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## Article Title: Capturing the Lakota Spirit: Photographers at the Red Cloud & Spotted Tail Agencies

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Article Summary: Nineteenth-century photographers specialized in portraits but also sold views of general interest. On their way to take pictures of the Black Hills gold rush, eight photographers visited the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies between 1874 and 1877. The article includes short biographies of the photographers, details of their work at the agencies, and locations of archives of their agency photographs.

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Photographs / Images: Red Cloud Agency about 1877 (2-page view of photo attributed to D S Mitchell, but probably by Charles Howard); He Dog, *Sunka Bloka*, headman of the Soreback Band, Oglala, 1877 (D S Mitchell); inset advertisement for Indian portraits by Mitchell & McGowan on the back of a stereoview; Thomas Wilhelm; view inside the stockade surrounding the store of agency trader J W Dear, Red Cloud Agency, 1874 (Thomas Wilhelm); "Red Cloud Agency Issuing Day," October 1875 (Albert E Guerin); 2 views of "Indian Chiefs & Interpreters," Black Hills, Dakota Territory, July 1875 (Albert E Guerin); inset Hamilton & Smith imprint on a carte-de-visite, Red Cloud Agency, about 1876; Red Cloud, 1876 (Stanley J Morrow); "Spotted Tail's Ordination," Red Cloud Agency, October 24, 1876 (Stanley J Morrow); James H Hamilton and family, about 1882; "Sioux Belles" (J H Hamilton); Two Strike, 1877 (J H Hamilton); Touch the Clouds, 1877 (J H Hamilton); Two Strike and Family, 1877 (J H Hamilton); "Beef Issue at Spotted Tail's Agency," Nebraska, 1877 (Charles Howard); Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, October 1877 (Charles Howard); David Rodocker; Sioux Village on the White River (Charles Howard); "Indian Village near the Red Cloud Agency," 1877 (David Rodocker); Red Cloud Agency, 1877 (David Rodocker); inset D S Mitchell imprint on a carte-de-visite, Cheyenne; "First Photograph Gallery in the Black Hills," 1876 (D S Mitchell); Little Wolf, 1877 (D S Mitchell); Bad Dog, 1877 (D S Mitchell); Iron Crow, 1877 (D S Mitchell); "Sioux Squaw and Papoose in Cradle" (J H Hamilton); 2-page view of Red Cloud Agency, 1877 (D S Mitchell); "Photographers Waiting to Record History," 1899 (D S Mitchell)

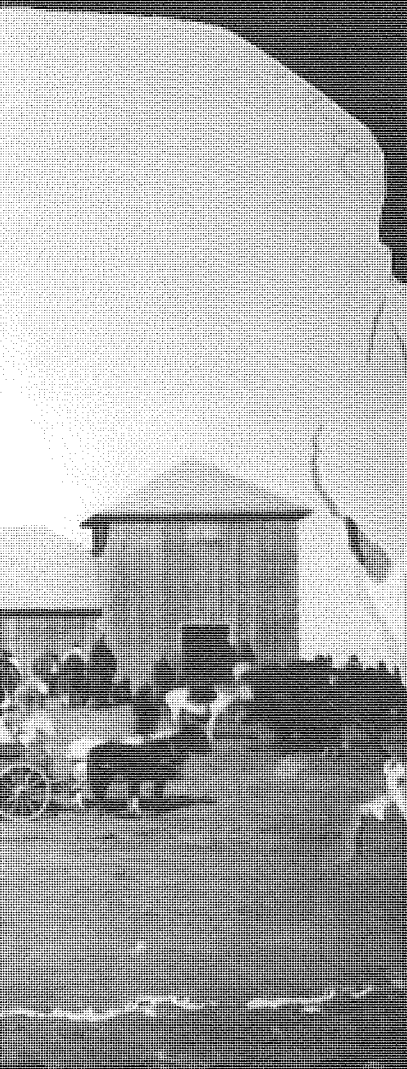
*Photographers at the  
Red Cloud & Spotted Tail*

Front view of Red Cloud Agency.  
June 10, 1876.





*Agencies*



# CAPTURING • THE • LAKOTA SPIRIT

PRESERVED AMONG THE PAPERS OF CAPTAIN JOHN G. BOURKE  
In the archives of the Nebraska State Historical Society is a collection of Indian portraits taken by D. S. Mitchell. These striking photographs, many printed as stereoscopic cards, depict prominent Oglala and Arapahoe leaders from the Red Cloud Agency in northwestern Nebraska just after the close of the Sioux War of 1876-77.

by EDWARD D. DICKSON III

Mitchell's series of portraits is surprisingly complete. The famous Oglala chief Red Cloud is included, as are less well known agency headmen including Little Wound, Young Man Afraid of His Horses, and American Horse. The series also includes the first portraits of the "hostile" leaders, including He Dog, Iron Crow, Little Big Man, and Little Hawk, taken just months after their surrender at the Red Cloud Agency. Given the reluctance of many Native Americans to being photographed at all, the breadth of this collection is remarkable.

Although the Mitchell portraits are one of the most extensive collections of Lakota portraits known from the period, they are not the only images from the Red Cloud Agency and nearby Spotted Tail Agency. At least eight photographers visited the agencies between 1874 and 1877, and their cameras recorded an important glimpse of the Lakota at the beginning of their transition to life on the reservation.

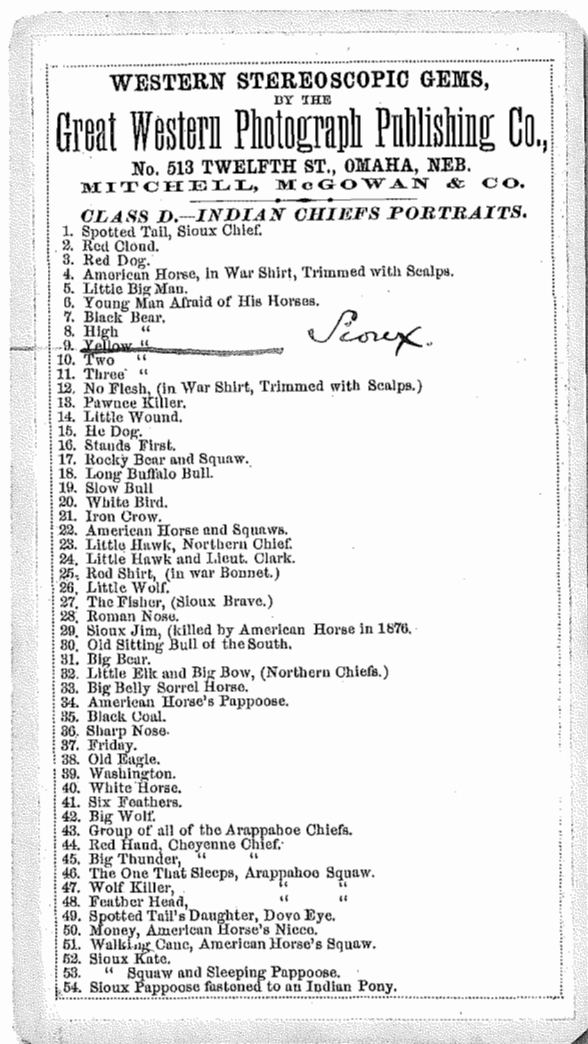
The heart of the photography business in the nineteenth century was portraiture. Businessmen, farmers, and families all passed through the photographer's studio to have their images made for relatives and friends. But a gallery owner could expect to sell only a few copies of each portrait. To survive, most studios had to be located in towns with sufficient population to make portraiture economically viable, and they sometimes supplemented their income by selling multiple copies of a few images with wider appeal. Portraits of local dignitaries, interesting scenery, and notable town events were often on display and offered for sale in a photographer's studio.

A few entrepreneurs dreamed of reaching a national market. Some made and distributed packages of stereoscopic views. Others sold negatives to larger companies such as E. & H. T. Anthony, who had the manufacturing, marketing, and distribution networks to mass produce and profitably sell views on a national scale. To create images with this mass appeal, some nineteenth century artists traveled to exotic locations. Views of Europe

Page 3: **He Dog, Sunka Bloka**, headman of the Soreback Band, Oglala. D. S. Mitchell, 1877. NSHS RG955-7

Pages 2-3: **Red Cloud Agency about 1877**. Attributed to D. S. Mitchell, but probably by Charles Howard. Courtesy Wyoming State Archives

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Indian portraits advertised by Mitchell & McGowan on the back of a stereoview. NSHS RG2955-17b

and the Holy Land were particularly popular, as were images of the Western American frontier. Portraits of Indians were particularly saleable.<sup>1</sup>

The new mining settlements in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory proved to be a popular destination for photographers in the late 1870s. William Illingworth and Albert Guerin were the first to come, accompanying government surveys into the region in 1874 and 1875 respectively. Others followed, including Stanley J. Morrow, D. S. Mitchell, F. Jay Haynes and David Rodocker, who traveled to the Black Hills at their own expense to produce stereoscopic views they hoped to market widely. In 1878, Albert Pollock opened one of the first permanent studios in the Black Hills, advertising stereoscopic views "to send to friends in the East."<sup>2</sup>

Several of those itinerant photographers reached

the Black Hills by way of the road north from Sidney, Nebraska, which was served by the Union Pacific Railroad. The Sidney-Deadwood trail took them directly through the Red Cloud Agency, just west of present Crawford, Nebraska, predecessor to the modern Pine Ridge Reservation and home to an estimated six thousand Oglala, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho. It was the central distribution point for food, supplies, and annuity goods promised to the tribes by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Forty miles east was the Spotted Tail Agency for the Upper Brulé and predecessor to the Rosebud Reservation. The two agencies offered excellent opportunities for Black-Hills-bound photographers to produce Indian portraits.

The upper White River valley of northwestern Nebraska had long been a favorite wintering grounds for the Oglala and Brulé. In 1871 the original Brulé agency, Whetstone, on the Missouri River, was dismantled and moved west. It eventually took root on Beaver Creek east of the present town of Chadron and became known as the Spotted Tail Agency. In August 1873 the Oglalas followed their Lakota relatives to the region and the new Red Cloud Agency was built on a hill overlooking the White River, with dramatic sandstone buttes as the backdrop.<sup>3</sup>

The Oglalas' first winter in Nebraska was tense. The new agent at Red Cloud, Dr. John J. Saville, found himself isolated, surrounded by a culture he did not fully understand. Attempts to count his native wards resulted in confrontations with the Oglala leadership, and conditions deteriorated further with the arrival of northern bands openly hostile to the increasing white encroachment. In February 1874, while Dr. Saville was visiting at the Spotted Tail Agency, a warrior climbed the Red Cloud agency stockade in the middle of the night and shot the clerk. Panicked, Saville hurriedly called for troops.

The following month, sixteen companies of infantry and cavalry arrived to establish military posts, Camp Robinson near the Red Cloud Agency and Camp Sheridan near Spotted Tail. Over the next four years army officers and Indian Office officials struggled, often at cross purposes, to resolve what they perceived as "the Sioux problem."<sup>4</sup>



Courtesy U. S. Military History Institute

**THOMAS WILHELM** was the first photographer to visit the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies. He arrived in May 1874, just two months after the establishment of the adjacent military posts. An Army officer and amateur photographer, First Lt. Wilhelm, Eighth Infantry, made the first visual record of the Lakota at their new agencies.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1840, Wilhelm was the son of a carpenter, a trade he seemed destined to follow until the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1861 at age twenty-one, he enlisted in the Sixth Pennsylvania Rifles and within four years had risen to the rank of colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Artillery. He later received brevet ranks for bravery at the Battle of the Wilderness and at Cold Harbor, where he was wounded. After the war Wilhelm was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Eighth Infantry. A talented officer, he served for more than eleven years as regimental adjutant.<sup>5</sup>

In early May 1874 Lieutenant Wilhelm was granted permission to visit the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies, where five companies of



## *I hope if I return in one piece*

his regiment were already stationed at adjoining camps Robinson and Sheridan. Wilhelm had by this time developed a keen interest in photography, unusual in an era when the art was almost exclusively the pursuit of trained professionals.

Since travel near the agencies in small parties was dangerous, Lieutenant Wilhelm joined Maj. Thaddeus Stanton, a Department of the Platte paymaster, and his cavalry escort at Fort D. A. Russell near Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory. Also making the trip was Jules Tavernier, a thirty-year-old French artist from *Harper's Weekly* who was traveling across the West making sketches. "I will be crossing one of the wildest areas around here," Tavernier wrote in a letter home just before leaving Chey-

enne for the agencies. "No artist has ever been there since it would be impossible to venture alone in the midst of Indians. I hope if I return in one piece that I will earn a small fortune with my sketches."<sup>6</sup>

Wilhelm and Tavernier left Cheyenne with Major Stanton on May 13, heading north to Fort Laramie. At Kelly's Rancho Wilhelm photographed the nearby rocky bluffs, to the delight of several native women and their children "who, however, declined to stand in the field of view." Wilhelm encountered distrust of his camera repeatedly.

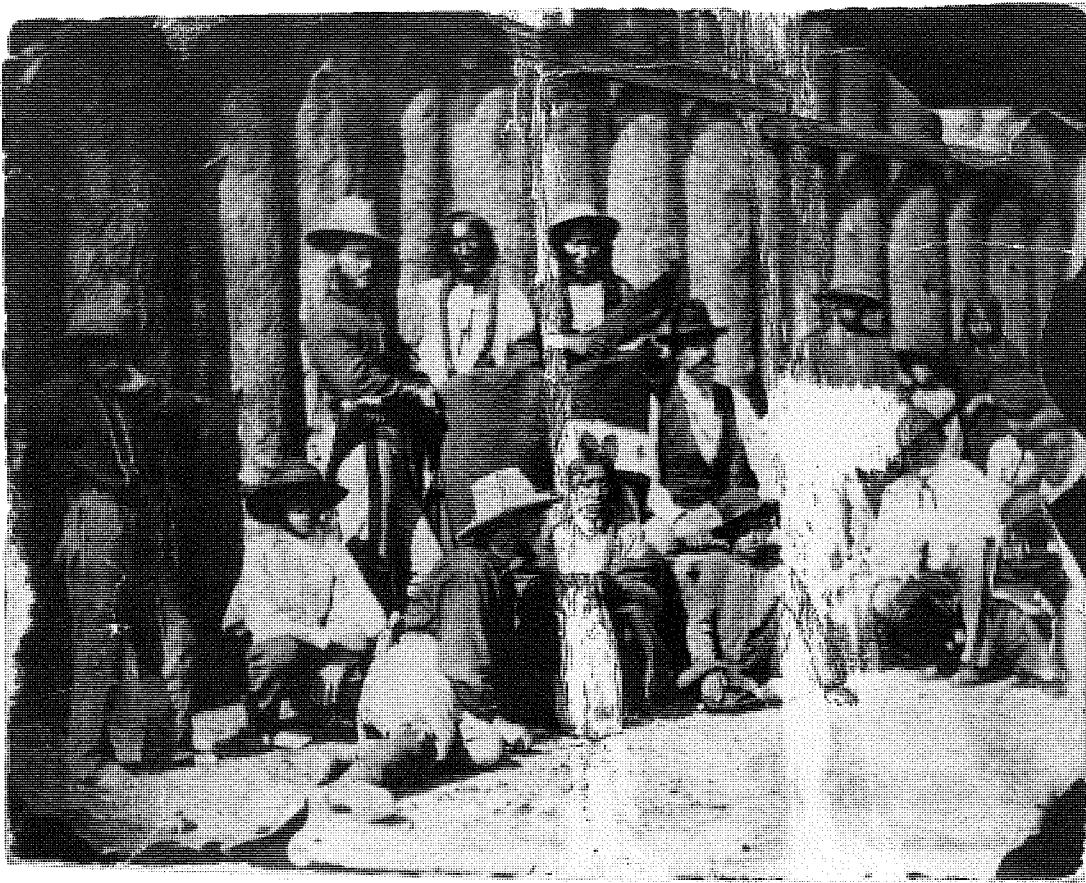
From Fort Laramie the party first went to Fort Fetterman to pay the troops there, then returned to Fort Laramie and, on May 18, departed for the agencies with Company E, Second Cavalry as their new escort. They arrived at Camp Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency on May 20.<sup>7</sup>

The following day Wilhelm visited Red Cloud's village. Agency trader John W. Dear and another Eighth Infantry officer, 2nd Lt. William H. Carter, were his guides and made formal introductions in the villages. In his diary Wilhelm recorded his observations about Lakota culture as well as the challenges he found in trying to obtain photographs of the Oglala. He encountered similar difficulties among the Brulé at the Spotted Tail Agency when he arrived there on May 25. In early June, after two weeks at the agencies, Wilhelm returned to Fort D. A. Russell, presumably bringing back many photographic views.

One week after his return orders arrived transferring the

Eighth Infantry to Arizona, and Lt. Wilhelm soon left for his new assignment. He remained in the regiment until his retirement in 1899. He died in California in 1922.

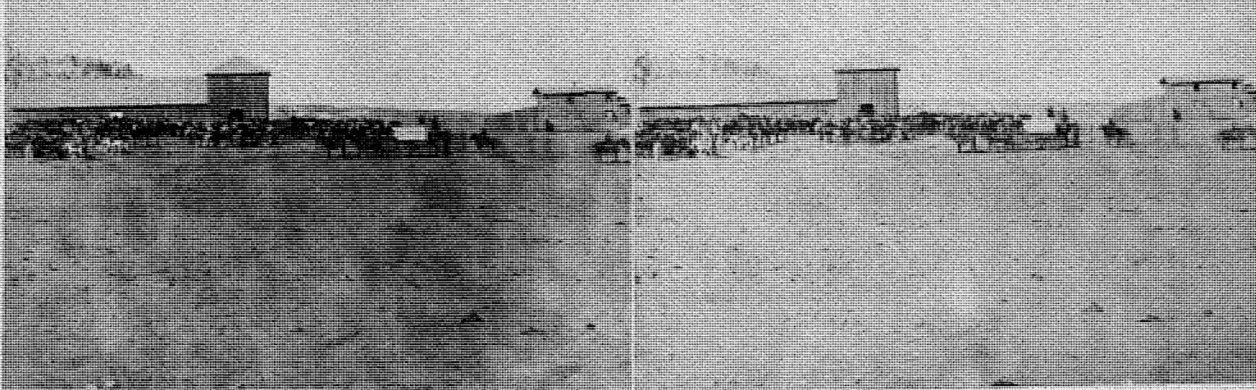
Only two examples of his work from the Red Cloud Agency have survived, tintypes given to Lieutenant Carter in appreciation for his assistance in securing the images. Carter later donated the photographs to the National Archives. The final disposition of Wilhelm's negatives is not known.<sup>8</sup>



Inside the stockade surrounding the store of agency trader J. W. Dear, Red Cloud Agency. Identified photo subjects include: Lt. William H. Carter (standing, second from the left); Red Leaf, headman, Brulé Soreback Band (standing, third from left); Willie Hunter, mixed-race interpreter, later known as William Garnett (squatting at Carter's right); *Harper's Weekly* artist Jules Tavernier (reclining); John W. Dear (seated, center); and Lt. James Buchanan (front row, squatting second from right). Thomas Wilhelm, 1874. Courtesy Carter Collection, National Archives

*that I will earn a small fortune with my sketches.*

"Red Cloud Agency Issuing Day," October 1875. Albert E. Guérin.  
Courtesy Jennewein Collection, Dakota Wesleyan University



**ALBERT E. GUERIN**, a St. Louis photographer, accompanied an 1875 expedition to the Black Hills, deep within the heart of the Great Sioux Reservation, led by Prof. Walter P. Jenney of the New York School of Mines. Besides a series of views of the Black Hills, Guérin also made at least one photograph of the Red Cloud Agency, where the expedition disbanded.

The expedition, escorted by four hundred soldiers under the command of Lt. Col. Richard I. Dodge of the Twenty-third Infantry, was organized to confirm the discovery of gold the previous year by a military expedition under the command of Lt. Col. George A. Custer. Custer's expedition, too, had included a photographer, William H. Illingworth of St. Paul, who produced a series of stereoscopic views for public sale.<sup>9</sup>

Born in 1848 in Dublin, Ireland, Albert Edwin Guérin immigrated to the U. S. with his family as a young boy. By 1860 they were living in St. Louis, where Albert's father worked as a clerk. Albert was enrolled as a student at Bryant, Stratton & Carpenter's Commercial College in St. Louis by the age of twenty, probably learning the basics of business and accounting to become a clerk like his father.

Two years later, however, the *St. Louis Business Directory* listed him as a photographer. His older brother, Fitz, also a photographer, worked for



"Indian Chiefs & Interpreters," Black Hills, Dakota Territory, July 1875. Albert E. Guérin. Courtesy  
Jennewein Collection, Dakota Wesleyan University

the long-time St. Louis photographer John H. Fitzgibbons, best known to western historians for his daguerreotypes of the 1851 Indian delegation to Washington D.C. Albert found a position with the studio of John A. Scholten on Olive Street. In 1875 he left St. Louis for Fort Laramie to join the Black Hills Expedition as the official photographer.<sup>10</sup>

As the expedition left Fort Laramie on May 25 Colonel Dodge noted in his diary that the photo-



**"Indian Chiefs & Interpreters," Black Hills, Dakota Territory,  
July 1875.** Albert E. Guerin. Courtesy Jennewein Collection,  
Dakota Wesleyan University





grapher had not yet arrived. "Left Corpl, 6 men and wagon to bring up Phot[ographe]r and mail," he wrote. 2nd Lt. John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, who accompanied the column as topographer, noted in his diary that the photographer was reportedly sick. Guerin finally appeared at Fort Laramie, departed with a supply train on June 13, and arrived at the expedition's camp near Custer City, Dakota Territory, ten days later. A newspaper correspondent with the expedition wrote that within days of his arrival Guerin was busy taking photographs.

He photographed the creeks and hills as well as the miners beginning operations. On July 22 a government commission sent to open negotiations with the Lakota for the Black Hills passed through their camp. Guerin succeeded in making at least two negatives of Red Dog and the other eleven Indians from the Red Cloud Agency traveling with the commissioners. Shortly afterward the photographer accompanied a small party climbing Harney Peak, taking at least eight photographs of their endeavor. He also photographed the Gordon Stockade and Devils Tower.<sup>11</sup>

The expedition departed the Black Hills that fall, arriving at Camp Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency on the morning of October 9. "It was ration day for the Indians," Colonel Dodge wrote in his official report of the expedition, "and hundreds were collected, in their holiday costume, making a picturesque sight." Guerin took at least one photograph of the agency, showing considerable activity outside the warehouse and issue room. A second photograph of the agency from 1875 may also be Guerin's.<sup>12</sup>

The Black Hills expedition was officially disbanded at Camp Robinson. Upon returning to St. Louis Guerin apparently sold his negatives to Robert Benecke who was already marketing stereoview trips down the Mississippi, through Indian Territory, and along the Union Pacific Railroad.

Guerin meanwhile, continued working as a photographer with various galleries in St. Louis until 1879. That year he formed a partnership with Julius C. Strauss, but after just a few weeks together he sold out his interests and apparently retired from photography. Guerin died of pneumonia in St. Louis in 1889. While the final disposition of Guerin's Black Hills negatives is not known, a nearly complete set of his original stereoviews is preserved in the Jennewein Collection at Dakota Wesleyan University, with a few additional examples in the collections of the South Dakota Historical Society and the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>13</sup>



Hamilton & Smith imprint on a carte-de-visite, Red Cloud Agency, about 1876. NSHS RG2955-67

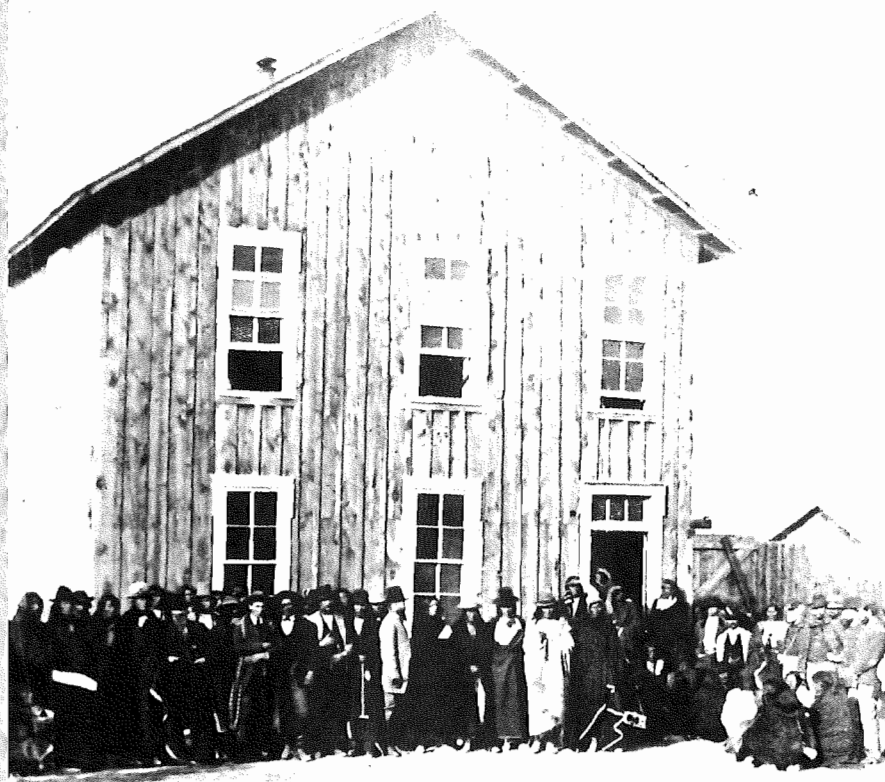
**C. L. HAMILTON** established a temporary photography studio in Sidney, Nebraska, on the Union Pacific Railroad, in December 1875. The local newspaper said Hamilton was "proficient in the art, and guarantees to supply his patrons with gems, photographs, etc. etc. of superior class, at moderate rates." Only two months later Hamilton closed his studio and headed north "for the agencies and Custer City." Presumably he passed through the Red Cloud Agency with his camera in mid- to late February 1876.<sup>14</sup>

Charles Lewis Hamilton was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, about 1837. The family moved to Macon County, Missouri, about 1841, where he grew to adulthood. Violence in the area during the Civil War forced the young man and several of his brothers to look for opportunities farther west. By



**Red Cloud.** Stanley J. Morrow, 1876. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

**"Spotted Tail's Ordination," Red Cloud Agency, Oct. 24, 1876.** Stanley J. Morrow. Courtesy South Dakota Historical Society



November 1863, Hamilton had opened a photographic gallery in Sioux City, Iowa, probably in partnership with his brother, James. By 1866 he had opened a second studio at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, where he made cartes-de-visite portraits of the soldiers and Indians in the area. In August 1869 he became the post trader. The 1870 census for Fort Randall shows his younger brother, Allen, working in the store as a clerk, and another brother, Grant, serving as post photographer. In November 1870 Hamilton lost his tradership to James H. Pratt, a partner in the influential freighting company of Pratt & Ferris.<sup>15</sup>

In February 1876 Charles Hamilton headed for the Black Hills, apparently stopping at the Red Cloud Agency. Several photographs by an unknown photographer are known from this period, including views of the Red Cloud Agency and Camp Robinson, but none can be positively attributed to Hamilton. One surviving portrait bears the imprint of "Hamilton & Smith's Gallery of Art, Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska." If this is the work of C. L. Hamilton, it suggests that he may have remained at the agency for some time.

In the Black Hills Hamilton became involved in various mining interests. He filed on several

claims and in 1890 helped organize the Black Horse Mining Company. His date of death is not known. Small collections of Hamilton's Fort Randall images are preserved at the U. S. Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

**STANLEY J. MORROW** of Yankton visited the Red Cloud Agency in the fall of 1876 just as the army was taking over operation of the agencies in the wake of the Custer disaster. In his stereoscopic series "Photographic Gems of the Great Northwest," Morrow included several important Oglala and Brulé images, including a striking portrait of Red Cloud.

Born in 1843 in Richland County, Ohio, Morrow began his career in photography during the Civil War, when he apparently volunteered to work for Mathew Brady, from whom he learned the basics of the art. He was discharged from the army in September 1864 and returned home to Wisconsin. Shortly after marrying Morrow and his pregnant wife moved to Yankton, Dakota Territory. By January 1869, he had opened his Photograph and Ambrotype Gallery in Yankton and was producing portraits for local residents.<sup>16</sup>

Morrow's passion, however, was working as a traveling photographer. Within months of opening his studio he made a six-week trip to Sioux Falls to photograph the local scenery, and he visited the Santee Reservation to make some of his first Indian photographs. Each summer for the next five years Morrow traveled to military forts, Indian agencies, and small towns along the Missouri River to make portraits and sell stereoscopic views. In 1872 he took his growing collection of photographs on the lecture circuit. His series of Indian portraits was described by one viewer as "the largest and finest ever taken in the United States."<sup>17</sup>

In the summer of 1876, with the continued excitement over gold in the Black Hills, he decided to head west, leaving Yankton on July 13 with his brother-in-law. By late August he had set up his tent studio in Deadwood and was photographing the miners and making short trips to capture images of the diggings and surrounding towns. The approach of Brig. Gen. George Crook's exhausted troops from the summer campaign against the northern bands afforded Morrow the unforeseen opportunity to photograph the soldiers and to stage scenes depicting them butchering



horses to keep the command from starving on their weary trek home. He also made group portraits of the expedition's officer corps.<sup>18</sup>

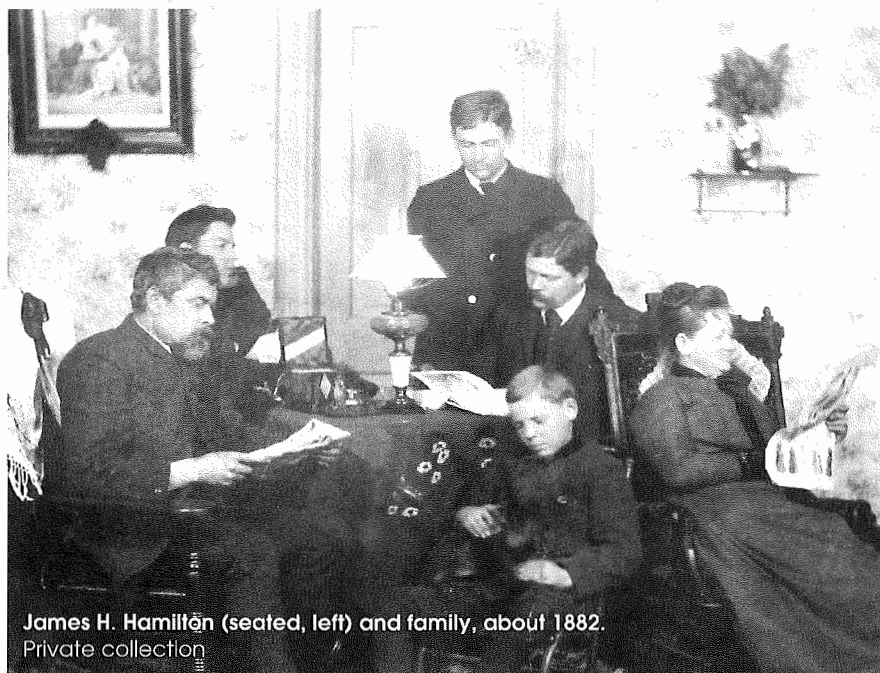
From the Black Hills Morrow traveled south to the Red Cloud Agency, arriving on October 23, one day after General Mackenzie's troops had surrounded and arrested the villages of Red Cloud and Red Leaf. In an effort to undercut Red Cloud's influence among the Oglala, General Crook had named Spotted Tail head chief over both the Brulé and the Oglala at the two agencies. "I arrived there just in time to witness and photograph the ordination of Spotted Tail as chief of the Sioux, by General Crook, who had gone on in advance of the army immediately after reaching the hills," Morrow wrote in a letter to his wife. "Red Cloud's band was surrounded the night previous to my arrival here, and he with eight of his head men were confined to the guard house at the post, but were finally released. He seems to take his disposition rather hard, but claims that it will make no difference to his people."<sup>19</sup>

Morrow appears to have remained at Camp Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency for over a month. Among the Indian portraits he made is one of Red Cloud, possibly taken outside J. W. Dear's trading store on December 8, 1876. "Through the kindness of the Indian trader, Mr. Dear," Morrow wrote, "I was enabled to procure some good negatives of Red Cloud, today, it being the first time he ever gave a sitting to a photographer." Actually, Red Cloud had posed several times earlier in Washington, D.C., but Morrow was the first to capture a portrait of the famous Oglala chief at his home agency. His list of stereoviews includes images such as "Ogallallah Chiefs (Sioux) in council costume," probably taken during his visit to the Red Cloud Agency. His portraits of Spotted Tail, Two Strike, Fast Bear, and Crazy in the Lodge probably date from his visit to the Spotted Tail Agency the following year after it was removed to the Missouri River.<sup>20</sup>

Stanley Morrow returned to Yankton in mid-December 1876 and continued his photographic trips on the Missouri River for several more years. He also expanded his operations, establishing branch galleries at Fort Keogh and Fort Custer, Montana, and he accompanied the reburial party to the Little Bighorn Battlefield in 1879. But with his wife's health failing, he left Yankton in 1883 and appears to have left the photography business. Morrow died in Dallas, Texas, in 1921.<sup>21</sup>

Though most of his negatives were lost in a fire, a large collection of Morrow's original prints,

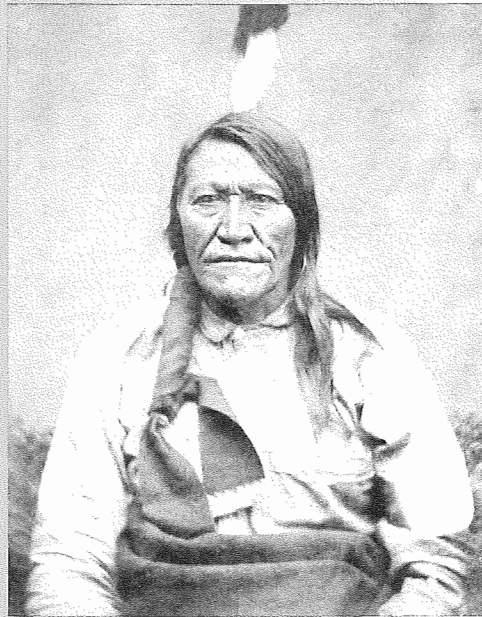
including more than five hundred stereoscopic cards, is preserved at the W. H. Over Museum at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion. The Denver Public Library has a complete set of his views of General Crook's expedition. Many other examples of his work are also known in museum and private collections. A brief biography of Morrow was published in 1956, but a thorough study of his work, especially his important Indian portraits, remains to be undertaken.



