



Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. DeCora, "Native Indian Art," 87.
2. "Some Wall Decorations: Remarks on the Craze for Using Indian Ornaments," *American Homes* 17.2 (March 1904): 34.
3. Lears, *No Place of Grace*.
4. Good introductions to modernist primitivism include Gill Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern,'" in *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 3–85; and Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
5. On connections between early modernist theory and progressivist social thought, see Linda Dowling, *The Vulgarization of Art: The Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996). I have also benefited from Suzanne Clark's *Sentimental Modernism: Women Writers and the Revolution of the Word* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
6. David Craven has argued that the term "modernism" was coined by Latin American critics to describe work that resisted imperialism even as it embraced aspects of contemporary European culture (Craven, "The Latin American Origins of 'Alternative Modernism,'" *Third Text* 36 [autumn 1996]: 29–44).
7. Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint*, 97–103.
8. *Ibid.*, 98.
9. On this idea, see Cheryl Walker, *Indian Nation: Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); and Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Culture*, 10.
10. This idea is articulated in David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 8–9.

11. See, for example, Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*; Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*; Corn, *The Real American Thing*; Mancini, *Pre-Modernism*; Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); and Helen Anne Molesworth, "At Home with Duchamp: The Readymade and Domesticity," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1998. This history is discussed further in chapter 3.
12. See Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*; Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*; Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*; and Anthes, *Native Moderns*.
13. This quotation comes from the Indian education pioneer Richard Henry Pratt. For more on Pratt, see chapter 2.

1. UNPACKING THE INDIAN CORNER

1. "Some Wall Decorations: Remarks on the Craze for Using Indian Ornaments," *American Homes* 17.2 (1904): 34.
2. Charles Francis Browne, "Elbridge Ayer Burbank: A Painter of Indian Portraits," *Brush and Pencil* 3.1 (1898): 16–35. For more on Burbank, see M. Melissa Wolfe, *American Indian Portraits: Elbridge Ayer Burbank in the West (1897–1910)* (Youngstown, Ohio: Butler Institute of American Art, 2000).
3. See, for example, *Brush and Pencil* 6.4 (1900): n.p. (advertisement pages).
4. *Brush and Pencil* 5.1 (1899): inside front cover. This issue also includes an advertisement for Rinehart's photographs.
5. Alvida Kelton Lee, "My Indian Portraits," *Brush and Pencil* 4.3 (1899): 144.
6. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, xv. For excellent articles that offer examples of this kind of reading, see Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31.4 (1996): 265–280; and Carolyn Kastner, "Collecting Mr. Ayer's Narrative," in *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 138–162.
7. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.
8. An early comprehensive study of traders is Frank McNitt, *The Indian Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962). More recent studies of curio sales include Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880–1910," in Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Cultures*, 282–297; Kathleen L. Howard, "Benham, Barnes, Brizard, and the Curio: A Study in Early Arizona Entrepreneurship, 1895–1908," *Journal of Arizona History* 42 (2001): 1–22; Kate C. Duncan, *1001 Curious Things: Ye Olde Curiosity Shop and Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); and Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*.
9. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 6.
10. Ruth Phillips traces the history of collecting in the Northeast in *Trading Identities*. Jefferson's Indian Hall was recreated at Monticello in 2003 and can be accessed through the online exhibition "Framing the West at Monticello" (<http://www.monticello.org/jefferson/lewisandclark/hall.html>).
11. On this transition, see Karen Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality," in Bronner, *Consuming Visions*, 157–189.
12. Boris, *Art and Labor*. An overview of the American arts and crafts movement can be found in

- Wendy Kaplan, ed., *"The Art That Is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Little, Brown for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1987).
13. John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies: Two lectures Delivered at Manchester in 1864* (London: Smith, Elder, 1865), 148.
 14. On the use of medieval and folk traditions, see Nicola Gordon Bowe, "The Search for Vernacular Expression: The Arts and Crafts Movements in America and Ireland," in *Substance of Style: Perspectives on the American Arts and Crafts Movement*, ed. Bert Denker (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996), 5–24. On the use of Native American art, see Melanie Herzog, "Aesthetics and Meanings: The Arts and Crafts Movement and the Revival of American Indian Basketry," in Denker, *Substance of Style*, 69–91. See also Cheryl Robertson, "House and Home in the Arts and Crafts Era: Reforms for Simple Living," in Kaplan, *"The Art That Is Life,"* 336–357. For a related argument, see Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), ch. 3.
 15. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (1884; Boston: Roberts, 1888). For more on Jackson, see chapter 4.
 16. For example, Jackson's collection is praised as an origin in Juan del Rio, "Relics of Old California," *Land of Sunshine* 14 (1901): 207. Sylvester Baxter describes Cushing's collection in "The Father of the Pueblos," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, 65.385 (1892): 79–80. See also Curtis Hinsley, "Boston Meets Southwest," in *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881–1889*, ed. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 28.
 17. Beverly Gordon, "The Niagara Falls Whimsey: The Object as a Symbol of Cultural Interface," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1984.
 18. Doubleday, "Our Industrial Work: Portions of Report Read at Meeting of the National Indian Association, Dec., 1902," *The Indian's Friend* (March 1903): 10.
 19. Mason, *Indian Basketry*, 504–511.
 20. Keppler's correspondence can be found in the Joseph Keppler Jr. Iroquois Papers, 1882–1944, collection no. 9184, Native American Collection, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library; provenance: Huntington Free Library (gift to Huntington Free Library from Joseph Keppler, 1943). Parker and the Cornplanters are noted for collecting and publishing Seneca lore and literature. Keppler and Parker shared many friends, and more about these and Keppler's other Seneca correspondents can be found in Joy Porter, *To Be Indian: The Life of Iroquois-Seneca Arthur Caswell Parker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001). For more on "culture brokers" see Margaret Connell Szasz, ed., *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Culture Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).
 21. Joseph Keppler, "Comments on Certain Iroquois Masks," special issue, *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian* (Heye Foundation) 12.4 (1941): 3–40.
 22. For more on Heye, see Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye," in *Collecting Native America*, ed. Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 232–257.
 23. For the history of American museums in this period, see Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
 24. "Humboldt Indians," *Out West* 21 (1904): 510–511.
 25. Molly Lee, "Tourism and Taste Cultures: Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Culture*, 267–281.

26. In addition to the works already cited, see James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215–251; and Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History*.
27. T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 1–38. See also Lears, "Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America," in Bronner, *Consuming Visions*, 73–97.
28. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 37. Similarly, Susan Stewart writes: "The function of belongings within the economy of the bourgeois is one of supplementarity, a supplementarity that in consumer culture replaces its generating subject as the interior milieu substitutes for, and takes the place of, an interior self" (Stewart, *On Longing*, xi).
29. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, with an introduction by C. Wright Mills (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 60–80.
30. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 6–7 and *passim*.
31. Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. and intro. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 60.
32. Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion, 1994), 7–24.
33. "A Rare Collection," *The Papoose* (January 1903): 5.
34. For more on James, see Kathleen Whitaker, "George Wharton James: The Controversial Author of *Indian Blankets and Their Makers*," *American Indian Art Magazine* 25.1 (1999): 66–77.
35. George Wharton James, "Indian Basketry in House Decoration," *Chautauquan* 33 (1901): 620.
36. Alice M. Kellogg, *Home Furnishing, Practical and Artistic* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1905), 51–52.
37. For an overview of the Japan craze, see Warren Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
38. Olive M. Percival, "Indian Basketry: An Aboriginal Art," *House Beautiful* 2.5 (1897): 152.
39. Sargent, "Indian Basketry," 332.
40. Eunyoung Cho, "The Selling of Japan: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics in the American Art World, 1876–1915," Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1998; Neil Harris, "All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876–1904," in Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 29–55.
41. Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1895–91*, ed. Kay Graber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 34.
42. Doubleday, "Two Ways to Help the Indians," pt. 2, *The Indian's Friend* (February 1901): 6.
43. Julian Ralph, "My Indian Plunder," *Scribners* 20 (1896): 638.
44. Delos Kittle to Keppler, December 9, 1904, May 3, 1909, and another between November 20, 1913, and 1916, Joseph Keppler Jr. Iroquois papers.
45. For a native perspective, see George H. J. Abrams, "The Case for Wampum: Repatriation from the Museum of the American Indian to the Six Nations Confederacy, Brantford, Ontario, Canada," in *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves"*, ed. Flora E. S. Kaplan (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 351–384.

