Past, Present and Future: Photographic Presence in New Mexico

Deborah Romanek
A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, University College London (UCL), 2019
I, Devorah Romanek Confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the relationship between historical ethnographic photographs of Native Americans, their disposition in archives and collections, and the relationship of those images to their contemporary circulation and use by Native American artists, and others, particularly in New Mexico. Having undertaken original research into mid-19th century photographs in archives internationally, pertaining to Native America in the American Southwest, new histories and a reframing of the photographs in question has been assembled. This portion of the research was undertaken both as a starting point for further investigation, and as a return to the people of New Mexico, particularly the Indigenous inhabitants of that place.

In light of the newly assembled history and reframing of various historical photographs within the photography complex/network, and in acknowledging the limitations of 20th century photographic theories, a variety of anthropological and visual culture theoretical frameworks, which value notions of ‘presence’ and ‘significance’ are given weight over previous ideas of ‘meaning’, ‘epistemology’ and ‘provenance’. This thesis explores the role of memory, notions of essentialism, and practices of racism, as they are strategically and aesthetically employed through the medium of the photographic image. The contemporary re-presentation of 19th century photographs by Indigenous artists is also examined, with an eye towards observing the manner in which, by reclaiming the past, Native Americans may go forward into the future in unimaginable and sovereign ways. The research centres on addressing the question: what is the role of the photographic image in the ongoing discourse about Native American identity?
**Impact Statement**

Research in the role of the photographic image on the ongoing discourse on Native American identity informs global public understanding of the need in building bridges between academic discourse and the politically inflected creative action of artists. It invites further academic research in this area and stresses the correlation between such research and the role it can play in supporting Indigenous sovereignty. This study returns ‘voice’ and contingency to long-silent historic photographs - and to the people to whom these photographs matter.
Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author’s Declaration</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Impact Statement</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico: The Specifics of Place</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork Locations: The Archive, the Internet and Santa Fe</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 19th century photographs of Native America: In Theory</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 19th century photographic portrait of Native America</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Fragmented Networks: The Archive</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Curator is Nervous</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Archive Framed</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Archive and the Market</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hardship, Greed and Sorrow: A Case Study</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography in Mid-19th-Century New Mexico</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits and Landscapes in the <em>Souvenir</em> Album</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who took the Photographs in the Album?</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits of Benito Juárez and his Cabinet</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits of Army Officers and Prominent Merchants</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraits of Navajo at Bosque Redondo</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Images in Circulation: All Time is Eternally Present

Digital Presence

A Beam in Thine Own Eye

Late 19th and Early 20th Century Circulation

Digital Circulation

5 Images in Situ: ‘a close-up photograph of roast mutton!’

Framing, Relations of Power, and the American Myth

The Double-Bind

Noise: Additions, Subtractions and Presence

6 The Present: A Revolution Moving Forward

Kinship and Community

Mining for Presence

Radical Shifts

Historical Presence, Contemporary Perspectives

Palimpsest

Trauma and the Grotesque

Inferring Historical Photographs

Historical Images with Something New to Say

Conclusion: The Future

Bibliography

Appendix: Field Notes Timeline

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Devorah Romanek with presence-at-hand hammer

Fig. 2 Abraham Lincoln (Various)

Fig. 3 Un élégant Indien des Réerves
Fig. 29 Unidentified Navajo woman ................................. 128
Fig. 30 Doña Jesús and her sister .................................. 129
Fig. 31 Portrait of Sobita ........................................... 132
Fig. 32 Ute and Jicarilla Indians, in the studio of Nicholas Brown ............. 132
Fig. 33 James E. Taylor scrapbook of the American West, page 114 ........... 133
Fig. 34 Unidentified Navajo man .................................. 135
Fig. 35 Navajo men at or on their way to Fort Sumner ......................... 136
Fig. 36 Cover of Dee Brown’s 1979 book Bury my heart at Wounded Knee .... 138
Fig. 37 Lieutenant Shepard ......................................... 141
Fig. 38 Officers’ quarters, Fort Union ................................ 142
Fig. 39 Colonel Albert Pfeiffer ..................................... 143
Fig. 40 Brevet Brigadier General Christopher ‘Kit’ Carson .................... 144
Fig. 41 Captain David Hammett Brotherton .......................... 145
Fig. 42 Rio Grande crossing at El Paso del Norte .......................... 148
Fig. 43 Major Cyrus C. Clark ....................................... 149
Fig. 44 First Sergeant William Messley ................................ 154
Fig. 45 Cuniff family women ....................................... 155
Fig. 46 Card Game .................................................... 156
Fig. 47 Fort Stanton .................................................. 158
Fig. 48 Personnel of L. G. Murphy and Company .......................... 159
Fig. 49 Coetta (Cadete), Chief of the Apache Nation ......................... 162
Fig. 50 Indians butchering cattle .................................. 164
Fig. 51 Military personnel in Masonic group portrait .......................... 168
Fig. 52 Navajo man ................................................... 173
Fig. 53 Unidentified Navajo boy ................................... 174
Fig. 54 Carlisle Indian School 175
Fig. 55 Excerpts from various plates from the Souvenir album 179
Fig. 56 Portrait of a Navajo man 206
Fig. 57 Screengrabs of online digital records 210
Fig. 58 Cayatanito and Manuelito by Charles M. Bell 214
Fig. 59 Cayatanito and Manuelito, Allen & Ginter cigarette cards 216
Fig. 60 Cayatanito and Manuelito, Allen & Ginter cigarette cards 217
Fig. 61 Chief James A. Garfield 218
Fig. 62 Elle of Ganado 220
Fig. 63 Nesjaja Hatali 221
Fig. 64 Studio portrait of Geronimo 222
Fig. 65 image of Geronimo from the ‘Jesse James’ deck 223
Fig. 66 Image of ‘Jim’ 227
Fig. 67 Screengrab of digital record for the five copy prints of Navajo 229
Fig. 68 “Navajo Man C. 1914” 230
Fig. 69 “Photo: Jim, Navajo”, Amazon 231
Fig. 70 “Photo: Jim, Navajo”, Media Storehouse 232
Fig. 71 “Navajo Man, C1914 iPhone 7 case” 232
Fig. 72 Yoga mat 233
Fig. 73 Throw Pillows 234
Fig. 74 Variations on Plate 57b from the Souvenir Album 237
Fig. 75 “A theme of culture: roast mutton!” 244
Fig. 76 Ralph Lauren window dressing 246
Fig. 77 Objects related to Ralph Lauren window dressing 247
Fig. 78 Video still: FUKC, 2011, by Will Wilson 253
| Fig. 79 | Vandalism of Kit Carson’s grave marker | 254 |
| Fig. 80 | Postcard racks in Santa Fe | 259 |
| Fig. 81 | Hot Springs signage | 260 |
| Fig. 82 | Wheat-pasted graffiti of a graphic of Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker | 262 |
| Fig. 83 | Peelatchiwaaxpáash/Medicine Crow | 263 |
| Fig. 84 | Bows and arrows | 267 |
| Fig. 85 | Copies of Edward S. Curtis photographs at the Häagen-Dazs | 270 |
| Fig. 86 | *An Acoma Woman* | 275 |
| Fig. 87 | *Shi masani* by Jinniibaah Manuelito | 278 |
| Fig. 88 | Detail from untitled photographic series by Andrea Ashkie | 279 |
| Fig. 89 | *Internal* by Rapheal Begay | 281 |
| Fig. 90 | *Massacred Indian #4 and Portrait of an American No. 2* by Fritz Scholder | 288 |
| Fig. 91 | *Bicentennial Indian* by Fritz Scholder | 289 |
| Fig. 92 | *Super Indian No. 2* by Fritz Scholder | 290 |
| Fig. 93 | *Navajo Woman Taking Photograph* | 291 |
| Fig. 94 | *Watching the Sunset* by Marcus Amerman and Gwendolen Cates | 293 |
| Fig. 95 | *Peaceful Defender: Chief Joseph* by Marcus Amerman | 294 |
| Fig. 96 | *Brave Leader: Geronimo* by Marcus Amerman | 296 |
| Fig. 97 | *Stormbringer* by Marcus Amerman | 297 |
| Fig. 98 | *You’re Invited to a War Party: Segway* by Frank Buffalo Hyde | 300 |
| Fig. 99 | *Crutches* by Bunky Echo-Hawk | 301 |
| Fig. 100 | *D-Fence* by Douglass Miles | 302 |
| Fig. 101 | *Resisting the Mission: Filling the Silence* by Shan Goshorn | 304 |
| Fig. 102 | *Lone Ranger and Tonto with Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull* by Sarah Sense | 308 |
| Fig. 103 | *Remembering Choctaw Ancestors* by Linda Lomehaftewa | 310 |
Fig. 104 Three monoprints by Monty Little

Fig. 105 *Head I* by Francis Bacon, and *Indian at the Bar* by Fritz Scholder

Fig. 106 *Contingency Combs* by Monty Little, and *Uncle Rudi* by Gerhard Richter

Fig. 107 *Camera in the Face* by Zig Jackson

Fig. 108 *Indian on Mission Bus* by Zig Jackson

Fig. 109 *Nikki* by Cara Romero

Fig. 110 *The Last Indian Market* by Cara Romero

Fig. 111 *8 Seconds, Dilkon Rodeo* by Sam Minkler

Fig. 112 *Sam – Walk in Beauty* by Chip Thomas

Fig. 113 *Portrait of Joe D. Horse Capture* by Will Wilson

Fig. 114 Will Wilson creating a group tintype portrait

Fig. 115 *How the West is One* by Will Wilson

Fig. 116 *How the West is One* by Will Wilson, mashup by the author

Fig. 117 From the *NDN GQ Hipster Series* by Steven Paul Judd

Fig. 118 From the *NDN GQ Hipster Series* by Steven Paul Judd

Fig. 119 Feather headdresses

Fig. 120 A page from the Ralph Lauren 2014 holiday advertising

Fig. 121 *Comanche (and Kiowa?) delegation* and *“Little,” the instigator*

Fig. 122 Various details of Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill

Fig. 123 *Auto Immune Response #6* by Will Wilson

Fig. 124 *Thirst Quenchin’* by Rapheal Begay

**List of Plates**

Plate 1 President Juárez, El Paso del Norte, Mexico

Plate 2 Señor Lerdo y Tajada, El Paso del Norte, Mexico
Plate 3 General Mejia, El Paso del Norte, Mexico  
Plate 4 Señor Yglesias, El Paso del Norte, Mexico  
Plate 5 Señor Gotien (?), El Paso del Norte, Mexico  
Plate 6 Henry Cuniffe, Am. Consul, TX  
Plate 7 Brevet Brigadier General J.H. Carleton, TX  
Plate 8 Captain David Hammett Brotherton, Mexico (?)  
Plate 9 Major Clark, Paymaster, TX  
Plate 10 Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Emil Fritz, TX  
Plate 11 Major William McCleave, TX  
Plate 12 N. Webb, Franklin, TX  
Plate 13 Officer’s Quarters, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 14 Officer’s Quarters, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 15 Repair Workshops, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 16 Government Corn Cribs, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 17 United States Army General Hospital, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 18 Buildings and Corrals, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 19 Fortifications, Fort Union, NM  
Plate 20 Government Storehouses, NM  
Plate 21 Looking South, Showing La Parroquia Church, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 22 West Side of the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 23 Southwest Corner of the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 24 Southeast Corner of the plaza, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 25 General J.H. Carleton's Quarters, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 26 U.S. Hospital, Santa Fe, NM  
Plate 27 View of Fort Marcy looking West, Santa Fe, NM
Plate 28 View inside Fort Marcy looking East, Santa Fe, NM 190
Plate 29 Church at Los Pinos Encampment, NM 191
Plate 30 Earthworks at Fort Craig, NM 191
Plate 31 Soldier's quarters, Fort Craig, NM 191
Plate 32 Street scene in Franklin, TX 191
Plate 33 Sally Port, Fort Bliss, TX 192
Plate 34 Possibly view of Fort Bliss, TX 192
Plate 35 Franklin or Fort Bliss, TX 192
Plate 36 Possibly view of Fort Bliss, TX 192
Plate 37 Officer’s Quarters, Fort Bliss, TX 193
Plate 38 Repairing Adobe Buildings, Fort Bliss, TX 193
Plate 39 Franklin or Fort Bliss, TX 193
Plate 40 View in Franklin, TX 193
Plate 41 Group of Navajo Captives, Fort Sumner, NM 194
Plate 42 Apache Captives Building the Fort, Fort Sumner, NM 194
Plate 43 Soldiers at Fort Sumner, NM 194
Plate 44 Group of Soldiers and Indians, Fort Sumner, NM 194
Plate 45 Soldiers and Tents, Fort Sumner, NM 195
Plate 46 Fort Sumner, NM 195
Plate 47 Navajo Man at Fort Sumner, NM 195
Plate 48 Navajo Chief Manuelito [Pistol Bullet], Fort Sumner, NM 195
Plate 49 Large Group of Indian Captives, Fort Sumner, NM 196
Plate 50 Apache Boy, Fort Sumner, NM 196
Plate 51 Navajo Girl, Fort Sumner, NM 196
Plate 52 Navajo Girls, Fort Sumner, NM 196
Plate 53 Navajo Men, Fort Sumner, NM ................................. 197
Plate 54 "The Belle of the Navajos", Fort Sumner, NM ................. 197
Plate 55 Navajo Man, Fort Sumner, NM ................................ 197
Plate 56 Navajo Woman and Baby, Fort Sumner, NM ............... 197
Plate 57a Navajo Man, Fort Sumner, NM ................................ 198
Plate 57b Navajo Thieves, Fort Sumner, NM ............................ 198
Plate 58 Navajo Indians, Fort Sumner, NM .............................. 198
Plate 59 Navajo Indians, Fort Sumner, NM .............................. 198
Plate 60 Navajo Chiefs Accused of Counterfeiting, Fort Sumner, NM 199
Plate 61 Navajo Women and Children, Fort Sumner, NM .......... 199
Plate 62 Navajo girls, Fort Sumner, NM ................................. 199
Acknowledgements

A different version of Chapter Three is scheduled to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press in the Fall of 2019, with the title *Hardship Greed and Sorrow: An Officer’s Photo Album of 1866 New Mexico Territory*. Limited portions of Chapters One, Four Five and Six, have been adapted from six separate exhibitions I curated at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, as follows:

- *Vernacular Photography of the Navajo Nation: The Photographs of Rapheal Begay* (slated for Winter 2019).

Limited portions of Chapters Four Five and Six, have been adapted from a published article: Romanek, D. 2015. Presence, Significance and Insistence: Photographs in Place, *Photographies* 8, 271-292. A limited portion of Chapters Four has been adapted from my contribution to a co-authored published article: Abelbeck, A., J. Denetdale and D. Romanek 2019. Double Take: Does This Viral Photo Mean What You Think It Does? *El Palacio* 124, 66-73. I am grateful to the Maxwell Museum of...
Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Taylor and Francis publishers, and El Palacio for their permission to reprint these materials.

The entirety of this thesis would not have happened, were it not for the help of many people in New Mexico and further afield. I thank Bruce Bernstein, who was a mentor to me earlier in my career, and who cracked the door open for me here in New Mexico. Regarding Chapter Three, particular thanks to the Beaumont Newhall New Mexico Council on Photography, for the generous grant in 2015 to write a book about the Souvenir photo album in the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (PoG), at the New Mexico History Museum (NMHM), with thanks to the NMHM for their support. Deep gratitude as well to Jonathan Frederick Walz, Director of Curatorial Affairs and Curator of American Art, The Columbus Museum, Georgia, and enabler of community and scholarly connections, without which the book and thesis would have not come to be; Khristaan Villela, Director, National Museum of International Folk Art, who initially invited me to talk and write with him about photographs; Daniel Kosharek, Photo Curator, PoG, NMHM, who supported and shepherded the book project from start to finish with great enthusiasm and patience and allowed me great access to the PoG; Hannah Abelbeck, Archivist, PoG, NMHM, who has been a great fellow traveller, sleuth and friend in the photo archive; Jennifer Denetdale, Associate Professor of American Studies, University of New Mexico, who participated in many conversations about Navajos and photography, as I know we will continue to do; Will Wilson, photographer, Head of Photography, Santa Fe Community College, who has been a good friend and has shared knowledge and time; Dave Phillips, retired Curator of Archaeology and former Interim Director of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, and a friend and wonderful supporter.
Other people to thank include all the many people I spoke to, Indigenous, Anglo, Nuevomexicano, artists and non-artists alike.\(^1\) It is with the greatest thanks that I acknowledge the Indigenous artists whom I met or whose work I encountered in New Mexico, and who are indeed setting a creative and mind-blowing path to a new future. Those whose work I speak about in this thesis include: Marcus Amerman, Andrea Ashkie, Shan Goshorn, Sarah Sense, Linda Lomahaftewa, Douglas Miles, Monty Little, Frank Buffalo Hyde, Bunky Echo-Hawk, Zig Jackson, Cara Romero, Sam Minkler, Chip Thomas, Nina Sanders, Jinniibaah Manuelito, Steven Paul Judd, Rapheal Begay, and Will Wilson. Having said a special thank you to Will Wilson, I am also very particularly grateful to Marcus Amerman, just for hanging out with me when I first arrived in New Mexico, and for hitting yard sales.

In London, I thank anthropologist and museum curator Jonathan King, mentor, whose belief in me when I was at the British Museum meant more to me than he would know, and who helped me dive into this thesis. I thank my advisor at UCL, Professor Chris Pinney, for not giving up on me and this thesis, despite delays, and for saying, that one time when I was having an intellectual debate with one of my favourite anthropologists and friend, Kostis Kalantzis, “I am inclined to agree with Devorah.”

Many other friends and family have supported me in ways that made this possible, and to them I am thankful for all they offered, but mostly for the love: Enid

\(^1\) The term "Nuevomexicano" is used to specify New Mexicans of Spanish decent, see, for example and explanation: Maciel and Gonzales-Berry 2000: 1 – 9.
Romanek, Walter Romanek, Nancy Miller, Broc Romanek, Dee Romanek, Jennifer Romanek, Jacob Romanek, Kevin Minogue, Dave Costello, Cara Krmpotich, Jennifer Kirker, Rachel Snow, Judy Herzl, Kim Crowder, and Sam K. Hill.

Others for whose help and support I am ever grateful include Emily Kaplan, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American Indian; Gina Rappaport, Head Archivist, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives; Andrea Velazquez in Mexico; Jane Blyth, Jennifer Schmandt and William C. Jennings, descendants of Charles T. Jennings; Elaine Rosen, daughter-in-law of Evelyn Rosen; John Wolfenstein, great-grandson of Valentin Wolfenstein; Audra Bellmore, the John Gaw Meem Archives of Southwestern Architecture, University of New Mexico; Diane Bird, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture; Dennis Daily, New Mexico State University Library; Deb Slaney, Albuquerque Museum; Anneke Groeneveld, Nederlands Fotomuseum; James Faris, anthropologist; Jennifer Brathovde, Library of Congress; Daisy Njoku, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives; Paula Fleming, retired Smithsonian photo archivist; Emily Moazami and Nathan Sowry, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian; Jonathan Eaker, Library of Congress; Danny Gonzalez, El Paso Public Library Border Heritage Center; Jason Stratman, Missouri Historical Society; Wendi Goen, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records; Bill Becker, director, photographymuseum.com; Clare Vasquez, Marianne Cavanaugh, Pat Boulware and Alex Marr, Saint Louis Art Museum; Anna Lee Pauls and Gabriel Swift, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Cynthia Mackey and Katherine Meyers Satriano, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University; Teresa Coble, Kansas Historical Society; J. Dale
West, Civil War historian; Lori Wheeler, AHEC/USAMHI; Alan Chilton, Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield; Eric Duncan, Cowan’s Auctions; Nicholas Natanson, National Archives and Records Administration; Carol Johnson, independent researcher; Lee Burke, independent researcher; Donovan Quintero, Navajo Times; Fernando Herrera, independent researcher; Jaime Bourassa, Missouri History Museum; Sarah Walpole, Royal Anthropological Institute; Matthew Daniel Mason, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; James Eason, Newberry Library; Dylan Joy, University of Texas at Austin; Barbara Angus, El Paso Museum of History; Aaron Roth, New Mexico Historic Sites; Mitch Barker, volunteer research librarian, Fort Union National Monument; Kate Fitzpatrick and Rebekah Tabah Percival, Arizona Historical Society; Rachel Adler, New Mexico State Archives; John Waggener, University of Wyoming; Grace Roybal, Bosque Redondo Memorial; Wesley Thomas, School of Diné Studies; Lydia Nibley, independent filmmaker; Will Roscoe, independent researcher and activist; Coi Drummond-Gehrig and Abby Hoverstock, Denver Public Library; Nancy Blomberg, Denver Art Museum; Harris Francis, Diné elder; Clarendra Begay, Navajo Nation Museum; Klara Kelley, anthropologist; Jeremy Rowe, independent researcher; and Steve Lansdale, Heritage Auctions.
Introduction

_The Presence of the Past in the Present: Temporality, Photographs and the Struggle for Sovereignty_

“But we will have the intangible unity which has carried us through four centuries of persecution and we will survive. We will survive because we are a people unified by our humanity...And from our greater strength we shall wear down the white man and finally outlast him. But above all, and this is our strongest affirmation, we SHALL ENDURE as a people.” (Deloria 1969: 221)

The photograph is an object of immense power. For as much as anybody has theorized about what the photograph is and what the photograph does, and many have, and for as ubiquitous as the photographic image has become, the photograph still moves us, emotionally. We are moved by what is presented. We are moved by the past. Sometimes, the past we are moved by, however, is not our own. The past we are moved by may contain a shared history, for example of colonialism, even though who is pictured there and what is pictured there may not really belong to the viewer. Yet, “The photograph acts on the viewer, happens to the viewer, comes at a viewer,” and the viewer animates the photograph (Sentilles 2010: 518). And so, the viewer is exposed.

Roland Barthes, in his 1981 book _Camera Lucida_, understood this impact of the photograph and suggested ways to speak of it with his introduction of the terms _studium_ and _punctum_. He defined photography as: “…asymbolic, as irreducible to
the codes of language and culture, and as something that acts on the body as much as it engages the mind.” (Hoogland 2014: 99). Sandra Rota defines these concepts well when she states: “‘Studium’ denoting the cultural, linguistic and political interpretation of a photograph; ‘punctum’ …denoting the wounding, personally touching detail which establishes a direct relationship with the object or person within it.” (2011: 29); or as Bathes says in his own words, punctum “is the element which rises from the scene, shoot out of it like an arrow, and pierces me.” (1981: 26). Nevertheless, it should be carefully noted that punctum does not reside as an objective fact within a photograph, but rather is born of a personal and subjective experience with the image(s) at hand. As a viewer, I was wounded in my encounter with the photographs that form the core of this study, photographs of Native Americans from the 19th century, but that wound did not compare to the four centuries of persecution referred to by Vine Deloria Jr., renowned Native American activist of the American civil rights era, in the opening quote. And so, it was through the studium of the images, the cultural and political implications of the large volume of such photographs in innumerable archives around the globe that I found the topic for this study.

More than one community has been the focus of the ethnography. Native Americans and mostly Native American artists are at the heart of the questions asked in the pages that follow. However, this thesis is also an observation of the Indigenous peoples of New Mexico more largely (and on occasion further afield, for example Indigenous artists who have come to New Mexico to live or work) in relationship, often contentious relationship, to the ‘larger’ culture, the naturalized ‘American’
Anglo/Western culture. Questions concerning the state through the function of archive and the history, mechanics, and protocols of archiving are also central to this query. In his 2014 book *Moved by the Past*, Dutch historian Eelco Runia extrapolates on notions of historical presence, surmising that when actors (people, social agents) are impacted by the presence of the past to such a degree that they are motivated into action in the present by it, then they are ‘moved by the past’, (xiv), which is to say moved into action (perhaps even revolt), as opposed to being just emotionally touched. The concept and question of historical presence, and how and if it might reside in photographs is one of the central concerns of this study. Further, Runia posits: “that being ‘moved by the past’ comes in two modalities: a ‘regressive’ and a ‘revolutionary’ one.” In looking at the push and pull between communities, and between communities and institutions, as to how they relate to the photographs in question, there is an opportunity to see both the regressive and revolutionary aspects of how the collective of images of Native America reside in *place* in the archive, on the internet, and in New Mexico.

While the larger question of this thesis concerns contemporary Indigenous identity in the American Southwest in relation to historical photographs, I first came to the topic working in London. There, beginning in 2007, I was working as an assistant curator at the British Museum, supervising the day to day work on a project funded by the Getty Foundation to document ethnographic photographs from Oceania and

---

2 *Western culture, Western civilization, or the West* are loaded and problematic phrases, suffering from ‘logocentrism’ as discussed in the work of Walter Mignolo (2002: 58), but will be used in this thesis to refer to countries or cultures that are European, or founded through European colonial enterprise. The term ‘Anglo’ will also be used, to refer to white English-speaking people, not including people of Hispanic descent or identity, as it is a term commonly used in New Mexico. And while this thesis looks at contemporary Indigenous identity, which does sit in relation to other identities, and is analysed from that perspective in this thesis, it should be noted that “The significance of Native-American history cannot be evaluated solely in terms of conflicts with non-Indians.” (Davies and Iverson 1995: 15)
North America. Of particular interest to me, as someone who is from North America and who has worked with Native North American communities, were photographs from North America from the collection of William Blackmore. William Henry Blackmore was an English philanthropist, collector of Native American photographs and objects and founder of the Salisbury Blackmore Museum (Sandweiss 2004: 201; Hannavy 2008: 68, 166, 1426). When the Blackmore Museum was dispersed in the 20th century, some decades after Blackmore’s death, his object collections, and photographs were distributed to various other museums, with a large portion of the photograph collections going to the British Museum (Hamber 2010: 8, 91).

The Blackmore collection at the British Museum is comprised of 41 albums, and a small number of photographs not placed in albums, but rather, arranged loosely in boxes. The whole Blackmore collection, whose photographs date from roughly the mid-1860s through the 1870s, has a total of 1,416 photographs, consisting mostly of individual and group portraits of Native Americans, and a very small number of landscapes. The collection consists of albumen and salt prints mounted, as typical for the period, on cardstock in varying formats - as carte de visite (the most prevalent format for photographs from 1860 – 1880 (Burstow 2016: 287), cabinet cards, stereoscopes, and larger format cards variably sized, the largest of those being approximately 25 x 35 cm.

---

3 The Getty Foundation-funded project to catalogue a portion of the pictorial collection of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas took place from October 2007 - September 2009. 19,588 photographs from Oceania were documented, and 4,638 photographs from North and South America were documented, with the great majority of those being from North America.
4 The British Museum Blackmore collection contains 1,104 photographs in the set of 41 albums, and 312 photographs placed loosely in boxes, making a total of 1,416 images.
The photographers who are named or could be deduced in the collection include some of the better-known photographers of the mid to late 19th century, who photographed Native America and/or the landscapes of the Southwest – William Henry Jackson, Zeno Schindler, Alexander Gardner, Eadweard Muybridge. The works of other less well-known known photographers, who become salient further on in this thesis, particularly the Duhem Bros. and N. Brown & Son, also form part of the collection. The British Museum Blackmore collection covers all regions of Indigenous North America, but albums 9 and 17 specifically, with depictions of the Southwest, are of central importance to this thesis, with roughly 50 of the photographs from those two albums being relevant for this study. Other photographs in the British Museum collection are also relevant to this thesis and will be discussed further on, as will many other collections of photographs found in museums, libraries, and archives around the globe. Nevertheless, it was the Blackmore collection in London which initially inspired this project.

I remember how one day, I sat in the Anthropology Library and Research Centre at the British Museum, rain glazing the windows, wondering how images that were from a previous century, depicting people and places that existed across the ocean, came to be there at all. Further, when the Getty project began, that collection and all the ethnographic photographs were hardly ever accessed, not publicly available, and almost completely undocumented. The Blackmore collection had no documentation.

---

5 Of the 208 images in Album nine, about 40 of them, roughly, are relevant to this thesis, and of the eight images in album 17, all are relevant for this thesis.
6 Before the Getty project, all the photographs that were part of the collection of the Anthropology Library and Research Centre were only available to see in person, with an appointment. While any member of the public could make an appointment to see photographs from the collection, particularly
other than what could be found in inscriptions on the photographs themselves, a feature true of almost all the North American photographs in the British Museum collection. I found very few clues as to who or what might be pictured in those images. Yet, even with the sparse information provided in the inscriptions and the knowledge I divined through very preliminary research, it was clear from the start that the images in this collection were compelling and historically important.

However, because of the lack of specific information detailing what was represented in the photographs (for example, the sitter’s identity, the date of photographing, the occasion or location), I found the relationship between images, how they might have been linked or related, even harder to discern. And, it is exactly this juncture, the relationship between images, their linkages - the network they form - how the photographs and images that appear in this study sit in relationship to one another, the types of connections that they form, be that literally in historical context, or socially, as actors in a network (Latour 2008), that drives many of the arguments that will unfold throughout the following pages. Further light is shed on the network by disentangling the web-like meshwork (Ingold 2015) of movement of images and actors between sites or nodes in the network.

Having spent many months researching the North American ethnographic photograph collection at the British Museum, I left London and headed to New Mexico, equipped with my initial questions, a box of books and a waterproof tent. In light of the fact that there was no real guide to the collection, the prospect of public access to the collection was clearly a very limited affair.

My original stay when I arrived in New Mexico was in Hyde Memorial State Park, New Mexico’s first State Park, located in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in Santa Fe. I arrived in August of 2011, August being in the middle of monsoon season in New Mexico. Although Santa Fe is a desert, a ‘high
had been to New Mexico once before, for a few days in 2000, but it was not a place I had deep knowledge of prior to my arrival to begin undertaking research for this thesis. I arrived in Santa Fe with some anxiety, some high hopes, and my initial questions that working with the Blackmore collection photographs had raised. While still in London, those initial questions brought to mind Roland Barthes, in his intellectually engaging and emotional book, *Camera Lucida*, in which he describes his experience of looking at a photograph of his mother: “With regard to many of these photographs, it was history that separated me from them. Is history not simply that time when we were not born? … Thus, the life of someone whose existence has somewhat preceded our own encloses in its particularity the very tension of History, its division.” (1981: 64, 65) Through the course of my research, particularly in my time in New Mexico, I have acquired a fuller understanding of the history of the photographs and that history will be presented in these pages. Many of the photographs under consideration are quite significant in the story of those portrayed, and of those who came after them in direct lineage or association – namely the descendants and contemporary members of tribes and nations of those portrayed. Until I conducted my research, a good portion of that history, and therefore the stories associated with it - had been, thanks to the mechanics of the archive, forgotten or lost (Derrida 1995: 14; and Cross and Peck 2010: 127, 136), or fragmented (Cross and Peck: 136) or misrecognized (Lacan 2008; Althusser 2016).

desert’ the monsoon season, which runs from June 15th through September 30th, can dump dangerous amounts of precipitation, and hence the need for a waterproof tent.

I thought it worth considering why Barthes’s book has had such a large impact and is so resonant, and I propose that it is because he anticipated the questions that would arise, not just in the disciplines of anthropology, history or photography, but in the larger arena of ‘science’ and ‘empiricism’ itself, “how can we think of history [or anthropology, or photography, or…] as something real, without being a naïve realist or a naïve empiricist?” (Froeyman 2012: 393) Barthes’s inclusion of emotional experience, his own emotional experience, related to his and others’ relationships with photographs is part of what makes this book so powerful.
Indeed, it was history that separated me from these photographs, a lapse of more than a hundred and fifty years in some cases, between the time the photographs were taken, and my encounter with them, but it was more than that. I was separated from the photographs, and those who are represented in them, by divisions that are greater than just time: the separations were also geographic, cultural, personal and specific.\footnote{Apropos the term ‘geographic,’ “photography’s power to create place,” is what is implied, the photograph’s ability to “differentiat[e] between here and there.” (Schmidt and Faisst 2019: 2) In highlighting the concrete nature of specific photographs, and what is portrayed or represented in them, and how the specificities might be different from my own personal experience, I am drawing on the ideas of Jean-François Lyotard, his work \textit{The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge} (Lyotard 1984: xxiv, ), originally published in 1979, in which Lyotard specifies the existence of a postmodern “incredulity towards meta-narratives” that rejects the validity of this type of narrative and he calls for, instead, narratives that are “provisional, contingent, temporary, and relative.” (Barry 2002: 87)} I would, therefore, add to Barthes’ description of time, as that which comprises history, the following qualities as well: place, ontology, and biography.

Even though I was distanced by history – time, place, ontology and biography – from the original context of these photographs, the actual making of them, I was nevertheless in intimate proximity to the images housed in the British Museum collection. Having direct access to the photographs themselves, meant that I was also connected to the photographs in ways that others may not have been, either before the pictures’ dispersal online or subsequent to their online migration and digital dissemination. The difference that such intimate proximity to original photographs, versus access to digital copies makes, is multi-layered. Haidy Geismar, in her introduction to \textit{Museum Object Lessons for the Digital Age}, drawing on the words of Lorrain Datson, makes this point: “Object lessons [in this case specifically, photograph lessons] are ideas brought into being by things [by photographs], not just as communicating vehicles, but as sites of meaning \textit{animated} by their materiality.” (2018: xv) It was my direct encounter with this collection of some thousands of
photographs of Native North Americans that roused my curiosity and prompted an initial sense of obligation to know something more about what that collection could mean or be about. Direct contact with the materiality of the photographs also activated the sense of obligation.

I deliberately choose to use the word ‘obligation’ in my drive to learn more about the photographs, because my interest transcends simply being intrigued by the stories that the photographs might have to tell. As a student and practitioner of anthropology and museology, and as a non-Indigenous person working with Indigenous communities, I feel a great sense of accountability to address the impact of colonization, and institutionalized racism (Foucault 1991; Pels 2008) as found in the practices of my disciplines, and as found in the archive and museum. This study has been motivated as much by an interest to “return to the other that which racism had taken away,” as by a desire to understand in anthropological terms the type of actor that historic ethnographic photographs are or can be (Binkley 2016: 181).

While this thesis is in part an ethnographic study, undertaken with Indigenous people and communities in Santa Fe, New Mexico, it is also an inquiry into questions concerning history and the past, “the role that representation plays in making the

---

10 In his essay Anti-racism beyond empathy: Transformations in the knowing and governing of racial difference sociologist Sam Binkley “examines racism and anti-racism in terms of their functioning within the economy of a social/racial contract, in which anti-racism is understood as an obligation to return to the other that which racism has taken away. Alternative modes of White anti-racism are proposed that, drawing on Foucault’s notion of an ethics of the self, imagine alternative practices of White anti-racism beyond the terms of a moral economy of anti-racism.” His is a point well-taken, but in an honest appraisal of the original motivations for this undertaking, it was the very moral economy outlined by Brinkley, the motivation of guilt that informed my desire ‘to return to the other that which racism had taken away’ that had, and still does, comprise the burden of obligation I felt to better understand the history, position and story of the photographs that I did and do work with (2016: 181, 186).
present” (Froeyman 2012: 393), and “the unrepresented way the past is present in the present” (Runia “Presence”: 1). The observation of the role of the past in the present, through the instrument of representation, is of key importance regarding implications for the future, and who or what may determine that future. As Vine Deloria Jr. noted in his book *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* almost fifty years ago: “Peoplehood is impossible without cultural independence, which in turn is impossible without a land base.” (1969: 180). In other words, self-determination and sovereignty are not possible when one does not have the means, the autonomy or the political leverage, to determine the terms of representation and community identity, which is in turn dependent upon, and I would argue, mutually and dialectically related to land (and water) rights. That is why this study is so important, photographs are crucial agents in the determination of achieving a free and sovereign existence upon the land and in relation to its resources. To observe these themes in action – representation, presence and temporality, sovereignty, identity, and, to a lesser degree and through implication - land and water rights - this thesis scrutinizes and takes as its fundamental concern the question: what is the role of the photographic image in the ongoing discourse about Native American identity? This question has something in common with Poole’s suggestion that we use:

…visual images as a means to rethink the representational politics, cultural dichotomies, and discursive boundaries at work in the encounter between Europeans and the postcolonial … world…[as part of achieving] A second goal … to examine the role of visual images in the structuring and

---

11 Theories of ‘presence’ by Eelco Runia, as discussed in the work of Anton Froeyman.
12 The importance of water rights as tied to land rights is increasingly becoming a global topic, but in the region that is currently called the American Southwest, water rights have always been a preeminent concern. See, for example: *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (Worster 2010); and *Dividing New Mexico’s Waters, 1700-1912* (Baxter 1997).
reproduction of the scientific projects, cultural sentiments, and aesthetic
dispositions that characterize modernity in general, and modern racial
discourse in particular. (1997: 6)

Poole’s idea of ‘visual economy’ is useful in thinking about specific applications of
whole genres and oeuvres of photographs as they may be found in certain contexts,
although it pre-dates some of the theoretical thinking employed in this study and
there is some lack of nuance to this concept. At the very least, the use of the concept
of ‘modernity’, found, for example, in the title, or in phrases like ‘modern racial
discourses’, flies in the face of the summations found in Chapter One and the
Conclusion of this study, per Bruno Latour’s assertion that “We have never been
modern” (2002: 11).13

19th century ethnographic photographs of Native Americans from the Southwest,
with a focus on New Mexico, provide the starting point for this interrogation in
Chapter One.14 Hevia’s study, concerning late 19th and early 20th century
photographs that depict China during the Boxer Uprising, also informs my research
concerning ‘presence’ as related to the photograph. Importantly, he pays special
attention to the spatiotemporal compression photographs are capable of:

Perhaps no technological innovation of the nineteenth century compressed
time and space more effectively and efficiently than photography.[…]

Photography not only created a sense of simultaneous temporal presence

---

13 Reference in particular the phrase “Hardship, Greed and Sorrow” in Chapter Three, to counter the
notion of ‘modernity’ as delivered by the arrival of Western culture, government or practice.
14 Throughout this thesis, various terms will be used to talk about people who are Native American
(e.g. Native American, American Indian, Indigenous, etc.), because often Indigenous people use such
varied phrases interchangeably themselves, when not specifically identifying the culture(s) they are
part of. For a discussion of the development of the variable terms used for Native Americans broadly,
in relation to the development of Pan-Indianism emerging as a “product of a co-constituted
relationship with terms such as colonizer, settler, and American,” see: Bruyneel 2007: ix; or Roxanne
between a viewer and the images in a photographic print, but was capable of bringing distant and remote places into the visible space of a viewing subject. (2009: 79)

In this study, I document and analyse 19th century photographs taken in the American Southwest, specifically photographs of, or concerning, Native Americans and Native America. My observations concerning the processes of photograph production, collecting and archiving also take into account how all of these aspects of process are part of a larger network, what Hevia refers to as the ‘photography complex’. Of this complex, Hevia states: “I begin with the photography complex as a tool of empire” (2009: 83) – and so, in Chapter One, I begin by considering the photography complex as a tool of colonization. Hevia himself is drawing on the work of Donna Haraway (1992) and Bruno Latour (2008) in his conception of the photography complex, making implicit use of the concepts of ‘material-semiotic actors’ (Haraway 1992: 298) and ‘actor network theory’ (ANT) (Latour 2008). Like Haraway and Latour, Hevia questions the “clear ontological demarcations between the ‘mechanical’ and the human” (2009: 79), instead, intoning a system of networks surrounding the photograph - the photographer, that which is photographed, transportation and communication networks, production and distribution networks linking faraway places to end-users, storage and preservation facilities and the archive. In identifying the archive as a new reality, Hevia recognizes that its epistemological status requires attention. (2009: 81)

Haraway (1992) introduces the idea of human and non-human actors (Haraway1992: 298), which Latour makes use of in actor network theory (ANT) (2008), and which
is applicable to the actors that appear in all the pages of this study, with human actors (for example, photographers, portrait subjects, collectors of photographs) and non-human actors (the photographs and subsequent image reproductions, the archive, etc.) forming the network of concern regarding the central question in this thesis. The idea of embracing theories concerning networks that consist of human and non-human actors is particularly fitting for this study, and beyond fitting, it might actually be essential. This is in light of the fact that “Both new materialist philosophy of science and Indigenous studies scholarship have developed theories about the agency of non-human things” (Rosiek, et al. 2019: 1).

Rosiek, Snyder and Pratt argue for respectful anti-colonial engagement, making the point that:

> In Indigenous studies scholarship, non-human agency is taken as a given and so is less frequently introduced as a general concept. Instead, there is more emphasis on the formation of relations with particular other-than-human agents. This is a reflection, in part, of the fact that there is no one ‘Indigenous’ cosmology or metaphysics. Within this diversity, however, there are repeated and consistent references to an understanding of the character of agency as something that emerges out of particular circumstances in such a way that its most salient features are missed if it is dealt with primarily as a general abstraction. In Spirit and Reason, Standing Rock Sioux scholar Vine Deloria (1999b) writes, ‘Indians do not talk about nature as some kind of concept or something “out there.” They talk about the immediate environment in which they live. They do not embrace all trees or love all rivers and mountains. What is important is the relationship you have
with a particular tree or a particular mountain.’ (p. 223) This emphasis on particularity of relations is tied, in Deloria’s writings, to an understanding that these are relations with other agents. (Rosiek, et al. 2019: 7)

Regarding networks comprised of human and non-human actors, Bourdieu’s theory of habitus is an effective complement to Hevia’s photography complex and Latour’s ANT. Bourdieu defines the habitus like this:

> The habitus, an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition. (1984: 101)

When considering the human/photograph relationship as a network, folding in notions of habitus as “the permanent internalisation of the social order in the human body” (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013: 130), makes room for expansion of key concepts within the photography complex and ANT, moving beyond the material-semiotic composition of actors (Latour 2008: 54 -65), to consider an embodied experience of the network. Throughout Latour’s *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (2008), the only ‘body’ that gets mentioned, is the ‘body politic’. Haraway, for her part, does make note of the role of the body, stating that “…bodies as objects of knowledge are material-semiotic nodes” (1992: 298), which supports the idea of the importance of the body in relation to the photograph. Recognizing human/photograph relationships as embodied experiences on the human side of the equation is critical in approaching Runia’s theory of historical
presence, and in considering how historical presence might be held by individuals in
the body. Michael Taussig in his 1992 essay *Physiognomic Aspects of Visual Worlds*
relates: “[there is] a palpable, sensuous, connection between the very body of the
perceiver, and the perceived.” (16)

Consideration of the embodiment of presence is an imperative within the scope of
this study, because ‘the body’ of Indigenous peoples is often the site of historical
trauma (Walters, et al. 2011), and disembodying the concept of historical presence
disavows that trauma. The very title of Runia’s 2014 book *Moved by the Past:
Discontinuity and Historical Mutation*, implies a human, emotional and embodied
response: to be ‘moved’ is to be impacted, to be affected, to be touched - all
responses which can be felt and experienced in the body. Approached from yet
another angle, concerning the embodiment of the human/photograph network,
Foucault’s (1979) ideas concerning discipline and violence are also instructive. For
Foucault, discipline is a “structure and power that have been impressed on the body
[with violence], forming permanent dispositions” (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001: 130).
The concept of discipline as related to structure, power and violence becomes of
particular relevance when considering both the archive and the internet, subjects I
address in Chapters Two and Four. It should be noted as well, that the initial
photographing of Native Americans in the 19th century by colonizers and settlers
was, by and large, an authoritative act of imposition, as Jane Lydon notes in her
2006 book, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians*, this was done as a
way to define and manage “…indigenous people through widely circulated and
effective visual language.” (2) Lydon does, however, in arguing the other side, go on
to note “at the same time, this archive reveals that Aboriginal people often chose to
participate in the photographic project, sometimes with enthusiasm and skill.”

(Lydon 2006: 2) The complicating of the issue of authority, agency and power
struggles concerning the role of Native Americans as the subjects of portraits in the
19th century is necessary, in order not to “…[disempower] tribal people who see
their ancestors in these photographs, oversimplifying specific and often complex
human relations, or simply shutting down discussion.” (Dubin 1999: 71)\(^\text{15}\)

The consideration in Chapters One, Two and Three of the origins of the
ethnographic photographs central to this study - concerning their production,
archiving and 19th century circulation - is followed in Chapters Four, Five and Six
by an examination of how the photographs are circulated and positioned today, in
contemporary life. Particular attention is paid to how contemporary Native American
artists themselves place or situate (literally or figuratively) these images in their own
work, and to what end. More than being a form of recollection, nostalgia,
entertainment, or an expression of style, the 19th century photographic portrait of
Native America is hypothesized as a contemporary social agent and political
operative.\(^\text{16}\) Martyn Jolly describes this type of photograph: “anthropological
photographs that were not made to document individuals, but to identify
anthropological types; and not as systematic social records, but as fragmented
scientific specimens.” (Jolly 2013)

The deployment of this type of photograph as agent and operative, as seen through
the lens of Runia’s concepts of presence, can, however, be positioned variously,

\(^{15}\) Also cited in Edwards in Banks and Ruby 2011: 175.

\(^{16}\) The phrase ‘the 19th century portrait of Native America’ is meant to indicate any one such portrait
that could stand in for the whole. In Chapter One, this will be exemplified by a photograph by
Edward Curtis.
motivated by different desires, and so result in very different ends and real-life consequences. In both the ‘regressive’ and the ‘revolutionary’ mode of being ‘moved by the past’, the linearity of time is adjourned, and a primordial ‘circularity’ reclaims its rights.” (Runia 2014: xiv) However, the discrepancy and distance between what happens when historical presence is activated from one modality versus another is immense. The photograph, with its attendant historical presence, can be constituent in a larger system imposed by the status quo to maintain the status quo, a ‘regressive’ use of this type of representation. Alternatively, the photograph can be re-appropriated, retaken, reintroduced and reincorporated by Indigenous communities and individuals as a form of connecting with the presence of the past, a way of being ‘moved by the past’ as a ‘revolutionary’ act (Runia 2014: xiv). Both of these modalities will be assessed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Like many other photographs situated in the archives in heritage institutions, the Native North American photographs in the British Museum collection have suffered a loss of context, or more accurately, a loss of situational framing related to their original production (Bal 2012: 133 – 137), amounting to the severing of “personal and collective biographies” (Banks and Vokes 2010: 138). What became clear to me while researching online, and even more clear when I arrived in New Mexico, was that these historical ethnographic photographs are very operational in contemporary, everyday signification and exchange.¹⁷ To elaborate briefly on the use of the term “framing” as opposed to “context,” which will prove important throughout this study, I draw on the work of Mieke Bal, Dutch cultural and literary theorist, who

¹⁷ The term ‘signification’ is used to evoke semiotics, specifically as related to the photographic image, as originally discussed in Roland Barthes Rhetoric of the Image (2007).
outlines the important distinction between these two words and concepts in looking at the situational circumstance of images. Framing can be summarised as “‘an acknowledged active intervention on the part of the scholar/critic,’ and context, ‘an objectivist appeal to an allegedly pre-existing set of historical data’.” (Schutt and Berry 2011: 36). Put another way, ‘context’ has positivist connotations that don’t acknowledge the active process that is engaged in the ongoing creation of circumstance, as Roy Dilley makes clear, and as will be elaborated on in Chapter Five (1999 34-5). The mechanics of how ethnographic photographs of Native Americans operate in contemporary life and discourse is a subject explored in the last three chapters. However, the set-up, the conditions, that allow them to operate in this way are predicated not only in their actual disposition within the archive (as I show in Chapter Two), but also in the ways they circulate outside and beyond the archive in a variety of electronic and materially reproduced forms (illustrated in Chapter Four).

In Chapters Two, Four and Five, there is an observation of the images in question and how they are to be found in many locations simultaneously. A look at the images as they are housed and archived in cultural heritage institutions, while they are at the same time circulating online, while they are at the same time also found materially reproduced in the contemporary moment on t-shirts and the like, is examined. The indexical relationship between these types of reproductions, the “virtual and the actual” (Boellstorff 2012: 40) is also critical to understanding the role these images play in people’s contemporary lives. Viewing any image in one single situation is inadequate: neither looking solely at the image as it exists in the archive, nor looking solely at it as it exists circulated online, nor looking solely at it in material or
artefactual form will afford a comprehensive revelation about the photographic image as an active agent in contemporary life. Rather, it is a matter of observing the manner in which meaning is constructed during the back and forth motion between these various constructs where these images may reside. It is precisely in the movement between the situational existences of these images in a larger network, where (contested) meaning and identity, as derived from or imposed by these photographic images, is produced—a meshwork if you will, per anthropologist Tim Ingold, in which “everything tangles with everything else, the result is …a meshwork.” (Ingold 2015: 3) Photographs contained within the larger category and network of ‘Native North American ethnographic image’ may index and signify many things and categories, but they also index and signify each other. On some basic level, the photograph, seen in the light of the theory of semiotics (Peirce 1998: 50-52) and the writings of Roland Barthes, is an index, and an authentication (more than a representation), of the real world (1981:87-88). But depending on the situation, the frame, a given photograph is positioned in, it may in fact index the entire genre of photographs it is a constituent of, thus coercing the image to function as a tautology in a closed system. Following notions of historic presence, this is a regressive use of the past (Runia 2014: xiv). The distinction between Latour’s ANT and Ingold’s meshwork is important to note, because while these theories have great overlap in their suppositions, there are also a great difference in these theories. The main difference in these theories is where they posit and locate the action in the larger systems that they each take as their subject. For Latour, the agency in ANT resides in the constituent actors in a network, the nodes or sites of those actors. Ingold observes the vitality of systems and structures lies in the connections
themselves, in the linkages, correspondences and interstices – in the movement between ANT’s nodes if you will (e.g. Latour 2008: 44; Ingold 2013: 24).

The complexity of observing one image as it may simultaneously reside in multiple states of existence is a massive undertaking and requires clear language to attempt tracking all of the moving parts. Therefore, for the purpose of clarity, I briefly lay out definitions of key terms which will be used. The term ‘photograph’ will be used only to indicate an analogue photograph, or when speaking of contemporary photographs, born-digital photographs that are ‘original’ in that they are not mechanical or chemical reproductions of other images, that are taken, and when relevant, printed in the era of their creation. ‘Printed in the era of their creation’, is an important caveat, because in the 19th century it was common enough that one photographer might take a photograph, then create a negative to sell to another photographer, who would then go on to make a print from the negative purchased. That print, though printed by a different photographer than the one who took the photo, would be considered ‘original’ and the print created would be considered a ‘photograph’ proper. Later copies of photographs taken in a previous era will be called a ‘reproduction photograph’: that said, the line between a photograph and reproduction photograph is rather blurry because sometimes it is hard to say what constitutes an era. But, for example, it would be reasonable to apply the term ‘reproduction photograph’ to a photograph taken in the mid 19th century, reproduced in the early 20th century, with, for example, almost 40 years between the time the

---

18 Ingold, in speaking of the energy of relations residing in the very correspondence between things, the sympathetic ‘with’ as opposed to the accretive ‘and,’ he also refers to the place where things centre, the ‘heart,’ as a ‘knot’. Latour also refers to ‘knots’ and these are his ‘nodes’, so indeed, there is great overlap in these theories, yet, if one can imagine, a series of cords running from knot to knot, Latour would illuminate the knots, and Ingold the cords between the knots.
photograph was taken and reprinted, particularly when reprinted with different technology or chemistry than that used in the era when the photograph was taken.

Lastly, copies of what was represented in an original photograph, in whole or in part, reproduced online and/or otherwise materially reproduced (for example, a 19th century photograph reproduced in a 21st century poster) will be referred to as an ‘image’. The following examples are offered to illustrate all three categories. Firstly, the ambrotype of Abraham Lincoln taken on August 13, 1860, by the photographer Preston Butler (Fig. 2a) - if one were holding the actual ambrotype in one’s hand, that ambrotype would be ‘the photograph’. Secondly, if one were to obtain a copy of that photograph (Fig. 2b), from, for example, the film copy negative of the image, from the Library of Congress where the original photograph is also currently held (that is to say, a rather exact copy with no alterations, additions or deletions from the original photograph) that could be considered a ‘reproduction photograph’. Lastly, one might encounter that image of Lincoln online, for example, either in the digital records for the first two figures (Fig. 2c), or the image as reproduced on a pillow printed with the Butler image of Lincoln and available to purchase online, but manipulated such that Lincoln is wearing Michael Jordan’s basketball jersey (Fig. 2d). These instances would be ‘the image’.
Fig. 2a and b. a) “The photograph” Preston Butler (August 13, 1860), Abraham Lincoln, Philadelphia, PA. Half-plate ambrotype, Image. #LC-DIG-ppmsca-17159. b) “The reproduction photograph” Digital File from black and white film copy negative. #LC-DIG-ppmsca-17159.

Fig. 2c and d. c) “The image” Both images of Lincoln by Preston Butler as they appear available in the online record. #LC-DIG-ppmsca-17159. Photo credits a, b and c: The Library of Congress. d) Abe Lincoln in a Michael Jordan jersey. Photo credit: Fine Art America online.19

From the outset, these definitions are offered as guides, as opposed to static and immutable definitions because when it comes to the indexical but perilous and

unstable categories of visual representation and the location of an image, it is not always clear where an image resides. This unlocatable ‘original’ or source, which obscures but does not eradicate historical presence, is, however, an important concern in the circulation of historical photographs, which becomes more evident in Chapter Four. To clarify some of the concerns and difficulties the non-locatable original will cause, as an example of the unstable category of ‘location’ of an image, consider a glass negative from the collection of the British Museum purchased from the Phillips auction house, a 19th century glass negative of a Blackfoot man (Fig. 3) holding a blanket, standing in front of a tipi.

