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## Stealing Horses and Hostile Conflict: 1833-1834 Drawings of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida

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Stealing Horses and Hostile Conflict: 1833-34 Drawings of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida

By

Kimberly Minor

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

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Under the Supervision of

Professor Wendy Katz

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Stealing Horses and Hostile Conflict: 1833-34 Drawings of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida  
Kimberly Minor, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2011

Advisor: Wendy Katz

The first documented Native American art on paper includes the following drawings at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska: *In the Winter, 1833-1834* (two versions) by Sih-Chida (Yellow Feather) and *Mato-Tope Battling a Cheyenne Chief with a Hatchet* (1834) by Mato-Tope (Four Bears) as well as an untitled drawing not previously attributed to the latter. These images were produced and collected during the winter of 1833-1834 when the German Prince Maximilian of Wied and artist Karl Bodmer resided at Fort Clark in North Dakota. These drawings remained with Prince Maximilian's estate until they were placed on long term loan to the Joslyn museum in 1962.

This thesis investigates how Mandan gender roles for men shaped the drawings and how Prince Maximilian's view of masculinity influenced his collection of the images. I argue that not only did Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida view their art as relevant to their social standing in their tribe, but they also developed a style that incorporated Western artistic influences. Both George Catlin and Bodmer painted portraits of these Mandan men and possibly could have introduced them to Western elements of design, and such elements permitted Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida to articulate their status as honored warriors in new ways for their visitors and for themselves. Above all, this thesis aims to show how Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida translated their leadership roles in their community to their art.

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## Introduction

The astute portraits of many Plains Indian tribe members by Karl Bodmer and the detailed ethnographic observations by Prince Maximilian of Wied make their 1832-1834 journey through the American frontier a treasure for anthropologists, ethnologists, and art historians today. Despite crediting them for recording ceremonial practices or depicting elaborate regalia, many authors say little of the artifacts that Prince Maximilian and Bodmer collected on their travels. This paper is concerned with just those artifacts, particularly the first documented Native American art on paper: four self portrait drawings by Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida (two each, respectively). This paper will for the first time acknowledge the importance of these works.

As the first surviving works on paper by Native American artists, the four works, *In the Winter, 1833-1834* (two versions) by Sih-Chida (Yellow Feather) and *Mato-Tope Battling a Cheyenne Chief with a Hatchet* (1834) by Mato-Tope (Four Bears) as well as an untitled drawing by the latter have drawn attention from specialists in Native American Art.<sup>1</sup> [Figures 1, 2, 3] John C. Ewers presents them as a case of white patrons (Prince Maximilian and Karl Bodmer) encouraging budding artistic talent by analyzing the stylistic content of the men's drawings but not considering the tribal context that could have also influenced their production.<sup>2</sup> Art historians Janet Berlo and Joyce Szabo view them in relationship to ledger art more generally. They pursue an interpretation involving social, religious, and economic history and artistic biography, identifying each

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<sup>1</sup> The claim that this untitled drawing is by Mato-Tope is up for debate, and I will discuss the connoisseurship later in the paper.

<sup>2</sup> For a further discussion of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida's artistic influence under Bodmer, see John C. Ewers, "Early White Influence upon Plains Indian Painting: George Catlin and Carl Bodmer among the Mandan, 1832-34 (with 12 Plates)," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 134, no. 7 (1957): 5-9.

work as an individual creation within a complex social nexus.<sup>3</sup> However, they both concentrate on ledger art created during the reservation era, while I focus on ledger art prior to the 1860s. Though like Ewers, I note the importance of Bodmer's collaboration with Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida, I also compare their drawings to concurrent Native designs in media such as rock art and bison hide painting. I use James Keyser's historical timeline that places painted bison robes as the marker between prehistoric rock art and later ledger art.<sup>4</sup> I expand on the formal analysis of stylistic derivation which numerous scholars have noted for Mato-Tope, but I add an account of Sih-Chida's drawings, whose art has been previously ignored.<sup>5</sup> Overall my intention is to reveal how their artistic designs appeal to both their European company's sense of hierarchy and their Mandan tribal values. Additionally, I review how Prince Maximilian's education shaped his attitudes to interacting with Native tribes (and his possible motives for collecting artwork by the Mandan men) as well as consider how Karl Bodmer and George Catlin painted the Mandan men's portraits to show the significance of their warrior status.

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<sup>3</sup> Janet Berlo, *Plains Indian Drawings, 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the American Federation of Arts and the Drawing Center, 1996), 10; Joyce Szabo, *Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), xv.

<sup>4</sup> James D. Keyser and Michael Klassen, *Plains Indian Rock Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 20.

<sup>5</sup> This thesis builds a historiography that demonstrates how scholars have viewed Native artists Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida in relation to white artists such as George Catlin and Karl Bodmer to the detriment of their independent artistic merit. While scholars recognize Prince Maximilian's collection and its importance to Native American studies and Art History, they are quick to laud Mato-Tope for his artistic skill but overlook Sih-Chida's talent: Berlo, *Plains Indian Drawings*, 12; Paul Schach, "Maximilian, Prince of Wied (1782-1867): Reconsidered," *Great Plains Quarterly* 14, no.2 (1994):17; Evan M. Maurer and Louise Lincoln, *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life* (Minneapolis, Minn: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992): 190-192; Peter Bolz and Hans-Ulrich Sanner, *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 76-78; Gloria Young, "Aesthetic Archives: Visual Language of Plains Ledger Art," in *Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*, ed. Edwin L. Wade and Carol Haralson (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, 1986), 57; Mark S. Parker Miller, "Obtaining Information via Defective Documents: A Search for the Mandan in George Catlin's Paintings," in *Interpretations of Native North American Life: Material Contributions to Ethnohistory*, ed. Michael S. Nassaney and Eric S. Johnson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 314.



## Early Contact with the Mandan

Beginning with eighteenth-century European accounts of contact with the Mandan sets the stage for how the tribe would interact with Prince Maximilian and Karl Bodmer in 1833. In 1738, the French-Canadian Sieur de la Verendrye, also known as Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, received permission from the French king to explore present day North Dakota in search of new sources for the fur trade. He made contact with the Mandan tribe in villages along the upper Missouri River and noted their dependence on intertribal trade. He recorded, “By trading their corn, tobacco, buffalo hair, and dyed feathers, they knew the Assiniboine valued [the Mandan] highly. The latter brought muskets, axes, kettle, powder, ball knives, and awls to trade.”<sup>6</sup> He also followed orders to claim the Mandan territory for the French fur trade with the support of the New France governor Charles de la Boische who stated, “If the savages find the French on their passage, they will not go in search of the English.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, the governor insisted on la Verendrye’s exploration of the interior of the United States in order to block the English Hudson Bay Company from expansion. He also hoped the journey would discover a route to the Pacific Ocean as a gateway to future trade with the Far East. Neither La Verendrye’s 1738 travels nor his sons’ 1742 journey to the Black Hills of South Dakota revealed a passageway to the Pacific.<sup>8</sup>

By 1762, Canada (formerly New France) was ceded to Britain through the Treaty of Paris formally ending the French-Indian war. This action spurred Canadian traders to

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<sup>6</sup> Hubert G. Smith, and W. Raymond Wood, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains 1738-43* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 53.

<sup>7</sup> Smith and Wood, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> According to their journal, La Vérendrye’s sons Francois and Louis-Joseph briefly stayed with the Mandan from April to July 1742 while waiting for the Gens des Chevaux (Sioux?) to lead them to the western sea. (Smith and Wood, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes*, 105).

form the Northwest Company in 1784 to compete against the already established Hudson Bay Company in the quest for furs.<sup>9</sup> During this time trading posts were also erected by the French Canadians and the French fur traders learned not only the Mandan language but also intermarried with tribal women further cementing their economic relationship with the tribe. By the early 1800s, the Mandan experience of contact from white men came in the form of fur traders, including Lewis and Clark who sought future fur trade possibilities. Certainly it was with some surprise that the Mandan in the 1830s would have received painters Catlin and Bodmer, who along with ethnologist Prince Maximilian, approached the tribe only to record ethnographic details without the pressure of negotiating fur trading or other concessions. In 1837, however, smallpox almost obliterated the Mandan tribe. Accordingly, knowledge of their society is largely based on written accounts from contemporary European-American observers and comparisons with closely-related neighbors like the Hidatsa and Arikara. The journals kept by Prince Maximilian during his journey to the Great Plains region and the illustrations by Bodmer present an unparalleled ethnographic survey of the Mandan before their civilization was altered by smallpox.

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<sup>9</sup> The following men left records of their time spent with the Mandan and add ethnographic details about the size of the village, trading habits, and notable chiefs: Jacques d'Eglise (1790; Canadian fur trader) explored the region followed by John Evans (1796; a British man seeking to prove that the Mandan descended from a lost Welsh colony), David Thompson (1797; Canadian fur trader), Lewis and Clark (1804-1805; American explorers), and Alexander Henry (1806; fur trader for the Northwest Company).

