might speculate that this image portrays his first coup, a crucial milestone in the life of a young warrior. Men who went on to win many battlefield honors always spoke proudly of their first publicly recognized deeds, often achieved when they were in their teens. White Swan shows himself facing a bonneted enemy armed with a pistol and with a rifle that evidently is not working, perhaps because it is jammed



Fig. 11: Scene from AA1963.009.005; SMA, UND



Fig. 12: Scene from AA1963.009.005; SMA, UND



Fig. 13: Scene from AA1963.009.005; SMA, UND

or out of ammunition. Armed with a bow, White Swan could have fired from a distance, but instead he charged and struck his adversary with a short, feather-decorated lance before the enemy could use his pistol. Touching the enemy with an object held in one's hand, whether a lance with a lethal point or a blunt staff, brought greater honor than firing from a distance.¹⁴ The man he faces is surely an experienced and accomplished warrior, as shown by his accoutrements. To strike him at close range was indeed a coup worth recounting. Some details differ in other renditions of this event—the feathers on the lance, the clothing of the enemy—but the basic story of the weapons, the illustrious opponent, the charging red horse, and the lance-point encounter all remain consistent (fig. 11).

The second oft-repeated scene shows White Swan riding down another eminent opponent, the warrior wearing the ermine-tail shirt, who is on foot. He may have fallen from his horse amid combat and become temporarily disoriented, unable to bring his pistol to bear. But he is not alone. His companion on the green horse has already fitted an arrow to his bow, prepared to defend his comrade. This time, White Swan shows himself striking his foe with a staff made for just such a purpose, an implement without a point known as a coup stick. As before, White Swan included different details in other versions of this scene, most often omitting the second enemy and focusing instead on the warrior he is striking. The design on the shield varies between pictures, as does the positioning of the figures. But he always shows the enemy's shirt, pistol, and feather bonnet—as well as himself reaching eagerly with the coup stick. White Swan is depicted simply: wearing his usual green shirt, plume wafting from his head, mounted on his yellow warhorse. That he displays no arms other than the coup stick does not mean that he lacked them but that they were irrelevant to the event. He set them aside, racing forward in the thick of battle to be the first to strike this unhorsed enemy.

White Swan painted some scenes only once, such as the picture on the Lindesmith muslin that depicts a moment during the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The key to time and place is the forked flag, or guidon, that White Swan carries; this was Custer's personal insignia, designed for him by his wife.¹⁵ Many pictures on other muslins and hides show White Swan carrying the same insignia, but nowhere else does he encounter a warrior with a shield or one riding a dappled red horse. In the scene on the Lindesmith muslin, White Swan, armed with a rifle, fires on an enemy armed with a lance. The encounter, while honorable, lacks the prestige of the coups noted above. His yellow horse has been shot in three places, as shown by streaming blood, and he himself is wounded in the leg. Among the Crow, to be wounded in battle was counted as a coup, as was having one's horse shot from under its rider. Both were honored as indicators of close engagement and personal risk.¹⁶ In this scene, White Swan gains honor not just because of what he inflicted on others but also because of what they inflicted on him. Although this particular encounter is not repeated in other imagery, all his pictures of the battle include at least one scene showing wounds he and his horse sustained. Wound insignia became part of his formal display of war honors. When White Swan posed for Burbank's portrait of him, he proudly displayed three feathers in his hair—representing the wounds he had received during that fight.

The muslin Lindesmith acquired is probably one of White Swan's earliest known paintings, and it vividly reflects indigenous Plains artistic concepts, which the artist modified somewhat over time as he produced more works for sale. The large, square format of this muslin is reminiscent of the size and shape of the painted buffalo hides used as robes or hung as draft screens inside tipis. All of White Swan's other muslins are painted on single lengths of cloth, with a smaller surface and a very different format. Here, individual vignettes are loosely scattered across the surface, not evenly spaced; White Swan was more focused on communicating information than on spatial arrangement. His other works reflect greater attention to layout, although he continued presenting individual vignettes rather than attempting overviews of actions. Through experience and repetition, he developed a sense of rhythm and balance pleasing to modern Western viewers.

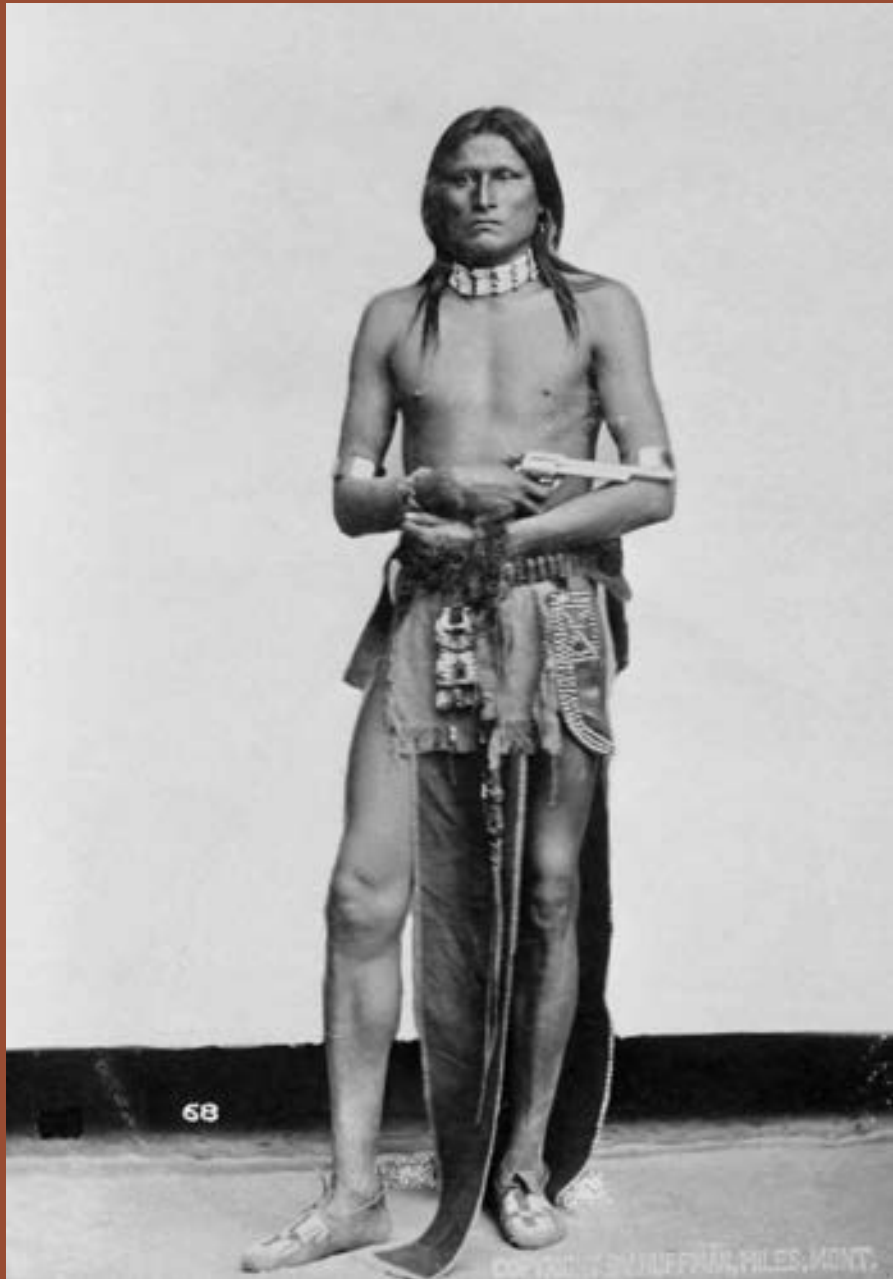
Depictions of events surrounding the Battle of the Little Big Horn predominate in White Swan's later paintings, with many scenes of him firing at enemies, continuing to fight even after being wounded and unhorsed, and being taken from the field on a travois. By contrast, the Lindesmith muslin contains only one scene from that battle. More prominent here are numerous unidentified battles in which White Swan achieved notable honors for deeds worthy of recognition and portrayed with pride. He appears to have less awareness of the market potential for his imagery in this work than in others he produced.