![Fig. 3. Photographer unknown (ca. late 19th century). Un élégant Indien des Réserves. Glass copy negative. #Am,G.N.2270 Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum.](image)

The glass negative could either be an original glass negative or possibly a copy negative. However, the glass negative is an image of an image cut out of a magazine that has been pinned to a board. The board onto which the cut-out magazine image is pinned is visible in the photographic image of the cut-out magazine image. How many places does this image exist? In Canada, where the original photograph may have been taken; in the collection of the original photographer (whomever and
wherever that may be); in whatever attics and archives the magazine may be stored in; in London, in the collection of the British Museum; wherever it may be that you are reading this account. And just what are the boundaries and borders of the image? The original photograph, which may have expanded beyond the image that the magazine presented; the magazine crop-line; the board behind the cut-out magazine, as it is framed by the negative edges in the copy that exists at the British Museum? Is this an original photograph? Putting aside the question of whether this negative is a copy negative, let’s say it isn’t, the fact that this is a photograph of a photograph, a double indexicality if you will, is part of where the confusion comes in. The photograph in the photograph is itself a copy, a photographic image reproduced in a magazine: this begs the questions of whether this image is original and where it is originally located. The conundrum brings to mind the ‘medium/message confusion’ outlined by Baudrillard in his discussion of Marshall McLuhan’s medium and message:

“The medium itself is no longer identifiable as such, and the confusion of the medium and the message (McLuhan) is the first great formula of this new era. There is no longer a medium in the literal sense: it is now intangible, diffused, and diffracted in the real, and one can no longer even say that the medium is altered by it.” (2014: 29, 41)

Baudrillard goes on to say how the diffuse and diffracted nature of the simulacra also dislocates, or I would say, obscures, the centre or locis of power (the use of the plural “locis” is purposeful, because there may be more than one centre of power):

That discourse ‘circulates’ is to be taken literally: that is, it no longer goes from one point to another, but it traverses a cycle that without distinction
includes the positions of transmitter and receiver, now unlocatable as such. Thus, there is no instance of power, no instance of transmission - power is something that circulates and whose source can no longer be located… (2014: 41).

The locis of power, the heft of presence, when it comes to representation vis a vis the photograph has become diffuse and diffracted by virtue of the technology itself, and the technologies of image circulation and reproduction. Walter Benjamin, in his 1935 essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, said as much about reproduced works and their loss of mystical power and aura, which was, according to Benjamin, applicable to the photograph: “Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be” (2007: 220). But perhaps the locis of power is only obscured. Perhaps the amplification of the indexicality of the photographic image through the increase in the number of things that can be signified by virtue of proliferating technology diverts attention away from seeing or experiencing what has been there all along and persists, the presence of the past. In *Reassembling the Social*, Latour makes use of the ideas of 19th century French sociologist Gabriel Tarde in clarifying the power of the micro. One could think of this in terms of the micro being, for example, one original photograph, and the macro, for example, being multiple reproductions and proliferation of that one original photograph, or even the entire genre within which that photograph exists: But it is Tarde, not surprisingly, who offered the most radical insights about the background necessary for every activity to emerge. This is the consequence of his interpretation of the links between the big and the small…The big (states, organizations, markets) is an amplification but also a
simplification of the small. Only Tarde could reverse common sense that much in quietly stating that: ‘So, too, there is generally more logic in a phrase than in a discourse, and more in a single discourse than in a succession or group of discourses; there is more in one special rite than in a whole religion, in one point of law than in a whole legal code, in one particular scientific theory than in the whole body of science; and there is more in a single piece of work executed by one workman than in the sum total of his performances.’ … The small holds the big. Or rather the big could at any moment drown again in the small from which it emerged and to which it will return (2008: 243).

Though I have emphasized that relationships between images is of primary importance in this study, accentuating the importance of the body of images, it may also be that ‘the small holds the big,’ and despite the proliferation of images, ‘aura’, a historical presence, perseveres, and any one single image may hold the greatest cosmic significance compared to the body of images. The small holding the big is a theme that emerged many times throughout research for this study, and a concept worth holding, in reading on.

It is the aim and obligation of this study to attempt to observe, in the pages to come, the mechanics of power as they might be perceptible in the expression of historical presence, be those expressions regressive or revolutionary. And while the contexts/frames within which this all may be observed (in the archive, on the internet, or on a pillow) are many, and likewise diffuse, Santa Fe, New Mexico, as a place to ground the network in question, a place where all parts of the Venn diagram of moving parts might intersect, seemed an ideal place to observe the convergences.
**New Mexico: The Specifics of Place**

In January 1998, as (some) New Mexicans were preparing to celebrate the Cuatrocentenario of New Mexico, the commemoration of the founding of the Spanish colony of Nuevo Mexico, a statue of Juan de Oñate was vandalized, his right foot completely removed with a chain saw. Oñate was a Spanish Conquistador, and New Mexico’s first Spanish colonial Governor, having arrived in 1598 in Northern New Mexico. Upon his arrival, Oñate made a formal declaration claiming Spain’s total tenancy and possession of all lands, towns, buildings and landscape features in the kingdoms of New Mexico (Vélez-Ibáñez and Heyman 2017: 142, 143). The 1998 attack on his statue was motivated by a horrifying Conquest-era story which is worth re-telling for two reasons germane to this thesis. Firstly, it graphically illustrates the brutality used by Conquistadores in the suppression of the indigenous population. Secondly, the Conquistador’s action prompted a 21st century visual echo in which past and present, images and bodies - and the photograph - collide and coalesce.

In December 1598 two of Oñate’s soldiers were killed at Acoma Pueblo, where they had stopped, stolen provisions and raped an Acoma woman. A Spanish punitive expedition of retaliation ensued, resulting in a three-day battle, in which the Spanish overtook Acoma. Afterwards, Oñate severely punished the people of Acoma, mandating that men over the age of twenty-five have one foot cut off and then subsequently enter twenty years servitude to the Spanish colonists (Trujillo 2008: 97). Some 400 years later, a statement released by the anonymous Native American group who removed Oñate's statuary foot, invited a reporter at the Albuquerque
Journal to:

[…]visit the Oñate Distortion Museum and Visitor Center. […] We took the liberty of removing Oñate's right foot on behalf of our brothers and sisters of Acoma Pueblo. This was done in commemoration of his 400th year anniversary acknowledging his unasked for exploration of our land. We will be melting his foot down and casting small medallions to be sold to those who are historically ignorant. (Trujillo 2008: 97)

The group also released snapshots of the hostage foot to various news outlets. In response to this action, the community responsible for erecting the bronze equestrian statue hired the original sculptor, Reynaldo Rivera, to restore the sculpture by recasting the foot and welding it on to the statue (Fig. 4).

![Figure 4. (Detail) sculpture of Don Juan Oñate, showing his restored right foot, Route 68, NM; June 7, 2016. Photo credit: the author.](image)

The row over Don Juan Oñate’s right foot began some 400 years ago, or in 1998, depending on how you look at it, but in any event, it is ongoing. In September of 2017, the New York Times had an article about the issue - “Statue’s Stolen Foot
Reflects Divisions Over Symbols of Conquest”:

The mystery of Oñate’s missing foot has endured since the 1990s, feeding long-simmering tension between Hispanics and Native Americans…. [The] acrimony over the Oñate statue reflects a broader questioning around the country of symbols promoting the conquest of American Indians… Protesters in Santa Fe on Sept. 8 disrupted an annual re-enactment of the 1692 return of Spanish forces to New Mexico after a rebellion by Pueblo Indian villagers. (Romero 2017)

The article was accompanied by a photograph of the man who said he cut off the foot of the statue, apparently not having melted it down for medallions (Fig. 5).

![Image](image.jpg)

Fig. 5. “The man who said he cut off the right foot of the Don Juan de Oñate statue in Alcade, N.M., 20 years ago.” Photo credit: Adria Malcolm for the New York Times, 2017.

On September 8th, 2017, there was a protest in Santa Fe, disrupting the annual re-enactment of the 1692 return of Spanish forces to New Mexico. The re-enactment, known as the *Entrada*, was part of a larger annual celebration in Santa Fe called ‘Fiestas’, which had been taking place since 1712. In 1912, anthropologist and
Museum of New Mexico Director Edgar Lee Hewett encouraged the Santa Fe Chamber of Congress to revitalize the Fiestas.

…these early [20th century] Fiestas were animated by a modernist yearning for a pre-industrial sense of community, a desire that had sparked a fascination with historical pageants across the nation. Thus the Fiesta’s early history clearly illustrates the role of Anglos and Museum of New Mexico officials in promoting a “Spanish” version of Latino history in the state. (Horton 2001: 52)

The All Indian Pueblo Council and the Eight Northern Pueblos have boycotted Fiestas, and specifically the Entrada, since the late 1970s (Horton 2001: 52), with protests happening every year since then. The (mostly) Native American protestors have resisted the positive depiction of the reconquest of Santa Fe as presented in the Entrada, framing it as an issue of historical erasure and an insult to Indigenous sovereignty. In 2017, with the protests gathering momentum, one of the protest leaders, Jennifer Marley of San Ildefonso Pueblo, was arrested. Marley’s arrest was covered heavily in the news, locally and nationally, with many photographs of her arrest, showing her wearing her traditional regalia (Fig. 6). In 2018, after many decades of protest, the Entrada was finally dropped from the Fiestas (Chacón 2018).

---

20 Marley, who was charged with a felony and misdemeanors, was later acquitted, after much public outrage, by a judge who was a previous Fiesta Reina (princess) (Carrillo 2017).
Fig. 6. One of the many widely circulated photographs, and perhaps the most well-known, of Jennifer Marley protesting the *Entrada*, just before her arrest. Photo credit: Anson Stevens-Bollen, for the Santa Fe Reporter, 2017.

In November 2018, at the contemporary art museum SITE Santa Fe’s biennial show, a clay replica of the removed foot was on exhibit (Fig. 7): “One of the first objects visitors encounter upon entering the exhibit is conquistador Juan de Oñate's foot. Well, not his actual foot—this foot is made of plaster, a replica of a replica, but it holds more historical relevance and connotation than his real foot could.” (Goldberg et al. 2018)

Fig. 7. A cast of Oñate’s stolen foot, on exhibit at SITE Santa Fe, November 2018. Photo credit: Eric Swanson for the Santa Fe Reporter
The incidents I have just described show that New Mexico is a place where history is a living thing: history is implicitly or explicitly present in much of what unfolds here. The story of Oñate’s claiming of the entirety of that which comprises what is now known as New Mexico, his assault on Acoma some 400 years ago and the removal of the right foot of the adult males of that Pueblo, and the subsequent removal and reattachment of the statuary right foot, and the protesting of the Entrada, and the display of the replica Oñate’s statuary right foot, together set the stage for all that follows. It also draws attention to what a place of extraordinary visuality Santa Fe is: the optics of what plays out and how it plays out is of utmost importance. It also illuminates the setting and location for the specific history and present anthropological moment that this study considers. It is through location in a specific frame that my anthropological research approaches the more widely theoretical question concerning the presence of history. Further, it illustrates the broadness and valency of the visual economy, the network, within which so many images operate. Operable images in Santa Fe may take photographic form (as in the photo of Jennifer Marley protesting, or the image of the anonymous foot thief), or sculptural and monumental form (the sculpture of Oñate) or otherwise. The examples I give also illustrate how Hevia’s photography complex sits within Latour and Poole’s broader concepts of network and visual economy.

The photography complex operates in turn supports what Hevia refers to as ‘imperial practice’, and what I refer to this as ‘colonial practice’ or ‘settler colonial practice’:

I have attempted to place photographs within a broader context of imperial practice [or settler colonial practice] and to demonstrate how the complex
structure of photographic production contributed to Euro-American imperial hegemony in the early part of the twentieth century. As an apparatus of empire, the photography complex could bring events from distant places to bear on the political and social dynamics of imperial metropoles (Hevia 2009: 109).

The fact that my research began in London and ended in New Mexico and could, with additional resources and time, have achieved global reach, illustrates that point well. Although my main concern was Indigenous peoples of the American Southwest, the photography complex or network that surrounds the photographs germane to this query is indeed situated around the world, wrapping the globe in a pulsing if oft invisible meshwork of correspondence and relatedness. However, rather than observe the manner in which the photography complex in this instance is bringing events to bear on the political and social dynamics of imperial metropoles, I chose to observe how the complex is bringing events to bear on the political and social dynamics of the birthplace of this particular complex, the stretch of land that currently is known as the State of New Mexico.

The Spanish conquistador Oñate, already briefly discussed, was preceded in the region by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. University of New Mexico historian John Kessel recounts how Coronado came North from Mexico in 1540, looking for gold at the seven cities of Cíbola (Zuni), that Coronado had learned of from Fray Marco de Niza, who had seen Cíbola from a distance in his wanderings in 1539 (1995: 3, 6, 24). The search for mineral wealth, as will become evident further on, is central to the entangled histories of the Spanish, the Anglos and the Native Americans in New Mexico, and central to this thesis as well. Just as the Spanish,
such as Oñate and Coronado, came looking for gold and other mineral wealth, so too did the Anglos who followed. Interestingly, William Henry Blackmore (of the British Museum Blackmore collection), wrote a pamphlet in 1864 addressed to the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. Blackmore proposed a scheme regarding loaned money from the United States, as a way of enticing more European immigrants to New Mexico Territory. In the mid 1870s, Blackmore began “his career as a representative of English mining interests in New Mexico after the American Civil war.” (Hamber 2010: 55). In the 1864 pamphlet, Blackmore treats the expanse of the Southwest and New Mexico territory as *terra nullius*, if only informally, for the purpose of extracting resources from the land.21 This sentiment was still a popular idea thirty years later, in 1896, when the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration published a book with a highly revealing title - *The Mines of New Mexico: Inexhaustible Deposits of Gold and Silver, Copper, Lead, Iron and Coal: a Mineral area Unequaled in any State or Territory for the Extent and Value of its Mines*, published out of Santa Fe. Many of the Anglos - Europeans and Americans - coming to the Southwest and New Mexican Territory in the mid 19th century did so precisely in order to exploit the resources of the land, particularly through mining. In another such example, in 1863, James Henry Carleton, U.S. Army Officer, and a central

21 The pamphlet *Suggestions for a United State Government Loan, made in January 1864* in the Blackmore collection at the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Box 2, Folder 21. Concepts such as *terra nullius*, ‘manifest destiny,’ and the Doctrine of Discovery, among others, were applied by European colonizers and settlers throughout the Southwest when claiming land that was already occupied by Indigenous people. The Doctrine of Discovery, which affords legal rights for the taking of land to European colonizers, predicated on notions of the ‘Age of Discovery,’ such that “when European, Christian nations ‘discovered’ lands unknown to Europeans, they automatically gained sovereign and property rights in the lands. This was so, even though Indigenous people had occupied and used the lands for millennia.” (Doctrine of Discovery n.d.) This included “the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, [whereby] the President of the United States set aside forest reserves from the land in the ‘public domain’ without recognition of Indigenous ties to the land. In 1905, management of approximately 21 million acres of public lands in New Mexico and Arizona, almost one-eighth of the surface area of these states, was transferred from the Interior Department to the Bureau of Forestry. This Included thousands of acres of aboriginal lands.” (Doctrine of Discovery n.d.).
character in Chapter Three of this study, wrote a letter to one of his superiors, Major General Henry W. Halleck, effusing over the mineral riches in New Mexican Territory (United States Congress 1867: 11). Carleton’s extreme avarice and unscrupulousness in the acquisition of mineral wealth contributed to the wrecking of pre-existing indigenous lands, livelihoods and cultures in the Territory. These examples show how the desire for wealth through the attainment and control of land and mineral assets is central to the human/photograph network explored in this thesis.

**Fieldwork Locations: The Archive, the Internet and Santa Fe**

Santa Fe was my main fieldwork site, as an actual place and community on the physical ground. However, various archives, and the internet – which get their own chapters – where I spent large amounts of time, have played almost equally important roles in this research. The relevant chapters, Two and Four, provide the necessary background and insight into those ‘places’, though a full list of archives is available in footnote 34. I will spend some time describing Santa Fe specifically, against the backdrop of New Mexico, because it is the place where the other sites, the archive and the internet, are made manifest in the themes of my research.

New Mexico is one of the few places in the United States where large portions of the Indigenous population inhabit the lands, or some portion of them, that they have inhabited since before colonial contact. The current demographics in New Mexico are such that it has about ten times the national average Native population, with almost 11% of the population being Native American. Not quite 50% of the
population is Hispanic or Latino, and not quite 40% is white (Anglo). Of the nearly 50% of the population that are Hispanic or Latino, a substantial number identify as Nuevomexicano, though actual statistics could not be obtained. These Statistics are the basis for the (somewhat) mythological notion that New Mexico is understood by some as a place of thirds, where ‘identity’ in New Mexico is a third Native, a third Hispanic, and a third Anglo. However, this obviously does not match the census statistics, nor the complexity of identity in New Mexico, as historian and Latino studies professor John Nieto-Phillips recounts: “How could we be Spanish and Indian at the same time, but not Mexican? How could Spaniards have made it to New Mexico without first mixing with the Indians? And what did all this matter anyhow?” (2008: xi). In New Mexico, it matters. It matters a lot. Exchanges around identity take place every day, particularly in the State Capital of Santa Fe. As I shall show later, it is through the public display of a New Mexican visual economy (via photographic images in the guise of postcards, t-shirts, public monuments, advertising) that the myth of the ‘thirds’ is made evident through constant signification. Those who stand outside of affiliation with the ‘thirds’ are rendered practically invisible in the visual economy/photography complex specific to New Mexico and Santa Fe.

Because this thesis considers questions around Native identity and issues concerning the present and the future, and because Native American artists are the specific focus, some background about post-contact Santa Fe reveals why this city was the ideal place to address the thesis topic.

---

New Mexico is home to 19 pueblo tribes, each a sovereign nation, and three other Nations that reside on four reservations which, at least in part, are on land within New Mexican borders. The 19 Pueblos are Acoma, Cochiti, Jemez, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Ohkay Owingeh, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Zia and Zuni. The three Nations are the Navajo, Apache and Ute. The Navajo Nation, or Diné Bikéyah, also occupies portions of Arizona, Utah, and their lands reach as far as the Colorado border, occupying an acreage larger than 10 U.S. states. The area is home to the largest Tribe in the United States, the Navajo (or Diné) with the Navajo language being the third most spoken language in the State of New Mexico, after English and Spanish (Strutner 2014). The Apache live on two reservations, the Jicarilla Apache Reservation, and the Mescalero Apache Reservation. A small portion of the Ute Mountain Indian Reservation is in New Mexico, though most of it is in Colorado. Acoma and Taos Pueblos are the oldest continuously occupied communities in the U.S., both established in approximately 1,000 CE. New Mexico was one of the earliest territories to be colonized in what is now the United States, and its Capital, Santa Fe, founded in 1607, is the oldest continuously inhabited U.S. state capital. Despite the fact that the territory was colonized so early, New Mexico, the 47th state, did not achieve statehood until 1912.

With the end of the ‘Indian Wars,’ the collective name given to the long-running wars between Native Americans and colonizers, in 1890, and the beginning of the ‘reservation period’ (1880 – 1960), the U.S. government begin in earnest to implement its plans to ‘assimilate’ and ‘civilize’ Native Americans (Hoxie 1996:...
Large numbers of Native American children were taken from their families and sent to boarding school: “…federal policymakers intended boarding schools to assimilate American Indian Children by removing them from their homes, cultures and languages. School Officials sought to destroy Native American Identity and to replace it with new values that reflected the dominant society” (Adams 2006: 35). Against this background, the Santa Fe Indian School was established in 1890, in order to educate Native American children from throughout the southwest:

The School was established by the federal government during the Boarding School era with a charge to assimilate the native child. The established belief at that time was if you could remove an Indian child from their community, prohibit them from practicing their native language and beliefs, you could remove the cultural and individual identity of the children providing the opportunity to impart new standards for living the American way of life. ‘Kill the Indian to save the man’ was a term penned by General Richard Henry Pratt, the individual charged to deal with the ‘Indian problem’ and responsible for creating the first boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879 (About SFIS n.d.).

In 1932, Dorothy Dunn, a teacher at the Santa Fe Indian School, introduced something innovative for a Native American boarding school by offering instruction in art and founding a painting program known as The Studio School. This opened new doors for many young Native Americans. Dunn, as Art Historian Jackson Rushing tells it, “… codified and institutionalized the style of the first generation of

---

23 The Massacre at Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890, is often cited as the end of the Indian Wars (Cozzens 2018: 455 – 458).
twentieth century Pueblo painters at the Studio she founded” (1999: 4). The Studio School, for better and for worse, established the ‘so-called’ traditional style of Native American painting, introducing a highly constricting and restrictive view of what it meant to be a ‘traditional’ Native Artist (Rushing 1999: 4-6; Bernstein: 66). It encouraged a painting style that is flat, rendered in a limited palette of earth-tones, without a detailed background (Dunn 1968: e.g. 86, 90, 300). At the same time, the creation of the school and codification of style conferred legitimacy on traditional Indigenous practices of art, that up to that point had been widely rejected (Rushing 1999: 4-6; Bernstein 1999: 66).

The Studio School set the stage for the founding of the Institute of American Indian Art (IAIA), established in 1962 in Santa Fe. IAIA was born of the Studio School and yet was a rejection of it. Indigenous artists of the era felt the imposition of Dunn and the Studio School was “creatively drained” and were seeking to break with the Santa Fe painting tradition and to “move into the modern era” as Joy Gritton put it (Gritton quoted in Bernstein 1999: 66). IAIA was the “first attempt in the history of U.S. Indian education to make the arts the central element of the curriculum” (Bernstein 1999: 66). IAIA has ‘trained’ “[m]any of the country’s most illustrious contemporary American Indian Artists…” as well as the majority of artists whom I shall discuss (History> Institute of American Indian Arts).

At the same time that New Mexico, and specifically Northern New Mexico and Santa Fe, were laying down foundations to become a nexus for Native American art and artists, it was also becoming a centre for Anglo artists to base themselves. For example, Robert Henri came to Santa Fe in 1916, as did George Bellows (Robertson
Marsden Hartley came to Santa Fe in 1918, followed by John Sloan in 1919 (Robertson and Nestor 2006: 74, 157). Georgia O’Keeffe arrived in New Mexico in 1929. Currently, Santa Fe is a centre for American visual arts, and it is the third largest art market in the United States, despite being the sixth poorest state in the Union (Mutual Art 2017; Reichbach 2016). If this is a seeming contradiction in terms, the reality of those terms, however, often play out along the lines of the demographics presented earlier. New Mexico has the highest rate of poverty of all the 50 states, with more than 33% of Native Americans living in poverty, compared to 25% of Hispanics and Latinos, and 18% of Anglos (New Mexico Report 2016). Despite these dismal statistics, and even grimmer reality for so many, the art market is one of the main drivers in New Mexico, particularly the Native American art Market. Indian Market, the annual market held in Santa Fe by the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAI), alone generates about $100 Million in revenue for the city of Santa Fe every year (Santa Fe Indian Market n.d.).

Indian Market, held every August over the course of a weekend, according to anthropologist Bruce Bernstein, is “…the nation’s largest and most important Native arts event.” (2012: 7). While the Market is the main event, festivities and other events surround the two-day market, sprawling out for at least a week beforehand. There are private showings of art, gallery openings, performances, parties, benefit dinners, a fashion show, and on and on. It is for many an exciting time in Santa Fe, where the city is full to many times its usual capacity. Many Native American artists make the majority of their yearly income during the two-day event. However, not everybody loves it: for some, the inconvenience of the town being overrun by tourists is merely aggravating, but for others, apparently, the spotlight on the Native
community irks, bringing to the fore the tensions that are always under the surface in New Mexico (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8. “Indians are the worst this time of year.” Commentary expressed with graffiti on the sidewalk during Indian Market, Santa Fe, NM; August 28, 2011. Photo credit: the author.

During Indian Market, there is a pervasive element of performativity - everybody is out ‘performing’ their identity.\textsuperscript{24} Shops and businesses are purveying ‘authentic’ Southwestern and Native culture (Fig. 9); tourists are sporting cowboy hats, bolo ties with turquoise, and sneakers (Fig. 10), and Indigenous people are enacting their identity as Native American artists, dancers with some of these ‘performances’ being quite literal (Figs. 11, 12 and 13).

\textsuperscript{24} This idea of performance is used in relation to theories as Marx’s notion of \textit{praxis}, or as found in studies by the anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski, Milton Singer, Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner and James Peacock; and as defined by Kapchan: “performances are aesthetic practices – patterns of behavior, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities.” (Kapchan quoted in Korom 2013: 2). Regarding the photograph, the notion of performance is related in this study to concepts articulated by Mieke Bal and Martyn Jolly.
Fig. 9. T-shirts for sale in a store on San Francisco Street, a main thoroughfare at Indian Market, during Indian Market, Santa Fe, NM, August 24, 2014. The T-shirt uses a photograph from 1886 by Camillus S. Fly of Apache warriors, including Geronimo (appearing in later chapters as well), to make an ironic statement about American Homeland Security. Photo Credit: the author.

Fig. 10. Tourists in their cowboy hats, turquoise bolo ties and sneakers, on San Francisco Street, during Indian Market, Santa Fe, NM, August 19, 2017. Photo credit: the author.
Fig. 11. A hoop dancer performing in the street during Indian Market, August 20, 2011. Photo credit: the author.

Fig. 12. An Apache gaan dancer making his way through a crowd after performing on stage on the Santa Fe Plaza, Indian Market, August 19, 2017. Photo credit: the author.
Santa Fe is the hub of Native American art in the United States, with a large population of Indigenous people who have inhabited their original lands in New Mexico with unbroken continuity, though with plenty of violence and struggle. There is also a long history of photography and photographers working in New Mexico. Importantly, a large volume of historical photographs of Native Americans were originally taken here and circulated out from the locale – making it an ideal choice as my fieldwork site.

Of the many visual traditions and spectacles that have played out in Santa Fe and the region over a long history, many continue, including various art markets, cultural days, festivals and fiestas, including (the already mentioned) Indian Art Market, but also including as other highlights: Traditional Spanish Market (ongoing for 68 years, based on 400 years of traditional Spanish colonial arts and crafts, associated with the
Museum of Spanish Colonial Art); the International Folk Art Market (ongoing for 16 years, 150 artists from 50 countries, associated with the Museum of International Folk Art); Lowrider day (Fig. 14) (ongoing for four years, an event to celebrate Hispanic car culture, associated with the New Mexico History Museum), Zozobra (Fig. 15)(Officially part of Fiestas, but a unique event all its own that features the burning of a 50 foot effigy of ‘gloom.’ The annual burning of Zozobra began in 1924, thought up by the artist and marionette maker Gustav Baumann), there are numerous Matachines dances (Fig. 16) (ritual dramas that are performed on saints days in Nuevomexicano and Pueblo communities). There are more than two dozen museums in Santa Fe, many of them art museums, with Site Santa Fe, a museum for contemporary arts, holding a biennial that is internationally acclaimed and that has, in the last couple of rounds, had a focus on contemporary art from the Americas. There is the art scene on Canyon Road, with over 75 galleries representing thousands of artists. There is also a large amount of public art, sanctioned and not, including graffiti and street art (Fig. 17), public installations, a moving gallery on wheels (Axel Contemporary Gallery) - a visual parade in constant motion.

Fig. 14. Lowrider day, Santa Fe Plaza, NM, May 22, 2016. Photo credit: The author.
Fig. 15. Burning of Zozobra during Fiesta, Santa Fe, NM, August 31, 2018. Photo credit: Enrique Sanabria (CC license).

Fig. 16. Matachines dance, Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, New Mexico, December 24, 2015. Photo Credit: Larry Lamsa (CC license).
There are many shocking visual expressions of the past present all around the city, in some places you can find ‘swales,’ rut marks made by wagon wheels from the days of the old Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (a 2560 km long trade route between Mexico City and San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, from 1598 - 1882) down various random alleys. As the New York Times put it so elegantly “the Camino is now more a spirit of place and history than an actual trail” (Brown 2003), but I did literally stumble upon some swales one day, having lost my direction, and upon realizing what they were, marveled at how I actually tripped over a long-ago history, whose presence remained. Some of the oldest colonial buildings and sites in what is now the U.S. are in Santa Fe, including the Palace of the Governors, built in 1610, it was the seat of the government under the Spain, under Mexico, and under the United States, making it the oldest public building in the U.S. San Miguel Chapel also built 1610, the oldest known church in the continental U.S. is just around the corner from “the oldest house in Santa Fe” (Fig. 18). I often pass this house riding my bike from
one of the summer music festivals in the town, passing through the old Barrio De Analco, on the eastern side of Old Santa Fe Trail behind Upper Crust Pizza. The neighborhood was earlier a genizaro community, and before that home to Tlaxcalteca Indians from central Mexico who were the first occupants of Analco before the Pueblo Revolt, and all of this is resting on a former foundation of a Pueblo from around 1200 CE.\(^{25}\)

---

\(^{25}\) Some of the specific history listed here has been or will be addressed more deeply further on, but the genizaro are detribalized communities, and the Tlaxcalteca are Nahua people, who currently live in the Mexican State of Tlaxcalan. The neighborhood that this house is in, known as the Barrio de Analco, features a Nahuatl word, “Analco” which means “on the other side of the River,” this neighborhood not being far from a stretch of the Santa Fe River. The Tlaxcalteca came to the area from Mexico with Spanish Conquistadors as slaves or indentured servants.
and outsiders are often welcome to attend certain parts of these festivities or observations in the spaces and on the land that are the sovereign nations of Native peoples. All of this is to say that there is a vibrant cultural life that engages the senses all year round in Santa Fe, much of it based in visual culture, indexing long histories and signifying complex, long-running and ever-changing relationships that nevertheless retain a persistence and express a stamina and vitality that is remarkable.

The larger point I am making, and picture I am hoping to capture, is the visual aliveness of the place, comprised of intersecting spatiotemporalities (Hevia 2009: 79), like so many skeins of the meshwork (Ingold 2015: 3) of time coming together, as example: the ancient Pueblo, and the Tlaxcalteca, and the genízaro, and San Miguel Chapel, and Upper Crust Pizza, all intersecting on one corner in Santa Fe. When I have stood there on that corner, I have been overwhelmed by the presence of so many times, thousands of years, in visual collision indexed in every cardinal direction I turned, while being overtaken by the smell of (my opinion) the best pizza in town.

Another compelling reason I chose Santa Fe, New Mexico as my field site is that it was possible to show up in Santa Fe with a tent and dwell there while I ‘figured it out’. I pitched my tent in Hyde Memorial State Park, in Santa Fe, in the beautiful Sangre de Cristo Mountains, in August 2011, during monsoon season, and commenced what would become several years research and fieldwork for this thesis.
Methodology

My main methodology has been participant observation. I chose to live amongst the people in New Mexico, but this did not mean living on a Reservation or Pueblo. As a Bilagáana (the Navajo word for Anglo or white person, often applied to white people by Native Americans of various cultural affiliations in New Mexico) and an anthropologist studying Indigenous culture in the United States, it is not appropriate, nor wanted, nor needed for me to live in the midst of an Indigenous community for the purpose of conducting research. I didn’t want to do this because I didn’t want to burden people already hard pressed and engaged in their own lives in a sovereign nation, and, as a matter of fact, many of the people who collaborated on this project live in Santa Fe itself, or come through that city for some part of the year. The ‘action’ for this study took place in many locales: in archives around the globe, in museums, in cities (particularly Santa Fe), and on Pueblos and Reservations, so the central location of Santa Fe made the most sense. Though in truth, with research in the archive at the British Museum, where this all began, living in London made sense initially, as I did for the couple of years when I began the undertaking of this thesis.

Nevertheless, in my time in New Mexico, I have spent time on Pueblos and Reservations in New Mexico for various reasons during my fieldwork. I have been

---

26 This type of fieldwork is described in Martyn Hammersly’s *Ethnography: Problems and Prospects*: “By contrast, much of what is referred to as ethnography in the other social sciences today, including educational research, does not meet one or more of the criteria built into this anthropological definition. Most ethnographers do not actually live with the people they study, for example, residing in the same place and spending time with them most of the day, most of the week, month in and month out. Instead, many sociological ethnographers focus on what happens in a particular work locale or social institution when it is in operation, so that in this sense their participant observation is part-time. This is true even of some Western anthropologists, where they study ‘at home’ or in other large complex societies.” (Hammersly 2006: 4).
at various Pueblos for feast days, invited into someone’s home for a meal on a Pueblo feast day –which is the greatest privilege. I have had the honour of being part of a small research group returning the found photograph of the Navajo treaty signing of 1868 (Fig. 26) to the Navajo Nation. These invitations and opportunities to be invited onto the land in Indigenous communities have been insightful regarding fieldwork, but short-lived and hardly all-informing, as is appropriate. In my research, I was not trying to gain, nor do I see it as my place to gain, deep insight into Indigenous lives as they are lived privately. I also have attended for some years on end as many of the markets, fiestas, festivals and cultural gatherings and celebrations as I could. Participating in all these events afforded me the chance to learn vital first-hand information from local residents and artists about the city’s vibrant visual scene.

I have also curated exhibitions with and about Native American artists and art at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, at the University of New Mexico. I have taught art history at IAIA and meeting the Native American students there has been possibly the greatest joy I have had in my time in New Mexico. Curating and teaching in the midst of Native and non-Native artists and students did give me exceptional insight and opportunity for interviews regarding the main question in this thesis. Further, I have conducted surveys and interviews during Indian Art Market over the last seven years and this was an ideal time and place to capture data towards my central question. Regarding my participant observation, it has spanned seven years, and was undertaken by writing up field notes concerning everyday interactions and natural conversation, as well as taking part in community activities where appropriate. I also conducted formal interviews that were either recorded, or
where I took notes, depending on the wishes of the person I was interviewing and the situation, and I conducted questionnaires during Indian Art Market for two years in a row.

In addition to undertaking the majority of my research in Santa Fe and at the University of New Mexico (UNM) in Albuquerque, I also spent time doing research in a number of other cities as well, including Albuquerque, Silver City, Deming, Las Vegas, Truth or Consequences, Fort Sumner, Las Cruces, Gallup, Grants, and Clovis. I spent time at all eight of the Northern Pueblos, and on the Navajo Nation. My archival research was undertaken in numerous institutions in New Mexico and beyond.

In all my research, whether participant observation or archival, when ethically called for, as well as legally called for, I have asked for permission to interview, gaining informed consent. In cases where I have talked to artists, I have made clear I will use their names as associated with their work, but in interviews and interactions that were not specifically with artists, or when artists preferred not to be named, identifying information and names are anonymized to respect privacy.

As a researcher, I have been well situated to undertake this inquiry, having worked with both photographs and Native American communities for some years previously, while at the British Museum, as well as at the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian, and during my time in New Mexico, as curator of Exhibits at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. As both a result of and as part of my research for this thesis, while at the Maxwell Museum, in collaboration with
community members, I curated or co-curated relevant exhibitions related to the topic of this thesis. During my years working in museums, I have had increasing cause to question the role of museums and archives in larger society and more specifically, in relation to the people who are often represented in museums, but who, historically have been denied participation in them. This experience has, in turn, lead me to my research interests and question for this study and has changed my own practice in museums dramatically, with my work increasingly in the mode of social justice-minded practice and ethics.

This Introduction has set the stage for in-depth examination of the role of the photographic image in the ongoing current discourse about Native American identity. I have expressed my motivations in pursuing this research, described the conceptual and geographical spaces in which it was conducted, provided my reasons for choosing those locations, and described my research methodology. I have given a broad literature review pertaining to main concepts and theories, which ultimately also point towards further questions to be pursued beyond this research, in particular those concerning epistemological approaches to further investigations in visual culture studies combined with Indigenous studies scholarship.
Chapter One

19th century Photographs of Native America: In Theory

The main theories that will be engaged in this study were outlined in the introduction, specifically concepts of historical presence by Eelco Runia ("Presence", “Spots of Time”, 2010, 2014), the photography complex by James Hevia (2009), actor network theory (ANT) by Bruno Latour (2008), meshwork by Tim Ingold meshwork (2015), and visual economy by Deborah Poole (1997). Supporting material concerning studium and punctum, embodiment and the habitus, and discipline, is provided by Roland Barthes (1981) Pierre Bourdieu (1984), and Michel Foucault (1979). However, it is worth visiting or touching on other theories regarding the photographic image, particularly as they relate to photographs in the context of North America, the American Southwest, and/or New Mexico.

To begin with, it will help to have some basic understanding of why images of Native Americans and Native America would be so important, so needed, for 19th century America. I encountered this theme and this question in a concise manner when I picked up a postcard at the 2017 Indian Art Market, during the Native Cinema Showcase, sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and held at the New Mexico History Museum. NMAI was passing out postcards for an exhibition titled Americans, opening fall of 2017. The exhibition postcard had this to say:

American Indians represent less than 1 percent of the U.S. population, yet names and images of Indians are everywhere: military weapons, town names, advertising, and that holiday in November [Thanksgiving]. Why?
Americans features objects and images, from a Tomahawk missile to baking powder cans, all demonstrating that Indian words and images are everywhere in American life…this exhibition shows that Americans have always been fascinated, conflicted, and profoundly shaped by their relationships to American Indians. (Americans 2017)

The exhibition, which I did get to see, was a great demonstration of the larger visual economy around Native American identity, as expressed in the larger culture, but this still does not quite explain why Native American identity and visual economy could be so important to the larger culture. Lee Baker lays out a fascinating articulation of the ways in which Native Americans have been studied and theorized in North America. For example, in early American anthropology, in the 19th century, the School of Americanist Anthropology (early champions including Albert Gallatin and Du Ponceau) held a stance of social evolution, later embracing notions of historical particularism and cultural relativism and a belief in salvage anthropology. By contrast, the American School of Anthropology (adherents included Josiah Clark Nott, Samuel Morton, and Louis Agassiz), with its ideas of distinct origins of races, contemporaneously advocated for cultural erasure, and assimilation through education, and was pro-slavery (Baker 2010: 10, 11). Despite this split, and many other splits in American anthropology, Baker, as in NMAI’s Americans exhibition, makes the point about American anthropology:

There is little argument with the fact that academic anthropology did not create this field of significance [the significance of American anthropology taking as its main focus of study Native American languages, customs, and material culture], but instead traded on and legitimated a peculiar idea that
describing, analyzing, and recording American Indian languages and customs was necessary and needed for the young nation to forge a distinctive American identity. (Baker 2010: 12)

Rebecca Solnit, in her book *River of shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the technological wild*, relates that before the Civil War, “There had been little photography in the West” (Solnit 2010: 42), but after the Civil War photography in the West burgeoned, as a way to envision an America of “unending wonders, and limitless possibilities for the remaking of the American nation.” (Sandweiss 2004: 183). ‘Manifest Destiny,’ the idea that America was inherently entitled to ongoing westward expansion was coined in the 1845 editorial article *Annexation* in the United States Democratic Review, in which the author, declares that it was America’s “… fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions” (Annexation 1845: 5 – 10).27

The first manifestations of fulfilling this need ‘for the young nation to forge a distinctive American identity’ came before the invention of photography and were affected by the creation and subsequent circulation of painted or illustrated portraits of Native Americans, such as the paintings of Karl Bodmer, Charles Deas, Alfred Jacob Miller, and perhaps most well-known, George Catlin. Simultaneously, epic landscapes of an untamed west, by artists such as Frederic Edwin Church, Thomas Moran and Albert Bierstadt were created and circulated. These were some of the

---

27 The author of *Annexation* is typically believed to be the columnist and editor John L. O’Sullivan (Woodworth 2011: xii) but also credibly posited as journalist and publicist Jane Cazeneau (Hudson 2001).
earliest American artists (or European artists who were active in America), who began to establish in imagery - the *mythos* of America. Their work was, however, usurped by the arrival of photography and photographers.

Historical geographer Denis Cosgrove suggests that “the appeal and aesthetics of the American West as landscape, for example, owes as much to photography as to the paintings of Thomas Cole, Asher Durand and Albert Bierstadt (in one of whose most sublime landscape paintings a tripod camera plays the role of the traditional eyewitness)” (Cosgrove 2011: 30). Sidestepping any debate as to the aesthetic superiority of one medium over another, as say painting to photography, there is no doubt that photography brought images to a wider number of people than any other visual medium, and in so doing, had more opportunity to inform ideas. In the instance of photographs of Native Americans, and the landscapes they inhabited, a vast number of such images circulated in the era of their creation. The reasons for the high volume of circulation may be many, but undoubtedly, the motivation and/or the result of the presence of such photographic images comprises both ideas about ‘America’ writ large, and about Native Americans, as held in the American psyche and collective unconscious of the nation.

It is, therefore, the photograph of Native America (either as portrait or landscape), more than perhaps any other manner of visual expression, in the 19th century, that informs a wider American concept of itself as a nation, a role those images continue to play. It is *the* photograph of Native America that also informs a broad American concept of Native Americans, policing what they should or must be through the intrusion and demand of the visual index. The order imposed through the
photographs onto the lives and bodies of living Native American must be maintained in order that America can be, and remain, America. The stakes are seemingly relatively high for all involved. But of course, they are highest for those subjected to the strictures of such a massive body of policing images, the genre of 19th century photographs of Native America, indeed, the stakes are highest and most punitive when enforced externally onto Native Americans.

The 19th century photographic portrait of Native America

There is a great diversity of photographs of Native Americans, particularly those taken in the 19th century, taken for a diversity of reasons. Nevertheless, in terms of contemporary lives lived by Native Americans, there is the 19th century photographic portrait of Native America, which is typified, for example, by an image by Edward Curtis, though in reality, “the” photograph could practically be any that fits within the category of a 19th century photograph of a Native American. This is the previously elucidated tautological image that indexes the entire genre of photographs of which it is a constituent, regressively making use of the historical presence of the past (Fig. 19). This photograph, borrowing the words of anthropologist Charlotte Townsend-Gault as cited in an essay by Margaret Dubin, comprises the “shared socio-political situation constituted by a devastating history” that Native Americans experience (Dubin 1999: 163).

\[28\] In instances where I italicize “the” I am calling out the quintessential nature of any one photo as representative of the photo genre.
Edward Sheriff Curtis, 19th century photographer of the American West, is most well-known for his 20 volume *The North American Indian* (Curtis 1907). For that project, Curtis took over 40,000 images of members of more than 80 tribes. Much has been written about this body of Curtis’s photographs, and in the past few decades, a number of biographies of Curtis or books and articles about the *North American Indian* project have been written highlighting the fact that Curtis was practicing salvage anthropology, as well as staging many of his photographs and practicing various forms of erasure in disallowing traces of modernity in his photographs of Native Americans. 29 Mick Gidley’s study of Curtis’s work sums up the complicated nature of the project well in his introduction:

29 In addition to Gidley’s work, see for example: *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (Lyman and Curtis 1982); *Edward S. Curtis: visions of the first Americans* (Gulbrandson 2006); “Native Agency and the Making of The North American Indian : Alexander B. Upshaw and Edward S. Curtis” (Zamir 2007); *The gift of the face: portraiture and time in Edward S. Curtis's the North American Indian* (Zamir 2014).
The project as conceived and conducted by Curtis and his associates was large in its scope and scale and may have presumed to create a monument, but it was not monolithic; it involved numerous personnel, lasted a long time, changed, and was subject to changes in the culture which encompassed it…[Curtis’s photographs are not] a straightforward ‘record’ of Indian life; rather,… the project [can be] … viewed as a complex representation of Indian culture(s) that could not help but represent the assumptions of the dominant culture (2000: 11).

The Curtis group portrait that I selected to be the example of “the 19th century photographic portrait of Native America,” is the first plate in the first volume of The North American Indian and it is entitled The Vanishing Race. The image depicts a group of Navajo men on horseback riding away from the photographer, into “shadowy darkness” (Meier 2018), the long shadows indicating a setting sun, their faces hidden and anonymous. Although the photograph was actually taken at the beginning of the 20th century, ca. 1904, it typifies the larger photography complex and network of 19th century portraits of Native America, salvage anthropological attitudes, and the ‘assumptions’ and desires of the larger and dominant culture. And despite the literature available that demythologizes Curtis’s work, the mythologizing endures, and it also typifies the attitudes of the Anglo people I interviewed and engaged with for this thesis. Almost unanimously, Anglo people continued to hold with the myths and desires embedded in this image, and the images of the network it represents. There are a number of reasons that Curtis’s work persists in being so captivating for both Native and non-Native people, as the index to the larger genre his work signifies. As mentioned, for non-Native people, in broad terms, this has to
do with the aesthetics of his work, and what is signified in those aesthetics, namely
tragic beauty in the face of unavoidable disappearance initiated by the requirements
of the state. The tragic beauty allows a cathartic release, which ultimately cements
rather than impedes ongoing racist and settler colonial practices. As sociologist Sam
Binkley puts it:

   Indeed, the politics of anti-racism has always trafficked heavily in guilt: the
guilt of the one who stands before the law, of a Whiteness that indulges in a
pleasure that it should renounce. Anti-racism presumes a pleasure-guilt cycle,
an anxiety–catharsis relation that is as ongoing and seamless as the
embedded racism of White subjectivity itself, from which no payment no
matter how grand can provide any durable sense of relief. (2016: 200)

Whiteness has a vested interest in loving the work of Curtis, and in finding it
beautiful and tragic, because that love maintains the system of Whiteness and the
authority of the state. When I spoke with Native American people, they often
expressed appreciation for the beauty of Curtis’s work even though they were well
aware of the staged and contrived nature of it. But what was more important to
Native Americans was what was indexed for them: kinship, ancestry, land and
cultural practice (often misrepresented, which Indigenous people were usually fully
and best aware of). Another important reason for the manner in which the
photographs of Curtis take such a central role is the sheer number of pictures,
(40,000 of them), and their availability.

Susan Sontag commented on the operative function of the photograph, the ability to
frame a perspective to be read or denied by others later as seen in the work of Curtis,
in her book Regarding the Pain of Others, when she said “… the photographic
image, even to the extent that it is a trace… cannot be simply a transparency of something that happened. It is always the image that someone chose; to photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude” (2017: 46). Visual and historical anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards’ work, *Anthropology & Photography, 1860 – 1920*, observes something similar: “The photograph contains and constrains within its own boundaries, excluding all else, a microcosmic analogue of the framing of space which is knowledge. As such it becomes a metaphor of power, having the ability to appropriate and decontextualize time and space and those who exist within it.” (1997: 7). Visual anthropologist and art historian Chris Pinney relates: “In the nineteenth century the photographic image offered ‘facts’ about which there could be no question’. By the mid-twentieth century… many viewed these ‘facts’ as dead external manifestations of a cultural complexity that demanded different modes of engagement.” (2012: 105).

In relation to the photograph of Native America, on the face of it, and in relation to contemporary Anglo viewers of this photograph, *The Vanishing Race* is a trace, per Sontag, indexing the map of the desires of a dominant culture that has believed, and continues to want to believe that Native America was disappearing, and now, for all practical purposes, has disappeared (though many also wish to continue to have the opportunity to lament this falsehood), particularly in relation to system of mythologized ideals set up by the dominant culture to define and police Native American identity. *The Vanishing Race*, when considered as a tautological index to the photography complex of 19th century photographs of Native America is, following Edwards, “a microcosmic analogue of the framing of space which is knowledge”, while Pinney highlights the 19th century mode of consideration of such
a photograph as a presentation of ‘fact.’ Sontag and Edwards notions of ‘exclusion’
seem relevant to this image: precisely because of the way it is framed, the image
manages to exclude all evidence concerning whether or not Native America was
actually disappearing, or what was being perpetrated against it.

As the preceding brief analysis makes clear, the idea of the photograph as simple
truth teller or agent of objectivity is false, but this sets up a conundrum. On the one
hand, many Anglo people I engaged with took Curtis images at face value, both
contemporarily and historically. Yet, right from photography’s inception, people
were able to appreciate that photographs don’t always necessarily tell the truth, as
discussed at length by Elizabeth Edwards in her 2012 book *The Camera as
Historian.*[^30] The point is further illustrated by Martin Berger who notes that in
1858, not quite 20 years after the formal advent of photography, the landscape
photographer Carleton Watkins defended the accuracy of his photograph of the
This event makes clear that, from the start, the photographic image was taken to be
revelatory, taken to be evidence. But it also indicates that the veracity or truth of
that evidence could be called into question. John Tagg takes this point, and moves it
a step further:

> The camera is never merely an instrument. Its technical limitations and the
> resultant distortions register as meaning; its representations are highly coded,
> and it wields a power that is never its own. It arrives on the scene vested with
> a particular authority; authority to arrest, picture and transform daily life.

[^30]: Elizabeth Edwards, in her book *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical
Imagination,* 1885-1918, investigates very thoroughly the manner in which, in the UK, the notion as
to whether the photograph tells the truth, was considered debatable from the time of its invention and
circulation (2012: 3, 6, 16, 17, 28, 36, 55, 79, 125 and 218).
This is not the authority of the camera but of the apparatus of the local state which deploys it and guarantees the authority of its images to stand as evidence or register a truth (2007: 150).

In other words, ‘truth’ as situated in a photograph is not actually a mechanism of the photograph itself, but rather is a result of the authority, or, following Foucault, the discipline of the state.

And herein perhaps lies the solution to the conundrum of, on the one hand, people knowing that photographs don’t always tell the truth, but on the other, some people, people positioned within the dominant culture, believing that some photographs, such as the photographs of Edward Curtis do tell the truth all the time. I propose that the willingness of such people to believe in the veracity of 19th century photographs of Native Americans by photographers such as Curtis, is based on their alignment with the authority of the state, and all they have to gain through maintaining that alignment and the status quo. Indigenous individuals whom I interviewed and engaged with, however, had much more complex things to say about Curtis’s photographs. This issue of agency of the represented is taken up by Ariella Azoulay in her 2014 book *The Civil Contract of Photography* in which she argues for contemporary actors’ full participatory rights in relation to photographs, historic or otherwise. Her ideas are instructive concerning contemporary Indigenous people’s response to the photographs of Curtis and others from the known pantheon of 19th century photographs of Native Americans:

In the political space that is reconstructed through the civil contract, photographed persons are participant citizens…the assumption is that the photographs show or perform something that is already over and done,
foreclosing the option of seeing photography as a space of political relations...[the] stance [of the individual portrayed in the photograph] is an insistent refusal to accept the non-citizen [or ‘vanished’] status assigned... by power and demand for participation in a sphere of political relations within which ... claims can be heard and acknowledged (17, 20).

Most Indigenous people, artists or otherwise, appreciated the photographs of Curtis as links to their actual history and relations, not idealized ones. They see in the work of Curtis a long thread of continuity of their own histories and lives, including their personal and familial struggles for political sovereignty and visibility. Through the offices of the network, the photography complex and the visual economy, these struggles and attributes are in many ways controlled by the authority of the state when it operates through institutions like the archive. In Indigenous peoples’ attempts to resist such influences and controls there is an implicit demand to see exactly who and what is made visible through Curtis’s photographs and to see this content liberated from the authority of the state. What the photograph reveals and portrays is not over and done, and those whose relations are portrayed in such photographs retain the right as participant citizens, or descendants thereof, to be heard and acknowledged.

Therefore, any ‘seeming reality’ or single ‘truth’ as recognized in any one photograph is to be challenged, particularly from outside the dominant culture. Images are constructed, both by makers and by viewers. They are also laden with intention: the intention of the photographer, and the intentions or insistence of the larger social construct from which the photograph emerges. However, there are two
qualities of a photograph that give it its particular aesthetic qualities, and by extension, its specific capabilities as an art form, and as a social agent within a network: firstly, the manner in which the photograph seems to fix things in time, and secondly its highly indexical nature. William Henry Fox Talbot, one of the early innovators and inventors of photography, in 1839, observed in his book *Some account of the art of photogenic drawing* this seemingly fixed quality of the photographic image: “The most transitory of things, a shadow, the proverbial emblem of all that is fleeting and momentary, may be fettered by the spells of our ‘natural magic’, and may be fixed forever in the position which seemed only destined for a single instant to occupy” (201).

The abstraction of the photograph as shadow suspended is a useful image and helps conjure an image of what historical presence might, so to speak, look like, in a photograph, but, in actuality, something of the opposite also pertains - the photograph does not freeze a moment in time. Rather it liberates a moment from spatial and temporal limits, a notion that I further pursue later on. A photograph, per Talbot, at once freezes time, and per earlier citation of Hevia, also elicits a ‘temporal presence between a viewer and the image’ and brings ‘distant and remote places into’ the space where the viewer currently stands (2009: 79). Concerning the indexical nature of the photograph, Roland Barthes evaluates the idea of representation as ‘re-presentation’, by which “the viewer of the image receives [indexically] at one and the same time [original emphasis] the perceptual message and the cultural message” (2010: 32, 35). Historical ethnographic photographs are therefore not messages of truth from the past but are instead agents of both the cultural message and the perceptual message, which is to say, the presence from the
past. Seen from this perspective, the photograph may be understood in the cultural message as an ongoing socio-political positioning or construct, applied from the outside, onto Native Americans. This oppressive force by which the 19th century photograph of Native America, and the meanings given to it by the dominant culture (essentialist meanings), is sutured on to living Indigenous people, comprises some portion of the devastation visited on Native America through the processes of colonization. The 19th century photographic portrait of Native America does not go away. It persists, is intensified and amplified by the ever-growing visual economy’s deployment of replication and circulation. The perceptual message, on the other hand, the presence that persists, is what some, such as Native Americans I spoke to, connect to on a personal level, the experience of one’s own lineage and past, stood presently before one.

Anthropologists Alison Brown and Laura Peers’ description of their work of bringing historic photographs back to the Kainai Nation contextualizes the need for historic retrieval and accuracy in relation to the history of the photographs, in opposition to the maintenance of the often uninformed readings of the wider culture that lack cultural understanding or historical accuracy:

…photographs have the potential to slip between different contexts and meanings, gathering new resonances along the way, it is crucial to understand the circumstances in which …photographs were created, for these shape the images as much as does their content. Only when we understand these social, cultural, historical, and intellectual contexts does the rest…make sense: our way of working with …[Native] people in the present, the
resonance the photographs have for…[Native] people, and the implications of all this for scholarship and for heritage institutions (2006: 13).

Hevia says something similar regarding the reception of the photograph, and how it is tied to the frame/context of the one receiving/viewing it, specifically related to 19th century photographs and their connection to the network of imperial documents and the epistemologies of origin from which the photographs were born:

The point is that the references mobilized to help the image speak exist outside of the image proper. They are drawn from imperial archives, those vast epistemological networks for gathering, processing, cataloguing and filing information about other people and places. To put this another way, any image produced in the photography complex existed in relation to a pre-existing body of imperial knowledge and popular reporting (Hevia 2009: 96).

The meaning of any given photograph or an entire visual economy then relates to the eye of the beholder, the meaning being reliant upon the position within the network that both photograph and beholder hold. When the photograph is sitting within a network and positioned in relation to what Hevia refers to as imperial documents and epistemology, (and I switch ‘colonial’ for ‘imperial’) then a colonially-minded comprehension of the image is engendered and possible. Equally, when the photograph or visual economy is positioned in relation to Indigenous histories (often oral), kinships and epistemologies, then an Indigenous-minded comprehension of the image is engendered and possible. What then clearly becomes paramount is the standpoint within the larger network of the photograph and of the viewer. Crucially,
when specific connections or standpoints within networks are broken or prohibited, then specific comprehensions are precluded or obstructed.\textsuperscript{31}

For this reason, it seems obvious that there exists at least two different networks for one visual economy or photography complex, or at least seemingly and experientially this is so, and I wanted to follow the path of the photographs in both of these networks; the first network being a settler colonial network, in continuous ownership by the dominant culture and the state, and the second network being an Indigenous network, in continuous ownership by Indigenous peoples, creating one larger contentious network. In answering the question of what role such images play in the discourse regarding Native identity, I thought it would be necessary to examine the different assignments of meaning, when presented with the different faces of the presence of the past, and to explore how those meanings are applied, either regressively or with revolutionary bang.

To that end, one of the first imperatives of this thesis has been getting the histories and stories of the images more concretely in focus. I have attempted this both through archival research and through conversation with and research on Native American artists and individuals, in order to connect the photographs to both of these networks. Another issue of great importance has involved recovering some of the histories of photographs situated in archives. Often, these are severed from their histories of settler colonial composition, so my work of reconnecting archival histories to photographs also figured as an exercise of return to Native American

\textsuperscript{31} This is a reading of standpoint theory, which is, as summarized by Go citing Wiley: “Wylie (2003), summarizing standpoint theory, points out that ‘social location systematically shapes and limits what we know, including tacit experiential knowledge as well as explicit understanding, what we take knowledge to be as well as specific epistemic content (28).’” (Go 2016: 78).
communities. In reconnecting settler colonial histories to photographs and offering that information back to Native American communities, an inversion occurs, wherein, settler colonial networks of knowledge and power might sit within Native American communities to be at their disposal, rather than the other way around. The collection of photographs that are the object of my research had become severed from multiple frames of context. My intent has been to return histories of photographs to all those who are the descendants of those portrayed, wherever possible. 32 The historical debt of to whom the most is owed is to Native Americans. The return of images to Navajo in particular (as the majority of photographs under discussion are Navajo) has been most important. Reconnecting that collection of photographs, to various degrees, to actual people and events, and in reconnecting those people and events together, and then subsequently returning that retrieval and consolidation to ‘the people’, as the Diné (Navajo) call themselves, has been the main point of the exercise. 33

Later chapters will position ‘the 19th century photographic portrait of Native America’ as an active agent in the contemporary moment. They will consider what aspects of the photograph, within a visual economy, empower it to act in the present moment. It is this interplay of aesthetics, social and political history, and the biography of the life of a photograph (per Appadurai 1986) that make the

32 The mechanisms of ‘return’ of these reconnected histories to Native American communities that I have attempted to enact through the course of the process of writing this study have taken many forms, including: museum exhibition created in collaboration with communities, articles written and published (also often in collaboration), conversation, formal and informal, and the writing of a book and this thesis.

33 Throughout this thesis, Native American cultural groups and nations, may be referred to by their indigenous names and their more common names variably, depending on who may be speaking or the context. When quoting artists, I refer to them by name, because their artwork is not anonymous, and they have agreed to being named. When, however, quoting most other participants in this research, such as the Navajo elder in this instance, that is kept anonymous.
ethnographic photograph such a compelling and oft used resource for many Native artists. The manner in which Indigenous artists mine the embedded historic essentialism of 19th century photographs of Native Americans (that have been sutured to their bodies and communities) and put that in the service of a Native-centered epistemology, a re-centered essentialism, is also analyzed. I explore the role of memory, and how memory is strategically and aesthetically employed by contemporary Native artists through engagements with their past. Such engagements, which can re-frame and reclaim ideas about Native identity are likewise scrutinized. As Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, Indigenous scholar and artist, expresses it: “It was a beautiful day when the scales fell from my eyes and I first encountered photographic sovereignty. A beautiful day when I decided that I would take responsibility to reinterpret images of Native Peoples…My views of these images are aboriginally based – an indigenous perspective – not of scientific godly order but philosophically Native” (2005: 41).

Runia’s ideas concerning historical presence will be observed, as already stated, with a particular eye towards noting if meanings are applied regressively, particularly in the next Chapters Two and Four, or with revolutionary bang, Chapter Six in particular. In Chapter Five, within the framework of presence I also consider Runia’s notions of metonym, presence in absence and the concept of inventio, and add my own thoughts concerning the concepts of significance and insistence, as a way to move further from ideas of meaning, epistemology and provenance, which I differentiate from the historical context. These concepts, insistence, significance, inventio, presence in absence, metonym and presence, afford emotional expressions, spiritual beliefs and other like human responses to have more room and weight in
academic discourse than they are typically allowed. And this, it is hoped, lends support to greater space for alternative presence and revolutionary expansiveness in academic discourse. The reasons that the photograph is able to operate in the manner that the theories of Runia suggest is because the photograph is not one thing, but rather, as posited by Douglas Nickel, it is two things: “Photography’s invention as a technology was accompanied by a parallel invention, that of photography as an idea” (Hershberger 2014: 1). The dual nature of the photograph, as material object and as idea was also observed by Plato in 380 B.C., many years in advance of its actual ‘invention’, “Anyone who has common sense will remember that the bewilderments of the eyes are of two kinds, and arise from two causes, either from coming out of the light or from going into the light, which is true of the mind's eye, quite as much as of the bodily eye” (Plato 2017: 14). The proposition that the photograph is both an actual object and an idea allows in Chapters Five and Six a broadening of the notion of what a photograph is or could be, conceptually and materially, in relation to objects that might hold the idea of a photograph (Chapter Five) and works of art that contain photorealism, if not the photograph proper (Chapter Six).34

Before moving onto matters of the archive, where the saliency of the issue of authenticity first becomes obvious, we should visit one more time with Walter Benjamin, and his previously referenced The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. In that work Benjamin identifies the impact of the reproducible nature of the photograph as directly related to the concept of ‘authenticity’: “Even the most

34 Just as photographs hold the idea of an object, I think of museum record photographs of objects as an example, where the idea of the object is often bigger than the idea of the photograph of it, the photograph receding into the background, I was struck in my fieldwork how objects also can hold or contain the idea of the photograph, as the very existence of certain objects in the world do not make sense without the photograph or image that such objects index or signify, as I argue in Chapter Five.
perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be... The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (2007: 220). This idea of Benjamin’s, which can be applied to photography, is that a photograph, in its highly indexical nature, signifies the original. Furthermore, in its role as signifier, the photograph inherently lacks authenticity, because original presence/authenticity correlates to an originating and singular time and space, and the photograph bleeds out from its point of origin: we find the photograph years later, in a different time, in a different place. But if this idea of Benjamin’s was freed up from the entanglement with “authenticity” and instead, privilege was given to the idea of presence in its place, precisely because it has become unmoored from specific time and space, and because time and space travel with presence, the photograph becomes a much more powerful agent, regardless of its authenticity. In supposing that photographs maintain presence, even if lacking in authenticity, which, in relation to portrait photography such authenticity could be read as “the living body” of the one portrayed, what implications could that have, for the one portrayed, and for the one engaged with the photograph as presence?

Such presence could at one and the same time be a presence as well as a presence in absence. Siegfried Kracauer noted this in 1927 essay Die Photographie when he said, “A shudder runs through the viewer of old photographs. For they make visible not the knowledge of the original but the spatial configuration of a moment; what appears in the photograph is not the person but the sum of what can be subtracted from him or her” (Kracauer 1993: 431). Elizabeth Edwards, in her 2001 Raw Histories, asks this question in the inverse, when she queries “What kind of past is
inscribed in a photograph?” (5), but here, the question turned on its head: what kind of future is inscribed in a photograph? Chapter Five examines this question through implication, which will be more explicitly addressed in the Conclusion of this thesis.

In this chapter I have looked beyond the concepts covered in the Introduction, where the emphasis was on presence (i.e. Runia, Hevia, Latour, Barthes, Ingold, Poole, Bourdieu, Foucault, Bal, Dilley). Here, I have introduced additional theorists whose work helps illuminate the way, including Baker, Pinney, Edwards, Berger, Kracauer, and Benjamin. I have also further situated the body of photographs in question as a tool of the state implicated in the foundation and ongoing practice of colonization and settler colonialism and maintaining a racialized world. I specifically carried out an analysis and deconstruction of mythologies around America and Edward Curtis, all of which will prove crucial to my discussion photographs in the ensuing chapters.
Chapter Two

Fragmented Networks: The Archive

In turning attention from the origins of photographs to the photograph as an actor in a network in its places of deposit, I next examine the archive. The archive has been central to my study and I have researched the contents of many. In recalling from the previous Chapter, Douglas Nickel’s observation of the photograph as a technology and an idea (Hershberger 2014: 1), similarly it has been observed the archive functions as a ‘place’ as well as a ‘practice’ (Daniel and Levi 2014: 1), and, I would add, also as a concept or idea, just like the photograph itself. As an example of the archive as an ‘idea’, Allan Sekula spoke of the ‘shadow archive’ (1986: 10), which maps the concept of the archive onto the human body as it has been catalogued through the auspices of photography, a concept very relevant for the corpus of photographs discussed in this thesis.

In the last couple of decades, much has been said and written about the archive as a place of authority and power, and as an overt expression of Foucauldian institutional discipline. For example, according to Deborah Poole, querying the nature of the

---

35 The archives consulted for this research include, but are not limited to: The Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration, the New Mexico History Museum – Palace of the Governors Photo Archives and the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, the Center for Southwest Research – UNM, The John Gaw Meem Archives of Southwestern Architecture – UNM, New Mexico State University Library & Archives, Nederlands Fotomuseum, the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian, Arizona State Library, St. Louis Art Museum, U.S. Army and Education Center, the Missouri Historical Society, the Kansas Historical Society, Princeton University Rare Books and Special Collections, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the National Archives, Royal Anthropological Institute, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, the Newberry Library, University of Texas at Austin, New Mexico Historic Sites, the Silver City Museum, the Kit Carson Home and Museum, the Governor Bent House, New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum, El Paso Museum of History, Fort Union National Monument, University of Wyoming, Arizona Historical Society, New Mexico State Archives, Bosque Redondo Memorial, and the Denver Public Library.
archive:

Most of this work [the analysis of postcards and racial or ethnographic survey photography] shares a Foucauldian (or more generally poststructuralist) concern with unmasking the political functions of the colonial archive as a technology for regulating or normalizing colonial identities, or for compiling the statistical basis of imperial knowledge. If we shift our attention from the image to the archive, it becomes possible to ask a very different set of questions about the ways in which vision and power intersect in the [ongoing] colonial world (1997: 12).

Positing the archive as an expression of discipline imposed on behalf of the state (per Foucault), and marrying it with Sekula’s shadow archive,(1986: 7), allows us to observe the manner in which discipline and violence have been meted out against the historical Indigenous body, by the very act of placing such photographs in such institutions.36 By holding the shadow archive prisoner within the actual archive, the bodies of Indigenous people are held prisoner too. Within this constraining and disciplining network, violence continues to be meted out against Indigenous bodies, in ongoing if subtle fashion, through the auspicies of the archive, and the manner in which it maintains such a tenacious grip on archived photographs.

But then, the violence of the archive enacted on Indigenous bodies through the tight control of historic ethnographic images is the type of violence that, when brought into the metaphorical courtroom of, let’s say, public discourse, does not leave any mark or outward sign on the body. Glen Coulthard, assistant professor of Indigenous

---

36 Sekula’s shadow archive referred to the genre of criminal identification photographs, but here I apply it to the genre of photographs of Native North Americans.
studies, in taking into account the words of author and educator Taiaiake Alfred relates:

As Taiaiake Alfred argues, under these ‘postmodern’ Imperial conditions ‘oppression has become increasingly invisible; [it is] no longer constituted in conventional terms of military occupation, onerous taxation burdens, blatant land thefts, etc. ‘but rather through a ‘fluid confluence of politics, economics, psychology and culture’ (2017: 48).

Given some of the less obvious and onerous manifestations of oppression, it has been possible for some to claim we are living in a post-colonial and post-racial world. This idea further enables the opportunity for those in positions of power or institutions of political force to deny that institutional forms of oppression and racism continue to exist and to deny that violence is enacted through the quiet halls officiated by the state, such as the archive. The denial of such violence erases evidence of a political power divide – though power divides remain very real, allowing institutions such as the archive, should they so choose to, to continue to replicate “… unequal power structures and the manufacturing of distorted histories” (Ramirez 2015: 339).

And while these descriptions of the archive as both a place and a practice which dispenses power and violence to the body are real, this reality should not presume that the archive sits within a unified or organized field of power, either literally or metaphorically.\textsuperscript{37} And what I mean by this is, depending on the institution or

\textsuperscript{37} This applies to outcomes for the communities who tend to be represented in photo archives, which until recently, are demographically very different from the communities who have tended to establish, organize and staff archives.
political system a photo archive may sit in, is that the larger institution itself may have conflicted ideas about what photographs are for. Such institutions may have contradictory ideas about whether photographs are useful or dangerous in the construction of the larger apparatus of the state. Peter Walsh, in his essay *The Rise and fall of the Post-photographic Museum*, addresses the issue when discussing the ‘pre-photographic’ museum, specifically the British Museum, indicating, that as a museum founded before the invention of photography, and as an institution, it “…had much more difficulty adapting to the new medium”:

Although photography, already all the rage of London as elsewhere, was much discussed at the British Museum, and experiments—by Talbot himself—were carried out there as early as 1843, the trustees did not establish a photographic studio until the early 1850s… To manage the new studio the British Museum trustees appointed Roger Fenton the museum’s first official photographer… But Fenton’s pioneering role at the British Museum ended early and unhappily by 1859. The trustees were unable to understand the importance of photography and reluctant to invest in it… (2007: 26).

Unwillingness to invest in photography in the 1850s at the British Museum was consistent, whether the photographs in question might be considered ‘art’ or whether they were considered or treated like a ‘document’ - or anything else in between. This was true of the British Museum in the 1850s, and not so different in 2004, when work on the Getty Project, documenting the ethnographic photograph collection began. That year marked the first time that electronic records would be created for photographs in the museum’s registration system. The complication of this was
logistical and political within the museum, with many in favour of this action, and
many – curators – not. There was a fear that by giving photographs space in the
database and registration system of the museum, those records would be situated
(practically) alongside other records for objects and images in the museum collection
and that this would somehow devalue the other non-photographic objects and
images.

Here I would add that putting these records into the database, particularly because
the photographs being documented were not even leaning in the direction of ‘art,’
but rather because they were ‘ethnographic,’ there was a concern that the records
would have a contaminating and degrading effect. I qualify the statement about
where the records for the photographs resided within the database with the word
“practically,” because even though the records were in the same database, and reliant
on the same thesaurus within the system, the records for the photographs were given
a specific and separate distinction within the architecture of the system. They were
regarded as separate but (not) equal, if you will, in order to address these concerns of
tainting the larger collection.

And even though there was an architecturally different space allocated for
photographs in the database, the records for the photographs still needed to rely on
the same thesaurus as all the other objects in the collection. This made making the
records for the photographs in many ways linguistically awkward, as many of the
terms that would have been useful in speaking of the photographs were not present
in the thesaurus as it already existed. Petitions could be made to add newly proposed
words to the thesaurus if and as needed, but each word went through a committee
review, and many requests for the addition of terms were denied. It was of concern
to some museum staff that the ethnographic photographs, when cited in the museum
database, would be understood by members of the public searching the online
database as carrying the same weight and importance as “actual parts of the
collection” as one colleague put it. If there was a concern from some corners of the
museum that the electronic records for the ethnographic photographs were
problematic in the database, and that ethnographic photographs sullied the
collection, then art photographs were even more of a threat categorically. This point
is illustrated in the following story of the transfer of a collection of British Museum
photographs to the Victoria & Albert Museum, as far as I have been able to put it
together.

_The Curator is Nervous_

While working at the British Museum, in January 2009, after the conclusion of the
Getty project, I organized a photo seminar to include all departments of the museum
that cared to participate, plus the British Library, to talk about the photographs they
had in their departmental collections. I did this as a specific attempt to understand
what kind of photographs the British Museum had as a whole. During my years
working on the Getty project and talking to people across departments about
photographs, I had come to realize that basically all departments in the museum had
photograph collections of some sort. I also learned that there were no museum-wide
records about them, and people who worked in one department would have no idea
that another department had photographs that could be of interest to them. This is to
say nothing of an unsuspecting public who might care to know what photographs
lived in the files and boxes of all the departments at the British Museum. At that
point, the only photographs that had official records in the registration system were the 25,000 photographs that had been documented on the Getty project.

The photo seminar I set up to investigate the situation in the British Museum attracted almost a dozen presenters from various departments, so by no means were all departments represented. Through the process of gathering together documents and preparing for the seminar, I learned that the British Museum held over a million photographs, of which, as stated, only 25,000 had been documented. This was astounding to all who participated, and the seminar created quite some excitement amongst attendees, the group being comprised of curators who valued photographs. In terms of sheer volume, by my calculations, the collection of photographs at the British Museum was the fourth largest collection of its kind in the UK.  

Further digging into documents and further conversation with others at the museum revealed that the museum had, almost ten years previously, in 2000, transferred a large number of important early photographs, what could be considered “art photographs” to the Victoria & Albert Museum - 4,990 of them by my calculation. This included photographs taken just a few years after photography was introduced to the world in 1839. Some had been taken as early as 1843, by such early important photographers as David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson, Julia Margaret Cameron, Sir Benjamin Stone, and Herbert Ponting, among others. The largest part of the transferred collection consisted of 19th century photographs of architecturally significant places. In conversation with those who had some knowledge of the

---

38 The other three being The University of Cambridge collection, the University of Oxford Pitt Rivers collection and the collection of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
transfer of these photographs, which had previously apparently been part of the Department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory, I discovered that the impetus for the removal of this group of photographs from the British Museum collection was a concern that the British Museum did not collect photographs as artworks, and that the presence of those photographs caused a sense of uneasiness and confusion regarding categories and disciplinary distinctions.

If the ethnographic photographs ran the risk of sullying the British Museum collection, then the art photographs endangered the very category of ‘art.’ The palpable nervousness surrounding the ‘photograph’ in the ‘archive’ at the British Museum reminded me of anthropologist Chris Pinney’s remark when he spoke about the relationship between the photograph and the viewer: “the viewer is nervous.” Indeed, the viewer, or the curator as the case might be, was made nervous by the presence of the photograph in the archive. It would seem the anxiety around photographs in the archive, from an internal standpoint, was that photographs obscured defining categories. The presence of photographs in the archive seemed to make categories bleed out at the edges. The frames around categories could not remain hard and fast, and thus the presence of the photograph in the archive had the potential to dilute authority. This was true even though, at the same time, archived photographs have their own unique authority over those represented in or by the photographs themselves.

This story is specific to the British Museum, but I know from undertaking research at dozens of archives in Europe and the United States, that in broad strokes, this

---

39 Colonial and Post-Colonial Visual Culture course, C118, at University College London, 2005.
story is not necessarily unique. Depending on the host institution and the variables and biography surrounding, for example, the types of collections it holds, when it was founded, where it is located, many other photo archives that I consulted during my research showed symptoms of similar concerns. I noticed how, in various archives, photographs were sometimes treated analogously to textual documents, and not collection objects; sometimes photographs had records in the database and sometimes not. This was particularly true with one art museum that had ‘art’ photographs for which related object records had been inserted in the database. But the same museum also separated out their ethnographic photographs, classifying them as documents, a practice that made the ethnographic photographs very hard to search and locate, as ‘documents’ did not have full object records, but rather were simply indexed.

The above account gives some notion of ‘the archive’ as I found it functioning as a concept and place and practice during the process of my research. In the next chapter, I present a full case-study of a group of photographs, a photo album known as the *Souvenir of New Mexico* that had sat anonymously in the collection of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives In New Mexico, until myself and another researcher began to look into the history and disposition of the photographs. The case-study will be used as a detailed example of how the photography complex of Native North American photographs deposited in an archive is capable of revealing a number of things, including:

(a) The amount of information that has been lost, decontextualized or was never accurately comprehended initially, through the subsequent deposit of the photograph in the archive.
(b) How a lack of contextualizing/framing information, or disinformation (which is to say “The capacity for linking elements of the epistemological complex of empire with those generated through the photography complex”” (Hevia 2009: 96), that accompanies a photograph in an archive serves state and national identity over indigenous identity.

(c) The power of photography, and its attendant indexical trace and historical presence, which persist in the photograph, both because of and despite archiving.

(d) How the case study of *Souvenir of New Mexico* as microhistory, reveals something about both the political role and political power that historic photographs possess in the American Southwest, and in New Mexico.

**The Archive Framed**

To preface the larger case study, however, I provide a broader outline of the photography complex and show how it is situated within the larger network of the archival context/frame, as well as illustrating how it travels along the meshwork that connect the nodes within the network. The archive is not the place where the biographies of the photographs begin, but it is where my first encounters with many of the images took place.

At the British Museum, the collection of photographs from North America is not particularly large, about 5,000 images, yet some of the photographs are rare, which is to say, original era prints or other media not to be found in other collections. The contents of this relatively small North American collection are also, like every archival collection, at once emblematic and constitutional of the larger global
The museum was founded in 1753 on the collections of Sir Hans Sloane, an Irish naturalist, physician and collector, who later in his life arranged for King George II to acquire his collection, for £20,000. Sloane gained his fortune in large part through his marriage to Elizabeth Fulke Rose, earning his income from “plantations worked by slaves” (Delbourgo 2010). Sloane’s early collections from the Americas consisted, famously of 800 plant specimens he gathered on his 1687-1689 voyage to Jamaica. Less familiar were the objects he collected related to the slave trade:

Sloane may have been unique in collecting curiosities that related specifically to slaves, and in particular, the violence of slavery and its resistance. These included ‘a Barbary Scourge with which the slaves are beaten made . . . [from] a palm tree’; a ‘noose made of cane splitt for catching game or hanging runaway negroes’; a ‘bullet used by the runaway Negros in Jamaica’; a ‘coat of the runaway rebellious negroes who lived in the woods of that Island’; and, finally, the manatee strap ‘for whipping the Negro Slaves in the Hott W. India plantations’ (Delbourgo 2010).

---

40 “Sloane also profited, both indirectly and directly, from the labour of African slaves that was driving the expansion of sugar plantations in the Caribbean.” (Delbourgo 2010)
The manatee strap for whipping slaves would later, in the 18th century, be displayed in the ‘fashionable London coffee-house’ belonging to Don Saltero, in his “Coffee-Room of Curiosities” (Delbourgo 2010). Such were the beginnings of the American collections at the British Museum.

When the British Museum was founded in 1753, it had only three departments, and its ethnographic collections, (including material from North America), were located within the Department of Natural History and Curiosities (Stocking 1985: 7). When the Department of Antiquities was founded in 1836, the ethnographic collections were re-housed there (Braunholtz 1953: 90). Subsequently, the ethnographic collection moved in 1946 to the newly founded Department of Ethnography (History of the collection n.d.). From 1970 until 2004, ethnographic collections were kept at a separate location, the Museum of Mankind, but were later folded back into the British Museum proper, where they were positioned in the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (AOA) (History of the collection n.d.).

Subsequent to the introduction of photography in 1839, photography first entered the British Museum via Talbot’s 1843 experiments, in which he took a calotype of the Montagu House that was part of the museum. A second wave of photographs entered the museum via the arrival of Roger Fenton in 1853 and the establishment of his short-lived photography studio there. However, the photographs coming into the museum at this stage were photographs of the British Museum itself, or of its own collections. Yet, from this era forward, slowly and haphazardly, the museum’s

41 Which became the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in 1821 (Braunholtz 1953: 115)
curators began to collect photographs related to the collections they were working on. Sometimes these were collected directly by curators in the field working with photographers, and sometimes these were gained through contacts with other curators in other institutions throughout the world, often by means of postal exchanges.

It was in this manner that photographs began circulating within the museum, in the offices of curators and departments. During the era of the Museum of Mankind (1970-2004), Harry Persaud, who would later become the Curator of Library Collections in the Department of AOA, Centre for Anthropology, began working at the British Museum as a Museum Assistant. Persaud came to London as a young man from Guyana, where his family, of East Indian descent, had been brought to work on plantations after the abolition of slavery. In Guyana, Persaud developed an interest in photography, learning how to take photographs on a Kodak Brownie camera. His own interest in photography prompted Persaud to ask curators in the department whether they had photographs pertaining to their work, and if so if they wanted to deposit them with him in the Museum of Mankind’s library collection. Such was the beginning of the pictorial collection of ethnographic photographs in the Department of AOA at the British Museum. Persaud continued to solicit and curate photographs into that collection until his retirement in 2008.

---

42 As explained in presentations at the 2009 Photo Seminar at the British Museum.
43 In my research in the British Museum Anthropology Library and Research Centre archives, I saw many of the letters and envelopes that accompanied such photographs.
45 Persaud was a Museum Assistant, responsible for moving books, for binding, and for the pictorial collection. The pictorial collection was formed of materials from the Henry Christy Collection (philanthropist and collector), Augustus Wollaston (A.W.) Franks (first Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography), and British Museum (BM) photography. William Curtis Sturtevant (North American ethnologist) visited the British Museum in 1968 when he was with the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology, and wrote a page on the photographs, especially the William Blackmore collection from Salisbury (Fic and Nault 2012). In the 1970s and 1980s
I relate the specific story of the founding of this collection because it makes a point. The collection’s founding story seems haphazard and unintentional, and yet, it contains all the elements of the network and history against which institutionalized forms of discipline have been enacted: empire building and colonization (with specific reference to the role of the transatlantic slave trade in the initial funding of the collection that would become the museum), the inception of anthropology and ethnography as a discipline in museums, the introduction of photography as a technology recognized by museums, and the centralization of images in an archive.46 Many of the other photo archives where I conducted research were founded after the invention of the camera, though several of those archives had similarly quirky and unique biographies, histories and founding stories. Nevertheless, they all shared many of the same hallmarks of disposition as active contemporary archives within

Sturtevant visited again and got the National Anthropological Association (NAA) at the Smithsonian Institution (SI) involved, with photocopies of all the Blackmore photos with their captions were sent to NAA, to be collated with the negatives and other materials Blackmore had donated directly to SI. The NAA's Paula Fleming published 3 books out of the NAA/British Museum collaboration (1986, 1993, 2003), the British Museum being very much the junior partner. Persaud did all the organizing, copying and querying. He was responsible also, for instance, for introducing conservation standards to storage. Drawings and prints were stored in an oak press brought from the British Museum kept in the closed stacks. Imaging the Arctic (King and Lidchi 1998) was the first major scholarly initiative based in the pictorial collection to be published, so it took 30 years from the time the collection began to be organized, and the North American part of the collection was the area where activity and development first took place (email exchange with former British Museum curator of North America and Keeper of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, Jonathan King, February 2019).

46George Stocking, in Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture outlines the introduction of anthropology and ethnography in museums, dating it to the early to mid 19th century in Europe (1985:7). Reference the history offered in this chapter, per Walsh (see: Walsh 2007) and my own account of photography at the British Museum. Brian Wallis observes the development of this phenomenon in his Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes: “Museums are central to the ways our culture is constructed. Despite the attention they now pay to spectacle and display, museums - like libraries, historical societies, and archives - are principally concerned with sorting and classifying knowledge. It is significant, then, that over the past few decades a great sea-change has swept over all these institutions. In the wake of the photography boom of the 1970s, information once stored in the form of photographs and photographically illustrated books has been wrenched from its previous organizational and institutional contexts and reclassified according to its medium. As critic Rosalind Krauss has noted, the effect of this change has been: ‘Everywhere at present there is an attempt to dismantle the photographic archive - the set of practices, institutions, and relationships to which nineteenth century photography originally belonged - and to reassemble it within the categories previously constituted by art and its history’ (Krauss 1982: 317-18).” (1995: 39)
the network. This, in turn, confirms many of the theoretical propositions about the nature of the archive within the network as agents of the state, who, despite perhaps varying histories, and even all good intentions, regulate and administer the discipline and violence of the state, which is an ongoing colonially incepted network.°

**The Archive and the Market**

This section introduces some of the specific photographs of Native Americans from the Southwest which I first encountered in the British Museum collection and which come to bear later in this study. There is very little in the British Museum collection related to the work of Edward S. Curtis, the photographer of otherwise great ubiquity. There are eight photographs of Nuu-chah-nulth, a Pacific Northwest Indigenous, or First Nations, group comprised of 14 communities, in what is today British Columbia, Canada. The photographs were taken by Asahel Curtis, brother of Edward Curtis, and photographer based in the Pacific Northwest. Asahel and Edward had worked together until just after the turn of the century, parting ways after a bitter dispute that arose when Edward took credit for some of Asahel’s photographs. Asahel’s photographs in the British Museum were taken in 1928, long after the brothers had fallen out. There are six glass negatives of photographs of copies of Edward Curtis photographs that had been reproduced in newspapers or magazine, all deriving from the same collection, Phillips auction house, as mentioned in the Introduction (Fig. 3):

“…lot 93, purchased from Phillips auction house at their photographic auction on Wednesday March 17th 1982 at 12 noon. The auction catalogue

---

°As example, I take Harry Persaud’s intentions as good, and laudable, as well as odds-defying, as his journey as a person of South Asian descent who began working at the British Museum in the late 20th century was not easy.
entry for lot 93 reads: ‘93 North American Indians, one hundred and sixty-eight glass negatives, showing tribes and their environment, many taken from books and newspapers, but some original, fifty-five family plates including London street scenes, early 1900’s good condition (£30-50)’” (from the online record of the British Museum, Am, G.N. 2313).48

These photographs are Curtis/not Curtis photographs because they are his images, but not his original photographs. Why does that matter? It matters because of the correlation between photographs and the market, a subject that comes up more overtly in later chapters of this thesis. Photographs have varying values to different individuals and groups, for example, emotional value, historical value, and so on. However, in the market, the part of the network in the western world whose premise lies in capitalism, there is also monetary value, a subject about which not much has been written, though the market and monetary values placed on photographs are related to all that transpires in these pages. The monetary value of a photograph is based on a number of factors, including the fame or stature of the photographer, the importance of that which is depicted in the photograph, and rarity. This last factor, ‘rarity’, exists or is constructed in relation to other factors, such as the rarity of the number of original copies that exist of a particular photograph, the rarity of the work of a particular photographer as indexed against their fame, the rarity of an event, and so forth.

To get an idea of what some historic photographs of Native Americans might be valued at on the market, an original framed copy of an orotone tone print of Curtis’s

The Vanishing Race (Fig. 19), sold at auction in 2018 for $5,228.49 In November of 2018, Volume Eight alone of The North American Indian, sold for $17,220.50 The last time an entire set of The North American Indian was sold, in 2012, it realized 1.44 million dollars (Allitt 2018), though a set that was up for auction in 2018, estimated to sell from 1-1.5 million did not sell.51 The high prices achieved in the current market for photographs by Curtis have to do mostly with his fame, and to some degree, who is pictured in an image. Images by Curtis of Native Americans who are more commonly known, which is to say, ‘famous’ in the larger culture, sell for higher prices. For example, in 2008, Christie’s sold at auction a photogravure of Chief Joseph, the well-known Nez Percé chief, for $8,125, a good deal more than the more anonymous group portrait The Vanishing Race sold for ten years later.52 Similarly, in 2014, a platinum print of Apache chief Geronimo, better known to the general public even than Chief Joseph, sold for auction at Sotheby’s for $75,000.

The difference in value for this print having to do with both the fame of Geronimo, as well as the value of a platinum print versus a photogravure, the two different technologies the two different prints were produced in (Geronimo as a platinum print, Chief Joseph as a photogravure). The other big factor in the price for the

49“The orotone photographic process utilizes a positive image on glass that is subsequently coated with bronze powders or backed with reflective materials… Curtis…credited with the invention and sometimes employed the orotone process. He felt that the process yielded superior images wherein ‘...transparency is retained and they are... full of life and sparkle,’ (Davis 1985, 66). The application of the reflective metallic backing was described by one of his former employees as being applied by ‘tipping and rolling an amount of the gold liquid over the surface until it was evenly covered’, and that the process caused the building to overwhelmingly smell of bananas (Davis 1985, 66). Such accounts provide clues to the ingredients and methods used to create orotone images. Banana oil (amyl acetate) was apparently used in the process by Curtis, perhaps as a flowing or wetting agent.” (Stenman 2011: 263-4).
Geronimo photograph was the fact that “Prints of this image are rare. Unlike Curtis’s more frequently reproduced profile portrait of Geronimo, the image offered here was not made in photogravure [more photogravures were made from Curtis’s negatives than platinum prints] and was not published in *The North American Indian* text volumes or portfolios,” and so it is also the rarity, as in actual number, of prints of this image in the platinum print format, that set the price.\(^53\)

Lastly, the rarity or fame of an occasion can also determine the market value of a photograph, for example, *Lunch atop a Skyscraper*, 1932, the iconic image of steelworkers having lunch on an “I” beam, is worth millions. Its worth on the market does not have to do with the fame of anyone in the image, nor of the photographer - all remain unknown or unclear.\(^54\) However, the image is famous, famous for the occasion of the building of Rockefeller Center, and for what it represents in the American psyche.

The point to make about the market value of photographs is that it is rarely talked about specifically, though there is a growing literature concerning ‘art’ and the market (Spieth 2019, and Avery-Quash and Pizinni 2019), but despite the lack of current literature on the topic, the monetary value of photographs in the market is,


\(^{54}\) The photographer for *Lunch atop a Skyscraper* is thought to be either Charles C. Ebbets, William Leftwich, or Thomas Kelley (Serafin 2017), all successful photographers, but not famous in the manner that, for example, Curtis would become, if only after his death. There has been much debate as to who is pictured in this photograph. In 2012 I co-curated an exhibition at NMAI, *Booming Out: Mohawk Ironworkers Build New York*, wherein, through community collaboration with the Mohawk of Kahnawake, it was revealed that four of the men in that photograph are Mohawk. Some debate that idea, contending the men in the photograph are all immigrants or descendants of immigrants, mostly Irish, per the documentary *Men at Lunch*. The struggle over who is depicted in the photograph speaks to the question of who ‘built New York’ and who and what America is actually made of. <https://americanindian.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item?id=619> Accessed January 8, 2019. <Accessed January 8, 2019> Accessed January 8, 2019.
nevertheless, related to the discipline of the state. Danielle Guizzo and Lara Vigo de Lima make the point that it is: “the emergence of classical liberal ideas not only as a discourse, but also...as a set of political practices that led to a process of social disembeddedness of markets and to the emergence of biopolitics” (2016: 112). In the network that encompasses the photography complex, including the photo archive, the value of a photograph, as illustrated, is comprised of a number of factors, and its historical value is bound to the notion of authenticity which is entangled with the monetary value and vice versa. In turn, the market value of any one single photograph as part of a larger archive influences the ‘value’ of the entire archive. Cultural heritage institutions have codes of ethics which require that all collection objects to be treated equally. Institutions are encouraged to ignore the market value of objects, and treat all objects, including archive photographs within this system of ‘objects’, as having equal worth, one to another. The reality is that this is not the case, and the more a collection is loaded with things that are worth more on the market, the more valuable that collection is, both to the institution that holds it, and to the public that visits it. Market value is entangled in larger systems of value, which is also related to the power and authority of the state and cannot be separated out.

In Walter Benjamin’s accounting of authenticity, he indicates that the photograph, as a mechanically reproducible work, is not uniquely present and is therefore relatively inauthentic and lacks the intangible, and mystical ‘aura’ of original and authentic objects (2007: 220-21). He further states that when a work of art, in this instance a photograph, loses ‘authenticity’ that “…the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice— politics” (2007:
In the instance of the 19th century analogue photograph, particularly as it may reside in an archive or similar institution, it is an object that is political in nature. Further, because of its status of being from a previous century, it has over time regained its status as an object of authenticity that does indeed possess an aura. A 19th century analogue photograph is authentic in the current moment as long as within its frame it possesses the previously listed factors of value and seriousness, namely fame or stature of the photographer, the importance of that which is depicted in the photograph (important to whom, of course being part of the equation), and rarity of instance or availability.

With its renewed status as an authentic object, the aura of the analogue photograph is once again apparent or palpable, and, following Benjamin, capable by definition of being utilized in ritual, while retaining its political viability. The authenticity of a 19th century photograph, reclaiming its hidden aura, is also reflected in its contemporary market value: this is in great part what the market value is based on. Much like intertwined skeins in a meshwork, these factors - the authenticity of an image, coupled with its market value - are hard to disentangle, and together they predicate the ritual uses of the photograph within the archives they are housed in. Copies in circulation and their relation to value will be discussed in Chapter Four but suffice it to say that it is doubtful that the British Museum would have a display of the photographs of Edward Curtis based on the copy negatives (of copies) that are in the British Museum pictorial collection. It would be an institutional embarrassment to have such copies on display, and not the originals.
A ‘Curtis’ photograph in the British Museum pictorial collection amply illustrates an important point about institutional control and utilization of archived photographs. The last Curtis photograph to discuss from British Museum pictorial collection is an image of a tablita dancer from San Ildefonso Pueblo, one of the eight Northern Pueblos in New Mexico - and the only photograph in this collection from New Mexico. The tablita dance, which is a dance for the corn, is named for the wooden tablets that women wear on their heads during the dance. There are two things to note about this photograph. Firstly, it is thought to be a “fake” and annotated as such in the digital record (Am, B73.233). Therefore, it is considered by the museum to be an image of little value. This ‘valuation’ has two effects: firstly, the photograph would be an unlikely candidate for exhibition, and secondly, the digital image of the (fake) photograph is not available online. In the space in the digital record where the image would be, a standard quote appears. It is one that can be found in all British Museum online records where the image is not present: “There is no image of this object, or there may be copyright restrictions.” The likely reason this image is restricted - and many digital images from the British Museum pictorial collection are - is because of the controversial or sacred nature of the image, and the decisions in the museum that were made concerning whether such images should be made publicly available or withheld.

Though the principle is not universally applied, there is a growing trend in many cultural heritage institutions in the Western world whereby culturally sensitive material is not necessarily readily made available to the public. This trend is part of a larger movement where globally, more and more, Indigenous groups are asking for
or demanding the return of their cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{55} For example, the American Association of Museums, in its Code of Ethics for Curators advises:

\begin{quote}
When dealing with objects of cultural patrimony, including but not limited to human remains, sacred objects, and funerary objects, curators should consult with descendant communities regarding handling, storing, and exhibiting materials with consideration and respect for cultural traditions. When dealing with Native American collections, curators should ensure that their institution is in compliance with all Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) rules and regulations (2009).
\end{quote}

It has become increasingly common in online archives to restrict digital content, or to refuse access to digital images of culturally sensitive material, particularly when the content is, as mentioned above, sacred, or involves human remains or funerary objects (see for example Eschenfelder and Caswell 2010; Manžuch 2017; Borissova 2018). Despite this image being censored on the British Museum site, it is otherwise widely available online, with, for example, a 12.8 MB Tiff available for free download from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Department.\textsuperscript{56} The issue of an archive making an image digitally available and accessible, or not, is complex and more will be made of the digital availability of such images in Chapter Four. However, the restriction of this image online does reflect something interesting about the concept of authenticity versus presence. Despite the fact that the image is not considered authentic, which is to say it is a ‘fake’ and not an actual Curtis print,

\textsuperscript{55} The examples are too many to list, but as a sample, in November of 2018, a request from Rapa Nui Islanders to have the British Museum return the large moai they have on exhibition (Bartlett 2018), or a growing global request for the return of fossils (Vogel 2019). This trend has been building with force since the mid to late 20\textsuperscript{th} century, particularly with the 1990 passage in the United States of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

\textsuperscript{56}<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96501822/> (Accessed January 2, 2019).
it nevertheless retains its presence of the sacred. It is because the image depicts a restricted ritual that it is not posted online. Is this merely a matter of representation? In such an instance, can one separate the sacred, and the presence of the sacred, from its representation? The decision not to post such images by many institutions, seems to say that these two things cannot be separated.

In relation to the subject of the archive, it is worth bearing Barthes’s concepts of studium and punctum in mind. Archived photographs are often detached from the culture within which they were created, thus prohibiting direct experience of that culture. Barthes’s notion of the studium of a photograph, or, I want to posit, a group of photographs, describes how the viewer can experience the political and socio-cultural implications of a collection of archived photographs. These implications can be magnified by the sheer number of pictures contained in an archive. I experienced this first-hand when in the British Museum’s pictorial collection and walking down row after row of photographs, handling box after box of them, and being able to lay out vast numbers of photographs together. Even at the point when I did not know much about Blackmore Album 9, I experienced those photographs to be of great interest, sensing that the 208 images that album contains to be somehow connected, one to another, and to the topic that interested me. Though not all of the photographs in that album depict New Mexico, some of the images being from the Plains, there were some of the more interesting Southern Plains (Comanche, Ute), Pueblo (Fig. 20), and above all, Navajo images that I had, up to that point, seen.
In laying out photographs side by side, I sensed that there were connections I could not yet discern. For example, I did not know enough then about the Long Walk of the Navajo and their internment in the Bosque Redondo (discussed in the next chapter) to see that in the collection of images yet, but I did know that I was looking at the story of colonialism. I knew that in looking at Album 9’s pictures, I was looking at both perpetrators and victims (Fig. 21).
Fig. 21. (Possibly) Nicholas Brown & Son and Duhem & Bro., (ca. 1866 - 1868). Various carte de Visite, New Mexico Territory. The British Museum, William Blackmore Collection, Album 9. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum

One also experiences first-hand the mechanics of the politics of the archives when visiting or working in one, which is made apparent in various obligatory procedures - signing in and out of security logs, showing ID to security, signing on to the
One can feel the strictures the photograph is susceptible too, because in the archive, a person is subject to such strictures too, and so being in the archive with photographs elicits the experience of the studium of both single photographs, and of the collective of photographs. Barthes’s concept of punctum also applies to the photo archive, when he said that he is ‘pierced’ by the image (1981: 26), this piercing is as potentially possible through an engagement with a collective of images, as it is with a single image. When confronted with a collective of images, such as in an archive, or such as in the case study of Chapter Three with an album of photographs, it is in fact the numbers of images and the relationality of them, in seeing one larger picture out of many, that there is an opportunity for that which cannot be excluded to become even more obvious than with a single image.

In a related manner Benjamin speaks of this piercing as a spark, though with Benjamin the spark also contains an element of foretelling, yet only with hindsight:

No matter how artful the photographer, no matter how carefully posed his subject, the beholder feels an irresistible urge to search such a picture for the tiny spark of contingency, of the Here and Now, with which reality has so to speak, seared the subject, to find the inconspicuous spot where in the immediacy of that long forgotten moment - the future -subsists so eloquently that we, looking back, may rediscover it (Benjamin 2005: 510).

It may also be that in a collective of images that there is some spark of contingency that the original circumstances manifest across a group of images, as opposed to just one. Against the background of control and displacement in the archive, there is the intimacy of being able to sit face to face with an original analogue photograph, to experience its aura or its presence, and experience, to have an experience of the
punctum of an image, one’s own emotional relationship to what is perceived to be
evident or embedded in the image. And even when the story of the image is
unknown to the person seeing it in the archive, it is possible to be moved. And again,
I return to the encounter of a collective of images to illustrate how one may be
pierced in the experience of the many, or one among many (images). While it is true
that within a single image, an aspect of reality may be seared, and it may not be
possible to exclude it, though, within a single image there is the mechanism of
framing, and as quoted earlier, ‘to frame is to exclude’. Therefore, it is sometimes in
looking at a series or collection that a piercing and searing reality leaps forth. For
example, there were many postcards in the British Museum pictorial collection that
depicted scenes of Navajo women weaving and spinning with children at hand, that
in its repletion made it seem a ‘typical’. It was because of the very repetition of the
image as a type and the collectivity of them in the archive that I became almost
numb to seeing them. I did not believe that they had too much to tell me overtly and
explicitly about the time in which they were made because the repetition from
postcard to postcard, as well as the colorized style of many of the postcards, made
them seem staged. But then I happened upon one different postcard of Navajo
women and children, and I felt pierced by the image. Even if the women and
children had been posed, it felt seared with a reality and contingent notes that could
not be excluded, and I felt moved, it seemed in various small and visually
unrehearsed aspects of the image, that this was how these women and children were
actually living, and it is not clear to me that I would have felt that so strongly, were it
not for all the collective images of weaving and spinning that I encountered around it
(Fig. 22).
In addition to studying the Blackmore collection of photographs at the British Museum, I took account of photographs from several additional photographers, and seven postcard producers, as listed below, and a few examples as seen above.\(^{57}\) Beyond the British Museum collection, there are roughly two dozen additional archives that have proved important in this study. These hold the work of other 19th and early 20th century photographers who were not listed in the introduction.

In this chapter, I have outlined the fragmented nature of the archive, and the manner of dispersal of ethnographic photographs in the 19th century. I have not only noted how archival practices are a continuation of the colonial practice outlined in the

---

\(^{57}\) Photographers and producers of postcards from the British Museum collection of additional interest to this study include: Karl Everton Moon, E. Andrews & Co., as well as many of the postcards from such companies as Detroit Photographic Co., Frasher Foto, Frederick Henry Harvey, Lollesgard Specialty Co., S. Hildesheimer & Co. Ltd.; Southwest Arts & Crafts, LL Cook and Co. For a list of archives, see footnote 34.
previous chapter but have also called attention the manner in which colonial institutions and the archive can be ambivalent and anxious about the photograph. Attention has been paid to the way in which the history of the archive is related to the authority of the state and the market. I have covered this in a broad and theoretical manner, as well as focusing on a specific archives that is important to this study, and the initial basis for it. The description of the archive in this chapter helps contextualize and make sense of the manner in which photographs and images are circulated forth, from the archive - a topic examined in greater depth in the following chapters.
Chapter Three

*Hardship, Greed and Sorrow: A Case Study*

*Souvenir of New Mexico* is a photograph album in the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives collection, part of the New Mexico History Museum in Santa Fe. The album contains sixty-three mounted photographs taken circa 1866 by one or more photographers and assembled by a U.S. Army officer stationed in New Mexico Territory after the American Civil War.\(^{58}\) Since 2007, it has been a relatively unknown part of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives collection, though that began to change in 2014 when I was asked to write an article about some of the photographs in the album for the *Pasatiempo*, the art magazine for the newspaper *The New Mexican*. I was asked to write about the photographs of Navajo presented in the album, as a companion to a separate article about the rest of the album, and subsequently, I undertook to write a book about the entire album.

The album, as presented in the archive, had minimal supporting information, except for a small file of letters and notes. The photographer is not named in the album, there are no marks, stamps or signatures to otherwise indicate the photographer(s’) identity. There was no provenience information indicating who had compiled the album, or for what purpose, though through inference and deduction, it is almost certain it was compiled by an army officer, possibly one who is portrayed in the album, certainly one who served with those portrayed. The album captures moments from a turbulent and painful time in post–Civil War New Mexico when the Territory

---

\(^{58}\) The United States acquired lands, including the Territory of New Mexico, from Mexico in 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
was torn by the crosscurrents of war, conquest, appropriation, and exploitation. When I first encountered the album, it was not clear to me, or anybody, exactly who or what was represented in the album, even though a few of the people portrayed were immediately identifiable, and the date of the photographs, which is clear, was somewhat telling. The research I undertook for this chapter reveals the connections suggested in the images, taken singly and collectively. It’s a story bookended by greed and sorrow, with hardship shot throughout, most disturbingly reflected in the images of those most uprooted and devastated in the history the photographs present—the Navajo people.

A number of the photographs from the album have been widely reproduced and circulated, often without much attention paid to where, how or why they were created, and they are often improperly or inaccurately attributed - perhaps due to the paucity of information that has been available regarding the images. The anonymity of certain portraits is often the very point of their circulation, and this is the case with images of Navajo people in the *Souvenir* album. By circulating the images as anonymous representations, the anonymity of the Indigenous (in this instance Navajo) person serves as a broad and ongoing extension of a taxonomy of the races, onto which false and loaded hegemonic concepts are projected.⁵⁹ In this way, the anonymous Indigenous person serves as a flat screen, onto which the viewer/user can project whatever it is that they want or need to see. For, surely people who engage with images in this fashion are not just viewing the image, they are not

---

⁵⁹ The concept of ‘race’ has its origins in the 16th century, and during the Age of Enlightenment there was a pursuit to scientifically ground the concept, figuring heavily in the work of Carl Linnaeus, who developed a system of classification of race in the 18th century. In the period under discussion here, in the 19th century, Darwinian concepts and classifications of race were more prevalent.
merely ‘viewers,’ but they are also ‘users,’ using the image to construct racially charged realities of their own desire.

During the 19th century, taking photographs of ‘the other’ served to bolster theories of race and concepts of superior and inferior races, often under the rubric of ‘science.’ Many of the ethnographic photographs taken in the late 19th and early 20th century were compiled into published volumes that used photographs in these generalizing manners. This type of illustrated racial study includes too many works to name, and would be a study in itself, though a brief look at this history is helpful, particularly as related material in this study is found within these circulated works.

One of the earliest publications of photographs exemplifying the classification of races is Carl Dammann’s *Anthropologisch-ethnologisches Album in Photographien* (Anthropological-Ethnological Photographic Album). Damman was a German photographer who was commissioned by the Berlin Society for Anthropology to put together a publication of ethnographic photographs representing peoples of the world, first published in 1873 and 1874 (Edwards and Hart 2010: 53). This ultimately contained ten sections of five folios each (Edwards and Hart 2010: 53) for a total of 692 albumen print photographs, a few by Dammann himself, but most of which he collected from other photographers, such as Nicholas Brown & Son (Fig. 23).

The page illustrated here, which is from an 1875 English-Language edition of Dammann’s album with just 167 photographs, contains a spread of photographs from the Southern part of North America, has two photographs that are relevant to
this study. One, ‘Pueblo Indian(s)’ in the lower right corner in Fig. 23 (Fig. 20 in previous chapter), is also found in the British Museum William Blackmore collection. Another, in the upper right-hand corner of the Dammann page actually shows a Navajo man, likely taken in 1867, by Nicholas Brown & Son. In Dammann’s publication, it is mislabelled as ‘Sac and Foxes Indian’ (See Fig. 52 in this chapter). While this 1870s publication was not widely distributed, being very expensive with limited editions in circulation (Tylor 1876: 184), it was part of establishing the use of the photograph in the system of identifying “types” and “races” of people, particularly in institutions where the study of race was rooted, such as in academies and institutions where anthropology was being studied.

Fig. 23. Plate XIX from Carl Dammann’s *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Men* (1875). Albumen photographs mounted on plates. Photo credit: Getty Research Institute.

---

60 After the 1873 and 74 publication of this larger version of *Anthropolisch-ethnologisches Album in Photographien*, a smaller English language version, *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the*
Later publications where photographs were employed to illustrate races of people, such as Hutchinson’s 1910 *The Living Races of Mankind* and Haddon’s 1912 *The Races of Man and Their Distribution*, produced some years later when the half-tone process allowed for much cheaper and wider distribution to a mass-market, brought photographs and concepts representing races of people to much wider and more public audiences. In the next chapter, I talk more about the manner in which contemporary modes of circulation continue to circulate century’s old notion of a taxonomy of races.

In the *Souvenir* album, the photographs perhaps most often reproduced, in books or on websites, are those of forts, as original-era copies of those photographs can be found in numerous archives. However, almost all of the portraits in the album are found *only* in the album as original-era prints and therefore exist only in the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives. In only a couple of instances (the portrait of Benito Juárez and five of the portraits of Navajos) are any of these portraits found as original-era prints in other photo archives. A handful of archives hold original-era prints related to these portraits, but when these images are found in archives elsewhere, or when they are distributed in publications or online, they can almost always be traced back to this album. The research conducted to put together the history of this collection of photographs, and of the paths it has travelled, and the work it has done and will do, is revealing of both a network of sites, and a meshwork

*Various Races of Men*, containing just 167 prints was first published in 1875. A version of this is available in the British Museum Department of Ethnography Library, reference number 23732 see also: <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24897/lot/119/?category=list>, accessed February 21, 2019. The version in Fig. 23 is from the online archive of the Getty Research institute, scanned from a copy published in 1875 <https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008252138/page/n41>. 
of movement in which the trade in an Indigenous, and specifically a Navajo visual economy and photography complex exists.

My research reveals more detail of the background, if not the actual identity, of the album’s compiler, and the identity of the photographer or photographers who captured images of a freighted and complex moment in the history of the American Southwest. The case study that comprises this chapter is a microhistory. By drilling down into the historical specifics of the images, and by connecting the seemingly disparate histories that the distinct groups of portraits seem to display, a broader picture of 19th century New Mexico Territory is revealed, offering a better frame within which to comprehend the photographs of Indigenous people and how these images operate in exchanges concerning identity.

Emma Rothschild’s 2011 book *The Inner Life of Empire: An Eighteenth Century History*, is a microhistory that shares some similarities in approach to this chapter. Microhistories are close readings of smaller historical narratives, from which larger historical narratives might be observed. They correspond with Tarde’s notion that ‘the small holds the big’ discussed earlier (Latour 2008: 243). In the *Souvenir* album, in the totality of the picture that the photographs create together, there is a ‘large microhistory,’ reflective of dense personal relationships and a bigger picture of the Territory at the time.

*Souvenir* of New Mexico was donated to the Photo Archives by the daughter of the legendary New Mexico architect John Gaw Meem, who purchased the album in the 1930s from a rare-book dealer in New York. It is unclear how the album came into
the booksellers’ possession or where it was in between its compilation and its rediscovery but notes that accompany the album by Frederic H. Douglas, curator of Indian Art at the Denver Museum of Art in the 1930s, explain how Meem acquired the collection.\textsuperscript{61}

Each photograph measures seven by nine inches and is mounted on its own page, with brief captions written in pencil or ink. The images were made using the wet-plate collodion technique and reproduced as either salt or albumen prints. The album that contains the images was likely sold premade with blank pages that the owner filled according to his own plan (Fig. 24).

![Fig. 24. Souvenir of New Mexico album. Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum.](image)

Given what is portrayed in the album, it is safe to surmise that the images were collected by a U.S. Army officer serving at one or more of the depicted forts and posts to remind him of his life during his time in New Mexico. The album is

\textsuperscript{61} In the files at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum
arranged by theme, suggesting both historical context and chronology of events. It begins with studio portraits of Mexican president Benito Juárez and members of his cabinet taken in El Paso del Norte (today’s Ciudad Juárez) while Mexican forces were waging a guerrilla war against Emperor Maximilian I with support from the U.S. government during the French Intervention in Mexico. It continues with pictures of U.S. Army officers, government officials, and prominent merchants of the day, and the forts and buildings where they were based or had business, during the period of the Civil War, Reconstruction and the ‘Indian Wars.’ Of the military installations photographed in New Mexico and Texas, most are of Fort Sumner during the Long Walk era, the era of Navajo and Apache internment. The album contains photographs of Fort Sumner’s buildings and troops and the Navajos and Apaches interned there between 1863 and 1868. It concludes with posed portraits of Navajo.

*Souvenir of New Mexico* has never been published in its entirety. This chapter represents the first systematic effort to identify the people who took the photographs and the person who gathered and organized them into a visual memoir. The historical research involved in this undertaking required collaboration with numerous museums and archives and ultimately it reconnected related photographs that were scattered among disparate and disassociated collections and archives. The research also unearthed copies of various long-lost images, including one of the

---

62 the Apache Wars (1851–1900) and the Navajo Wars (1846–1868) (Cozzens 2017).
63 On June 1, 1868, the Navajo Treaty was signed by twenty-nine Diné headmen, General Sherman, and Colonel Tappan, and was witnessed by a number of other army officers, an Indian agent, and an interpreter. Beginning in June 1868, after the signing of the treaty, the Diné returned to a greatly reduced portion of their ancestral lands.
famed and prominent Navajo headman, Manuelito (Fig. 25), and an 1868 photograph of the signing of the Navajo Peace Treaty (Fig. 26).

Fig. 25. Nicholas Brown é Hijo (ca. 1867). Unidentified Navajo man (left) and Navajo headman Manuelito (right), New Mexico Territory. Carte de visite mount; albumen print. William Blackmore Collection, Album 9, #Am, A9.59. Photo credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum. Copies of this image are found in both the British Museum and the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian collections. In neither collection, at the time of research for this Chapter, had the photograph been identified as portraying Manuelito. In the version at the National Museum of the American Indian, the print was erroneously attributed to Edward F. Weed, who collected of the image (Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, P07353).
Fig. 26. Valentin Wolfenstein (June 1, 1868). Peace Commission and the signing of the Navajo Treaty, Fort Sumner, New Mexico Territory. The three figures seated bottom right (from left to right) are Cayetanito, Manuelito, and Barboncito. Albumen print. #P20819. Photo credit: Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian. The print was erroneously attributed to William N. Grier, who had collected the image.

While this Chapter focuses on the photographs in this album, it also takes account of the larger entanglement of connection between the Souvenir album photographs and other related photographic portraits of the era that, when taken together as a larger body of narrative and evidence - an entire complex of photography - weave together a more complete picture of the era. It documents an example of the meshwork and exchange in the Indigenous and Navajo visual economy. The network of themes of indigeneity, war, slavery, and colonialism weave throughout the album. The first image and the last group of images portray indigenous peoples of the Americas at a time when the United States, fresh from its victory over the southern slavocracy, prepared to battle tribal nations that blocked its ‘Manifest Destiny’ to control all lands between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts south of the Canadian border and north of Mexico.
As a Zapotec from Oaxaca, Juárez, the subject of the first photograph in the album was the first Indigenous person to rule in Mexico since the Spanish overthrew the Aztec confederation in the early 16th century (Hamnett 1991: 3). His status contrasts starkly with that of the Navajo exiles whose photographs conclude the collection. War, or its consequences, is visible in nearly every image. Pictures of Civil War veterans stationed in the West to subdue the original inhabitants and enforce the eighteen-year-old boundary between the United States and Mexico follow photos of the Mexican president and his advisors, who were exiled by war and dependent on a former adversary for arms, ammunition, and espionage. Images of Native American prisoners of war follow pictures of the landscape they fought to keep, and the forts and military installations built to protect and equip the soldiers determined to remove them from their homelands and imprison them in the name of U.S. imperialism. Whatever the conscious motivation for the compiler to create this album, it is unquestionable that in this instance: “…the camera does more than document. In staging and fixing an ideologically charged scene, the photography complex participates in and structures the punishment of…[the Navajo] for transgressions against ‘civilization’”(Hevia 2009: 86).

Slavery is a subtext that runs throughout the album. Many of the army officers portrayed in it, who fought to end chattel slavery, themselves often facilitated the holding of indigenous peoples as captive slaves or peons before and after New Mexico’s establishment as a U.S. territory. Congress outlawed peonage in 1867 specifically to halt the practice of holding people in bondage in New Mexico Territory, either through the system of peonage or captive slavery, but despite this
legislation these practices persisted into the 20th century (Reséndez, ‘North American Peonage’, 8). Peonage was the practice of holding people indebted to landlords or business owners in servitude until the debt was paid, while captive slavery was the outright capturing of Native Americans, and the coercion of their labour (Reséndez ‘The Other Slavery’: 597-619). Above all this meant the captivity of women and children (see plates 51, 52, 54, 61, and 62). In chattel slavery, it was men who were most desired to work fields on plantations, but in the systems of peonage and slavery in New Mexico, women and children were most desired in order to work in the house and to bear more children (Reséndez ‘The Other Slavery’: 6, 50-51). The album features people from communities who were to be found on all sides of the institution and the issue of peonage or captive slavery: those who tolerated and facilitated these practices, those who lost loved ones to peonage and slavery.

My close examination of the images and research into their subjects reveals the social, cultural, and financial connections forged by colonialism and conquest, as well as illustrating the larger photography complex reconstituted by bringing photographs and documents (back) together. All the Anglo men portrayed had business dealings with one another at various times. For example, The Santa Fe Ring of the late 19th century was an unofficial organization of powerful men who amassed great fortunes through speculation, fraud, and corruption (Caffey 2015). Their presence in the album foreshadows the violence they would later incite in the Lincoln County War of 1878 and the El Paso Salt War of 1877 and 1878 (Nolan 2009; Cool 2008: 5, 35-39; Mills 1962: 30, 143-5). Whether or not it was the album compiler’s intention to do so, his collection binds together the haves and have-nots
of 1866 New Mexico (and West Texas)—men (and women, mostly not pictured) enriched by the spoils of war and the entire nations whose subjugation and captivity made that theft possible.

**Photography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New Mexico**

To solve the puzzle of who took the pictures in the album, I first looked for forensic evidence in the images themselves and for hints of a consistent style or creative approach that would indicate the work of a single individual. It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that one individual could have taken photographs of all the places and people depicted in this album in the space of one or two years.\(^64\) Furthermore, stylistic presentations, production qualities, and contemporary accounts of when and where photographers were working suggest the possible handiwork of at least two people or two photographic partnerships, one for the portraits and one for the landscapes.

At the time these pictures were taken, photography was an emerging visual arts discipline, and the technology was complicated and cumbersome. The collodion wet-plate process, which was used to create the *Souvenir* album, emerged in the 1850s, mostly supplanting the daguerreotype and tintype by the early 1860s (Rosenheim 2013: 22). The collodion wet-plate technique, in addition to creating a sharper image than a tintype, was more lucrative than the daguerreotypes or tintypes, because a photographer could make multiple prints from a single negative (Frizot 1999: 92, 99, 233). The fact that it was possible to make multiple prints is what made this story

---

\(^64\) While the majority of the photographs in this album were taken in 1866, it is likely that some, particularly photographs of forts, were taken in 1865.
possible, as the prints circulated, finding their way to various archives around the
globe, and thus smashing the story that the photographs have to tell into many
different pieces, the fragments ‘interred’ in archives in various disparate spots
around the globe (Hamilton 2013: 19).

Some photographers in this era had studios, but most were itinerant photographers
who travelled to battlefields and other sites using wagons as portable darkrooms and
as a means to convey the roughly 200 lbs. of equipment their craft demanded
(Sandweiss 2004: 127; Daniels, 1968: 173–74). The westward movement of
photography began shortly after Samuel Morse, inventor of the telegraph, imported
the first daguerreotype camera in 1839, bringing the camera to New York City
(Gillespie 2016: 23–29). This westward migration of photography coincided with the
settlement and expansion of the U.S. frontier.

Before 1870, when the railroad arrived in Denver (making Santa Fe more
accessible), daguerreotypists came to or moved through New Mexico via overland
trails. The earliest known daguerreotypist in Santa Fe was Siegmund Seligman, a
German Jewish immigrant who arrived in 1851 and opened a studio in 1854, which
he operated until 1856 (Rudisill 1973: 53, Coke 1979: 2, Palmquist and Kailbourn
2001: 485). Another early photographer in New Mexico was Professor T. McEwen,
who set up shop for a few months in Santa Fe; in 1859, he made two portraits of Kit
Carson, whose portrait is absent from the Souvenir album, even though Carson’s
actions played a big part in the events it documents (Rudisill 1973: 41, Palmquist
and Kailbourn 2001: 391).\footnote{See Fig. 40 for a later portrait of Carson.} In 1866 and earlier, there were relatively few
photographers in New Mexico, but by the close of the 19th century, that changed drastically with the coming of the railroad and the Western Geological and Geographic surveys, established by an act of Congress in 1867, the year after photographs in the Souvenir album were taken.

**Portraits and Landscapes in the Souvenir Album**

Portraits and landscapes are the two main categories of photographs in the Souvenir album. The ‘landscapes’, however, are perhaps more like ‘scenes. On the one hand, many of them, including the panoramic images of forts, are cut off from the actual terrain and physical features of the larger geography within which they sit and they are strangely unpopulated. On the other hand, some scenes in forts or landscapes are full of people. In either case, these ‘landscapes’ do not appear to be what is typically thought of as a landscape (a vista with a view) and this is by deliberate design. The forts images were commissioned by the U.S. army to inventory what had actually been built with the army’s money. The detailed photographic observation of the forts functions as a form of government reporting, and it reflects the sort of ‘objectivity’ that requires a good deal of staging. In some ways, it is analogous to the staged landscapes of the geographic and geological surveys that happened just a few years later. In his book about American Photography, Alan Trachtenberg frames the surveys as a “complex bureaucratic undertaking” as is true with this photographic survey predecessor born out of General Order No. 3, and the resultant body of photographs of forts (1996: 124). In their design, these static photographs of forts seem to anticipate a future that requires a need to control the original scene, now

---

66 Analysis of official photographs of forts as government documents has not been taken up for analysis, but there is a good deal of writing about the Western surveys (e.g. Krauss 1982, Trachtenberg 1996, Fox 2001: 71-102, and Berger 2014).
become ‘the past,’ and the narrative that will accompany it in the future. Runia’s
description of regressive uses of the past sounds like a description of these
photographs, making the photographs perfect for such uses: “As a form of
regression, being moved by the past entails inhibition, stasis, and a lack of
creativity” (2014: xiv). Not much, if any critical theory has been written about
photographs of forts, though Foucault’s (1979) observations on the panopticon could
be applicable to them since some of the views of forts in Souvenir reveal intimations
of institutional observation. For example, plate 18 portrays a structure that is
reminiscent of both a six-sided Foucauldian ‘inspection house’ and a Navajo multi-
sided hogan, or traditional home. Generally, these photographs of forts, and others
like them, are incorporated into narratives that unreflexively account for the past and
observe American military life or celebrate American military victories. Such
narratives are too numerous to list but include publications like Old Forts of the
Southwest (Hart 1964), Forts of the American Frontier 1820-91: the southern plains
and the southwest (Field and Hook 2006), Fort Union and the Winning of the
Southwest (Emmet 2016).

The views of forts populated, mostly by Navajo, were intended as well to be a
view/visual record or even a head-count, in some instances, of the interned Native
Americans, but they were not necessarily intended as commentary on the landscape.
In terms of the Bosque Redondo, the landscape itself figures as the villain in the
photographs, a terrain incapable of supporting those who were forced to live in it.
Many died there due to the poor soil and water conditions, but none of this is visible
in these landscapes, nothing but the ‘facts’ emerge if one does not look more closely.
The fort images also serve as a record of humiliation: “…because of its unusual
capacity to act simultaneously as a participant, instrument, and record-keeper of aggressive acts of humiliation and punishment, the photography complex could both teach lessons…and record the reactions of the students to the lesson” (Hevia 2009: 93).

The specific forts portrayed are also clues to how the officer who compiled the photographs was associated with particular military installations, and so for the compiler, there may have been sentimental intent in their assemblage. The views of officers’ quarters at Fort Union (plates 13 and 14) and Fort Bliss, and specifically of reconstruction at Fort Bliss (plates 37 and 38), imply that the compiler was housed in those quarters and was present at Fort Bliss when they were being rebuilt. If the fort photos are indeed souvenirs of personal assignments or tours of duty, the compiler would seem to have been stationed the longest at four of the forts: Fort Union, Fort Marcy, Fort Bliss, and Fort Sumner.

The amount of detail of various aspects of Fort Union (plates 13–20) indicates perhaps that the compiler spent a long time there. Likewise, the compiler may have spent a fair amount of time at Fort Marcy and in Santa Fe (plates 21–28), since about half of the plates are of the Santa Fe Plaza, and the others are of Fort Marcy. The photo of General Carleton’s quarters (plate 25) shows two men in a buggy, and the man closest to the viewer is perhaps Carleton himself. The images of Franklin, Texas, and Fort Bliss (plates 32–40), coupled with the portraits of Benito Juárez and his cabinet, point to the compiler being at Fort Bliss in the general time frame when the Mexican government was in exile in El Paso del Norte, just across the border (Fall 1865 until Spring 1866). The images of Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo are
directly connected to the portraits of Navajos at the end of the album. There are far fewer photographs of other forts, so it seems possible that the compiler may have only briefly been at those forts, including Los Pinos (plate 29) and Fort Craig (plates 30 and 31). Pictures of Franklin, Texas (today’s El Paso), and Santa Fe, New Mexico, suggest that the compiler also spent time in those towns (plates 21–24 and 32).67 James F. Meline’s 1866 account of his journey across the Southwest gives a description of plate 23: “Crossing the stony bed of the creek, and passing the alternating fields and adobes, we enter the Plaza. English and Spanish signs[,] intermingled, meet the eye. ‘Vienta de las Vegas,’ ‘Bakery,’ ‘Effectos,’ &c.” (1998: 111) This image also shows corn growing on the Plaza. The enclosing of the Plaza with fencing with its newly planted trees and corn was the work of Major John Ayers, who recounts the event in an essay he wrote some years later, in which he ‘conceived of beautifying the town’ and employing troops to do so (Ayers 1949: 260). Ayer’s goes on to say: “Old Fort Marcy, built by Gen. Kearney was here; which made the place army headquarters. The war was a great blessing for these natives.” The photographs in the second half of the album, which reflect the internment of so many of ‘these natives,’ amply highlight the injury of the word ‘blessing,’ and they illuminate the rhetoric, if not the mindset, of officers who were part of removing Indigenous peoples from their land, killing them in conflict and facilitating the captivity of women and children (Ayers 1949: 260). The various landscapes and the details they reveal surely had meaning for the compiler, and like the account given by Ayers, it is easy to suppose that the compiler not only engaged

67 What today is El Paso, Texas, is here called Franklin to avoid confusion with El Paso del Norte (now Ciudad Juárez, Mexico). Franklin was an early American settlement in Texas, established after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the Mexican-American War. Franklin was officially renamed El Paso in 1852.
with the landscapes and scenes depicted but was a part of altering these landscapes and scenes.

The *Souvenir* portraits are assembled in three sets, each taken at different times and places, with the contexts of each appearing seemingly unrelated. It cannot be assumed that one person was responsible for taking the photographs in all three of the sets. At first glance, the portraits of Juárez and his cabinet, of U.S. Army officers and Anglo civilians, and of Navajos all seem to suggest the creative tastes and perspectives of more than one photographer. However, in looking at the three sets of portraits very closely, it is clear that there was one photographer, or team of photographers, for all of the portraits in the album. One tell-tale sign is provided by the clumsily painted backdrop - an outdoor garden with a Romanesque pillar - found in portraits across the three sets of images, including all the portraits of Juárez and his cabinet (plates 1–5), the portrait of Brotherton (plate 8) from the set of army officers and businessmen, and the group portrait of Navajo women (plate 61) from the Navajo set, which were unquestionably taken during the Navajo internment at Fort Sumner/ Bosque Redondo. Similarly, the same damask table covering or dark table covering appears in some portraits across all three sets (plates 5, 6, 8 and 9).

In the series of portraits of Juárez and his cabinet, they all pose before the painted backdrop and each sit with his right arm leaning on a table that has a book or books. The table has the same damask cloth in each image, except for the image of Señor Gotien (plate 5), the table in his portrait is covered with a plain dark cloth. It is the one badly painted, but unquestionably unique, backdrop that draws all three sets of portraits in the album together, strongly intimating that one photographer took all the
portraits in all three sets. If more than one photographer was involved, they were associates who worked together, perhaps sharing props and equipment.

There is the similar question of whether the 38 landscape photographs (plates 13–46, 49, 58–60) were taken by one or multiple photographers, and whether this was the same photographer(s) as the portrait photographer. Given the sheer volume of landscape and portrait photographs taken in a relatively short time span, it is a distinct possibility that one photographer took the portraits and another photographer took the landscapes, even though it is not impossible to say that one photographer took all the images.

Who Compiled the Album and Why?

The order and grouping of the images say something about the person who compiled the album and hints at his intended audience, as does the focus on military installations and activities. The compiler would have almost certainly been a Union officer, possibly a soldier portrayed in the album. As such, he was likely involved with resistance to the French Intervention in Mexico and likely would have been part of U.S. efforts to support the Juaristas (followers of the Juárez government) in El Paso del Norte during or immediately after the U.S. Civil War. The album compiler was likely stationed at Franklin or Fort Bliss (plates 32–40) near El Paso del Norte, where Juárez and his cabinet made their headquarters during their exile. There he would have worked with the army officers pictured in the album, and he would have served at Fort Sumner during the Navajo internment there, specifically during the surrender of Manuelito and the small group of holdouts who surrendered with him (plates 41–62).
Perhaps by amassing these photos in this order and barely annotating what is pictured, the compiler hoped to express the narrative embedded in the images by recounting it orally to his intended audience with every viewing. Or the sparse annotation might be a sign that the compiler hoped to sell the collection to someone interested in its themes, so he left the door open for someone else’s narrative. While the landscapes and forts that figure in the album offer some insight into the compiler’s identity, many are found in other collections, publications, and archives, including in the U.S. Army Signal Corps collection of the National Archives. The Army Signal Corps, however, must have amassed these images at a later time, as the photographic unit of the Army Signal Corps was only established in 1917 (Brown 1996). The impetus for the numerous photographs of forts from this era would actually have been the issue of General Order No. 3, established by the quartermaster general in 1864, requiring each military district to document, with photographs or drawings, the condition of each structure built by the army. The purpose of the order was to achieve accountability regarding structures owned or occupied by the U.S. military. With the issue of General Order No. 3 in 1864, the dates for the photographs of forts in the album can’t be earlier than 1865, as it took time to organize the photographic documentation that this order required. It is interesting that even in their own era, photographs that were taken for one purpose, for example, as part of a government inventory of military structures, were repurposed for another, for example, to illustrate a personal photo album. The

---

68 General Order No. 3, by which all officers of the Quartermaster’s Department were to provide drawings or photographs of all the hospitals, barracks, quarters, or other buildings. (Report of the Quartermaster General of the United States Army to the Secretary of War, for the year ending June 30, 1865: 176)
repurposing, repositioning and circulation of photographs is a perpetual process (Edwards 2011: 177) which commences the moment a photograph begins to move around.

The photographs of the forts provide information about the compiler and the individuals portrayed in the album. Every U.S. Army officer portrayed in the album, as well as the Anglo merchants portrayed, was stationed at or had some business with many, if not all of the forts represented. However, it is when the photographs are taken in relation to one another, as well as with text written at the time (for example, Ayers account and the photographs of Santa Fe Plaza), that the larger picture emerges. As Hevia discusses in relation to photographs and text created within the photography complex, (I insert ‘New Mexico’ in place of ‘China’): “The results of this almost seamless blending of photographic image with textual knowledge about…[the colonized space being photographed] fixed into place an authoritative and monotone account of the events of…[the era], producing reality not only for audiences in …North America, but also, eventually, in [New Mexico]” (Hevia 2009: 109).

Most of the portraits are so rare and have so little documentation that it is very difficult to ascertain the original frame within which they were taken or to determine why they were taken specifically, although, in Souvenir, a narrative does emerge. The portraits of Juárez and Carleton are the most widely circulated of the portrait images, but the Souvenir album is the original source for virtually all of the Juárez and Carleton images in circulation. The Juárez portrait as an original-era print is found in three other archives in the United States, including in the National
Anthropological Archives’s (NAA) James E. Taylor *Scrapbook of the American West* (Fig. 27), as well as two other archives. Despite being the least circulated of all the images, the Navajo portraits offer the greatest insights into the photographer and compiler.

Fig. 27. *James E. Taylor scrapbook of the American West*, page 117. Benito Juárez, (upper left). Photographer unknown (possibly C. Duhem and Bro.). Photo Lot 24 SPC BAE 4605 01605801. Photo credit: Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, National Anthropological Archives.

As far as is known, no original negatives for any of the portraits survive, though there is a related original negative from the army officer series (Fig. 28).
Of the Navajo portraits, a few of the exact images, or related images, are found in other archives as prints original to the era they were taken. *Navajo Girl* (plate 51) depicts a girl in a biil, and a portrait of the same girl is found in the Blackmore Collection at the BM, album 9. In the Blackmore portrait, she is in an almost identical pose, though with a different carpet and different background (Fig. 29). The backdrop in the Blackmore Collection portrait is the same one that unifies the *Souvenir* images (plates 1–5, 8, and 61) - namely the poorly rendered outdoor garden with Romanesque pillars. This backdrop is, therefore, a critical link, in this case connecting *Souvenir* album portraits to the British Museum Blackmore collection.
The subject of *Navajo Girl* (plate 51) reappears yet *again*, this time in a photo with her sister, which is found *only* as a photocopy in the files of ‘J. G. Gaige’ at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (Fig. 30). 69 The photocopy is accompanied by a letter dated June 12, 1995, from a Joanna Blyth to Joanna Pace, project director for the Bosque Redondo Memorial at Fort Sumner, opened in 1991 to commemorate the tragic episode of the internment of the Navajos. Blyth writes that her family’s photo collection includes just *one* image not found in the Meem album photos that were reproduced for the memorial, namely, the image in the photocopy. An

---

69 See the ‘J. G. Gaige’ file in the photographer’s files at the New Mexico History Museum, Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, there is no reference number for the file, the files are (generally) alphabetical.
inscription on the back of this photocopied Blyth family photo identifies the subjects as ‘Doña Jesus & sister’.  

![Image](image.jpg)

Fig. 30. Photographer unknown (possibly C. Duhem and Bro. or Gaige) (1866). “Doña Jesús and her sister”, New Mexico Territory. Photocopy in the photographers file of “Gaige.” Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum.

The photocopy image calls to mind Baudrillard’s previously mentioned concept of simulacra, wherein the locis of power, the heft of presence, has become diffuse and diffracted by virtue of the technologies of image circulation and reproduction (Baudrillard 2014: 29, 41). It might be assumed that a mundane photocopy weakens this image’s power, but I would argue the opposite. Drawing on Benjamin’s

---

70 During research for this Chapter, I located Jane Blyth and Jennifer Schmandt, the great-granddaughters of Charles T. Jennings and daughters of Joanna and Jon Blyth. They provided helpful information about the photograph that was photocopied in the Gaige file in the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (but at the time of this printing, it has not been located in the Museum of New Mexico collection, where it was donated), and about related objects that their parents, along with their uncle William Charles Jennings and their aunt Eleanor Savastano, donated to the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

71 Here I use the plural “locis” as opposed to the singular “locus” because I suppose that though there are centres of power in the network, there are more than one central one, and hence the pluralization.
notions of authenticity, this photocopy is now elevated to become the precious one-of-a-kind, though it raises questions about presence. With the loss of many discernible details in the photocopy, is the potential to have an experience of punctum impacted? Has the image lost the tiny spark of contingency that Benjamin speaks of, has it lost (excluded) that which cannot be excluded, can we, per Barthes, no longer be pierced by the image? The question concerning the loss of the ‘spark of contingency’ is whether ‘presence’ too has been lost? I re-visit this question more thoroughly in Chapter Five but raise it here as something to consider, being so relevant in the middle of a story about putting together lost pieces of a puzzle.

Another Navajo portrait from the album (plate 57a) is found as an original-era photographic print in various formats, in five separate archives: the American Philosophical Society collection; the James E. Taylor Scrapbook of the American West, circa 1863–1900, in the NAA; and, separately, as a copy negative in the NAA; the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University; and the Netherlands Photo Museum. In almost every instance where the image occurs in other archives, the subject, a Navajo man, is misidentified, with both his name and tribal affiliation labelled incorrectly. In the Peabody Museum collection and the Netherlands Photo Museum, the portrait is identified correctly as Navajo. The misidentification is an effect of the circulation of photographs and indicates a loss of control over the content, even while, at the same time, it asserts a different authority, one that confers the privilege of making others invisible or anonymous. The tribal misidentification suggests how insignificant it was for colonizers, occupiers, and Anglos, in general, to name Native American individuals correctly and to recognize their autonomy and humanity and cultural specificity. The same effect occurs in the
misrecognized Damman image (Fig. 23) where the Navajo man is labelled ‘Sac and Foxes Indian’. Such ‘misrecognitions’ are part of the mechanism that enables users of images to apply a taxonomy of races in constructing racially charged realities of their own desire, thereby signifying that cultural specificity does not matter, but race does. Zeus Leonardo proposes that: “The ideology of race and its concomitant discourses interpolate every human individual into the racial formation. He/she is signified and brought into the racial universe, which gives him/her a racial label” (2005: 407). As demonstrated in the case of the Souvenir, this type of misrecognition opens the way for images to be commercialized and circulated devoid of their context, but capable of affirming larger categories of race, such as a generalized “Native American” or “Indian”, a topic I address in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Plate 57a depicts a Navajo man seated on a blanket-covered box or low stool, holding a bow and arrow, and is found, as mentioned, in numerous different collections. In most instances, the Navajo man is misidentified as Capote Ute chief, Sobita. There are numerous substantiated portraits of Sobita, which prove that he is not the man pictured in plate 57a, (Fig. 31 and 32). It should also be said that Sobita, as an Army scout and Ute chief was an enemy to the Navajo, captured many Navajo on behalf of the U.S. Army (many sold into slavery). However, the man in plate 57a is clearly dressed as a Navajo: his hair is tied in a tsiiyéél (Diné hair knot), and he wears a fur hunting cap, bandolier bag, cotton shirt and trousers, and footwear, and looks nothing like Sobita.
Fig. 31. W.G. Chamberlain (ca. 1866-67). Portrait of Sobita, Denver. Carte de visite mount; albumen print. William Blackmore Collection, Album 9, #Am, A9.154. Photo credit: © The Trustees of the BM. This is one of at least five photographs of Sobita in the British Museum collection, four of them are in the Blackmore albums.\(^{72}\)

Fig. 32. Nicholas Brown (1868). Ute and Jicarilla Indians, including agent W. F. M. Arny, in the studio of Nicholas Brown. New Mexico Territory. Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo

\(^{72}\) Two in album 9, one in album 8 and one in album 41.
Archives, New Mexico History Museum. Sobita is standing just right of centre in the back row, behind Arny, who stands dead centre, back row.

As to the archives holding the copies of 57a, whenever a photographer is identified, the photographer is (mistakenly) given as A. Zeno Shindler, or William Henry Jackson, names that link these copies, and in some cases, copies of copies, with both the geological and geographical land surveys (Jackson was the photographer for Hayden’s geological survey of 1871 of northwestern Wyoming) and the Smithsonian’s effort, supported by Blackmore, to make copies of the American Southwest and photographs of Native Americans (Trachtenberg 1996: 121; Fleming 2003).

Another copy of image 57a that I found, at the NAA, was mislabelled as ‘Sobita’ in the James E. Taylor Scrapbook of the American West (Fig. 33, upper left). Taylor, an artist and correspondent for Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly Newspaper amassed more than 700 images in his scrapbook of the American West. The page contains accounts of praise for Sobita offered by Col. Albert H. Pfeiffer who was a trapper and guide, an agent of the Southern Ute, and a close friend of Kit Carson (Simmons 2011: 100, 104), who is also portrayed on the page (centre top). When selecting this image for the scrapbook, Taylor likely found the image of the Navajo man already mislabelled as ‘Sobita’.
Fig. 33. *James E. Taylor scrapbook of the American West*, page 114. Photograph of a Navajo Man (upper left), and Colonel Albert Pfeiffer (centre top). Photo Lot 24 SPC BAE 4605 0160560. Photo credit: Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, National Anthropological Archives.

The portrait of the Navajo man in plate 57a is also, perhaps most compellingly, found in the archive of the Netherlands Photo Museum (Fig. 34a and b) along with four other portraits of Navajos also found in the *Souvenir* album. An inscription on the verso of the Netherlands carte de visite reads “Apache/or Navajo?,” indicating that when this specific print of the portrait was collected, it was not mislabelled as an image of Sobita. The other images in the Netherlands Photo Museum that are also found in the *Souvenir* album, in addition to the portrait that matches Plate 57a, are portraits that match plates 47, 50, 56, and 62. All the prints in the Netherlands Photo Museum collection are attributed to Alfredo Laurent, a French photographer active
in Mexico, and collected by a Dutch anthropologist from Herman F. C. Ten Kate—more will be said about this further in this chapter.

Fig. 34a and b. a) Photograph printed by Alfredo Laurent (possibly C. Duhem and Bro.) (1866). Unidentified Navajo man, New Mexico Territory. # WMR-900588_NB. Photo credit: Nederlands Fotomuseum, Rotterdam. See also plate 47 from the Souvenir album, which is the same image. b) Stamp of photographer Alfredo Laurent, with various inscriptions and a sticker from the Museum indicating that the print was a gift to the museum from H. F. C. ten Kate in November of 1910.

The Peabody museum also has an original-era print that is clearly from the same sitting as the set of Navajo portraits found in the Souvenir album, but just like the photocopy of the image of ‘Doña Jesus & sister’ found in the Gaige file at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, this specific image is not in the album (Fig. 35).
In the Peabody portrait, the man on the left-hand side, who is almost certainly Manuelito’s brother, El Ciego (The Blind Man), is seen in two of the *Souvenir* album portraits (plates 53 and 57b), and the man in the centre (also seen in plate 53), is possibly Manuelito’s brother, Cayetanito. How this portrait came to be in the Peabody collection is not entirely clear, though many of the photographs of Navajos in the Peabody collection were originally in the possession Washington Matthews, as this one likely was. It probably passed later into the hands of New Mexico based anthropologist Clyde Kluckhon, to ultimately be donated to the Peabody by his assistant, Lucy Kluckhohn. Washington Matthews was a U.S. Army surgeon, ethnographer and linguist, known particularly for his studies of the Navajo in the 1880s (Link 1960: 318). The reason Matthews is interesting is that some of the photographs he collected, he obtained in August 1883 from Herman F. C. ten Kate.
Importantly, Ten Kate, like Matthews, seems to be a part of the larger meshwork of trade in the Indigenous and Navajo visual economy operating in the 19th century.

The Library of Congress has a collection of copy prints of five of the Navajo portraits that also occur in the *Souvenir* album. The Library of Congress records for the five copy prints (plates 47, 48, 55, 56, and 62) attribute the photographs to John Gaw Meem with birth/death dates for Meem given as 1833–1908, indicating not the architect Meem, but rather his grandfather, a lieutenant in the Confederate Army. The records go on to declare the copyright holder of the copy prints to be Cyrus P. Jennings. On the back of the images themselves, inscribed in pencil, is ‘Cyprus P. Jennings, Macedon, N.Y. © claimant’, as well as names: ‘*Jim, a Navajo Indian*’ (plate 47); ‘Manuelito’ (plate 48); ‘*Harririo, a Navajo Chief*’ (plate 55); ‘*A Navajo Squaw and Papoose*’ (plate 56); and ‘*Natrossia and Pattia, 2 Navajo girls*’ (plate 62). A copyright date is stamped on the verso as well: January 19, 1914. The catalogue notes read, “Original images attributed to Meem by Denver Museum of Art. Possibly taken from U.S. Army Signal Corps during period of Navajo incarceration at Bosque Redondo or Fort Sumner.”

After much digging, I found that Cyrus P. Jennings was the son of Charles T. Jennings, a lieutenant and quartermaster in the First Regiment California Volunteer Cavalry during the Civil War (Orton 2010: 142). The elder Jennings was quartermaster at Fort Sumner until the summer of 1866 (Blackshear 2016: 136-7). I ascertained that the author of the letter in the Gaige file, Joanna Blyth, which discussed the photograph of ‘*Doña Jesus & sister*’, is the granddaughter of Cyrus P. Jennings and the great-granddaughter of Charles T. Jennings. Apparently, the elder
Jennings, Charles, had original prints of these Navajo portraits that his son, Cyrus, later made copy prints of. Cyrus copyrighted the copy prints and then gave those copy prints to the Library of Congress in 1914. The Denver Art Museum’s misattribution of John Gaw Meem as the photographer in the Library of Congress records is confusing, and it is unclear how it happened, though I suspect copyright concerns might have arisen in 1970 when Dee Brown used the portrait of ‘Jim’ (plate 47) for the cover and inside illustration of his classic book about Native American history, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (Fig. 36), and somebody tried to associate the images with the younger Meem and the acquisition of the Souvenir album, and it all just spun out of control in terms of what got recorded in the record.

Fig. 36. Cover of Dee Brown’s 1979 book Bury my heart at Wounded Knee: an Indian history of the American West, with the Souvenir image of plate 47. Photo credit: the author.
Who Took the Photographs in the Album?

At first glance, a surprising number of people could have been the photographer behind the *Souvenir* album. But of all the people known to have photographed subjects similar to those found in this album, not all could have been present at the photo sites on the appropriate dates—a fact that narrows the list considerably.

The one eliminated candidate worth touching on briefly is Valentin Wolfenstein. In his 1996 book about Navajo and Photography James Faris notes that Wolfenstein took portraits of Navajos in the Bosque Redondo era. (53-91). However, in following up this lead, I discovered that Wolfenstein was at Fort Sumner on March 30 and June 1, 1868, during the Peace Commission and signing of the Navajo Treaty, but only made it out West for the first time during that time, making his dates too late for *Souvenir*. Confirmation of Wolfenstein’s dates comes via excerpts from his diary held at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives. It was through digging to find whether Wolfenstein could have been ‘the’ or ‘a’ photographer for *Souvenir* that the long-lost group photo of the signing of the Navajo Treaty was recovered (see Fig. 26). The recovery of this photograph from obscurity in the archive, is also a story of return, the impact of which will be touched on briefly further on in this thesis. If *Souvenir* is the story of Navajo defeat and internment, then Wolfenstein’s photographs are the story of their subsequent liberation and return home.

---

73 Research found original era prints of this event at the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian, St. Louis Art Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. Previously, no print of the group photo of the signers of the peace treaty had been located, lost for practically 150 years, the first copy recovered by archivist Hannah Abelbeck. I also found copy prints of some of Wolfenstein’s images of this event at the NAA, whose records lead me to the St. Louis Art Museum as the original source for their copy prints.

74 There is no reference number for the file that contains the translated diary excerpts from Wolfenstein’s diary, in the “Wolfenstein” file. Files are (generally) alphabetical.
Another candidate for the *Souvenir* photographer is Gaige, who had a studio on the Santa Fe Plaza in 1862 (Santa Fe Gazette 1862: 2, c1). Little is known about Gaige, and it doesn’t help that there were several photographers with variations on this name in New Mexico at the time.\textsuperscript{75} George A. Gaige was born in Vermont and worked in Brady’s New York gallery at the same time Nicholas Brown did before heading west (Piston and Sweeney 2009: 7).\textsuperscript{76} In 1865, under Army Signal Corps General Order No. 3, a ‘Gaige’ obtained a commission from the U.S. Army Quartermaster’s Department to photograph military posts in the New Mexico Territory, including Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo (Palmquist and Kailbourn 2001: 255). This ‘Gaige’ was at Fort Sumner from February to March 1866, where he shot landscapes and portraits (Palmquist and Kailbourn 2001: 255).

Although it is clear that Gaige successfully took portraits of forts in accordance with General Order No.3, attributing the *Souvenir portraits* to him is not so straightforward. The dates when Gaige was in both El Paso del Norte and Fort Sumner are slightly off for *Souvenir*. There are also very few known photographs that bear Gaige’s mark, with the only ones I was able to locate at the Arizona State Library (Fig. 37). In sum, though it is not impossible that Gaige made all the portraits in this album, it is hard to make a clear case for that. It is, however, very likely that he took some or all of the photographs of forts.


\textsuperscript{76} Nicholas Brown came to Santa Fe in 1866, although it seems he visited Santa Fe earlier, in 1864 and 1865 (Coke and Newhall 1979: 2; Palmquist and Kailbourn 2001 126-8). Before the Civil War, he had been an operator in Matthew Brady’s Studio in New York City until 1857, when he went to St. Louis where he became an operator in the gallery of another famous daguerreotypist, John H. Fitzgibbon, opening his own gallery two years later (Piston and Sweeney 2009: 4), before opening a studio in Santa Fe.
Fig. 37. Attributed to J. G. Gaige (1869). Lieutenant Shepard. # MG121_B06_F19_I006. Photo 
credit: Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records, History and Archives Division, Phoenix. 
This photograph was probably taken at Camp Goodwin in 1869.

Last in the list of possible photographers are the brothers Constant Benjamin Louis 
Duhem and Victor Marie Duhem, who operated as C. Duhem and Bro. Born in Paris, 
they immigrated around 1852 to San Francisco (Oroville Mercury 1933). Both 
brothers enlisted as privates in the Fifth California Infantry in the early 1860s, with 
Constant joining the California Column’s march across New Mexico in 1862 before 
being stationed at Fort Bliss (NARA RG 94 Cat. ID 300398). On April 16, 1865, he 
served at Franklin, Texas, joining Company K of the Fifth California Infantry 
Regiment. He transferred from fort to fort in Texas, New Mexico, and Kansas, until 
his discharge in November 1867. An uncorroborated report says Constant Duhem 
travelled to Mexico as part of a select group from Company K to attend the capture 
and execution of Maximilian on June 19, 1867 (Oroville Mercury 1933).
It is unclear exactly when the Duhem brothers began taking photographs, though certainly, they began during army service, but it could be as early as 1862 and no later than 1865. Given the dates of the brothers’ various service postings, they were in the right place at the right time to have photographed Juárez and his cabinet and the U.S. Army officers and Anglo civilians in *Souvenir*. Their dates also match up well for the Navajo photographs, because they had a studio in Albuquerque when the recently surrendered Manuelito and his remaining followers came through on their way to Fort Sumner, after having departed Fort Wingate on September 9th. Few photographs taken by the Duhems from their time in the army can be located, though the ones located during my research bolster the case for the Duhem’s as *Souvenir* photographers (such as the next four images, 38-41).

![Fig. 38. C. Duhem and Bro. (ca. 1864–86). Officers’ quarters, Fort Union, New Mexico Territory. #138014. Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum.](image)
That British Museum Blackmore collection carte de visite of Kit Carson (see upper right-hand corner of Fig. 21 in the previous chapter) does not have a stamp, though an inscription on the reverse indicates that it was taken in Albuquerque in 1866, and other versions of the same image confirm that the Duhems took this portrait. Additional versions of this same photograph of Carson mounted variably on different carte de visite backs, have shown up in the last ten years for auction or on the internet. Two auctioned versions of the image have C. Duhem and Bro. stamps and inscriptions that date the image to 1867.
Fig. 40 a and b. a) C. Duhem and Bro. (July 11, 1867). Brevet Brigadier General Christopher ‘Kit’ Carson, Albuquerque, New Mexico Territory. Carte de visite mount; albumen print. Photo credit: Courtesy of Heritage Auctions. b) The stamp in combination with the ink inscription indicates that the Duhem brothers were operating out of Albuquerque in 1867. It is possible to read the year of the inscription as “1869,” except for the fact that Carson died on May 23, 1868, lending to the reading of the year in the inscription as “1867,” less than a year before Carson’s death.

These CDVs of Carson make it fairly certain that one or both of the Duhem brothers were taking studio portraits in Albuquerque in 1866 or 1867. Related to Souvenir, the most compelling of the Duhems’ images from their time in the army is a portrait of Brotherton very similar to the one in the Souvenir album - a carte de visite marked ‘C. Duhem & Bro., Photographers on the Rio Grande’ and inscribed “June 5, 1867” (Fig. 41 a and b).
An incident that occurred while the Duhems were stationed in Texas further positions them as photographers and connects them to another U.S. Army officer pictured in the album—Paymaster Clark (plate 9). Victor Duhem was a witness in the trial of three men charged with stealing almost $16,000 in government funds from a safe in Clark’s quarters near Fort Bliss, in Franklin, in 1865. Duhem’s testimony mentions his being in his daguerreotype studio on the day of the crime (Aarons 1880: 663, and NARA M345, Roll 0032). In 1869, the Duhem brothers, now civilians, opened a photography studio in Denver, Co. On January 3, 1877. A notice in the Rocky Mountain News reported that the Duhem brothers were to appear in court for bankruptcy proceedings (Rocky Mountain News 1877). The brothers’ ongoing financial difficulties are the best explanation, if something of a leap, as to how several of the Souvenir album’s Navajo portraits ended up in the archive of the
Netherlands Photo Museum where they were wrongly attributed to the French photographer Alfredo Laurent.

The Navajo portraits were collected by Ten Kate (plates 47, 50, 56, and 62) who travelled to the American Southwest and Mexico in 1882 to study the indigenous people of the area. In 1883, after unsuccessful attempts to take his own photos, he hired Laurent to help him photograph the local Yaquis. After his work among the Yaquis, Ten Kate returned to Arizona and undertook fieldwork among Indigenous people there. At this time, he engaged Constant Duhem to assist him as photographer for two weeks among the Apache (Kate 2004: 202). Ten Kate’s connections with both Duhem and Laurent might explain how images from the Souvenir album at the Netherlands Photo Museum came to bear Laurent’s mark (see Fig. 34). Little is known about Laurent, born in France in 1840.77 He lived and worked in Guaymas in 1882–83 (Kate 2004: 164). He was mostly active in Sonora, Mexico, and might have obtained the Duhem’s negatives through trade or sale. With the Duhem brothers often short of cash, it’s conceivable that they sold their negatives to Laurent.

The most likely scenario is that the Duhem brothers took the portraits in the Souvenir album and distributed them in a limited fashion, providing prints to both the compiler of the Souvenir album and to Charles T. Jennings, whom the Duhem’s would have served with or crossed paths with while serving. The Duhem brothers then probably sold the negatives of those prints - at least the Navajo portrait negatives - years later to Laurent, who made prints of a few of the images (plates 48, 50, 56, 57a, and 62) that he sold to Ten Kate. This would explain their presence in

77 The information on Alfredo Laurent’s date and place of birth comes from a private collector.
the archive in the Netherlands with Laurent’s stamp. With no evidence that Laurent was ever in the New Mexico Territory or any part of the United States, and with his active dates more than a decade later than the *Souvenir* album photographs, he is not a possible candidate as the actual photographer for the album.

*Portraits of Benito Juárez and His Cabinet*

The prominence of Benito Juárez and his cabinet in the *Souvenir* album says something about its origins and the importance of the events of the French Intervention in Mexico to the compiler. The existence of three other original-era prints and archived accounts of Juárez cabinet’s time in Paso del Norte clarify these portraits in *Souvenir*. The portrait of Juárez (plate 1) is found in the NAA Taylor scrapbook as well as in the collection of the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming with the date ‘February 1866’ inscribed on the verso, narrowing the window of when that portrait was made. The photograph is with the papers of Ichabod Sargent Bartlett, who served with the Tenth New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry Regiment during the Civil War. Bartlett was a paymaster in New Mexico and was introduced to Benito Juárez by Juan N. Zubirán, a wealthy El Paso del Norte merchant. Bartlett while paymaster in Franklin, Texas, referring to El Paso del Norte as “‘the last ditch’ of the Mexican Republic” and calling Franklin a slumbering, idyllic place (Fig. 42 and plate 32) (Bartlett 1915: 648, 656, 658).

---

On February 7, 1866, during the month that the portraits were taken, Juárez was named a 3rd Class (honorary) Companion of the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (also known as MOLLUS), an organization for Civil War veteran officers and their descendants, as well as civilians who provided exceptional service to the Union during the war (Shoaf 2002: 465). Carleton, Clark (Fig. 43), McCleave (plates 7, 9, and 11), and other MOLLUS members of the California regiments stationed at Fort Bliss probably supported Juárez’s election to MOLLUS and perhaps arranged for the portraits of Juárez and his cabinet that are found in Souvenir to commemorate Juárez’s induction.\(^9\)

\(^9\) In the MOLLUS-Massachusetts Commandery Civil War Photographs Collection, there are portraits of both Clark and Carleton. The portrait of Carleton in the MOLLUS album is identical to the portrait found as a negative in the Library of Congress collection (Fig. 28), which also appears to be from the same sitting as the Carleton portrait in the Souvenir album (plate 7).
Another clue about the context of these portraits surfaces in the memoirs of Mary Dowell Phillips, housed in the special collections at the University of Texas, El Paso, Library. Phillips, then Dowell, was the daughter of Benjamin Shacklett Dowell, a successful businessman in Franklin, Texas, before joining the Confederate Army (Hamilton 1976: 5-59). Dowell fled with his family for Mexico when the Union Army assumed control in Texas, though they returned when the war ended. In the time frame when the Juárez portrait was taken, eleven-year-old Mary Dowell attended a ball at Fort Bliss on February 22, 1866, to honour Juárez and his government—and possibly also to honour the conferring of the MOLLUS status.

80 Mary Dowell Phillips Memoirs, MS 031, C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department, The University of Texas at El Paso Library.
Her memories of this elegant formal occasion were cited in a 1973 article in the El Paso Herald-Post that also included excerpts from Bartlett’s papers, as Bartlett had also attended the ball. The ball was attended by U.S. Army officers and “all the best families” of Franklin and El Paso del Norte (Hamilton 1973: B1) and was an event of “bowing and elegance.” The dance was held at the quartermaster’s storeroom at the freshly reconstructed fort (plates 33–38). Large Chinese lanterns illuminated portions of the space and portraits of Washington, Lincoln, and Juárez were hung for the occasion (Hamilton 1973: B1), and “Ice had been carried overland all the way from New Mexico for the occasion” (Hamilton 1973: B1). Also present were members of Texas monopolies, or rings, unofficial organizations and affiliations that dominated trade and commerce between private entities and businesses, and between businesses and the U.S. Army. Specifically, the Custom House Ring was well represented at the Fort Bliss ball, as were those who would become a part of the Salt Ring (Cool 2008: 35). International alliances and business relationships between former Civil War rivals reflect the changes in the region that recent wars and their aftermaths had brought to the city. These mixed social circles created the basis for much of the social and economic life on both sides of the border, as well as predication for some of the portraits in Souvenir.

One more original-era print of the portrait of Juárez was discovered in the archive of the New Mexico State University Library Archives and Special Collections. The portrait is in the collection of Mary Alexander, a descendant of Albert J. Fountain, from whom she inherited the print. Fountain joined the Union Army in 1861 in

81 The list of those who attended included some of the most important names in southwestern history from this era, from both sides of the border (El Paso Herald-Post 1973: B1).
California during the Civil War, serving as captain of the New Mexico Volunteers, and was for a time at Fort Bliss. While there, he became a protégé of W. W. Mills (Cool 2008: 36). According to his descendant, Fountain received the portrait from Juárez when Fountain was a customs agent in Franklin (1865–67), a position he obtained through his connection to Mills.

Juárez, elected president in 1861, fleeing an invasion by the French and in exile along the U.S. border in Paso del Norte in 1866, asked the United States for assistance with his cause. U.S. Army officers who appear in the Souvenir album forged an alliance in opposition to French encroachment in the Americas, surreptitiously shipping arms to the Juaristas, working to aid the expulsion of French forces from Mexico. And while President Abraham Lincoln decried the incursion a violation of the Monroe Doctrine (Hogan 2016: 144, 147–48; Miller 1973: 5, 10, 13–14), it should be noted that American support for Mexican rule of Mexico was not just based in ideals and support for the Monroe Doctrine - many American businessmen stood to gain substantial concessions from Mexico in mining, agriculture, the railroads and telegraphs; should Mexicans rule their own land (Miller 1973: 13, 33-35, 49,51,60-1).

After the end of the American Civil War, in May 1865, General Ulysses S. Grant, commander of the Union Army, fearful that rebel forces in Texas remained a threat despite the Confederate surrender, sent 50,000 troops to the Texas-Mexico border (Hogan 2016: 141-2). The deployment of troops mirrored the smuggling of arms and other types of assistance from the United States to Mexico, both during and after the American Civil War (Miller 1973: 11). The officers portrayed in the Souvenir album
would have been stationed at Fort Bliss at this time and would have participated in smuggling arms to the Juaristas. All of these connections, the business deals, the socializing, the arms smuggling, and the retaking of Mexico, are the reason that the portraits of Juárez and his cabinet are in *Souvenir*.

**Portraits of U.S. Army Officers and Prominent Merchants**

Having found connecting links of a network between the Mexicans and the Americans, more researched unearthed even further connections of money and society linking the portraits together. During the Civil War, General James H. Carleton (plate 7) and his California Column reoccupied West Texas on the heels of the retreating Confederates and ultimately established a command centre in Franklin, Texas (Ely 2010: 380). In general, troops, as opposed to officers, are only pictured distantly in some of the *Souvenir* landscapes. The soldiers who served in the Southwest endured “privations, toil and hardships,” with alcohol and women serving as outlets for the boredom and loneliness that many experienced (Thompson 2015: 211, 360). By contrast, many officers and their associates found ways to enrich themselves. Under martial law, the army leased property at low rates, especially the property of Confederate-sympathizing business owners who had abandoned properties when they fled the Union Army’s advance (Thompson 2015: 211, 360). Republican businessmen and property owners benefited from the army’s presence, and Union officers shared in the profiteering. In 1864, for example, Republican businessman W. W. Mills owned six of the ten properties leased by the Union Army. Two years earlier, he had secured an appointment from President Lincoln as a county customs collector, which put him in a prime position to do business with the Union Army officers who arrived later that year (Thompson 2015: 211, 360). “The
military posts in north-west Texas and southern New Mexico were supplied with corn, flour, beef, hay, fuel, etc., by El Paso [Franklin] merchants and contractors,” Mills noted. “The products of the mines, crudely worked, in northern Mexico, were brought to El Paso and exchanged for merchandise and money” (Mills 1962: 24). After the Civil War ended, exchanges of goods increased, and the once surreptitious shipments of arms and other supplies to Mexico in support of the Juaristas could now be sent more openly.

One of the largest movements of American arms to the Juaristas, happened in early 1865 when General Grant developed the scheme for the Union Army to “lose” 30,000 rifles near the border with El Paso del Norte for the Juarista troops (Hogan 2016: 143). The movement of arms coincided with Grant’s previously mentioned deployment of 50,000 troops to the border. Most of those troops were from regiments of the United States Colored Troops, later referred to as “Buffalo Soldiers” (Hogan 2016: 142). One of the things about collections like Souvenir, or the British Museum Blackmore Collection, is the way in which they circumscribe our contemporary understanding of networks. To look at these collections and try to comprehend relationships of the colonizer and the colonized in a 19th century settler nation, is to be totally misled by the manner in which other actors are eliminated from the narrative being described, in this case, by collections of photographs. Within such photographic collections, there are no direct indications of, for example, the large numbers of African American troops in the American Southwest (Fig. 44). There is also scant photography, in comparison to images of Native

---

82 At various times, New Mexico has had the cities and towns with the largest number of African Americans in the Southwest, which is primarily related to the presence of African American troops sent to fight the Indian Wars, and who were stationed at the border during WWI.
Americans, of the very large number of Chinese workers who were in the Southwest in the decade or so after the photographs in this album were taken, who worked in the mines and built the railroads. Ethnographic collections are often sorted by ‘type’ - a word often used synonymously with ‘race.’ Representation of gender is also impacted by this artificial circumscribing, which is made obvious in the absence of women in the portraits (Fig. 45), aside from the Indigenous women. Such absences in the field of visual representation, give a misleading account of what the original 19th century network was actually comprised of.

Fig. 44. Photographer unknown (ca. 1864–66). First Sergeant William Messley, Company C of the Sixty-Second U.S. Colored Infantry. Carte de visite mount. # WICR 11510. Photo credit: Wilson’s Creek National Battlefield, U.S. National Park Service. Messley, a former slave from Glasgow, Missouri, was 22 when he enlisted and was part of the deployment of 50,000 troops sent to the border by General Grant in late spring of 1865.
Fig. 45. Photographer unknown (1890s). Cuniffe family women, presumably with Francesca Lujan, Henry J. Cuniffe’s wife who came from an important New Mexican family, seated at the centre.
#00040579. Photo credit: Amador Family papers D, Collection MS004, New Mexico State University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

In response to exchanges and tensions at the border, in 1863, Carleton developed a spy system aimed at thwarting Confederates operating in Mexico (Ely 2010: 388). One member of Carleton’s spy network was Henry J. Cuniffe (plate 6), who also thrived from doing business with the U.S. Army (Ely 2010: 388). In 1862, Cuniffe began his service as American consul at El Paso del Norte, and in 1863, he partnered with Nathan Webb (plate 12), who had just opened a sutler store at Fort West with William H. Moore (H. Moore and Co.), who himself had just served as sutler at Fort Union (Thompson 2015: 252, 262; and Mills 1962: 20). Fort West was founded by Major William McCleave (plate 11) in February 1863 to house the California volunteers, who were in turn charged with protecting Pinos Altos miners from attack by the Apaches (Frazer 1972: 108; Thompson 2015: 151). In early 1863, Webb and
Moore also opened a store at Fort Bliss in Franklin (Thompson 2015: 151). Cuniffe and Webb also sold flour in Mexico, securing a contract with Zubirán in El Paso del Norte (Thompson 2015: 150). Indicative of the network Cuniffe, Webb and others portrayed in this section of Souvenir had been building, another almost contemporaneous photograph shows Cuniffe and Webb playing cards with other prominent businessmen and politicians from both sides of the border (Fig. 46) (Mills 1962: 199, 200).83

Fig. 46. Photographer unknown (ca. 1866). Card game, (From left to right) Henry Cuniffè, W. W. Mills (or possibly his brother, Anson Mills), José María Uranga (possibly), Nathanial Webb, and Juan Zubirán (possibly). Photo credit: Courtesy Evelyn Rosen and Carl Hertzog.

There are many examples of commercial exchanges, gun-running and politics being facilitated and bolstered by the social and economic engagements of local power brokers. For example, Mariano Samaniego, El Paso del Norte politician and merchant, hosted a ball in Carleton’s honour. The Santa Fe Weekly Gazette of

83 This photo is found in appendix IV of Mills, Forty Years at El Paso, only the 1962 version. The caption in the book does not name everybody correctly.
February 27, 1864, reported in detail on this lavish event’s music, food and wine. that Colonel James Bowie’s brass band from Franklin played, and in the centre of the buffet table “…was a pyramid cake of an enormous size; from the top floated the colors of the United States and Mexico, beautifully comingling” (Thompson 2015: 263-4 Stanley 2011: 379, 380). Similarly, Cuniffe held a Christmas open house in Franklin, entertaining large numbers of people from both sides of the border (Abbot 1869: 171). These social engagements were often the basis on which financial and social contracts were set in motion among those who attended them. They also gave impetus for some of the Souvenir portraits to be taken.

Further stories of commerce (and crime) involve Captain Emil Fritz (plate 10). Fritz immigrated from Germany, probably attracted to join the California gold rush. His several tours of duty in the U.S. Army included service with Lawrence G. Murphy in the 1860s at Fort Sumner and Fort Stanton, located in Lincoln County in south-central New Mexico (Fig. 47) (Nolan 2009: 38).
In 1866, while Fritz was post commander at Fort Stanton, he and Murphy opened a brewery and store, L. G. Murphy and Co., through which they secured grain and cattle from local ranchers to sell to the U.S. Army. At the same time, they obtained bacon, beans, and coffee from the army to sell to ranchers (Caldwell 2010: 90). Fritz and Murphy’s company took on additional business partners and became a local monopoly (Fig. 48).
When Fritz died in 1874, disputes about the settlement of his insurance policy initiated one of the most tumultuous conflicts in New Mexico in the late 19th century, the Lincoln County War. The impact of these corrupt monopolies and rings, fueled by associations and greed became evident to me when putting together the history behind the photographs. It is clear that all the men in the first two sets of portraits were not just associated through general connections of proximity of time and place - they were also bonded in actual and complex exchanges, negotiations and relationships, some of it being ideological, and much of it having to do with commerce.
Portraits of Navajos at Bosque Redondo

The third group of photographs, mostly portraits with a few landscapes, are of Navajos and of Fort Sumner and the surrounding Bosque Redondo in south-eastern New Mexico. This is where Navajos and Apaches were imprisoned by the U.S. government between 1863, when five hundred Mescalero Apaches (N’dé) were forcibly relocated there, and 1868 when the Navajos returned to their homelands after four years of internment. These images specifically depict the final destination of the Long Walk of the Navajos, when approximately 9,000 to 11,000 Navajos (Diné) were forcibly removed from their homelands and compelled to walk hundreds of miles to internment at Hweéldi, or the Place of Suffering, as the Navajos call it. On the journey, the Navajos endured “hunger, disease, rape, slave raids by Comanche[s] and Kiowas, extreme weather, grief and despair” (Fast 2007: 195). Hundreds died en route, and hundreds if not thousands more Navajos died from smallpox in the first year of imprisonment.

Initially, General Edward Canby proposed removing the Navajos from their lands, but it was Carleton who conceived the specific removal plan, which began with the Mescalero Apaches (Thompson 2015: 299). Carleton lays out his argument for removal of the “barbarians,” as he referred to the Navajos, in a pamphlet in 1865,

---

84 The Mescalero Apaches were the first to be imprisoned at Bosque Redondo (Thompson 2015: 60-1, and Blazer 2000: 15-16).
85 Numbers of Navajos interned at Bosque Redondo vary but are generally estimated at between 8,000 and 11,000, though the number of Mescalero Apaches (five hundred) is well agreed upon. The figure of 11,000 Navajos comes from Jennifer Denetdale. She also makes the point that it is hard to account for the numbers who died along the way or the number of prisoners who were stolen by slave raiders who followed the forced march (2008: 49).
86 Various sources cite the number of Navajos who died from smallpox in the first months of 1865 as “2,321.” However, those sources do not indicate where that number comes from (e.g. Spicer 2006: 220). Theodore H. Dodd’s report of August 28, 1866 indicates that there was a decrease of 1,576 Navajos, which he attributed to death and desertion. Dodd arrived when the smallpox epidemic was well under way, so it could be that hundreds more were already dead when he arrived. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1866 2010: 150-1).
titled *To the People of New Mexico* (Carleton 1864: 12). The pamphlet was Carleton’s public relations response to a December 1864 editorial in the *Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican* newspaper that attacked him and the contractors and merchants who were profiting from the Indian’s internment at Bosque Redondo and Fort Sumner, labelling the whole arrangement as “nothing more than a contractor’s scheme” (Thompson 1972: 347). An earlier letter of Carleton’s outlines his interest in “arable lands in other parts of the Territory,” in “a country evidently teeming with millions on millions of wealth.” The letter establishes Carleton’s rationale for wanting to keep the land from the “rebels”, as well as establishing the foundation for what would later be revealed as his personal greed for land occupied by Native people in the territory. In 1863, in a letter to Major General Henry W. Halleck, Carleton writes about the resource-rich land, and the need to displace the Indigenous population to harvest it: “…I established Fort West, and have driven the Indians away from the head of the Gila, and they are finding gold and silver and cinnabar there. ...Thus you can see one reason why the rebels want, and why we may not permit them ever to have, a country evidently teaming with millions on millions of wealth” (Condition of the Indian Tribes 1867: 110).

Carleton and the former miners in his California Column had searched for gold and silver deposits en route to the New Mexico Territory while fighting the Civil War, and the general had secretly been investing in mines where his troops were prospecting as they went (Farish 1918: 102-11). His plan to remove Native Americans from areas that held rich mineral deposits is no coincidence and was not only about subduing and controlling Indigenous peoples; it was also motivated by his personal investments and avarice (Thompson 2015: 298, Locke 2010: 347, and
Keleher 1982: 338). In October 1862, Carleton ordered Colonel Kit Carson’s regiment to reoccupy Fort Stanton and use it as a base from which to wage war on the Mescaleros, with orders that all Mescalero men were to be killed “whenever and wherever” Carson’s troops found them (Twitchell 1911: 418). When the leading Mescalero chief, Cadete, surrendered in December (Fig. 49), the tribe’s survivors were moved to Fort Sumner and put to work expanding the fort in anticipation of the arrival of the Navajos (Thompson 2015: 267-268).

The campaign against the Navajos began in 1863 with Carleton’s brutal scorched-earth policy in which homes of Navajos, along with their crops of corn, wheat, beans, melons, and peaches, were destroyed in order to force them to surrender (Thompson 2015: 267-268) “The systematic destruction of the orchards was one of the most vengeful acts inflicted upon the Navajo,” and it is the thing Navajos today mention the most when they talk about the Carleton campaign (Correll 1979: 295-6,
Many Navajos refused to leave, and Carson was ordered by Carleton to invade Canyon de Chelly on January 12, 1864. Hounded by soldiers and starved from their lands, many Navajos surrendered at various forts in New Mexico Territory. This was the beginning of the Long Walk, as it is known, with an initial 2000 Navajos leaving from Fort Canby in Arizona, to walk 450 miles to Fort Sumner, commencing the most devastating time in Navajo history (Correll 1979: 267-8). As more groups of Navajos surrendered, they were forced to walk various routes, the longest being 498-miles and the shortest, roughest and least used being 375 miles (Denetdale 2008: 56, and Remley 2012: 230).

Survivors of the Long Walk arrived at a place, seen in the landscapes at the end of *Souvenir*, with poor soil, alkaline water, and sparse trees (Burke 2017: 108). The internees endured years of crop failures; in their final year in captivity, they were compelled to work the unproductive fields at bayonet-point. The barren, almost tree-less, land made it difficult for the Navajos to build hogans for shelter (plate 41). Nevertheless, they were constantly at work at Bosque Redondo, as they were responsible for irrigation, farming, and the butchering and dispersal of livestock, all under army supervision (plate 60). Lieutenant Charles T. Jennings wrote an account of the butchering of cattle by Navajos, which happened on alternate days, with twenty to thirty head of cattle being butchered and then divided into meagre portions (Fig. 50). Jennings was responsible for the weighing of the beef, noting that it was

---

Sources (Bailey 1998, Locke 2010: 380, Magoc and Bernstein 2016) do seem to corroborate that Navajos were forced to work the fields under threat of violence, and there is no question that 1867 was the third year in a row that crops failed, as indicated in reports of the time, including Sherman’s 1868 *Indian Peace Commission Report*, [http://history.furman.edu/~benson/docs/peace.htm](http://history.furman.edu/~benson/docs/peace.htm) Accessed January 24, 2019.
not “easy to chop thirty head of cattle into six thousand six hundred pieces and have all equally large” (Farmer and Giese 1993: 109-10).

Fig. 50. Henry T. Hiester (ca. 1872-78). Indians butchering cattle. Stereo glass negative. #037968. Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo Archives. While this image of butchering and distribution of rations was taken some years after Jennings’s description of that activity at Fort Sumner, it likely depicts a similar scene: Navajo butchering cattle for rations at a fort in New Mexico, most likely Fort Defiance.

While the Navajos and Apaches starved, traders and merchants who contracted with the government prospered, making money even when supplies were deficient or spoiled. Moore, the one-time partner of Nathan Webb (plate 12), supplied bad flour that contained “bits of stale, broken bread and something that resembles plaster of paris,” and yet he received further contracts to supply Hweéldi (Iverson and Roessel 2003: 59). Rationing was implemented in response to the shortages, with Navajo forging ration tickets. The desperate captives were labelled ‘thieves’ for forging
ration tickets to stay alive (plates 57b and 60), as seen in the captions of these plates. The constant deprivation and near-starvation conditions that the Navajos endured for years required fortitude, endurance, and creativity to survive, making the label ‘thieves’ a further injury.

To compound their misery, Navajos were the targets of slave raids by their traditional adversaries, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Utes. Kidnapping and slavery were practiced by all parties in the New Mexico Territory, including Anglos, Mexicans, and various tribes. While Native Americans did have slaves - often adopting those they had captured or bought - the number of slaves held by Indigenous people in New Mexico was substantially less than the number of slaves held by Nuevomexicanos and Anglos. Spanish colonists, in addition to forcing Indigenous people to work as laborers and household servants, also required them to become Christians (Locke 2010: 282, and Reséndez ‘The Other Slavery’: 279). The number of Navajo baptisms was far fewer than 100 in the decades before and after the 1860s, but they reached almost 800 in that decade alone, during the time of internment at Bosque Redondo (Reséndez ‘The Other Slavery’: 330). It was the Navajos who suffered the most from the practice of captive slavery and peonage, particularly once removed from their homelands. In January 1864, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Michael Steck estimated that at least 2000 Navajos lived as slaves in the New Mexico Territory (NARA RG75 Roll 552).

Many army officers were indifferent toward slavery in New Mexico. In 1851, General Carleton brought the first black slaves, known to history as ‘Hannah’ and ‘Benjamin’, into New Mexico and sold them to Governor William Carr Lane.
It was not uncommon for army officers to own Native American slaves, specifically Navajo slaves. The capture and enslavement of Navajos was the main reason the Navajos waged war with the Nuevomexicanos and Anglos of the territory (Thompson 2015: 346).

Slavery was such an ordeal for captive Navajos that they often preferred to join other Navajos at Bosque Redondo. However, the adversity of life at Bosque Redondo, coupled with the ongoing conflicts between the Mescalero Apaches and the Navajos, age-old enemies, compelled the Mescaleros to make their exodus from the Bosque Redondo reservation on the night of November 3, 1865, never to return (Sonnichsen 1982: 134-5). The number of Mescaleros at Bosque Redondo, 500, was manageable enough to devise an escape, but the large number of Navajos at Bosque Redondo made it logistically impossible for them to slip away in the same manner. It would be well over two more years before the Navajos returned home, though some Navajo captives also escaped before the negotiation of the 1868 Navajo Treaty.

The landscape photos in this last group from the album offer a small glimpse of the hardships endured by Native captives, but the Navajo portraits are the most riveting, making a case for the experience of historical presence in photographs as being most embedded in human portraits. There are 13 portraits in all. The subjects in all the portraits wear clothing typical of the time, and many have blankets wrapped around them, some are Navajo woven blankets, and some are army-issue “Mackinaw” blankets. The first Navajo portrait is of a young man holding a bow and arrow.

Both “Mackinaw blankets” and “Mexican blankets” were ordered in volume by the U.S. Army, but the Mackinaw blankets were intended for Navajos and the “Mexican blankets” for Utes and Apaches (Wheat 2003: 76, and Keleher 1982: 498).
(plate 47), as many of the Navajo men are posed in the portraits. Faris articulates what purpose it served to photograph Navajo men with their weapons:

The poses with weapons, especially the three-quarter views, survived as one dominant trope of Navajo photographic appearances…. These subjects were prisoners, stripped of offensive force, and photographs of them with such implements make perverse reference to their captivity, their conquest, and the impotence of such items (1996: 59).

The second portrait (plate 48) is of Manuelito, his presence among the others portrayed in this section most crucially frames all the 13 portraits in specific events. Manuelito, who, along with Barboncito, remains one of the most significant and eminent headmen of the Navajos, resisted American and Mexican invasions and American expansion and led many Navajos into hiding for more than two years in order to avoid the move to the Bosque Redondo reservation (Denetdale 2007: 5). Carleton sent delegation after delegation of Navajo captives to try to persuade Manuelito to surrender, but Manuelito and his band continued to hold out, with occasional reports from surrendering band members as to the disposition of Manuelito and his holdouts. One such report indicated that Manuelito’s older brother was actually in charge of the small group. A later report indicated the group was down to about twenty-five members sustaining themselves on roots (Thompson 2015: 353-4, and Correll 1979: 90-2). A report from January 18, 1866, given by “Cabellado Chino”, said that Manuelito’s followers had been dispersed by a Ute attack and were living along the Little Colorado River (Correll 1979: 295-6). Chino said the only people left with Manuelito were his brother El Ciego (plates 53 and 57b and Fig. 35) and their families, El Ciego apparently being the older brother
Manuelito referred to as commanding the band he was with. On September 1, 1866, Captain Edmond Butler received word that a group of Navajos were approaching Fort Wingate, and Butler subsequently accepted the surrender of Manuelito and twenty-three others (Correll 1979: 368). The presence of Manuelito in this set of portraits affirms that these portraits were taken after September 1, 1866, and that the rest of the people portrayed would have, according to the details just proffered, been kin. Perhaps ironically, days after Manuelito’s surrender, hardships at Bosque Redondo were so atrocious that Carleton was relieved of command on September 19, 1866 (Fig. 51) (Thompson 2015: 409).

Fig. 51. Nicholas Brown (December 26, 1866). Military personnel in Masonic group portrait, Masonic Temple, Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory. #009826. Photo credit: Palace of the Governors Photo Archives. (Seated, left to right) Daniel H. Rucker, Kit Carson, and James H. Carleton. (Standing, left to right) E. H. Bergmann, Charles P. Cleaver, Nelson H. Davis, Herbert M. Enos, Basil K. Norris, and John C. McFerran. This portrait was taken just over three months after Carleton was relieved of command.
An article in the September 29, 1866, issue of the Santa Fe Gazette claimed that
Manuelito’s group had been brought through Santa Fe; given that this would not
have been the direct route to Fort Sumner, this most assuredly would have been done
to make a public display of the group of captive Navajos:

Manuelito, the Navajo Chief, and quite a large party of his band were
brought to Santa Fe last week. They are to be taken to the Bosque Redondo
Reservation and furnished with a new home where they will have less of the
cares of State on their minds and more bread and meat to eat. Manuelito was
the most stubborn of all the Navajo Chiefs and was the most difficult to be
brought to terms (Correll 1979: 368).

This is yet another example of the photography complex, photographs and text taken
together, serving as agents of the state, in this instance, serving to set the stage for
and record the humiliation of those the state would seek to oppress. It would seem
that the article was written in the newspaper before these photographs were even
taken, as the group of Manuelito and his followers, in travelling from Fort Wingate
to the Bosque Redondo would have first reached Santa Fe, where they were paraded
through the streets, and the article was subsequently written, and they would have
walked on to Albuquerque, where the portraits were likely taken. As Hevia
articulated in talking about the British suppression of the Boxer Rebellion, “The
image followed upon the text, with the latter functioning as a determinant of the
former” (Hevia 2009: 84), and so too it seems was the case of the portraits of Navajo
in Souvenir.
The portrait of Manuelito (plate 48) bears the caption “Pistol Bullet”— an Anglo nickname—and gives his height as “6 ft. 4 in.” The origin of that nickname is recounted in written accounts, Manuelito had five nicknames (Brown 1979: 33, Sundberg 2013: 573, Keleher 1982: 298, and Linford 2016: 100). The nickname “Pistol Bullet,” as well as the related nickname “Bullet Hole,” referred to a scar under Manuelito’s right breast from a wound he received in a raid on the Comanches.89

The third portrait in this set (plate 50), labelled in pencil ‘Apache Boy’, invites the question of whether this Apache boy would have been adopted into Manuelito’s group of followers and family - though apparently as late as July 1866, many Apaches were with Manuelito’s group of hold-outs (Correll 1979: 358-60). The girl in the portrait that follows (plate 51), has already been discussed and is the one in a portrait in the Blackmore Collection and in the photocopy of the portrait that originally belonged to Charles T. Jennings, where she appears with her sister. In general, less is known about the women in the other portraits (plates 52, 56, 61, and 62) as indigenous women were often photographed not as individuals with names, but as anonymous figures, even more so than the men. The picture of the woman with a baby on her back in a cradleboard and the double portrait of the two girls or young women that closes the album are also found at the Library of Congress with the Cyrus P. Jennings copy prints, but only the double portrait (plate 62) has names associated with the subjects in the Library of Congress record, ‘Notrossia & Patiaa’, though these are not Navajo names. Portrait photographs of Indigenous women in the 19th century, such as the ones in this album, were often arranged in standard and

repeated poses and often coupled with standard captions (Fleming and Luskey 1986: 109-11). For example, plate 56 portrays a woman with a baby on her back, the pose of mother and child is a very standard one for Native American women in photographs of this time. The same pose often appears in earlier European traditions in painting of the same theme (Maitland 1988: 47-60). In other portraits of women, the label ‘belle’ is sometimes used, as is the case with the portrait titled ‘The Belle of the Navajos’ (plate 54), revealing an ironic and patronizing view.

Navajo men appear in six portraits, some of their identities already discussed, and in plate 53. the man seated on the right is Mariano Martínez, a headman, the man seated on the left is likely El Ciego. The high status of the unidentified man in the middle, possibly Manuelito’s brother Cayetanito, is evident in his pearl button–studded top hat, bracelet, shell disk (heishi) necklace, and braided leather crop. The man in plate 55 also appears to be high ranking judging by his outward appearance: He wears a shell button–embellished felted cap in the shape of a cat, perhaps emulating warrior helmets made from the skinned heads of mountain lions. In the Jennings series at the Library of Congress, this man is named ‘Harririo’ a name that doesn’t correlate to any known Navajo man. The Spanish word ‘Herrero’ was used by some Navajo men. Herrero Grande was a blacksmith whom Carleton sent to meet with Manuelito in 1865, in an attempt to win his surrender: he may be the ‘Herrero’ of this portrait.

‘Navajo Thieves’, (Plate 57b) shows two men, the one on the right possibly El Ciego. The men sit close together, one seated and one kneeling, and holding hands. The tragic irony of the photo’s title is that, throughout their centuries of resistance to
imperialist encroachment, indigenous people were demonized for acting to protect, sustain, or avenge themselves, and were called ‘thieves’ when they defied the theft of their lands, language, livelihoods, and culture. More recently, in the circulating of this image in books and film, some have erroneously interpreted the men’s physical intimacy in this specific portrait as an example of ‘two spirited’, pan-Indian, homosexual expression. That is a Eurocentric reading to be addressed in the next chapter.

Although the 13 portraits of Navajos in the Souvenir album are the first known portraits of Navajos, they are closely linked in time and topic - the captivity at Bosque Redondo - to another set of Navajo portraits by Nicholas Brown and Son. These portraits occur in various archives including the British Museum William Blackmore Collection, albums nine and seventeen, and the Princeton University Library Western Americana collection (Fig. 52), as well as the Dammann book, on the page presented at the beginning of this chapter (Fig. 23). Given the mostly anonymous photographs and the sparse accounts of indigenous people, highlighting the interconnectedness of Navajo portraits of this era seems particularly important in relation to the 13 portraits at the end of the Souvenir album. These portraits by Brown were very probably taken while the Navajo were still at Hweélidi.
Fig. 52 a and b. a) N. Brown é Hijo (ca. 1867). Navajo man, possibly at Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo, New Mexico Territory. # WC064. Photo credit: Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Western Americana Collection. b) The back of this photographs shows the stamp for “Brown É Hijo,” and this is the same image mistaken for ‘Sac and foxes Indian’ in Fig. 21.

Another Nicholas Brown photo (Fig. 53 a, b and c), circa 1866–68, a copy of which is also found in the British Museum Blackmore Collection, was offered at auction in 2015. The front bears the label ‘Jack of Spades’; on the rear is inscribed ‘Jack of Spades Navajo Boy Pet of Col. McCleave’. This would be a reference to the McCleave (plate 11) who commanded Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo at the time of the Navajo internment.
In 1882, the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had photographs of Henry Chee Dodge, interpreter; Major Dennis Riordan, the U.S. agent assigned to work with the Navajos; and two ‘Navajo Chiefs’, including a 27 year old man referred to as ‘Navajo Jack’, who may be the same ‘Jack’ as the boy depicted in the portrait with the inscription ‘Jack of Spades’, taken roughly 16 years earlier. The ‘Navajo Jack’ photographed at the Carlisle Indian School was also known as ‘John Bitzclay’ as he was registered in the records of Carlisle (Fig. 54).
John Bitzclay/Navajo Jack, a nephew of Manuelito, died of tuberculosis on March 10, 1883, less than five months after arriving at Carlisle. ‘Jack’ had arrived at Carlisle on October 21, 1982, along with two of Manuelito’s son’s, Manuelito Chou and Manuelito Chiquito, and eight other Navajo young men and women or boys and girls. Manuelito’s sons also died of tuberculosis, which they had likewise contracted at the school shortly after ‘Jack’ had caught the fatal disease. Manuelito Chou was 15 when he arrived at the school, and he was sent home sick seven months after he arrived and died in July 1883. After his death, Manuelito wanted all Navajo children sent home from the school. His older son, Manuelito Chiquito, who was 20 years old when he arrived at the school, left the school at the end of August 1883 and died the
next month.\textsuperscript{90} Further indication that the Navajo Jack in the Brown Carte de Visite may be the Same Navajo Jack in the photograph taken at Carlisle is that further research has indicated that the Brown series of photographs of Navajo, such as the ones in the Blackmore collection, were likely taken when a group of important Navajo were meeting with American officials in 1867 – but that is a longer story.

The ten landscapes at the end of the album, focusing on Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo, (plates 41–46, 49, and 58–60) help frame the Navajo portraits. Most of the plates show the poor conditions under which the Indians lived. It is obvious from the photographs that there are very few trees for fuel and house-building: sub-standard housing can be very clearly seen in plate 41. Plate 42 depicts one of the many ways that the Navajos and Mescaleros were put to constant work, whether it was helping the soldiers with building or farm-work, as depicted in plates 58 and 59. An indication of the mixing of soldiers and interned Navajos can also be seen, particularly in plate 44. Likewise, all of the landscape plates in this section illustrate the manner in which the Navajos were anonymized groups of people to be counted (e.g. plate 49) or to be pejoratively labelled. The headmen seen in plate 60, for example, were accused of counterfeiting ration tickets (Roessel 1980: 37).

This last group of portraits and landscapes are the earliest known photographs of Navajos. With very little exception, and like most of the other portraits in the \textit{Souvenir}, this album is the only place where these original prints are to be found. On

\textsuperscript{90} Information regarding the three young Navajo men, their arrival at Carlisle, their ages, and the dates of their deaths is narrated in numerous volumes from 1883 of \textit{The Morning Star} (July and August), as well as \textit{Carlisle Student Information Cards}, available through: <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student-files-document-type/student-information-card> Accessed October 5, 2017.
first view, it is hard to see how these images of the Navajo internment at Bosque Redondo are connected to any if not most of the other photographs of the album, particularly the first set of portraits having to do with the French Intervention in Mexico. But, after having searched the historical circumstances of all the images in the album, it is clear that they are indeed all intimately connected - through time and place, through the struggle for land and resources, through war and the pursuit of peace, through family and commerce, through boundaries and borders, and ultimately through bondage and the struggle to be free and autonomous.

This microhistory, centring on one collection of photographs, offers a framework within which to comprehend 19th New Mexico Territory and the meshwork of interlaced themes of indigeneity, war, slavery, and colonialism. In particular, the microhistory helps to frame photographs of Indigenous people and how the images operate in exchanges concerning identity within their own historical context. There is an overarching expression of entitlement centred around the American figures, the presence of which materializes best perhaps in the portrait of Carleton, just as it did in his being. The American sense of ‘Manifest Destiny’ and entitlement is further expressed in a ‘largess’ of graciousness to their Southern neighbours, pictured first in the album, in the figures of Benito Juárez and his cabinet. There too, is the thrill of having assisted said neighbours wrest back their country from the Europeans, another opportunity too for America to let Europe know just how powerful it had become. There is the laying claim to land and resources of the land in the guise of the landscapes, each of the photographed forts appearing like a node upon the land, as if to say, “the Americans are here now, this is the point from where authority issues, and the photograph, in the hands of the state, further evidences that this is
indeed so.” There is the defeat and subjugation of the Navajo, interred in an unsustainable situation, and the attempt to humiliate a nation of people who had been living well on the land, before the arrival of the Americans, and the Spanish before them.

There is the intention of the compiler of the album to associate himself with ‘American’ victory: victory in the Civil War, victory in partnership with the Mexicans in retaking their country (which would not have happened but for those officers portrayed in the album), victory over the Navajo. It is hard to assess the historical presence in any single one of these photographs in apprehending and examining the whole collection from the album as a corpus, just as one is overwhelmed by totalities of collections in the archive, as seen in the previous chapter, the sheer number of images, and complexity of relationships represented can impede the intimacy required to experience historical presence. Further, there are the many more photographs tied or linked to the *Souvenir* album than just the 63 plates in the album. The additional photographs linked to the album spread out like strands of silk in a web that could seemingly go on forever, the story represented in the album is still going on, it has not ended, and photographs continue to be taken. The sheer enormity of the meshwork of the larger narrative tends to obscure what could be seen or could be seen to be hidden if one could spend time with just one photograph and have the space to meet that which could not be excluded in each image, or in the smaller collectivity of the album (Fig. 55).
That meshwork is comprised not just of human actors and actants and the relationships they built, but of everything that *bound* them, from the mineral resources that were buried in the ground that some stood on, to the sacredness of the land as recognized by others. It was there, implicitly present, in the ice that was brought hundreds of miles for a party for some, to the alkaline water that others were forced to drink in their internment. And just as the photographs themselves sit within a photography complex that began in the 19th century, they continue to work even now in a network that operates fanned out in fragments in archives around the globe, from London to New Mexico to the Netherlands - and also, online, which is where my next encounters with these photographs take place.

In this chapter, I have offered a detailed account and case study, the focus of which is the *Souvenir* photo album, compiled in 1866 in New Mexico. The album includes the first known photographs of Navajo and my case study traced the origins of the photographs in their original creation and framing. I re-associated long-separated images with one another and with documentation from the era, thereby recreating the narrative of their origin, a microhistory. In so doing, I reconstituted a particular photography complex which had been torn asunder through the fragmentary, and/or
fragmenting, archiving practices of settler colonialism. The chapter’s content has shed light on the motivations and machinations of such a complex and has provided a basis for understanding, and for challenging, the manner in which these images continue to circulate unmoored from their histories and connections even as they maintain their presence and traces of trauma. I chose to undertake this reconstituting and correlating of historical images and documents as a practitioner working on the very site, Santa Fe/ NM where so much history associated with Native Americans took place, seeing this as a small form of redress. This case study also supports the legitimacy of current American Indian artistic practice - a topic revisited in Chapter Six.
Plate 1. “President Juárez.” Likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), Mexico, ca. February 1866.

Plate 2. “Señor Lerdo y Tajada, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico.” Likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), Mexico, ca. February 1866.

---

Plate 3. “General Mejia, Minister of War, Mexico.” Likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), Mexico, ca. February 1866.

Plate 4. “Señor Yglesias, Minister of Public Instruction, Mexico.” Likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), Mexico, ca. February 1866.
Plate 5. “Señor Gotien (?), Steward of the Household.” likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), Mexico, ca. February 1866.


Plate 8. Captain David Hammett Brotherton, 5th United States Army Infantry, likely taken in Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juárez), ca. February 1866.
Plate 9. Major Clark, Paymaster, United States Army Franklin (El Paso), Texas, ca. 1866.

Plate 11. Major William McCleave, Franklin (El Paso), Texas, ca. 1866.

Plate 12. N. Webb, Franklin, Texas Franklin (El Paso), Texas, ca. 1866.
Plate 13. Officer’s Quarters, Fort Union, New Mexico.

Plate 14. Officer’s Quarters, Fort Union, New Mexico.

Plate 15. Repair Workshops, Fort Union, New Mexico.

Plate 17. United States Army General Hospital, Fort Union, New Mexico.


Plate 19. Fortifications, Fort Union, New Mexico.

Plate 20. Government Storehouses, Fort Union, New Mexico.
Plate 21. Looking South, Showing La Parroquia Church, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 22. West Side of the Plaza, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 23. Southwest Corner of the Plaza, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 24. Southeast Corner of the plaza, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 26. U.S. Hospital, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 27. View of Fort Marcy looking West, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Plate 28. View inside Fort Marcy looking East, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
Plate 29. Church at Los Pinos Encampment, New Mexico.

Plate 30. Earthworks at Fort Craig, New Mexico.

Plate 31. Soldier's quarters, Fort Craig, New Mexico.

Plate 32. Street scene in Franklin, Texas.
Plate 33. Sally Port, Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 34. Possibly view of Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 35. Franklin or Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 36. Possibly view of Fort Bliss, Texas.
Plate 37. Officer’s Quarters, Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 38. Repairing Adobe Buildings, Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 39. Franklin or Fort Bliss, Texas.

Plate 40. View in Franklin, Texas.
Plate 41. Group of Navajo Captives, Bosque Redondo Era, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 42. Apache Captives Building the Fort, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 43. Soldiers at Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 44. Group of Soldiers and Indians Gathered in Street, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.
Plate 45. Soldiers and Tents, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 46. Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 47. Navajo Man at Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 48. Navajo Chief Manuelito [Pistol Bullet], Fort Sumner, New Mexico.
Plate 49. Large Group of Indian Captives, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 50. Apache Boy, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 51. Navajo Girl, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 52. Navajo Girls, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.
Plate 53. Navajo Men, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 54. "The Belle of the Navajos", Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 55. Navajo Man, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.

Plate 56. Navajo Woman and Baby, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.
Plate 57a. Navajo Man, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 57b. Navajo Thieves, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.

Plate 58. Navajo Indians, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

Plate 59. Navajo Indians, Fort Sumner, New Mexico.
Plate 60. Navajo Chiefs Accused of Counterfeiting Ration Tickets, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.

Plate 61. Navajo Women and Children, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.

Plate 62. Navajo girls, Fort Sumner, Bosque Redondo Era, New Mexico.
Chapter Four

Images in Circulation: All Time is Eternally Present

Burnt Norton (excerpt)

“Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
And time future contained in time past.
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.”


This excerpt from T.S. Eliot’s poem, part of a quartet concerning the human relationship with time and existence, captures the spatiotemporal plasticity that photographs possess. I have been approaching the questions of this thesis by taking a chronological look at the disposition of ethnographic photographs of Native Americans through time and place. However, I have interrupted contiguous segments of time to privilege place, particularly in relation to my own encounters with the photographs in question. Beyond the theoretical groundings of the Introduction and Chapter One, I began to look at the photographs proper where I first found them, fragmented in the archive, specifically in London. I then stepped back in time in Chapter Three to observe a case study of the creation of a group of ethnographic photographs of Native Americans. In so doing, however, I also stepped forward in time in my own chronology, having come to the place of origin of those

92 Just as Chapter Three of this thesis comprises some portion of a forthcoming book, some portions of the next three chapters are drawn from an article I previously published, Presence, Significance and Insistence: Photographs in Place (Romanek 2015).
photographs, New Mexico and the American Southwest, after my first encounter with the photographs in London. In this chapter, I blast time and place into even smaller pieces than the fragments of the archive as I observe the circulation of 19th century photographs in pixels and fractals, which is to say, as digitally dispersed on the internet. In some sense, there is a chronological trajectory to be followed concerning the circulation of photographs, which I will illustrate in this chapter, but the circulation of photographs on the internet has been perhaps the greatest amplification of the photograph as time-disruptor. The dispersal of ethnographic images on the internet sets some of the questions I laid out in my Introduction into a particular frame, one which would be altogether different were it not for the internet. I began this thesis by indicating that I would be observing “the role that representation plays in making the present” (Froeyman 2012: 393), and “the unrepresented way the past is present in the present” (Runia, 2006: 1). I further pursue these questions by asking - if the photograph is an index, a referent of what has been, in what manner is historical presence manifest in a photograph as it circulates as an image? If presence does manifest in the circulating image, how is it experienced in the present, which is to ask, does presence travel? Andy Fisher, visual culture theorist, remarks:

The fact that there are more photographs produced and disseminated than ever before in our era of networked digital imaging is often remarked and conventionally signalled with reference to the more than two hundred million photographs now uploaded to Facebook on a daily basis. Disseminated globally and at ever-greater frequency, this unprecedented circulation of images is characterized by instantaneity, simultaneity, speed of exchange and changeability in both appearance and context. This is an image ecology in
which a certain literal experience of scale is foregrounded and presents obvious and pressing issues (Fisher 2013: 251-2).

An in-depth study of the manner in which the 19th century photographic image travels through the network digitally is a stand-alone study in itself beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a point to make concerning the varied instances of images traveling along the network is that form matters. Regarding the form of the digitized image, Susan Schuppli, visual artist and theorist, frames it this way:

Politics enters into the visual field not simply at the level of representation – the content displayed in the image – but at the structural level of its information acquisition, processing, and transmission; at the moment when pure data is captured by sensors, transformed into binary code, assigned pixel values, algorithmically adjusted, composited to produce a digital image, saved in a standardised file format, and transmitted to recombine with others circuits of technical and social assembly. This is … the micro-politics of [image] processing (Fisher 2013: 21).

And though the politics of digital structures might be micro, the impact lives in the macro, once again bearing out Tardes’s claim that ‘the small holds the big.’

**Digital Presence**

With the knowledge that there is a structure of micro-politics undergirding all the forms of circulation that will be discussed in this chapter, I begin by addressing the question concerning the manifestation of presence in a photograph that is in circulation. Indigenous scholar Robert Preucel posits this presence as ‘voice’:

…the voices of native peoples transcend those of their portrayer…. The
voices of native peoples cannot be contained by photographic images, their stories cannot be suppressed; they guarantee tribal survivance. If we listen carefully, they remind us that we are intimately connected to the people we call Indians. Our relation is not solely one of history, but rather one of identity and meaning in relation to our own construction of Selves (Preucel 1998: 22, 24).

Preucel is arguing that the ongoing presence of native people transcends their portrayal in historic photographs, and in this sense, he states that which should be obvious, that the survivance of native peoples exceeds their captivity within the genre known as 19th century ethnographic photographs, and their subsequent and ongoing circulation. He also clearly articulates that the construction of the non-Indian American self is related to and reliant upon the existence and portrayal of Indigenous peoples. That being the case, what is portrayed in a 19th century portrait of an Indigenous person is not necessarily the person indexed, but rather the identity of the person behind the camera, and the intended audience for the image, who is also, like the photographer, non-Native. In this manner, ‘what’ is portrayed is not ‘who’ is portrayed, and ‘what’ is portrayed is an invisible presence in the indexical sense but present none-the-less. It is the one who requires the image, the colonizer and the colonizers’ descendants and heirs. This is manifest in the photograph, if not seen: a presence in absence. It is the reason too, if in part, for the ongoing circulation of these images, the needs of the one who has required the image in the first place. But this is not the only presence, and rather, the one who has required the image is a

93 The term “survivance” is most well-known, or first-known, as a term employed by Jacques Derrida indicating existence in a liminal state, but is used here in relation to the work of Gerald Vizenor, an Anishnaabe author who speaks of survivance, in his book, Manifest manners: postindian warriors and survivance, as survival, but more than on a basic level, but as a continuous presence and existence, and as an extension of native stories (1993).
shadow presence, sewn like a ghost to the body of the shadow, which is the central presence. By invoking The idea that “the voices of native peoples transcend those of their portrayer,” I further extrapolate from Preucel's quote that the presence, the voice, of Native people in photographs portraying them, despite all machinations to angle the portrayal to serve the needs or desires of the non-native viewer, nevertheless, prevails.

Additionally, presence may likewise not be simply of the past, of what has been, of the referent, but might also be the presence of what is or could be, both in what is ‘pictured’ and in that which is absent. It is the manner in which the photograph carries what is absent, is an index for that absence, in which the spark of Benjaminian contingency may centrally exist. The contingency might be not what is represented in the image, in its excesses, but in what is present through its conspicuous absence, or, to put it another way, as previously cited in the introduction, the way in which the photograph is a container for “the unrepresented [my emphasis] way the past is present in the present” (Runia, “Presence”: 1).

To think more about a ‘presence in absence,’ I refer to the image of ‘Jim’ (Fig. 56), the 1914 copy print by Cyrus Jennings of one of the Souvenir Album Navajo portraits discussed in the previous chapter. In this photographic portrait, the empty space surrounding the sitter can be experienced as a literal presentation of this concept, the unrepresented way the past is present in the present, a presence in absence. His past, his present, and, through implication, his future, surround him, as

---

94 Per Allan Sekula’s ‘shadow archive’ (1986: 10).
95 Fig. 34 and 36 and Plate 47 in the Souvenir album.
blank space: unredeemable and inalienable. This inalienable presence is there in the picture field, even if we cannot see it, or, perhaps, particularly because we cannot see it; even as the image itself circulates at ever-increasing rates and through ever more seemingly transferable and alienable modes, as will be discussed further on. In the various employments of this photographic image or any image in this chapter, the disposition of the image and its relationship to its original corpus, and its relationship to its frame of creation and its relationship to any particular viewer’s comprehension of it will be taken into account. In attending these multiple relationships, I show how the Latourian network comes into play via the multiple paths the photograph as actor travels. Similarly, the unexpected turns in circulation and ‘transportation’ taken by the photographs, harken to Ingold’s ‘meshwork’ are reminiscent of Michel de Certeau’s observations on Michel Serres’s writing about ‘theory,’ in which the concept of ‘the network’ could be substituted for the word ‘theory’: “Theory [or ‘the network] favors a pluralist epistemology composed of a ‘multiplicity of points of view, each of them having roughly an equal power of generality.’ It is an art of ‘circulating along paths or fibers,’ an art of transportation and intersection; for theory [or ‘the network’] progress is an ‘interlacing’” (1988: 199).
A Beam in Thine Own Eye

Part of what prevents us from seeing this presence is the fact that something is literally represented in the photograph. The literal representation, layered with original intentions and conventions, and augmented by accretion of meaning, keeps us at a distance from the presence in the image. This is so even as we are at the same time drawn in by that elusive aspect of the photograph that we don’t quite understand—variously referred to as presence, presence in absence, or the inalienable and unredeemable aspects of a photograph. The literal or more intellectual or academic reading of what is presented or represented in a photograph, the comprehension of the stadium and what is ‘known’ about a photograph may likewise inhibit or confuse the subjective experience with a photograph, the emotional response to an image, or an encounter of punctum may be challenged by what is or is
not immediately visually present. This is to say, particularly with portrait photography, that what is presented is “… the irreducible presence of a self,” as suggested by art critic Lucy Lippard (1992: 16), and yet it is also what obscures our ability to see what is there. Relative to our standpoint in the larger network of images, we see the irreducible self through the lens of our own position, as has already been established. And though the presence of a Self is not reducible, it can be obscured by the ‘beam’ we have in our own eye. The ‘beam’ is placed in our eye through our own specific position within the network, though our position may always be changing. The frame within which we perceive the image, which in many ways we inherit as well as choose, dictates how large the beam in our eye may be, and the obstruction in our vision may grow larger yet, through the circulation of the image and accretion of meanings within the network, and through time.

And at the same time, returning to Lippard, nevertheless, “Good photography can embody what has been seen” (Lippard 1992: 35). Taking up Lippard’s point that a photograph does embody what has been seen, this embodiment is a lasting presence,

96 I borrow from the biblical story in Matthew 7:5, in which a ‘beam’, in the King James translation, is a body of matter (wood) that is impairing vision. Although the original meaning of ‘beam’ is referring to a larger body of wood matter, the term ‘beam’ can also imply an outward projection of light or vision, and I want to conjure the notion that our vision can be obscured, not just by what is being perceived in a passive sense of information coming into the eye, but also by what we may project out of the eye- which is also an adaptation of my loose understanding of the Dine (Navajo) concept of Hózhó (beauty), which is not passively received, but rather actively created in similar fashion to what I am proposing with a ‘beam’ out through the eye (Laughlin 2004: 13; McKloskey n.d.). I am also interested to draw from the Christian bible to refer to a text that has played a large role in creating the network that houses the larger issues at hand, particularly in terms of the authority of the state related to settler colonialism. The original translated quote: “And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, ‘Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?’ Though hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye…” (The Gospel according to Matthew: authorized King James version 1999: 14). Of further interest in applying this concept is the notion of vision being a beam emitted from the eye, ‘Emission theory’, which was held by pre-Socratic philosopher’s Plato and Euclid, and Karl Marx’s inversion of this notion with his concept of ‘light rays’ in commodity fetishism (Andreotti and Lahiji 2018: 28).
and what ties the image to metonym. What has been embodied, the Navajo man, called ‘Jim’ by the authority of the state, forced from his home and his land, living in hiding and on the move for two years with his family and community, ultimately surrendered and sat before a camera. This was embodied, this cannot be disembodied, he will never have not sat for the photograph. As Ulrich Baer in his 2005 book *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma*, describes the capture of traumatic experience through a photograph: “To be sure, these images hold no revolutionary or eschatological promise to halt time. Rather, they expose as a contraction the idea that history is ever-flowing and preprogrammed to produce an on-going narrative… These images… arrest the gaze and captivate the imagination because they guarantee no way out of the photographed instant.” (Lippard 1992: 1-2) This image can’t be undone, there is no way out, and the image and the trauma are then, ongoing. And yet, if a viewer with a beam in their eye, encounters this image, how do they encounter the image or experience the presence, the embodiment that has occurred?

The accretion of meanings attached to photographs, which impedes our engagement with presence, is something akin to Deborah Poole’s visual economy (1997: 8-10), in which the entire network of Native American photographic images and the technologies used to disseminate those images creates an ever more layered and obscured understanding of the colonized people represented in the images. And it might do well to ask what is being buried in all these layers? The most succinct answer being: ‘historical trauma’. Up to this point, concerning ‘Jim’ I have indicated the image of this man can be encountered variously on the cover of Dee Brown’s *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (see Fig. 36), in the archive, literally and
physically, in the *Souvenir* album at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives in Santa Fe, as a carte de visite printed by Alfredo Laurent at the Netherlands Photo Museum, or as a copy print at the Library of Congress archive. The image can also be encountered online through digital records and digital images attached to the records for these photographic prints in the archive (Fig. 57).
This visual economy engages us with an excess of what is not actually present in the image: a surplus of construed and metaphorical meaning, and this is composed of everything that has accrued in that economy since the taking of the photograph and subsequently. The most recent accretions can be seen in a literal sense in these three different digital online records for the image, where each institution adds ‘meaning’ and ‘comprehension’ by adding text to the record - each record’s text being very different from one other. There are also literal non-language accretions, for example, the semi-translucent stamps of the Netherlands Photo Museum which are applied across the face of the image to prohibit anyone from taking the image without paying for it. Such accretions can blind the viewer to the metonymical presence of absence, preventing them from seeing what is there, intangible as it may be. These accretions of meaning, which could be construed as an increase in value within the network or

---

<http://collectie.nederlandsfotomuseum.nl/detail/cf0a7427-0bad-d22e-929a-e4edc4536e6a5/media/98e6b1a4-24c9-2b16-f2e9e66be8?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=laurent&rows=1&page=2&sort=order_i_relevantie%20asc> accessed January 4, 2019,  
visual economy, began the moment the shutter was opened to create the image. Meanings stack up, like a palimpsest, and their multiplications and layerings can’t be controlled once an image is set free in the world.

Before further exploring the circulation of images on the internet (and the accrual, shift, accretion or distortion of meaning that the visual economy of the image gains through that movement), it is important to briefly review how images circulated before the advent of the internet. With regard to how presence is experienced in the present, and as to whether presence travels, I refer again to Marshal McLuhan’s ‘the medium is the message’ (McLuhan 2005). Photographic portraits of Indigenous people were circulated, in the era of their creation, as CDVs, Cabinet Cards and Stereo cards, or, as in the case of the Souvenir album, mounted in albums, supporting the observation that “[t]here is a surprising temporal congruency between the development of photography and the establishment of colonial structures” (Hahn 2018: 89).

The distribution of images of Native Americans in these photographic formats reached a peak in the mid to late 19th century, during the height of Indian removal – this being no coincidence (Hoelscher 2008: 10-11). The move to dispossess Indigenous Americans of their land generated many tactics aimed at either eradicating or controlling them, as exemplified in the internment of Navajo at the Bosque Redondo. Another tactic is that of control effected through the creation and dissemination of images of Native Americans: this functions as an enactment of the authority and violence of the state. As the Indigenous scholar, Rick Hill has noted “The Photographic image has become the most subtle tool for manifesting …
divergent beliefs [about Native Americans]” (Hoelscher 2008: 10-11). Obviously, simply creating the images would not achieve such ends; the images needed to be transported around various cultural networks. It is precisely this movement which made images active agents in the creation of the network of settler colonialism, and the linking ties of the meshwork, the paths the images travel, become well-worn trails like the swales of the rutted wagon trails, that keep the agents in the network firmly rooted in their established positions. This usage of photographs also worked in tandem with the development of other disciplines and actors in the network, not least anthropology. In citing Chris Pinney, Elizabeth Edwards notes that “…there is an historical conflict of the parallel yet intersecting and mutually supporting histories of anthropology and photography in a complex matrix of mechanical inscription, desire, power, authority and agency” (Edwards 2011: 159).

**Late 19th and Early 20th Century Circulation**

Beyond the circulation of photographs in the forms already mentioned, as true analogue photographic products, from the 1890s images of Native Americans began to circulate in new media, where the process of transfer of the image may or may not have been truly ‘photography’. Such media included postcards and trading cards – collectible advertising cards found in packages of tobacco, chewing gum, etc. (Williams 2010: 74; O’Barr 2013). Postcards, in particular, were a way for tourists to affirm their presence and participation in the American Southwest, including encounters with Native America, with the Fred Harvey Company playing perhaps the largest role in the early 20th century of the distribution of postcards (Nickens and Nickens 2007: 7-8; Fried 2011: 197-8). Apart from circulating photographic prints individually, or in books (as we saw with Dammann’s 1875 *Ethnological*
Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Men in the previous chapter, Fig. 23) beginning in the 1850s, photographs began to be copied and circulated in books and other such publications as wood engraved copies (Beegan 2008: 48). Such engravings were used through the early 1870s, when the halftone reproduction was more widely introduced, a photochemical conversion process (Beegan 2008: 72-80). The development of new technologies is implicit in the increase in the circulation of images. The more the image has been extended through various methods and technologies, the greater the possibility for the distortion and obfuscation of both the original frame and the immutable presence.

For example, an early circulation of relevant pre-internet photographic images occurs in the form of trading cards of the early 20th century. Trading cards have their origin in previous centuries, in the ‘trade card’, a colourfully decorated card that French tradesmen offered to promote their business, selling such goods as “chocolate, coffee, soap, meat extract, and patent medicines” (Blum 1995: 117). In the mid 19th century, when many of the photographs under consideration in this study were taken, an updated version of the trade card, the ‘trading card’ became an even more popular mechanism for advertising. Trading cards were sold with cigarettes or chewing gum and bore the images of celebrities, sports figures, literary figures, and of Native Americans. The images were reproduced as commercial coloured lithographs in the late 19th century, and as silkscreen prints in the early 20th century. When Native Americans were portrayed on these trading cards, the images were almost always based on earlier photographs, but with subtractions, distortions and additions. For example, in the late 1880s, the British cigarette company Allan & Ginter produced its ‘American Indian Chiefs’ series of cigarette cards. The cards
were based on the 1874 photographs by Charles M. Bell., which Bell took on the occasion of a Navajo delegation traveling to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of talks with President Ulysses S. Grant (Fig. 58a and b). The photographs are typical of the era, and of Bell’s work, and in them, the Navajo leaders are positioned against a painted backdrop simulating the outdoors, with props of fake rocks and other indications of nature. The chiefs pose with the bows that are the perverse reference to their conquest, as mentioned earlier, per Faris (1996: 59).

Fig. 58a and b. Cayatanito (a) and Manuelito (b) Charles M. Bell (1874). Navajo headmen and members of the Navajo Delegation, Washington, D.C. Picture Credit (a): Princeton University Library Collection of Western Americana Photographs (WC064), Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Picture Credit (b): Palace of the Governors Photo Archives.

The purpose of the meeting where the Bell photographs were taken, was, as far as the Navajo were concerned, to talk about the terms of the 1868 peace treaty, which were not being met. President Grant, on the other hand, agreed to meet with the Navajo for ulterior motives. The U.S. Government wished to repossess some of the
lands on the north side of the Navajo reservation where gold prospectors were beginning to stake claims in that area, and the U.S. government supported the prospectors. A newspaper account of the meeting reveals the themes of the case study in the previous chapter—extraction and exploitation of mineral resources, slavery of Indigenous children, the pressure to send Indigenous children to schools (to become fit citizens), etc.—were ongoing:

The Indians laid before the President a series of complaints relative to their lands, their children held in captivity by their enemies in New Mexico, and depredations committed by Mormons and miners prospecting for gold. The President listened very patiently, and in reply referred the delegation to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whom he said would take the necessary steps to right the wrongs. The President also gave the Indians some good advice relative to their own conduct. Among other things, he advised them to stay upon their reservations, cultivate their lands, and fit themselves and their descendants to become citizens of the United States (The President’s Talk with the Navajoes 1874: 1).

This event, which had great consequences for all parties, would, more than a decade later, become the basis for product advertisement, circulated on cigarette cards (Fig. 59a and b). In the cigarette card images, the Navajo men are portrayed against an abstracted background, with the history of the event, the narrative, actually removed from the background, in order that viewers might insert their own narrative. In pictorially detaching the Navajo from the narrative of the original photograph, namely the circumstances of the meeting, staged as that photograph was, the cigarette card images instead offer a stand-in typification or stereotype meant to represent all Native Americans (Lippard 1992: 35).
It would seem this translation and distortion, from delegation photograph to cigarette card did not go far enough or did not sell enough cigarettes. A slightly later set of cigarette cards from the same company shows the two men, as they were dressed in the original photographs, but with additions (Fig. 60a and b). There are changes in hairstyle, feathers in the hair, an addition of red-coloured draped fabric, styles that the men would never have worn. But the idea of feathers in the hair of Native Americans is part of the composition of the stereotype that continues to circulate. In the latter cards, the men are also in ¾ poses facing the other direction. These are all examples of distortions and accretions in the literal sense.
In a similar example, Jicarilla Apache chief James A. Garfield Velarde was photographed by William Henry Jackson in 1899. That photograph was and continues to be widely circulated as a postcard, often colourized (it was a challenge to locate a copy that had not been colorized). A version of this photograph is to be found in the British Museum Phillips auction house glass negative collection, cited previously, with further alterations. The altered image of chief Velarde in the glass negative is taken from *The Book of Knowledge; The Children's Encyclopedia* (*The Book of knowledge, the children's encyclopedia*, vol. VXIII 1912) (Fig. 61a and b). Although the original Jackson photograph had a canvas background, the postcard image both flattens and compresses the picture plane even more by inserting a green background, with all shadow and depth removed. Then there is the later addition of

---

99 Verlarde, who was also photographed by Edward Curtis, was chief during the traumatic transition of his people to a reservation in 1887. He changed his name when he received a peace medal from President Garfield, and lived to be 106 (Tiller and Velarde 2012: 21-2).
a feather in the 1912 Encyclopedia version. In addition to the added feather, it is noticeable, even in this poor copy of a copy on a glass negative, that the skin tone of Velarde has also been darkened, negatively highlighting his status as a person of colour, as it seems obvious that this was an intentional manipulation. A distinct pattern emerges in the circulation of images: in many of the examples given here, initially information is subtracted from the photograph, and then in subsequent circulations fabricated information is added to the image, thus creating double layerings of alteration.

Fig. 61a and b. a) ‘Chief James A. Garfield,’ (1899). Original photograph by William Henry Jackson. Left: Detroit Postcard Co., #Am,B41.21  b) Glass copy negative. #Am,G.N.2298 Photo Credits: © The Trustees of the British Museum

100 The colour photography of the 20th century had in its photochemical process a bias towards portraying lighter skin tones, as opposed to those with darker skin tones (Roth 2009). In conversations undertaken for this research with a photographer who works with 19th century processes and chemicals, he stated that it was his experience that the same was true for images of the 19th century, and that people with dark skin were rendered darker through those processes.
The subtraction of information in such circulations is both literal and conceptual. As one example, the colorized postcard produced by the Fred Harvey company of Navajo weaver Elle of Ganado, *Asdzaa Lichii’* (Fig. 62). Elle of Ganado, along with her husband Tom Ganado, lived at the Fred Harvey House Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, weaving – ‘performing’ – for tourists who stopped on their train journey of the West at this main terminus. Elle and Tom Ganado’s whole life became bound up with this sale of both her weavings and images of her for the tourist trade (Fried 2011: 188-9).

Elle of Ganado was also a survivor of the *Long Walk* and internment at the Bosque Redondo, according to oral history. She became the most photographed of all the Harvey House ‘Indians’ appearing in more of the Fred Harvey Company publications than any other Indigenous person, her image used to promote travel on the Santa Fe Railway (Howard and Pardue 1996: 60; Fried 2011: 188-9). Elle of Ganado, a survivor of the worst that history can imagine, was thus used as the leading advertisement for entertainment in the Southwest. Many of the postcards depicting Native Americans in the early 20th century, such as the one featuring Elle of Ganado, were distributed soon after the photograph was taken. Business ties between tourist attractions and promoters like the Fred Harvey Company, and trading posts, such as J.L. Hubbell’s Trading Post made it possible for such commercial networks to attract the participation of Indigenous people in these enterprises (Iverson and Roessel 2003: 131). Through photography, Indigenous people were drawn into the process of creating goods emblematic of the cultures they were a part of. Such goods were for commercial sale, as part of the tourist attraction site, and Native Americans were themselves a key constituent of the
attraction: photographs, and reproductions of the photographs as postcards are strongly reflective of that fact.

In the 1930s, abstractions of original photographs were taken to the limit by trading cards from the Goudey gum company, with their distribution of the extremely popular ‘Indian’ series. That series was based on photographs of Native Americans from the Smithsonian Institution (Fogel 2003), and the quality of the reproductions and the likenesses was highly variable. What is most striking about this series though, is the way that images are used in combination with text on the reverse of the cards. The content of these texts veered so completely away from any historical reality that they entered into the realm of racialized rhetoric. For example, one Goudy Gum Company card’s depiction of Nesjaja Hatali is based on the Edward W. Curtis portrait of this man (Fig. 63a, b and c). The description on the verso of this card is both outrageous in its insult and inaccuracy, and grammatically problematic.
In the description, no account is offered of the man pictured, though, after a general description of the Navajo as ‘raiders and plunderers’, it goes on to indicate that the medicine man “convinces members of the tribe that they can not only cure disease but can prevent it by their weird [my emphasis] ceremonies.”


Fig. 63c) Verso, Goudey Gum Company (1933). Portrait of Nesjaja Hatali. Color silkscreen. Picture Credit: collection and image of the author.
Another Goudy Gum Company image, this one of famous Apache leader Geronimo, is based on the 1884 studio portrait by A. Frank Randall. The gum card depiction looks very little like the Geronimo of the photograph, his hair is depicted as longer in the gum card, and a feather stuck gratuitously, if obviously for the sake of making him look more ‘Indian’, in his hair, as with previous examples (Fig. 64a, b and c).

The card’s text is also an affected if unsurprising outrage of historical fiction, describing Geronimo as a “Vicious Apache War Chief”, when in fact he was a Chiricahua Apache medicine man, never a chief of the Apache. As to ‘vicious’, very early in his life, his mother, his wife and his three children were murdered by Mexicans in the Massacre of Kaskiyeh (Clements 2014: 7), and he spent much of his life, fighting Mexicans and Americans invading and encroaching on his homeland, becoming a very effective warrior – a reasonable response to the events of his life.

As technologies have developed and cultural frames and markets have continued to shift, so too has the manner of production and distribution of images. In the 20th century, the ‘swap’ card, often in the form of a playing card, was widely distributed (Fig. 65).

Fig. 64c) Verso, Goudey Gum Company (1933). Portrait of Geronimo. Color silkscreen. Picture Credit: collection and images of the author.

Fig. 65. Three of Spades playing/swap card with an image of Geronimo from the ‘Jesse James’ deck. Picture Credit: collection and image of the author.
**Digital Circulation**

While ephemera like the ones presented here are still in production such formats of image circulation began to wane in the middle to the late 20th century. The popularity of postcards has lasted longer, but, as I also observed in my research in New Mexico, with the proliferation of email, the digital camera and cameras in mobile phones, the popularity of the postcard too has fallen dramatically. In 2012, 3% of British people on holiday sent postcards, compared to 27% 40 years ago (Hunter 2012), and in the United States, the drop in sending postcards from 2010 to 2014 was not quite 40% (Jenkins 2015). The big change in the circulation of images, including historic images, has been technological, with the advent of digital technology and the internet. While the advent and development of such technologies “… may offer new opportunities for traditional communities to communicate and to actively participate in trade in cultural expressions of various forms thus revitalizing indigenous peoples’ values and providing for sustainability of traditional cultural expressions” (Graber and Burri-Nenova 2015: xiii), there is also great risk, of “appropriation on an epistemological level” through the imposition of these false frames of circulation (Graber and Burri-Nenova 2015: 90).

In briefly illustrating the changing and developing manner of circulation of the original body of photographs, I want to make the point that although the digital technologies that are available today were unanticipated in the era of the original archiving of the photographs, the fragmented methods of archiving seem in many ways ready-made to serve this manner of distribution, so many years hence. I posit that the reason for this is that there are basic structures in the composition of the archive and related systems, like the internet, that are configured around precepts
that constitute and affirm the status quo and order, systems that are, for example, implicitly racialized and gendered. The transfer of the same image again and again, to vastly different media also turns Latour’s notion of immutable mobiles on its head, where it seems the stable and traceable element that circulates is the ephemeral image, and it is the media and medium that is ever-changing (2008: 223).

I have also offered this brief history of the pre-internet circulation of images in order to give some sense of the accretions that can blind viewers to the metonymical presence of absence, and prevent them from seeing what is there, intangible as it may be. To develop the concept of a photograph as a metonym, I draw from Runia’s theories on presence. The photograph as metonym as opposed to metaphor is such that no amount of reproduction of an image can alter the original embodied presence. Conversely, it is possible to copy images, to distort them, and circulate them in vast quantities to far-flung places. Thus, the image in circulation acquires a double life, one that is constant in its presence, and one that is ever-changing with alterations and accretions. The possibility that a photograph, or at least the ‘image’ from a photograph, may be seen in these two different lights, or may have a double life, sets up seeming contradictions about the photograph. Allan Sekula addresses this in his 1986 essay Reading an Archive, framing the dichotomy as a science-objective/art-subjective pairing. For Sekula, presence aligns with the ‘subjective,’ and the accretions of the network align with the ‘objective’: “…the hidden imperatives of photographic culture drag us in two contradictory directions: ‘science’ and a myth of ‘objective truth’ on the one hand, and toward ‘art’ and a cult of ‘subjective experience’ on the other. This dualism haunts photography…” (2010: 449, 450).
Of this dualism, the double life of the photograph, I draw further on de Certeau:

It would be more appropriate to appeal to the oneiric (but theoretical because it articulates practice) model evoked by Freud in discussing the city of Rome, whose epochs all survive in the same place, intact and mutually interacting. The place is a palimpsest. Scientific analysis knows only its most recent text; and even then, the latter is for science no more than the result of its epistemological decisions, its criteria and its goals. Why should it then be surprising that operations conceived in relation to this reconstitution have a “fictive” character and owe their (provisional?) success less to their perspicacity than to their power of breaking down the complexion of these interrelations between disparate forces and times (1988: 201-2).

As it is with Rome, so it is with the photograph, many epochs existing at one time in the same - a single - place (or not, perhaps in many places, on the internet, stuck to your refrigerator with a magnet, etc.), and many ontologies existing at one time as well. Yes, presence prevails, even if unmarked by the viewer, and yes, presence is obscured by the accretion of meanings accrued through traveling the network: the photograph, or its image, is a palimpsest.

As will be further demonstrated, the inalienable quality of a photographic image, its presence in absence, is variably revealed or forgotten, often depending on the identity of the person, their previously discussed standpoint, viewing the photograph in its circulated form. The ‘forgetting’ I discuss here is an attempted, if collectively unconscious action of suppressing the inalienable qualities of an image, an endeavour to obscure or deny its presence, and to limit an experience of punctum, to require an experience of objectivity while forgoing the personal and subjective.
Here too, we might take into consideration that the very act of creating the photographic image could be an act that bears the intention to erase the one portrayed: “[photography] is an eye which records in order to forget” (Berger 1997: 45). Such forgetting is achieved not through repression or censorship of images, but rather through the increased dissemination, circulation and presentation of images, the accretion through the process of circulation and transportation, an increasing and amplified availability (see too, for example Forty and Küchler 2001: 1-20; Derrida 1995: 15-6). This ‘forgetting’ through distortion, accretion and amped up circulation can also be posited, in the frame of settler colonial theory, as an ‘effacement/replacement’ in which the ‘original’ must be destroyed in order that it can be replaced, as Patrick Wolfe, historian and one of the founders of settler colonial studies, expresses it (2006: 388-9). In this context, ‘original’, can have a double meaning, being both the ‘original’ inhabitants of the American continent, Native Americans, or the ‘original’ photograph. This replacement, however, retains the “refractory imprint of the native counter-claim” (Wolfe 2006: 389), which I would argue is actually the historical presence. The counter-claim, in this situation, springs from the historical presence, obscured but not erased, in the circulating image.

The term ‘inalienable’ can be equated with Runia’s concept of presence and is apt in relation to both Native American concepts of cultural ownership and the question of ownership of representations presented in photographic images. Both the question of Native American concepts of cultural ownership and the question of photographic representational ownership thwart western notions of legal ownership and copyright. Western copyright laws are incapable of recognizing indigenous views of cultural
property (Kramer 2004: 163; Parezo 2012: 48–9). Indigenous artist’s relationship to inalienable property (Myers 2004: 8), and philosophical questions concerning the inalienable right of possession of one’s own likeness, representation or experience, as found indexed and presented in a photograph or image, is of keenest interest to many Indigenous peoples, while often a topic resisted by the larger dominant culture, under the guise of egalitarian access to or through the archive and circulation. In the case of the photograph of the Navajo man offered for sale in anonymity online, his presence, his voice, per Preucel, resides in the unrecognized yet inalienable presence of his history, his presence in absence, which in the case of the internet merchandise bearing his likeness could perhaps be likened to a silent scream (Fig. 66).

Fig. 66. Image of ‘Jim,’ or ‘A Navajo Man,’ screengrab of advertisement taken off of the internet, from All Posters.101

The five photographic portraits of Navajo, taken in 1866 and that reside as copy prints in the Library of Congress, copyrighted in 1914, are no longer under copyright

---

and are available as very high-res scans on the Library of Congress website, free to
download. For example, the image of ‘Jim’ is available as a 12.8 mb TIFF through
the Library (Fig. 67).

Fig. 67. Screengrab of digital record for Lot 12770, the five copy prints of Navajo, 1866, probably by

Regarding that epistemological risk of appropriation, it can be deduced that the
original source of the All Posters image of ‘Jim’ is the copyright free, large size
digital image available online from the Library of Congress. And it is not just All
Posters that has this image available: many online retailers who sell home or
personal goods with customized images also make this particular image available,
including Amazon, Media Storehouse, and Fine Art America. On the All Posters
site, the image is listed simply as a ‘Navajo Man’ and the description indicates that
the photograph was taken ca. 1914, but as I have shown, this date is 50 years after
the portrait was actually taken. As they are presented on All Posters, all connection
to the context of the images is lost, or more accurately, obscured. The All posters
website also allows a potential customer to view their item of interest as it might appear in their home (Fig. 68). The site provides 53 options for room views to select from, including a child’s room with Tipi (lower right in Fig. 68). A potential customer also has the option of loading an image of their own room view in which to see exactly how the poster would look on display in their own home.

![Image of posters in various room settings](image)

Fig. 68. “Navajo Man C. 1914” in a variety of living room views from the All Posters website.\(^\text{102}\)

On Amazon, the photo is presented exactly as it is found on the Library of Congress site (Fig. 69), no editing of the image whatsoever. It is labelled on Amazon ‘Photo:

Jim, Navajo Indian, bow, arrows, weapons, clothing, dress, Native American, JMeem, c1914’.

Fig. 69. “Photo: Jim, Navajo”, Amazon website page.103

On Media Storehouse the image is found with a watermark on it, similar to the image on the Netherlands Photo Museum site, to keep people from ‘stealing’ it by clicking and dragging it onto their computer, or screenshoting it (Fig. 70). The site also offers the image available as a framed print, canvas print, photographic print, photographic jigsaw puzzle, poster, photo mug and greeting card. On that website, the image is titled ‘NAVAJO MAN, c1914. Jim, a Navajo man, holding a bow and arrows. Photograph, c1914’.

On Fine Art America, ‘Navajo Man, C 1914” is again to be found. On that site, he is available on the widest variety of objects, including a pillow, a shower curtain, a ‘weekender’ tote bag, and a phone case (Fig. 71a and b). With the phone cases, buyers may even choose the orientation of the image, so that one can even have a curiously truncated version of the portrait, his head bisected by the edge of the phone case in the landscape orientation, a further fragmenting of the image.

---

The variety of possibilities for the type of product that these images can be reproduced onto seems practically inexhaustible. Most recently, a yoga mat was added to the list (Fig. 72).

On the *Fine Art America* website, a number of the other Navajo portraits from the *Souvenir Album/Library of Congress* are available, and interestingly, the image of the woman and baby is listed with the correct date, 1866, though the dates for the other images are given, as on the other sites, incorrectly as 1914 (Fig. 73).

---

While the original source for all of this online material would have to be the copy prints at Library of Congress, and it would also seem the image available on Amazon comes directly from that source, the other vendors cited ‘Granger’ as their source for the image, crediting ‘The Granger Historical Picture Archive’. This archive, formerly known as the Granger Collection, is a picture library that offers access and use of its images for a fee. In this way, the fragmentation of images occurs during their circulation through an ever-expanding range of options via ever-increasing technological affordances, each of which contributes attendant accretions of meaning. Further, there is an additional accretion of actors engaged in the circulation of images, as well as an accretion of profit. In this instance, a middle man, the Granger Historical Picture Archive, has taken photographs which are readily available without any charge and made them available to other vendors for a fee: those vendors, in turn, charge a fee to produce images on a range of substrate consumer objects.

All of these retail transactions beg questions about the value of images in circulation in the market, a theme addressed initially in Chapter Two. On the one hand, if a

retailer (or an archive) is charging for the use of an image, or a product with an image, the image is having a market value related to the money being earned in relations to sales. The question, in terms of value, is does wider circulation, commercial, per digital archive records, etc., affect the value and authenticity of the ‘original,’ and if so, how? That question is debatable from a number of angles, but per Benjamin’s notions of authenticity, it is reproductions of a work of art in circulation that create and authenticate an ‘original,’ so in taking that point, the more copies in circulation, the more the authenticity of an original is heightened. It should be noted, that when museums and archives ‘repatriate’ images, they do not repatriate original copies, but rather, digital copies, which raises interesting questions.\(^{108}\) There is a premium on ‘originals’ and ‘authenticity’ in museums and archives, and this is as true of the photographs they may hold as the objects. Museums may ‘repatriate’ digital images, and they may sell or offer free of charge digital files of their images, but they hold on to the ‘authentic’ originals.\(^{109}\) However, regarding circulation, an image that is saturating the market might induce ‘image fatigue,’ whereby an image may lose its appeal, people may simply stop looking at the image, and hence the value of the image is impaired (Azoulay 2014: 11, Hand 2012: 1, 25, 44).

The separation of the image of the Navajo man, called ‘Jim’ from the larger corpus that the portrait originally belonged to has affected the image’s disconnection from the narrative of its creation. This free-floating application of the image as a saleable

\(^{108}\) Apropos of this issue, there is a lawsuit currently pending in which a descendent of two slaves portrayed in daguerreotypes that were commissioned by 19th century Harvard professor Louis Agassiz, and currently in the archives of the Harvard Peabody Museum, is claiming rightful ownership of the images (Hartocollis 2019)

\(^{109}\) I am making the point about museum’s holding onto original photographs in the context of the market, but I am not hoping to dive too deeply into the argument regarding what, if any, institution should hold images and objects of cultural value. However, to be fair, the original photograph does retain forensic information that is irreducible, highly valuable, perhaps invaluable, and irreplaceable by any copy.
good, available at-will to largely unknowing consumers via the internet, and the obscuring of the presence through these machinations serves a purpose, intentional or not. Through these circulatory gyrations, the oppression and violence of the authority of the state are perpetuated – all in the name and under the guise of having a ‘cool’ yoga mat.

One last image in circulation to consider, which has been wrenched from its original history and story, is a double portrait of two men, likely Manuelito’s older brother El Ciego and an unidentified man, plate 57b, labelled ‘Navajo Thieves’ in Souvenir (Fig. 74a). In the portrait, the two men sit close together. One wraps his arm around the other, who, in turn, rests his hand on the first man’s thigh. They clasp hands, suggesting an intimacy that we do not commonly see between men today. This image is to be found widely circulated on the internet on various social media sites - Facebook or Instagram – often labelled as Two Spirit, and shared as evidence that Indigenous societies have and had multiple gender categories and greater acceptance of gender difference and same-sex relationships than is common today.\footnote{The term Two Spirit was coined about thirty years ago as a pan-Indian expression that allowed Indigenous people who identify as LGBTQI to collectively address queer identity in contemporary life (Abelbeck et al. 2019).} Many 2SLGBTQI (Two Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersex) people celebrate the photograph as proof that the Diné (Navajo), at the time the photograph was taken, recognized and accepted people with nonbinary genders. As welcome as that message may be, it does not accurately reflect what is actually portrayed in the image: two men, likely related through kinship, during their surrender and on their way to internment. The ubiquitous use of this image as the all-time Two Spirit representation (Fig. 74a, b and c) possibly has its origins in the
2009 documentary *Two Spirits: Sexuality, Gender, and the Murder of Fred Martinez* by filmmaker Lydia Nibley. However, in this important narrative about a hate crime against a young Two-Spirit Diné, Nibley used this photo inaccurately.

Since 2009, this photograph has appeared in Indigenous publications, including, for example, a 2017 *Indian Country Today* article, “8 Things You Should Know About Two Spirit People” and a Diné-language Wikipedia page. It circulates on non-Native American sites as well, both in the United States and globally - on an Australian site.

---

sociologist’s personal webpage and an Italian Pinterest page. While, on the one hand, this is a revolutionary use of an image and the past, the erasure of the original history it portrays makes it a regressive use as well, the erasure overshadowing the creative deployment of the image.

By now, evidence of a repeated pattern is well established. It is a pattern of American Western expansion and/or a drive to possess and hoard resources at the expense of the Indigenous population - resources typically taken from that population by coercion or force, be they resources of the land or images of the people. The pattern is apparent in portrayals in the Souvenir album where the Navajo are shown stripped down, reduced, starving, coerced to pose with the weapons that could not keep them from defeat (Faris 2003: 59). We have seen it in serious dealings, a delegation of one sovereign nation (the Navajo) meeting with a delegation of another sovereign nation (the United States), being captured in photographic portraits by Charles M. Bell, only for those portraits to resurface in circulation as cigarette cards - a significant demotion of the seriousness of that moment and of those portrayed. The pattern is present again in the circulation of the Bosque Redondo era photographs of Navajo, currently available as home and personal accessory decoration. However, we will also see counter patterns emerge, “the counter-narratives of visual sovereignty” (Bell 2010: 85), and Wolfe’s ‘counter-claim’ (2006: 389).

Runia suggests that by reclaiming the past we go forward in unimaginable ways (2010: 239). Runia’s subsequent writing indicates that this unimaginable forward movement, propelled by the past as it is, as discussed, may be revolutionary or it
may be regressive. The examples of circulation that I have described are compatible with the ‘regressive’ category. These examples, and the innumerable additional examples of such photographs in circulation, have been a weight of concern for Indigenous people ever since colonizers began taking their likeness (Hoelscher 2008: 9). Fred Myers, in his work *Ontologies of the Image and Economies of Exchange*, addresses the “insufficiency of legal discourses of cultural property to capture and reflect Indigenous . . . concerns about their relation to culture, to creativity and to expression” (2004: 5). I extend Myers’ thoughts on the “insufficiency of legal discourse” to cover the insufficiency of popular discourse concerning the display of historic images of Native Americans, and the manner in which such popular discourse does not capture and reflect Indigenous concerns, as related to the inalienable aspects of Native culture. In referring to ‘popular discourse’, it is not just what gets said about these images that comprises the discourse, but the actual display of images themselves that constitutes the discourse, whether that display be online, or, in a local ice cream shop, which is where I examine the photograph next, in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

This chapter has focused on the online circulation of 19th century photographs of Native Americans. I have reflected on the erasure of traumatic histories that is affected in the process of circulation, as well as marking the obscuring, though not the erasure, of presence. In relation to the previous chapter, I have noted how the fragmentation that has occurred as a result of colonial archiving practices has helped make this type of dissemination possible. The digital technologies that are available now were not anticipated in the era of their original archiving, but the chapter has revealed how they nonetheless continue to carry the bias implicit in the original
archiving system. The way that the process of accretion of meaning through digital dissemination may work as a means of blinding viewers to the metonymical presence of absence has also been elucidated. Collectively this content opens the way for the next chapter’s examination of photographs in circulation in ‘place’.
Chapter Five

*Images in Situ: ‘a close-up photograph of roast mutton!’*

In New Mexico, the circulation of historic photographs of various peoples and landscapes is deployed in the public sphere, particularly in the market-place; it is a movement which creates, concretizes and contains ideas about identity and various people’s relationship to ‘place.’ In this context photographs of Native Americans, in particular create a site around which contentious clashes concerning identity occur. The limitations of some 20th century photographic theories, with their emphases on ‘meaning,’ ‘epistemology’ and ‘provenance,’ continue to hem in the discourses and skirmishes around these conflicts. Having journeyed through a case study, in Chapter Three, of a reconsolidation of fragmented historic photographs in the pursuit of creating a new-order historical narrative with contemporary framing, I now deal with photographs and their current uses.

Prior to my study, there has been inadequate investigation of the contemporary redeployment of historic ethnographic photographic images of Native Americans undertaken in New Mexico itself. The contemporary re-framing of such photographs – as related to the intent of their presentation *in place* - is necessary in order to posit theoretical approaches that might alter the understanding of the impact and role such photographs have. Assignments of ‘significance,’ ongoing ‘insistence’

---

112 By the ‘market’ I mean where images are publicly displayed or sold, mostly locations of retail.
113 Consider, for example, John Collier Jr.’s 1967 book *Visual anthropology: photography as a research method*, an example of ‘meaning’ making; Allan Sekula’s 1981 essay *The Traffic in Photographs* as an example of analyzing the intersect of photography and epistemology; and Beaumont Newhall’s 1949 book *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present* as an example of a concern for photography and provenance, by which I mean, a chronological account of the life of the photograph.
and the weight of ‘presence’ related to the inalienable properties of photographic images are considered as means to understand and valorise the importance photographs have in mobilizing struggles for sovereignty and visibility concerning identity. Significance is also a matter of positioning or standpoint related to the network, because the significance of any particular image will be related to either how the viewer frames an image or is in turn framed by the image. Place plays a central role in comprehending what kind of agents the images are in the larger network, or as Chris Tilley puts it in his book *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*: “Place is about situatedness in relation to identity in action. In this sense place is context…” (1997: 18). Per Tilley, it is not that it is only necessary to see the images *in place*, but also it is essential to see *them in relation to*. It is necessary to observe how people in place are positioned, or how they position themselves, *in relation to* the images, and the interactions that take place. Lydon makes a relevant observation concerning the work of James Faris and photography of Navajo, in which she encapsulates Faris’s pessimism regarding the agency of such photographs:

…showing how photographic discourse reflects Western, rather than Navajo ‘reality.’ These images acquire meaning within a limited range of registers that constitute ‘the necessary conditions of existence of Navajo to the west.’ Emphasizing the unequal relations that framed this body of work, Faris argues that ‘culturally, not much can be understood about Navajo from photographs of them,’ remaining pessimistic about the possibility of reclamation or recuperation. Such a conclusion may in part reflect Faris’s methodology, choosing to focus on the images’ ‘Western character’ and explicitly eschewing analysis of Navajo responses (2006: 3).
John Collier Jr.’s 1967 book *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* relates the author’s experience of showing photographs to Navajo people. Collier’s use of photography in ethnographic research was ground-breaking for its time, though his anticipation of unsophisticated responses from Indigenous respondents is cringe-inducing. He provides an explication of the literal manner in which Navajos read photographs and describes how Navajo people offer him what are actually reflexively useful and personally significant narratives related to the photographs he shows them - narratives which are rooted in the Navajos’ embodied sense of place (Collier 1967: 54). However, Collier expresses shock and amazement in response to discovering the photograph that solicited the most animated responses: “The picture that consistently drew the most enthusiastic responses, accompanied by grins and happy talk, was a close-up photograph of roast mutton!” (Collier 1967: 56) (Fig. 75). Collier had initially anticipated that the Navajo readings would be rooted in metaphor, abstracted and philosophical. But what he got were responses born from metonym, unexpectedly unvarnished in their direct expression of what was personally significant.
In this research, I have investigated how people, both Native American and non-Native, are positioned in relation to such photographs, their standpoint, how they position themselves or how they get positioned. In witnessing their responses and positioning, I aimed to observe what all these positioning processes illuminate concerning these in situ relationships. During such research encounters, I received far more nuanced and complex responses than those elicited by Faris. Peoples’ responses were more metonymical and loaded with localized significance. This chapter documents how I moved around the spaces and places of Santa Fe, so as to reveal what is encountered there in the interactions between actors (people) and actants (images). However, in place of Tilley’s ‘context’, I stay with the idea of ‘framing’ these interactions, as opposed to placing them in ‘context.’ My cue for this emphasis, in addition to the thoughts of Bal about framing that I have already incorporated, was provided by a passage in Roy Dilley’s book *The Problem with Context*, in which he discusses the ideas of literary theorist Jonathon Culler:
Culler, in a discussion of literary criticism, prefers to use the expression ‘framing the sign’ rather than contextualising to describe the process of signification. He states that his phrase ‘reminds us that framing is something we do… and it eludes the incipient positivism of “context”’ (1988: ix). It reminds us in short that the agents who frame or contextualise perform a social practice. It recognises context as a process, and its definition as a species of social action entails relations of power. The very act of interpretation, evoking a specific frame in preference to another, is an act of power (Dilley 1999: 34-5).

**Framing, Relations of Power, and the American Myth**

With regard to social action and relations of power, the framing in the larger network began before my journey to New Mexico from London, when I stopped first in Washington, D.C. and spent some weeks in archives there, before driving west across the country. Even before my drive began, I had a taste of things to come, an opportunity to observe how the American Southwest as a whole, and specifically the Indigenous cultures of the region, are used indexically to signify. The month before I began my drive, I encountered a storefront window dressing that insinuated itself into my consciousness and into this study. The American clothing retailer Ralph Lauren had a window dressing that presaged what I would encounter in New Mexico. In addition to the designer merchandise, the display was replete with (authentic) weavings, basketry, Pueblo ladders, and an Edward Curtis photograph (just behind the first mannequin’s shoulder). It was also a moment, even though it was a preface, “When everything tangles with everything else” (Ingold 2015: 3) (Fig. 76 and 77a, b and c). I had the thought that the display functioned as a
Bourdieu-like expression of ‘style,’ or ‘taste’ because it contained images and artefacts appropriated from Native people and it had co-opted these items into a great American-mythos fashion statement - actions which qualified, in the larger scheme of things, as a genuflect, in which people might, accordingly enter the store to buy something having seen the window dressing and having thought, in the manner of the genuflect, thinking without thinking, “this is so me” or “this is who I want to be” or “I am America.”

Fig. 76. Ralph Lauren window dressing, Washington, D.C., July 14, 2011. Picture Credits: the author.
Fig. 77a and b. Objects related to Ralph Lauren window dressing. The Curtis photo can be seen behind the mannequin’s shoulder (74a); the Navajo weaving and basket, and the ladder, resemble the ones seen in the window dressing (74b and c). a) Edward Curtis (ca. 1903). Si Wa Wata Wa, a Zuni man from New Mexico. B&W copy neg. Image. #LC-USZ62-123309. Photo Credit: The Library of Congress. b) (Detail) possibly Frasher Foto (ca. early 20th century). Navajo woman weaving, New Mexico. Postcard. #Am,A48.6. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 77c. Charles F. Lummis (1890). Woman, man and ladder, Isleta Pueblo. Cyanotype on Cabinet Card. # 70.41.49. Photo Credit: The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology.
Though I will return to the window dressing in Chapter Six, at this point it is important to identify this moment as an intricacy in a network in the manner of ANT. I have been using the terms ‘network,’ ‘meshwork,’ ‘photography complex,’ and ‘visual economy’ somewhat interchangeably, or with some overlap, but they all entail slightly different concepts and realities. The concepts of ‘visual economy’ and ‘the photography network’ work well in looking somewhat narrowly at the photograph in a system, particularly where the photograph is the focus. Ingold’s ‘meshwork’ is messier than the other theories, and this works to great advantage in approaching the interconnections of things (photographs and things that aren’t photographs) – this being Ingold’s focus, the lines of connection, and this suits this study, as it is emotionally evocative, but Ingold is too vague and lacking in specificities about how it might be applied. However, despite its complexity, it is Latour’s ANT that has the most scope, to be useful as a methodology by which to perceive the social world in action. I was particularly struck by the way that Latour’s observations in *Reassembling the Social* accorded with my experience of encountering the window dressing while in the early part of research.

It was revelatory to read in the conclusion of Latour’s book that “With respect to the Total, there is nothing to do except to genuflect before it, or worse, to dream of occupying the place of complete power” (2008: 252). It was quite shocking how much this mirrored my thoughts on the window dressing. In this passage, Latour is responding to critics, but I take his point, that when in the presence of ‘the Total’ (the summation of the entirety of the network), one can either kneel briefly in a sign of deference to the status quo, which is what one does in front of window dressing like this, or aspire to the power it exerts, which would be to enter the store and buy
something. This window dressing and Ralph Lauren’s American-mythos style would not exist, were it not for the existence of the 19th century photographs of Native America, and nobody would know the myth of the birth of America that it indexes. Here, I am referring back to commentary by Baker quoted in Chapter One, in which he describes American anthropology as trading on the larger mythological idea of America “…that describing, analyzing, and recording American Indian languages and customs was necessary and needed for the young nation to forge a distinctive American identity,” (Baker 2010:12), albeit that Baker fails, in that statement, to mention the role of the photograph specifically. I am also referring to my coupling of Solnit and Sandweiss’s observations that it was after the Civil War that America headed West (cameras in hand) to remake the American Nation (Solnit 2010: 42; Sandweiss 2004: 183). The larger network I am speaking of here is America, the country and the idea, which is founded upon its false myths, including all that has been ‘borrowed’ and stolen from Native America - appropriations necessary to keep the plates of the myth spinning, and to ensure the maintenance of power by those holding it. Latour makes a relevant point when he reproaches critical sociology, claiming that “…it gave a definition of both science and politics that could only fail since it did not care to measure up the number of entities there was to assemble in the first place” (Latour 2008: 250). Measuring up all the entities of the network would not only be beyond the scope of this study but also practicably impossible. However, I draw out important lines of connection between my research in the archive with 19th century photographs, my work amongst living artists in New Mexico, and the stop in the American capital where I recognized the window dressing as a genuflect. Attraction to the style exemplified in Lauren’s merchandise is, per Bourdieu, no matter of innate taste (Bourdieu, 1984: 99). The impetus to bow
down before this window can be understood in various ways: as a desire to please or appease the status quo in an effort to avoid the violence of its displeasure, or alternatively to position oneself closer to its source of power, or both. Though my research journey was just beginning, the window display and all that it indexed encouraged me to engage with Latour’s conceptualizations. Seeing the display fed my determination to experience for myself something of its original source and find out how this source, the actual Southwest, was implicated in the construction of the western myth of America.

I arrived in Santa Fe on August 13, 2011, and a few days later I volunteered to hang artwork for the judging of the art competition run as part of that year’s SWAIA Indian Art Market. Thus, began my journey in New Mexico and my introduction to the visual fugue that is Santa Fe. I began the phenomenological journey through Santa Fe and the layered visual engagements that would become the further focus of this study that night, hanging those works, literally coming face to face with many of the images that would inform my research for years to come. The next day I had the opportunity to assist in the judging of the photography category. ‘Assisting’ meant being on hand, supplying clipboards, paperwork and pens and standing quietly by, which enabled me to be a fly on the wall. I got to hear the judges, all local experts (people involved in the world of photography: a museum director, a gallery owner and the photographer for one of the New Mexico Pueblos). In the competition, there was a photograph of dancers in regalia at a Pueblo dance. The judge from the Pueblo said of the photograph “This is very excellent. The photographer has caught this detail of the importance of ceremonial observance. See, here (pointing to a feather on the dancer’s ankle) the feather on the dancer’s leg comes so close to the ground,
but does not touch it, the feather must never touch the ground.” This experience of standpoint related to a photograph, how an image might be judged excellent for what was metonymically significant, as opposed to metaphorically or technically superb, was the first in many such encounters in which “…local social agents themselves define relevant contexts in connection with their own interpretative practices…” (Dilley 1999: 34).

After assisting with the judging and set-up, I had time to take in more of the Market, the first of many Markets I would attend, and I encountered an installation piece in walking downtown that also set the tone for much of what I would encounter in experiencing the discursive nature of presentation and representation in Santa Fe. The installation possessed the same kind of power as the story of the sculpture of Oñate and the fate of his right foot, as recounted in the Introduction. This installation gave me an opportunity to observe the network in motion, in exchanges between images and people. It consisted of a short video/ QR code installation by Will Wilson, a citizen of the Navajo Nation, trans-customary Diné (Navajo) artist, as he refers to himself.\footnote{114 The viewer activates the work via their own smart phone.} Wilson’s interactive piece is entitled \textit{FUKC DEMO: a demonstration of quick-response code intervention on public monument in Santa Fe, NM,} and it was executed during the installation of another of his works - \textit{Auto Immune Response Research Facility} - at the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, during the 2011 Indian Art Market. In \textit{FUKC DEMO} Wilson responds to a little-known monument dedicated to Kit Carson, which is situated just off the central plaza in Santa Fe, in front of the Old Courthouse. To re-cap, Kit Carson is the 19th century army officer encountered in Chapter Three, perhaps best remembered for his part in
the ‘scorched earth’ military campaign against the Navajo. He was also instrumental in the forced march of Navajo, and in their subsequent internment. Unsurprisingly, Carson is not held in high regard by contemporary Navajo.

Wilson’s video could be accessed by scanning the QR code that was temporarily attached to the monument with masking tape, creating an ephemeral interactive, or double interactive. Having scanned the code, a video began. In it, each side of the monument is presented in turn, with a slow panning shot. The video concludes by panning the final side of the monument upon which Kit Carson is specifically named, and the date of his death given. The culmination consists of Wilson giving this face of the monument, and by extension, Kit Carson, the derogatory ‘finger’ (Fig. 78). One might interact with the monument, with the memorial typically impressing its message upon the viewer who is assumed to be the passive recipient of an adulatory message about an American ‘hero’ - Carson. But Wilson’s QR code invites the viewer to become a more active participant: this activity occurs in two registers - firstly in scanning the code to activate the film, and secondly in the act of viewing, in watching Wilson’s video. Yet, because Wilson is interacting with the monument by giving it the finger, and because the viewer has activated the video, the viewer is transformed into a vicarious participant, standing in Wilson’s shoes, and s/he thus interacts twice with the monument in one viewing. Via the affordances of the internet, Wilson’s video piece elegantly and economically articulates an immensely powerful message about Native American refusal to respect the Carson monument and everything it stands for. His momentary, one-off, one-finger salute is replicated virtually to infinity in the countless multitude of other fingers which are,
and which will continue to be, vicariously pointed at the monument every time the
video is played now and in the future.

Fig. 78. Will Wilson (2011). Video still: FUKC 115 Screengrab: the author, with permission from
Wilson.

In addition to Wilson’s video, one finds numerous visual expressions of the way that
people in New Mexico feel about Kit Carson, such as the graffiti added to the
portrait and text on his grave marker, in Taos New Mexico, a few years previously.
(Fig. 79 a and b).

Both the Wilson video and the vandalized Carson grave marker are good places to encounter contemporary visual expressions that are part of the dialogue concerning identity, particularly Indigenous identity, in New Mexico. In these examples, in which Wilson’s QR code video deploys the mechanism of visual echoing and repetition, as was the aforementioned case with the Oñate sculpture’s foot removal, there is a powerful dialogue going on; in it Native American identity in New Mexico, outside of Native communities, exists ‘in relation to’ and unfolds over long periods of time - across generations. In broader public discourse in New Mexico, the most visible identities exist in relation to one another: Native American identity, Nuevomexicano identity, and Anglo identity — both resident and tourist. While this triangle of identities, is reductive, oversimplified and not all-encompassing (as demonstrated in Chapter Three), much of the rhetoric concerning identity in New Mexico is framed by the tensions that exist between these three identities when they collide or otherwise interact with one another. While all of these identities rely upon one another to exist in particular ways in New Mexico, they also struggle to exist independently of one another, resulting in a battle for autonomy and sovereignty on
the most basic level for Native Americans. The way in which images of Native Americans in New Mexico are circulated and put to work illuminates the unrepresented way the past is present in the present. This may, depending on one’s standpoint, reflect an Indigenous future-facing desire for sovereignty, or alternatively, the use of images of Native Americans may reflect an ongoing settler colonial desire (on the part of Anglos and Nuevomexicanos) to replace actual Indigenous people, with colonially constructed projections of them.

Wilson’s video work is a useful example of the ‘unrepresented’ way the past is present in the present. His video does not use the Kit Carson monument solely as a site of formal analysis, but also as a site upon which to draw on deeply held, pervasive ideas about identity and history in New Mexico, ideas that this Native American artist carries in his person, and which he uses his person to express. The ideas that inform this work have to do with an exertion of or an insistence on continued historical presence – the anger for Carson is contemporary. This work of Wilson’s is metonymical and not metaphorical. “Presence can be said to be stored in metonymy. Whereas metaphor is instrumental in the ‘transfer of meaning,’ metonymy brings about a ‘transfer of presence’” (Runia, “Presence” 1). Metonym, in this way, is suspicious of metaphor.

The Double-Bind

The Wilson QR code example also speaks to the notion that in New Mexico, as elsewhere, there exists a dynamic in which Indigenous identified people struggle to take ownership of their own history and identity. The role of the photograph, and of other visual markers, such as the monument, looms large in this conflict. As in this
video, every marker of identity — every memorial, photograph, etc. — is fraught with the history of New Mexico, and one positions oneself in front of such a marker, according to one’s own inhabitation of a particular identity. Subaltern theorist Homi K. Bhabha’s, 1994 book, The Location of Culture, a meditation on postcolonialism, has a deep theme of doubleness that runs throughout that work. He speaks of ‘double vision,’ ‘double edge,’ ‘double self,’ ‘double lives,’ ‘double inscription,’ and so on. Specifically, he speaks of a ‘double-bind,’ which is most relevant to the manner in which Indigenous people struggle to possess their own identities. Of the double-bind he says:

> We are now almost face to face with culture’s double bind – a certain slippage or splitting between human artifice and culture’s discursive agency. To be true to a self one must learn to be a little untrue, out-of-joint with the signification of cultural generalizability. … But how untrue must you be to fail to be happily, if haphazardly human? That is the colonial question; that, I believe, is where the truth lies... (1994: 137).

The circulation, the constant indexing and the signifying that, particularly, historical images of Native Americans perform, all play a large part in maintaining this double-bind for Indigenous people. Contemporary Native Americans are repeatedly and unendingly compared with historical images of their ancestors and being found wanting. As Julian Go in his 2016 book Postcolonial Thought and Social Theory notes, when considering Bhabha’s thoughts about this, the colonizer, when portraying the colonized “…can only desperately try to ‘fix’ categorically into essential identities through discursive repetition” (Go 2016: 43). There is an irony in that position: Native Americans can never be Native enough, even though,
conversely, because they are Native and people of colour, they can never not be that thing, Native and a person of colour, either: and so they are caught in a double-bind. Wilson’s QR code piece, beyond being an intellectually informed work of self-identification, social appropriateness or social justice, expresses both a felt sense of history and a frustration for that history and the legacy of the double-bind. The work expresses an embodied knowing of what is wrought by the monument as well as what is wrought in the creation of the QR code piece. Taking such actions in the present is a way of personifying or materializing Runia’s understanding that: “If we just go forward, we stay where we are. It is only by reclaiming what we have forgotten, by allowing the presence of the past to take possession of us, that we start to go forward in an unimaginable way” (Runia 2010: 239).

In connecting the current fate of the first known photographs of Navajo people with Wilson’s contemporary video, I propose that the artist is not reclaiming the past, but rather, he is reclaiming the presence of the past in the present and for the future. He does this in a literal way by engaging the monument, but he is also tacitly engaging the circulation of these early photographic portraits currently for sale on the internet. Moreover, he is doing this in the place where so much Native American history transpired, standing on that ground. He is engaging all of the ways in which the tangible presence of the past, of his past, are circulated and manifest in the present, and he is aware that this past is only ever presented in half or mis-presented truths - the whole truth being present but obscured or made mute. Muteness in this context resides in the silent monument, which is given voice through Wilson’s video. Specifically, with this piece, Wilson is reclaiming the specific history of the ‘scorched earth’ policy enacted by Carson and others representing the United States
government in their aggression against Navajo and Mescalero Apache people. When Wilson reclaims the past, including the photographic complex of Native America, he is simultaneously reclaiming the present and the future. In this way, Wilson is not saying, that ‘culturally, not much can be understood about Navajo from photographs of them,’ and neither is he ‘pessimistic about the possibility of reclamation or recuperation.’

In participating in that first Indian Art Market, and everyone since, and in walking around town over the last several years to observe what is presented, and to observe people’s interactions with what is presented, I realized that the presence of images which literally or figuratively index the genre of 19th Century photographs of Native Americans has remained consistent in its volume, if ever-changing in its details and manner of presentation. In the interactions between people and the presentation of images, I have observed the manner in which these interactions are embodied, and how some of the responses stay consistent over time, and how some change, most significant are are changes of embodied responses related to ‘selfies’ with smart phones, in which people see something that strikes them and they want to take an image of self with the thing that struck them, though that is a topic all its own. However, in observing the process of people experiencing the significance of a photograph or an image, such as the ones under discussion here, I have many times witnessed people touching the image or photograph, gently moving their finger across the face of a person they know or find significant, or of a place they know or know of. Significance, I then posit, as the emotional relationship, the desire to touch and/or to connect with, to what Runia refers to as “the numinosity of history” (“Spots of Time”: 310), which in turn, we could call ‘presence’.
In terms of some of the changes of what has been presented over the years, the very first year I was in Santa Fe, numerous postcards showing many of the images already discussed in this thesis could be found for sale in stores, specifically stores with tourist traffic. But by 2019 a change had occurred in that there were far fewer postcards with photographic images of Native Americans available (Fig. 80), with postcards becoming generally a less relevant form of image and message exchange, given smart phones and the internet.

Fig. 80. A few examples postcard racks in Santa Fe, NM (or nearby) spanning the years 2011 - 2019. Picture Credits: the author.

Just as the internet offers a variety of types of substrates onto which images of Native Americans can be applied, so too is there a huge variety of similar items on
sale in stores in Santa Fe, and in New Mexico more widely. Beyond the literal transfer of images onto merchandise for sale, I also saw striking examples of Native American-derived graphic images, or objects, being used as advertisements, decoration and graffiti (Figs. 81a and b, 82a and b, 83a and b, and 84a and b).

![Image](Indian_Springs_hot_signage.jpg)

Fig. 81a and b. a) Hot Springs signage, Truth or Consequences, NM. January 15, 2012. Picture Credit: the author. b) (Detail) copy of a photograph of Geronimo by F.A. Randall, by Ben Wittick, 1864, #015892. Photo Credit: The Palace of the Governors Photo Archives.

For example, there is an image of Geronimo, derived from the 1887 photograph by A. Frank Randall of him already discussed a number of times, which has been painted on the Hot Springs sign, in the town of Truth or Consequences. In the painting, a headband has been added to up the ‘authentic’ cache that the painted sign is intended to carry. Geronimo was born in what is now New Mexico and was known to use the natural hot springs in this town where one can now find a wealth of imagery of him, often drawn from the photographic portrait of Geronimo taken by Randall.

In the next images, a poster of the Comanche Chief Quanah Parker is wheat-pasted onto a pillar at the Shake Foundation outdoor eatery in Santa Fe (Fig. 82a, b and
The graffiti artist made alterations to the photograph that the graphic is based on, by having Parker hold an automatic weapon instead of a feather fan. In the graffiti, Quanah Parker wears a feather in his hair, which he does not wear in the photo (and would not have generally worn), an addition reminiscent of the earlier manipulated photograph of Chief Velarde printed in an encyclopaedia, as well as the Geronimo image as reproduced on the Goudy gum card, and discussed in the previous chapter. The art on this wheat paste graffiti poster is by New York City based artist Dylan Egon, who, as far as I could determine, is not Native, and the motivation for this piece and its presence in Santa Fe unclear. I also found a post of the same poster on the website for Tumblr where it was posted to the Transplant Project, which is a project started by Navajo artist Demian Diné Yazhi’ whose statement on Kickstarter indicated that the aims of the project are: “Utilizing photography, text, and video, Transplant aims to document the landscape of the U.S. through an Indigenous, queer lens.” This an apt example of meshwork, a 19th century photograph circulating online, and being altered/distorted and distributed as graffiti, then, in turn, the graffiti being photographed in situ, and set into circulation again, also online.

---

116 The Comanche were nomadic on the Southern Plains, including the eastern part of New Mexico, and traded with the non-Native Comancheros of the region.
118 Images of Parker can be found in a number of archives online, I drew this one from the Library of Congress site.
Fig. 82a, b and c. a) Wheat-pasted graffiti of a graphic of Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker, holding an automatic rifle, Santa Fe, NM. March 11, 2012. Picture Credit: the author. b) Photographer unknown, Quanah Parker, (ca. 1909). B&W copy neg. Image. #LC-USZ62-98166. Photo Credit: The Library of Congress. c) Photograph: Demian Dine’ Yazhi’, Modern Warrior (Found Wheatpaste), New Mexico, 2012.\textsuperscript{119}

\textbf{Noise: Additions, Subtractions and Presence}

Commercially produced T-shirts decorated with images of Native Americans derived from photographs are very common, sold at almost every tourist-oriented giftshop in Santa Fe (See Fig. 8), and as opposed to postcards, T-shirts with such images have been increasing in number. One example I encountered is a T-shirt of Medicine Crow, by artist Stan Natchez, displayed in his storefront in downtown Santa Fe (Fig. 83a). 

On this particular t-shirt, the quality of the image, in strict black and white (the white in this instance actually rendered green by the color of the T-shirt), is really a bitmapped image, wherein every value in the original photograph has been turned into either black or white, or in computer coding terms, a ‘0’ (black) or a ‘1’ (white), with no tonal range. In Chapter Three I asked the question, related to the photocopy image of Doña Jesús and her sister (Fig. 30), if an image that is a simulacra, a copy of a copy, particularly one that has lost all its tonal range (such as the T-shirt of Medicine Crow or the image of Doña Jesús and her sister) might lose all ‘spark of contingency’ and potential for punctum, and if so, is historical presence lost too?
The answers may well depend on the viewer, and their standpoint in the network, their own identity, personal history and experience.120

To engage that question, I spoke to a descendant of Medicine Crow, Apsaalooke Crow curator Nina Sanders. That conversation began when she posted a selfie (Fig. 83c) on social media, taken in a mirror, the mirror itself from a Crow Medicine bag in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian. Sanders took the photo using her smartphone which had a phone cover with the Bell photograph of Medicine Crow on it (Fig. 83b). In her post with that selfie, Sanders said “It’s all relative. How Will Wilson of me. #MedicineCrow.” Sanders had come to take the selfie while working as an intern at the museum, and looking through the collection, came across the Crow beadwork bag and mirror. In removing the mirror from the bag and looking in it, Sanders saw herself, and thought of her ancestors, and took the selfie in the mirror, and there, reflected with her in the mirror was her great-great-great grandfather, Medicine Crow.121 Reflecting on that, Sanders, whom I met in Santa Fe, told me:

Our ancestors knew that they would be memorialized [with the camera], they knew there was power in it…and that their descendants would see them.

After I took the selfie, I was on the train, riding home, I was thinking about photographs of my ancestors, thinking about Edward S. Curtis, I was looking

---

120 Christopher Wright, in his 2013 book The Echo of Things: the Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands engages the same question, experiencing that indeed, a photocopy, a simulacra, an image diminished in its details of what is visible, may well indeed retain its potential for an experience with punctum (164-167).

121 Regarding the beadwork bag and mirror, Sanders also related that part of her motivation for the photograph was that the object was collected by 19th century photographer William Wildschut, whose photographs she had been working with during her internship. Wildschut had photographed her great-great grandmother, so Sander’s felt there was a web (meshwork if you will) of connection.
at all the photos I took that day in storage. When I saw the selfie, it reminded me of the photographs of Will Wilson’s I had seen.

This is how she then came to post the selfie, and how I saw it on social media.

When talking about working in museum collections, with objects, or with photographs, Sanders suggested “it comes back around, it is all interconnected.”

Having a sense of her own history, being moved to creative response by it implies that there is no loss of presence in Sander’s phone cover, for her at least. I suggest that, similarly, there would be no loss of presence in the Medicine Crow T-shirt, particularly for those who embody in the present the history carried by that image.

As opposed to losing historical presence, it is worth considering the possibility that a spark of contingency or potential for an experience of punctum may be added to an image during acts of translation. During the transition of Bell’s photograph of Medicine Crow to the bitmapped image of Natchez’s T-shirt, (as in the photocopy of Doña Jesús and her sister) the conversion results in some ‘noise’ appearing in the background. In the original photograph of Medicine Crow, there is a neutral background with no pattern, and in the absence of the original of Doña Jesús and her sister, it is hard to say what that background looked like, though possibly it was the clumsily painted Romanesque backdrop. However, in the bitmapped images of both the T-shirt and the photocopy the backgrounds are no more than abstractions, irregular patterns that show up, wavy (Medicine crow) and granular (Doña Jesús and her sister) a form of static referred to as ‘noise’. ‘Image noise’ is defined as “random (not present in the object imaged) variation of brightness…in images… Image noise is an undesirable by-product of image capture that adds spurious and extraneous information” (Farooque and Rohankar 2013). By taking a more flexible view of the
added noise in the bitmapped image examples, it could be argued that the noise is
not actually undesirable, spurious or extraneous. Instead, it could be the
manifestation of presence, of the violence imposed by the taking of the original
photographs, and of the intervening years of ongoing subjugation to state authority, a
sign of the survivance and foreknowledge of the ancestors who knew they were
being memorialized.

Additionally, the noise may function as a creative expression of a future to come,
and should not be ruled out as a presence or spark of contingency. For indeed, settler
colonialism was the larger impetus for the images in the first place. And it is that
violence that has continued to motivate the ongoing circulation of images, as this
study reveals, making clear that America is not decolonized, and that we are not
living in a post-racial world. To be quite literal, the persistent and insistent
presentation of these images, which requires ever more copies of copies, is fuelled
by the violence of their origin (which is ongoing). Inviting ‘noise’ into the
background of these simulacra presentations is a way of effecting a literal
presentation of the palimpsest of violence that these images tacitly reference. Martyn
Jolly, in referring to a work of art that included a reproduced 19th century photograph
made by the contemporary Australian Aboriginal artist Gordon Bennet, stated that
“The image was made spectral and degraded by a process which looks like multiple
photocopying” (Jolly 2013). I would argue that the degradation/noise factor is not a
metaphor for such presence and violence, but that the ‘noise’ is metonymical, and
present in actuality, that it was not ‘made spectral,’ but rather, is spectral.
Further examples of the manifestation of ‘presence’ in photographs in New Mexico can be seen in displays of material artefacts that signify or index 19th century photographs of Native Americans, without directly quoting them. Examples include the innumerable, images and objects that, save for the existence of the photograph, would simply not make any sense in being. To demonstrate this point, I focus on one example, the imagery of Native Americans with bow and arrows, and actual toy bow and arrows (Fig. 84a, b, and c).

Fig. 84a, b and c. Bows and arrows. a) Toy bow and arrows for sale at the Five & Dime General Store, Santa Fe, NM. May 4, 2019. Photo credit: the author. b) Nicholas Brown é Hijo (ca. 1866–1868). (Detail) two unidentified Navajo boys, New Mexico Territory. Carte de visite mount; albumen print. William Blackmore Collection, Album 9, Am, A9.18. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum. c) The Arrow Motel, in Española, NM. April 4, 2014. Photo credit: the author.

In the building of the American myth, exemplified by notions of the Southwest, and in the need for the presence of the Native American in that construction, the point needs to be made that none of this would or could make sense, were it not for the
photographs of Native Americans from a previous century.\textsuperscript{122} It may have been the medium of film - which cemented the ‘nationalist discourse’ in service of a ‘national mythology of historical origin’ embedded in the concept of ‘How the West was Won’ - brought the widespread imagery of Native American stereotypes to the widest possible American audience (Kilpatrick 2006: 5). However, that ‘origin myth’ itself would not have been possible were it not for the 19th century photographs of actual Native America. The 19th century photographs concretized the initial images from which all else would follow. In Santa Fe, the plastic bow and arrows for sale at the Five & Dime downtown, signify the 1867 Brown é Hijo Carte de visite, which in turn signifies the abandoned Arrow hotel in Española, which, for that matter, signifies the arrows piercing the head and chest of Kit Carson on his grave marker rendering (Fig. 79b). Together these things form a meshwork looping back into itself, ad infinitum, as any one of these images can signify the other. It is the constant reciprocal signifying between images, and the resurfacing of recurring images in distorted form, with noise added or deleted, which constitutes the insistence of an image, and the constant is its historical presence.

One of the places I spent time in order to gather data regarding people’s perceptions and uses of these images was the Häagen-Dazs ice cream shop, on the Santa Fe Plaza, just down the street from the Kit Carson memorial (Fig. 78). During the first few years of my research in Santa Fe, this shop had a wall display of reproductions of various Curtis photographs of Native Americans (Fig. 85). Amongst people interviewed for this research, feelings about the placement of these images varied,

\textsuperscript{122} This myth of America is based on images of Native Americans, as highlighted earlier in this chapter by referring to Baker, Solnit and Sandweiss. It also alludes to the outline of this history as embedded in visual and material culture in the Americans exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian, also referenced in Chapter One.
depending primarily on how people self-identified and the manner in which they
inhabited that identity – their standpoint. All Anglos, whether resident or tourist,
whom I interviewed about such image displays, including about postcard racks in
local stores, saw such photographs and the means of their distribution in a generally
positive light. They thought they were, for example: “Wonderful”, “Fascinating”,
“Stunning and sad”, “So Interesting”, “Historically informative”, “Historically
accurate”, etc.123 Amongst interviewees who did not self-identify as Anglo but
identified as “Native American” the response was more mixed. Many had respect
for those photographed, often referred to as ‘ancestors,’ and for the beauty of the
images, but they were not happy about how inaccurate or disrespectful the taking of
them might have been, or about how the images were disseminated. They offered
comments like “disrespectful”, “it makes me angry”, “I appreciate seeing my
ancestors”, “that’s not right, what they show there”.124

123 During the Indian markets held in 2014 and 2015, I interviewed 107 people about these
presentations. Amongst this group 67 identified as ‘white’.
124 31 of the people interviewed identified as Native American, nine identified as ‘other.’ The
response from ‘other’ identified (those who identified as neither Anglo nor Native) was also mixed,
but this was a small sampling, and so for the purpose of this analysis, will not be investigated.
In observing all the ways in which certain images keep appearing, literally or as signified presences, whether as digital experiences on the internet or in specific grounded places in New Mexico, I encountered a certain repetition, a persistence, in the appearance and reappearance of various images and their signifiers. Peter Mason, in his book *The Lives of Images*, observes of the circulation of photographic images that: “They emerge at a certain point and time, they travel, they enter and leave different contexts, they come into contact with other images and with other objects” (2002: 18). This is a point to keep in mind regarding the insistence of images; once they enter the round of circulation in the meshwork, they may come and go, disappear and reappear in different places in different fashions, but they do persist, they do insist.

125 Since the time this portion of the thesis was written, these photographs were removed, and replaced with brightly colored repeated rows of the brand name Häagen-Dazs.
Marcia Ascher, in her study of Inca quipu, uses the term “insistence” in her observations about repetitive expression, mathematical and artistic. She herself borrowed the phrase from Gertrude Stein, who used the term when responding to critics regarding the repetitions in her work. Stein likened her repetitions of words to the repeated hopping of a frog, each hop being singular yet expressing something of the sum of the frog (Ascher 1997: 7). Further theoretical relation could be found to Alfred Gell’s notion of psychological saliency (Gell 2007: 157), his idea regarding the surrender to fascination when in the presence of a well-made and complicated object (Gell 1996: 30-34) as well as his idea of the object as social agent (Gell 2007: 16-19; Kramer 2004: 164). There are photographs that offer this saliency and fascination, people return to them again and again, seemingly unable to resist them or their agency, although they may not always understand why, the meaning of the compulsion may be allusive.

Insistence then could be viewed on the one hand as a fascination with, or urgent need to engage with the powerful yet elusive presence of a numinous history, related to Runia’s idea that there is a “historical compulsion to repeat” (Runia “Presence”: 7). On the other hand, it could also be viewed as a desire to keep certain narratives and political realities in place, the genuflecting to the status quo - both potentialities are possible in the ‘insistence’ of certain images. Belief in the assignment of significance, in the face of the repeated surfacing and engagement with images and photographic visual tropes — defined here as “insistence” — is not the intellectual arena of meaning-making, but is the rough component of the state of “being” in which, “‘being’ is always and irremediably one ontological and evolutionary level
ahead of ‘understanding’” (Runia, “Presence”: 21, paraphrasing Vico), as it is comprised of a moment to moment living within context(s) comprising a whole habitus. William Faulkner said this well, in relation to the practice of memory, in his book *Light in August*: “Memory believes before knowing remembers, believes longer than recollects, longer than knowing even wonders” (Faulkner 1987: 119).

Each instance of persistence and insistence amplifies the notion that the image is not representational, but rather, metonymical, because each instance of encounter between a person and a photograph or its image becomes a two way interrogation, each asking of the other what is wanted, a question posed by W. J. T Mitchell, in his 2005 book, *What do Pictures Want* (Mitchell: 2005). It is useful to consider Mitchell’s question concerning what pictures want, but his pejorative description of allowing for, what he calls, the ‘personhood’ of an image is put in a somewhat literalist way when he describes such a position as a “regressive, superstitious attitude”, which, “returns us to practices like totemism, fetishism, idolatry and animism” (Mitchell: 2005: 28, 29) - the latter being ideas which do not coincide with my findings. This aspect of Mitchell’s question concerning what pictures might want dismisses the legitimacy of the photograph as a metonym, and instead renders it as a metaphor, albeit, a metaphor with much agency.

As a metonym, the photograph or its image is a contemporary destination, a physical place, where one can experience the metonymical presence of history. A photograph, or its image or signifier, is always experienced in a particular frame, presented through a particular medium: this can be in an ice cream shop, literally framed on the wall, or as a bitmap image on a t-shirt, or as signified by toy plastic bow and arrows.
It is the encounter with the thing itself, an immersive whole-body encounter, not just a dispassionate viewing, which engenders the experience of photograph/image-as-metonym. The essence of such metonymic encounter involves an embodied feeling of knowing and remembering what is represented. Embodied knowing is brought to the photograph/image, and the place where it is presented, by the viewer and conversely, the photograph/image brings its embodied knowing to us - and this is the encounter with historical presence.

What any particular viewer does when encountering any portion of the network that is busy indexing imagery of Native America, is related to their own desires, and whether they have the desire to ‘bow down in order to please or appease the status quo’. It is also related to whether that desire reflects an Indigenous future-facing desire for sovereignty, or the ongoing settler colonial desire to replace actual Indigenous people with projections or other constructs of them. The two possible choices of which way one faces in encountering this imagery correspond with Runia’s two categories of ‘regressive’ or ‘revolutionary’ manifestations of being moved by the past. In his earlier work, Runia posited the notion of revolutionary action born of an encounter with historical presence as Inventio (invention). Inventio is the aspect of active memory that is manifest in the Wilson QR code piece and in the examples in the next chapter, the works of Indigenous artists that mine the historical presence of photographs and draw on the transformative power of memory as inventio.

Forgetting is the aspect of memory that informs certain presentations of photographs of Native Americans which tend to perpetuate the struggle for autonomy and
sovereignty of identity, such as the image of the Navajo man ‘Jim’ which is available on a mug, t-shirt, yoga mat or tote bag. Such presentations of photographs, in addition to being present on the internet, are also to be found in Santa Fe, New Mexico at almost every turn: in restaurants, souvenir shops, high-end galleries, museums, private homes, and the Five & Dime. This prevalent and quotidian presence insists that people contend with an embodied experience of those images on a regular basis. Some interviewees told me that experiencing images of Native Americans in this way feels like a gut punch (this is connecting with presence, and an act of remembering), while others put it in terms of a religious experience of affirmation (this is denying presence, genuflecting to the status quo, and an act of forgetting).

In this chapter I have discussed embodied encounters with images in circulation and their specific relationships to ‘place’. I have observed the persistence and insistence of certain images which repeatedly re-appear in various forms. The chapter has also explored the significance and meaning that people assign to these circulated images in relation to their own position or standpoint within the network, and as an expression of their ‘identity in action’. I have also analyzed the image in circulation as metonym, and as encounter, showing exactly how photographs and other images are implicated in active exchange.
Chapter Six

The Present: A Revolution Moving Forward

Native Americans live with the double-bind of not living up to externally imposed interpretations of what a Native person is supposed to be (or look like) in relation to photographs taken more than a century ago, and at the same time, of being required to be Native and a person of colour. They are far more aware of what photographs are and of what photographs and images do than the ‘average’ person, the person who lives within the hegemonic status quo and who benefits from the double-bind. For example, Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie (Diné/Seminole/Muscogee), Indigenous artist and scholar, recalls how as a child, when photographed by tourists, she envisioned the Edward Curtis photograph of an Acoma Woman (Fig. 86) and based her own pose on her understanding of the energy emitted by the Acoma woman and captured in this image – a defiant look that wordlessly stated, “take your photograph and…” (Tsinhnahjinnie 2005: 48).
Native American people I spoke to were able to respond to the double-bind the photographic image put them in by responding on a ‘double channel’. As descendants of those who experienced historical trauma, an ongoing trauma, Native Americans are aware “…that the world of appearances is not continuous, not at all flowing…[but rather] a world in which time is splintered, fractured, blown apart…[where] every event is random, contingent, and remains potentially separate from another…occurring in bursts and explosions” (Baer 2005: 4, 5). They were able, particularly the artists who worked with photography, to speak to the larger history and the social and political implications of the existence of a body of photographs of their ancestors and ancestry, while also expressing the metonymical relationship with the historical presence that was for them deeply personal, in such images. They were able to fluidly switch back and forth between these two registers in their comprehension that what was personal for them also had implications for all Indigenous peoples on a social and political level. They were likewise aware that any
denial of the image as a loaded social and political agent is not an innocent act, but rather a measure of violence aimed at keeping everyone in their respective positions. Throughout my research, I have spoken to dozens of Native American artists (as well as Native Americans who are not artists, and non-Native people), during formal interviews, and in less structured interactions, and in conducting surveys (see Appendix). While it is not possible to include the work of every artist that I have spoken to, their participation informs the accounts and analyses offered this chapter.

**Kinship and Community**

If relationships with photographs in Native American communities are tricky, they are also very highly valued. My decision to locate my fieldwork in Santa Fe meant that I lived in a city with a large number of Native Americans, including many artists, for an extended period, allowing me to observe this over time. I did not speak to one Native American person who did not have a relationship with photographs that was on some level familial and personal. Of particular importance to many that I spoke with, were the relations of family and kinship that photographs hold. For example, Jinniibaah Manuelito, a Diné photographer who was a student at University of New Mexico when I met her, whose own work centres around family and community, recounted this to me about a photograph of her grandmother (Fig. 87):

> The many features of my grandma, ... are all captured by photographs and in mind. She was a sheepherder her entire life, and she was also a weaver...I adore the fact that my grandpa and my mother were both photographers. My grandpa had a box camera, but we don’t own it anymore, just the photos he had took with the camera. This photo of my grandma is one of many my
grandpa had and then we inherited them…. This is a real powerful image of a Diné women ‘shi masani’ (my maternal grandmother), and she was an astonishing woman.

Fig. 87. Jinniibaah Manuelito (2012). Shi masani, New Mexico. Digital image. Photo credit: courtesy of the artist.

Responses from Native Americans in my research were sophisticated, and often avoided some of the pitfalls of theory discussed in this study. They did not “…don conceptual and explanatory frames…[in the hopes of] maintaining a proper emotional and cognitive distance from the subject in order to map the picture onto an epistemological grid that structures the field between viewer and photograph” (Baer 2005: 2). Much as Manuelito does in describing the photograph of her Shi masani, many, if not most, Indigenous respondents were “privileging the [metonymical] moment, rather than the story,” as if the moment was “the rainfall of reality” (Baer 2005: 5)
Another Diné photographer, Andrea Ashkie, whose work reflects a similar interest, informed by a desire to reflect the actual lives of Diné people in the most ordinary of circumstances. A counterweight to the immense pressure of the collective body of 19th century photographs. She relayed to me this sentiment regarding her untitled series that featured her grandmothers: “This piece portrays the everyday lives of my grandmothers and the simple interactions between them. Although they embody the very essence of what it means to be traditional Navajo women, contemporary influences have pervaded their daily lives.”

The previous chapter mentioned John Collier Jr.’s astonishment about which photograph most resonated with Diné he spoke to, the image of roast mutton (Fig. 75). He was not prepared for the metonymical relationship people were having with the photographs he showed. He referred to the phenomenon, the manner in which people engaged with images, as ‘literal’, though the responses, in reading about them, seemed personal, informed, and localized as well as culturally attuned.
Apparently Diné people find photographs that represent their own life experience and ontological view relevant, and meaningful, but, at the same time, they comprehend why the content and messages of such photographs would be less accessible to non-Diné people.

Diné photographer Rapheal Begay, whom I also met while he was a student at University of New Mexico, was born and raised on the Navajo Nation and described himself to me as “surrounded by family and an overall sense of community.” I saw how his work reflects his experience growing up in a place that he has a sense of belonging to, and which he refers to as “a place between red dirt and blue skies.” His photograph Internal demonstrates precisely this personal relationship with what is being depicted, and it is an interesting counterpoint to Collier’s photograph of mutton. For Begay, his photograph is both a metonym and a metaphor. During interview, he told me Internal features the detail of the inner lining of wool as a result of the butchering of a sheep… it represent[s] visual moments/blessings found within the Navajo Nation as they showcase an internal perspective and understanding of identity, aesthetic, and community” (Fig. 89). Where Collier’s photograph of mutton is rather general, showing an unremarkable piece of meat on a grill, Begay’s photograph demonstrates detailed knowledge of the animal in question and its many uses, and an appreciation for the beauty of all that the animal has to offer in his world and his community. Begay’s image unsettles the more common desire to demonstrate what Native America is supposed to look like - a desire revealed in the over-insistent non-Native American referencing of Edward Curtis’s images. Begay’s work is not uninformed by 19th century photographs: it very much is, but it also transcends them.
The inalienable presence of contemporary Native American life that pervades many contemporary photographs by Indigenous photographers is visible to Indigenous people. It is perhaps not surprising that this inalienable presence is not apparent or is met with resistance by many non-native viewers because these images counteract the rhetoric and active authority of the 19th century photography complex concerning Native Americans: the presence carried within the photographs is a threat to the status quo. Resistance on the part of non-Native viewers to what is being expressed by Native Artists, (including photographers), pervades the network of visual culture, and its partners in that network, the ‘art market’ and the ‘art world’. Such resistance amply demonstrates how the habitus functions. I met people who “love” the work of, for example, Edward Curtis, and who express this admiration as a naturally occurring phenomenon. However, I have witnessed many instances when it has been suggested, particularly by Native American people, to staunch (inevitably) Anglo Curtis lovers, that Curtis’s legacy is complicated and perhaps not all ‘good’. This
suggestion is one that the Curtis lovers usually find difficult to hear and to accept: “I love these old photographs of Indians, they are all so stoic, and that fascinates me.” I heard some variation on the previous direct quote from non-Native Curtis lovers more time than I can count. This same resistance also manifests in mainstream galleries and museums where it can be difficult for contemporary Native artists, particularly those who don’t explicitly cite the past (such as Begay), to secure exhibition opportunities.

**Mining for Presence**

There has been a slow start to Native American artists’ ability to participate in the market, but opportunities began to arise with the first Indian Art Market, which took place in Santa Fe in 1922. For this event, the selection and judging of artworks was carried out by non-Native people whose choices reflected their own very narrow view of what Native art could or should be, a tradition that carried on for many, many years. The first exhibition featuring Native American material and visual culture to be held in an art museum in the United States, as opposed to a natural history museum or anthropology museum, was the 1941 exhibition *Indian Art of the United States* at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), in New York City.126 In 1971 the Institute of Native American Art Museum, located in Santa Fe, opened. In 1972, the Smithsonian exhibited the work of two Native artists, T.C. Cannon (Kiowa Caddo) and Fritz Scholder (Luiseño) (Firstamart 2018).127 In 1974 the exhibition *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery*, took place at the Maxwell Museum of

---

126 Apparently, that exhibition was the third best attended exhibition at MoMA up to that point, only the Picasso exhibition and Italian Master’s exhibition had drawn a greater crowd. <https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325215.pdf> Accessed September 10, 2018.

127 This timeline of First American Art is very thorough, though some of what I mention, is not included in the timeline, but for the purposes of this study is important to mention.
Anthropology, in Albuquerque. It was ground-breaking for being the first exhibition in a ‘mainstream’ museum in which Native ‘artistans’ – the medium of pottery itself falling into a liminal category between ‘art’ and ‘craft’ - were actually named and not kept anonymous in relation to the work they created.

There is ongoing debate about where to ‘put’ art created by Native Americans. In a very literal example, one museum I know, upon acquiring photographs from Will Wilson, was not sure where to house his work (literally and in the database), with other museum objects, or in the archive, where the many historical photographs of Native Americans reside. But in a more general sense, until very recently, most exhibitions of contemporary art by Native Americans, with rare exceptions, have taken place at museums of anthropology or natural history. This point is reinforced in a 2019 study report by the Public Library of Science, which claims that 85 percent of artists represented in American art museums are White, and 87 percent are men (Topaz et al. 2019:1). Since 2107 contemporary Native American artists, many of whom explicitly address the issue of ‘identity politics’ and Indigenous identity through their work, have begun to make ever greater inroads in the mainstream art world, with their work appearing in notable art biennials around the world. That said, in 2019, ‘Native American’ artist Jimmie Durham won the Venice Biennale’s Golden Lion award for lifetime achievement, much to the dismay of many Native American artists (Cascone 2019).128 This brief overview of Native American artists’ participation in the market, and their struggle to gain access and recognition relates to material presented in Chapters Two and Four concerning images in circulation,

128 During his career Durham has claimed that he has Native American heritage. Much of his work takes that identity as a theme. However, he is not a recognized member of the Cherokee Nation, with many Native American artists and curators denouncing Durham as a fraud (Boucher 2017, Mithlo 2017, FirstAmericanArt 2018).
the archive and the market. My overview illustrates how these issues collectively form a highly entangled meshwork, in which the interrelation of power, movement, value, and sovereignty circulate “along paths or fibers’ an art of transportation and intersection” (de Certeau 1988: 199).

The work of contemporary Native American artists, who are making these inroads in the mainstream art world, and who take up the themes of this study in their practice by engaging with the photography complex of 19th century historical photographs (explicitly or implicitly), make the best case for the existence of historical presence in the photographs of their ancestors.129 In the practical artistic arena, theoretical ideas about historical presence are hard to measure, but in thinking about the aim of the theory, which was born out of a response of “dissatisfaction with the postmodern and post-structuralist paradigm,” the very aims of the theory help make its existence quantifiable (Froeyman 2012: 393). If the objective of introducing a theory of historical presence is: “to rethink our relation with the past as a more real, direct, material and affective one. …[the] common project [of such a theory] is to make the past present again, not as an ideological or tropological construction, but as the past itself, whatever this may mean.” (Froeyman 2012: 393). Other definitions for theoretical uses of ‘presence’ indicate that it:

… attempts to understand, or at least convey, the ways that the past is literally with us in the present in significant and material ways. It is a turn away from the seemingly endless interpretations manufactured by ‘theory’ and a return to a relationship with the past predicated on our unmediated

---

129 All of the artists cited and quoted in this section are Native American, except for Chip Thomas, who is an African American medical doctor who has been living and working on the Navajo Nation, in Inscription House, Nitsie Canyon, since 1987 (Thomas 2014), and whose work is relevant to this chapter.
access to actual things that we can feel and touch and that bring us into contact with the past (Kleinberg 2013: 1).

The works of art I discuss in this chapter unquestionably require a rethinking of our relationship with the past, in order to experience it as a more real, direct and material entity. These works are literal manifestations of the past, here with us in the present, in material form.

The artists presented here mine historical images for presence, and through their creations, they release this presence, pulling back the curtain on the inalienable nature of an image, and, in some instances, they amplify presence via processes of translation, replication, insertion, distortion and circulation. But this is more than reclamation alone; it is a revolutionary application of being moved by the past: this is the act of inventio. This is not to leave Native American artist’s participation in the market unproblematized. In the manner of Steiner’s observation of the market in African Art, it is true that many of the artists whose work will be discussed in this chapter hope to sell their work in the larger market that comprises some part of the system these same artists critique with their work (Steiner 2004). It is also true that Native artists may adroitly reflect on identity in their work with audience and markets in mind (Steiner 2004: 90). However, as these artists live with the imposition of the double-bind of their identity within the dominant culture, coping with this type of schism is par for the course, and not a hypocrisy of their own design. During my research, I met many artists, but in the following section, I pay close attention to those whose work speaks in the most useful fashion to the questions and themes of this chapter and thesis. In looking for a point of origin for this reflexive act of inventio, I identified the work of Fritz Scholder in Santa Fe, New
Mexico, 1967 as a good place to start.

**Radical Shifts**

Scholder catalysed radical shifts in Native American art. In 1964 he arrived at IAIA, to teach Advanced Painting and Contemporary Art History, staying until 1969, and having a house and a studio on Canyon Road in Santa Fe, amongst the largest concentration of art galleries (Adams and Scholder 1975: 146). After leaving IAIA he settled in New Mexico, Scholder was the first artist to begin the reclamation of 19th century photographic portraits of Indigenous peoples. He is also a fitting and complicated figure to start with as the progenitor of this form of *inventio* because his own identity as Indigenous was, for him, conflicted. Scholder was one-quarter Luiseño and one-quarter German on his paternal side, and one-quarter French, and one-quarter English on his maternal side (Adams and Scholder 1975: 145; Lukavic 2015: 28). His father was the head of the local Indian school and employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, so early in his life, Scholder travelled with his father to various Indian schools. However, it was not until 1959 that Scholder identified himself as Indian, (Lukavic 2015: 26). Throughout his artistic career, Scholder’s identity as a Native American artist was a point of contention and ambiguity, as shown in his own words:

> Ever since my first Indian painting, everybody screamed! And that’s when I became controversial. The traders gasped, because I represented everything they dislike. Nobody knew what to do with my work. And then the question, ‘Is he Indian or not?’ came up. All this just because I changed to the subject matter of the American Indian (Lukavic 2015: 29).
Scholder changed the paradigm for representations of Native Americans with his *Indian Series*. With this series, he “…became the face of the ‘New Indian Art’ movement… blending contemporary art styles with Indian subjects” (Lukavic 2015: 29, 30). Much of the early work by both Scholder and his students at IAIA was based on a Smithsonian collection of historical photographs of Native Americans, provided as a resource to the school. The use of photographs as a basis for paintings could also be traced to the work of other painters of the era, such as Andy Warhol, whose work inspired Scholder (Lukavic 2015: 30, 31). However, Scholder knew full well the importance of the role played by photographs in his own journey through ‘being not Indian enough’ and never being able to be ‘not Indian’ (the double-bind).

In his *Indian Series* paintings and lithographs, as well as later works, Scholder uses photographic portraits and translates the photographs into prints and paintings. In some cases, the sitter in the *original* photograph is known and named, and in other cases not, but all of Scholder’s figures are anonymous; it is he who chooses not to name them. Scholder uses photographic portraits to create work that absents all reference to place or context. For example, he takes one of the most well-recognized images of a Native American, that of the Hunkpapa Sioux chief Sitting Bull, and allows him to stand in for an anonymous/collective Indian in *Portrait of an American No. 2*. In this title, he pointedly leaves out the word ‘Indian’ after ‘American’ - a deletion which surprises non-Indigenous viewers into realizing that Native Americans are Americans too. By anonymizing Sitting Bull in *Massacred*
Indian #4 this single famous leader stands in for all Native Americans who were massacred (Fig. 90a, b and c).  


In Bicentennial Indian (Fig. 91a) Scholder bases his image on a version of the now familiar 1880 portraits of Medicine Crow by Charles M. Bell (91b). Here Scholder imposes a new design element, the inclusion of an American flag to replace the blanket Medicine Crow has wrapped around him. This device adds new layers of meaning, carrying obvious political intent. It ‘Americanizes’ the figure by wrapping him in an American flag, while at the same time, Medicine Crow’s specific identity and all that he is and stands for is anonymized and so written out of the picture, opening up space for a more general but perhaps larger statement.

130 When searching the internet for products and accessories emblazoned with historic images of Native Americans, Sitting Bull was by far the most often depicted, followed by Geronimo, in terms of frequency and the range of products their images were found reproduced on.
Another work of Scholder’s lays out one of the foundations underpinning many of the works of art discussed in this chapter. That foundation is humour or satire informed by a sense of irony. These works, often hard-edged, simultaneously have a tenderness that speaks to the fractured space that Indigenous people are required to inhabit and manage, namely the split between what it is actually like to be Native American and what the pressures and expectations from the outside demand of Native Americans (Fig. 92a and b). The link between using historic photographs to inform the work of contemporary Native American artists is encapsulated in Martyn Jolly’s account of similar work by Australian Aboriginal artists:

[These photographs] were originally taken not to confirm historical presence, but to file away an archival record in order to posthumously confirm the historical extinction of the original. It is this bitter irony that makes the
symbolic use of old photographs in urban indigenous art…more prevalent than migrant or mainstream uses of old photographs (Jolly 2013).

As an example of this kind of humour and irony, Scholder’s *Super Indian No 2*, is based on Edward Curtis’s photograph of a Zia Buffalo dancer. In the Curtis photograph the dancer, dressed in regalia, strikes a pose with one arm seemingly bent in a dynamic motion. In the Scholder painting, the same dancer is now seated, with an ice cream cone in the hand of the dynamic arm, making visible the clash of the expectation of the ceremonial Indian and the reality of a man taking a break in ‘modern’ times. This irony is even in itself a sort of double irony. Scholder would have been aware of dominant culture making ironic statements about the ‘modern’ Indian, making a joke of it at the expense of Native Americans. A precedent for this was set in photographs by non-Native photographers whose images feature a
deliberate juxtaposition of Indigenous people and technology as though to say, “isn’t this absurd, isn’t this humorous?” This occurs, for example, in the 1945 photograph of a Navajo woman with a camera, circulated by the New Mexico Tourism Board (Fig. 93).

While it is clearly possible to match up many of Scholder’s works to known historical photographs, this artist’s use of anonymity is used toward a different end than the function anonymity typically serves in historic photographs of Native Americans. The anonymous figures in Scholder’s work, many of whom could easily have been specifically named or at least culturally affiliated, are meant to stand in for broader collectives of people. This is in contrast to the way the original anonymity of sitters in early photographs was meant to typify a category or collective. In Scholder’s work, anonymity cuts in the opposite direction, reclaiming the anonymity so to speak, using it to embrace the collective that is Native North
America, creating an amplified ‘presence in absence,’ or, as Lydon referring to the work of Christopher Wright puts it, “a conception of a collectively constituted personhood” (2006: 4).

In the appraisal of contemporary art-works presented here, it is helpful to consider how the past might be a revolutionary catalyst, and how the reclaiming of the past might function as a creative act of sovereignty. Runia quotes the work of the 17th century Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, who suggests: “‘Memory’ . . . has three different aspects: memory when it remembers things, imagination when it alters or imitates them, and invention when it gives them a new turn or puts them into proper arrangement and relationship” (Runia 2010: 239). In most of the works I review next, all three of these things are happening: something is being remembered or recognized (presence); things are being altered through imagination; and something is being invented and put in proper relationship by the nature of these new arrangements.

**Historical Presence, Contemporary Perspectives**

Marcus Amerman (Choctaw), is another artist who employs the device of irony, working in a number of mediums, while drawing on 19th century photographs of Native Americans. In the 1980s Amerman, in collaboration with photographer Gwendolen Cates, created a photographic series, *Staging the Indian*, reworking photographs by Edward S. Curtis by adding contemporary touches, in order to consider both the historical and contemporary contexts or frames that Curtis’s photographs intervene upon (Fig. 94a and b). The use of irony in Amerman’s work, as in Scholder’s, directly addresses the double-bind, knowing that Native Americans
Amerman’s work declares, “look, we know we are modern, we know this is problematic.”


Amerman is also the first Indigenous artist to take a traditional medium, beadwork, and translate photographs into that medium. By beading images in a photorealistic style, he creates images loaded with irony. Amerman’s use of a traditional medium to re-present the photographic image intensifies the irony and revelation of presence in the image. In appearance, his portraits visually parallel digital images, as the beadwork pixilates the images, creating the double effect of making the subject look modern/not-modern. Amerman beads portraits that are interpretations of historical or ethnographic photographs of famous Native Americans. He incorporates into the portraits’ imagery derived from popular culture/Pop Art as a way of expressing social commentary (Igloliorte 2012: 78). Examples include a beaded portrait of Nez
Percé Chief Joseph, based on the 1903 Curtis photograph, and his portrait of Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo, based upon the 1887 photograph by A. Frank Randall.

In his beaded portraits (Fig. 95a, 96a, and 97a) Amerman takes the photographs and renders them with photorealism, but he also adds colour and inserts imagined detail sourced from dreams and visions and stories, thereby shifting the image from index to icon (Gelder and Westgeest 2011: 33). When speaking of her own work in photocollage, Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie says this of dreams, visions and stories: “When ready to travel, dreams, visions and stories are not to be ignored. They possess unseen legs, arms and eyes, as they wait impatiently, looking for an appropriate carrier. When the carrier arrives, the images begin their travels with persistence in their journey” (Lidchi and Tsinhnahjinnie 2010: 4).
In the beaded portrait of Chief Joseph, Amerman indigenizes the image by placing the chief in an open field with mountains in the distance (Fig. 95a), adding to what is a blank background in Curtis’s original photograph (Fig. 95b). Here the reference is to both Joseph’s Nez Perce name, Heinmot Tooyalakekt, which means thunder rolling in the mountains, and to the last battle the Nez Perce had with the U.S. Government, in 1877 (Sharfstein 2019: 63, 382). In that battle, with Chief Joseph as their leader, the Nez Perce refused to surrender the Wallowa Valley in Idaho, which the U.S. government was trying to take in breach of a signed treaty. The last battle, where the Nez Perce ultimately surrendered, happened in the Bear Paw Mountains of Montana, where Chief Joseph uttered his famous words “From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever” (Sharfstein 2019: 475). By inserting the mountains, Amerman has inserted the vision of the meaning of Chief Joseph’s name, and the story of the U.S. government breaking the treaty with the Nez Perce.

In the instance of the beaded portrait of Geronimo (Fig. 96a), Amerman erases Randall’s studio backdrop (Fig. 64a) and places Geronimo in a landscape, this time in the Southwest. He adds Apache gaan dancers, appearing at dusk like apparitions amongst the cactus. Both these changes imbue the scene with a message and mood, making visible the historical presence the image has had all along, making visible the presence in absence. In creating this work Amerman was aware that traditionally, Gaan mountain spirit dancers performed dances for the purposes of blessing, healing and purifying (Ball 2002: 464). In the dance, there are four ‘crown dancers’ who are embodiments of sacred mountains. The dancers also personify: … qualities of space and time that manifest the regulating cycles of birth, growth, maturity, and death that effect all things on earth. They are
embodiments of the movement of the sun, moon, and other celestial phenomena that create the times of day, the four directions, and the four seasons, which in turn regulate all life, growth, development and creation. (Ball 2002: 464).


In Amerman’s beaded portrait the cacti stand-in for the additional gaan dancers, giving the dusk setting of the image a quality of mystical movement, a blurry sense of presence, almost akin to the noise in the Stan Natchez T-shirt figuring Medicine Crow, and akin to Runia’s numinous history.

These two examples of Amerman’s work are based on photographic images that are promiscuously and widely disseminated, with the portrait of Geronimo, circulated more widely, also serving as a subject for a portrait by Andy Warhol (Fig. 96b). Amerman, in his reworking of the photographs, is acknowledging the profound impact, the omnipresence, of these images, just as he recognizes and reveals through
subtle and ironic reworking of the images, the unredeemable and inalienable aspect of presence the images possess.

Amerman, like Scholder before him, is borrowing and adapting from many sources in his beadwork. His vivid colour pallet reflects Pop Art elements, for example, in his Brave Leader he echoes the colours of Warhol’s Geronimo. He also blends and reconfigures time and space, creating a mélange of chronologies and histories, playing off the spatiotemporal plasticity of the original photographs, as well as adding irony through modern inclusions. For example, in his work Stormbringer (Fig. 97a), Amerman situates Iron Hawk, a Hunkpapa Lakota warrior photographed by F. A. Rinehart in 1899 (Fig. 97b), posing with bow, arrows and throwing club. Instead of Rinehart’s original background, Amerman positions the warrior standing against a setting sun, mountains and, adding a strongly surrealist touch, motifs drawn from Man Raye’s 1932 Les Larmes (Glass Tears) (Fig. 97c).

Fig. 97a and b. a) Marcus Amerman (1994). Stormbringer. Beaded portrait. Photo credit: courtesy of
The incorporation of contemporary references in both Scholder’s and Amerman’s work is not positioned as a ‘loss of tradition’ in the manner that the salvage anthropology based ethnographic photographs they draw on would frame it. Rather, Amerman is claiming the realm of contemporary life as Indigenous space. This works as a counterpoint to Warhol’s use of photographic portraits of Indigenous people on which he based his screen prints, such as his Geronimo which, according to the auction house site Warhol’s image was drawn from: “... is a screen print from the series Cowboys and Indians. In this series, Warhol explores the Old West as an All-American collective history” (Andy Warhol – Geronimo, 2014).

The opposing presentations of Geronimo by Amerman and Warhol offer different things. Amerman’s declares the Indigeneity at the heart of the image: it is a creation, reclamation and representation by a Native American artist that clears space for, and

---

demands, an Indigenous presence and reality. By contrast, Warhol’s reworking is proffered as an expression of an “All-American collective history” with Indigeneity serving as a lever or tool of celebrity signification.133

The redeployment, what Martyn Jolly refers to as a ‘re-performance’ of historical images, loaded with contemporary irony, is used by many Indigenous artists, including Frank Buffalo Hyde (Onandaga/Nez Perce), Bunky Echo-Hawk (Pawnee/Yakama), Douglas Miles (San Carlos Apache/Akimel O’odham), and Steven Paul Judd (Choctaw/Kiowa) (98a, 99a, 100a, 117a and 118c), among others. However, the term irony does not adequately capture the full extent of what the represented photographs actually ‘do’ in their contemporary incarnations. Of this, Jolly says “indigenous photographers do not see themselves as citing them [the historic photographs], or ‘appropriating’ them in the standard ironic mode of postmodernist quotation, so much as collaging them into the present, using them to demand an answer from the present in order to generate this sense of temporal collage” (Jolly 2013).

133 It is worth noting that I saw the Warhol version of Geronimo (Fig. 93b) hanging as window dressing in the storefront of designer Tommy Hilfiger’s 5th avenue Flagship store in New York City in 2009.
In Hyde’s work, which is obliquely political, the artist is often directly citing a photograph and incorporating modern technology, thus insisting, like Amerman and others, that Native America is part of broader contemporary life. By combining artefacts drawn from popular culture such as the segway in Fig. 98a and employing the techniques of street art in his paintings, Hyde is demanding that Native Americans be as visible in the present, as they have been in the past. Further ironic humour is seen in the Segway as replacement for the horse. Riding a Segway into battle is a much less violent manner of waging war in the present than, for example, than the naming of ‘Tomahawk’ missiles, or the ‘Black Hawk’ and ‘Apache’ helicopters by the American military might imply of Native Americans.\footnote{In the United States today, the names Apache, Comanche, Chinook, Lakota, Cheyenne and Kiowa apply not only to Indian tribes but also to military helicopters. Add in the Black Hawk, named for a leader of the Sauk tribe. Then there is the Tomahawk, a low-altitude missile, and a drone named for an Indian chief, Gray Eagle. Operation Geronimo was the end of Osama bin Laden.” (Waxman 2014).}


The work of Echo Bunky-Hawk and Douglas Miles does something similar to Hyde’s, in that the modern world intrudes upon the citations of historical photographs, but these works are more overtly political as well as emotionally evocative, with both artists reflecting street art and hip-hop culture in their painting style and content. Echo-Hawk’s *Crutches* (99a), a painting of the great Hunkpapa Lakota leader, mingles two photographs of Sitting Bull by D.F. Barry – one from 1885 (Fig. 90c), and one from 1882 (Fig. 99b). The painting depicts the Native American leader with a bottle of alcohol in a brown bag by his side, looking like a man down on his luck. In his hand he holds a crucifix, similar to the one he wears in the 1885 portrait, the commentary here being an observation on forced assimilation, Christianity, trauma, addiction and stereotypes. By choosing such an easily identifiable subject as Sitting Bull, Echo-Hawk is demanding that the viewer

recognize that the projections any viewer casts onto a contemporary Native American, they, by extension, also cast onto Sitting Bull himself.


In Miles’ *D-Fence* (Fig. 100a) the Apache men of the original photograph (Fig. 100b) are recreated by graffiti stencilling with spray paint onto a white picket fence – the picket fence being the “universal symbol of the old American dream… [the] quintessentially suburban boundary marker [,which] has taken up powerful residence in our collective consciousness” (Martin 2016: 163). By placing the imagery on the picket fence, Miles inverts its symbolism, and on each picket of the fence, he has placed an Apache symbol, an equilateral red cross, at the tip.\(^{137}\) Several other figures

---

\(^{137}\) While the symbol of the equilateral cross could represent a number of things, including cardinal points, directions of the winds, the morning star, etc., even in talking to the artist, I prefer not to restrict the meaning of the cross, and the other symbols could be interpreted just as variably.
appear in the composition, including three ‘Apache’ helicopters, a group of Apache women, and two playing cards as well, all of which bear symbolic intent, as does the list of names of Apache leaders written on the fence. Here too, Miles requires the viewer to see that things have both changed and have not changed. He is requiring the viewer to note that there are continuous threads for Native Americans throughout their history that need accounting in this moment. These threads shoot through continued cultural practice (as seen in the equilateral crosses on the picket tips), the ongoing theme of war (here too, Miles has translated the details on the shirtfronts in the photographs to military dog tags in his rendering, signifying the disproportionately high numbers of Native Americans serving in the American military), and - in the unchanged pose of the sitters, their wrists and ankles still bound together - the ongoing nature of colonial violence.

**Palimpsests**

While Amerman reconstitutes images by adding elements and introducing the quasi-pixilation effect achieved through beading, other artists choose weaving techniques to create their work. Shan Goshorn (Cherokee), worked in numerous media but is best known for her baskets woven in traditional Cherokee form and style. What is distinctive about these baskets is that they are woven using splints (strips) cut from reproductions of historical photographs (for the weft) and documents (for the warp). Her final body of work before her recent death is *Resisting the Mission; Filling the Silence*, which she worked on for ten years (Fig. 101a). This title recalls Preucel’s claim that “…the voices of native peoples transcend those of their portrayer…. The voices of native peoples cannot be contained by photographic images, their stories cannot be suppressed; they guarantee tribal survivance” (Preucel 1998: 22, 24).
Goshorn’s woven series commemorated the closing of the Carlisle Indian Boarding school 100 years earlier and is based on before and after photographs of Native American school children who had been taken from their homes (Fig. 101b).

Goshorn’s work, as opposed to the first artists presented in this chapter, does not use the device of ironic humour, nor necessarily as famously recognizable images as many other artists, though in generalities the photographs may be familiar, her work, like those who avoid the use of irony, is “…about photographs that force viewers to consider experience that resists integration into larger contexts” (Baer 2005: 1). In preparation for creating two sets of seven baskets, she travelled to various archives to research photographs and documents. During her research travels she carried copies of the photographs of Native American children at boarding school with her and encouraged Native people impacted by this history (which is to say, Native people) to write on the photographs. She then cut the annotated photographs into splints to weave into the baskets, along with copies of documents, and so created a form of palimpsest.

Fig. 101a. a) Shan Goshorn (2017). Resisting the Mission: Filling the Silence. Woven basket, Arches watercolor paper splints printed with archival inks, acrylic paint. Photo credit: courtesy of the artist.138

By changing the medium from two-dimensional photographs to three-dimensional weaving and by inviting others to add their memories, Goshorn augmented and enriched the communicative power of the original images, turning the images, literally, into containers. The ‘memory’ referenced here in relation to *inventio*, is not the consciousness of ‘knowing,’ or the analytical roll call of ‘meaning,’ but, rather, it is an embodied feeling of *belief*. It is the feeling, belief about and in the entire history each person carries within, that brought them into being, and it is bound up in the ever-present capacity for that history, through the function of memory, to invent the utterly new, or ‘that which we will become.’ *Belief* in this context is related to concepts of significance and insistence, constituted by a habitus-like experience of

---

139 Pictured are: Richard Henry Pratt (seated in back, on the bandstand) with (seated, left to right) Tom Torlino, George Williams, Stailey Norcross, Antoinette Williams, Charles Damon, (standing, left to right) Manuelito Chiquito (Manuelito’s son), Manuelito Choni (Manuelito’s son), Charlie, John Bitzclay (See also Fig. 52), Francisco, Saahtlie (George Watchman), and Benjamin Damon.
being in the world. Significance is a term applied to the way in which many people I encountered through my research attributed their relationship to photographs. One young Native American woman I spoke to put it this way: “an elder might tell me if something is important, and to respect it. I would say that that thing is significant then, although I don’t know what meaning it has, but I feel it.” As Baer, speaking about the concepts of Kracauer puts it:

In distinguishing photographs from the mental images of the human imagination, Siegfried Kracauer asserts that ‘photography grasps what is given as a spatial (or temporal) continuum; memory images retain what is given only insofar as it has significance.’ Because they do not capture meaning, he states, photographs remain ‘unredeemed’; that is, they show reality not as a visual field governed by a single perspectivizing vision but as a ‘disintegrated unity’ (2005: 170).

Responses to photographs was often in relation to the felt sense of significance to that which may or may not explicitly be depicted or represented, but in relation to personal memory or community oral history, and this too is what Goshorn was eliciting from participants in this project, an expression of significance over meaning.

In a similar manner of technique, Sarah Sense (Chitimacha/Choctaw) uses traditional Chitimacha basket-weaving techniques to create her artworks. Ancestral designs are incorporated into the weaving, as well as photographs – both historic and her own. Sense explained to me how, in her ongoing series Cowgirls and Indians (Fig. 102a), she is addressing issues and telling stories of “…colonization, appropriation,
migration, women, Hollywood's interpretations of women, Hollywood's interpretations of Native people.” The Chitimacha patterns of her weaving create an interesting multi-layered palimpsest effect, in turns revealing and prohibiting access to the images, requiring the viewer to work to comprehend what is just barely in view (compare to Fig. 102b). She told me, “Whether the viewer is knowledgeable of basket weaving or Native culture, they will likely have an aesthetic knowledge of patterns and then an interpretation of the photo-imagery.”

Sense’s work, in the way that images are presented as both visible, and hidden, and interwoven, appeals to a more embodied reality – it is more akin to a real-time experience of encountering the world, including on the level of the unconscious. People carry felt histories in their physical bodies, an unconscious embodied knowing, which they may not ‘understand,’ but rather, experience. In his essay “Spots of Time” Runia offers: “[Presence], this stowaway ... resides in our blind spots. Presence succeeds in going unnoticed not because it is hidden from view, but because it coincides with our culture. In a sense it is our culture” (“Spots of Time”: 315). This is an idea that bears some relation to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, in which the unconscious, internalized construction of self, in cultural context, is created (Bourdieu 1995: 72). With Bourdieu’s habitus, as with Runia’s stowaway, historical presence of the past and culture are everywhere, but hard to locate: “As presence, however, the past is . . . indestructible, uncannily close, and – despite its closeness and its durability – utterly impossible to conserve in ‘representations’” (Runia, “Spots of Time”: 316). This is the experience of viewing Sense’s work, the images perhaps instantly recognizable but yet a little obscure.
Fig. 102a. Sarah Sense (2018). *Lone Ranger and Tonto with Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull*. Woven archival paper and found imagery and tape. Photo credit: Boise weekly.¹⁴⁰

Fig. 102b. D.F. Barry (ca. 1887). *Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill*. Albumen print on cabinet card. Image # LC-DIG-DS-07833. Photo credit: Library of Congress.

¹⁴⁰ <https://m.boiseweekly.com/boise/stories-to-tell-boise-art-museum-exhibits-native-american-art/Content?oid=18488166&fbclid=IwAR0rOisPRA_PbfaAu1Jr9_YzyuFgFhTfEGnyCirbAlXyl4QI OsFis3aXQ8> Accessed May 23, 2019.
The same kind of ‘revealing while hiding’ can be seen in the work of printmaker Linda Lomahaftewa (Hopi/Choctaw), who uses historic photographs in her prints, and combines them with abstractions of cultural symbols and signs, drawn from petroglyphs and kiva mural paintings, near her home in Santa Fe, as well as from the Hopi ruins of Awatovi, in Arizona (Vigil 2011: 128). While the abstracted presence of symbols in her prints may surface a level of signification to a broad audience, they are also a manner of withholding from that same broad audience, because a deep understanding of Native American cultural knowledge is necessary to fully comprehend their significance. Lomahaftewa places two photographic portraits from 1908 in her monoprint Remembering our Ancestors, Choctaw stickball player, Jim Tubby, and Mrs. Will E. Morris (Fig. 103a). The title alone on this work is very telling, giving clear indication that the piece, with its inclusion of historical photographs, is about remembering, a move to counter the forgetting that has been engendered by the deep archiving of these types of photographs, either literally through their placement in actual archives, or through the circulation of such photographs in more anonymous or de- or mis-contextualized ways.
In Lomehaftewa’s print, Tubby and Morris (Fig. 103b) are removed from the contexts of the photographic portraits they originally posed in, that is, removed from the 1908 ‘removals’ visited on them. Both figures are instead [re-]placed on an abstract field of zigzags and spirals, with a cornfield and other abstract shapes between them.\(^{142}\) Lomehaftewa’s print positions Tubby and Morris so that they are enclosed within and/or beyond /beneath a screen of signs and symbols which bear cultural significance to the two subjects themselves and to Indigenous viewers, specifically Choctaw. The print thus functions as a form of reinstatement, a return - and a palimpsest. The presence and significance of Tubby and Willis are amplified

---


\(^{142}\) The double ‘removals’ refer to their removal from their original land, and the manner that some of the items that appear in the photographs of Tubby and Willis were collected from them and ‘removed’ to a museum collection (currently the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian collection).
in the print, because of the broader cosmological and ontological meaning, the imposed signifiers, that their photographic portraits now reside within and in relation to - and which, perhaps they always have, but now these have been made visible if not intelligible by the artist.

Trauma and the Grotesque

Another printmaker who relies on specific historical photographs and/or the conceptual idea of the cannon of such images and re-presents them, rendering them with enhancements and distortions is Monty Little (Diné). Little has experimented with various media, “using each medium as erasure,” or an accentuation of ‘presence in absence.’ In work related to the Trail of Tears and the Navajo Long Walk, Little created his Usurp monotype print series. The series is based on historic photographs, but this time of White men (Theodore Roosevelt, Ulysses S. Grant, Andrew Jackson, W. T. Sherman, Kit Carson, J. H. Carleton, Abraham Lincoln, and G. A. Custer), who all held positions of power as decision makers related to Native Americans’ forced migrations. Many of the men are presented in more than one print, in various states of deconstruction and distortion.143 For example, General J. H. Carleton, of Chapter Three, is presented in three different prints, all of which are based on plate 7 from the Souvenir album (Fig. 104b, c and d).

143 The forced migration of the ‘five civilized tribes’ – Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek (Muskogee) and Seminole - is known as the Trail of Tears, and was a result of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.
This series takes as its subject themes that are centrally important in Native America regarding settler colonialism, but here Little focuses on the colonizers, politicians, soldiers and perpetrators. In deconstructing, distorting and re-presenting the photographs, Little incorporates techniques and devices drawn from modernism.

Little, like Scholder, is influenced by many other well-known artists of his era and earlier, from the ‘mainstream’ art world. Both artists employ and adapt many of the techniques of modernism, including the use of historical photographs as a basis for paintings and prints, the use of irony, the flattened picture plane of abstract expressionism, a vivid, fauvist, colour palette (in Little’s other series and paintings aside from *Usurp*), a Pop Art sensibility, and an expression of the grotesque. In this, both Scholder, Little and a number of other Native artists are perhaps most influenced by the work of Francis Bacon, and the “grotesque beauty and violence of his paintings” (Hewitt 2000: 3). The grotesque includes various distortions, and for Bacon, Scholder and Little, there is often particular focus on the mouth and teeth (Figs. 104b, c and d; and Fig105a and b).

145 Scholder’s influences include Andy Warhol, with whom he was acquainted (Warhol painted a portrait of Scholder), Francis Bacon, Paul Gauguin, Willem de Kooning, Wayne Thiebaud and Native American artist Oscar Howe.
Much of Little’s work revolves around obscuring historical photographs that are ambiguous to begin with, as so many photographs under discussion in this study are. In his comb paintings, which borrow a page from action painting, he creates a photorealistic image and pulls it to distort it, pulling the image in a combed concentric circle, instead of horizontally as most action painting does (Fig. 106a). In this way, Littles’s work has a number of things in common with some of the work of the German painter Gerhard Richter, in which Richter is also basing his paintings on a traumatic past of his own heritage, specifically, for example, his painting based on the photograph of his uncle Rudi (Fig. 106c), which was:

Based on a photograph taken only a short while before Hitler and the German army unleashed the maelstrom of World War II, Uncle Rudi is an image from Gerhard Richter's own childhood that raises unsettling questions about the power and significance of memory, history, and consequence. Using photography as a starting point, Richter transferred this image to canvas by hand to make a painting in 1965, and then reproduced the painting as a print (Wylie 2001).

Little’s comb paintings, in the very physicality of the distortion of the photorealistic image brings to the fore the image as a physical reality, and as such a presence. However, by making the woman who is the subject of the painting, who is anonymous to begin with, barely recognizable, she becomes a presence in absence. As Runia puts it: “a metonymy is a ‘presence in absence’ not just in the sense that it presents something that isn’t there, but also in the sense that in the absence (or at
least the radical inconspicuousness) that is there, the thing that isn’t there is still present” (“Presence”: 20). In a way, this is the punctum in reverse, the viewer is not pierced by what is there, but pricked by what might be there, or is implied to be there.


Little, while dealing with the past is also staking a claim to modernity, or, put another way, making clear that modernity is also indigenous. In this way, Little, like Scholder, is loading the historical photographs he uses as source material, with modernist techniques and discourse.

*Inferring Historical Photographs*

While some contemporary Native American photographers cite specific historical photographs in their work, most do not, but rather, they create works against the

backdrop of the entire history of photography and Native America. Zig Jackson (Mandan/Hidatsa/Arikara) became the first contemporary Native American photographer to be represented in the collections of the Library of Congress when he donated 12 gelatin silver prints of his work titled Indian Photographing Tourist Photographing Indian. Although there are nearly 18,000 images of native people in the Prints and Photographs Division, this is the first group of contemporary photographs acquired by the Library taken by a Native American (Brathovde and Urschel 2005). This notion of the Native American in front of the camera, never behind it, is an idea found in much of the work by the Indigenous artists already touched on: Jackson’s work is a neat reversal of Native Americans being subject to the gaze of the (Anglo) camera. Jackson takes on this theme in perhaps his most well-known series that he donated to the Library of Congress (e.g. Fig. 107), in which he does as the series title describes.

Fig. 107. Zig Jackson (1992). Camera in the Face, Taos, NM. From the series Indian Photographing Tourist Photographing Indian. Gelatin Silver Print. #2017.34.1. Photo credit: Portland Art Museum.
Jackson also reinserts Native Americans in scenes where they are otherwise made invisible, staging performances of identity to interrogate contexts (Fig. 108). For example, in his series, *Indian Man in San Francisco*, he reveals the presence of indigeneity in an urban setting, highlighting the fact that most Native Americans live in cities, and not on reservations. For Jackson, Indigenous presence in urban contexts constitutes a reclamation of place and space.

![Image](image_url)


In her series of staged photographs of Indigenous women (Fig. 109), photographer Cara Romero (Chemehuevi) is both eliciting and disrupting the narrative conjured by the long history of depictions of Native American women, and the way that “Sexual themes in the representation of both women and warriors form a recurrent *topos* in Western photographs…just as in other representations of the ‘savage’ throughout history, they play heavily into fantasies of possession on the part of the spectator” (Kasfir 2014: 73). In talking to her about this series, Romero said that she wanted to address Native women’s sexuality, and exactly this point, the manner in which it has
been stolen and co-opted by this long tradition of portrayal of Native women. She wanted to afford the women who were posing for these images to “…own their sexuality, these are photographs of strength and power, and the women owning what is theirs.”

Romero’s central concern about whom she is portraying, as opposed to whom, is seen in her *The Last Indian Market* (Fig. 110). This elaborate group portrait of 13 leading Native American artists, is a riff on Leonardo da Vinci’s painting “the Last Supper”. The central figure is “Buffalo Man”, artist Marcus Amerman, wearing a buffalo head. This is a portrait that will matter most to those who hold the Native American art market as important, the primary audience is Native. Romero made the photograph during Indian Art Market 2014, during a time of year when artists are on the one hand incredibly busy, but on the other hand, are coming together in common purpose and understanding, supporting each other. I ran into Will Wilson on the day Romero was shooting this, and he was carrying his photo lights to loan them for the shoot, even though he himself was not one of the artists posing, illustrating my point.
Other contemporary Native American photographers perform the work of reinstating Indigenous people to their rightful places, in spaces, places and on the land, making visible what 19th century photographs of Indigenous people obscure - photographers like Sam Minkler (Diné). Minkler’s photographs often focus on a detail of place and a tense anticipatory moment of a life that is familiar to other Native people, such as his *8 seconds in Dilkon* (Fig. 111), which anticipates the drop of the bell and an 8 second bull ride. Minkler and I discussed this photograph a good deal, and he related his process about the image: “I followed the boots, as soon as I saw the boots I knew just to follow them. Once the rider was situated on the bull, still on the boots… catches the tension of the rider, holding the bell, just moments before the gate is opened and the rider drops the bell.” The significance of the details that might go unnoticed by those who wouldn’t know, (like Collier’s photograph of Mutton and Begay’s photograph of the sheep hide), are what matter to Minkler. For example, the

---

147 From left: Chris Eyre (Cheyenne/Arapaho), Amber Dawn Bear-Robe (Blackfoot), Kenneth Johnson (Muscogee Creek/Seminole), Diego Romero (Cochiti Pueblo), Darren Vigil Gray (Jicarilla Apache), Kathleen Wall (Jemez Pueblo), Marcus Amerman (Choctaw), Marian Denipah (San Juan Pueblo/Dine), Pilar Agoyo (San Juan/Cochiti Pueblo), Steve LaRance (Hopi), Cannupa Hanska Luger (Mandan/Hidatsa/Arikara), Linda Lomahhaftewa (Hopi) and America Meredith (Cherokee).
handwoven rope attached to the bell, likely woven by the rider himself; or the railings that comprise the fence that pens rider and bull in, and upon which the rider rests his boot: these are the old Bureau of Indian Affairs water pipes, repurposed for a gate at the rodeo. These are the same kinds of telling details that in the 19th century photographs go unnoticed, unremarked or unrecorded.

Further contemporary photographs that are a reclamation of Indigenous practice, space and place, occur in the work of Chip Thomas, an African American medical doctor who has been living and working on the Navajo Nation, in Inscription House, since 1987 (Thomas 2014). Thomas is the only non-Native artist discussed here, but his long-term residence in a Native American context is relevant. Thomas takes photographs of Diné life, which he has been amassing for decades, and literally
instantiates such images into the landscape, in the manner of Finnish photographer Jorma Puranen in his Imaginary Homecoming (Fig. 112).148

Fig. 112a and b. a) Chip Thomas (2011). *Sam – Walk in Beauty*. b) Chip Thomas (2014) *Sam in Cow Springs*. Sam Minkler’s portrait on a water tank, Cow Springs, Navajo Nation, AZ. Photo credits: Courtesy of the artist.

In Hevia’s photography complex, photographs and text rely on one another to create the complex - a notion which Thomas integrates directly into his work by photographing subjects, (such as his portrait of photographer Sam Minkler), with text directly written onto their faces. In turn, Thomas takes those portraits and creates massive wheat-paste prints that he situates in landscapes on the Navajo Nation, or on buildings and structures in cities with large Indigenous populations. Unlike Puranen, Thomas does not work with historical photographs but instead relies on contemporary portraits. As in Puranen’s installation, he is liberating the people, not just the photographs, “from the interpretive grids in which they were enmeshed” (Thomas 2014: 12). In his work the people figure as an inherent part of the landscape just as much as the landscape is an integral part of them. In addition to the explicit social and political messages in his work, there is also a joy and an enlivening in his installations, of spaces that have begun to wither. Thomas’s works offer a counteraction to the stultification of images in the archive.

Will Wilson, the Diné artist discussed in the previous chapter, has a diverse body of work. In 2005, Wilson began creating his first big photographic series: *Auto Immune Response*, discussed in the Conclusion. Starting in summer 2012 Wilson began a new photographic project, entitled *The Critical Indigenous Photographic Exchange* or *CIPX*, staged initially at the New Mexico Museum of Art in Santa Fe, during Indian Art Market. Wilson came to this project as a response to his own impatience with “the way that American culture remains enamored of one particular moment in a photographic exchange between Euro-American and Aboriginal American

---

149 In referring to Thomas referring to ‘the People’ I mean this specifically in the manner of what the Navajo call themselves.
societies: the decades from 1907 to 1930 when Edward S. Curtis produced his magisterial opus *The North American Indian* (Wilson n.d.). Wilson has gone on to make *CIPX* a multi-sited ongoing project, in New Mexico and beyond, in which he creates Indigenous tintype portraits in order to “create a body of photographic inquiry that will stimulate a critical dialogue and reflection around the historical and contemporary ‘photographic exchange’ as it pertains to Native Americans” (Wilson n.d.). His motivation for *CIPX* is not to directly cite the work of Curtis, but rather to “resume the documentary mission of Curtis from the standpoint of a 21st century indigenous, trans-customary, cultural practitioner ... [in order] to supplant Curtis’s Settler gaze and the remarkable body of ethnographic material he compiled with a contemporary vision of Native North America” (Wilson n.d.).

Fig. 113. Will Wilson (2012). *Portrait of Joe D. Horse Capture, citizen of the A’aninin Indian Tribe of Montana, Associate Curator of Native American Art, Minneapolis Institute of Art, New Mexico Museum of Art, Santa Fe Indian Market.* Archival pigment print from wet plate collodion scan. Horse capture holds an iPad with an image of his great, great, great grandfather made by Edward S. Curtis.
With CIPX Wilson references the presence of the impact of earlier photographs and reclaims such images for himself and other Native People. For example, in his portrait of Indigenous Curator Joe Horse Capture, when he invited the curator to hold an object of significance, Horse Capture borrowed Wilson’s iPad, and called up a Curtis photograph of his great, great, great grandfather, and in posing stated “my ancestor is holding a rifle, his weapon, demonstrating his status as a warrior, as an indigenous curator, this is my weapon, and I am a warrior” (Fig. 113). While assisting Wilson with the CIPX project at 2012 Indian Market, I witnessed firsthand the ‘performative process’ of making such images (Fig.114), which also reflects the negotiations that almost certainly occurred in the making of the 19th century images. As Lydon suggests, “Rather than seeing photography purely as a tool of the colonial project, a closer look at the production and consumption of the photographic images under scrutiny here reveals a dynamic and performative relationship between photographer and Aboriginal subject” (2006: xiii). Taking part in CIPX is an invitation to experience Inventio in action, and to comprehend, despite the heavy legacy of 19th century photographs, that there can be no question that there was a certain amount of nuance and complexity to the negotiation between photographer and photographed.
Wilson does not, however, only claim or reclaim the genre of historical photographs of Native Americans, as he, in his own words, “Indigenizes” all the photographs he takes, by virtue of the fact of his own indigeneity as an artist and as a photographer. So, for example, in the CIPX tintype portrait Wilson made of me (Fig.1), when I asked him if it was an Indigenous portrait, he replied “I think what it is, is ‘Indigenized.’” Extending that idea further, it is not only that the photographs that Wilson takes are “Indigenized,” it is also that the impact of the indigenization, or the re-indigenization of specific photographs, or whole genres, has a time elusive-quality, where the chronological nature of time is challenged. Indigenized photographs circulating now, through backward reflection, do in fact Indigenize whole swathes of time and space which, through the machinations of colonialism, had been whitewashed of Indigenous presence. Photographs that for so long have

___

150 Here I note the connection between Heiddeger’s Presence-at-hand and Runia’s presence.
been considered to be about ‘history’, which is to say, in the reality in which we yet live, Anglo or white ‘histories’ are liberated through their transformations in contemporary context to reflect the contemporary moment, back onto the moment of their creation. A further manner in which Wilson alters and Indigenizes the process with his CIPX project is that he gives the original tintype to his sitters, and he keeps a digital copy, a complete reversal of the ‘protocol and practice’ of the archive, the museum and the offices of the state.

Fig. 115. Will Wilson (2012). *How the West is One*. Tintype. Photo credit: courtesy of the artist.

To take that point further, I remember talking to Wilson one day while looking together at the *Souvenir* album at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives. He said, “You know what I would really like to see, I would like to see half of my *How the West is One* portrait, facing off with the portrait of Carleton” (Fig. 115 and 116a and b).
In placing those two portraits adjacently, a manifestation of this break in sequential time happens. The illusion of this Anglo-centric history, in which Indigenous people, if present at all, have been adjuncts or props, is shattered. It is possible to suppose that this illusion breaks not just for those of us here in the present who might have opportunity to witness these two portraits together, but, critically, the illusion breaks in the past tense as well. In the Wilson/Carson double portrait the presence of absence is thrown into reverse, and Carleton, or that which he represents, experiences the absence of presence: his history is emptied out, the old narrative undone by a photograph and a new narrative order, a new epistemological order emerges in its place.

Towards making that new epistemological order, Wilson has created *Talking*...
Tintypes, the tagline for which is ‘What if Indians invented photography?’ (Museum 2018). In this interactive work one scans a tintype with a smartphone that has a LAYAR app, and the embedded video of the tintype image ‘performs’, makes music, dances, tells a story. Wilson has said of this latest work “I feel like technology is just beginning to catch up to Indigenous storytelling.”

**Historical Images with Something New to Say**

Fig. 117a and b. a) Steven Paul Judd (2013). From the *NDN GQ Hipster Series*. Digital image. Photo credit: on Jouisance blog.¹⁵¹ b) Alexander Gardner (1872). *I-Te’-Sha’-Pa or Ite Sapa (Dirty Face or Dirt Face), Oglala Lakota*. #1991.258.7. Photo credit: Denver Art Museum.

Steven Paul Judd’s work has an affinity with other works mentioned here, in his use of citation and ironic humour, and in his demand for an answer in the present from the original photographs. He works with the device of introducing modern elements into historical photographs as in the case of his *NDN GQ Hipster Series* in which the

---

portraits’ subjects are shown as runway models in hip clothing (Figs. 117a and 118c), though the digital images are made to look 19th century. This device does not necessarily bring the Native person forward in time, but projects today’s fashion backward, much like the Wilson/Carleton double portrait, where Wilson went back in time to have a word with Carleton. Judd’s work, which he makes very available by offering it as posters and stickers sold online, can seem slight in its Pop art structure and its proliferation. However, if judged by the ‘work’ it does, more than just being ‘fun’, ‘hip’, or ‘ironic’, Judd’s series is situated in the middle of the larger network that the 19th century photographs endlessly travel. In this series he uses an image of Dirty Face (I-Te’-Sha’-Pa or Ite Sapa, who was part of a delegation of Sioux who visited Washington, D.C. in 1872 and had their portraits made, Fig. 117b).

Fig. 118a, b and c. a) Alexander Gardner (1872). Portrait (front) of He-Sha-Pah or Hey-Sa-Pah or He Sapa (Black Horn) in Partial Native Dress and Holding a Sword. Collodion glass negative. #NAA INV 06525300. Photo Credit: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. b) Image of model used in series. Photo credit: External Explorer on Pinterest. c) Steven Paul Judd (2013). From the NDN GQ Hipster Series. Digital image. Photo credit: on Jouissance blog.

The series also features a manipulated image of Lakota leader Black Horn (Tahe Sapa or Hah-Sah-Pah) (Fig. 118a and c), who was part of the 1872 delegation as well. Years later, Black Horn, almost twenty years subsequent to this photograph, would take part in the Ghost Dance on the Rosebud Indian Reservation, leading up to the Wounded Knee Massacre (Coleman 2002: 54).

Judd’s series highlights in particular how much is and has been stolen and appropriated from Native Americans. In some instances, the theft is termed ‘appropriation,’ because rather than taking something physically and corporally material and solid, like land or children, more ephemeral things are taken without permission or credit given, things like concepts and designs. The fashion industry has been particularly egregious when appropriating concepts and designs from many groups that are ‘other’, particularly Native Americans. Many Indian design motifs have been appropriated as have many specific types and styles of clothing and regalia. Most significantly, and most in the news has been the appropriation of the Plains warrior feather headdress (Fig. 119a). I observed this first-hand in the window dressing of one of the fashion houses on 5th avenue in New York City in 2009 (Fig.119b). In subsequent years wearing an (appropriated) Plains-style feather headdress has been much in the news, worn by fashion models, celebrities and concert-going-hipsters, and notably appearing in 2012 (Victoria’s Secret, on the runway), 2012 (Gwen Stefani in a music video), 2013 (Karl Lagerfeld for Chanel, on the runway), and 2014 (Pharrell Williams on the cover of Elle Magazine). In April

---

154 The American Indian Ghost Dance Movement was a religious movement of the latter part of the 19th century, that ultimately instigated an uprising amongst various tribes, and was crushed by the Wounded Knee Massacre (Smoak 2008).
2018, the magazine *Teen Vogue* had an article entitled *Dear White Women, We Need to Talk About Coachella*, featuring advice about how to avoid being insensitive regarding wearing a Plains headdress—don’t wear one (Andrews 2018).\(^{155}\)

---

\(^{155}\) Coachella is perhaps the most well-known contemporary music and arts festival.
The advertisement, possibly inspired by Judd’s series, featured numerous 19th century photographs of Native Americans, that I found available as large file TIFFs, available free to download, from the digitized catalogue at the Library of Congress. The images included in the Ralph Lauren advert show a group portrait of Comanche delegates in Washington, D.C., on the occasion of negotiations associated with the passage of the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, which related to the removal of Native Americans to Oklahoma as a response to westward U.S. expansion (Fig. 121a). The advertisement’s other photograph is of “Little,” a band leader of the Oglala Sioux, who was at the Wounded Knee Massacre, this 1890-91 photo taken by Grabill (Fig 121b).

157 Including Quanah Parker in the back row on the right, see Fig. 82 in Chapter 5, for another image of Parker.
Other Native Americans featured in the Lauren advertisement (not pictured) also included Uncompahgre Ute chief Eggleston, who was engaged in what is referred to ‘The Meeker Massacre’ in which Eggleston and other Ute attacked the military headquarters of Indian Agent Nathan Meeker who had been forcing Christianity and other impositions of lifestyle on local Ute. The Lauren advertisement included four other late 19th and early 20th century photographs of unidentified Native men, from the Plains or Great Basin area, judging from their dress. Almost immediately after the launch of this advert, controversy erupted resulting in its withdrawal (LeTrent 2014). The reactions that prompted the advert’s withdrawal included anger about using images of Native Americans as props, with comments like “This week in colonial propaganda masquerading as history, we have Ralph Lauren with the genocide aesthetic,” and "What many people alive today fail to realize is Natives of
the Assimilation Era wore western clothes because they were forced to do so” (LeTrent 2014).

I have paid close attention to the details of Judd’s work, and the Ralph Lauren advertisement in order to illustrate the network in action and to offer my observations on how presence may or may not travel in the meshwork. In Chapter Four, I cited Lucy Lippard’s statement: “Good photography can embody what has been seen” (1992. 35). In observing all that is signified by the images in the network in these examples, Ingold’s invocation of ‘meshwork’ is validated. This meshwork web could be extended out almost infinitely, but even keeping the reading fairly close, entangled in this web are a large number of Native American identities (Lakota, Ute, Comanche, etc.), specific Native people are signified and indexed (Quanah Parker, Black Horn, Chief Eggleston, etc.). In the same meshwork particular photographers have been signified, so too have locations and places, models and catwalks, Indian boarding schools, religious movements, window dressing, massacres and more. Between Judds NDN GQ Series and Lauren’s advertisement, this is the network at work. Within this network, I have discussed two different bodies of work, one a work of Pop art, one an advertisement. Do both or either contain historical presence? My answer is “yes.”

Up to this point, I have found Jolly’s observations regarding similar works of art by Aboriginal artists very useful, but here we part ways. Of this type of work, Jolly says:

It might be this urgently felt need to re-perform the historic photograph in the present which, for me, gives many of these photographs their overwrought
feeling. They seem histrionic, melodramatic, and pictorially overproduced — as though urban aboriginal photographers have to try very hard to ritualistically get in touch with their ancestors. They use an excessive bricolage of special effects verging on the banal to generate a sense of connection (2013).

Between anthropological analysis and art historical critique, it might be easy to get lost in a topic such as this. But, in keeping with Alfred Gell’s notion of agency, the efficacy of images, the manner in which they induce action or reaction, this has as much to do with the myriad and variable intentions of a work as it does with the craftsmanship of work. Simply put, “An agent is one who ‘causes events to happen’ in their vicinity” (2007: 16). While it is true, a work of art perhaps has to be ‘good’ to effectively communicate its intentions, but perhaps despite any banality on the part of any living artist, the presence of the past imbedded in the images may suffice. Christopher Wright and Arnd Snyder make a similar point in the introduction to their 2005 book *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*, when they argue that “visual anthropologists and their mainstream counterparts need to develop an approach to images that is aware of what they want, that acknowledges and productively makes use of their affective powers” (Wright and Snyder 2005: 8). I can see Jolly’s point: in his experience of histrionics, melodrama and overproduction, he has been put off. Yet, the amount of agency through the act of *Inventio* that these images have, in all the contexts and frames that have been elucidated in this study, including in the works of art described in this chapter, is immense, and here I am arguing that this is so, despite critical acclaim or success in the market. The works in this chapter want an answer, and to varying degrees, they will all have one. In drawing once again on
Runia’s dualism of regressive and revolutionary, it is obvious that the Lauren advertisement is regressive, and that the artists in this chapter are revolutionary. The works of art are ‘revolutionary’ because they are both invigorated by the photography complex of 19th century photographic images of Native Americans, and they in turn re-invigorate those same images. The artists and artworks I have described give those historical images something new to say, and they succeed in making the past present again. The artworks encourage us to rethink our relationship with the past. The past becomes more real, effective, and unquestionably material - and in contemplating these artists’ practice and outputs, we are put into more direct and palpable contact with the past. The examples described moved and motivated people, and this would not be so, could never have been so, were it not for the lasting presence that the original photographs and subsequent images contain. The degree of emphatic response that these images draw is not just due to a known history that cognitively informs responses to them, but rather, responses are constituted by a consistent presence that has inhabited the images in question and this land – America – for a good long time.

In this chapter I have introduced Native American artists who tap into the body of 19th century photographs, both implicitly and explicitly, in a manner that responds to the historical presence in the images, and by addressing the metonymical qualities of such images. In so doing, these artists are using the body of photographs in a revolutionary way, re-presenting such images knowingly and knowledgeably in relation to the double-bind that the original images are both reflective of, and in part, responsible for creating. I have documented how contemporary Indigenous artists are creating new work based on or in relation to historical photographs in
emotionally and historically informed ways. The variety of work presented in this chapter demonstrates very clearly, from the perspective of the Indigenous artists themselves, the role of the photographic image in the ongoing discourse about Native American identity. The examples I have discussed specifically highlight Native American artists’ creative and highly inventive responses to that reality.
Conclusion: The Future

I began the introduction to this thesis with a quote by the great Native American activist and scholar Vine Deloria Jr., and I close with a quote by a Native American activist and scholar of a younger generation, Nick Estes, whose very recent book *Our History is the Future* relates the story of, per the second half of the title, *Standing Rock [Sioux Reservation] versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. In this brilliant account, Estes narrates his thoughts on the settler colonial underpinnings of this dispute:

Mni Wiconi [water is life] and these Indigenous ways of relating to human and other-than-human life exist in opposition to capitalism, which transforms both humans and nonhumans into labor and commodities to be bought and sold. These ways of relating also exist in opposition to capitalism’s twin, settler colonialism, which calls for the annihilation of Indigenous peoples and their other-than-human kin. This is distinct from the romantic notion of Indigenous people and culture that is popular among non-Natives and has been aided by disciplines such as anthropology—-a discipline that has robbed us of a viable future by trapping us in a past that never existed. In the last two centuries, armies of anthropologists, historians, archaeologists, hobbyists, and grave robbers have pillaged and looted Indigenous bodies, knowledges, and histories, in the same way that Indigenous lands and resources were pillaged and looted. Their distorted, misinterpreted Indigenous histories are both irrelevant and unfamiliar to actually existing Indigenous peoples, and they are deeply disempowering (2019: 16).
This quote encapsulates many of the topics and questions I have covered in this thesis and highlights what is at stake, primarily for indigenous people, those who have been disempowered through the centuries-old mechanisms of settler colonialism. One of those disempowering mechanisms encompasses the original creation of a body of photographs of Native Americans. The continuance and extension of such defining and controlling regulatory structures of the state has been and is affected through the processes of archiving such photographs as I have shown in Chapter two. Such systems of oppression are seen to endure through various types of circulation, in the 19th century and beyond, in mechanical and digital reproduction, as recounted in Chapters Four and Five. This is the ‘pillaging’ and ‘looting’ Estes refers to. In his quote, he is directly referencing Indigenous lands and resources, but I suggested in my Introduction that the themes of representation, presence and temporality, sovereignty and identity, are not unrelated to issues concerning rights and access to land and water.

The breadth of this study makes clear that all such issues relate to matters of power and authority. This is not an oversimplification in the manner of a Foucauldian “… vision of total social control in which a mysterious force, ‘power’, holds absolute sway” (Banks 2001: 112). This is the result of the construction of both Hevia’s photography complex and Latour’s network in ANT. And to this mix, Estes adds Marx and capitalism. This is a theme that runs like a golden thread through the whole thesis and is addressed in virtually every chapter. In particular, Chapter Three, with its illustration of hardship, greed and sorrow, speaks to the greed of capitalism turning “humans and nonhumans into labor and commodities to be bought and sold.”

---

158 Also cited in Edwards in Banks and Ruby 2011: 175.
The buying and selling of people, their captivity in slavery and peonage, was revealed as an explicit matter of business in the microhistory of that chapter. Further, the "annihilation of Indigenous peoples and their other-than-human kin" that Estes claims settler colonialism demands is manifest overtly in Chapter Three, in the account of internment of Navajo at at Hweéldi – the Bosque Redondo, and it also shows, perhaps more subtly, in the demands of the 19th century body of images of Native Americans, in Bhabha’s double bind, and the impossible demand of Native Americans for ‘performance’ in relation to the body of images, that the status quo might be served.

Estes also invokes ‘humans’ and ‘nonhumans’, nonhumans also articulated as ‘other-than-human life’ and ‘other-than human-kin’. In my introduction, in addressing Latour’s ANT theory, that calls for human and nonhuman actors, I also cite Rosiek, Snyder and Pratt, who in turn cite Deloria in making the point that Indigenous people take non-human agency as a given (Rosiek et al 2019: 1), and of course, this belief was held long before the arrival of any colonizers. Estes also speaks of “distorted, misinterpreted Indigenous histories”, built on the “romantic notion of Indigenous people,” which he sees as “irrelevant” to “actually existing Indigenous peoples”. I have taken Estes’s point and shown very specifically the workings of Native and non-Native relationships with the photographs of Edward Curtis, which is in agreement with what Estes is saying. Near the conclusion of this paragraph by Estes, he goes on to say that disciplines such as anthropology have “… robbed us of a viable future by trapping us in a past that never existed” which again neatly illustrates the impossible double-bind that Native Americans find themselves caught up in.
I recognize that Estes’s observations strongly accord with much that which I have laid out in previous pages. I have found, as shown throughout the thesis, that the 19th century photograph of Native Americans is the prime culprit in trapping Native people in the past. The trap set by the photographs robs Native people of a future. The violence of the past cannot be undone, it is a lasting presence. This presence is manifest in the photographs and images of which I speak. Beyond querying whether presence exists and persists in these photographs, which this study has answered in the affirmative, the question remains, what role, beyond the perpetuation of a false narrative about the past, do the photographs have in the ongoing discourse concerning Native American identity? Chapter Six picked up on that question and offers a response that is more hopeful and dynamic than the pessimistic sentiment expressed at the end of Estes’s quote. As I understand it, the potent creativity of Indigenous water protectors and resisters portrayed in his book offer the same revolutionary hope that the artists mentioned in this thesis do.

In this work I have tried to speak across the divides of time and place, cultures and disciplines. To achieve this I have adopted different roles, as witness, interlocutor and enabler. By drawing together insights from a disparate range of settings - the archive, the museum, the art market, the internet and the nexus of Native American artistic creation – Santa Fe, I have endeavoured to show the value of making anthropology function in an outward-looking manner.
Regarding the historic 19th century photograph of Native Americans and its role in the ongoing discourse about Native Identity, the following are what I have seen. In the insistent and various appearances, disappearances and reappearances of the 19th century image in different formats and media, the historical presence, or alternatively the historical presence in absence, remains constant and undeniable. The continued appearance of these images is reflective of the “power of images to speak in different ways to different audiences at different times in different places” (Mason 2002: 54).

Regarding the ‘presence in absence,’ Mitchell’s thoughts aid in summing up the dynamic:

…the index has a ‘real’ or existential relation to what it stands for: it is the scar or trace of the trauma, the part object or shadow as a ‘shifter’ that is connected to and moves with its referent…the basic play of presence and absence, substance and shadow, likeness and difference that makes
perception and imaging possible (2005: 74).

The historical presence, or presence in absence, remains constant in the circulation and reception of images: it occurs in ever-changing frames and contexts, and ever-changing manners of production, sometimes distorted and manipulated, sometimes with additions and subtractions of detail or ‘noise’ (Fig. 122). Historical presence remains constant even though it may be obscured by such distortions in the image proper, or by distortions caused by a beam in the eye of the viewer, or by the viewer’s personal standpoint within the network (Go 2016: 123). Michael Taussig refers to this as “The unstoppable merging of the object of perception with the body of the perceiver and not just the mind’s eye” (Taussig 2014: 208).

Mitchell, like Sekula, references the historical presence as following or shadowing the image, like a ghost haunting it. The image and the shadow are bound together. Mitchell’s idea of the shadow as a ‘scar or a trace of trauma’ is particularly apt in relation to this thesis. The original trauma which forms the point of reference in this study is the violent act of colonialism, of settler colonialism, which the body of 19th century photographs of Native Americans partially comprises. The trauma is ongoing, in the manner of Bhabha’s double-bind in which Native Americans are co-opted or coerced into an ongoing performance of Indigeneity before which, those who work to maintain the status quo, genuflect. The performance may in part consist of the re-presentation of the body of images discussed in this thesis, and/or a demand for a performance by Indigenous peoples in relation to that body of photographs, a demand that they affirm the presentation and re-presentation of the historical images that comprise the root of the original American myth. The works of art discussed in
the final chapter reflect their makers’ refusal to perform in the manner demanded. They are neither an act of defiance nor a negation of the insistent pressure the images as a body apply as a constituent in the mechanism of institutions of the state, namely the archive. The works of art are not negative sums, they are positive sums as sovereign acts of creation, even as they function within the institutions of the state - the market and the museum.

The artists described in the final chapter are animated by the presence of the past, and with the demiurgic capacity of Inventio, these people create futures that are liberating and viable, the kinds of futures that are needed or wanted not only by themselves, but also by their relations, by their ancestors and by their communities. I observed how these artists were less troubled by what the status quo demands, even though they have to contend with living and surviving in the reality of the broader system that impinges on the market and the museum, and on them personally and culturally more broadly. I support this statement with the very art-works, highlighted in Chapter Six, do not seek to appease a status quo but choose instead to confront the concerns that the historic body of photographs carries as ghostly freight. In her 1999 review article, Native American Imagemaking and the Spurious Canon of the "Of-And-By", Margaret Dubin makes the prescient observation:

In fact, few critics can speak or write about the work of contemporary Native American artists who use the medium of photography without making reference to the legacy of photographic colonization. Similar to the ways in which ethnographers seek evidence of residual processes of colonial history, critics of Native American photography seek evidence of resistance to the visual legacy of colonization. While the increased interest in photographs of-
and-by Native Americans is surely a positive development, it disturbs me to see the work of contemporary artists used as a foil to the constructed images of colonialism, as the answer to the problem of Edward Curtis et al (Dubin 1999: 74).

Ideally, I would take Dubin’s point, were we living in a post-colonial world, a post-racial world. However, the Estes quote that heads this conclusion suggests that we are very far from such a world and the double-bind still prevails. Some of the work by contemporary Native American artists featured in this study could stand apart from such interpretations, could indeed be uncoupled from the 19th century body of photographs, and their work could be seen as a ‘polysemous text’ as Dubin puts it. However, Dubin’s quote takes for granted that the larger, dominant culture and the art world enfolded within it are also not free from these colonial structures: they are in fact deeply reliant upon it but privileged enough to be oblivious to that fact. Within that dominant and privileged culture, the majority of artists represented in American art museums are White and male (Topaz. Et al 2019:1) - people who are simply not required to be awake to the fact of their reliance upon this system of privilege for their success.\(^{159}\) The work of the Native American artists mentioned in Chapter Six calls emphatic attention to this privilege. The invisibility of privilege to those that have it, evidenced for example by research interviewees who were adamant in their love for Edward Curtis, is a further avenue of investigation that this study invites. In reviewing the absences, silences and movements of Native Americans themselves and of the images, past and present, which portray them, this

\(^{159}\) See, for example, Nell Painter’s *The History of White People* (2011), or Robin DiAngelo’s *White Fragility: Why It’s So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (2018).
thesis has shown in detail how the narrative around indigenous identity is currently developing and changing. My research has revealed how this process of change is driven by both the colonial past and indigenous artists’ newly revivified and innovative (re)-usages of various segments of visual and cultural heritage deriving from both their own culture and the project of colonization and settler colonialism. I have seen how the hybridizing of source material is proving to be an immensely productive approach which indigenous artists are ardently turning to their own advantage as they begin to gain foot-holds in the mainstream art market and in broader public discourse.

In choosing to address the system of privilege and oppression that is in play throughout the network, many of the artists I spoke to during research felt that the stakes are too high to ignore a past that still shadows them so closely and which they experience as an ongoing lived reality. The same artists experience their work as making a difference: they are people who feel compelled to make a difference. They are well aware of the impact that their work can create through their acts of *inventio*. They see it as having real power and instrumentality. For example, Will Wilson’s comment quoted in the previous chapter reveals how he felt “like technology is just beginning to catch up to Indigenous storytelling,” the capacities that Wilson and other artists see for their work is in advance of the status quo, because they are awake to the system, and they know what is at stake for them. I would argue that the futures that the Native American artists in this study envision, and are calling into being, do not come replete with an uncomplicated happy ending: Native Americans are too alert to their own history and experience for that. But such futures are revolutionary, both in their sovereignty, and in their creative harnessing of the
presence of the past.

For example, Will Wilson’s *Auto Immune* series presents a post-apocalyptic future peopled by Diné, in the figure of Wilson himself, in some photographs in the series even appearing in multiples so as to forward the idea of the presence of an Indigenous person contradicting the outworn narrative of the Native American existing in a ‘primitive’ state - as a ‘wild’ constituent of the landscape. Here Wilson is not only *not-primitive*, he is downright futuristic, facing the post-post-apocalyptic moment fully prepared with an array of proper and protective technologies: gasmask, Diné hairstyle - in a *tsiiyéél*, and adorned with a turquoise necklace. His message is clear: the future is Indigenous (Fig. 123).

![Fig. 123. Will Wilson (2006). *Auto Immune Response #6*. Archival Inkjet print. Photo credit: courtesy of the artist.](image)

In the future of the immediate, I conclude with one last image, a photograph from the Navajo Nation by Rapheal Begay. This brings things back to Tardes’s notion that ‘the small holds the big.’ His work, like the body of 19th century photographs, plays a role in the ongoing discourse about Native American identity. It does not, in its
awareness of all that has come before it, forsake the historical presence of such photographs, but it has an autonomy that balances the ghostly haunting of historical photographs with intimate experience. Of this last photograph, Begay said this to me (Fig. 124):

*Thirst Quenchin'* demonstrates the serendipitous nature found within the lived experience from and within the reservation. [this photo] visually and conceptually balances the binary found within Dine' identity, community, and history with the intent of actively contributing to my own narrative, and that of my people.

![Fig. 124. Rafeal Begay (2017). *Thirst Quenchin*. The Navajo Nation. Archival Inkjet print. Photo credit: courtesy of the artist.](image)

**Outcomes**

My experience of working with people across these different contexts, during the research itself and in producing the resulting outcomes, has strengthened my belief for the need in building bridges between academic discourse and the politically
inflected creative action of artists. From the outset, it seemed important to produce an anthropological study capable of doing more than merely speaking back to the discipline of anthropology itself.

My journey in this undertaking has helped build many bridges and has resulted (so far) in the generation of a number of articles, a book, and six museum exhibitions, all created to varying degrees in collaboration with others I have met along the way in this undertaking. It has been my intention to work in ways that differ significantly from the stifling kind of anthropology which Estes is so critical of. Rather than continuing the anthropological ‘pillaging’ and ‘looting’ he mentions, I have tried, through this PhD project, to give back, to return ‘voice’ and contingency to long-silent historic photographs - and to the people to whom these photographs matter. Similarly, I have paid close attention to revealing what indigenous artists working now have to say of their past, their ambitions and the future that they are ever in the process of creating.

Regarding the book, initially I was invited to write a companion article about the Navajo photographs in the Souvenir album for the *Pasatiempo*, the arts magazine for the Santa Fe New Mexican Newspaper – *A Certain Regard: Souvenir of New Mexico* (Romanek 2014), having been invited to do this by Khristaan Villela, currently Director of the International Folk Art Museum. Subsequently I was awarded the Beaumont Newhall New Mexico Council on Photography grant to write a book about the *Souvenir* album. The book, *Hardship, Greed and Sorrow: An Officer’s Photo Album of 1866 New Mexico Territory* will be published in September 2019. The articles, *Presence, Significance and Insistence: Photographs in place*, published
in 2015 in Photographies, and *Double Take: Does This Viral Photo Mean What You Think It Does?* were published in El Palacio, the Museum Journal for New Mexico.

The six museum exhibitions I curated all took place at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico. One exhibition *Return to Diné Bikéyah: The 150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Navajo Peace Treaty*, however, was a sister exhibition to other exhibitions around the State and the country. A collaborative meeting took place at the Navajo Nation Museum to discuss relevant photographic material. The exhibition *Entering Standing Rock: The Protest Against the Dakota Access Pipeline*, I co-curated with Kieffer Nail from the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, where it is currently on exhibition. During the next two years this show will travel to various venues around the U.S.160

As a result of the research undertaken for this thesis, beyond these exhibitions and publications, I have met many people with whom I am working on ongoing collaborations. A research group comprising myself, Jennifer Denetdale (Professor of American Studies at UNM, and the first-ever Diné to earn a Ph.D. in history), Hannah Abelbeck (Archivist, the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives), Will Wilson (Diné photographer) and Rapheal Begay (Diné photographer) have begun working together, formulating research topics and presenting findings. This group produced a symposium last year, which was presented at the New Mexico History Museum during the 2018 Indian Art Market, and subsequently at the 2019 American Museum exhibitions: *Vernacular Photography of the Navajo Nation: The Photographs of Rapheal Begay* (slated for Winter 2019); *Return to Diné Bikéyah: The 150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Navajo Peace Treaty* (June 2018 – March 2019); *Entering Standing Rock: The Protest Against the Dakota Access Pipeline* (April 2017 – March 2018); *Evidence and Theory: Photographs from the Archive of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology* (July 2015 – January 2016); *Will Wilson: The Critical Indigenous Photographic Exchange (CIPX)* (November 2013 – May 2014); *Contemporary Navajo Photographers: Present Tense* (October 2012-October 2013).
Indian Studies Association Conference at UNM. The symposium is expected to present again in June 2019 at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Conference, taking place in Waikato, NZ.

Outcomes from this thesis are ongoing, and new research questions and endeavours continue to be raised in collaboration with indigenous artists and academic colleagues. All this work has been motivated by the historical presence of the photographs, and the urgent need for revolutionary action regarding ongoing systems of violence of settler colonialism. My ambition in writing this thesis, and in furthering the outcomes described, is to be an ally and an advocate in the effort in Native America to find a sovereign way forward. This research is timely. We have entered an era where identity politics are playing an increasingly prominent role in everyday life and in the arena of visual culture in particular. It is my hope that my research findings will contribute to and support the creative borrowing, co-option and (re-)mobilization of ‘lost’ images, objects and techniques that is currently such a feature of Indigenous artists’ work. I very much want the research findings to complement Begay’s project of ‘contributing to [his] own narrative and that of [his] people.’ It is my hope that this PhD, and the questions it raises for future research, will be of value not just to other scholars, but also to Native American artists themselves.
Bibliography


AYERS, J. 1949. A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico. *New Mexico Historical Review* (available on-line:...


CARLETON, J. H. 1864. To the people of New Mexico. This paper sets forth some of the principal reasons why the Navajo Indians have been located upon a reservation at the Bosque Redondo : Carleton, James Henry, 1814-1873 : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming. *Internet Archive* (available on-line: https://archive.org/details/topeopleofnewmex00carl, accessed 17 August 2017).


CASCOME, S. 2019. Jimmie Durham Is This Year's Winner of the Venice Biennale Golden Lion for Lifetime Achievement. *artnet News* (available on-line:


COSGROVE, D. 2011. Introduction to Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape. In 
Landscape theory (eds) R. Z. DeLue & J. Elkins, 17–42. Milton Keynes: 
Lightning Source UK Ltd.

COULTHARD, G. S. 2017. Red skin, white masks: rejecting the colonial politics of 

COZZENS, P. 2018. The Earth is Weeping: the epic story of the Indian Wars for the 

CROSS, K. & J. PECK 2010. Editorial: Special Issue on Photography, Archive and 

CURTIS, E. S. 1907. The North American Indian: being a serriess of volumes picturing 
and describing the Indians of the United States, and Alaska (ed F. W. 

DAMMANN, C. & F. W. DAMMANN 1875. Ethnological photographic gallery of the 

DAMMANN, C. 1970. Ethnological photographic gallery of the various races of men : 
Dammann, C : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming. Internet Archive 
(available on-line: 
https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008252138/page/n41, accessed 3 April 
2019).

DANIEL, D. & A. S. LEVI 2014. From Containing to Shaping to Performing Ethnicity 
in Archives. In Identity palimpsests: archiving ethnicity in the U.S. and 

DANIELS, D. 1968. Photography’s Wet-Plate Interlude in Arizona Territory: 1864–


ELY, G. S. 2010. What to Do about Texas?: Texas and the Department of New Mexico in the Civil War. New Mexico Historical Review (available on-line:}


Press.

Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

GILLESPIE, S. K. 2016. *The early American daguerreotype: cross-currents in art and
technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

University Press.

accessed 29 April 2019).

a Chicano history of New Mexico* (eds) E. Gonzales-Berry & D. Maciel, 1–9.
Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

*The Gospel according to Matthew: authorized King James version* 1999. New York,
NY: Grove Press.

traditional cultural expressions in a digital environment*, xi-xiii. Cheltenham:
Edward Elgar.

Property and Intellectual Property: three concepts in search of a relationship.
In *Intellectual property and traditional cultural expressions in a digital


The mines of New Mexico: inexhaustible deposits of gold and silver, copper, lead, iron and coal: a mineral area unequaled in any state or territory for the extent and value of its mines 1896. Santa Fe, NM: New Mexican Print. Co.


The President's Talk with the Navajoes 1874. The Evening Star, 10 December, 1.


RUNIA, E. 2010. Inventing the new from the old - from White's 'tropics' to Vico's 'topics'. *Rethinking History* 14, 229–241.


Santa Fe Indian Market n.d. SWAIA (available on-line: 


SHOAF, D. 2002. 'For Every Man Who Wore the Blue': The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States and the Charges of Elitism after the Civil War. In Union soldiers and the northern home front: wartime experiences,
postwar adjustments (eds) P. A. Cimbala & R. M. Miller, 463–475. New

SIMMONS, V. 2011. *Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico*. Sebastopol:
University Press of Colorado.

SMITH, S. M. 2013. *At the edge of sight: photography and the unseen*. Durham, NC:
Duke University Press.

Indian ethnogenesis in the nineteenth century*. Berkeley, CA: University of
California Press.


Oklahoma Press.

Giroux.

States on the indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. Tucson, AZ: University of
Arizona Press.

2019).


Press.


Appendix: Field Notes Timeline

This appendix lists major events that were important for my research, including listing conversations and interviews with important people who are named in the thesis. I interviewed many dozens of people, some of whom have not agreed to be named in this thesis, though I include some of those interview dates in this appendix if they were important for the research overall. However, there are about a dozen of interviews that I don’t list, as they were not as central to the research as the rest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of person or Event</th>
<th>Description of event</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Museum photo seminar</td>
<td>Seminar with BM curators who work with photo collections</td>
<td>29/01/09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Museum interviews</td>
<td>Interviews with Harry Persaud and Jonathan King</td>
<td>2009, and emails with J.K. 2017 and 2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive in Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>Research in the photo archives of the NMAI, NARA, and the NAA</td>
<td>14/07/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet Marcus Amerman</td>
<td>See collections together at NMAI</td>
<td>July, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>Drive to NM with collected research materials</td>
<td>05/08/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive Santa Fe, NM</td>
<td>Begin research in NM</td>
<td>13/08/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual research</td>
<td>Photograph in places and stores in SF</td>
<td>August 14-17, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 90th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>Hang artwork for judging, assist judging</td>
<td>August 17 and 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 90th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 20 and 21, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five anonymous interviews</td>
<td>Conducted interviews with artists, three Native, two non-Native</td>
<td>September and October 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Amerman</td>
<td>Informal conversations</td>
<td>August 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo feast day</td>
<td>Taos Pueblo dance</td>
<td>25/12/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Truth or Consequences, NM</td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>January 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual research</td>
<td>Photograph in places and stores in SF</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Gallup</td>
<td>Visit another city with a large Indigenous population</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, interview artists</td>
<td>Research and interview artists for Contemporary Navajo Photographers exhibition, including Sam Minkler, Will Wilson, Andrea Ashkie, Jinnibah Manuelito, Mihio Manus and others</td>
<td>May through August, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit the Pueblo of Acoma</td>
<td>Meet artists, see village</td>
<td>30/07/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening reception</td>
<td>Contemporary Navajo Photographers: Present, MMA</td>
<td>30/09/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 91st Indian Art Market</strong></td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 18 and 19, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three anonymous interviews</strong></td>
<td>Conducted interviews with three Native artists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 92nd Indian Art Market</strong></td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 17 and 18, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assist with CIPX photo event during the 92nd Indian Art Market</strong></td>
<td>Assist photographer Will Wilson in conducting his CIPX tintype project at the New Mexico Museum of Art</td>
<td>August 17 and 18, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviews, Will Wilson</strong></td>
<td>Interview Will Wilson twice for thesis and in preparation for hosting an exhibition of his CIPX at the MMA</td>
<td>September and October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visit Durango, CO</strong></td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>03/09/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visit Silverton, CO</strong></td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>04/09/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Critical Indigenous Photographic Exchange (CIPX) at the MMA</strong></td>
<td>Follow up interview with Will Wilson Opening reception</td>
<td>24/10/13 29/10/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native America Calling</strong></td>
<td>Will Wilson does on-air interview about the CIPX project at the MMA, including conversation about Edward Curtis</td>
<td>6 November 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Critical Indigenous Photographic Exchange (CIPX) at the MMA</strong></td>
<td>Portrait studio hosted at the MMA, assist Will Wilson in taking tintype portraits of Native students, faculty and staff at UNM</td>
<td>7, 8 and 9 November 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interview with anonymous Nuevomexicano artist</strong></td>
<td>Vicinity of Abiquiu NM</td>
<td>03/02/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visit Hatch, NM</strong></td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>25/02/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visit Las Cruces, NM</strong></td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>26/02/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Palace of the Governors Photo Archives</strong></td>
<td>Begin research on Souvenir album to write an article for an upcoming volume of the <em>Pasatiempo</em></td>
<td>March 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visit Moab, UT</strong></td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>07/07/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Certain Regard: Souvenir of New Mexico</em> (Romanek 2014)</td>
<td>Published in the <em>Pasatiempo</em></td>
<td>21/08/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 93rd Indian Art Market</strong></td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 18-24, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conduct survey for thesis</strong></td>
<td>Survey visitors to Indian Art Market regarding Native America and photography</td>
<td>August 23 and 24, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informal interview, Sam Minkler</strong></td>
<td>During Indian Art Market</td>
<td>23/08/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informal interview, Cara Romero</strong></td>
<td>During Indian Art Market</td>
<td>24/08/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Informal interview, Shan Goshorn</strong></td>
<td>During Indian Art Market</td>
<td>24/08/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visual research</strong></td>
<td>Photograph in places and stores in SF</td>
<td>August 23 and 24, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal interview, Marcus Amerman</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>13/11/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formal interview</strong></td>
<td>Anonymous Native artist</td>
<td>31/08/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Archival photo research</strong></td>
<td>MMA photo archives for upcoming exhibition <em>Evidence and Theory:</em></td>
<td>September 2014 – March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event/Activity</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence and Theory</td>
<td>Opening at the MMA</td>
<td>01/05/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 94th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 17-23, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conduct survey for thesis</td>
<td>Survey visitors to Indian Art Market regarding Native America and photography</td>
<td>August 22 and 23, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive grant for <em>Souvenir</em> book</td>
<td>Beaumont Newhall New Mexico Council on Photography book grant, continue research at the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives</td>
<td>September 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matachines dance</td>
<td>Performance of Los Matachines de San Lorenzo El Rancho de Las Golondrinas</td>
<td>04/10/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent Monkman and Lucy Lippard</td>
<td>Conversation, Peters Gallery, SF, NM</td>
<td>16/01/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Bandolier National Monument</td>
<td>Visit area of significant Native American heritage</td>
<td>24/04/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Silver City, NM</td>
<td>Visit small town to observe visual culture</td>
<td>31/05/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit the Gila Wilderness</td>
<td>Visit area of significant Native American heritage</td>
<td>02/06/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with anonymous Native Artist</td>
<td>Santa Fe</td>
<td>16/07/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Mesa Verde, CO</td>
<td>Visit area of significant Native American heritage</td>
<td>08/08/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 95th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 15-21, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Sam Minkler</td>
<td>At Indian Art Market</td>
<td>18/08/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Buffalo Bill Museum, and Denver Art Museum, Denver, CO</td>
<td>Visit area of significant Native American heritage</td>
<td>08/11/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo Feast Day</td>
<td>Santo Domingo dance</td>
<td>25/12/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begin research for Standing Rock photo exhibition</td>
<td>In collaboration with Kieffer Nail from the MIAC</td>
<td>February 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Chaco Cultural National Historic Park</td>
<td>Visit area of significant Native American heritage</td>
<td>29/03/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Entering Standing Rock: The Protest Against the Dakota Access Pipeline</em></td>
<td>Opening at the MMA</td>
<td>17/04/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group meeting to discuss Navajo and photographs</td>
<td>The Navajo Nation Museum</td>
<td>06/07/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article about the recovery of the Navajo Peace Treaty group photograph</td>
<td>The Navajo Times, by Donovan Quintero</td>
<td>28/07/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Research</td>
<td>Photograph in places and stores in SF</td>
<td>19/08/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 96th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 14-20, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal interview, Cara Romero</td>
<td>During Indian Market</td>
<td>17/08/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Interview with Nina Sanders</td>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>04/09/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal interviews</td>
<td>Interviews with ten Native American artists during Indian Market and afterwards</td>
<td>August and September 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begin photo archive research</td>
<td>For the upcoming exhibition <em>Return to Diné Bikéyah: The 150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Navajo Peace Treaty</em></td>
<td>September 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend the NM Governor’s Awards for Excellence in the Arts</td>
<td>In support of Will Wilson’s acceptance of this award</td>
<td>15/09/17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Rapheal Begay</td>
<td>Ongoing work with Rapheal</td>
<td>07/02/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening reception</td>
<td><em>Return to Diné Bikéyah: The 150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Navajo Peace Treaty</em></td>
<td>01/06/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum of the American Indian</td>
<td>Saw the <em>Americans</em> exhibition</td>
<td>31/07/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 97th Indian Art Market</td>
<td>See the market, go to events, meet artists</td>
<td>August 13-19, 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography and Navajo research team presentation</td>
<td>Seminar at the New Mexico History Museum (Romanek, Denetdale, Abelbeck, Wilson and Begay)</td>
<td>18/08/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography and Navajo research team presentation</td>
<td>Diné studies conference, Diné College, the Navajo Nation (Romanek, Denetdale, Abelbeck, Wilson and Begay)</td>
<td>26/10/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begin photo archive research</td>
<td>For the publication <em>Publication of Double Take: Does This Viral Photo Mean What You Think It Does?</em> with part of the Photography and Navajo research team (Romanek, Denetdale, Abelbeck)</td>
<td>December 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography and Navajo research team presentation</td>
<td>part of the Photography and Navajo research team (Romanek, Denetdale, Abelbeck) present at the 20th annual American Indian Studies Association conference at UNM</td>
<td>08/02/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entering Standing Rock: The Protest Against the Dakota Access Pipeline exhibition</td>
<td>Opening reception at MIAC, further collaborations with Native photographers</td>
<td>23/02/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Research</td>
<td>Photograph in places and stores in SF</td>
<td>10/05/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication of <em>Double Take: Does This Viral Photo Mean What You Think It Does?</em></td>
<td>In El Palacio Magazine</td>
<td>30/05/19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations:

BM: British Museum
NMAI: National Museum of the American Indian
NARA: National Archives and Records Administration
NAA: National Anthropological Archives
MMA: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology
UNM: University of New Mexico
MIAC: Museum of Indian Arts and Culture