James H. Hamilton (seated, left) and family, about 1882.  
Private collection

**JAMES H. HAMILTON** traveled to the Red Cloud Agency in the late summer of 1877. The surrender of Crazy Horse and the northern leaders that spring had propelled the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies into the national spotlight, and the intense media exposure caught the attention of photographers. At least five are known to have traveled to the agencies that year.

The name of the first photographer that year remains a mystery. Newspaper correspondent Robert E. Strahorn visited Camp Robinson in late January 1877 as the first bands of northern Oglala and Cheyenne were beginning to surrender. He noted that a small log-cabin studio was in operation at the garrison near the post trader's store and was doing a good business producing portraits for the natives. No surviving photographs from this studio have been identified, and no evidence indicates how long it operated.<sup>22</sup>



**Two Strike.** James H. Hamilton, 1877. Courtesy Princeton University Library

sell. In the fall of 1870 he visited the Omaha Agency and adjacent Winnebago Agency, producing a series of outdoor views and Indian portraits. Three years later he spent ten days at Sioux Falls, in Dakota Territory, producing stereoscopic images of this local landmark.<sup>25</sup>

Part of the driving force to expand his offerings was the growing competition in Sioux City. His primary rival for Indian photographs was Byron H.

Although Hamilton had made several earlier photographic trips to Indian agencies in eastern Nebraska and Dakota in the early 1870s, his journey to northwestern Nebraska and the Black Hills was the most extensive he had ever attempted. Hamilton recorded a number of stereoscopic images among the Oglala and Brulé, especially at the Spotted Tail Agency.

James H. Hamilton was born about 1833 in Wayne County, Kentucky. The family moved to Macon County, Missouri, about 1841 where, at the age of twenty-six, he married. The coming of the Civil War changed his family's life. His home and farm buildings were burned, apparently because of his sympathy for the northern cause. Rather than remain in an area of growing violence, Hamilton moved to Sioux City, Iowa, where he apparently joined his older brother, Charles, in operating a photography studio. By mid-1864, James Hamilton had moved across the Missouri to Nebraska Territory, settling in Omaha, where he opened a studio. There, in addition to portraiture, Hamilton also made his first Indian portraits.<sup>23</sup>

In August 1867 Hamilton hired a young artist named William Henry Jackson to whom he sold the Omaha studio a year later. Jackson continued producing Indian portraits and went on to become one of America's premiere nineteenth century western landscape photographers. No doubt his year working with Hamilton was an important first step in Jackson's early photographic training.<sup>24</sup>

Hamilton returned to Sioux City, where he opened a new studio in the fall of 1868. In addition to producing portraits of local residents Hamilton also began traveling with his new stereoscopic camera to create landscapes and Indian views to



**"Sioux Belles," J. H. Hamilton.** Private collection



**Touch the Clouds.** James H. Hamilton, 1877. Private collection

Gurnsey, who had opened a studio in the city in the spring of 1870 with William Illingworth. That summer Gurnsey & Illingworth succeeded in photographing Spotted Tail's Brulé delegation from the Whetstone Agency and the Hunkpapa delegation from the Standing Rock Agency as they returned from Washington, D.C. Illingworth also made a trip to Sioux Falls and the famous pipestone quarries. Gurnsey began advertising in the local paper, calling his studio the "Headquarters for Stereoscopic Views and Indian Pictures."<sup>26</sup>

Not to be outdone, Hamilton took on a partner, Austrian-born artist John Kodylek. Under the name



Hamilton & Kodylek they began publishing Hamilton's Omaha and Winnebago images as a series of stereoviews called "Photographic Illustrations of Indian Character." Hamilton also advertised in the newspaper, offering "Views of Sioux City and Indian Portraits for sale." The intense competition finally ended in December 1871, when Hamilton bought out Gurnsey's gallery. The local paper reported that Hamilton obtained Gurnsey's "furniture and material," presumably including his negatives. Copies of many of Gurnsey's Indian photographs later appear with Hamilton's imprint.<sup>27</sup>

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills produced intense excitement in Sioux City, jumping off point for one of many routes to the diggings. The first large company of miners to go to the Black Hills was organized in Sioux City in 1874, and within two years many residents were leaving for the mines or were busy selling or transporting supplies.

By the spring of 1877 J. H. Hamilton also was considering a trip to the region. "He conceived the idea that it would be a good business venture to go out into this new country and secure photographs of frontier life in the Black Hills," his son later recalled, "and that at some time, these photographs would become valuable."<sup>28</sup>

Hamilton considered traveling to the Black Hills by way of Cheyenne and Fort Laramie, and in March 1877 he wrote to the commanding officer of the post requesting permission to open a temporary photographic studio there. Major Evans granted the request provided he found his own building and agreed to abide by army regulations while on the military reservation. "You had better make a visit here first," the officer recommended, "and see how you like the place." By the following month, however, Hamilton was considering other routes to the Black Hills and perhaps even venturing north to the Yellowstone River as well.<sup>29</sup>

Ultimately Hamilton decided to visit Red Cloud. "The intention of my father in going to Red Cloud Agency was to obtain photographs of the fort, the agency, the noted officers of the army, the leading scouts, and the leading chiefs of the different Indian tribes," his son later explained. The local newspaper failed to note when Hamilton left Sioux City for the agencies, but his son implied it was late summer, perhaps August, 1877. Hamilton took the Union Pacific to Cheyenne, where he joined a train of freight wagons headed north to the Red Cloud Agency. A short time later his eldest son, Charlie, arrived to assist him.<sup>30</sup>



**Two-Strike and Family.** James H. Hamilton, 1877. Courtesy Princeton University Library

After taking some photographs at the Red Cloud Agency Hamilton moved to the Spotted Tail Agency, where he took the majority of his photographs, in mid August 1877. "This was a beautiful place, located on a plateau, with a beautiful little river running to the west of the barracks," Charlie Hamilton wrote of nearby Camp Sheridan. "There were only 400 or 500 soldiers stationed there. My father pursued the same tactics at Spotted Tail Agency as he had at Red Cloud, and secured negatives of the leading officers of the Army, and of the Indian Chiefs and leading Scouts."<sup>31</sup>

Having obtained a supply of excellent Indian views, Hamilton and his son were preparing to



leave for the Black Hills during the first week of September, when events at the agencies delayed their plans. On September 4 the Army moved to surround Crazy Horse's village, and the famous Oglala war leader escaped to Spotted Tail. He was returned to Camp Robinson the following day, but was fatally bayoneted during the struggle to place him in the guardhouse. On September 8 the body of the esteemed Oglala was brought to Spotted Tail for burial, creating intense excitement among the northern bands there.

Hamilton and his son left for the Black Hills shortly afterward and photographed views of the mines and boomtowns. He apparently arrived back in Sioux City in late October 1877 and created a new series called "Stereoscopic Views of the Northwest," which included many of his earlier images from the Omaha and Winnebago Agencies, some of the Gurnsey & Illingworth Indian portraits, and his new views from the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies and the Black Hills. Hamilton's eight-page catalog advertising "Special Wholesale Rates to Dealers" listed 230 separate images available, some of which remain yet to be discovered.<sup>32</sup>

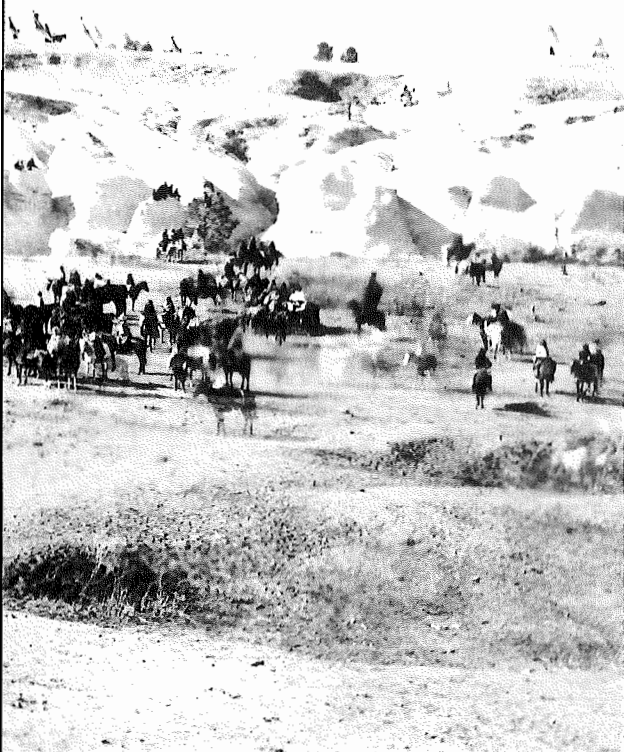
Hamilton remained in Sioux City managing his farm and operating his photography studio until his death in 1897. The fate of his large collection

of negatives is unknown. Examples of his stereo-views are in collections, including the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress.

**CHARLES HOWARD**, the third photographer known to have visited the agencies in 1877, was an enlisted soldier. A private in the Fourth Infantry, he owned his own camera. Assigned to a military mapping crew as photographer, Private Howard visited the agencies shortly after the death of Crazy Horse.

Born about 1842 in Rockingham County, Virginia, Howard enlisted in the army in 1875 and was assigned to the Fourth Infantry band at Fort Bridger, Wyoming Territory. In June 1877 he was ordered on detached service with Capt. William S. Stanton, engineer for the Department of the Platte, to accompany a field crew surveying roads within the military department. The expedition spent four months mapping over thirteen hundred miles of road. According to Captain Stanton, Private Howard used his personal camera at his own expense, securing "a good set of views, embracing all the military posts visited, characteristic Indian scenes,





Indian camps, and the most striking scenery." In a letter to a friend Howard wrote he had been successful in making a good collection of negatives, "but had a pretty rough trip of it."<sup>33</sup>

Captain Stanton's survey party arrived at Camp Robinson on September 30, just three weeks after the death of Crazy Horse. Lakota and Arapahoe leaders were absent from the agency, visiting Washington, D.C., to discuss the proposed removal of the agencies to the Missouri River. During the four days that Stanton worked at Camp Robinson Howard took his most important photographs of the expedition. In addition to images of encampments near the Red Cloud Agency he apparently made a quick trip to Spotted Tail Agency, capturing views of the beef issue, of Brulé headmen in front of their lodges, and a single photograph of Crazy Horse's low scaffold grave. While not equipped to produce studio portraits, he did make a few outdoors, including the last known

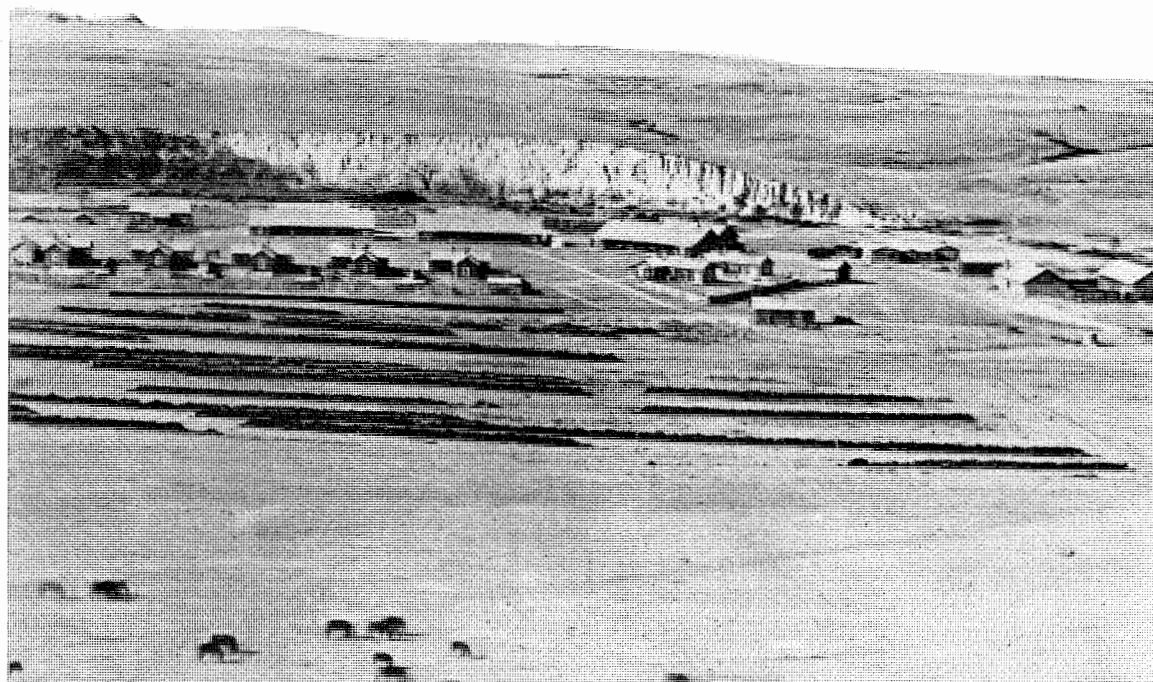
**Left: "Beef issue at Spotted Tail's Agency, Neb."**  
Charles Howard, 1877. Courtesy Princeton University Library

**Below: Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, Oct. 1877.**  
Charles Howard. Courtesy Bourke diaries, U.S. Military Academy

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*A photographer  
was burdened with  
120 pounds  
of equipment  
including camera,  
glass plates, lenses,  
chemicals, tripod,  
and a portable  
darkroom.*

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photograph of the headman Roman Nose.<sup>34</sup>

The Stanton party left Camp Robinson on October 5 to map the stage road north to Deadwood. After reaching the Black Hills they returned to Camp Robinson on October 25, the same day the Oglala departed the Red Cloud Agency for their new home on the Missouri River, escorted by two companies of the Third Cavalry. The wife of contract surgeon Dr. Valentine T. McGillicuddy noted in her diary that she and her husband had their pictures taken, presumably by Private Howard. With winter rapidly descending upon them the survey crew left Camp Robinson on October 28 in six inches of new snow, arriving at Sidney Barracks on November 2 for the close of the expedition. One of Private Howard's final photographs of the season was a view of that post.<sup>35</sup>

Private Howard joined Captain Stanton in Omaha, where he remained on detached service for another eight months. By early 1878 he had opened a gallery in Omaha, where he began printing his photographs from the summer in several formats, including large prints, stereoviews and cartes-de-visite. Mitchell, McGowan & Co., owners of the Great Western Photograph Publishing Company in Omaha, also reprinted some as a series of stereoscopic views. In July 1878 Private Howard rejoined his regiment at Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, where he operated a studio until his discharge from the Army two years later. What became of Charles Howard following his service in the Army is not known. Only a few examples of his photographs are known to have survived.<sup>36</sup>



David Rodocker. Private collection

**DAVID RODOCKER** of Winfield, Kansas, was another photographer who stopped briefly at Red Cloud while visiting the agencies the fall of 1877. The following year he included several stereoscopic images from the agency and Camp Robinson in his series "Views of the Black Hills Mining Country and in the Sioux Indian County."

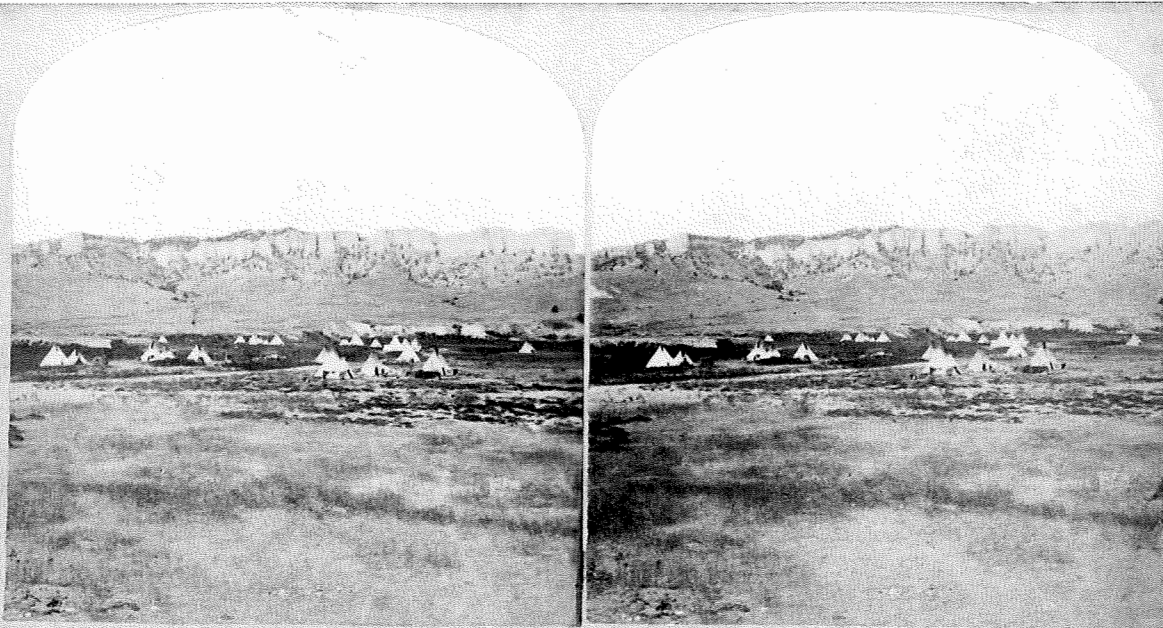
Born in 1840 in Ashland County, Ohio, Rodocker learned his photographic skills in Champaign, Illinois, where he opened his first studio. In late 1870, he moved his wife and one-year-old daughter to Winfield, Kansas, in the southeastern corner of the state just north of the Ponca Reservation. By the next year Rodocker had started a photographic studio and was producing portraits. He moved into a new expanded gallery in 1874.<sup>37</sup>

Interest in the Black Hills was especially strong in southern Kansas where letters from a former resident appeared in the local paper describing the prospects in glowing terms. "We find gold in every hole we dig," wrote John J. Williams from the Hills, "which reaches as high as fifteen cents to the pan. I think this is one of the richest gold fields ever struck in this or any other country." Many Winfield residents followed Williams to the Black Hills in the rush in 1875-76, and in January 1877 the newly divorced Rodocker sold his studio and

**Sioux Village on the White River.** Charles Howard. Courtesy Denver Art Museum







159 Indian Village, near Red Cloud Agency.

headed north, taking his "photograph apparatus" with him. He spent the summer making stereoview images of the mines and small boomtowns. A returning Winfield resident noted in September 1877 that Rodocker was still in Dakota "taking views."<sup>38</sup>

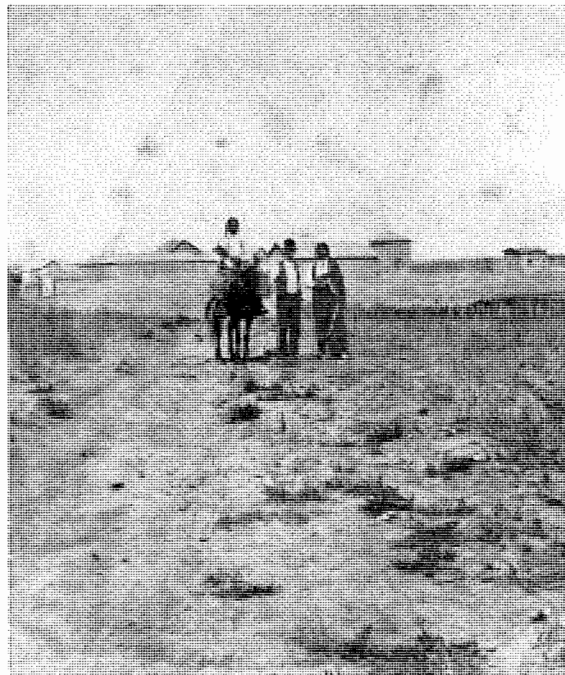
In October Rodocker departed the Black Hills, apparently heading south through the Red Cloud Agency enroute to Sidney. While at the agency he made at least five images. His view of the agency buildings shows them completely deserted, suggesting that he might have passed through in late October after the Oglala had already departed for their new reservation in Dakota Territory. Views of Indian camps in the area, however, suggest that a few families had not yet joined their relatives at the new Red Cloud Agency.

Rodocker traveled on to Chicago, where he visited galleries and purchased new equipment. He also made arrangements with publisher L. M. Melander to print and circulate his views as a series of seventy-nine stereo cards. Rodocker returned to Kansas in November 1877 and reopened his studio. "He brings with him many beautiful stereoscopic views of the mountains, peaks, hills, gulches, claims, camps, and towns in the gold region," the local newspaper noted. "He says he will return to the Hills about next Centennial."<sup>39</sup>

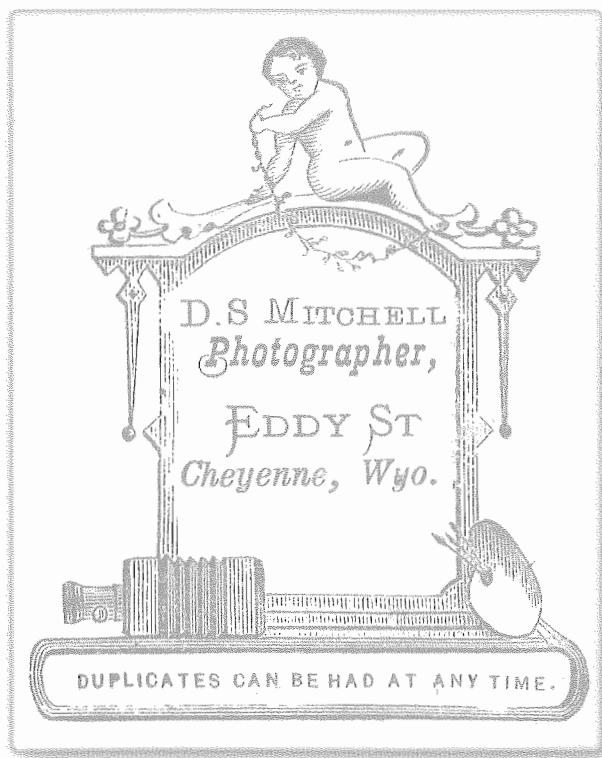
Rodocker did return to the Black Hills briefly in the spring of 1880 and continued to operate his

studio in Winfield, selling his stereoview series and pirated prints of D. F. Barry's portrait of Sitting Bull. Rodocker later worked for the government as a photographer, returning to Winfield in 1894 to reopen his studio. Rodocker died in 1919, but his family continued to operate the studio until 1925. The final disposition of his negatives is unknown.<sup>40</sup>

**"Indian village near the Red Cloud Agency,"** David Rodocker, 1877. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution



**Red Cloud Agency, David Rodocker, 1877.**  
Courtesy of the author



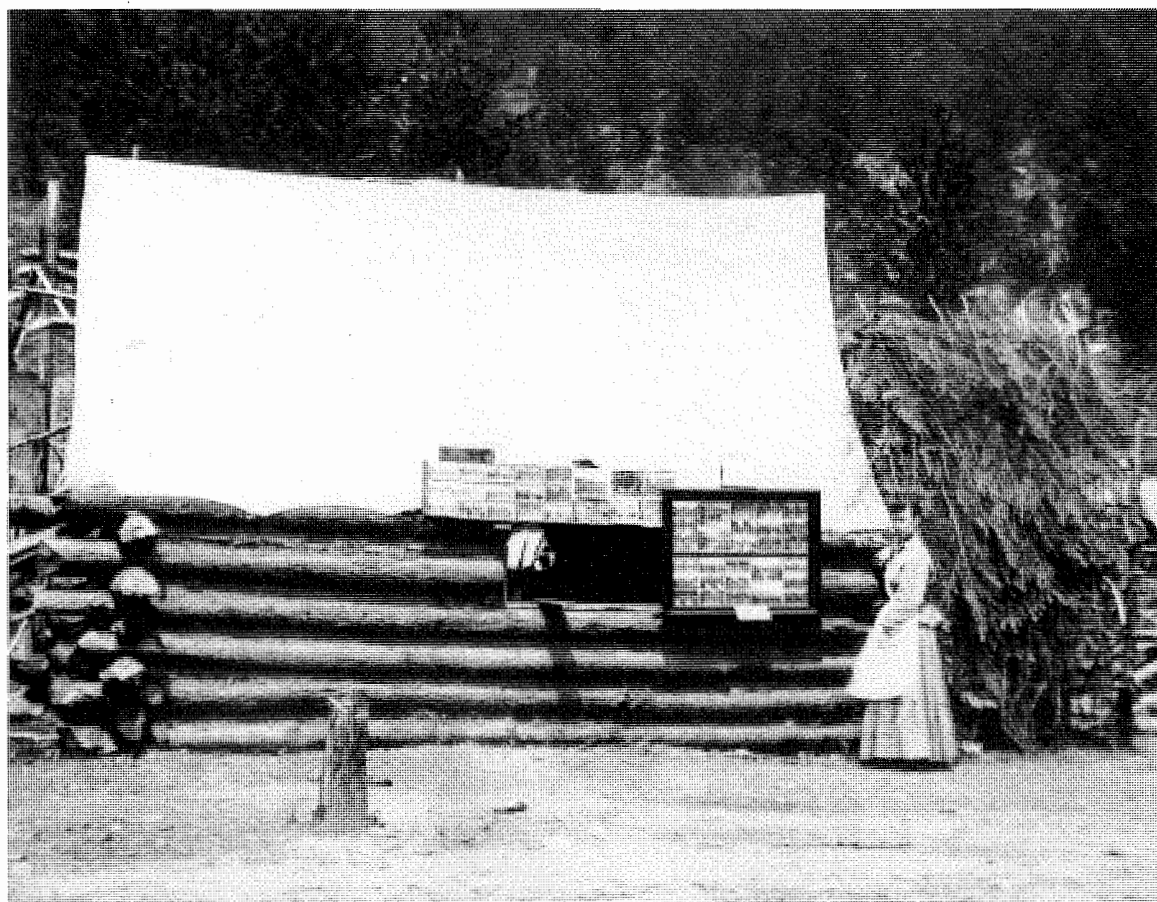
D. S. Mitchell imprint on a carte-de-visite, Cheyenne.  
Private collection

**D. S. MITCHELL** was producing his Lakota and Arapaho portraits, including several taken at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies by late 1877. Born in 1838 in York County, Maine, Daniel Sedgley Mitchell began his photographic career as an errand boy in a daguerreotype gallery at the age of nine. During his early years he worked in a number of photographic galleries, including one in Portland, Maine, as well as in Boston, New York City and St. John, New Brunswick. He returned to the states shortly after the end of the Civil War, establishing a studio in Boston.<sup>41</sup>

Mitchell went west about 1874, leaving his wife and children behind. By January 1876 he had established his studio on Eddy Street in Cheyenne, the capital of Wyoming Territory and an important jumping off point for the Black Hills. Within a few months of his arrival Mitchell organized a group

**"First Photograph Gallery in the Black Hills."**

D. S. Mitchell, 1876. Courtesy South Dakota Historical Society



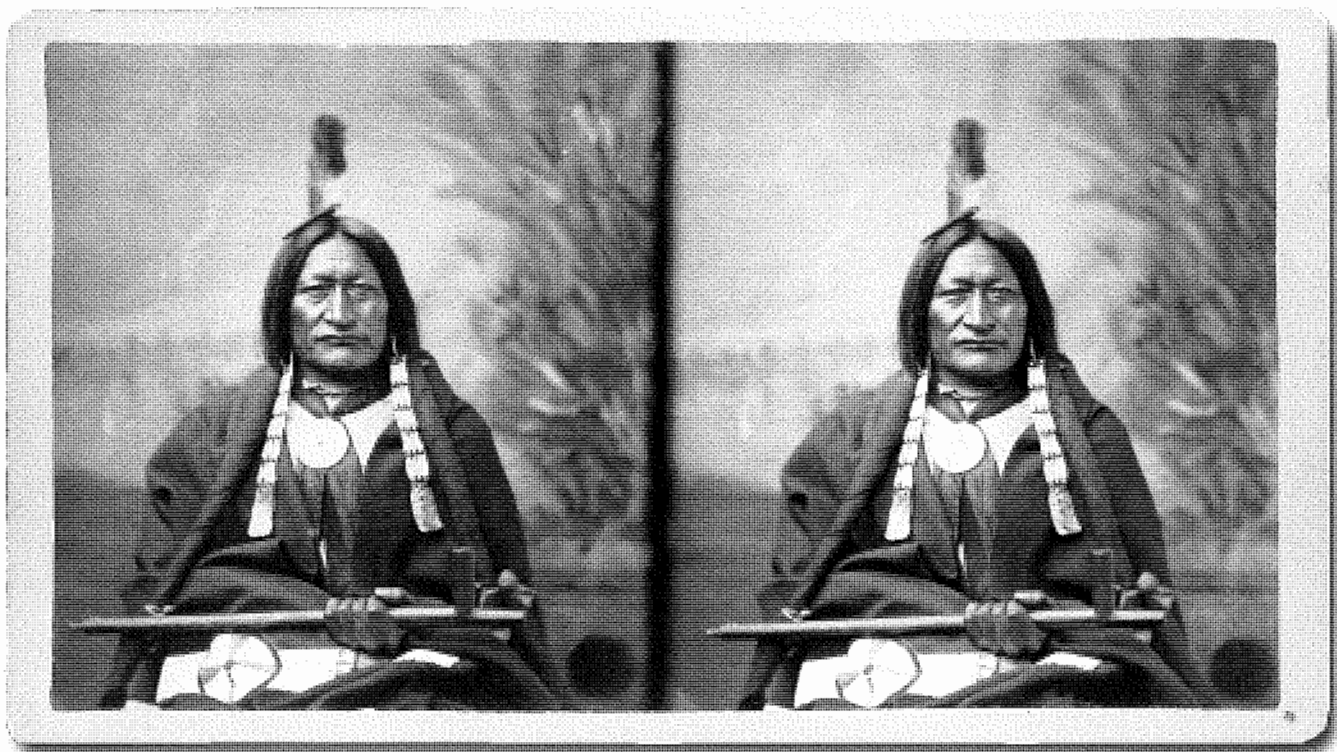


to travel to the mines. He departed Cheyenne in the second week in March, placing his portrait negatives with another photographer in the city. Traveling north on the newly extended Cheyenne-Black Hills trail, Mitchell arrived in Deadwood, where in June 1876 he was reported to be taking "excellent views of the prominent scenery in the Hills."<sup>42</sup>

Mitchell returned to Cheyenne in the first week of October, bringing with him "a large selection of photographic views of the gold region." He published a set of sixty stereoviews called "D. S.

*Telegraph* noted that they had a "splendid assortment of views of many points of interest in the Northern and Western Country" as well as "a large number of Photographs of Noted Indian Chiefs."<sup>44</sup>

In the spring of 1878 Mitchell & McGowan located permanently in Omaha, where they published three sets of views called "Western Stereoscopic Gems, by the Great Western Photograph Publishing Co." In addition to the Indian portraits they also reprinted Mitchell's earlier Black Hills views and a third series of Private Charles Howard's photographs. The name of their firm



Mitchell's Views of Black Hills Gold Regions and Vicinity." He closed his gallery and left Cheyenne during the spring of 1877.<sup>43</sup>

Mitchell and Joseph H. McGowan formed a partnership and, with the support of the St. Louis firm Gatchel & Hyatt, the two "Traveling Photographers" moved from town to town along the Union Pacific route setting up a temporary tent studio to produce portraits of townspeople and area views. It is not yet possible to make a detailed itinerary of Mitchell's movements during the summer and fall of 1877, but presumably he traveled to the Red Cloud Agency some time in September or October 1877.

By December 1877 Mitchell and McGowan had set up their tent in Sidney, Nebraska. The *Sidney*

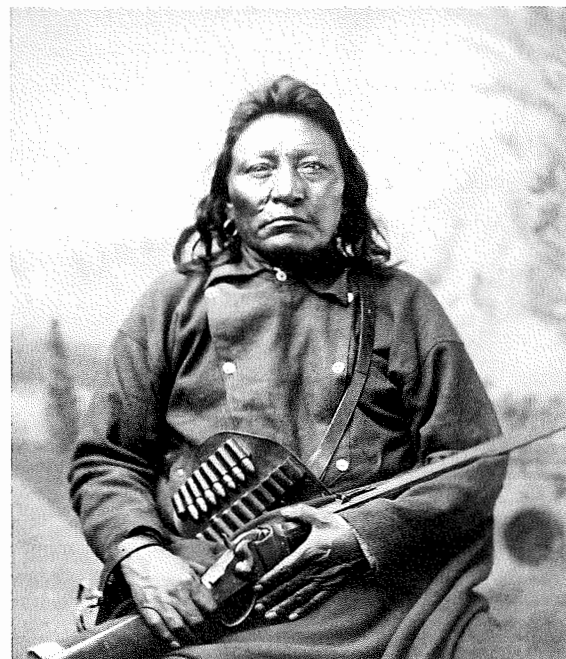
changed to Mitchell, McGowan & Co., possibly with the addition of Private Howard as a partner.

The partnership dissolved in the fall of 1878, when Joseph McGowan moved to North Platte and Private Howard was transferred to Fort Sanders, Wyoming. In September D. S. Mitchell opened the Bee Hive Studio on Sixteenth Street in Omaha in partnership with May J. Cannell, whom he later married. Mitchell next operated a studio in Norfolk, then in Galesburg, Illinois, and finally, in 1889, moved to Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, where he produced an important series of the land rush. Mitchell died in Guthrie in 1929.

While his negatives have not survived, a number of his original prints are known. The largest single collection of Mitchell's Indian portraits was pre-

**Little Wolf.** D. S. Mitchell, 1877. NSHS RG2955-26

served by Captain John G. Bourke, long-time aide to General George Crook. They are now distributed among three institutions, the Nebraska State Historical Society, the Smithsonian Institution, and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.<sup>45</sup>



**Bad Dog.** D. S. Mitchell, 1877. NSHS RG2955-13

#### PHOTOGRAPHERS & THE LAKOTA

The eight photographers who took photographs of the Oglala and Brulé at their Nebraska agencies between 1874 and 1877 were motivated primarily by financial interest. They invested in equipment, chemicals, and transportation to distant destinations hoping to secure images that they could sell to the public. It is more difficult to determine why the Lakota were willing to allow their portraits to be made. We lack their perspective expressed in their own words, and have instead only a few tantalizing clues interpreted through the filter of another culture.

For some Lakota participation was a simple exchange. Red Dog, for example, approached Lieutenant Wilhelm in 1874 and asked for a tintype of himself, which the young officer made. "At this he was apparently very much delighted," the lieutenant wrote. The small log studio set up at Camp Robinson in early 1877 reportedly did a booming



business selling portraits to the Lakota, probably also in the form of tintypes. On another occasion a young Oglala named Spider, probably Red Cloud's brother, approached Wilhelm. "He demanded five dollars from us for the privilege of photographing him," Wilhelm wrote. Whether the subject wanted to be paid for being photographed or wanted a photograph of himself, the motivation for some Lakota seems to have been that of an equal exchange.<sup>46</sup>

Spotted Tail saw another benefit to being photographed. When Lieutenant Wilhelm encountered problems trying to obtain portraits at the Spotted Tail Agency the distinguished chief told his followers that through these images the Brulé were becoming better known in white society. He explained that the photographs "had attracted so much attention in the east, that their condition interested all the land, the people of which must certainly have but a limited idea of their location, and manner of living, and that it would be highly beneficial to spread true pictures of their people, as much as possible, throughout all the land, &c." For some headmen such as Spotted Tail photographs served political interests.<sup>47</sup>

In a few instances Lakota portraits were taken without the subject's knowledge. Lieutenant Wilhelm described one of his strategies at the Red

Cloud Agency: "We next located our instrument and obtained a number of fine photographic views," he wrote in his diary. "While we were preparing for one of these, we saw an old Indian by the name of Linenfoot, walking diagonally into the field of view. As we had some apprehension of getting him to stand by himself, we intercepted him at a favorable point, and before the 'how' was fairly exchanged, the impression was made."<sup>48</sup>

Many Lakota expressed some reluctance to being photographed, particularly when the technology first appeared on the northern Plains. They initially saw the black and white images as shadows of themselves somehow captured and locked into the paper or tintype. In a culture where living creatures and inanimate objects were all endowed with powers many native people were concerned that this new instrument somehow captured some part of their own power, hence, the reference to photographers as "shadow catchers."

Ridgway Glover encountered this challenge near Fort Laramie in 1866:

"Some of the Sioux think photography is 'pazutta zupa' (bad medicine). Some of the Indians think they will die in three days, if they get their pictures taken. The most of them know better though, and some I have



Iron Crow. D. S. Mitchell, 1877. NSHS RG2955-3



"Sioux Squaw and Papoose in Cradle." J. H. Hamilton.  
Courtesy Denver Public Library

"Ghost"  
images were  
common when  
subjects moved  
during a long  
exposure

made understand that the light comes from the sun, strikes them, and then goes into the machine. I explained it to one yesterday, by means of his looking-glass, and showed him an image on the ground glass. When he caught the idea, he brightened up, and was willing to stand for me."<sup>49</sup>

In 1870 Mathew Brady endeavored to photograph the Oglala and Brulé delegations to Washington. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail declined, "alleging, if they submitted, the Great Spirit would be angry with them, and they would die." Brady finally induced them to stand for the camera, but both moved during the exposure and their features were blurred.

Two years later James H. Hamilton struggled to photograph a delegation enroute to Washington. "They didn't at all like the looks of the protruding tube of the camera, which to them was suggestive of a cannon," the local newspaper reported. "They couldn't understand the thing at all, and were inclined to think that some supernatural agency was at work."<sup>50</sup>

By 1874 Lieutenant Wilhelm found that one way to overcome distrust of the camera was to have a white man sit in the photograph. "The object in our early movement was to get a small group of Indians to stand for a negative," he wrote. "We did our best to include Grey-eye and certain others; but on account of superstitions, we were about to fail. Mr. Deer at this time came to our assistance. He finally succeeded in making up a group consisting of Red Cloud's chief warriors, namely, Blue Horse, Sioux Bob and Collar Bones. They insisted upon Mr. Deer and the writer standing immediately in their rear, evidently to give confidence to their position." Their trust in J. W. Dear the Indian trader at Red Cloud, helped overcome their reluctance to being photographed. Two years later, Dear also helped S. J. Morrow obtain a portrait of Red Cloud.<sup>51</sup>

James H. Hamilton used a similar method to obtain Lakota portraits at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies in 1877. Charles Hamilton described his father's method: "In taking a tintype, four pictures are made with one exposure. When

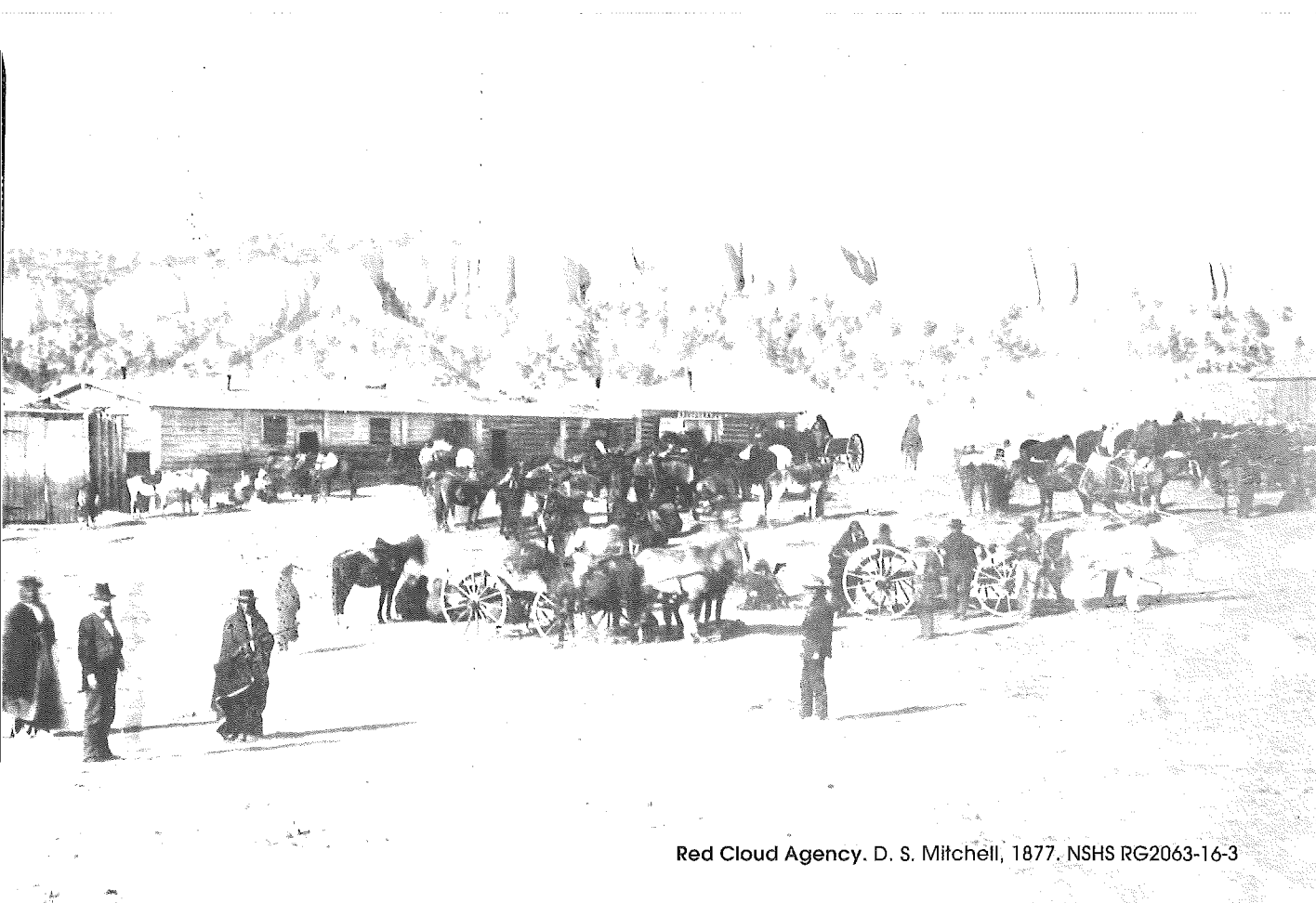
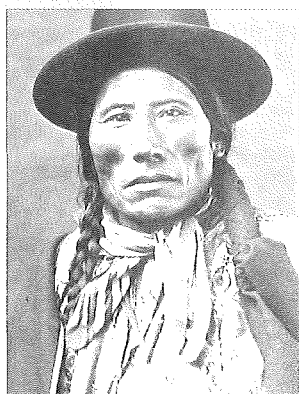


my father was ready to take a picture, he would have the Indian seated upon a bench about two or three feet from a white man, and would then make an exposure and secure the tintype pictures. This was supposed to be but one exposure, but in fact produced four tintypes. It was then necessary to take another picture so that each of the persons could have one. A negative was then substituted and a new lens put in the camera. A focus was made of the Indian alone, and a good negative was thus procured. A tintype was given to the Indian and to the white man and all was lovely."<sup>52</sup>

By 1877, when D. S. Mitchell produced his portrait series of Oglala and Arapahoe from the Red Cloud Agency, concerns about the camera robbing them of their personal power had largely disappeared. Yet Ferdinand Hayden wrote that same year that attempts to take pictures of Indians "is rendered difficult if not entirely frustrated by his deeply rooted belief that the process places some portion of himself in the power of the white man, and his suspicion that such control may be used to his injury."<sup>53</sup>

In a society finding itself increasingly powerless the Lakota's discomfort with the camera perhaps had less to do with their supposed "primitive" fear of "shadow catching" and more about their growing distrust of how the images would later be used. Once the negative was made the subject no longer had control of the image. He could not specify which images were selected, how they were presented, or in what context. Many Lakota leaders, like Spotted Tail, had become acutely aware

of the power of the visual document and recognized that photographs could be used to the Lakota's benefit or detriment. Given the long history of Lakota-American relations they had good reasons to express concern. ■



Red Cloud Agency. D. S. Mitchell, 1877. NSHS RG2063-16-3





"Photographers Waiting to Record History," D. S. Mitchell, 1899. Mitchell (right) and his partner, Charles E. DeGroat, at the Oklahoma Land Rush. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History 1839-1889* (New York: Dover, 1964); William Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection* (Gettysburg, PA: Times and News, 1964); Paul Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> *Black Hills Daily Pioneer*, Dec. 3, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> For a history of these two agencies, see: George Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937); James C. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); Catherine Price, *The Oglala People, 1841-1879: A Political History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); George Hyde, *Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brulé Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); Richmond Lee Clow, "The Brulé Indian Agencies: 1868-1878," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 36 (1972), 143-204.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas R. Buecker, *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874-1899* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1903), 98, 1036; William H. Powell, *Records of Living Officers of United States Army* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1890).

<sup>6</sup> Tavernier to family, May 7, 1874. Copy courtesy Claudine Chalmers. Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1953), 94-116.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Wilhelm, *Memorandum from the Adjutant's Office, 8th Infantry: A Diary Covering Events from Dec. 2, 1873 to October 5, 1874* (Fort Whipple, Arizona Territory: Army Press, 1874), 48.

<sup>8</sup> Wilhelm Pension File, National Archives (NA); William H. Carter, *The History of Fort Robinson* (Crawford, NE: Northwest Nebraska News, 1941).

<sup>9</sup> Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted, *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition* (Custer, SD: Golden Valley Press, 2002); Lesta V. Turchen and James D. McLaird, *The Black Hills Expedition of 1875* (Mitchell, SD: Dakota Wesleyan University Press, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> 1860 Federal Census, St. Louis, Missouri (M653 R653), 147; 1870 Federal Census, St. Louis, Missouri (M593 R821), 429; *Gould's St. Louis Directory for 1868*, 352. Richard Edwards, *Edwards' St. Louis Directory* (St. Louis: Southwestern Pub. Co., 1870) 385; Paula Richardson Fleming, *Native American Photography at the Smithsonian: The Shindler Catalogue* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Wayne R. Kime, *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 45-46; Charles M. Robinson III, *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke, Volume 1* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2003) 164; *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago), July 12, Aug. 13, 1875.

<sup>12</sup> Turchen and McLaird, *The Black Hills Expedition of 1875*.

<sup>13</sup> *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Oct. 31, 1889; "Early American Photography in St. Louis," *Schiller's Bulletin*, (Jan-Feb. 1946) 12-13, copy in Benecke Family Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri.

<sup>14</sup> *Sidney Telegraph*, Dec. 25, 1875, Jan. 1, 15, Feb 5, 19, 1876. He may have departed because of competition from J. B. Silvis who arrived in Sidney with his railroad car photographic studio in mid-February 1876.

<sup>15</sup> Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographs From the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005) 301; 1870 Census, Fort Randall, Dakota Territory (M593 R118), 87-88; *Sioux City Journal*, Nov. 9, 1870; Jerome A. Greene, *Fort Randall on the Missouri, 1856-1892* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Wesley R. Hurt and William E. Lass, *Frontier Photographer: Stanley J. Morrow's Dakota Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*; *Sioux City Daily Journal*, Jan. 24, 1872.

<sup>18</sup> *Black Hills Pioneer*, Aug. 26, Sept. 2, 1876; Paul L. Hedren, *With Crook in the Black Hills: Stanley J. Morrow's 1876 Photographic Legacy* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1985).

<sup>19</sup> *Press and Dakotian*, Dec. 15, 1876, quoted in Hurt and Lass, *Frontier Photographer*, 34-35; Jerome A. Greene, "The

Surrounding of Red Cloud and Red Leaf, 1876: A Preemptive Maneuver of the Great Sioux War," *Nebraska History* 82:2 (Summer 2001), 69–75.

<sup>20</sup> Hurt and Lass, *Frontier Photographer*.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Robert E. Strahorn, "Alter Ego," *Omaha Daily Bee*, Feb. 14, 1877. Reprinted from *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 1877.

<sup>23</sup> 1860 Federal Census, Macon County, MO, (M653 R631), 196–197; Macon County, Missouri, Marriage Records; Anon., *History of Randolph and Macon Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1884), 802, 804; "Western Work," *Humphrey's Journal of Photography and the Allied Arts and Sciences*, 16:2 (May 15, 1864).

<sup>24</sup> LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *The Diaries of William Henry Jackson, Frontier Photographer* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959), 203–206; Peter B. Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 27–39. The Indian portraits taken in Omaha by J. H. Hamilton, W. H. Jackson, and their main competitor, Edric L. Eaton (whom Jackson later bought out is another body of work that awaits careful study, as does the work of Parker & Johnson, who bought Jackson's studio and continued to reprint many of his original Indian negatives.

<sup>25</sup> 1870 Federal Census, Sioux City, Woodbury County, Iowa (M593 R427), 401; *Sioux City Journal*, Oct. 15, 1868, Oct. 1, 1870, July 11, 1873.

<sup>26</sup> *Sioux City Directory*, 1871–72, 155; 1870 Federal Census, Sioux City, Woodbury County, Iowa (M593 R427), 376; *Sioux City Journal*, May 14, 15, June 11, 12, 22, 1870.

<sup>27</sup> Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley, Including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: North Star Pub. Co., 1882), 308; *Sioux City Journal*, Jan. 10, Mar. 1, Dec. 19, 21, 1871. Gurnsey retained a few of his original negatives, which he later reprinted with his Colorado Springs imprint.

<sup>28</sup> "Address of Judge Charles C. Hamilton Before the Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City, Iowa, November 27, 1928," *Annals of Iowa*, 41:3 (Winter 1972), 814.

<sup>29</sup> *Sioux City Journal*, Apr. 8, 29, June 16, 1877; Hamilton to Commanding Officer, Fort Laramie, Mar. 6, 1877, Register of Letters Received, Fort Laramie, 174; Evans to Hamilton, Mar. 15, 1877, Letters Sent, Fort Laramie, Record Group 393, NA.

<sup>30</sup> "Address of Judge Charles C. Hamilton," 826.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> *Sioux City Journal*, Sept. 30, 1877.

<sup>33</sup> Register of Enlistments, U.S. Army, Vol. 74, 91 (M233 R39), NA; Regimental Returns, Fourth Infantry, Sept 1875, NA; Post Returns, Fort Bridger, September 1875 (Microcopy 617 Roll 146), NA; Stanton to Flint, June 15, 1877, (4:263), Press Copies of Letters Sent, Chief of Engineers Records, Department of Platte, Records of Continental Commands (RG 393), NA; Private Charles Howard to James Carter, Nov. 3, 1877, author's collection.

<sup>34</sup> For a review of the Stanton Expedition's movements, see Ephriam D. Dickson III, "Soldier With a Camera; Private Charles Howard's Photographic Journey Through Eastern Wyoming, 1877," *Annals of Wyoming*, 77: 4 (Autumn 2005) 22–32; Ephriam D. Dickson III, "Crazy Horse's Grave: A Photograph by Private

Charles Howard, 1877," *Little Bighorn Associates Newsletter*, XL:1 (Feb. 2006), 4–5.

<sup>35</sup> "Annual Report of Captain W. S. Stanton, Corps of Engineers, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1878," *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1878*, Appendix RR, Serial Set Volume 1846; Fanny McGillycuddy Diary, entry, Oct. 26, 1877, 7, South Dakota Historical Society.

<sup>36</sup> *Wolfe's Omaha City Directory* (Omaha: Wolfe Publishing, 1878), 168; Regimental Returns, Fourth Infantry, NA.

<sup>37</sup> William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas; Champaign County Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1869; *Cowley County Censor*, Oct. 21, 1871; *Winfield Courier*, Feb. 27, April 3, 1874; 1870 Federal Census, Champaign County, Illinois, (M593 R193), 55.

<sup>38</sup> *Winfield Courier*, June 24, 1875, Jan. 25, Feb. 22, Sept. 13, 1877.

<sup>39</sup> *Winfield Courier*, Oct. 25, Nov. 29, 1877, Sept. 26, 1878.

<sup>40</sup> *Winfield Courier*, April 15, 1880; 1880 Federal Census, Cowley County, Kansas (T9 R378), 1; *Coulter's Winfield City Directory*, 1880, 71; *Winfield City Directory*, 1888, 139. Sanborn Maps, Winfield, Kansas, 1886.

<sup>41</sup> A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Nebraska* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1882), 41; 1870 Federal Census, Cambridge, MA (M593 R624), 605. A full biography of Mitchell and an analysis of his photographs is currently in progress. Ephriam D. Dickson III, *Crazy Horse's Contemporaries: D. S. Mitchell's Native Portraits from the Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska, 1877*, manuscript.

<sup>42</sup> *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 11, 1876; *Black Hills Pioneer*, June 24, 1876.

<sup>43</sup> *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, Oct. 7, 1876.

<sup>44</sup> *Sidney Telegraph*, Dec. 8, 22, 1877. They remained in Sidney for at least two weeks.

<sup>45</sup> *Guthrie City Directory* (R. O. Polk & Co., 1908); 1890 Territorial Census, Oklahoma, 130; 1900 Federal Census, Guthrie, Logan Co., Oklahoma (T623 R1339), 111; 1920 Federal Census, Guthrie, Logan Co., Oklahoma (T625 R1470), 99; *Oklahoma State Register*, Jan. 31, 1939, 5. Howard reproduced many of Mitchell's images while stationed at Fort Sanders between 1878 and 1880 and may have taken the negatives when the partnership broke up. What became of them thereafter is unknown.

<sup>46</sup> Wilhelm diary, 60.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>49</sup> Ridgway Glover, "Photography Among the Indians, Fort Laramie, June 30, 1866," *Philadelphia Photographer* 3 (Aug. 1866), 239. For more on Glover, see Paula Fleming, "Ridgway Glover, Photographer," *Annals of Wyoming*, 74:2 (Spring 2002), 17–27.

<sup>50</sup> *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 9, 1870, 261; *Sioux City Journal*, Sept. 11, 1872.

<sup>51</sup> Wilhelm diary, 66; *Press and Dakotian*, Dec. 15, 1876.

<sup>52</sup> "Address of Judge Charles C. Hamilton," 827.

<sup>53</sup> F. V. Hayden, in W. H. Jackson, "Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians," *U.S. Geological Survey Misc. Publication No. 9* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1877), iii.