The stroke—the blow administered by hand that was, as noted, the essence of the coup—is prominent. Besides the scene described above in which he strikes the enemy with a lance, White Swan includes four scenes in which he strikes an enemy with a coup stick. In another scene, he withstands direct rifle fire while racing forward to touch his opponent with a quirt, a short-handled horsewhip. His bravery is also on display in two scenes in which he bears firearms. The complex scene in the lower-left corner shows him pursuing four enemies armed with rifles; bent close over the neck of his red horse, he holds his pistol aloft while reaching with his bare hand to touch an enemy falling from his horse. In the scene with the yellow capote, White Swan shows himself firing a rifle at a circle of enemies who are seeking refuge behind a fortification of some sort—perhaps a cluster of logs—indicated by a zigzag line. The most telling element here is the line of hoof prints encircling the breastwork; it shows that White Swan galloped around their position, exposing himself to continuous fire. (fig. 12)

Taken together, the images on this muslin constitute a remarkable record of heroic deeds. For Father Lindesmith, the White Swan muslin represented just one element in the building of his self-image (a topic Bethany Montagano explores in her essay in this catalogue). For White Swan, however, the work was a major representation of the achievements that marked him as a man of worth in the Crow community.

1. Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.
2. Quoted in Joanne Mack, e-mail to author, March 21, 2012.
3. Douglas E. Bradley, *White Swan: Crow Indian Warrior and Painter* (Notre Dame, IN: Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 1991).
4. Ibid., 4–15; David C. Cowles, "White Swan. Crow Artist at the Little Big Horn." *American Indian Art Magazine* 7, no. 4 (1982): 52–61; Rodney G. Thomas, *Rubbing out Long Hair, Pebin Hanska Kasota: The American Indian Story of the Little Big Horn in Art and Word* (Spanaway, WA: Elk Plains Press, 2009), 270–92.
5. For information on White Swan's life, I have relied primarily on Thomas, *Rubbing out Long Hair*.
6. Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860–90* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 38–41.
7. See Sandra Brizee-Bowen, *For All to See: The Little Bighorn Battle in Plains Indian Art* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003); Richard G. Hardoff, *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight: New Sources of Indian-Military History* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1991); idem, *Cheyenne Memories of the Custer Fight: A Sourcebook* (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1995); and, for a synthesis of Native sources on the battle, Thomas, *Rubbing out Longhair*. Nathaniel Philbrick, *The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull, and the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (New York: Viking, 2010), addresses some reasons for Americans' obsession with the battle.
8. Thomas, *Rubbing out Longhair*, 2–58.
9. E. A. Burbank and Ernest Royce, *Burbank among the Indians* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1944), 154–61.
10. Thomas, *Rubbing out Longhair*, 257–92, offers the most extensive study of White Swan's work but is limited to the Battle of the Little Big Horn.
11. Burbank and Royce, *Burbank among the Indians*, 154–61. 12. Ibid., 285
13. William Wildschut, *Crow Indian Medicine Bundles*, ed. John C. Ewers, (2nd ed., New York: Ewers Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1975), 66.
14. Robert H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Rinehart, 1935), 228.
15. Thomas, *Rubbing out Longhair*, 271.
16. Lowie, *Crow Indians*, 216–18.





Father Lindesmith, Fort Keogh, and the
Native Americans of Montana

JOANNE M. MACK

Father Lindesmith carried to the West certain widely accepted stereotypes about Indians. During his eleven years at Fort Keogh, however, he changed his mind regarding at least some of them. When he was born—in Ohio, in 1827—the Indian wars fought in the Midwest and Southeast were ending, and, in the period of his childhood, many tribes and bands were being removed to the Southern Plains and prairie. Having grown up hearing stories about raids and battles, he quite understandably was fearful of Indians. Even as a fifty-three-year-old man traveling in the West for the first time, he accepted the dual image of Indians—as primitive and ferocious and as romantic noble savages—that had been prevalent and popular since Columbus.¹ By the time he left Fort Keogh, in 1891, he regarded Native Americans somewhat differently, and now saw them as being of two opposite types: the good Indian and the bad Indian.² Accordingly, good Indians attempted to lead a more civilized life; they raised crops and livestock, sent their children to school, and became Christians. Bad Indians, on the other hand, stole, killed Euro-Americans when confronted, and seemed uninterested in farming, ranching, sending their children to schools, or converting to Christianity.

Lindesmith's attitudes and impressions no doubt evolved due to his frequent encounters with Native American scouts and their families at Fort Keogh, with the Lakota bands held temporarily at the fort, with Crow scouts, and through interactions with other tribes on his travels. During the years he was stationed at the fort, many bands of Lakota and Cheyenne were kept on the Fort Keogh Military Reservation after they surrendered, because Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles, the fort's commander, felt the U.S. Army could better care for them than could the Department of the Interior.³ At times, as many as two thousand captured Native Americans camped at the fort—approximately fifteen hundred Lakota and five hundred Cheyenne; in June 1881 the Lakota were removed to Standing Rock.⁴

Father Lindesmith's admiration for soldiers and, by extension, for the scouts at Fort Keogh and at Fort Custer on the Crow Reservation, also influenced his interactions with and beliefs about Native Americans.⁵ Friendships among some soldiers and Native Americans were not unusual.⁶ In addition, even though the scouts and their families camped some distance south of the main garrison, General Miles allowed them free run of the fort, and they spent their wages in the post store. When Lieutenant Edward W. Casey took command of the scouts, he had them build a cantonment of their own.⁷ Lindesmith was present throughout this period, so he had easy access to the Native Americans who came into the garrison area. Furthermore, he could ride out to the camps, particularly those of the Cheyenne, who settled on the edge of the fort's reservation and later were assigned to the Tongue River Reservation, not far from Fort Keogh. He also was able to visit the scouts' camps and, later, their cantonment.

opposite: Wolf Voice, Cheyenne Warrior in War Costume, 1878
Glenbow Archives. Image number: NA-207-29

