Friends of the Princeton University Library

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1930, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts, and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It secures gifts and bequests and provides funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials that could not otherwise be acquired by the Library. Membership is open to those subscribing annually seventy-five dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer. Members receive the Princeton University Library Chronicle and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

THE COUNCIL
Nancy S. Klah, Chair
Alison Lahnston, Vice-Chair • Charles Heckscher, Secretary
G. Scott Clemons, Treasurer

2003–2006
Peter Bienstock • Joseph J. Felcone • Christopher Forbes
Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen • P. Randolph Hill • Robert Hollander Jr.
Richard M. Huber • Claire R. Jacobus • Alison Lahnston • John L. Logan
Judith D. McCartin Scheide • Rosemary O’Brien • Cynthia Penney
Dallas Pietrowski • Millard M. Riggs Jr. • W. Allen Scheuch
Jennifer Scott • Ruta Smithson • Charles Barnwell Straut Jr.

2004–2007
Edward M. Crane Jr. • Donald Farren
Judith H. Golden • Charles Heckscher • Mark Samuels Lasner
James H. Marrow • Louise S. Marshall • Leonard L. Milberg
Elisabeth Morgan • Paul Needham • Carol N. Rigolot
Dale Roylance • Anita Schorsch • Terry Seymour
Denis B. Woodfield • Daniel Woodward

2005–2008
Douglas F. Bauer • Ronald A. Brown
Alfred L. Bush • G. Scott Clemons • Eugene S. Flamm
Wanda Gunning • Jill E. Guthrie • Jamie Kleinberg Kamph
Joshua Katz • Patricia H. Marks
A. Perry Morgan Jr. • John Rassweiler • Robert J. Ruben
Ronald Smeltzer • Bruce C. Willie

HONORARY MEMBERS
Lloyd Cotsen • Nancy S. Klah
William H. Scheide • Shirley M. Tilghman
CONTENTS

The Western Man in the Eastern Parlor: Alfred Bush and the Princeton Collections of Western Americana  page 221
  Stephen Aron

A Zapotec Carved Bone 225
  John M. D. Pohl and Javier Urcid Serrano

Brand Books in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana 237
  William S. Reese

A Native Among the Headhunters 252
  Ann Fabian

A Stereoscopic View of the American West 271
  Martha A. Sandweiss

Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt: From National Sensation to Ethnographic Documentation 290
  Heather A. Shannon

The Making of Edward S. Curtis’s The North American Indian 314
  Mick Gidley

A Witness at Wounded Knee, 1973 330
  Owen Luck
Full Circle: From Disintegration to Revitalization of Otterskin Bag Use in Great Lakes Tribal Culture  
Anton Treuer  
359

The Association on American Indian Affairs and the Struggle for Native American Rights, 1948–1955  
Paul C. Rosier  
366

Indian Politics in Cold War America: Parallel and Contradiction  
Daniel M. Cobb  
392

Otterskins, Eagle Feathers, and Native American Alumni at Princeton  
Alfred L. Bush  
420

Library Notes  
Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War  
Julie L. Mellby  
435