Artists and Anthropologists: George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Prince Maximilian

George Catlin (1796-1872) briefly began a career as a lawyer but soon decided to “convert my law library into paintpots and brushes, to pursue painting as my future.”<sup>10</sup> He moved to Philadelphia in 1821 and achieved moderate success with miniature portraits. However, nearly ten years later, he sought national recognition through portrayals of what he considered “vanishing” Native Americans. Aware of impending Congressional legislation to resettle tribes Catlin traveled to St. Louis and gained William Clark’s permission to enter the western portion of the country. He accompanied the steamboat *Yellowstone*’s maiden voyage up the Missouri to Fort Union (North Dakota) in 1831 and throughout the following five years he painted hundreds of Native American portraits, becoming the first American artist to visit the Mandan tribe in 1832.

When the anthropologist Prince Maximilian of Wied and his commissioned artist Karl Bodmer resided at Fort Clark, North Dakota, in the winter of 1833, they were completing the last segment of their journey exploring the western American landscape and its native inhabitants. Arriving in Boston in spring 1832 from Rotterdam, Prince Maximilian and Bodmer first surveyed Native collections on the East Coast such as the one at the Peale Museum in Philadelphia where they inspected the objects gathered by the expeditions of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (1804-1806) and Major Stephen Long (1819-1820) as well as the artwork of Samuel Seymour (artist who accompanied Major Long) and portraits of tribal dignitaries by Charles Bird King.<sup>11</sup> Under the

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<sup>10</sup> George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and the Condition of the North American Indians*, Volume 1 (London, 1841. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Porter, “Maximilian: Prince of Wied: A Biographical Sketch,” in *Views of a Vanishing Frontier*, ed. John C. Ewers (Omaha, Neb: Center for Western Studies/Joslyn Art Museum, 1984), 14.

supervision of Titian Peale, the museum set high expectations for Prince Maximilian's future travels in the frontier. He described the museum,

“[it] contains the best collection of natural history in the United States... Most of the animals of North America [are] pretty well stuffed. Among them I noticed especially, the bison, the bighorn or wild sheep of the rocky mountains, the prairie antelope, the elk, the grisly bear, and others... The collection of Indian dresses, utensil, and arms is, I think, the most important I have yet seen...”<sup>12</sup>

Next they traveled to St. Louis where they too met with William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and his nephew Benjamin O'Fallon, who copied the original Lewis-Clark maps for the expedition. Clark represented the premier gentleman of Western exploration as well as the one who could facilitate their journey by issuing them passports in order to stop at agencies run by the American Fur Company along their route. Not only did Clark serve as a knowledgeable frontier man, but he also operated a small museum of Native artifacts that Prince Maximilian and Bodmer saw while visiting St. Louis. After two years of travel, they arrived back in Europe in 1834 and their observations culminated in the 1839 publication of *Reise in das innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834* (*Travels in the Interior of North America 1832 to 1834*) complete with Prince Maximilian's abridged records of his journey and accompanied by Bodmer's eighty-one hand-painted aquatints of American wildlife and Native tribes.<sup>13</sup> Accompanying the aquatints was a facsimile of Mato-Topé's self-portrait battling a Cheyenne chief but not Sih-Chida's work. After the completed publication, Prince Maximilian continued to study America flora and fauna from the specimens he collected while Bodmer became affiliated with the Barbizon movement in France.

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<sup>12</sup> Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Wilson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: Norton, 1980), 260.

<sup>13</sup> The English edition of *Travels in the Interior* was published in 1843.

Prince Alexander Phillip Maximilian (1782-1860) of Wied-Neuwied, a German principality, was the eighth of ten children. He met Alexander Von Humboldt, who had just returned from an ethnographic journey to South America and so certainly could have inspired Prince Maximilian to pursue his interest in Native cultures and the classification of undocumented flora and fauna. However, his desire to explore the natural sciences was interrupted when he accepted a personal invitation from King Friedrich Wilhem III to enter the Prussian army at the rank of lieutenant. Even if he saw his service in the Napoleonic wars as a patriotic obligation, he did not flinch from his duties: he participated in the battle of Jena (1806) where he was captured as a prisoner of war and later earned the Order of the Iron Cross for his bravery and distinction in military leadership.<sup>14</sup>

Finally free to pursue his scholarly interests, he enrolled at the University of Göttingen in 1811.<sup>15</sup> His study there of ethnology and zoology and Native Americans in particular stemmed from a University anthropology professor. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach posited the monogenist theory of human origins that followed the Bible in arguing that the world's population developed from one set of parents. It reinforced the belief in a common humanity but also encouraged theories that various levels of civilization had arisen on the basis of divergent racial development. Blumenbach amassed a collection of skulls to understand humanity's biological unity, but still attested that variances of culture and skin tone were based on the environment in which each population lived. Blumenbach instructed his students that the development of races and cultures was affected by climate, habit, diet, and the means of human subsistence within a

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<sup>14</sup> Schach, "Maximilian, Prince of Wied," 9. Familial pressure to join the military is possible given Prince Maximilian's older brothers were serving.

<sup>15</sup> The tenure of his studies at the University is unclear.

locale that in turn influenced material culture.<sup>16</sup> The anthropological view of how the environment shaped evolution stressed the need for exploration to gather primary data and Prince Maximilian first gained field experience in 1815. He traveled in Brazil until 1817 to study the flora, fauna, and Native tribes such as the Camacans and the Botocudos, and he sketched his own drawings of his observations. As he prepared for his next journey abroad, it is possible that the Koblenz publisher Jacob Holscher introduced the prince to Bodmer's work from Holscher's 1831 publication of *Malerische Ansichten der Mosel von Trier bis Coblenz. Nach der Natur gezeichnet von C. Bodmer in Aquatinta geätzt von R. Bodmer* [Picturesque Views of the Moselle from Trier to Koblenz. Painted According to Nature by C. Bodmer Etched in Aquatint by R. Bodmer].<sup>17</sup>

This book resulting from Bodmer's (1809-1893) collaboration with his brother Rudolf marks his first publication. Raised in Zurich, both men studied with their uncle Johann Jakob Meier who taught them the basics of drawing, watercolor, and etching as they traveled the Swiss Alps. In the fall of 1828 Bodmer sailed down the Rhine and began work in Koblenz where for the next three years he produced numerous drawings and watercolors which Rudolf etched and Holscher then reissued in travel albums, which were popular with tourists.<sup>18</sup> It must have been tempting for the twenty-three year old man to earn steady pay and a once in a lifetime opportunity to explore new territory with Maximilian. Prince Maximilian trusted Bodmer's limited artistic experience despite the artist having never attended a fine arts academy nor having a range of experience with the

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<sup>16</sup> Joseph C. Porter, "The Eyes of Strangers: 'Fact' and Art on the Ethnographic Frontier, 1832-34," in *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection*, ed. W. R. Wood, et al (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 28.

<sup>17</sup> William H. Goetzmann, "The Man Who Stopped to Paint America," in *Karl Bodmer's America*, ed. David C. Hunt et al, (Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 4.

<sup>18</sup> William J. Orr, "Karl Bodmer: the Artist's Life," in *Karl Bodmer's America*, ed. David C. Hunt et al (Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 351.

human form, as he previously painted mostly landscapes and wildlife. Prince Maximilian's tour of galleries in Philadelphia may have helped expand Bodmer's knowledge of and approach to portraiture.

In addition to the models provided in Thomas McKenney's gallery (the portrait collection by James Otto Lewis and Charles Bird King of Native American dignitaries who visited Washington D.C.) Bodmer also saw the work of George Catlin at the St. Louis home of Benjamin O'Fallon in 1833.<sup>19</sup> With Bodmer having little experience of portraiture, could these artists have inspired Bodmer's concept of the human form? King painted the tribal men visiting Washington D.C. with homogenized features and stoic countenances that identified them as "noble savages." Catlin also chose a flat emphasis on "typical" features such as an elongated forehead, narrow nose, high cheekbones, full mouth and firm jaw line. Both McKenney (superintendent of Native trade and the man who hired King to produce the Native portraits) and Catlin viewed Native Americans as a disappearing race and both men hastened to record their portraits before their inevitable demise. Catlin aptly summarizes,

"I have flown to their rescue—not of their lives or of their race (for they are '*doomed*' and must perish) but to the rescue of their looks and their modes... yet, phoenix-like, they may rise from 'the stain of a painter's palette' and live again upon a canvas and stand forth for centuries yet to come, the living monuments of a noble race."<sup>20</sup>

However, Bodmer did not arrive in America with the assumption that the Native Americans were a dying race—he landed with the purpose of painting the tribes he encountered with objectivity, a goal less sentimentally racist than that of his predecessors.

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<sup>19</sup> Hunt states that it is also probable that Bodmer may have attended one of Catlin's exhibitions in London or Paris while negotiating for subscription deals for the publication of *Travels in the Interior* (David Hunt, "Publication History of Karl Bodmer's North American Atlas," in *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art*, ed. W.R. Wood et al (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 102.

<sup>20</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 35.