On at least one occasion, Father Lindesmith, recognizing their poverty and hardships, interceded on behalf of some Cheyenne.⁸ In 1885 Crazy Head (fig. 14) appealed to the Ursuline nuns at the St. Labre School Mission for help because he and his band had not been given rations they deserved; the nuns, in turn, wrote to Lindesmith, asking him to talk with the local Indian agent. He agreed to do so, and Crazy Head's band subsequently received the rations. In addition, Lindesmith gave encouragement to the nuns, who established and ran schools for the Cheyenne and Crow, and communicated with them about the successes and needs of their students and about difficulties at the missions.⁹

Father Lindesmith bought from and traded directly with the Native Americans living at Fort Keogh for many of the objects shown in this exhibition and catalogue. In his account books, diaries, and memoranda, he often named the individuals from whom he bought particular items. With few exceptions, these were Cheyenne scouts and their wives; however, he occasionally bought from Cheyenne chiefs and their wives and from individuals he described as chiefs. Lindesmith also identified some of the women from whom he purchased objects, using their Cheyenne or Crow names as best as he could phonetically write them. He used English names for only three, Elk Woman (Ameche, Wolf Voice's wife), Blink-Eye (a Lakota), and I Love You (Wasetzema, a Crow), who collectively produced many of the most artistic pieces in his collection. Rather early in his stay at Fort Keogh, Lindesmith obtained two autographs in pictograph form from Hearty Bear and Lizard Hawk (figs. 15, 16, 17). He also bought various items from Hearty Bear and his wife.¹⁰

The scout whose name appears most often in Father Lindesmith's records is Wolf Voice (fig. 18). Ameche, his wife (fig. 19), is the artist and bead worker who created two of the striking pieces featured in this exhibition and catalogue: a cradle and a girl's dress (see p. 93 and 95).¹¹ Mäeäbut (Lindesmith's spellings), who may have been Wolf Voice's sister and married to a scout named Yellow Robe (fig. 20), made the large parfleche (rawhide bag, or trunk) Lindesmith acquired (see p. 99).¹² He also noted other scouts or their wives who sold him objects: Spotted Elk (fig. 21); Yellow Horse; Crow Ghost (a Choctaw/Yankton); High Walking, a seasoned warrior in Little Wolf's band, and his wife, Mo-a-ha; Stump Horn and his wife, Screeches (Keay) (fig. 22); and Brave Wolf (fig. 23), also from Little Wolf's band. In his descriptions of Native American abilities, values, and adaptations to Euro-American culture, the priest also named specific scouts, including Two Moons (fig. 24) and White Bull (at one time called Ice) (fig. 25), who were among the first Cheyenne to become scouts to General Miles in 1877.¹³ Lindesmith's dedication to citing the people from whom he bought or with whom he traded Native American articles personalizes both the objects and their makers, which is rare for Indian art made in the 1880s. As a result, it is possible to consider these creators as individual artists.

Lindesmith's personal relationships at the fort and in nearby Miles City reflect his abiding interest in people of all religions and ethnicities. He supervised the school-teachers at Fort Keogh and was the chaplain for soldiers and their families, whether Catholic or not. He was instrumental in establishing the first Roman Catholic church in Miles City, and he acted as priest for the Ursuline nuns in the area as well.¹⁴ One of his earliest diary entries at the garrison is a list of tasks he intended to complete. As such, it confirms his interests in education and in the spiritual well being of the soldiers and of the inhabitants of Miles City. It also reveals his attention to money matters:

1. *Mass next Sunday at 8*
2. *Will teach Catechism*
3. *Will have confessions*
4. *Elect a building committee*
5. *I will assist in making a plan of a church*
6. *Began soon to build*
7. *Don't go into debt*
8. *Take account of all income and outgo, form an accounting committee*
9. *Read expenses off at mass.*¹⁵

Of the Native Americans with whom Father Lindesmith traded and from whom he bought items, Wolf Voice figures most prominently in the cleric's records. Wolf Voice was neither a chief nor a headman, and he is not recorded as having been a member of a military society. Among the first Cheyenne scouts General Miles recruited, in 1877, at about age twenty-two, he probably was a member of Two Moons's band.¹⁶ Lindesmith described him as being about forty years old in 1891. Although he was evidently not a member of a warrior society, his name recurs frequently in early Cheyenne history at Fort Keogh, and he appears in more than one early photograph taken of scouts at the fort (fig. 26).¹⁷ Wolf Voice was one of five scouts Lieutenant William Clark chose to find Little Wolf's band, after that group of Cheyenne escaped from Fort Reno in Oklahoma in 1879 to return to their former home in Montana; with two other scouts, he was ordered to contact Little Wolf (fig. 27) directly in order to present terms of surrender. By chance, he was the first scout to enter Little Wolf's camp.¹⁸ The artist and writer Frederic Remington described his vivid impressions of Wolf Voice in 1890, when the Indian served as Remington's guide in the badlands of Montana:¹⁹

*Expansive smiles lit up the brown features of the Indian scouts as they recognized me. Old Wolf Voice came around in his large, patronizing way and said, "How?—what you do out here?" Wolf Voice was a magnificent type of the Indian, with a grand face, a tremendous physique, and enough self-containment for a High-Church bishop. High-Walking nudged Stump-Horn and whispered in his ear, and they both smiled as they looked at me.*²⁰



Fig. 14: Portrait of Spotted Wolf and Crazy Head NAA, SI



Fig. 15: Hearty Bear Glyph; NAA, SI

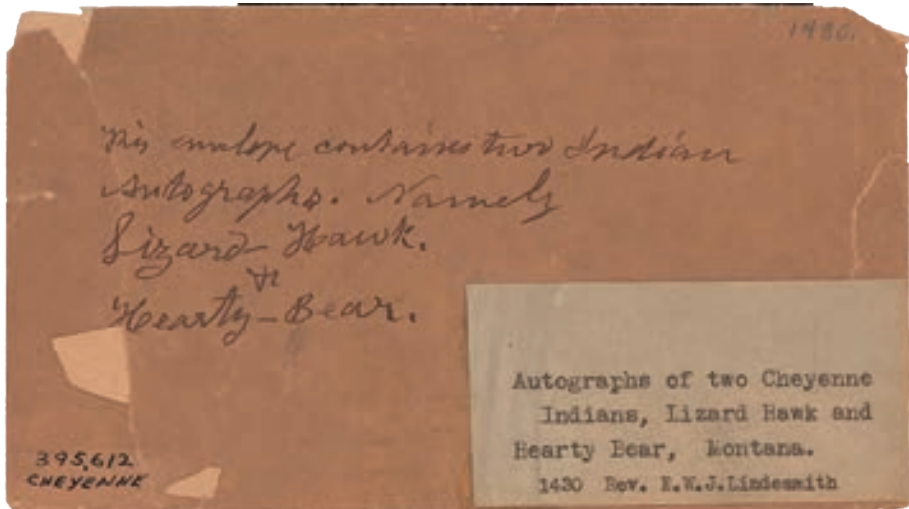


Fig. 16: Name Glyphs' Envelop; NAA, SI



Fig. 17: Lizard Hawk Glyph; NAA, SI



Fig. 18: Wolf Voice, Cheyenne Warrior in War Costume, 1878; GMA



Fig. 20: Cheyenne Man, Wolf Voice and family, Yellow Robe, and Leo Barthelmess; NAA, SI from TMMC, UT-A



Fig. 19: Wolf Voice and Cheyenne Woman NAA, SI



Fig. 21: Wolf Chief and Spotted Elk, Miles Scouts; NAA, SI:



Fig. 22: Stump Horn, Scout for Lt. Edward Casey, with His Family; NAA, SI:

Father Lindesmith described the man from a very different perspective. On the descriptive tag accompanying the Cheyenne cradle, he noted that Wolf Voice had been a scout for fourteen years by 1891, having previously fought in four battles against the Sioux as a Gros Ventre warrior. “He has always been a brave and most faithful scout,” Lindesmith wrote, adding that in 1891 Wolf Voice was often employed as a tracker of horse thieves and desperadoes who sometimes tried to disguise themselves as Indians. He remarked that Wolf Voice, who learned to write by practicing on snow, ice, bark, and stone, mastered legible penmanship; in fact, his signature was on the original descriptive tag sent to the Catholic University of America in 1898.²¹ He later rose in rank to corporal in Casey’s scouts and became a tribal policeman.²² Because of his apparent ease with Euro-Americans, he seems to have become Father Lindesmith’s primary source for Cheyenne material culture, and he may have acted as a go-between for the chaplain in his dealings with other scouts. Lindesmith commissioned the cradle his wife, Ameche, made, using Wolf Voice as the contact; he paid Wolf Voice eight dollars for the commission and Ameche forty dollars for her labor. Also, his grandson Grover Wolf Voice had vivid memories of his grandfather, which he enjoyed recounting.²³

Lindesmith often noted the qualities of a good Indian when referring to scouts and other Cheyenne from whom he purchased items. Without exception, the characteristics he most admired were those indicating how particular Native Americans were becoming more civilized by demonstrating behaviors and beliefs valued in non-Native society. For example, he described the wife of Hearty Bear, from whom he bought a pair of moccasins in 1882, as an industrious woman who was trying to live like a White person.²⁴ That same year, he bought a saddle from Brave Wolf, who was, in his opinion, very enterprising—both a government scout and a successful farmer. Not only did he wear White men’s clothes, but, Lindesmith wrote, “Brave Wolf likes to trade and sell. He buys of other Indians and sells to White men, and then sells to Indians what he buys of White men. If he had been raised among White men, he would have made a first class businessman.”²⁵ (fig. 23)

Father Lindesmith also admired abilities that he considered intrinsic to Native Americans, especially the tracking skills of the Cheyenne. He recalled an incident during the dead of winter when a soldier from the fort was lost in a blizzard for several days. High Walking was asked to search for the missing man and, despite difficult conditions, found him within three hours.²⁶

In lectures Father Lindesmith delivered in 1892 and 1893 at churches and schools in his native Ohio, he offered his views about both the positive and negative aspects of Native American culture. From his perspective, the Native American talent for telling great stories was not shared by many Euro-Americans. He also commended the close familial relations of Indians, their love and protection of children, and the modesty of their young women. To emphasize the willingness of a chief or headman to sacrifice for his people, Lindesmith described how White Bull dealt with the forty head of cattle General Miles had given him. As soon as Miles was reassigned from Fort Keogh to another post, White Bull had the cattle slaughtered and distributed the meat to his band.²⁷

In the same series of lectures, Lindesmith elaborated on what he considered the negative characteristics of Indians. For example, after describing the Sun Dance, a major ceremony for many Plains Indians, he leveled the criticism that the making of a chief was for worldly purposes only, that is, to display pride and strength. The only humanitarian aspect of the participants’ sacrificial acts was to help one’s friends and family—and had nothing to do with God.²⁸ For the most part, Lindesmith’s harshest criticism of Indians focused on their attitude toward religion. He noted in his lectures that if they did not receive what they wanted after worshiping God, they would then worship the devil. He was especially critical of the tribe he called the Sioux because of their refusal to sell land, to farm, to raise livestock, to send their children to school, to accept missionaries, or to give up their savage ways. He described them as the last tribe of ferocious warriors and the most difficult to conquer. Not all his criticisms were reserved for Native Americans, however. In recounting the Battle of the Little Big Horn, for example, he noted that all of Custer’s men were killed because he disobeyed General Terry’s instructions to wait until June 27, when Terry’s command would join Custer’s for the attack—an “awful [sic] example of disobedience for us all.”²⁹

In the lectures, Father Lindesmith also quoted speeches by two respected Cheyenne chiefs—Two Moons and White Bull—and displayed photographs he had bought in Montana of the events.³⁰ When White Bull (fig. 28) spoke to a bishop who visited St. Labre School Mission, he complimented the cleric and discussed his belief that all beings, no matter how different, are similar in death, when they go to the Great Spirit. In addition, Lindesmith quoted from a July 4, 1887, speech in which Two Moons (fig. 29) declared that Indians would like a day of freedom, when “we will go where we please, and do as we like, and never go hungry.” In another version of this speech, Father Lindesmith claimed, Two Moons used the word *messiah*. He quoted the Indian as saying, “The Cheyenne want the *messiah* to come to us, and give up all the big things he gave to the white man, and we promise that we will never kill him.”³¹

Father Lindesmith learned a great deal about various Native American cultures during his eleven years in the West. And even though he continued to hold certain stereotypical beliefs, his understanding of many characteristics of Native Americans became more nuanced over time. By interacting with individual Indians in various settings and situations, he learned to recognize and appreciate their singular qualities and personalities. The text of his lectures, the notations on the tags affixed to some of the objects in his collection, and his diaries and memoranda all reflect these meaningful changes of heart and mind.



Fig. 23: Brave Wolf and Wife, Corn Woman (Hokota); MHSRCA



Fig. 24: Two Moons, A Cheyenne Chief; NAA, SI

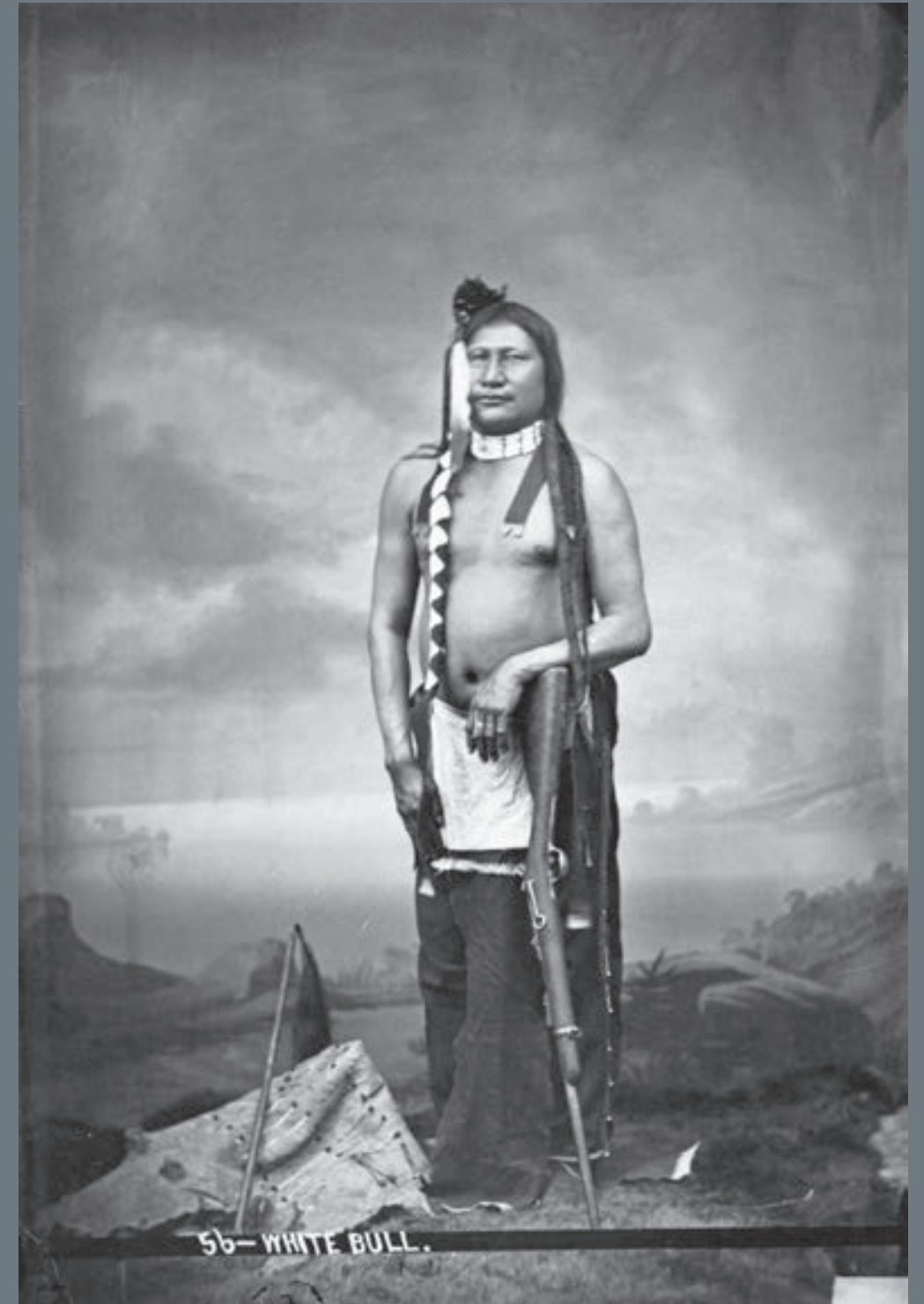


Fig. 25: A Cheyenne Warrior, White Bull (Ice); MHSRCA



Fig. 26: Wolf Voice and Friend; NAA, SI



Fig. 28: White Bull in Native Dress, 1897; NAA, SI



Fig. 27: Little Wolf And Dull Knife; NAA, SI



Fig. 29: Cheyenne, Two Moons with Medals and Ornaments, 1888; NAA, SI

1. Excellent sources on the history of Euro-Americans' perceptions of Native Americans are: Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987); Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in Popular Culture* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1996); and Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know about Indians Is Wrong*, Indigenous Americas series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
2. Father Lindesmith Collection, American Catholic Research Center and University of Archives, Catholic University of America (hereafter cited as FLC/ACHRCUA): box 12, file 4, notes on Montana Indians.
3. Josef James Warhank, "Fort Keogh: Cutting Edge of a Culture," MA thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 1983, 33.
4. *Ibid.*, 35.
5. Carlos E. Davila, "The Mustard Seed in Montana: Father Eli W. J. Lindesmith and the Spirit of Order and Progress in the American West, 1880 to 1891," PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2005 (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2008), 118–19; Warhank, "Fort Keogh," 114.
6. Warhank, "Fort Keogh," 47; Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, *The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains* (New York: Henry Holt, 1955), 41.
7. Warhank, "Fort Keogh," 38.
8. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 8, file 6, Sister St. Ignatius to Rev. E. H. J. Lindesmith, March 16, 1885; Sister St. Ignatius to Rev. E. H. J. Lindesmith, May 4, 1885.
9. FLC/ACHRCUA; box 8, files 6 and 8, several letters from Ursuline nuns at St. Xavier's Mission, Crow Agency; box 8, file 8, letters from nuns at St. Labre, Cheyenne Mission, concerning difficulties.
10. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, notebooks and tags 470, 491, 521, and 552; box 20, file 4, accounts; box 21, file 5, accounts.
11. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, notebooks and tag 608; Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, tag for Cheyenne dress.
12. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, notebooks and tags 508 and 509; box 21, file 5, accounts.
13. Father Peter John Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A Story of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830–1879*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979), 2: 1,123.
14. Warhank, "Fort Keogh," 105; Saint Angela Louise Abair and Orlan J. Svingen. "A Mustard Seed in Montana: Recollections of the First Indian Mission in Montana," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 34, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 16–31.
15. Warhank, "Fort Keogh," 107; FLC/ACHRCUA: box 5, memorandum 21.
16. Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 1,123.
17. Brown and Felton, *The Frontier Years*, 126, 218; Maurice Frink with Casey E. Barthelmess, *Photographer on an Army Mule* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 111; Wesley R. Hurt and William E. Lass, *Frontier Photographer: Stanley J. Morrow's Dakota Years* (Lincoln, NE: University of South Dakota and University of Nebraska Press, 1956), 82; Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 1136–38; James S. Brust, "John H. Fouch: First Post Photographer at Fort Keogh," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 12.
18. George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1915; repr. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 411–12; Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 1,257–58; Marie Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn* (New York: Hasting House, 1953).
19. Brown and Felton, *The Frontier Years*, 126.
20. Frederic Remington, *Pony Tracks* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 17. The scouts' smiles were probably due to the fact that Remington weighed more than two hundred fifty pounds.
21. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, notebooks and tag 608.
22. Frink with Barthelmess, *Photographer on an Army Mule*, 111.
23. Jerry Mader, *The Road to Lame Deer* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 31.
24. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8, notebooks and tags 469 and 470.
25. *Ibid.*, tag 515.
26. FLC/ACHRCUA: box 12, file 4, notebook on Montana Indians, item 11.
27. *Ibid.*, items 1, 4, and 12.
28. *Ibid.*, item 1.
29. *Ibid.*, item 22.



NATIVE AMERICAN OBJECTS OF THE EXHIBITION



Girl's Dance Apron, c. 1855

American, Karok or Shasta

buckskin, braided bear grass, maidenhair fern, pine nuts, glass beads

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.003

Among its other elements, this girl's apron from northwestern California incorporates European trade beads. The use of Russian trade beads and Hudson Bay beads dates it to the mid-nineteenth century and suggests that its owner was wealthy. The glass beads include Bohemian Corner-less, Hexagonal Girasol (in two sizes), and Venetian Overlay orange-red types. Also included is a turquoise-colored wound-glass bead, which could be of either European or Chinese origin. The pine-nut beads and the maidenhair fern additions to the individually braided and wrapped bear-grass fringes are traditional decorations for such an apron. The absence of abalone shells, another traditional decorative element on such garments, indicates that its maker was from a tribe considerably distant from the Pacific Ocean, either a Karok or a Shasta.



Twined Cooking Basket, c. 1860

American, Karok, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, or Tolowa
hazel twigs, pine root, bear grass
Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith
AA1999.021.001

At least five different tribes in northwestern California—the Hupa, Karok, Shasta, Tolowa, and Yurok—used twining and overlay techniques to craft cooking baskets. They prepared acorn mush and meat stews in baskets such as this one by placing hot stones in the bottom and boiling the water and food inside—hence, the char marks inside this example. The basket material includes a hazel-twig warp, a pine-root weft, and a bear-grass overlay in what was known locally as a snake-nose design. Lindesmith noted on the tag accompanying the basket that it had been sent to him as a symbol of ridicule for being a Union supporter during the Civil War.



Basket, c. 1885–88

American, Micmac, Penobscot, Seneca, Oneida, or Mohawk
ash, aniline dyes
Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith
AA1899.039.A

At only five inches high and somewhat more than four inches wide, this basket is too small to be functional. Its maker checker-plaited splints of several different widths. Originally, the horizontal splints, now a faded pinkish color, probably were a shade of red aniline dye; some vertical splints have retained their blue coloration. Warts, a particular form of curl work, line the rim of the basket.

Father Lindesmith visited Niagara Falls, Canada, Pennsylvania, and Ohio on a trip in 1888. At that time, baskets made by several tribes, including the Micmac, Penobscot, Seneca, Oneida, and Mohawk, often were sold at tourist destinations and resorts. The exact tribal origin of this basket has not been determined.



Basket, c. 1885–88

American, Mohawk

ash, aniline dye

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.039.B

The person who made this basket, which has a small rounded base with flared edges, probably belonged to an Iroquois tribal group. Warts line the basket rim. The splints are unusually narrow, except for one horizontal splint that forms the rim and another, near the base. Only three splints were dyed; a thin one just below the rim and two others near the bottom are a dark-blue hue. The resulting “banded” appearance of the basket is considered characteristic of traditional Iroquois basketry. The most likely Iroquois group to have produced this object is the Mohawk, who in the 1860s began experimenting with decorative forms and weaves on large hampers, trinket baskets, and miniatures. The Oneida and Seneca produced few splint baskets for tourists toward the end of the nineteenth century.



Basket, late 19th century

American, Micmac, Oneida, or Seneca

poplar, aniline dyes

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1995.046.012

The bright colors, narrow splints, and curl work around the rim of this basket—the largest of three splint examples in the Lindesmith collection—indicate that it was made for tourists instead of for practical use. As with the other two splint baskets, warts of diamond curls were woven into the rim. The well-preserved “Easter egg” colors, shades of purple, pink, indigo, and yellow—suggest that this basket may be made of poplar splints. A light wood that readily absorbs dyes, poplar has been linked to Micmac splint basketry. The twill variety weave on the bottom indicates that the basket may be a product of an Iroquois rather than an Algonquian tribal group, as the twill-weave method was not introduced to Algonquian tribes until about 1900.

Based on the details, techniques, and styles used to create the three Lindesmith splint baskets, it seems likely that the Iroquois produced the objects but less likely that the same person, or members of the same Native group, made all of them. It is possible that Lindesmith bought at least one of the baskets during his in 1888 visit to Niagara Falls, site of one of the largest concentrations of Native American commercial activity during the late nineteenth century.



Young Girl's Dress, 1879–81

Ameche (also known as Elk Woman), c. 1857–1890

American, Cheyenne/Suhtai

deerskin, glass beads, sinew

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.002

According to its descriptive tag, this beautifully beaded girl's dress—or *cuozichost* (Lindesmith's spelling) in Cheyenne—dates from before 1883, the year Lindesmith bought it from Wolf Voice, a Cheyenne U.S. Army scout, for twenty-five dollars. In his notes, the chaplain explained: “[S]ince the railroad came here and the Indians can buy cloth, calico, and blankets, etc. they have partly done away with this kind of dress. P.S. But in the tobacco and at the squaw dances it is always worn.”

Two deerskins were sewn together, with the hind legs forming the bodice and sleeves. The cut of the sleeves—tapered at the ends and slightly curved along the inner seam—is typical of both Cheyenne and Lakota dresses. The bottom of the garment more closely follows the cut of Cheyenne dresses. Fringe embellishes the sleeves and bottom. Wolf Voice's wife, a Cheyenne woman named Ameche, sewed the Italian glass beads onto the bodice using the so-called lane stitch technique. Although each bead row lines up with those above and below it, the beads themselves do not lie flat, as they do in most Cheyenne beadwork. The kind of solid beading on the bodice seen here did not emerge until the mid-1870s, when seed beads were readily available; rarely is it seen on dresses made by Cheyenne bead workers, as on this one.

Several of the design motifs mimic those found on Lakota dresses. The medium-blue background with the narrow band of beadwork forming the border is said by old-time bead workers to symbolize a lake. The designs within the blue field may represent stars and clouds. The U-shaped figure in the center of the lower bodice symbolizes a turtle, and the red double crosses represent dragonflies; both are considered to have protective power for women. The red stepped triangle with navy-blue and yellow lines are filled with two rectangles in navy blue and white, an allusion to Sweet Medicine's Cave in Bear Butte, the central religious site for the Cheyenne. The crosses in the blue field consist of two color lines, navy blue and red, that intersect and are filled with yellow boxes—a Cheyenne design motif.



Cradle, 1882

Ameche (also known as Elk Woman), c. 1857–1890

American, Cheyenne/Suhtai

buffalo hide, glass beads, sinew, wood, brass tacks, ribbon

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History

E395625A

Father Lindesmith explained in an 1882 memorandum and on the descriptive tag accompanying this object that he tried to buy a cradle but could not because a family would not sell one belonging to their own child. He was, however, offered cradles stolen from graves of enemy tribes. As a priest, acquiring such an item in that way would have been unacceptable. So he had one specially made, buying the needed materials at the Fort Keogh store and paying Ameche, wife of the Cheyenne U.S. Army scout Wolf Voice, forty dollars for the job.

Ameche used buffalo hide, a two-stick wooden frame, brass tacks, ribbon, and Italian glass beads. Her design includes two primary motifs. The first is a stepped, dark-blue triangle filled with red and yellow rectangles on a lane of medium green; a red and dark-blue rectangle is at the center of the green lane on the base of the triangle. A red lane runs from the top of the cradle to the base, and all the elements of the design are on a medium-blue background. The filled, stepped triangle and the second primary motif, repeated between each triangle, represent Bear Butte and Sweet Medicine's Cave—a reminder of the central religious site in the Cheyenne religion.



Beaded Pouch, c. 1882

Keay (Lindesmith's spelling: Saea), c. 1854–1895

American, Cheyenne

leather, glass beads, sinew

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.014

Italian faceted red/oxblood, blue, and dark-green beads on a white background adorn this pouch, or pocket bag. Cheyenne bead workers favored beads of this type. The two different triangle motifs seen here are among several motifs the bead workers used to refer to Bear Butte, a sacred location for the Cheyenne.



Parfleche, 1882

Măeăbut (Lindesmith's spellings), c. 1866–1895

American, Cheyenne

buffalo hide, paint

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History
E395628

This is one of two folded, painted parfleches (rawhide bags or trunks) that Lindesmith bought from the Cheyenne woman Măeăbut in September 1882. He noted that she had made them for her own use but sold this one “in addition to money for two slices of watermelon and two cups of coffee with plenty of sugar in it.” In his account book, Lindesmith noted that he paid her \$1.50 for the two parfleches. Măeăbut may have been the wife of Yellow Robe, a U.S. Army scout at Fort Keogh, and the sister of Wolf Voice, as indicated on a photograph taken in 1889 by the fort photographer Christian Barthelmess.

The painting on the parfleche is executed in red and medium blue on the natural light-tan buffalo hide background. The design includes alternating obtuse and equilateral triangles in lines that run down each side, a reference to the holiest Cheyenne site, Bear Butte. Between the line of triangles and running down the center of the parfleche is a central element, comprised of diamonds filled with solid red—broken by a small, centered square—and two small blue triangles that form an hourglass shape. The diamonds alternate with red triangles, outlined in blue.



Pair of Woman's Leggings, c. 1889

Mo-a-ha, c. 1850–1895

American, Cheyenne

buckskin, glass beads, sinew

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.050

Mo-a-ha, the wife of High Walking, made these leggings; Lindesmith purchased them from her in January 1891. They illustrate several characteristics associated with Cheyenne bead working, such as the so-called lane stitch, in which rows of beads lay flat, each row lining up almost perfectly with the matching ones above and below it, to create a geometric design made of Italian red faceted beads (preferred by the Cheyenne) and yellow, navy blue, and green beads on a light-blue background. The triangle edges are slightly stepped, without borders and with contrasting colors inside each triangle. A strip of red triangles also lines the edges of the horizontal blocks on the top and bottom, each strip broken by a single rectangle of light blue. These two triangle motifs refer, respectively, to Bear Butte and Sweet Medicine's Cave, sacred sites for the Cheyenne. In addition, two different triangle designs are set point-to-point along a center red line, both on the vertical and horizontal blocks, to form a line of hourglass shapes; bead workers used this motif to evoke Turtle Island, where, in the Cheyenne religion, the world began.



Beaded Awl Case, 1882

Vaseva (or Waseva, Lindesmith's spelling) c. 1850–1890

American, Cheyenne

buckskin, glass beads, brass tacks, sinew

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History

E395623

Lindesmith purchased this beaded awl case from Vaseva at Fort Keogh in September 1882. The item illustrates the flat, so-called lane stitch technique that is typical of Cheyenne bead working. Vaseva set the stripe design with just two colors, pink and blue, against a white background. Decorative brass tacks are attached to the bottom end.



Pair of Man's Leggings, c. 1885

American, Cheyenne

buckskin, glass, beads, metal, ribbon, gallstone dye

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.052

Father Lindesmith bought this pair of leggings from High Walking, a Cheyenne, in August 1887. A member of Little Wolf's band, High Walking surrendered to Lieutenant William Philo Clark, of Fort Keogh, in 1879; he subsequently hired on as an Army scout.

The garment includes several elements typical of leggings made by the Southern Plains Cheyenne: a thin line of beading, one lane of white beads and one lane of navy-blue beads on the outer edges of the gallstone-dyed buckskin. The leggings also include an unusual feature: cut sections of four different rosaries and colored ribbon accentuate the fringe. It is not known what meaning the rosaries might have had here. That is, were they applied simply for decoration, or did the owner believe they would help confer power from a new supernatural source?



Moccasins, 1880–89

American, Cheyenne

buckskin, glass beads, sinew, gallstone dye, red ochre

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History

E395619

Characteristics of the best Cheyenne design are evident in this pair of moccasins, as it illustrates a typical Cheyenne layout: 1) a border of two to four lanes; 2) lanes running up the center (repeating the border design); 3) one lane running over the instep just in front of the tongue; 4) a lane above the border, running from the cross lane back to the heel seam; and 5) a narrow lane running up each side of the heel seam. The Italian glass beads in the border lanes line up almost perfectly, one above the other. The buckskin between the center lanes is colored with red ochre, and the tongue is the yellow of gallstone dye. Two-inch fringe attaches to one of the center lanes, and thirteen separate eight-inch twisted fringes attach along each heel seam. In addition, the edge of the tongue and the anklet are finely beaded with alternating red and light blue beads. The two primary geometric designs include a V-shape motif comprised of three lines, one each of dark blue, red, and light blue attached to a dark-blue triangle; and a motif with dark-blue lines, from which hang either red rectangles or dark-blue triangles. Among the Cheyenne, the V-shape symbolizes an expected behavior—to follow one's leader. The second motif is one of many that evoke the sacred Sweet Medicine's Cave and Bear Butte.



Pictographic War Record, c. 1887

White Swan, c. 1851–1904

American, Crow

muslin, watercolor, pencil, ink

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1963.009.005

Crow and other Plains warriors commonly depicted war records on animal skins, and later on muslin and paper. The practice was an extension of a long-standing tradition: their cultures had pecked or painted historic events and visionary experiences on rock surfaces for centuries. The scenes the warriors illustrated on buffalo-hide robes and tipis typically portrayed an individual's war exploits or hunting successes, both memorializing and validating them to the warrior's community. Once the reservation period began, the men had almost no access to buffalo hides, so they used muslin and paper instead.

White Swan, a Crow Indian, chronicled his war record with pencil and ink and then painted it with watercolors on muslin. Among the largest and earliest-known examples of his paintings, it depicts nine of his engagements with enemies. In each vignette, White Swan identifies himself with two signature elements: his red-, white-, and black-striped loincloth and his yellow- and red-feathered hair ornament. Father Lindesmith bought this work at the Custer Store at the Crow Agency in August 1889 for six dollars, recording the purchase in his account book and a memorandum as well as on a tag attached to the muslin.



Catlinite Pipe, mid-19th century

American, Dakota

wood, catlinite, pewter

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1995.046.007

Lindesmith purchased this catlinite (or pipestone) pipe from Stump Horn, a Cheyenne scout for the U.S. Army, at Fort Keogh for four dollars in February 1887. Stump Horn, who was at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, hired on as a scout after he surrendered. The stone carving and pewter inlay identify the object as probably of Dakota origin: members of that tribe carved and embellished pipes in this manner, trading them throughout the Northern Plains beginning in the 1700s. Also, the primary catlinite quarry is located within traditional Dakota territory, near present-day Pipestone, Minnesota. The quarry was designated a U.S. national monument in 1937.



Pair of Moccasins, c. 1880–90

American, Lakota

leather, glass beads, metallic beads, cloth, sinew

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.019

The colors and designs on these solidly beaded men's moccasins suggest techniques characteristic of both Cheyenne and Lakota. The Cheyenne normally filled the triangle and rectangle motifs with boxes of other colors. Both tribes typically used white as the background and green and orange for the designs but usually not this shade of blue for either. Lakota traits include the crowded, so-called lane stitch, the rather horizontal large triangles on the border and top, the use of metallic beads, and the design layout. Because the Northern Cheyenne and Lakota by the 1870s often camped together and intermarried, their bead workers' styles tended to display similarities starting around that time.

Father Lindesmith bought these Northern Plains moccasins sometime between 1880 and 1891, the period of his chaplaincy at Fort Keogh. Thus, this pair probably represents a blend of both Northern Cheyenne and Lakota beadwork. Most of the beading techniques used here, however, are Lakota: the beading layout on the vamp and the border on the orange rectangles as well as the above-noted metallic beads and horizontal triangles. Unfortunately, Lindesmith's descriptive tag for these moccasins did not survive, and he made no reference to them in his account books or memoranda.



Pair of Young Girl's Leggings, c. 1880

American, Lakota

buffalo leather, glass beads, sinew

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA.1995.046.010.A and B

These buffalo-leather leggings display several characteristics of Lakota beadwork: the so-called lane stitch with humped or raised lanes, even lines bordering the edges of the triangles, a white-beaded background, and use of the colors red, yellow, and navy blue. A letter Father Lindesmith wrote to the University of Notre Dame dated June 12, 1899, lists "1 pair Sioux squaw buckskin leggings."



Moccasins, 1881

American, Lakota

buckskin, glass beads, sinew

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History

E395581

Father Lindesmith purchased these adult moccasins at Fort Keogh's store in April 1881, not long after starting his chaplaincy. He assumed that the Lakota woman who made them was a Catholic because they bore blue crosses; however, the cross motif was common on Lakota beadwork. Set against the white background, also favored by the Lakota, are dark-blue triangles, squares, and crosses with yellow tips. A V-shaped red lane runs above the border design and encloses the crosses. A single lane of red runs slightly off center from the point of the V back to a lane that cuts across the top of the vamp.



Indian Dolls, 1880–91

American, Lakota

buckskin, beads, sinew, dentalia shell, tin tinklers

Loan from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History

E395595

Father Lindesmith described this pair of dolls as representing an Indian chief named Red Horse and his wife, but whether they actually do cannot be ascertained. Attached to the female's belt is an awl case, and she wears a bead necklace and dentalia earrings. The male doll carries a shield and likewise wears dentalia earrings, here tipped with tin tinklers. Four different typical Lakota designs on a white background are beaded on the male's shirt.



Buffalo Horn, 1880–90
American, Northern Plains
buffalo horn
Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith
AA1899.024.F

Of the many buffalo horns Lindesmith donated to the University of Notre Dame, this is the only one that is polished and etched. The figures of two Great Plains mammals, an antelope and an elk, are lightly incised into the surface. It is possible the priest bought this object at a store in Miles City or at the Fort Keogh store rather than directly from a Native American. Some of the buffalo horns he donated are in a natural state, and some are polished.



Indian Rosary Beads, c. 1885
American, Native American, Northern Plains
rawhide, wooden beads, bone, metal
Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith
AA1999.049.003

Father Lindesmith sent this Native American-made rosary to his sister Catherine in April 1890. It incorporates two commonly used Native materials—rawhide and the toe bones of a dog or fox, the latter used as the large beads that are held during recitation of the Lord's Prayer—in an object associated with Roman Catholicism. As such, it suggests that the Indian who made it understood at least some Catholic beliefs and likely embraced them.



Egyptian Beaded Necklace, c. 1880–90

Egypt

glass, clay beads, string

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

AA1899.043

Father Lindesmith bought this necklace of Egyptian clay beads at Fort Keogh. Believing it to have been made by Indians, he saw it as confirmation of his contact with Native Americans on the Northern Plains. For the American or European traveler who actually purchased the necklace in Egypt, it represented an exotic travel experience to a very different location.



Indian-Trade Flintlock Single-Barrel Shotgun with Wiping Rod, 1866

Barnett, London (1842–1901)

wood, brass, steel

Gift of Rev. E. W. J. Lindesmith

2012.026.004

Manufactured in London, this single-barrel shotgun is an example of the goods the English traded, via the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, to Plains Indians. As flintlock guns were rarely used in North America after 1860, this model was outmoded at the time of the sale. Father Lindesmith obtained the gun from the stores of rifles at Fort Keogh that warriors had relinquished when their band surrendered to Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles in the 1880s. "Guns fit for Army service were put in the arsenal," Lindesmith noted. "Extra guns were sent to the military museum at Washington. Worthless guns were divided among the officers who desired to get them; that is the way I got the gun. And I had to give a receipt for the gun, which is kept in the Army Archives."

Although the butt plate is missing, the shotgun and its wiping rod are otherwise intact. Seven coup marks are cut into one side of the stock; its decoration resembles a dragon but actually is a stylized snake, a symbol common to Indian-trade shotguns. "Barnett 1866" is stamped on the lock plate. Several proof marks are stamped into the barrel, among them cross scepters with a crown and a V, a "24" for the gauge mark, and a crown over a GP as a gunmaker's proof.



think an aspersion, ~~now~~
to die. He prophesied, one
was that with his hands, he
could make the soldiers
bullets fall of him like snow
hail. The Indians were incli-
ned to believe him; but by the
advice of the Jesuits and those
who had lately come there; they

PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

Map

Base Map modified from Mark H. Brown and W.K. Felton, *The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains, 1955, front piece.*

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- Pictographic War Record AA1963.009.005; SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Young Girl's Dress AA1899.002; SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Knight's Eagle Pommel Sword 2012.026.003; SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Parfleche E395628 SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Pair of Man's Leggings AA1899.052 SMA, UND: Photographers Chuck Loving and Amanda Joseph
Cradle E395625A SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Father Lindesmith Portrait 1964. 047 SMA, UND: Photographer Amanda Joseph
Father Lindesmith Photograph in Buckskins Congregation of the Holy Cross, U. S. Province Archives Center
Girl's Dance Apron AA1899.003 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Twinned Cooking Basket AA1999.021.001 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Basket AA1899.039A SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Basket AA1899.039B SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Basket AA1995.046.012 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Beaded Pouch AA1899.014 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Pair of Women's Leggings AA1899.050 SMA, UND: Photographer Chuck Loving and Amanda Joseph
Beaded Awl Case E395623 SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Moccasins E395619 SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Catlinite Pipe AA1995.046.007 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Pair of Moccasins AA1899.019 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Pair of Young Girl's Leggings AA1995.046.010A and B SMA, UND: Photographer Chuck Loving and Amanda Joseph
Moccasins E395581 SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Indian Dolls E395595 SINMNH-DA: Photographer Donald Hurlbert
Buffalo Horn AA1899.024.F SMA, UND: Photographers Chuck Loving and Amanda Joseph
Indian Rosary Beads-detail AA1999.049.003 SMA, UND: Photographers Chuck Loving and Amanda Joseph
Indian Rosary Beads AA1999.049.003 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Egyptian Beaded Necklace AA1899.043 SMA, UND: Photographers Eric Nisly
Indian Trade Flintlock AA2012.026.004 SMA, UND: Photographer Eric Nisly
Father Lindesmith with Beard CHCUSPCA: Photographer Robinson Studios, Cleveland, Ohio

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ABBREVIATIONS

CHCUSPCA	Congregation of Holy Cross U. S. Province Center Archives
DA, UND	Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame
GMA	Glenbow Museum Archives
MHSRCA	Montana Historical Society Research Center and Archives
NAA, SI	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
SINMNH	Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History
SINMNH-DA	Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History-Department of Anthropology
SMA, UND	Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame
TMMC, UT-A	Texas Memorial Museum Collection, University of Texas at Austin
UND	University of Notre Dame

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