New and Notable  
441

Friends of the Library  
488

Cover Note  
Alfred L. Bush  
497
ILLUSTRATIONS

Zapotec engraved bone  page 226
Confederacies of Mesoamerica’s Late Postclassic period  227
Zapotec and Nahuatl calendar signs and names  230
Drawings of the Princeton Zapotec bone  231
Bones from Tomb 7 at Monte Albán, Mexico  233
Day signs carved on a manatee mandible  235
A sixteenth-century Italian horse brand  239
A nineteenth-century cattle brand book from Argentina  241
Examples of nineteenth-century Spanish brands  243
First page of the “Deseret Brand Book”  245
Entries from the brand book for Hill County, Texas  247
Examples of brands from the Cherokee Strip  249
Brand book of the Kansas Frontier Stock Association  250
A Flathead skull from Crania Americana  253
“Stum-Ma-Nu: A Flat-Head Boy”  257
A Flathead cradle  264
Timothy O’Sullivan, “Ruins in Cañon de Chelle, N.M.”  273
Verso of O’Sullivan, “Ruins in Cañon de Chelle, N.M.”  277
Richard Kern, “Ruins of an Old Pueblo in the Cañon of Chelly”  280
Timothy O’Sullivan, “Ruins in the Cañon de Chelle, New Mexico”  283
Adrian J. Ebell, “Squaws Guarding Corn from Blackbirds”  293
Owen Luck, A ceremony at Wounded Knee
Owen Luck, Leonard Crow Dog lights the pipe
Owen Luck, Frank Fools Crow offers the pipe
Owen Luck, Honoring the first man shot at Wounded Knee
Owen Luck, Frank Fools Crow prays with the pipe
Owen Luck, Lakota security at a roadblock
Owen Luck, An FBI roadblock
Owen Luck, Frank Fools Crow at home in Kyle
Owen Luck, Tom Bad Cob outside the Rapid City Jail
An otterskin “woompa” bag
Details of beadwork on the “woompa” bag
Logo of the Association on American Indian Affairs
Oliver La Farge
Felix S. Cohen
Alexander Lesser, Oliver La Farge, and Richard D. Searles
“American Indians Protect You!”
Oliver La Farge
The American Indian Point IV Program
LaVerne Madigan
An otterskin bookbinding
An eagle feather headdress
Fred Fitch adopted by the Sioux
White Roots of Peace Teepee
American Indian students on the steps of Whig Hall
Kevin Gover receiving an honorary degree
David Knox, “Field Telegraph Battery Wagon” 439
Yoshitoshi Tsukioka, *Portrait of a Geisha Seated for Her Photographic Portrait* 449
Seventeenth-century needlework patterns 453
Thomas Conder, “York Town, and Gloucester Point, as Besieged by the Allied Army” 456
Ananda K. Coomaraswamy 459
Sketch by Lady Elizabeth Butler 467
Gold ducat of Dorino Gattilusio 479
William Temple Allen, sketch of Nassau Hall 481
The martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket 484
A Chinese official, 1928 487
Karin Trainer with outgoing Friends officers 494
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

STEPHEN ARON is Professor of History at UCLA and Executive Director of the Institute for the Study of the American West at the Autry National Center, Los Angeles. Among his many publications are *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (1996) and *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State* (2005).


ANN FABIAN teaches American Studies and History at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, in New Brunswick. She is the author of *Card Sharps, Dream Books, and Bucket Shops: Gambling in Nineteenth-Century America* (1990) and *The Unvarnished Truth* (2000), a study of personal narrative. She is working on a book on skull collectors.
Mick Gidley holds the Chair of American Literature at the University of Leeds, England. In 2005 he was the William Robertson Coe Distinguished Visiting Professor of American Studies at the University of Wyoming. He has published widely in American literary and cultural history, most recently Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian Project in the Field (2003). Currently, he is completing a study of the little-known photographer Emil Otto Hoppé.

Owen Luck is a working photographer whose images are in the collections of the Princeton University Library and Yale University Library. His current project concerns the Makah people of Neah Bay in Washington State.

Julie L. Mellby is the Curator of Graphic Arts in Princeton University Library’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Before coming to Princeton, she was curator of works on paper for the Toledo Museum of Art and associate curator of graphic arts for the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Recent publications include Splendid Pages: The Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection of Modern Illustrated Books (2003).

John M. D. Pohl is the Peter Jay Sharp Curator and Lecturer in the Art of the Ancient Americas, Princeton University Art Museum. An eminent authority on North American Indian civilizations, he has directed numerous archaeological excavations and surveys in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Central America as well as Europe. His many books and articles on the ancient civilizations of Mesoamerica include Exploring Mesoamerica (1999) and The Legend of Lord Eight Deer: An Epic of Ancient Mexico (2002).