46. Edward Cornplanter to Joseph Keppler, July 19, 1901, in Joseph Keppler Jr. Iroquois Papers.
47. Kastner, "Collecting Mr. Ayer's Narrative," 142.
48. Gustav Stickley paraphrased in Boris, *Art and Labor*, 77.
49. Thomas F. Barnes, "The Washoe Baskets," *The Papoose* (March 1903): 15. For more on the desire for "complete" collections see Dorothy Washburn, "Dealers and Collectors of Indian Baskets at the Turn of the Century in California," *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 2.1 (1984): 61.
50. For more on Keyser, see Marvin Cohodas, *Degikup: Washoe Fancy Basketry, 1895–1935* (Vancouver: Fine Arts Gallery of the University of British Columbia, 1979).
51. Percival, "Indian Basketry," 152–156; Walter Channing Wyman, "The Navajo Blanket," *House Beautiful* 3.5 (1898): 153–156; Claudia Stuart Coles, "Aboriginal Basketry in the United States," *House Beautiful* 7.3 (1900): 142–151; Edith Cooley, "Navajo Blankets," *House Beautiful* 7.5 (1900): 302–307; Julia Mills Dunn, "Indian Pottery," *House Beautiful* 15.5 (1904): 306–307; Henry Horn, "The Story of the Chilcat Blanket," *House Beautiful* 18.5 (1905): 18–19.
52. As Susan Stewart points out, modern bourgeois collections demonstrate the commitment to objective knowledge in their very composition, which is dependent on principles of organization and classification (Stewart, *On Longing*, 153).
53. Boris argues convincingly that Stickley promoted a connection between his furniture and Roosevelt's ideology in *The Craftsman* (Boris, *Art and Labor*, 76).
54. John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in *The Origins of Modern Consciousness*, ed. John Weiss (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), 81.
55. "Nursery Wall Coverings in Indian Designs," *Craftsman* 5.1 (1903): 96.
56. For more on the woodcraft Indians, see Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian*, ch. 4.
57. Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," 277. See also Cheryl Robertson, "Male and Female Agendas for Domestic Reform: The Middle-Class Bungalow in Gendered Perspective," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26.2/3 (1991): 135, in which the author describes Native American objects as "evocative of warrior exploits and primitive simplicity."
58. Navajo aesthetic principles are described in Eulalie Bonar, ed., *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
59. For an overview of the historical directory of Navajo weaving, see Kate Peck Kent, *Navajo Weaving* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research, 1985).
60. For more on Hubbell and his trading post, see Kathy M'Closkey, *Swept under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).
61. George Wharton James, "Imitation—Artistic and Vicious," *Basket* 2.1 (1904): 35–36.
62. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," in Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Culture*, 9–13.
63. Mason, *Indian Basketry*.
64. This idea has been explored provocatively by Beverly Gordon and Ruth Phillips. See Gordon, "The Niagara Falls Whimsey," and Phillips, *Trading Identities*, especially ch. 5.
65. For more on Hudson, see Lucienne Lanson and Patricia L. Tetzlaff, *Grace Hudson: Artist of the Pomo Indians, a Biography* (Virginia Beach: Donning, 2006).
66. For articles by Doubleday and Coles, see Doubleday, "Our Industrial Work"; Doubleday, "Two Ways to Help the Indians," pts. 1 and 2, *The Indian's Friend* (January 1901): 7–8, and (February 1901): 2, 5–6; Coles, "Aboriginal Basketry in the United States."

67. See Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy*.
68. Doubleday, "Our Industrial Work," 10.
69. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 21 and chs. 1 and 3 passim.
70. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*. Jacobs focuses on the Southwest, and the antimodernists she discusses are active after the Indian craze, but she draws many of the same conclusions about the motivations of non-Indian women drawn in this study.
71. Even Lears admits this, allowing for what he calls "modernist antimodernism" (Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 312). For more on cultural primitivism, see George Boas and Arthur Lovejoy, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (1935; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
72. William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993); see particularly ch. 2.
73. See Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
74. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 59.
75. Simon J. Bronner, "Object Lessons: The Work of Ethnological Museums and Collections," in Bronner, *Consuming Visions*, 217–254.
76. Herbert Gibbons, *John Wanamaker* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926), 2:81, quoted in Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandizing and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," in Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, 65.
77. *The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California; story of its foundation and the objects of its founder; description of its various galleries; brief sketches of the most notable exhibits, with accounts of their origin and of the periods of history and industries represented by them* (San Francisco: Park Commission, 1921), 13.
78. "Navajo Indian Blankets: The Remarkable Products of an Arizona Tribe," *New-York Tribune*, March 19, 1898, suppl., 2.
79. The Wanamaker family expressed its interest in Native Americans in diverse ways. Wanamaker's son Lewis Rodman sponsored several expeditions led by Joseph K. Dixon to learn about Native Americans. Photographs from these expeditions were exhibited and sold at Wanamaker's stores and formed a basis to the *Wanamaker Primer of the North American Indian* (Philadelphia: Wanamaker Stores, 1909). John Wanamaker also supported the erection of the National Indian Memorial, dedicated in 1913. See Joseph H. Appel, *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores* (Philadelphia: John Wanamaker, 1911), 241–242. On the memorial, see Wanamaker Stores, "A Tribute to the North American Indian" (1909), Wanamaker Archive, Pennsylvania Historical Society, box 260; and Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), ch. 5.
80. "Navajo Indian Goods: Interesting Facts about the Wonderful Blanket," *New-York Tribune* June 12, 1897, 5.
81. *House Beautiful* 13.3 (1903): inside front cover.
82. Advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *New York Times* April 5, 1897, 4.
83. For example, an advertisement in the *New York Times* on April 5, 1901, 5, describes Dutch furniture, French perfumes, oriental rugs, and Irish covert cloths.
84. Advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *New York Times*, December 11, 1901, 4.

85. See Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Give the Lady What She Wants! . . . The Story of Marshall Field & Company* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1952), 281.
86. Advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *New York Times*, April 14, 1903, 4.
87. The invoice, dated March 30, 1901, is in carton 4, folder 76, George Wharton James Collection, Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Pasadena, California.
88. See advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *New York Times*, April 5, 1901, 4.
89. George Wharton James, "Indian Handicrafts," *Handicraft* 1.12 (1903): 272.
90. Advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *New York Times*, March 28, 1901, 4.
91. For the Fred Harvey Company, see Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, eds., *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1996); and Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*. For specific artists, see Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); and Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22.1 (2001): 21–44.
92. Advertisement for the Fred Harvey Company's Chicago outlet, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 22, 1903, 4.
93. Advertisement for the Wanamaker Store, *The New York Times* December 11, 1904, 4.
94. On Indians "playing Indian," see Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 122–124, 147, 168, 187–189.
95. Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (1928; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 177–190.
96. "Up-to-Date Navajo Art: Remarkable Locomotive Blanket Owned by Mr. James," *New-York Tribune*, January 27, 1901, suppl., 13.
97. George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914), 125. This story is likely a fabrication. Kathy Whitaker notes that there is no record of James's studying the Navajo language, and that, at this time, an elderly female such as he describes would not have been able to communicate with him (Whitaker, "George Wharton James," 73).
98. Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 10.

2. THE WHITE MAN'S INDIAN ART

1. Estelle Reel, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 22.
2. Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*.
3. On borders, see Kate Peck Kent, *Navajo Weaving: Three Centuries of Change* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1985), 112.
4. See Dorothy W. Hewes, "The First Good Years of Indian Education: 1894 to 1898," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 5.2 (1981): 63–82; and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898–1910."
5. Vernon J. Williams, *Rethinking Race: Franz Boaz and His Contemporaries* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).
6. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1978).
7. An overview of the history of American Indian education can be found in Margaret Connell

- Szasz and Carmelita S. Ryan, "American Indian Education," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 284–304. Pratt's own account of his work in Florida and Pennsylvania can be found in Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*, ed. and with an introduction by Robert M. Utley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).
8. William A. Jones, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 23.
 9. Thomas J. Morgan, *Indian Education* (Washington, D.C.: Indian Rights Association, 1890), 7.
 10. *Ibid.*, 5.
 11. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, 83, 87.
 12. Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 147.
 13. Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction* (1892), 46–59; reprinted in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880–1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260.
 14. Lomawaima *They Called It Prairie Light*, xiv.
 15. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 316.
 16. William N. Hailmann, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 341.
 17. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 2:686–687, plate 5 caption.
 18. See, for example, "Uniform Course of Study for Indians," *Denver Republican*, August 19, 1901, n.p. (item 11, clipping envelope 9, Estelle Reel Papers, Northwest Museum of Art and Culture, Spokane, Washington).
 19. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 2:818.
 20. See Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), and the reassessments of her work in Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, and Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*.
 21. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*.
 22. Drawing is listed as a subject in *The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Session of 1887–1888* (Hampton, Va.: The Institute, 1888), and *Catalog of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, PA 1902* (Jamestown, N.Y.: The Journal, 1902).
 23. Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, 55.
 24. Letters to Office of Indian Affairs, no. 1902–54276, record group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
 25. Report of the Superintendent of the Round Valley School, Letters to Office of Indian Affairs, no. 1902–53987, record group 75, National Archives and Records Administration.
 26. Joseph C. Hart, "Report of the Superintendent of the Oneida Indian School," *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools for 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 33.
 27. For more on Crow beadwork, see Joseph D. Horse Capture, *Beauty, Honor and Tradition: The Legacy of Plains Indian Shirts* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian,

- Smithsonian Institution; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, distributed by University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 88–89.
28. Sybil Carter, “Address on Lace-Making,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian* (Philadelphia: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1890), 46–48. For more on Carter’s work, see Kate C. Duncan, “American Indian Lace Making,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 5 (1980): 28–35; and Elizabeth Hutchinson, “Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the-Century American Art,” Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999, ch. 2.
 29. A history of the Indian Industries League can be found in Erik Krenzen Trump, “The Indian Industries League and Its Support of American Indian Arts, 1893–1922: A Study of Changing Attitudes toward Indian Women and Assimilationist Policy,” Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1996.
 30. *Indian Industries League Annual Report for 1900*, 5, quoted in Trump, “The Indian Industries League and Its Support of American Indian Arts,” 260.
 31. Constitution of the Sequoya League, reprinted in *The Papoose*, April 1903, 18.
 32. For more on urban handicraft reform projects, see Boris, *Art and Labor*, ch. 5.
 33. Many of these projects are discussed in Eileen Boris, “Crossing Boundaries: The Gendered Meaning of Arts and Crafts,” in *The Ideal Home: The History of Twentieth-Century American Craft*, ed. Janet Kardon (New York: American Craft Museum, 1993), 32–44.
 34. Max West, “The Revival of Handicrafts in America,” *U.S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin* 55 (1904): 1573–1622.
 35. *Ibid.*, 1622.
 36. Boris, “Crossing Boundaries,” 44.
 37. Hart, “Native Industries in the Indian School,” 446.
 38. “Granville Stanley Hall,” *American National Biography Online* (<http://www.anb.org>) accessed February 26, 2007.
 39. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 78.
 40. Nicholas Murray Butler, “The Argument for Manual Training” (1888), in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. Rena L. Vassar (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), 2:158–167. See also Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States: An Interpretive History* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 371.
 41. Gustav Stickley, “Manual Training and Citizenship,” *Craftsman* 5.4 (1904): 407–408.
 42. Booker T. Washington, “Industrial Education for the Negro,” from *The Negro Problem* (New York: James Pratt, 1903), reprinted in Vassar, *Social History of American Education*, 2:62–63.
 43. Stickley, “Manual Training and Citizenship,” 407.
 44. Ella Flagg Young, quoted in Boris, *Art and Labor*, 97, n. 54.
 45. Estelle Reel, *Teaching Indian Pupils to Speak English: Primary Methods and Outlines for the Use of Teachers in the Indian Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904).
 46. See Otis Tufton Mason, *Indian Basketry*, 83, which includes four illustrations of basket starts credited as “after Mary White.”
 47. See, for example, W. T. Harris, “Art Education the True Industrial Education — A Cultivation of Aesthetic Taste of Universal Utility,” *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association for 1889* (Topeka, Kans.: The Association, 1889), 647–655; and Leslie W. Miller, “Craftsmanship in Education,” *Journal of Proceedings*

- and *Addresses of the Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association for 1903* (Chicago: The Association, 1903), 627–633.
48. Ruby Hodge, “The Relation of Primitive Handicraft to Present-Day Educational Problems,” *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association for 1907* (Winona, Minn.: The Association, 1907), 815–820.
 49. An abstract was printed in the *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association for 1903* (Chicago: The Association, 1903), 644–645.
 50. Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, 54.
 51. *Ibid.*, 55.
 52. “Report of the Superintendent of the Navajo Boarding School,” *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1902* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 157; Kathy M’Closkey notes that a significant number of Navajo weavers during this period were school-age girls, including some as young as ten: M’Closkey, *Swept under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 83.
 53. Advertisement, inside front cover, *Indian School Journal*, January 1905.
 54. Jonathan Batkin, “Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880–1910,” in Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Culture*, 297.
 55. Report of the Superintendent of the Phoenix Agency, Letters to Office of Indian Affairs, no. 1904–77610, record group 75, National Archives and Records Administration.
 56. “Uplifting of Poor Lo,” *Washington Post*, December 12, 1902, 9.
 57. “Indian Art Not Declining,” *Indian School Journal* (October 1905), 37. In 1907, *Out West* magazine claimed that several successful O’Odham weavers were graduates of the Phoenix Indian School (“Indians of Arizona,” *Out West* 26 [1907]: 497).
 58. Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 66–69 and 261. See also Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 157.
 59. “Indian Educators,” *The Papoose* 1.8 (July 1903): 17.
 60. Reel’s collection is mentioned in a clipping in her scrapbook (“Collection of Baskets on Display in Washington, D.C.,” *Austin Statesman*, June 18, 1901, n.p., in clipping envelope 6, Estelle Reel Papers). The fate of the collection is discussed in Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River Basketry: Gifts of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 173–174.
 61. Roderick Randum, “A Little Journey to Chilocco, Home of the Indian Roycrofters,” *Indian School Journal* 5 (1905): 11–19.
 62. “The Indians of Arizona,” *Out West* 26 (1907): 471–497.
 63. William A. Jones, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 11.
 64. Circular dated March 10, 1901, circulars issued by the superintendent of Indian Schools, entry 719, record group 75, National Archives and Records Administration.
 65. Untitled clipping from the *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 7, 1903, n.p., item 7, clipping envelope 16, Estelle Reel Papers.
 66. Untitled clipping from *The Red Man and Helper*, September 19, 1902, n.p., item 4, folder 15, Estelle Reel Papers.
 67. The photograph appeared in the superintendent’s 1905 *Annual Report* and was frequently reproduced in the well-circulating monthly journal of the Chilocco Indian School, the *Indian School Journal*.

68. Boris, *Art and Labor*, 91.
69. Letters to Office of Indian Affairs, no. 1906-47861, record group 75, National Archives and Records Administration.
70. Lida Quimby, "Report of the Matron of the Puyallup Reservation," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1904* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 364.
71. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, xiv and passim.
72. "World's Fair Exhibit News," *Chilocco Farmer* (April 1904): 282.
73. Hart, "Native Industries in the Indian School," 445.
74. Hart, "Report of the Superintendent of the Oneida Indian School," 359.
75. Hart, "Native Industries in the Indian School," 445.
76. Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 29.
77. Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994).
78. J. K. Bloomfield, *The Oneidas* (New York: Alden Brothers, 1907), 344.
79. Benson L. Lanford, "Great Lakes Woven Beadwork: An Introduction," *American Indian Art Magazine* 11.3 (1986): 62-67, 75.
80. Phillips, *Trading Identities*, chs. 3 and 5.
81. See Laurence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III, eds., *The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment, 1860-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).
82. *Ibid.*, 92-95.

3. PLAYING INDIAN

1. Carl Purdy, "Pomo Indian Baskets," *Out West* 16 (1902): 157-158.
2. Sally McLendon, "Collecting Pomoan Baskets, 1889-1939," *Museum Anthropology* 17.1 (June 1993): 49-60.
3. Berlo, introduction to *The Early Years of Native American Art History*, 6.
4. S. A. Barrett, "Basket Designs of the Pomo Indians," *American Anthropologist* 7 (1905): 648-653; Roland Dixon, "Basketry Designs of the Indians of Northern California," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 17 (1902): 1-32.
5. For more on Nicholson's role in promoting "named" artists, see Marvin Cohodas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998).
6. This history is traced in Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History*.
7. James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215-251.
8. Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, *Introduction to American Indian art: To accompany the first exhibition of American Indian art selected entirely with consideration of esthetic value* (New York: The Exposition, 1931).
9. See, for example, Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*.
10. For more on this history, see Brody, *Indian Painters and White*.
11. These are discussed in Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 15-16, 30, 32, and 34.
12. See, for example, Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*, and Aileen Dashi Tsui, "Nothing of Sub-

- stance: Aestheticism, Modernism, and Strategic Duplicity in the Paintings of James McNeill Whistler," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001.
13. Rushing refers to it only in passing (Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 13); see also Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace*, 190, n. 7.
 14. William Morris, "Speech to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society," *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 2, 1886, quoted in Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*, 29. The ideas presented in this and the preceding paragraph come from ch. 1 of Tillyard's book.
 15. Leila Mechlin, "Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection," *International Studio* 35 (August 1908): suppl., 62–63, 64.
 16. In 1908, *Brush and Pencil* had a circulation of 10,000; *The Craftsman* of 19,000; *International Studio* of 10,000 (Source: N. W. Ayer and Son, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1909). In addition to the works discussed specifically below, see also H. M. Carpenter, "How Indian Baskets Are Made," *Cosmopolitan* (October 1900): 638–640; George Wharton James, "Indian Handicrafts," *Handicraft* 1.12 (1903): 269–287; "Indian Blankets, Baskets and Bowls: The Product of the Original Craftworkers on This Continent," *Craftsman* 17 (February 1910): 588–591; Natalie Curtis, "The People of the Totem-Poles: Their Art and Legends," *Craftsman* 16 (September 1909): 612–621; Charles A. Eastman, "Indian Handicrafts," *Craftsman* 8 (August 1905): 659–662; Eastman, "My People: The Indians' Contribution to the Art of America," *Craftsman* 27 (November 1914): 179–186; Constance Goddard Dubois, "The Indian Woman as a Craftsman," *Craftsman* 6 (1904): 391–393; George Wharton James, "Primitive Inventions," *Craftsman* 5 (November 1903): 125–137; George Wharton James, "Aboriginal American Homes: Brush, Mud and Willow Dwellings," *Craftsman* 8 (July 1905): 459–471 and (August 1905): 640–649.
 17. "Ancient Peruvian Pottery," *Keramic Studio* 3.8 (1901): 170; "Indian Pottery," *Keramic Studio* 3.8 (1901): 168–169; "Indian Pottery," *Keramic Studio* 6.7 (1904): 147–148; Mertice MacCrea Buck, "Indian Basketry," *Keramic Studio* 9.7 (1907): 169–170.
 18. Elbridge Ayer Burbank, "Studies of Art in American Life III: In Indian Teepees," *Brush and Pencil* 7 (November 1900): 75–91.
 19. See Peter H. Hassrick, *The Frederic Remington Studio* (Cody, Wyo.: Buffalo Bill Historical Center in association with University of Washington Press, 1994).
 20. In 1904, *The Craftsman* ran a "Special Holiday Offer" offering four prints with each subscription: *The Craftsman* 7 (1904): 359.
 21. Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 5–16.
 22. Linda Jones Docherty, "A Search for Identity: American Art Criticism and the Concept of the 'Native School,' 1876–1893," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1985.
 23. Mancini, *Pre-Modernism*, 9.
 24. On symbolism, see Gloria Lynn Groom, *Beyond the Easel: Decorative Painting by Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis, and Roussel, 1890–1930* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001); for secessionism, see Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898–1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries* (London: Phaidon, 1993). For Roger Fry, see Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*.
 25. For more on the British arts and crafts movement, see Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the World: William Morris, the 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

26. See William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990).
27. On Whistler's design work, see Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).
28. For more on early folk revivals, see Wanda M. Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 319–334.
29. Mechlin, "Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection," 64.
30. Mrs. Hugo Froelich, "A Coiled Basket — Lazy Squaw's Stitch," *Keramic Studio* 5.8 (1903): 189; G. Pomeroy, "Bead Work," *Keramic Studio* 6.9 (1905): 206–209. See also Henrietta Barclay Paist, "Treatment for Indian Plaque," *Keramic Studio* 3.4 (1901): suppl., 89; and Charles Babcock, "Indian Box," *Keramic Studio* 12.9 (1911): 202.
31. "Nursery Wall Coverings in Indian Designs," *Craftsman* 5 (1903): 95–99; "Table Scarfs with Indian Designs," *Craftsman* 5 (1904): 507; "Three 'Craftsman Canvas' Pillows [Derived from Pueblo Designs]," *Craftsman* 5 (1903): 94.
32. "Pueblo Architecture Adapted to Modern Needs in New Mexico," *Craftsman* 19 (1911): 404–406; Ethel Rose, "New Hopi Architecture on the Old Mesa Land," *Craftsman* 30 (1916): 374–382.
33. Charles F. Binns, "Building in Clay," *Craftsman* 4 (1903): 303–305.
34. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, chs. 1 and 4.
35. Sargent, "Indian Basketry," 321.
36. "Bead Work and Its Use," *The Papoose* (July 1903): 1–2.
37. Rayna Green, "A Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99 (1988): 31.
38. Sargent, "Indian Basketry," 321.
39. For an overview of Brush's career, see Berry-Hill Galleries, *George de Forest Brush, 1855–1941: Master of the American Renaissance*. With an essay by Joan B. Morgan (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1985).
40. While both the textile and the concho belt worn by the weaver are Navajo, Brush may have confused the Navajo with their neighboring Pueblo Indians, for whom weaving was a male tradition. Ethnographic accuracy seems less important to this image than the opportunity to update the academic nude as an "American" subject. Brush's Indian paintings are the subject of a traveling exhibition organized by the National Gallery of Art with the Seattle Art Museum opening in late 2008.
41. George de Forest Brush, "Art in Its Relation to Life: A talk by Mr. Brush," *Art Interchange* (April 1901): 76.
42. "American Studio Talk," *International Studio* 11 (August 1900): ix.
43. Frederic W. Coburn, "The New Life at the League," *Art Education* (February 1900): 65.
44. Frederic W. Coburn, "George de Forest Brush and the Brush Guild," *Art Education* (February 1901): 257.
45. Ibid.
46. A brief description of the Brush Guild can be found in Paul Evans, *Art Pottery of the United States: An Encyclopedia of Producers and Their Marks: Together with a Directory of Studio Pottery Working in the United States through 1960* (New York: Feingold and Lewis, 1897), 32–33. Evans was unaware of Coburn's articles and thus doesn't mention the group's early dedication to Native American models.

47. For an overview of women's involvement in the art pottery movement, see Nancy Elizabeth Owen, *Rookwood and the Industry of Art: Women, Culture, and Commerce, 1880–1913* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001).
48. "Chautauqua Crafts Village," *Keramic Studio* 5.6 (1903): 121.
49. "Primitive Arts Club," *Keramic Studio* 6.3 (1904): 118–119.
50. A biography of Binns can be found in Margaret Carney et al., *Charles Fergus Binns: The Father of American Studio Ceramics* (Manchester, Vt.: Hudson Hills Press, 1998).
51. Advertisement, *Keramic Studio* 5.1 (1903): v.
52. "The Summer School of Clay Working at Alfred, N.Y.," *Keramic Studio* 5.6 (1903): 125–126.
53. Charles F. Binns, "Building in Clay," *The Craftsman* 4 (1903): 304.
54. "Exhibition of the New York Society of the Keramic Arts," *Keramic Studio* 4.10 (1903): 216–217.
55. Charles F. Binns, "The Arts and Crafts in America: Prize Essay," *Craftsman* 14 (1908): 279.
56. Charles F. Binns, "Clay in the Potter's Hand," *Craftsman* 6 (1904): 164.
57. Charles F. Binns, "Clay in the Studio Number Seven," *Keramic Studio* 5.1 (1903): 13.
58. "Art of the American Indian," *Brush and Pencil* 15 (1905): 86.
59. Batchelder, *Design in Theory and Practice*. The chapters were published separately in *The Craftsman* between October 1907 and September 1908.
60. Dow's pedagogy is also discussed in Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 41–43.
61. Marilee Boyd Meyer, "Arthur Wesley Dow and His Influence on Arts and Crafts," in *Arthur Wesley Dow, 1857–1922: His Art and His Influence* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1999), 49.
62. Dow, *Composition*.
63. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, 63.
64. Mason, "Mr. Arthur W. Dow's Summer School at Ipswich, Mass.," 123.
65. Sylvester Baxter, "Handicraft, and Its Extensions, at Ipswich," *Handicraft* 1 (1903): 253.
66. Mason, "Mr. Arthur W. Dow's Summer School at Ipswich, Mass.," 123.
67. Baxter, "Handicraft, and Its Extensions, at Ipswich," 255.
68. An introduction to Cushing and his ethnological method can be found in Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing: Frank Hamilton Cushing and the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, 1886–1889* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002). See also Edwin Wade and Lea McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition: The Thomas Keam Collection of Hopi Pottery from the Second Hemenway Expedition, 1890–1894; Featuring the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1980).
69. Nancy Parezo, "Now Is the Time to Collect," *Masterkey* 59.4 (1993): 15.
70. See Hinsley and Wilcox, *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing*; Sylvester Baxter, "An Aboriginal Pilgrimage," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 24 (1882): 526–536; and Sylvester Baxter, "Father of the Pueblos," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (June 1882): 72–91.
71. Jesse Green, introduction to Frank Hamilton Cushing, *Zuñi: Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 6.
72. Ernst Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art* (New York: D. Appleton, 1897).
73. George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, introduction to *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). The important figure for

- Boas was probably the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl, who applied his formalism to Western and non-Western objects alike.
74. Brad Evans, "Cushing's Zuni Sketchbooks: Literature, Anthropology, and American Notions of Culture," *American Quarterly* 49.4 (1997): 717–745.
 75. Frederick C. Moffatt, *Arthur Wesley Dow (1857–1922)* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977), 92.
 76. Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881–1899* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 253.
 77. Mason, "Mr. Arthur W. Dow's Summer School at Ipswich, Mass.," 123.
 78. Arthur Wesley Dow, "Designs from Primitive American Motifs," *Teachers College Record* 16 (March 1915): 34.
 79. Batchelder, *Design in Theory and Practice*, 170–171.
 80. Marsha Morton, "Missionaries of Culture," in *Pratt and Its Gallery, the Arts and Crafts Years* (New York: Pratt Institute, 1999), 52.
 81. Erik Krenzen Trump, "The Indian Industries League and Its Support of American Indian Arts, 1893–1922: A Study of Changing Attitudes toward Indian Women and Assimilationist Policy," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1996: 250–252.
 82. *Art of the First Americans: From the Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976), 8–9.
 83. Richard Conn, *Native American Art in the Denver Art Museum* (Denver, Colo.: Denver Art Museum, distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1979), 81.
 84. Charles P. Wilcomb, *Annual Report: Golden Gate Park Memorial Museum*, 1900, n.p., quoted in Melinda Young Frye, "Charles P. Wilcomb, Cultural Historian (1865–1915)," in *Natives and Settlers: Indian and Yankee Culture in Early California: The Collections of Charles P. Wilcomb* (Oakland, Calif.: Oakland Museum, 1979), 30. For more on Wilcomb, see the other essays in this catalogue, especially Bruce Bernstein, "A Native Heritage Returns: The Wilcomb-Hall-Sheedy Collection," 69–87; and Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "'Hidden at the Heard': The Harvey Company Pomo Collection," in Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, 125–140.
 85. Katherine Louise Smith, "An Arts and Crafts Exhibition in Minneapolis," *Craftsman* 3 (March 1903): 373–377; Irene Sargent, "A Recent Arts and Crafts Exhibition," *Craftsman* 4 (May 1903): 69–83; *Exhibition of the Society of Arts and Crafts, Together with a Loan Collection of Applied Art: Copley and Allston Halls, Boston, 4–15 April 1899* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1899); *Exhibition of the Society of Arts and Crafts, Copley Hall* (Boston: Heintzemann Press, 1907).
 86. Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). See also James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215–251.
 87. Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 4.
 88. "National Arts Club" (brochure dated 1901), series 8.1, reel 4261, National Arts Club Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
 89. Ibid.
 90. 1902 *Yearbook of the National Arts Club*, series 8.1, reel 4260, National Arts Club Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
 91. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, 153. The Indian Arts Fund is discussed at length in Jacob's sixth chapter, "Women and the Indian Arts and Crafts Movement."

92. Lee Glazer, "A Modern Instance': Thomas Dewing and Aesthetic Vision at the Turn of the Century," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996, 181.
93. *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors*, Universal Exposition, St. Louis., 1904. Division of Exhibits Department B. Ar., rev. ed. (St. Louis: Official Catalogue Co., for the Committee on Press and Publicity, 1904).
94. S. Geijsbeek, "The Ceramics of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Transactions of the American Ceramic Society* (1905), 349.
95. John William Troutman, "'The Overlord of the Savage World': Anthropology, the Media, and the American Indian Experience at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition," M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1997, 41.

4. THE INDIANS IN KÄSEBIER'S STUDIO

1. Tillyard, *The Impact of Modernism*, 3.
2. "Some Indian Portraits."
3. L. G. Moses calls the period 1900–1917 the "heyday" of the show and gives an account of one Buffalo Bill performer estimating daily attendance at New York shows at three to four thousand (Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996], 180).
4. See Ulrich Keller, "The Myth of Art Photography: a Sociological Analysis," *History of Photography* 8.4 (1984): 249–275; and Geraldine Wojno Kiefer, "The Leitmotifs of *Camera Notes*," *History of Photography* 14.4 (1990): 349–360.
5. This relationship is explored extensively in Christian A. Peterson, "The Photograph Beautiful, 1895–1915," *History of Photography* 16.3 (1992): 189–232.
6. Michaels, *Gertrude Käsebier*, 25.
7. "Indians at a Studio Tea," *New York Times*, April 10, 1898, 14.
8. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 58.
9. The 1899 telephone directory for Manhattan and the Bronx shows that commercial photographers were clustered on lower Broadway and 5th Avenue between 14th and 23rd streets; see the directory entry "Photographers," 984–986.
10. "Artistic Photography," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 13, 1897, 7; and the editorial "Attracting Customers to the Studio," *British Journal of Photography*, October 14, 1910, 777.
11. Sarah Burns, "The Price of Beauty: Art, Commerce, and the Late Nineteenth-Century American Studio Interior," in *American Iconology*, ed. David C. Miller (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 237–238.
12. Arthur Wesley Dow, "Mrs. Gertrude Käsebier's Portrait Photographs," *Camera Notes* 3 (July 1899): 22.
13. Joseph T. Keiley, "Mrs. Käsebier's Prints," *Camera Notes* 3 (July 1899): 34.
14. Alfred Stieglitz, "Modern Pictorial Photography," *Century Magazine* 64.6 (1902): 824–825.
15. Eva Watson-Schütze, "Signatures," *Camera Work* 1 (January 1903): 35–36.
16. Joseph T. Keiley, "Gertrude Käsebier," *Camera Work* 20 (October 1907): 27–31 (reprinted from *Photography*, March 19, 1904).
17. Edgerton, "Photography as an Emotional Art," 88.
18. For connections between antimodernist representations of peasants and the representation of racial others, see Gill Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern,'" *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstrac-*

- tion: *The Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 3–85.
19. Gertrude Käsebier, “Peasant Life in Normandy,” *Monthly Illustrator* 3 (February 1895): 269.
 20. *Ibid.*, 271.
 21. Käsebier, “An Art Village,” *Monthly Illustrator* 4 (April 1895): 12.
 22. Käsebier, “Peasant Life in Normandy,” 272.
 23. Edgerton, “Photography as an Emotional Art,” 80.
 24. Nancy E. Green, *Arthur Wesley Dow and His Influence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1990), 14.
 25. See, for example, Wanda M. Corn, *The Color of Mood: Tonalism in America* (San Francisco: M. H. de Young Museum, 1972).
 26. Sandra Lee Underwood, *Charles H. Caffin: A Voice for Modernism, 1897–1918* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983), 47.
 27. “Our Illustrators,” *Camera Notes* 1.2 (October 1897): 40.
 28. Joseph T. Keiley, “Tonality,” *Camera Notes* 2.4 (April 1899): 135.
 29. *Ibid.*, 136.
 30. *Ibid.*, 142.
 31. Charles Caffin, “Gertrude Käsebier and the Artistic Commercial Portrait,” in *Photography as a Fine Art* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), 51–81. The book was originally published as a series of essays in *Everybody’s Magazine*.
 32. J. P. Mowbray, “The Making of a Country Home,” *Everybody’s Magazine* 4.18 (1901): 99–115. Subsequent installations appeared throughout the volume.
 33. Frances Benjamin Johnston, “The Foremost Women Photographers in America,” *Ladies Home Journal* 18 (May 9, 1901): 1.
 34. Boris, *Art and Labor*, 99.
 35. Catherine Weed Barnes, “Woman’s Work: A Woman to Women,” *American Amateur Photographer* (May 1890): 186; Käsebier, “Studies in Photography,” 272. On photography as a female activity in this period, see Jane Gover, *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Judith Fryer, “Women’s Camera Work: Seven Propositions in Search of a Theory,” *Prospects* 16 (1991): 57–117.
 36. Catherine Weed Barnes, “Photography as a Profession for Women,” *American Amateur Photography* 3 (May 1891): 175.
 37. Juan C. Abel, “Women Photographers and Their Work,” *The Delineator* 58 (1901): 406.
 38. “Sioux Chief’s Party Calls,” *New York Times*, April 24, 1898, 14.
 39. Käsebier, “Studies in Photography,” 271.
 40. For circulation information, see N. W. Ayer, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Sons, 1902).
 41. John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 175.
 42. From a manuscript annotated “Material Taken Down by a Woman who Once Wanted to Write Granny’s Life—some quite incorrect,” MS 149, box 1, folder 7, Gertrude Käsebier Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library.
 43. Käsebier, “Studies in Photography,” 272.
 44. “Indians at a Studio Tea,” 14.
 45. “The Indian as a Gentleman,” *New York Times*, April 23, 1899, 20.

46. "Indians at a Studio Tea," 14.
47. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (Boston: Roberts, 1888); E. Pauline Johnson, *The Moccasin Maker* (1913; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987).
48. This information comes from the catalogue of the Library of Congress.
49. Kay Graber, introduction to Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1895–91* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).
50. Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 83.
51. Deborah Gordon, "Among Women: Gender and Ethnographic Authority of the Southwest, 1930–1980," in *Hidden Scholars: Women Anthropologists and the Native Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 129.
52. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*, 78.
53. William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History*, September 1984, 342.
54. New York Exchange for Women's Work, *Annual Report* (New York: New York Exchange for Women's Work, 1899), 8; New York Exchange for Women's Work, *Annual Report* (New York: New York Exchange for Women's Work, 1900), 31.
55. Käsebier's correspondence with Pratt is in the Pratt Papers, Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Her correspondence with Carlos Montezuma is available in a microform edition, *The Papers of Carlos Montezuma, M.D.: Including the Papers of Maria Keller Montezuma Moore and the Papers of Joseph W. Latimer*, ed. John William Larner Jr. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1983).
56. Edgerton, "Photography as an Emotional Art," 90.
57. Caffin, "Gertrude Käsebier and the Artistic Commercial Portrait," 80.
58. "The Pictures in This Number," *Camera Work* 1 (January 1903): 63.
59. Kristen Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 154–155. This idea is carried through in the photographic community. Joseph T. Keiley told Stieglitz that his fellow-pictorialist Eva Watson-Schutze had "certain traits peculiar to the feminine mind from which no woman is free and which make it hard for the masculine mind to be in entire harmony with them on matters of policy and judgment. It is next to impossible for a woman to be entirely impersonal." Keiley to Alfred Stieglitz, August 20, 1902, Alfred Stieglitz Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
60. Käsebier, "Studies in Photography," 269.
61. Spencer B. Hord, "Gertrude Käsebier, Maker of Photographs," *Bulletin of Photography*, June 8, 1910, 363–364, 367, quoted in Michaels, *Gertrude Käsebier*, 58.
62. A plan of the Camera Club is printed in *Camera Notes* 2 (October 1899): 64.
63. Carol Mavor, *Pleasures Taken: Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 25.
64. For more on Hartmann, see Hartmann, *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist*, ed. Jane Calhoun Weaver (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
65. Sadakichi Hartmann, "A Decorative Photographer: F. H. Day," *Photographic Times* 32 (March 1900): 102.
66. Sadakichi Hartmann, "Gertrude Käsebier," *Photographic Times* 32 (May 1900): 199.
67. Sadakichi Hartmann, "A Purist," *Photographic Times* 31 (October 1899): 451.

68. Käsebier, "Studies in Photography," 270.
69. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, passim.
70. The control of the growing commercial art world was also being consolidated in the hands of men at this time. See Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
71. See Swinth, *Painting Professionals*; Sarah Burns, "The 'Earnest, Untiring Worker' and the Magician of the Brush: Gender Politics in the Criticism of Cecilia Beaux and John Singer Sargent," *Oxford Art Journal* 15.1 (1992): 36–53.
72. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 2.
73. Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4.
74. See, for example, Michaels, *Gertrude Käsebier*, 29–44; Debora Jane Marshall, "The Indian Portraits," in *A Pictorial Heritage: The Photographs of Gertrude Käsebier*, ed. William Inness Homer, 31–32 (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1979); Jennifer Sheffield Currie, "Gertrude Käsebier's Native American Portraits," *Dimensions of Native America: The Contact Zone*, ed. Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk and Robin Franklin Nigh (Tallahassee: Museum of Fine Arts and School of Visual Arts and Dance, Florida State University, 1998), 114–119. Michelle Delaney's *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Warriors: A Photographic History by Gertrude Käsebier* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007) came out too late to be incorporated into this discussion.
75. Michaels, *Gertrude Käsebier*, 38.
76. Currie, "Gertrude Käsebier's Native American Portraits," 115.
77. Luther Standing Bear's memoirs of his years traveling with Buffalo Bill poignantly describe the pressure he felt to represent his people with dignity while on the road and his efforts to ensure other performers gave the best impression of the beauty of a prereservation lifestyle they no longer led (Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975 (1928)], 245–273).
78. *Ibid.*, 246 and 254.
79. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 2.

5. ANGEL DECORA'S CULTURAL POLITICS

1. DeCora, "Native Indian Art," *Southern Workman* 36 (October 1907): 527–528.
2. For example, the Dakota writer Charles Eastman published several articles on Indian art in the arts and crafts magazine *The Craftsman*.
3. Some of DeCora's students, including her husband, Lone Star Dietz, and a few Native Americans working at other government schools, were beginning to develop a self-consciousness about Indian aesthetics in this period. However, she is unique until the 1920s in her access to the means of promoting her ideas about Native American art to a geographically and culturally diverse American audience.
4. The magazine illustrations that have been identified are: Hinook Mahiwi Kilinaka (DeCora), "Gray Wolf's Daughter"; Hinook Mahiwi Kilinaka (DeCora), "The Sick Child"; the cover illustration for *The Red Man* (Carlisle Indian School Magazine), September 1913; and illustrations for Charles A. Eastman, "On the Trail: The American Eagle and Indian Symbol," *American Indian Magazine* 7 (summer 1919): 89ff. There may be more. In addition, reproductions of her work appeared in Natalie Curtis, "The Perpetuating of Indian Art," *Outlook*, November 22, 1913, 625–626; and Curtis, "An American Indian Artist," *Outlook*, January 14, 1920, 64–66. DeCora provided illustrations and, where indicated, cover designs

- for the following books: Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1900), frontispiece and cover design; Mary Catherine Judd, *Wigwam Stories as Told by the North American Indians* (Boston: Ginn, 1901), illustrations and cover design; Zitkala-Sa, *Old Indian Legends* (Boston: Ginn, 1901), illustrations and cover design; Natalie Curtis, ed., *The Indians' Book* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), title pages and cover design; Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Yellow Star: A Story of East and West* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1911), illustrations (made in collaboration with her husband). The extant paintings include an undated watercolor sketch and several small sketches of heads in the collection of the Hampton University Museum. The original painting for the frontispiece *The Middle Five*, and a fragment of "Firelight" (made before 1913) are in private collections, as are the original sketches for illustrations for *The Indians Book* (personal communication with Anna Romero). The Hampton University Museum also owns a photographic copy of an oil sketch of a Mandan lodge interior that was acquired by the Office of Indian Affairs in 1903.
5. DeCora's correspondence can be found in her student file at the Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia; and in record group 75.4, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives, Washington, D.C. NB: The archive divides letters received by the bureau and letters sent into two separate files.
 6. Sarah McNulty, "Angel DeCora," *Nebraska History* 57 (1976): 143–199; McNulty, "Angel DeCora: American Indian Artist and Educator," M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1976. A more recent article, which does not analyze DeCora's artworks but takes a more transcultural approach, is Anne Ruggles, "An Art of Survivance: Angel DeCora at Carlisle," *American Indian Quarterly* 28.3–4 (summer–fall 2004): 649–684. See also Margaret L. Archuleta, "The Indian Is an Artist," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000*, ed. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 84–97.
 7. Angel DeCora, "Address," in *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Philadelphia: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1895), 63–64.
 8. Angel DeCora to Cora Mae Folsom, January 5, 1904, and January 2 and October 14, 1902, Hampton University Archives.
 9. DeCora to Folsom, 18 January 1915, Hampton University Archives.
 10. Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Exposition Universelles," *Assemblage* 13 (1991): 40.
 11. Cora M. Folsom, "The Careers of Three Indian Women," *The Congregationalist and Christian World*, March 12, 1904, 375.
 12. Richard Wayne Lykes, "Howard Pyle, Teacher of Illustration," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (July 1956): 345.
 13. Quoted in Henry C. White, *The Life and Art of Dwight W. Tryon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 100, 102, 104; Merrill, *An Ideal Country*, 79.
 14. Clipping from *Southern Workman*, July 1896, scrapbook in Hampton University Archives.
 15. DeCora, "Address," 63.
 16. DeCora's interest in this style, especially in the early years of her career, is demonstrated by the fact that she made a painting titled *A Nocturne* while at Smith and that she produced at least two other pictures of landscapes at sunset in the following years. Her firelit interior scenes also seem related to this style.
 17. Merrill, *An Ideal Country*, 48.

18. Kathleen Pyne, "Resisting Modernism: American Painting in the Culture of Conflict," in *American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth Century American Art*, ed. Thomas W. Gaetgens and Heinz Ickstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago for the Getty Institute, 1993), 301.
19. Dwight W. Tryon to George Alfred Williams, September 16, 1923, quoted in Merrill, *An Ideal Country*, 65.
20. Dwight W. Tryon to Charles Lang Freer, September 1889, quoted in Lee Glazer, "'A Modern Instance': Thomas Dewing and Aesthetic Vision at the Turn of the Century," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996, 20.
21. Linda Dowling, *The Vulgarization of Art: The Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 15 and passim.
22. Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (1989): 107–122.
23. Angel DeCora, "Angel DeCora—An Autobiography," *The Red Man* (March 1911): 279.
24. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 144–145.
25. On the Indian princess, see Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen DuBois and Vicki Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 15–21.
26. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York: Mentor, 1953).
27. Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question—The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," *Screen* (November–December 1983): 28.
28. Marsha Cliff Bol, "Lakota Women's Artistic Strategies in Support of the Social System," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 9.1 (1985): 44.
29. See Joanna Cohen Scherer, "The Public Faces of Sarah Winnemucca," *Cultural Anthropology* 3.2 (1988): 178–204.
30. DeCora to Folsom, undated (spring 1908), Hampton University Archives.
31. Patricia Albers and William James have made an exhaustive study of this genre of visual culture. See, for example, Albers and James, "Illusion and Illumination: Visual Images of the American Indian Women in the West," in *The Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 35–50.
32. MSS S-1174, box 31, folder 737, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn.
33. The *Harper's* press release is quoted in "A Native American Literature," *The Red Man* 15.10 (December 1899): 8.
34. DeCora to Folsom, February 18, 1904, Hampton University Archives.
35. Howard Pyle, "The Present Aspect of American Art from the Point of View of an Illustrator," *Handicraft* 1.6 (September 1902): 133.
36. Pyle, quoted in Curtis, "An American Indian Artist," 64.
37. DeCora to Folsom, November 27, 1892, Hampton University Archives.
38. DeCora, "Angel DeCora," 280.
39. DeCora to Folsom, September 27, 1899, Hampton University Archives.
40. Pyle, "The Present Aspect of American Art from the Point of View of an Illustrator," 126.
41. Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 315 n. 46.
42. See Trevor J. Fairbrother, *The Bostonians: Painters of an Elegant Age, 1870–1930; With contributions by Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., William L. Vance, Erica E. Hirschler* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1986).

43. Laurene Buckley, "Joseph DeCamp," in *Ten American Painters* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990), 93.
44. McNulty, "Angel DeCora: American Indian Artist and Educator," 22.
45. Amy Helene Kirschke, "Reclaiming Our Own: Africa Comes to Harlem," paper presented at the 85th Annual Conference of the College Art Association, New York, February 1997. For more on Du Bois's relationship to Douglas, see Amy Helene Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1995). Native American and African American civil rights leaders recognized their shared concerns and, on occasion, bonded together. Du Bois was particularly interested in indigenous political organization and was a member of the Society of American Indians. For more on this relationship, see Elizabeth Hutchinson "Native Indian Art": *Angel DeCora's Essentialist Aesthetics*, paper presented at the College Art Association Conference, Philadelphia, February 22, 2002.
46. The critical literature on DeCora's work is scant, but references to her can be found in "A Native American Literature," *The Red Man* 15.10 (December 1899): 8; Cora Mae Folsom, untitled review of *Wigwam Stories*, *Southern Workman* (July 1901): 411–412; untitled review of *Old Indian Legends*, *Southern Workman* 31 (1902): 35–37; untitled review of *The Indians' Book*, *Southern Workman* 36 (December 1907): 694–696; Charles A. Eastman, "My People: The Indians' Contribution to the Art of America," *The Craftsman* 27 (November 1914): 179–186; "News and Notes-Angel DeCora Dietz," *The Indian's Friend* (May 1919): 5; Elaine Goodale Eastman, "In Memoriam: Angel De Cora Dietz," *American Indian Magazine* 7 (spring 1919): 51–52.
47. Sally McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma Indians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983), 141.
48. DeCora to Francis LaFlesche, 14 April 1900, Francis LaFlesche Papers, Alice Cunningham Fletcher Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
49. As she does in the plate titled "The Indian of Today" in *Wigwam Stories*.
50. DeCora to Folsom, April 26, 1911 (Hampton University Archives), records difficulty in finding Algonquin models.
51. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, xiii.
52. See Charles Eastman, response to DeCora, "Native Indian Art," in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians Held at the University of Ohio*, 1:89; Arthur C. Parker to Angel DeCora, November 25, 1911, *The Papers of the Society of American Indians* (microform), ed. John W. Larner (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1987); Lone Star, "How Art Misrepresents the Indian," *Literary Digest* 44 (January 27, 1912): 160–161.
53. Her correspondence from the New York years is riddled with references to meeting old friends and colleagues.
54. The clippings in DeCora's student file at Hampton University come primarily from such publications.
55. Clipping from *The Red Man*, undated (1899), student file, Hampton University Archives.
56. Beverly K. Brandt, "'Mutually Helpful Relations': Architects, Craftsmen and the Society of Arts and Crafts, Boston, 1897–1917," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985, 143.
57. See Day's correspondence with Chamberlin and Zitkala-Sa, F. Holland Day Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

58. Ida Chamberlin to Day, 5 September, 1899, F. Holland Day Papers. DeCora may have met Zitkala-Sa in 1897 through the Cowles Art School, which had merged with the Fine Arts Department of the New England Conservatory of Music, where Zitkala-Sa was studying. But it is equally likely that two young, educated Indian women would be brought together through Indian reformers like Alice Fletcher or Edward Everett Hale, whom both knew.
59. *Modern Bookbindings and Their Designers*, special winter number of *The Studio* (1899–1900): 3–73.
60. Briggs Brothers, *Twentieth-Century Cover Designs* (Plymouth, Mass.: V. H. and E. L. Briggs, 1902).
61. Esther Wood, “British Trade Bookbindings and Their Designers,” *Modern Bookbindings and Their Designers*, special winter number of *The Studio* (1899–1900): 10.
62. See *Atlantic Monthly* 85 (January–June 1900): advertising section, 15; and 86 (June–December 1900): advertising section, 29.
63. Nancy Finlay, “A Millennium in Book-Making: The Book Arts in Boston,” in *Inspiring Reform: Boston’s Arts and Crafts Movement*. (Wellesley, Mass.: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 129.
64. Wood, “British Trade Bookbindings and Their Designers,” 28.
65. DeCora, “Angel DeCora,” 285.
66. Smith College, *Official Circular* (1892), 28, Drexel Institute Papers, Archives of American Art. I am grateful to Margaret N. Sly, Smith College archivist, for this information.
67. Alain Locke, “The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts,” from *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, ed. Locke (1925; reprint, New York: Johnson, 1968), 258.
68. DeCora, “An Effort to Encourage Indian Art,” 209.
69. DeCora to Jones, September 27, 1900, Letters Received; William A. Jones to Angel DeCora, September 27, 1900, Letters Sent (both in record group 75.4, General Records of the General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1801–1952, National Archives). I have been unable to find a photograph of this installation in either the Bureau of Indian Affairs records at the National Archives or any of the Buffalo archives.
70. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 49.
71. DeCora to Jones, November 26, 1900, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
72. DeCora to Francis Leupp, June 7, 1906, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
73. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 12.
74. Cf. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 65–66.
75. Leupp to Ethan Allen Hitchcock, December 6, 1905, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
76. Josephine Foard to Leupp, February 20, 1906, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
77. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1906), 66.
78. DeCora, “An Effort to Encourage Indian Art,” 207–209.
79. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1906), 67.

80. William Henry Holmes to Leupp, 9 February 1906, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
81. DeCora to Franz Boas, Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society.
82. Alfred L. Kroeber, “The Arapaho,” pt. 2, “Decorative Art,” *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 18 (1902): 36–138.
83. *Catalogue, United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1910* (Carlisle, Pa.: Carlisle Indian Press, 1910), 58.
84. DeCora mentions these trips in “Native Indian Art,” in *Proceedings of the 16th Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian*, ed. Lillian D. Powers (Philadelphia: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1908), 16–18. See also her correspondence with Francis Leupp, 1908–1909, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
85. *Carlisle Arrow* (September 6, 1907): n.p., clipping in Hampton University Archives.
86. DeCora, “An Effort to Encourage Indian Art,” 207.
87. *Indian Craftsman* (February 1909): 36.
88. DeCora, “An Effort to Encourage Indian Art,” 208.
89. *Ibid.*, 206.
90. See, for example, “Arapaho Symbolism in Embroidered Designs,” plate 27 in Alfred L. Kroeber, “The Arapaho,” pt. 2, “Decorative Art.” (Plates follow page 139.)
91. DeCora to Leupp, June 7, 1906, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
92. DeCora to Leupp, September 14, 1906, Letters Received, record group 75, General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papers, 1801–1952, National Archives.
93. DeCora, “Native Indian Art,” *Southern Workman* 36 (October 1907): 527–528.
94. DeCora’s decision to keep her own last name after her marriage is interesting in this light. She gave her reason as being the recognition that name changing was not a tradition in her or her husband’s culture, and that to do so would devalue the reputation of her maiden name in artistic circles.
95. DeCora, “Address,” 82.
96. The term is defined in Finlay, “A Millennium in Book-Making,” 129.
97. “Drawings,” in Curtis, *The Indians’ Book*, n.p. This unsigned note is presumably by Curtis.
98. DeCora, “Native Indian Art,” in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians Held at the University of Ohio*, 1:85.
99. Scholars now identify the image as a peregrine falcon—an image of intertribal warfare, not unity (Joyce Szabo, personal communication, August 19, 1999).
100. These qualities are described as distinctly “Indian” in DeCora’s public lectures.
101. Arthur C. Parker to Angel DeCora, October 23 and November 23, 1911, *The Papers of the Society of American Indians* (microform), ed. John W. Larner (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1987). It is worth noting that while this organization comprised members from the United States and that they identified themselves with pre-Columbian civilizations on both continents.
102. Charles Eastman, response to DeCora, “Native Indian Art,” in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians Held at the University of Ohio*, 1:88.
103. Laura Cornelius, response to DeCora, “Native Indian Art,” in *ibid.*
104. Thomas Doxon, response to DeCora, “Native Indian Art,” in *ibid.*, 89.

105. Quoted in Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 119.
106. Horton Elm, response to DeCora, "Native Indian Art," in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians Held at the University of Ohio*, 1: 91.
107. For an extensive discussion of the peyote controversy, see Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 239–286.
108. *Ibid.*, sec. 1.
109. Boris, *Art and Labor*, 189–193.
110. Theodore Roosevelt, "A Layman's Views of an Art Exhibition," *Outlook*, March 29, 1913, 719. For more on the Armory Show, see Milton Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show* (Greenwich, Conn.: Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1963).
111. The Society of Independent Artists rejected the jury system that allowed academic exhibitions to censor the work of avant-garde artists. Officers included several participants in the Indian craze, notably Arthur Wesley Dow. The display of Native American art at the Society of Independent Exhibitions is discussed in Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*.

EPILOGUE

1. See *Directions in Indian Art* and *Indian Voices*.
2. Fritz Scholder, "Native Arts in America" (conference talk), in *Indian Voices*, 192, 195.
3. For more on this story, see Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1996); and Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*.
4. Hewett gave a talk on January 3, 1905, titled "Historic and Pre-Historic Ruins in the South West," in *National Arts Club Yearbook for 1906*, 16, available in microfilm, frame 214, reel 4260, Papers of the National Arts Club, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
5. For more on this history, see Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*.
6. These women are discussed extensively in Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace*, and Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*.
7. Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Movers and Shakers* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1936), 534, quoted in Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 93.
8. For more on Collier, see Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
9. Lewis Meriam et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press for Institute for Government Research [Brookings Institution], Washington, D.C., 1928), 645.
10. *Ibid.*, 25.
11. For more on the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, see Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
12. For this history, see W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*:

A History of Cultural Primitivism (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995). It should be noted that Southwest-based reformers were not the only non-Indians celebrating the aesthetic potential of Native American art in the decades following World War I. The surrealists were quite interested in indigenous American material culture. They collected objects, particularly from Alaska and the Northwest Coast, reproduced them in their publications, and displayed them alongside their own work in exhibitions. As was the case when turn-of-the-century artists included indigenous artwork in the exhibitions, however, this effort did not include recognizing the individual efforts of living Native artists. Indian objects were displayed anonymously, as the product of primitive mythical drives. See Kirk Varnedoe, "Abstract Expressionism," in "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern, ed. William Rubin (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 2:615–659; Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*.

13. Ann McMullen, "More Than Curiosities," book review, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 26.3 (2002): 152–155.
14. Meriam et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 391.
15. On the Santa Fe Indian School, see Bruce Bernstein and Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995); and Cary C. Collins, "Art Crafted in the Red Man's Image: Hazel Pete, The Indian New Deal, and the Indian Arts and Crafts Program at the Santa Fe Indian School, 1932–5," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78.4 (fall 2003): 437–470.
16. "Seek to Save Indian Arts Education," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 23, 1932, clipping, Mabel Morrow Collection, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico. I am grateful to Mark Watson for this source.
17. On Native artists and the Works Project Administration, see Christine Nelson, "Indian Art in Washington: Native American Murals in the Department of the Interior Building," *American Indian Art Magazine* (spring 1995): 70–83.
18. It is worth noting that, while African American artists of this generation also operated within an art world whose market, exhibitions, and critical writing was essentialist, the production and consumption of art was never seen as a significant part of black economics or politics.
19. On the Institute of American Indian Arts, see Joy Gritton, *The Institute of American Indian Arts* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).
20. Fritz Scholder, discussion of "Directions in Indian Art," in *Indian Voices*, 205.
21. Buffy Sainte-Marie, *ibid.*, 213–214.
22. For a discussion of these issues, see Richard Schiff, "The Necessity of Jimmie Durham's Jokes," *Art Journal* 51.3 (fall 1992): 74.
23. On Tsinhnahjinnie, see Elizabeth Archuleta, "Refiguring Indian Blood through Poetry, Photography, and Performance Art," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 17.4 (winter 2005): 1.
24. For more on this notion of artistic freedom and its Kantian roots, see the introduction by Phillips and Steiner, *Unpacking Culture*, 6–8.
25. See Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, and the report of the first convocation of American Indian Scholars, *Indian Voices*.
26. This issue is discussed in Ann Eden Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), and Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940–1960* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).

27. Oscar Howe to Jeanne Snodgrass (King), curator of Indian Art at the Philbrook Museum, April 18, 1958, quoted in Jeanne Snodgrass King, "The Preeminence of Oscar Howe," in *Oscar Howe: A Retrospective Exhibition*, ed. Frederick J. Dockstader, ed. (Tulsa, Okla.: Thomas Gilcrease Museum Association, 1982), 19.
28. *Directions in Indian Art*, 13.
29. See Gritton, *The Institute of American Indian Arts*.
30. Lloyd Kiva New, discussion of "Directions in Indian Art," in *Indian Voices*, 28.
31. Fritz Scholder, *ibid.*, 196.
32. Jack Reynolds, *ibid.*, 203–204.
33. George Longfish and Joan C. Randall, "New Ways of Old Visions: the Evolution of Contemporary Native American Art," *Artspace* 6 (summer 1982): 27. The text of this article was originally given as a talk at the third national conference of the Native American Art Historians (now Native American Art Studies Association) titled "Confluences of Tradition and Change," named after a traveling exhibition of contemporary Native art.
34. Ken Shulman, "The Buckskin Ceiling and Its Discontents," *New York Times*, December 24, 2000, AR37. The term is modeled on the well-known "glass ceiling," which was coined to describe the invisible barrier that prevents women from achieving the highest ranks in the business world.
35. *Indian Voices*, 212–214.
36. W. Jackson Rushing, "Contested Ground," *New Art Examiner*, November 19, 1991, 26.
37. At the Heye Center, "The Language of American Baskets," which included both old and innovative work, ran at the same time as "Continuum: 12 Artists." For the Museum of Art and Design exhibition, see David McFadden and Ellen N. Taubman, *Changing Hands: Art without Reservation*, vol. 1 (London: Merrell, 2002), and David McFadden and Ellen N. Taubman, *Changing Hands: Art without Reservation*, vol. 2 (New York: Museum of Art and Design, 2005). The third volume is forthcoming.
38. For an excellent discussion of this museum and the issues it raises, see Amanda J. Cobb, "The National Museum of the American Indian as Cultural Sovereignty," *American Quarterly* 57.2 (June 2005), 485–508.
39. Robert Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 8 and ch. 1 *passim*.