He accordingly paints Native portraits with faithfulness to slight variances in skin tone, hair texture, head configuration (important for Prince Maximilian's research purposes), as well as attention to their individuality through the differentiation of clothing and facial paint. His paintings complement Prince Maximilian's written records that show the impact of environment on native culture, such as scenes of the daily tasks of women collecting firewood, the interior of a Mandan lodge, or a Blackfoot war party, instead of concentrating on portraits that uplift Natives to a romantic status like those which Catlin and King present. While Catlin chose more bust length formats, Bodmer selects full length views which allow a detailed examination of the regalia worn by Native men and women. Catlin is less specific about tribal clothing and instead panders to a pan-Indian account of life on the Plains. Catlin painted few ceremonial dances (although he produced the only images of the Mandan *Okipa* ceremony), choosing rather to record numerous bison hunts and thus reminding the viewer of the disappearing Native lifestyle of open range hunting due to Western expansion.

Prince Maximilian approached the various native tribes (Omaha, Sioux, Assiniboine, and Blackfeet among others in addition to Mandan) he encountered with a keen interest in their religion, ceremonies, and other traditions, in order to fully understand their cultures and how best to apply his observations to the theory of monogenism. In the summer of 1832, Prince Maximilian reported upon his impression of previous Native representation, "I could not find, in all the towns of this country, a good characteristic representation of the Native Americans."<sup>21</sup> Hired as an illustrator, Bodmer's role was to provide Prince Maximilian with a resource for future ethnographic

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<sup>21</sup> Ron Tyler, "Karl Bodmer and the American West," in *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, ed. Brandon K Ruud (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 4.



study, again unlike his other contemporaries (King, Catlin, and even Alfred Jacob Miller) who produced Native portraits that reinforced romantic imagery for commercial purposes.

Of Bodmer's Native portraiture, his most significant body of work involves the Mandan, comprising twenty-five percent of his collection. What gave the Mandan such an allure and motivated Prince Maximilian to visit and keep souvenirs? The men wintered with the Mandan for five months in 1833 for practical reasons as they waited for the frozen Missouri River to thaw and become navigable, although other reasons also explain their extended stay. In August, they witnessed a bloody conflict between the Blackfeet and Cree, which caused them to leave Fort McKenzie earlier than expected. They traveled quickly to the nearest fort stopping briefly at Fort Union before settling at Fort Clark in November 1833. Maximilian had expressed interest in his diary in returning to the Mandan village near Fort Clark in order to continue research on the tribe. He had only spent one night there the previous June when he briefly met Mato-Topé and other distinguished chiefs. During this second prolonged stay, Prince Maximilian wrote eyewitness descriptions of ceremonies such as the *Okipa* and White Buffalo Cow dance and Bodmer produced dozens of portraits of Mandans as well as scenes of village life. The apparent ease of access to first hand information about the tribe from visiting men who sometimes spent the night was belied by trying conditions. They resided in a hastily built log house, survived sub-zero temperatures and inadequate nutrition, while Bodmer painted with near-frozen instruments. The winter weather conditions were secondary however to Prince Maximilian's main reason for his extended stay in the Mandan village—the chance to explore the tribe's fabled past of European ancestry.

Prince Maximilian's anthropological approach led to a special interest in a theory of Mandan origins stemming from eighteenth-century European writers who claimed that they were descendants of the Welsh Prince Madoc, who sailed to America in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This story explained the tribe's lighter hair color and skin tones.<sup>22</sup> Observations of lighter skinned Mandan natives had been made by La Verendrye, Catlin and numerous other early explorers.<sup>23</sup> These anecdotes must have been familiar to William Clark who visited the Mandan in 1804 and recorded his observations about a boy's lucky escape from a fire because "his safety was ascribed to the great medicine spirit who had preserved him on account of his being white."<sup>24</sup> Clark's firsthand account of the Mandan's lighter pigmentation could have been passed on to Prince Maximilian while he was in St. Louis and sparked his interest in staying with the Mandan. Perhaps Maximilian's interest in surveying the Mandan also stemmed from Blumenbach's theory of monogenism which viewed darker skinned people (Africans, Native Americans) as degenerative of the Caucasian race. However, after constant contact with Natives for two years, Prince Maximilian ultimately modified his former professor's reasoning about the inferiority of the Native race, though he kept an imperialist lens as when writing,

"It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American [Indian] should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Goetzmann, "The Man Who Stopped to Paint America," 13.

<sup>23</sup> Smith and Wood, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes*, 59, and Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 94. The assumption of Welsh heritage was further supported by the Welsh explorer John Evans who visited the Mandan in 1792 and confirmed their supposed origins.

<sup>24</sup> Meriwether Lewis in Elliot Coues, ed. *The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1900), 185.

<sup>25</sup> Prince Maximilian in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 volumes (Cleveland: Arthur P. Clark, 1904-1907), volume 23: 287.

After observing their language and physical attributes, he quickly discredited the rumors of the Mandan's Welsh lineage, writing,

“Neither did I find among these Indians unusually light complexions nor blue eyes; they do not differ in this respect from the other Indians of the Missouri valley. The legend, likewise, that the Minnitarris are a white race, descended from the Welsh, has little foundation.”<sup>26</sup>

Once he refuted his contemporaries' critiques, Prince Maximilian sought to further record the unfamiliar culture, including the Mandan men's propensity for representational art and war.

#### Role of Warfare in Mandan Art

These drawings by Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida, considered the first documented examples of ledger art, helped establish the characteristics of the style including flat planes and minimal perspective, completed with colored pencils or watercolor on loose leaf paper. Although using a new medium, Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida's approach to their art continued Native art traditions. The concept of Native art itself explains how Europeans (such as Prince Maximilian) misunderstood their framework of production. Native art integrates the spiritual and the secular—objects are produced as utilitarian items but also have a sacred essence or act as a record of significant events. Yet Europeans view art production as a separate act distant from the utilitarian. For nineteenth century Europeans, aesthetic pursuits were often limited to painting or sculpting, which held a position above crafting of baskets or other decorative arts such as textiles and furniture making. The skills of an artist in Native communities would not be regarded as an exclusive vocation, but rather incorporated as a role in daily life. While

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<sup>26</sup> Maximilian in Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels*, volume 24: 262.

Mato-Tope would have thus viewed his drawings as an extension of his bison robe paintings and their function to record his brave deeds, Prince Maximilian would have viewed them for their value as an artifact.

The mostly representational images drawn by Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida form part of a narrative tradition in Plains art that focused on historical events rather than the supernatural like that in ceremonial art (1600-1750) commonly found on rock art. Unlike ceremonial art, which focuses on isolated objects and static figures, the biographical tradition uses integrated scenes of combat and often indicates status through a collection of war trophies or the distinguishing markers of war bonnets. Men painted these images on tanned buffalo hides which they used for clothing, tipi covers, and shields, until the depletion of the bison led to wool blankets becoming more common. These painted buffalo robes collected from the 1790s to the 1850s show how honorable actions in war spotlighted the individual, and battlefield tactics were primarily displays of individual bravery.<sup>27</sup> They also represented a permanent reminder of the honors earned by counting ‘coup.’ To recognize their success publicly, the painted bison robes acted as visual shorthand—as if their battle exploits were a resumé on a robe. The robes offer a sequence of events, and the conquests are conveyed by blocky figures of men in monochromatic colors shown in profile with rectangular bodies, stick-like legs and arms, and devoid of facial features. Although rock art and painted bison robes existed concurrently, rock art provides older images of combat, as few of the fragile bison robes survive before the late 1700s.

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<sup>27</sup> Raymond DeMallie, “Plains Indian Warfare,” in *People of the Buffalo* (Volume 1), ed. Colin F. Taylor and Hugh A. Dempsey (Wyk auf Foehr: Tatanka Press, 2003), 72.

Warfare was integral to how men of the Mandan villages commanded respect in their tribe. Only two villages, about two miles apart along the Knife River, a tributary of the Missouri River (southwest North Dakota), belonged to the Mandan; their tribe consisted of roughly 2000 members.<sup>28</sup> They subsisted on what they farmed (squash, corn, etc) and supplemented this with fishing and occasional bison hunting. The Mandan villages served as a popular trading post for more nomadic tribes such as the Arikara who would trade robes for Mandan crops not readily available to tribes who tracked the buffalo for a living. The men of the tribe primarily involved themselves with warfare and hunting while the women tended to the upkeep of the earth lodges and agriculture although these labors were not always clearly divided by gender. The Mandan would readily defend their village if invaded but they did not eagerly travel distances to accost other larger tribes such as the Cheyenne and Sioux.<sup>29</sup>

Certain signs or actions identified a warrior and his status within the tribe. One was counting coup, which occurred during raids or battles when a warrior would touch an enemy without harming him. The motivation to raid other tribes resulted less from a desire to attack the enemy personally than from the aspiration to upgrade a warrior's status by stealing horses, medicine bundles, and weapons. Counting coup differed slightly from tribe to tribe, and the Mandan outlined four activities to earn respect: scalping an enemy, stealing a horse tethered to the owner's tipi, disarming the enemy in hand to hand combat (or killing him), and leading a triumphant war party.<sup>30</sup> The ability to perform such

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<sup>28</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 80.

<sup>29</sup> Catlin further discusses the reluctance of the Mandan to engage in conflict outside of their tribal territories, "Unlike the Mandans, the Minaterres are continually carrying war into their enemies' country oftentimes drawing the poor Mandans into unnecessary broils." Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 187.

<sup>30</sup> John W. Loy and Graham L. Hesketh. "Competitive Play on the Plains: An Analysis of Games and Warfare among Native American Warrior Societies, 1800-1850," in *The Future of Play Theory: a*

actions successfully and remain unharmed made the warrior eligible for entrance into graded warrior societies. Additionally, the coup victories brought the warrior wealth in horses and eventual leadership in the community.

A victorious coup would also be recorded on bison robes and reenacted in dances to allow the tribe to witness the display of bravery. The men earned the right to record their triumphs on bison robes once they completed successful coups. Proud of their achievements, the men would wear the robes daily so kin could admire their bravery and tribal members would know that these men protected their tribe against harm. Not merely a wrap for the body, the bison robes served as a visible accolade of the men who had played heroic roles in the community.

#### Mandan Reactions to Visiting Western Artists

The tribes that both Catlin and Bodmer visited held the Western artists in great esteem for their ability to paint two-dimensional portraits and they gained the reputation of possessing mystic powers. Catlin wrote, “Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my brush...and I was recognized as a ‘great white medicine man.’”<sup>31</sup> His ability to produce a likeness even frightened many of the Mandan because they assumed that Catlin stole a portion of the original person’s soul in order to produce a portrait of them and their suspicion increased because they “could see it [the painting] move, see it stir.”<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the quick production of a painting incited fear because,

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*Multidisciplinary Inquiry into the Contributions of Brian Sutton-Smith*, ed. Anthony Pellegrini (Albany: State of New York University Press, 1995), 87.

<sup>31</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 105.

<sup>32</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 108.

“Bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves.”<sup>33</sup>

Overall, Catlin’s paintings of Mandan chiefs and warriors made him a mythic but feared figure—one who could assert his power through a paintbrush that no one else in the community could rival. Standing before the chiefs, he convinced them of his harmless intentions,

“I assured them that I was but a man like themselves—that my art had no medicine or mystery about it, but could be learned by any of them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind... After this, there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted—the squaws were silent, and my painting room a continual resort for the chiefs and braves and medicine men, where they waited with impatience for the completion of each one’s picture—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush... By flattering and complimenting them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honor with them, which pleased them exceedingly, and gave me and my art the stamp of respectability at once.”<sup>34</sup>

While no record exists of whether Catlin actually showed the natives how to paint according to his Western training, Prince Maximilian’s journals suggest that Mato-Topé and Sih-Chida’s frequent visits with Bodmer showed an inclination to learn concepts such as perspective, modeling, and shading.

Although no documentation survives of enacting a gift exchange prior to a portrait sitting among Catlin or Prince Maximilian’s writings, the tradition seems likely in order to abate any reservations about the artists painting portraits of the warriors. As foreigners among a close knit community, gift exchange was a common practice to show respect to the host which continued as a custom already prevalent among Native tribes themselves.

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<sup>33</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 108.

<sup>34</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 108-109.

The giving of a gift put the recipient under obligation to reciprocate and thus created a bond between the giver and receiver that helped maintain the balance required for a harmonious existence.<sup>35</sup> The concept of gift exchange was not a barter system for goods, but rather each “giver” decided what item from their belongings would be considered a valuable souvenir for the receiver. The exchange itself solidified the relationship in a tangible way and sometimes in a public forum for the approval of others. The significance of the object, if rejected by the receiver, could create tension for future relationships. For example, Mato-Topo disgustingly returned Catlin’s inappropriate and trivial gifts, informing Catlin that he must be so “poor” that the artist obviously needed these trinkets more than did the insulted chief.<sup>36</sup> Prince Maximilian, on the other hand, was acutely aware of the social etiquette for gift exchange and following the advice of William Clark, Prince Maximilian purchased similar supplies of cloth, ribbons, tobacco, and pipes.<sup>37</sup>

Prince Maximilian orchestrated the portrait production of Bodmer and the Native men based on a gift exchange in the hopes of forming an amiable alliance. Prince Maximilian for example recorded his introduction to the Sauk and Meskwaki tribes by saying, “We had provide ourselves with a supply of cigars and with small gifts like these gained their friendship and trust.”<sup>38</sup> This recognition of cultural etiquette would have

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<sup>35</sup> Celia Barnes, *Native American Power in the United States, 1783-1795* (Madison [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 31.

<sup>36</sup> Porter, “Eyes of Strangers,” 46.

<sup>37</sup> Prince Maximilian wrote on April 5, 1833: “We bought several additional articles to trade with the Indians. We now have 1. Calico (colorful fabric) 2. knives of various kinds 3. brass bells 4. burning glasses [mirrors] 5. red dye (vermillion) 6. red ribbons 7. colorful plumes 8. iron and chemical lighters 9. tobacco pipes 10. tobacco 11. yellow nails 12. quids 13. glass beads of various colors. Value about 24 dollars, 36 cents, or about 61 florins.” Prinz Maximilian zu Wied et al, *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 392. Prince Maximilian’s cost would now be equivalent to \$516.72.

<sup>38</sup> Prinz Maximilian zu Wied et al, *The North American Journals*, 381.



similarly eased the relationship between the Native man or woman posing for a portrait and the artist Bodmer. It's also possible that both Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida agreed to draw images for Prince Maximilian and Bodmer (and let them keep the drawings) on the condition that they provide a worthy gift in return. This act would have served to show the strengthening bond of their friendship.

#### Mato-Tope's Painted Bison Robes and Drawings on Paper

In Bodmer's portraits of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida, their wardrobe reveals their high-ranking warrior status in their community. Prince Maximilian, for example, introduced Mato-Tope by saying, "The Mandan and the Manitaris [Hidatsa] are said to fight well, and there have been frequent acts of individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors is Mato-Tope, who has killed more than five chiefs of other nations."<sup>39</sup> Catlin also remarked on Mato-Tope's esteemed status in his community, "This extraordinary man, though second in office is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation... he wears a robe on his back, with the history of his battles emblazoned on it; which would fill a book of themselves, if properly translated."<sup>40</sup> Both Catlin and Bodmer produced two paintings of Mato-Tope which shows the rapport that the artists formed with the second chief in command.<sup>41</sup> His regalia befits his warrior status: both Catlin and Bodmer present Mato-Tope wearing a bison horn cap adorned with white weasel skins and brass buttons, a war bonnet, quilled moccasins with attached

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<sup>39</sup> Maximilian of Wied et al, *People of the First Man: Life Among the Plains Indians in Their Final Days of Glory: the Firsthand Account of Prince Maximilian's Expedition Up the Missouri River, 1833-34* (New York: Dutton, 1976), 202.

<sup>40</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 92.

<sup>41</sup> Mato-Tope is the only chief that both Catlin and Bodmer produced portraits of more than once (four total). Like Sih-Chida, Periska Rhupa (Hidatsa chief) had one portrait produced by Bodmer and Catlin.

wolf tails, and a feathered lance with scalps, presumably souvenirs of the slain. [Figure 4 and 5]

Bodmer's skill at painting precise details of Mato-Tope's clothing is evident compared to Catlin's rendering of the admired chief, particularly in the warrior shirt which in Catlin's rendering seems decorated with cartoonish pictographs of people.<sup>42</sup> While Catlin captures Mato-Tope's stance as a proud warrior, he minimizes Mato-Tope's artistic skill by drawing the squat figures on his shirt in a childlike manner as if unaware of Mato-Tope's careful use of line and body paint to distinguish his figures. Bodmer's portrait of Mato-Tope in full dress by comparison shows him in a plainer shirt decorated with navy and red stroud cloth with red marks for blood representing wounds inflicted by enemies. Prince Maximilian praised Mato-Tope's portrait presumably for its accuracy of detail, "Mr. Bodmer painted the chief in his grandest dress. The vanity which is characteristic of the Indians induced this chief to stand stock still for several days, so that his portrait succeeded admirably."<sup>43</sup>

The second portraits of Mato-Tope by Catlin and Bodmer further show his sacrifice for his tribe. [Figures 7 and 8] Catlin's portrait displays Mato-Tope bare-chested, streaked with red paint and his hair wrapped in otter fur, or as Catlin explained, "His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation."<sup>44</sup> Bodmer's portrait also shows Mato-Tope bare-chested and holding a hatchet. His body is streaked with

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<sup>42</sup> Catlin prided himself on acquiring this warrior shirt but he lost the original. He then superimposed similar images from his portrait of Mato-Tope in his regalia onto a different warrior shirt and then claimed these drawings were painted by Mato-Tope himself. How Catlin lost the original shirt is unknown but he felt that showing a possession of the famed warrior was important enough to replicate it for his Indian Gallery, which is now housed in the Smithsonian. (Therese Heyman et al, *George Catlin and His Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2002), 157.

<sup>43</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 202.

<sup>44</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 148.

yellow paint and he wears a feathered plume. Mato-Tope's prideful display of his wounds is also demonstrated in his self-portrait drawing combating a Cheyenne chief. [Figure 3]

Catlin and Prince Maximilian both recount Mato-Tope's battle with the Cheyenne, giving similar highlights except for how the encounter began. Catlin offers: "A party of about 150 Cheyenne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village and taken a considerable number of horses. Mato-Tope took the lead of a party of fifty warriors and went in pursuit of the enemy."<sup>45</sup> However, Prince Maximilian writes, "On that occasion, he was on foot and on a military expedition, with a few Mandans, when they encountered four Cheyennes, their most virulent foes, on horseback."<sup>46</sup> Both accounts describe how Mato-Tope and the Cheyenne leader (his rank as chief for the Cheyenne is undeterminable) approached each other first on horseback while shooting rifles at one another until lack of gunpowder halted them. Next they shot arrows at one another until they emptied their quivers and "the horse of Mato-Tope fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart; his rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat."<sup>47</sup> Then the Cheyenne warrior dismounted to equalize the attack and the two chiefs commenced to battle each other hand to hand. Prince Maximilian describes Mato-Tope brandishing a battle axe (pictured in all of Mato-Tope's self portraits on his bison robes and paper) but Catlin highlights his courage by saying how Mato-Tope advanced toward the chief empty handed. As the chiefs struggled for dominance, the Cheyenne chief struck Mato-Tope's hand violently with a knife and as the wound bled heavily, Mato-

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<sup>45</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 152.

<sup>46</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 203.

<sup>47</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 153.

Tope wrested the knife from him. “He plunged it to his heart... and claimed in deadly silence the knife and scalp of the noble Cheyenne chief.”<sup>48</sup>

Proud of his victory, Mato-Tope painted the battle on a bison robe collected by Prince Maximilian. Mato-Tope might have given the robe as a gift to Prince Maximilian who records that, “The buffalo robe, painted by Mato-Tope himself, and which I have fortunately brought to Europe represents several exploits of this chief.”<sup>49</sup> This robe is one of two painted by Mato-Tope that document his warrior coups (Bern Historical Museum and Linden-Museum Stuttgart) and a third robe (Ethnological Museum Berlin) which shows his belief in powerful visions.<sup>50</sup> Mato-Tope’s willingness to give away his decorated robes to Prince Maximilian and Catlin (he lost the original robe but made a drawing of it) attest to his culture’s belief that the accumulation of wealth is meant to be shared, rather than remain exclusively with one person.

What was Mato-Tope’s artistic training prior to the arrival of Prince Maximilian and Bodmer? Did his style resemble other bison robes of the same period (1800-1830) and did his style shift after Bodmer’s instruction? The Berlin robe collected by Prince Maximilian displays Mato-Tope’s vision of a raven looking backwards from a perch atop a buffalo, with a bear paw and a handprint placed to the right of the animals, and bordered by scalps and weasel tails. [Figure 8] The robe shares similarities with ceremonial art that emphasized the importance of the sacred quests rather than the actions of brave warriors. Upon the Berlin Ethnological Museum’s 1844 purchase of these

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<sup>48</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 154.

<sup>49</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 203.

<sup>50</sup> The robe given to Catlin by Mato-Tope does not survive but the robe in the Bern Historical Museum seems to be a similar representation collected by Prince Maximilian.

Native artifacts directly from Prince Maximilian, he described the robe as “the Mandan chief Mato-Tope’s medicine robe.”<sup>51</sup>

Mato-Tope not only viewed the robe as invested with sacred power, but he would have also held the robe as a memorial to his brother who had been killed by the Arikara.<sup>52</sup> Although neither Catlin nor Prince Maximilian record Mato-Tope receiving a vision of a raven, there is an account of such a vision prior to his decision to avenge his brother’s death by killing Arikara enemies. Scattercorn (a female Mandan priest who anthropologist Alfred Bowers conversed with in 1950 about the history of the tribe) recalls, “When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.”<sup>53</sup> Catlin’s portrait of Mato-Tope in regalia shows him with a raven in his hair possibly giving confirmation of his vision. [Figure 5] In this regard what also attributes the Berlin robe to Mato-Tope is the handprint (also displayed in Catlin’s painting of Mato-Tope in full regalia) and the bear paw of his namesake, which was bestowed by the Assiniboine who said, “he rushed on [them] like four bears.”<sup>54</sup>

The bear paw and handprint flank the buffalo while drops of blood linger on the robe to show that Mato-Tope received wounds while in battle. The buffalo serves as the focal point for the robe due to its placement near the center. Mato-Tope’s precision in regard to describing the buffalo is visible with his attention to the hoofs, rotund body proportions, and the large shaggy head. His skill at capturing the contours of the grazing buffalo is different than in a Sioux bison robe (1830s or earlier) where the buffalo

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<sup>51</sup> Bolz, *Native American Art*, 73.

<sup>52</sup> Bolz, *Native American Art*, 77.

<sup>53</sup> Alfred Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 167.

<sup>54</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 154.

resembles a hooped bear with horns, while its body proportions are similar to those of a grizzly bear on an 1835 robe presumably by the same artist.<sup>55</sup> [Figures 15 and 16] The composition of the robe shows neither the influence of a horizon line nor an emphasis on symmetry but rather an uneven placement of symbols.

The Linden-Museum Stuttgart robe and the Bern Historical Museum robes, on the other hand, show Mato-Tope's numerous warrior coups against the Cheyenne and the Assiniboine including actual scalps attached to the bison robes. [Figures 9 and 10] Neither of these robes have been contrasted with one another nor compared to the victories on Catlin's drawing of Mato-Tope's robe. Catlin's drawing of the robe showed twelve conquests but the Bern robe features ten victories and the Linden robe shows only six. The Bern robe shows footprints and horse tracks with the battling figures circling a large sun whose shape is formed of feathers. The Linden robe offers different symmetry: three sets of figures are placed at the top and bottom of the robe while quilled rosettes act as the dividing line for the composition.<sup>56</sup>

Mato-Tope's consideration of anatomy is displayed in his warriors' legs that taper to a knee, the indentation of elbows, outlines of facial features (nose, mouth, eyes), the use of formed hands and feet, and an idealized male figure who possesses a broad chest. His striking style departs from that produced by artists in the surrounding Upper Missouri region in the same era (1800-1840s). These robes and warrior shirts display either V-shaped or rectangular shaped torsos with stick legs and arms and most notably, all lack

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<sup>55</sup> Due to the relative stylistic uniformity on painted bison robes prior to the 1840s, unless labeled in the museum collection, the robes represent styles common to the geographic area known as the Upper Missouri region.

<sup>56</sup> The following coup counts reflect what Catlin recorded from Mato-Tope's explanation of his exploits: the Bern robe features seven battles (with three unidentified) and the Linden robe shows five conquests (and one unidentifiable). See Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 148-154 for his description of each vignette.

visible facial features. [Figures 11-17] Mato-Tope's robes show an advanced understanding of human proportions, the desire to distinguish color in clothing (instead of one color for all the clothing of a warrior), and interior modeling that gives the warriors a sense of dimensionality.

Furthermore, these early bison robes reflect concurrent rock art. For example, Mato-Tope uses a figure scheme of a V-shaped torso with a direct extension of arms (no natural slope of the shoulders) and stick-like legs shown in profile much like an individual portrayed at Castle Butte, Montana from the late 1700s. [Figure 18] The man on the right in the Castle Butte relief dismounts from his horse (evident from his track marks and riding crop) to engage his enemy. When faced with his bow, the enemy quickly drops his rifle and the artist shows the winner's capture of the weapon.<sup>57</sup> The oversized rifle in comparison to the warriors and the other weapons shows the style's emphasis on symbols of power, which Mato-Tope apparently sought to emulate.

Mato-Tope's presentation of himself and the Cheyenne warrior differs in all three formats: the Bern Historical Museum robe, the Linden-Museum Stuttgart robe, and Mato-Tope's drawing given to Prince Maximilian and Bodmer. Only the basic outline of Mato-Tope and the Cheyenne chief facing each other locked in hand to hand combat with their rifles scattered nearby remains consistent. [Figures 3, 9, 10] In the Bern robe, Mato-Tope distinguishes himself with two feathers attached to his hair while the Linden robe shows him with one feather and an unidentified headdress. He is a red figure in the Bern robe and painted in black and red stripes in the Linden robe. Both robes include Mato-Tope's faint outline of a warrior pipe at his waist which identifies him as a warrior leader, as does his hand wielding a battle axe, and his distinctive red facial paint (also seen in

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<sup>57</sup> Keyser, *Plains Indian Rock Art*, 248.

Catlin's painting of Mato-Tope in mourning, Figure 6).<sup>58</sup> The Cheyenne, on the other hand, undergoes fewer stylistic changes on the robes. The Bern robe shows him colored black and green wielding a knife aimed at Mato-Tope. The Linden robe also has the Cheyenne chief brilliantly colored and adorned with an otter headpiece, two attached feathers, and a red pouch for gunpowder.

The composition of the fight is similar for all three paintings, as are the proportions, with V-shaped torsos and thin legs and arms. However, the portrait on paper finished during Prince Maximilian and Bodmer's visit shows a reversed version of what was painted on the bison robe. The Bern robe most likely predates the Linden robe because the latter develops the facial features of both Mato-Tope and the Cheyenne chief. Mato-Tope's eye, for example, shows more depth with the use of a pupil rather than the small empty circle found on the former Bern robe. The Cheyenne chief is similarly more defined with a prominent nose, chin, and a menacing eye threatening Mato-Tope as he attacks. Although Mato-Tope had experience with fur traders and other Anglo-American explorers, it is most likely that he had no contact with white artists prior to the arrival of Catlin in 1832 that could have influenced how he painted his bison robes. Therefore, the differences between the Linden and Bern robes, both completed before an encounter with either Catlin or Bodmer, indicates an independently developed sense of naturalism.

Mato-Tope adapted the new medium of paper and brushes to express himself where previously he was limited not by artistic intention, but by his tools. He relied on porous bison bones which painted in one thickness and density unlike painterly brushes

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<sup>58</sup> James D. Keyser, *The Five Crows Ledger: Biographic Warrior Art of the Flathead Indians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), 11. Catlin's second portrait of Mato-Tope shows him in mourning with the lower half of his face painted red and his chest scarred—remembrances of his participation in the *Okipa* ceremony.



which allowed varied pressure and strokes to give dimensionality to his images. Mato-Tope's drawing during the visit of Prince Maximilian and Bodmer in the winter of 1833 shows no difference in style compared to the Linden robe. [Figure 3] Mato-Tope does however visually dominate the paper unlike the Linden robe where his conflict with the Cheyenne chief is only one of several brave deeds. He dominates the Cheyenne chief here by his elaborately fringed leggings and a splendid war bonnet. Not only does the headdress make Mato-Tope visually prominent, but it also informs the viewer that he outranks the Cheyenne chief who wears only two feathers. "Usually the number of eagle feathers a man wore on his head signified the number of battle coups he had made, but an impressive headdress like this one might represent instead the combined coups of a war party or perhaps of an entire men's society."<sup>59</sup> It is unclear whether Mato-Tope would have worn such a trailing headdress when battling the Cheyenne chief, or if he added the headdress in the drawing as a way to further stress his dominance over the other chief. The markings lining Mato-Tope's chest also served as a way to intimidate the Cheyenne chief. By Mato-Tope's numerous markings of victories, Prince Maximilian noted about Bodmer's portrait of Mato-Tope, "His body and arms were painted with reddish-brown streaks and his coups were indicated by yellow horizontal stripes on his arm."<sup>60</sup> [Figure 7] These same stripes representing Mato-Tope's coup count are also visible in his self-portrait drawing. Mato-Tope further heightens the violence of the composition by using the weapons to focus attention on the point at which the blood of his wound seeps onto the ground.

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<sup>59</sup> Orr, "Karl Bodmer: the Artist's Life," 308.

<sup>60</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 192.

An unidentified portrait collected by Prince Maximilian shows a similar style to those drawn by Mato-Tope. [Figure 19] The drawing on paper shows a male figure striped in red and gold with fringed leggings. His body is not shown in profile, but rather directly faces the audience in an aggressive manner with red facial paint, trailing war bonnet, and a feathered shield. A lance separates the warrior from the coups earned over a lifetime. To the left of the lance is a red pole with eleven scalps attached and a red and black drum. Horse tracks zigzag between the lance and the red pole to signify which coups were accomplished on horseback. Is there enough evidence to support an attribution to Mato-Tope?

Marsha Gallagher, director of the Maximilian Journals Project at the Joslyn Museum of Art, says, "I'm not sure where the attribution of this drawing to Four Bears came from. There is no informational inscription on the work itself, and it was identified in records here as by an unknown artist in the 1950s and 60s."<sup>61</sup> However, I propose that this drawing has more in common with Mato-Tope's biography and artistic style than any other Upper Missouri artist of the same era. Prince Maximilian collected drawings on paper only from Mandan men, so this drawing is more than likely from that tribe. Most recognizable is the distinctive use of red facial paint found not only on Catlin's mourning portrait of Mato-Tope, but also on the Linden robe. Here Mato-Tope presents a male figure dressed in elaborate fringed leggings as well as various profiles with the distinct red paint over the lower face although only one figure paints his eyes in a similar fashion as the drawing. On the Bern robe, Mato-Tope displays a warrior (presumably himself) holding a feathered shield with the symmetry of the feathers exactly like that in the unidentified drawing. The drum is another connection. Prince Maximilian records that

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<sup>61</sup> Marsha Gallagher, personal correspondence with the author, January 2011.

Mato-Topé, “brought his medicine drum, painted red and black, which he hung up in our room, and so afforded Mr. Bodmer an opportunity of making a drawing of it.”<sup>62</sup>

Bodmer’s picture of the drum resembles the one in this unattributed drawing. [Figure 26]

Compared to styles in other bison robes produced during roughly the same time period (1800-1840), Mato-Topé’s style dominates this drawing with his frontal poses, distinct facial features and personalized warrior belongings. The significance of the drawing belonging to Mato-Topé is that it adds to his repertoire of biographical art (three robes and two drawings) which stresses his value as a warrior in the Mandan society, and gives him credit as the most identifiable artist prior to the Civil War.

#### Two Self-Portraits of Sih-Chida

Sih-Chida, a younger warrior, had not yet earned as many distinctions as his comrade Mato-Topé as is visible by his fewer feathers and their quality (Sih-Chida preferring owl or pheasant compared to Mato-Topé’s bald or golden eagle feathers).<sup>63</sup>

The men were familiar with each other, as both men served in some of the same societies and interacted regularly with Prince Maximilian and Bodmer. Sih-Chida’s portrait by Bodmer shows him wrapped in a bison robe with quilled blue and white rosettes, an otter covering on his head and attachments of dentalium shells and beads. [Figure 20]

Both he and Mato-Topé were members of the Dog Society, although their rank most likely differed due to their age. “The cluster of feathers on the back of his head may be an insignia of that group, the paraphernalia of which included headdresses of raven,

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<sup>62</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 177.

<sup>63</sup> Catlin refers to Sih-Chida as Seehk-hee-da, the mouse-coloured feather, *Letters and Notes*, 93.

magpie, and owl feathers.”<sup>64</sup> The Dog Society (four subgroups: Little Dogs, Crazy Dogs, Dog, and Old Dog) represented a society known for its brave warriors and the command to not retreat during battle. Bowers writes, “The chiefs or leaders of various other subgroups of the village belonged—and informants would say, ‘This is the society that all of the greatest leaders belonged to.’”<sup>65</sup>

In Catlin’s portrait of Sih-Chida he appears bare-chested except for a metal collar necklace, dentalium beads, and a feathered headdress with a possible horsehair attachment holding a pipe decorated with scalps. [Figure 21] Catlin writes that he was “a very noted brave, with a very beautiful pipe in his hand; his hair quite yellow.”<sup>66</sup> However, it is apparent that Catlin confused Sih-Chida’s roach hair attachment with his natural black hair, visible in the portrait by Bodmer and his own two self-portraits.

Close in age to Bodmer, perhaps Sih-Chida formed a friendship with him through their connection to art and his interest in a man who could devote his life to art, while for Sih-Chida, any artistic expression came secondary to his warrior pursuits. Prince Maximilian describes him thus,

“A tall, stout young man, the son of a celebrated chief now dead, was an Indian who might be depended on, who became one of our very best friends and visited us almost daily... he was not rich and did not even possess a horse. He came almost every evening, when his favourite employment was drawing, for which he had some talent, though his figures were no better than those drawn by our little children.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> David C. Hunt, and Marsha V. Gallagher, *Karl Bodmer's America* (Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 307.

<sup>65</sup> Alfred Bowers, *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 63.

<sup>66</sup> George Catlin, *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe with His North American Indian Collection, Volume 1* (London, 1848), 264.

<sup>67</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 177.

Prince Maximilian viewed Sih-Chida as a man without wealth due to his lack of ownership of a horse unlike other tribes he visited where he observed warriors with numerous steeds (i.e. Omaha, Teton/Yanktoni Sioux, Cree, and Assiniboine). Even though Sih-Chida was a member of the respected Dog Society, perhaps he accordingly wanted a unique distinction outside the age-graded societies. His contact with Bodmer and admiration of Mato-Tope may have increased his desire to produce symbolic art for warriors preparing for battle. Bowers suggests that there were usually two skilled painters in each village (one for each moiety) and men who could paint designs received a considerable amount of goods for their services because they could produce potent symbols on robes or shields which offered protection for the warriors in future battles.<sup>68</sup> Sih-Chida's artistic talent could have benefited his community if they requested his designs to decorate their belongings.

However, the only existing works by Sih-Chida are not public art, but rather drawings created in private and under the presumed guidance of Bodmer. Sih-Chida created a portrait of himself attired in an English coat and a trailing war bonnet capped with bison horns, holding a lance and shield while astride a galloping horse. [Figures 1 and 2] His lance appears as long as the rider himself and he carries a feathered shield in an exaggerated size. The feathered shield served more than as a defense mechanism; it also displayed personal visions to aid victories. He models his horse well with slender legs, a robust body, and an expressive face with an open mouth for the harness. While Sih-Chida's technique of conveying proportion varies, the more intriguing question is how he uses the relative size and position of the horse, coat, and the war bonnet to promote himself.

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<sup>68</sup> Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*, 92.

Did Sih-Chida draw himself as he wished his community would view him? Did he try to emulate Mato-Tope? As a warrior who did not own a horse, he did not have the wealth or the standing to have earned such a war bonnet in an age-graded society. Even more implausible than the headdress is the crown of bison horns. Catlin noted that, “Mato-Tope, although the second chief, was the only man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns.”<sup>69</sup> Since Sih-Chida spent his evenings drawing with Bodmer and Prince Maximilian, did his company encourage his creative freedom that resulted in a fictionalized portrait of himself? For example, Catlin recounts upon receiving a robe by Mato-Tope,

“Men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also that every man’s deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to lie, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought.”<sup>70</sup>

Since Sih-Chida’s drawings were not meant for public display to herald the attention of his heroic deeds, he could have felt more relaxed about indulging his imagination.

The military coats in both portraits, however, could have been worn by either Mato-Tope or Sih-Chida for ceremonial purposes. Prince Maximilian observed Mato-Tope wearing this typical trade item, “Sometimes he wore a blue uniform, with red facings, which he had obtained from the merchants.”<sup>71</sup> Other than the aforementioned gifts of cloth or tobacco, standard trader gifts to native chiefs were medals, flags, and semi-military coats (referred to as ‘chief’s coats’) that were presented at formal councils.<sup>72</sup> Though again, Sih-Chida’s age and status might make such a coat a wished

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<sup>69</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 104.

<sup>70</sup> Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 148.

<sup>71</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 198.

<sup>72</sup> John C. Ewers, “Plains Indian Reactions to the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 16, no. 1 (1966): 6.

for item rather than one he actually possessed. However, the coat could have been a gift to Sih-Chida from his father or the coat could have referred to Sih-Chida's participation with the Dog Society. Prince Maximilian observed that when the Dog Society was dancing, "some of them wore beautiful robes, or shirts of bighorn leather; others had shirts of red cloth and some blue and red uniforms."<sup>73</sup>

Sih-Chida's second version of his self-portrait shows more pronounced facial features. [Figure 1] It appears that Sih-Chida applied elements from his portrait by Bodmer that more realistically show details in the eye, shape of the nose, and the curve of the mouth. This conclusion seems logical given that "Sih-Chida was fascinated by the art work of the two foreigners and asked for a drawing of soldiers by Prince Maximilian, for a bird to be painted on his war shield [by Bodmer], and for a copy of his portrait by Bodmer which had been done over a period of 3 days in December 1833."<sup>74</sup> He carries in this self-portrait a feathered lance and loaded rifle, though his shield is decorated with feathers in the inner circle instead of the border. The horse appears a dark gray rather than rich brown and his military coat changes from blue to red. Two detached hands dangle in the right corner of the drawing possibly alluding to coup victory.

Contemporary works such as Mato-Topé's robe and even later ones such as an 1845 Cheyenne robe (here in a detail only as the larger robe image is unavailable) or the 1850 Little Shield drawing continue to portray "blind horses" with simple lines such as hooked hooves and little definite musculature. [Figures 22 and 23] Yet the horse's eye in Sih-Chida's portrait as well as the equine proportions conveys realism. Additionally, Sih-Chida shows himself riding a horse with only one leg visible, while the riders on

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<sup>73</sup> Wied et al, *People of the First Man*, 199.

<sup>74</sup> Hunt, *Karl Bodmer's America*, 307.

previous robes by Upper Missouri tribes show simplified figures with both legs detectable on the same side of the horse. The Little Shield drawing shows the rider with one leg drawn but gives no attention to a bent knee or thigh grasping the side of the horse. Later ledger art such as the horseback rider by Frank Henderson (1880s) comes closer to Sih-Chida's example. [Figure 24] Henderson's galloping horse and rider turn to face the viewer directly instead of the typical profile pose. The horse has delicate lines that form his legs and sturdy body as the rider wears beaded clothing and carries a feathered lance and shield. Sih-Chida's drawings could not have influenced the development of ledger art due to his premature death in 1835 and the fact that Prince Maximilian kept the drawings with him in Germany. Nevertheless his portraits identify a crucial characteristic of ledger art: their tendency to greater naturalism and perhaps greater fiction.

On only one of Sih-Chida's drawings is a border evident—borders on bison robes are uncommon unless they are women's robes that reflect a "box and border" composition. [Figure 1] Sih-Chida's border is decorated with rifles and captured blankets in an hourglass shape. These elements do not follow a pattern and perhaps represent a war trophy tally. For example, the rock art site at Nordstrom-Bowen, Montana shows a tally of weapons produced during the late 1700s that includes a line of guns, spears, tomahawks, coup sticks, swords, and scalp poles. [Figure 25] The images are usually depicted in an upright manner, similar in form and size, and lack elaboration.<sup>75</sup>

Acquisition of rifles remained uncommon in the region since the arms trade had been in existence less than fifty years.<sup>76</sup> Sih-Chida's showcase of stolen rifles is noted for its

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<sup>75</sup> Keyser, *Plains Indian Rock Art*, 237.

<sup>76</sup> Keyser, *Plains Indian Rock Art*, 22.



high number. On the other hand, if Sih-Chida imagined himself as a decorated war hero, did he also fabricate the war tally? Prince Maximilian did not recount the motives or personal history behind Sih-Chida's drawings, unlike the portrait of Mato-Tope for which both Catlin and Prince Maximilian supplied the story of Mato-Tope's conquest of the Cheyenne chief. I believe that Sih-Chida's work offers a synthesis of Bodmer's influence and admiration for Mato-Tope's talent on his painted bison robes.

While Mato-Tope drew for Prince Maximilian his victory over the Cheyenne chief for reasons similar to his drawings on his robes, Prince Maximilian's inclusion of the drawing in his 1839 publication *Travels in the Interior of North America* explains his concept of a Native aristocracy to his European audience. While Prince Maximilian recorded few Native religious stories (which may also attest to the Mandan guard on sharing sacred knowledge with foreigners) and accorded little significance to kinship patterns, he wrote freely on the age-graded societies of men and women. Prince Maximilian learned how to hunt for sport at a young age and in his early twenties joined the military to fulfill a patriotic duty to his country and he would have seen similarities between his aristocratic upbringing with the hunt for bison and the military societies of the Mandan. Nobility also extended to personal virtues such as bravery, selflessness, and a code of ethics—as Prince Maximilian observed with Mato-Tope who fearlessly defended his village against attack and showed magnanimity towards his people. Just as Prince Maximilian records at length how Mato-Tope decorated his body to reveal his heroic deeds, Bodmer provides the visual documentation. [Figure 4] He poses Mato-Tope in a satisfied stance as he surveys his tribe's territory with his lance angled outright as if it represented a king's scepter. The dual text and image reinforced to Prince Maximilian

and his aristocratic audience (who could afford to purchase his book) that the Mandan warrior is at once an exotic primitive and an accomplished member of an aristocracy and calling whose origins are shown to be natural and universal.<sup>77</sup> Mato-Tope's published self-portrait also demonstrates this attitude. His clothing would appear novel to outsiders, but his intent to maim his enemy resembles a duel to preserve honor. [Figure 3] Likewise, Sih-Chida represents the "modern" warrior—excluding his war bonnet and shield, he could represent any young man gallantly astride his horse in a victorious military procession. [Figures 1, 2] The valor of his compositions resounds with lofty values of leadership—even if the autobiographical nature of his drawings is indeterminable. As Prince Maximilian observed numerous Native tribes in their natural environment, perhaps he concluded that their state of evolution permitted him a historical view of Europe's aristocratic origins.

### Conclusion

Mato-Tope died in 1837 from the smallpox that swept through the Mandan and Hidatsa villages and after Prince Maximilian returned to Europe, no other artifacts from Mato-Tope or Sih-Chida were collected. Francis Chardon's journal records on July 26, 1837, that Mato-Tope caught the small pox and disappeared from camp only to return four days later and give his final speech to his tribe: "The 4 Bears never saw a White man hungry, but what he gave him to eat, Drink, and a buffalo skin to sleep on, in time of need."<sup>78</sup> He bitterly lamented how his friendly behavior cost him his life. Sih-Chida, on

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<sup>77</sup> Harry Liebersohn, *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 82.

<sup>78</sup> Francis A. Chardon and Annie Heloise Abel, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 124.

the other hand, was reportedly killed by the Sioux and scalped in 1835--two years after Catlin painted his portrait and one year after his encounter with Prince Maximilian and Bodmer.<sup>79</sup>

Even though both Mandan men were interested in the new medium of paper and watercolors, the function of this art, unlike that of buffalo robes or shields, remained part of a practice of gift exchange between host and visitor instead of a public record of heroic deeds. The context of art production shifted from tribal communication to outsider interest but the content remained the same: to display the proud moments in a warrior's life. Mato-Tope used his art to document his accomplishments while Sih-Chida made lofty claims of his warrior status. Their works thus also show the fledging stylistic and possible biographical exaggerations that will commonly occur in ledger art beginning in the 1870's. The 1840s brought the Jesuit priests Pierre DeSmet and Nicolas Point to the Blackfeet and Flathead territories in the upper Plains where they collected artworks (including drawings on paper) from the tribesmen. However these priests did not instruct the warriors on stylistic improvements as is suggested by Bodmer's relationship with Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida. Not until 1875 with the internment of Southern Cheyenne men at Fort Marion did ledger art begin strongly incorporating European aesthetic influences and became a popular activity often directed at a white market with the most notable artist being Howling Wolf. Despite the popularity of ledger art in the late nineteenth century, more realistic proportions and facial details were rarely as evident as they were in the 1833 and 1834 works of Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida. Without the encouragement of Bodmer and Prince Maximilian's foresight to preserve these drawings, the history of Native American art would only assume that all Native artists prior to the

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<sup>79</sup> Catlin, *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels*, 264.

1860s drew geometric figures and rough sketches of horses without the degree of naturalism that both Mato-Tope and Sih-Chida offer. The drawings and bison robe paintings of Mato-Tope construct a brief timeline of his progression as an artist while the drawings of Shi-Chida show his admiration of Mato-Tope and Bodmer's artistic talent. Above all, these drawings introduce Western art concepts in order to enhance the realism of their images of victory in combat and the virtues of warfare, a subject that appealed to both the Mandan and Prince Maximilian.

## THESIS IMAGES

Figure 1



Sih-Chida, *Sih-Chida*: Drawing by the Mandan Indian Sih-Chida in the Winter 1833-34 at Fort Clark [p.358], watercolor on paper, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska: Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, 1986, 1986.49.319.

Figure 2



Sih-Chida, *Sih-Chida: Self portrait, at Fort Clark in the winter 1833-34* [framed with NA185 & NA186], watercolor on paper, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska: Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, 1986, 1986.49.320.

Figure 3



Mato-Tope, *Battle with a Cheyenne*, paper, pencil, watercolor, 1833. Gift of the Enron Art Foundation. R17. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.

Figure 4



Karl Bodmer, *Mato-Topé: Mandan Chief*, watercolor on paper, 1834. Gift of the Enron Art Foundation. R16. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.



Figure 5



George Catlin, Mah-to-toh-pa, Four Bears, Second Chief, in Full Dress, oil on canvas, 1832. Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. 1985.66.128. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington D.C.

Figure 6



George Catlin, Mah-to-toh-pa, Four Bears, Second Chief, in Mourning, oil on canvas, 1832. Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. 1985.66.131. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington D.C.

Figure 7



Karl Bodmer, Mato-Topé: Mandan Chief, watercolor on paper, 1834. Gift of the Enron Art Foundation. NA117. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.

Figure 8



Robe from Mato-Tope. Mandan 1830. Prince zu Wied collection 1844. Inv. Nr. IV B198.

Bolz, Peter, and Hans-Ulrich Sanner. *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. Page 77.

Figure 9



Mato-Tope robe, 1835, Bern Historical Museum

Maurer, Evan M., and Louise Lincoln. *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Minneapolis, Minn: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992, page 191

Figure 10



Mato-Topo Robe, Linden-Museum Stuttgart

Figure 11



Robe with War Exploits, Mandan, 1797-1806, buffalo hide with porcupine quills.

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 99-12-10/53121.

Figure 12



Hidatsa Robe, 1830, Linden-Museum Stuttgart



Figure 13



Warrior's shirt, Mandan, 1800-30,

Maurer, Evan M., and Louise Lincoln. *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Minneapolis, Minn: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992, page 184

Figure 14



Warrior's shirt, Mandan, 1830,

Maurer, Evan M., and Louise Lincoln. *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Minneapolis, Minn: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992, page 186

Figure 15



Robe with War Exploits, Upper Missouri, 1830s,

Maurer, Evan M., and Louise Lincoln. *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Minneapolis, Minn: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992. Page 194

Figure 16



Painted bison robe, Sioux.

Kohler collection 1846. Inv.Nr. IV B 208

Bolz, Peter, and Hans-Ulrich Sanner. *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. page 80

Figure 17



Bison robe of Pehriska-Ruhpa, Hidatsa, 1833.

Prince zu Wied collection 1844. Inv.Nr.IV B 203.

Bolz, Peter, and Hans-Ulrich Sanner. *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. page 79

Figure 18



Crow warrior's coup, Castle Butte, Montana, late 1700s

Keyser, James D, and Michael Klassen. *Plains Indian Rock Art*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001. 249

Figure 19



Attributed to Mató-Tópe (Four Bears), Native American; Mandan, -1837, *Mato-Tope: Self-portrait; holding feather-covered shield, with pair of ceremonial lances thrust into ground*), watercolor on paper, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska: Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, 1986, 1986.49.318

Figure 20



Karl Bodmer, Sih-Chida (Yellow Feather), 1833

Bodmer, Karl, David C. Hunt, and Marsha V. Gallagher. *Karl Bodmer's America*.

Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, 1984. Page 308



Figure 21



George Catlin, Seehk-hee-da, Mouse-Colored Feather, a noted Brave, 1832, oil on canvas. Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. 1985.66.132. Smithsonian Art Museum, Washington D.C.

Figure 22



Cheyenne combat scene, detail of a buffalo robe, 1845, Deutsches Ledermuseum

Keyser, James D. *The Five Crows Ledger: Biographic Warrior Art of the Flathead Indians*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000. Page 13.

Figure 23



Little Shield, "Pawnee Rifle", pencil and ink, before 1868, St. Louis Mercantile Library, 78.038.2.18.

In *Plains Indian Drawings, 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History* by Janet Berlo. New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the American Federation of Arts and the Drawing Center, 1996, 86.

Figure 24



Henderson Ledger Artist A. "Horse and Rider (120)", Pencil, colored pencil, ink, and watercolor, 1882. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Diker.

In *Plains Indian Drawings, 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History* by Janet Berlo. New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the American Federation of Arts and the Drawing Center, 1996, 81.

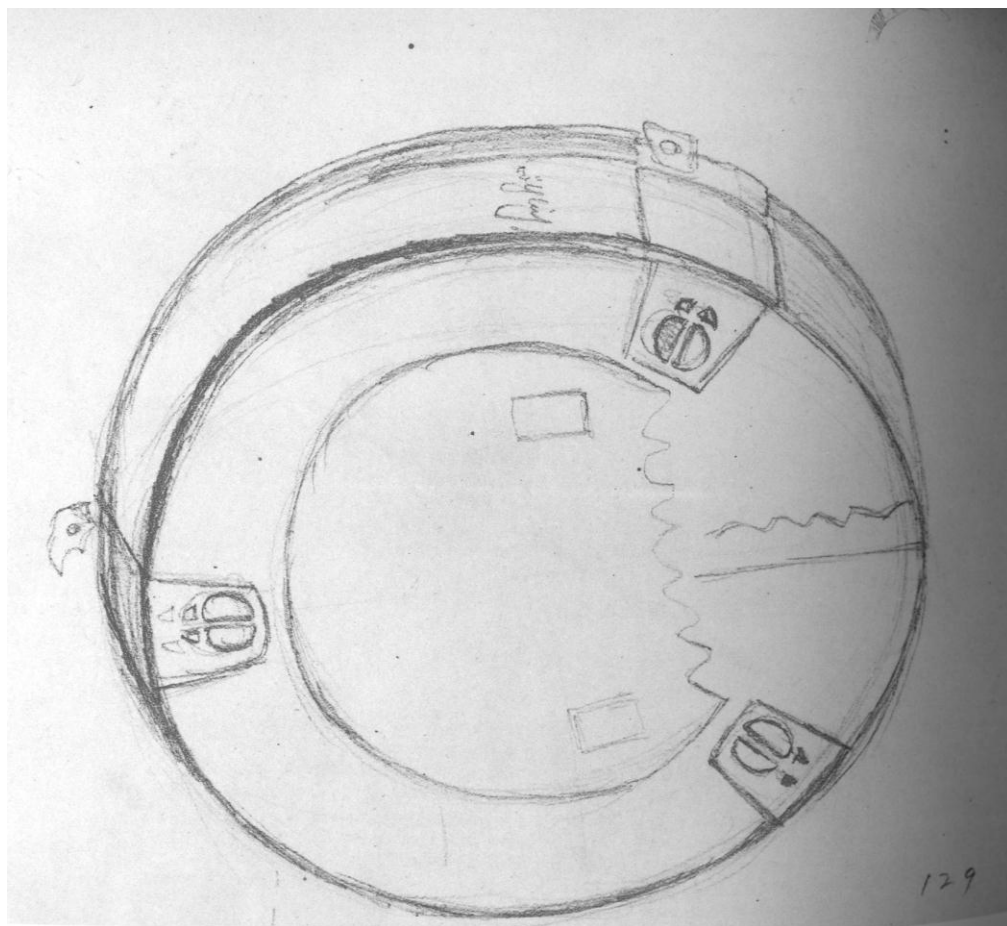
Figure 25



War Tally, Nordstrom-Bowen, Montana.

In *Plains Indian Rock Art*, by James D. Keyser and Michael Klassen. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001, 235.

Figure 26



Karl Bodmer, *Mandan Drum*, pencil on paper. Undated.

In *Karl Bodmer's America*, ed. David C. Hunt et al, 351-373. Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum & University of Nebraska Press, 1984, 33.

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