William S. Reese is an antiquarian bookseller in New Haven, Connecticut, specializing in Americana, travel, and natural history. He is an authority on nineteenth-century American color-plate books and the author of articles and exhibition catalogs on early American imprints and the American West.

Paul C. Rosier is Assistant Professor of History at Villanova University, where he teaches Native American history, American environmental history, American women’s history, and

**Martha A. Sandweiss** is Professor of American Studies and History at Amherst College, where she teaches Western American history, public history, and visual culture. She has a particular interest in how visual images can serve as historical documents. Her most recent book, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (2002), has won many awards, including the 2002 Ray Allen Billington Prize from the Organization of American Historians for the best book in American frontier history.

**Heather A. Shannon** is a project cataloger in the Cotsen Children’s Library of the Princeton University Library. From September 2004 to January 2006, she cataloged almost 7,000 individual photographs, photograph albums, and photograph collections housed in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana.

**Anton Treuer** (Princeton Class of 1991), a member of the Leech Lake band of Ojibwe, is Associate Professor of Ojibwe and director of the Ojibwe language program at Bemidji State University in Minnesota. He is editor of the only academic journal on the Ojibwe language, *Oshkaabewis Native Journal*, and has published *Living Our Language: Ojibwe Tales & Oral Histories* (2001) and *Omaa Akiing* (2002), an Ojibwe-language collection of tales from Leech Lake elders.

**Javier Urcid** is an anthropological archaeologist interested in the role of ancient literacy on the formation and maintenance of social complexity, in modeling the origins and alternative developments of writing systems, and in methods of semantic and phonetic decipherment of extinct scripts. His main research focuses on Mesoamerican scribal traditions. His work on Otomanguean scripts (500 B.C.E.–1600 C.E.) includes *Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing* (2001).
The Western Man in the Eastern Parlor

ALFRED BUSH AND THE PRINCETON COLLECTIONS
OF WESTERN AMERICANA

STEPHEN ARON

The essays in this issue honor Alfred Bush by using the Western Americana collections of the Princeton University Library, an assemblage of printed matter and artifacts that Bush cherished and developed during his long tenure at Princeton. As the essays detail, when it comes to western North America, the Princeton Library contains many treasures, large and small, worthy of close attention. Reflecting Bush’s profound commitment and curatorial acumen, these holdings have supported and will surely continue to support path-breaking scholarship about the West and the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

The strength of the Princeton Collections of Western Americana may come as a surprise, for few places are more closely associated with the “eastern establishment” than Princeton University. True, more than a century ago, while Woodrow Wilson was its president, Princeton made a bold bid for Frederick Jackson Turner, whose “frontier thesis” was then emerging as the new paradigm for understanding American history. But Turner did not join Princeton’s faculty, and for much of the twentieth century, the study of the American West did not make much of an impact on the Princeton curriculum.¹

Still, thanks to generous donors like Philip Ashton Rollins, J. Monroe Thorington, and J. Lionberger Davis, the university library did gain significant holdings about the West. The contributions of Rollins were especially vital. “Legend has it,” relates William S. Reese in his essay in this issue, that Rollins “once told an antiquarian bookseller that he wanted ‘any damn thing that mentions a cowboy.’” Certainly, the cattle business in the “Old West” was central to Rollins’s collecting interests, but his gifts to Princeton ranged more widely, incorporating

exploration journals, overland travel narratives, and a particularly rich catalog of books about the Rocky Mountain region.2

As steward of the Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Alfred Bush built on the strengths he inherited. Horse and cattle brand books, the subject of Reese's article, is one such area. Here and in other established parts of the collection, Bush added new materials that expanded the time period covered by original holdings backward to the sixteenth century and forward through the twentieth. The holdings he amassed for the twentieth century are rich in archives relevant to American Indian affairs (as two essays in this issue make clear), but he took special delight in expanding this timeline backward into pre-European eras, as when he acquired a conch shell inscribed with Maya hieroglyphs. Their translation established the item as the Library's earliest dated American manuscript; it bears a date equivalent to March 17, 761 C.E.

Bush's stamp on Princeton's Western Americana collections is most obvious, however, in the holdings about Indians, photographs, and especially photographs of Indians. As the essays by John M. D. Pohl and Javier Urcid Serrano, Anton Treuer, Paul Rosier, Daniel Cobb, Owen Luck, and Alfred Bush himself elaborate, the Princeton University Library boasts diverse materials that illuminate the distant and more recent histories of Indian cultures across the hemisphere. Pohl and Urcid's decoding of the inscriptions on a bone fragment attests to the recovery of precolumbian rites that characterized the Zapotec civilization of southwestern Mexico and to their connection with rituals that "are still practiced in parts of Mesoamerica today." In a similar way, Treuer's reading of the uses to which the Ojibwe and their neighbors put a "woompa" bag speaks to the links between past and present ceremonialism among Great Lakes Indians. Shifting from material culture to more conventional textual evidence, both Rosier and Cobb mine the papers of the Association on American Indian Affairs to explore the ideas and activities of non-Native and Native reformers in the decades after World War II. The subsequent radical turn of Indian activists and the government crackdown against them are vividly recalled in Luck's first-person account of what happened at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973.

Along with enlarging the place of Indians at Princeton, both within the archives and across the university, Alfred Bush’s other great passion has been historic photographs. As Martha Sandweiss observes, prior to Bush’s arrival, Princeton University’s Western Americana collection possessed a sizable quantity of “spectacular photographic images and albums,” most notably albums containing nearly one thousand nineteenth-century Indian portraits and views of early-twentieth-century Alaska. What Bush procured were thousands of snapshots, postcards, stereographs, and cabinet cards. In these objects, “small and easily overlooked,” he recognized that “the most common sorts of historical images” convey “complex and illuminating stories about the past.” Affirming the wisdom of this curatorial vision, Sandweiss’s essay shows how nineteenth-century photographic images of the kind brought to Princeton by Bush can reveal information about “how Americans explored the West, how ancient ruins resonated in the American imagination, how government patronage of the arts worked 130 years ago,” and “how images entered the marketplace of ideas and shaped popular opinion about unseen places.”

Combining these passions, Bush made acquiring, interpreting, exhibiting, and publishing photographs of (and by) Indians a centerpiece of the Princeton Collections of Western Americana. More than a decade ago, with Lee Clark Mitchell, he organized an exhibition, convened a symposium, and authored a book on this topic.3 This project, Mick Gidley writes, grew out of Bush’s “lifetime of contemplation of photographs of Native American people.” In his contribution to this issue, Gidley considers the most famous photographer of Indians, Edward S. Curtis, and his exposition draws on Princeton’s proof-stage copies of the first two volumes of Curtis’s The North American Indian, the only proofs of that monumental work known to exist.

Less well known than Curtis’s work are numerous photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt in Minnesota. These, too, are a part of the Western Americana Collection and are the focus of Heather Shannon’s article. The images of the 1862 uprising, Shannon points out, were “among the first photographs to document a conflict between Indians and white settlers in the West.” When studied alongside the various books, newspapers, and magazines that were illustrated with

wood engravings designed after the original photographs (also at Princeton), they “elucidate nineteenth-century photographic publishing practices” and serve as tools for examining “how white conceptions of Native Americans evolved.”

Perhaps Ann Fabian offers the best summation of Alfred Bush’s career and legacy. Like William Brooks, the subject of her essay, the Colorado-bred Bush is “the western man who appeared in the eastern parlor [and] left a trail through the archives.” And quite a trail it is, with discoveries aplenty awaiting those who find their way to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana.