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Oil and Water: The Development of the Portrayal of Native Americans by Nineteenth-Century German Painters

No inventory of images of the Native American in the nineteenth century would be complete without the contribution of Germans.[1] In literature Charles Sealsfield,[2] Balduin Möllhausen,[3] and (nontraveler) Karl May,[4] provided fictional representations. The travel reports of explorers such as Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, Adelbert von Chamisso,[5] and adventurers like Rudolf Friedrich Kurz offer firsthand accounts of experiences with Indians. In linguistic studies the work of Franz Boas (1858-1942) on Indian languages permitted students and scholars to form an image of the language and thought of the indigenous peoples, and at the same time created a foundation for the development of structural linguistics as a science. In painting, the work of German artists holds an unchallenged place in the gallery of pictorial representations of the Native American.[6] Names like Karl Bodmer and Albert Bierstadt belong in discussion of the art of the American West as legitimately as do George Catlin and Frederic Remington. But while the work of German artists has been acknowledged as a significant component in the collective portrayal of the Indian and the West, it has not been examined as a *German* contribution to the production of Native American images. This survey presents the work of these artists and proposes a flexible framework for their systematic analysis.

The accomplishments of nineteenth-century German painters of Native Americans do not cohere neatly into a body of work characterized adequately by key words such as "German," "Nineteenth Century," and "Native American," since the products of these artists are as different as their own backgrounds, training, experience, objectives, and, not least, microhistorical context. Nevertheless, these artists are united by the fact that their paintings document the encounter between the cultures of two continents. Indeed the relationship of the paintings to the collision of cultures goes beyond that of a mirror, since the paintings are themselves products of the same economic, ideological, and aesthetic values that determined the course of the history of the American West. The unfolding of the pictorial record of Germans' perceptions

of the North American tribes thus incorporates important chapters not only in German and North American cultural history but also in the complex interrelation of art and social development.

Scholarship on artists of the American West is in no short supply. The approaches range from surveys of artistic interpretation of the West, such as those by Ewers, Gallagher, Hunt, and Porter (1984), Goetzmann (1966), Goetzmann and Porter (1981), Goetzmann and Goetzmann (1986), Hassrick (1977), Horan (1972), Hunt (1982), Taft (1953), and Trenton and Hassrick (1983), to extensive and often copiously illustrated monographs evaluating the achievement of individual painters, among them Anderson and Ferber on Bierstadt (1990), Baigell on Bierstadt (1981), Harper on Krieghoff (1979), Hendricks on Bierstadt (1972, 1974), Hodges on Wimar (1908), Huseman on Möllhausen (1995), Josephy on Rindisbacher (1970), *Karl Bodmer's America* (1984), Kendall on Gentilz (1974), Kläy and Läng on Kurz (1984), McDermott on Eastman (1961), McGuire on Iwonski (1976) and Lungkwitz (1983), Newcomb on Petri (1978), Rathbone on Wimar (1946), and Stewart, Ketner, and Miller on Wimar (1991). Frequently these publications are simultaneously catalogues supporting exhibitions of the artist's work. The specifically German artistic accomplishment in America is the subject of a few studies and catalogues in addition to those devoted to individuals. Among these contributions are the catalogue published by the Goethe Institut Boston *America through the Eyes of German Immigrant Painters* with interpretive text by Anneliese Harding (1975-76), von Kalnein, Andree, and Ricke-Immel's *The Hudson and the Rhine* (1976), Rudolf Cronau's section on "Well Known Artists, Sculptors and Architects" in his *German Achievements in America* (1916, 1995), A. B. Faust's chapter on painting in *The German Element in the United States* (1909, 1927, 1969), and McGuire's 1980 essay on German artists in Texas. Yet while the portrayal of Native Americans by German artists invariably earns mention in such accounts as these, it is never the focus of sustained primary attention.[7] The following discussion makes the representation of the Indians its central focus and traces constitutive threads through the development of this body of art work. The painters considered here are Karl Bodmer (1809-93), Balduin Möllhausen (1825-1905), Peter Rindisbacher (1806-34), Charles Wimar (1828-62), Friedrich Richard Petri (1824-57), Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871), Christian Schussele (1824-79), Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-72), and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). Passing reference is also made to F. W. von Egloffstein (1824-85), Gustavus Sohon (1825-1903), Arthur Schott (1813-75), Charles Preuss (1803-54), and Emanuel Leutze (1816-68).

The corpus of Indian paintings produced by these artists can usefully be considered as comprising three phases of development, which I label "Exploration," "Immigration," and "Commodification," according to the relationship between the artists on the one hand and the Indians and their environment on the other. The phases are identified by a coincidence of socio-economic and aesthetic criteria, as well as chronology. It is, therefore, not

simply a question of when a particular Indian image is produced, but what are the circumstances of its genesis and what is the aesthetic consequence. Put another way, what factors determine the production of the image (contract work, scientific documentation, creative impulse, market forces) and what characterizes the resulting portrayal (ethnographic fidelity, object's individualization, degree of detail, relationship to surroundings, prominence, mood, activity, passivity, attitude, genre)?[8]

Exploration

The first group of German painters, who worked in the 1830s and the following decades, is made up of visiting explorers and graphic documenters, recording, as conscientious nineteenth-century data-gatherers, images of the underexplored American West. Our representatives are Bodmer and Möllhausen.

German image making among the native population of North America begins in earnest with Karl Bodmer, the twenty-three-year-old Swiss who accompanied Maximilian Prinz zu Wied on his exploratory trip up the Missouri from April 1833 to May 1834. Bodmer's extraordinarily detailed work includes individual watercolor portraits of Indians, landscapes, riverscapes, sketches of zoological specimens and Indian artifacts, and composite scenes created after the fact from sketches. These were the images of the American West seen by Europeans when many of Bodmer's watercolors were exhibited in Paris in 1836, five years before George Catlin's exhibition of Indian portraits arrived. Bodmer's paintings were key to the formation of European perceptions of the West and its natives. Eighty-one of Bodmer's watercolors appeared as aquatint engravings in 1841 with a set of maps accompanying the German, French, and English versions of Maximilian's publication.[9] Because of the expense of this work it did not become well known in the United States. Bodmer's Indian portraits are remarkable in three ways. They present their subjects as individuals; each face and each posture conveys a unique personality. Bodmer was clearly fascinated by the diversity of physiognomies he encountered among the native population and went to considerable trouble to render facial detail. The portraits further contain a wealth of ethnographic minutiae in attire, body markings and ornamentation, and artifacts. Specific objects have since been identified on the basis of his depictions, ethnographers have verified his accuracy from independent sources, and his Indian subjects themselves were impressed by the faithfulness with which he was able to render their world. Finally, the portraits are vividly genuine, unmannered, and unpretentious. They are devoid of the classical poses found in the Indian paintings of Lino Sanchez y Tapia (Berlandier) and Kurz, and at the same time free of the naiveté and exaggerated simplicity of Rindisbacher and Theodore Gentilz.

Bodmer's portrait of the Hidatsa man, Péhriska-Rúhpa (*Two Ravens*)[1], shows his thinly braided hair, his hair decoration at the forehead, and his bear-claw necklace. The care and attention to detail are striking.

> The shirt is trimmed with bands of bright yellow quillwork and is elaborately fringed with ermine, locks of human hair and dyed horsehair. He also has on a striped woolen breechclout and quilled leggings. . . . [The] grizzly bear claws [are] fastened to an otter-skin band and spaced with blue and white beads. . . . Only the claws of the forepaws were used, preferably from animals taken in the spring when the claws were large, comparatively unworn, and showing white tips. (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 318)

In March 1834 Péhriska-Rúhpa posed for Bodmer a second time, now in the regalia of the Dog Society of his village. Maximilian praised Bodmer's rendering of this dress and described it in his published account of the trip:

> Auf dem Kopf trugen vier von ihnen, das sind die echten Hunde, eine große, weit über die Schulter hinausreichende Mütze oder Haube von Raben- oder Elsterfedern, an deren Spitze kleine weiße Flaumfedern angeklebt sind. In der Mitte dieser unförmigen Federmasse ist der ausgebreitet aufrecht stehende Schwanz eines wilden Truthahns oder des Kriegsadlers angebracht. Um den Hals tragen diese vier Haupthunde einen langen Streifen von rotem Tuch, der über den Rücken hinab bis auf die Waden hängt und in der Mitte des Rückens in einen Knoten zusammengeknüpft wird. (Maximilian, 2:212)

The relationship between Maximilian's text and Bodmer's illustration work is shown clearly by this example. Bodmer complemented the written account with graphics which both give visual representation to what is described and go beyond the words in conveying details and mood. Bodmer was recording information according to a contractual agreement; he was interpreting it according to his aesthetic sensibility.

Bodmer's watercolor of Péhriska-Rúhpa was the basis for the aquatint engraving [2] included in the set of prints published with Maximilian's account of the journey. The aquatint puts *Two Ravens* in a crouch position and gives him concentrated facial tension to evoke the dynamism of the Dog Dance. Clearly, commercial interests have been allowed to intrude on the faithful ethnographic record compiled by Bodmer. The energy of the published version would certainly contribute to its popular appeal.[10] George Catlin, the American painter, had visited Péhriska-Rúhpa just a year before Maximilian's party arrived. In Catlin's painting Two Ravens is shown only from the chest up so that the full grandeur of his attire is not evident. Nevertheless, the thinly braided hair, forehead decoration, and necklace are clearly represented.

Another individual painted by both Bodmer and Catlin was Mató-Tópe (*Four Bears*)[3]. Both Maximilian and Catlin wrote extensively about this man, who was one of the best-known Indian personalities of the nineteenth century. He was himself a painter and observed Bodmer and Catlin closely as they worked. He wears a leather shirt, trimmed with ermine tails, locks of hair, and long panels of beaded quillwork. On the shoulders he has painted symbols of brave deeds. The red spatter marks on his front recall old wounds. The war bonnet shown by Bodmer was reserved for only the most distinguished leaders. The spear is adorned with the scalp of an enemy stretched on a hoop (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 308). Catlin's portrait is more regal in posture and more imposing in his stature; the detail of the clothing is less finely drawn than in Bodmer's painting, but the dyed hair on the shirt, the beaded leggings and moccasins, and the wolf tails attached to the heels are very clear. Catlin's image seems stiffer, more self-important, perhaps more designed to conform to his preconceived notion of the noble savage, while Bodmer's is less assuming.

Four Bears was a credentialed warrior. In a portrait of the same man as a warrior [4], Bodmer makes evident the symbols of his accomplishment. In his hair is a wooden knife (also visible in Catlin's and Bodmer's other portrait). This is a carved facsimile of one he wrested from a Cheyenne in combat. The six colored wooden sticks, each tipped with a brass nail, represent gunshot wounds he had received. The split turkey feather stands for an arrow injury. The other upright feathers are probably symbols of warlike feats. The cluster of painted owl plumage at the back of his head marks him as a member of the Dog Society. Barred stripes on his arm indicate more warlike activity, while the painted hand on his chest signifies he has captured prisoners (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 309).

In addition to portraits, Bodmer also recorded invaluable cultural information. His representation of the inside of a Mandan clay hut [5] is one of the few records remaining of such a domestic interior. Bodmer's eye for detail captures the heavy central supporting pillars and roof beams, the shields, lances, and medicine symbols of the warrior, the paraphernalia of everyday life such as cooking jars and utensils on the floor, the hanging pouches and powder horns and the boxlike family bed against the far wall. Even the horses have been penciled in on the left.[11] These lodges also appear in Bodmer's painting of the Mandan bull dance or buffalo dance.

In assessing the artistic accomplishment of Bodmer's work we must consider that he painted Indians as part of his contractual agreement with his patron Maximilian and in large part had to do what he was told.[12] His paintings are a part of the documentation of the scientific expedition and must therefore be seen in the light of the requirements of data gathering rather than artistic vision. Bodmer's work is for the record and needs to answer to no other standard than the demands of his sponsor for accuracy of detail and a visual complement to the verbal account. Nevertheless, the translation of what is seen and experienced via the media of line, shape, light and color into an image worthy of the original calls for skill, technique, and sensibility. In these Bodmer

excelled. With a minimum of interpretive embellishment he presents a record of the observed data with such fidelity that not only was Maximilian pleased with the results and happy to accept them as a worthy supplement to his published account, but also the Indian subjects themselves—and in later years their descendants—recognized the likenesses as valid representations.[13]

Bodmer was one of several Germans to accompany exploratory expeditions to the American West. Because of their outstanding training other Germans were selected for American-sponsored trips during the 1840s and 1850s. Among these were Balduin Möllhausen, F. W. von Egloffstein,[14] Gustavus Sohon,[15] Arthur Schott,[16] and the cartographer, Charles Preuss.[17] While Möllhausen and von Egloffstein portrayed Native Americans in a nonsystematic way, compared to the ethnographic rigor of Bodmer's work, their depictions nevertheless give valuable insight not only into Native American life and culture beyond the fringes of white settlement but also into the perspectives, attitudes, and interests of the Europeans who depicted them.

Möllhausen, in particular, merits mention as a mediator of the West in paint and print. Born in Bonn in 1825, he made three trips to North America. During the first (1849-52) he became attached to the expedition of Herzog Paul von Württemberg (1851), which visited the Mississippi, Missouri and Platte Rivers from New Orleans to Fort Laramie. After his return to Germany he was invited to be the topographical artist for Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple's party, which explored the 35th parallel between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Los Angeles for the U. S. Army as a possible railroad route (1853-54). Three years later he traveled with Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives's expedition, which ventured up the Colorado River to its highest navigable point from Fort Yuma (1857-58). Intensely interested in ethnography, Möllhausen not only painted and sketched Native Americans in individual and group portraits, but also placed emphasis on games (such as the Mojave ring game),[18] dance, body painting, attire, modes of transportation, habitation styles, interaction with whites, use of tools, and artifacts. Möllhausen's scene of two Omaha boys breaking ice to attract water fowl to a lake for hunting adds a vivid visual complement to his own description of this practice [6]. While his work does not approach the technical quality of Bodmer's, the ethnographic information it contains, the range of content, and the variety of tribal sources make it an invaluable documentary resource.[19] Möllhausen's travels on the Whipple expedition alone brought him into contact with Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Delaware, Shawnee, Comanche, Kichai, Kiowa, Waco, Navajo, Apache, Laguna Pueblo, Santa Domingo Pueblo, Zuni, Chemehuevi, Mojave, Southern Paiute, and Yuma groups (Otte, 18f.). His writing and painting reveal his awareness of the destructive impact of European contact on native cultures and he identifies levels of cultural dilution as he moves westward. The Choctaw and Shawnee, who had been relocated after 1830 to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and whom Möllhausen met in 1853, showed more evidence of contact with European

culture than the Kiowa further west and especially the isolated Mojave (Otte, 21).

Möllhausen's most striking Indian painting is a study of Chief Me-sic-é-hota, seated on a blanket which wraps over his knees, hunched over, and naked but for a feathered headdress [7]. More impressive for its mood and the posture of its subject than for ethnographic information, this portrait reveals much of the inner self of the Mojave chief and, far from glorifying the aging leader, interprets him in his humanity and vulnerability. Though many of Möllhausen's Indian paintings show simple full-length representations of two or three standing subjects side by side in frontal or profile views, like scientific specimens, this portrait demonstrates his desire to avoid clichéd representation. He seems to distinguish scientific from artistic intent. Möllhausen's depictions have a unique style which is only in part attributable to his uncoached hand. Rarely do his pictures suggest an artificial pose; their impression of authenticity derives from their directness of experience and unpretentious technique.

Möllhausen's encounters with Indians formed the basis for nearly forty adventure novels set in the American West and written between 1861 and his death in 1905. Praised as the "German Fenimore Cooper," he was, according to Preston Barba, "read by young and old, by all classes. It is safe to say that in the sixties and seventies there was no more popular, no more widely read, no more beloved German novelist than Balduin Möllhausen" (Hartmann, 73). In recent analyses of his writing, Andreas Graf has pointed to Möllhausen's indebtedness to his friend and mentor Alexander von Humboldt, from whose *Ansichten der Natur* (1826) he adapts passages, and to the exploitation of his work by Karl May, who used Möllhausen's description of his half-Indian girlfriend for his characterization of Winnetou's sister (Graf 1993, 49; 1991, 92). Möllhausen's writing about the West becomes relevant again in the context of Friedrich Kurz.

Immigration

The explorers and artists on expeditions captured invaluable images of Native Americans in their cultural and geographical context, but they remained outside observers and documenters. Bodmer and Maximilian, to be sure, spent the winter of 1833-34 with the Mandan, but Hartmann remarks that Möllhausen spent no more than a couple of days with Indian groups (78). The immigrant artists, on the other hand, who lived on the frontier or near it, could draw on their personal experience of extended day-by-day involvement. They could know the everyday routines of the native population firsthand and develop an intimacy with their subjects impossible for the visiting explorer, who remained a guest. The work of Wimar, Rindisbacher, Petri, and Kurz marks the second phase in the development of German artists' encounter with native cultures in North America.

Carl Ferdinand Wimar came to America with his mother and step-father's family in 1843 at the age of fifteen. The family settled in St. Louis on the

outskirts of town close to the campsites of Indians who came to trade. Young Wimar befriended an Indian boy and learned Indian ways from him. His contact with the natives and his physical appearance led many to the false assumption that he had Indian blood in his veins (Rathbone 16). It is striking, given Wimar's widely documented affinity for Native Americans and close daily contact with them that so much of his work focuses on conflict situations where the Indian is either the offender against the white man or the perpetrator of an unlawful act. For all its drama, Wimar's *Indians Stealing Horses* (ca. 1858) labels the protagonists as thieves in its title. Similarly, in *Attack on the Emigrant Train* (1856) the Indians appear as aggressors against the underdog pioneers who are handicapped by their cumbersome wagon. Close examination of other paintings, however, reveals an underlying sympathy with the Indian's condition which is not apparent at first sight. Dawn Glanz remarks, justifiably, that "as a partisan of the wilderness and the frontier, he was more likely [than Leutze] to be disturbed at the changes it was undergoing." She identifies an underlying melancholy in his depiction of emigration (82). In *Indians Pursued by American Dragoons* (1855) [8] conflict between Indians and the American army dominates, though the focus and sympathy are clearly with the hopeless predicament of the Indians. The three Indians fleeing in the foreground are given an identity and individuality which the attacking dragoons do not have. Impossibly outarmed, they are presented as fearful, vulnerable humans, while their attackers are uniformed, mounted, charging, and the epitome of a machine of aggression in motion.

It is harder to locate sympathy with the plight of the Natives in Wimar's interpretation of the *Abduction of Daniel Boone's Daughter by the Indians* (1855) [9].[20] The classical composition of the Düsseldorf Academy's style is again evident. The helpless woman is at the center of the frame and immediately attracts the eye, reinforcing the preconception of the innocent female victim suffering at the hands of savage male abductors. She immediately claims the sympathy of the viewer who is familiar with this topos as a metaphor for innocence and civilization threatened by the brutal savage.[21] Yet on closer inspection the Indians are far more interesting. It is their physical prominence which dominates the image. They seem oddly unconcerned about the woman, they are not touching her, threatening her, or even looking at her. They are composed and elegant, and their dignity almost asks us to accept their role in this scene as justified.[22] Nevertheless, the sympathies of the artist notwithstanding, the dominant theme, as in so much of Wimar's work, is the dramatic representation of the clash of irreconcilable cultures.

Many of Wimar's most impressive Western works—including these—were painted when the artist was in Düsseldorf between 1852 and 1856-57. At the Düsseldorf Academy he studied under Josef Fay and later advanced to the tutelage of German-American Emanuel Leutze, best known for his *Washington Crossing the Delaware*.[23] The painstakingly thorough techniques taught at the Academy are evident in Wimar's seventeen Düsseldorf paintings, eleven of which

have Indian themes. His teachers demanded full-scale preparatory drawings and stressed factual detail while respecting nature and naturalism. Subjects of a heroic, historical, or nationalistic character were preferred.

Wimar applied the techniques to three other themes which became definitive of notable subgenres in the representation of American Indians. The first is the buffalo hunt which, among other things because of its inherent dynamism and potential for the dramatic moment, is to be found in the oeuvre of Bodmer, Möllhausen, Rindisbacher, Kurz, Bierstadt, Alfred J. Miller, Charles M. Russell, Catlin, and Remington.[24] The second is the Mandan buffalo dance or bull dance, which Catlin (1832) and Bodmer (1833) had already depicted. By the time of Wimar's trip up the Missouri in 1858 the Mandan tribe had been reduced by smallpox to only sixty-four men.[25] The third popular subgenre to which Wimar contributed was the Indian raid on the pioneer wagon train, which he portrayed twice. Leutze, Bierstadt, and Remington also worked with this theme.[26]

How significant a painter of Indians was Wimar? A recent and meticulously thorough evaluation of Wimar's work summarizes: "His art, particularly after his student period, contained many ethnographically accurate details, but its overall effect, conditioned by his historical and cultural milieu, was mythic" (Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 27). Mythic, certainly, in that Wimar selectively worked numerous Western and universal topoi in a way that would appeal to his clientel and satisfy its need for affirmation.[27] At the same time, however, he placed emphases that deviated from pure popular conformity. At one and the same time he employed the affirmative style and technique of the Düsseldorf Academy and offered alternatives to the prevailing view of the Indian as threat and persistent nuisance in the path of European westward expansion. He simultaneously drew on his own highly accurate ethnographic sketches and adjusted his own experiences to suit a vision of the wilderness and its inhabitants that had already passed (cf. Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 155). His work thus mediates in the dialogue between the ethnographic fidelity of Bodmer and the romantic excess of Kurz.

William Hodges, an American critic, assesses Wimar's importance in terms of his foreignness:

> It is most strange that none of our early painters seemed conscious of the existence of the Indian save as the blood-thirsty and implacable enemy of the white man, and it is possible that race hatred blinded their eyes to his pictorial virtue, and that it was reserved to one foreign-born, with a mind unclouded by the recollection of centuries of relentless warfare to perceive with an artist's eye a virgin field unequaled in dramatic and pictorial interest. (Hodges, 29)

While it is evident that Wimar's painting is by no means free of the elements Hodges castigates in the work of his American countrymen—conflict, bloodshed,

and hostility are crucial ingredients to Wimar's pictures—and that he needed to be mindful of prevailing tastes in the market, there may be some truth in his basic assertion that as an outsider Wimar—as other Germans, for that matter—was not encumbered by accumulated American psychological baggage.

The same might be said, for instance, of Peter Rindisbacher, perhaps the first immigrant German (actually Swiss) to portray Native Americans. Rindisbacher immigrated at the age of fifteen with his parents to Lord Selkirk's Red River colony on the edge of the high plains in Western Canada. His *Family from the Tribe of the Wild Sautaux Indians on the Red River* (ca. 1822) [10] provides a few details of clothing, custom, and culture, but is a singularly static group portrait, conspicuously flat, in spite of its foreground versus background structure. Historian Bernard DeVoto is uncompromising in his dismissal of Rindisbacher: ". . . both the Indians and the whites in his pictures are usually dressed in vaguely Swiss costumes. He has almost entirely vanished from human knowledge and the sixty odd paintings of his that remain are difficult to get at. They are also exceedingly crude: his buffalo, for instance, have a strong resemblance to llamas . . ." (393-94). DeVoto's criticism is not only uncharitable, it is also unfounded. Rindisbacher does not approach Bodmer in his eye for cultural detail nor in his skill, but his *Blackfeet Hunting on Horseback* (1833) was convincing enough to provide the buffalo image for Republic of Texas currency. DeVoto continues: "His Indians were of the marginal Plains tribes, . . . but none of his landscapes is truly Western, the crudity of his work could hardly be overstated, and he appears to have had no effect at all" (394). While Rindisbacher assuredly does represent only a minor bristle in the collective brush which painted the West, let us not forget that Bodmer met him in St. Louis and in all likelihood saw his paintings (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 5), and while influence on Bodmer's work may not be evident we cannot say definitely that Bodmer learned nothing from that meeting.

German settlers in Texas in the 1850s convey a different spirit from Rindisbacher and the Düsseldorf student Wimar. This was due, among other things, to training. Friedrich Richard Petri graduated from the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts having attended that institution during the turbulent years preceding the 1848 revolution. Petri had been admitted to the Dresden Academy at age fourteen (1838) and had been a pupil of Ludwig Richter and Julius Hübner. While at the academy he followed their preference for Biblical themes and romantic interpretations of German legends. Later, in Texas, where he arrived with his sister and brother-in-law, the landscape painter Hermann Lungkwitz, in 1851, Petri drew everyday scenes from frontier experience and domesticity. His scenes of family life on the farm are strongly reminiscent of the Biedermeier and late Romantic products of Germany and may be compared in style to works by Ludwig Knaus (*Volksfest* 1850), Wilhelm von Kobell (*Jäger auf der Alm* 1828), Joseph Anton Koch (*Serpentara—Landschaft mit Hirten* ca. 1830), and Franz Krüger (*Die Ausfahrt* 1847).

Petri's Indians are drawn from his personal experiences with the Lipan Apaches around the family's homestead at Liveoak Creek near the Pedernales River southwest of Fredericksburg, Texas. Petri produced a number of sensitive studies of Indian life. His *Plains Indian Girl with Melon* shows careful attention to detail in the clothing and great affection for the subject. What we might for today's taste read as a saccharin romanticization fit for mass-produced greeting cards was not yet clichéd in the 1850s and represents a valid attempt at capturing a spiritual innocence.

The bachelor Petri never tired of sketching and painting family groupings, often with mules or horses [11]. This is presumably how he often saw the Indians of the area he had settled. Intimacy is a hallmark of Petri's Indian paintings; his subjects are never threatening or bellicose but rather withdrawn and deferential. The dramatic moment preferred by Wimar gives way in Petri's work to humility, domesticity, even passivity. It is said that soon after the immigrants Petri and Lungkwitz settled their farm,

> a group of Indians paid them a surprise visit, surrounding the cabin, then approaching it in pregnant, stealthy silence. The tension became almost unbearable, but it was finally broken when Petri set up his easel in the middle of the cabin, opened the door wide, and began to paint. Petri nodded a friendly greeting as the most curious of the visitors peeped inside, and soon the cabin was filled with Indians, intrigued with the paints and the paintings of the strange white man. (Newcomb, 87)

Petri was clearly a close observer of Indians and may have known some individuals well, however, names of his subjects are generally not recorded. His figures, anonymous though they are, nevertheless are portrayed as social beings, often in company, and frequently engaged in everyday activities.

Petri's relationship with the Indians was good and this seems generally to have been the case in German communities in Texas at the time, following the Meusebach treaty with the Comanches in 1847.[28] And yet Petri's attitude was not entirely unambiguous. Two days before purchasing their farm in July 1852 Petri and Lungkwitz had signed a petition along with eighty other residents of Gillespie County urging Governor Peter H. Bell to have the local Indians removed. The charges leveled against them—killing and stealing stock, destroying fences and crops, breaking into houses, violation of women—were largely spurious (Newcomb, 84ff). Further, the German community in Fredericksburg had, as German communities did, established the usual complement of clubs and organizations, including a *Schützenverein*. These clubs were active in organizing the 1853 Fourth of July celebrations. In a letter home describing these festivities German immigrant Carl Hilmar Guenther enumerates the activities he participated in, then writes: "After that we had target shooting, the target being a beautifully painted Indian in life-size" (Newcomb, 91). Petri's

watercolor of an aggressive-looking Indian holding a perfectly round shield [12] is almost certainly a draft for the target Guenther describes. Today the placing of a racially defined image as a target for the firearms of another group would cause a public outcry. Perhaps we should be cautious about applying the standards of one age to another, nevertheless it is conspicuous that the humanitarian forty-eighter Petri apparently saw no contradiction in this piece of work.

While Petri's portrayals of American Indians are informed predominantly by his liberal, humanitarian sensibilities and the aesthetics of the German Biedermeier, those of the Swiss Rudolf Friedrich Kurz, which like Petri's emphasize harmony and tranquility over conflict and drama, originate in a lifelong desire to represent the romantic life of the Native American. Kurz was born in 1818 in Bern and reports in the journal he wrote in America that it was only with difficulty that he managed to persuade his parents to let him become a painter but that his one ambition was to paint the wildlife and the natives of the wilderness of America. The genesis of this passionately pursued goal is unclear, but it was certainly fed by the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and may have been fueled further if Kurz saw the three Osage Indians who visited Bern with a traveling show in 1828 (Kläy and Läng, 12). At twenty-one he had met Alexander von Humboldt, who encouraged him in his aspiration, recommending Mexico as a promising destination. Kurz also sought the counsel of Bodmer, with whom he was acquainted in Paris. Bodmer—perhaps out of fear of a rival, perhaps out of recognition of the weaknesses of Kurz's skills—discouraged Kurz's plan and sent the young man into temporary depression (Kläy and Läng, 14-16).[29] Nevertheless, in 1846 Kurz traveled to New Orleans, whence he proceeded, like Bodmer and Wimar, to the Missouri. His sojourn in North America, which lasted until 1852, was dominated by a quest to find the Indians who fit his romantic preconception of a natural, noble, wildness:

> War mein Hang zur Darstellung der Urnatur schon früher so groß gewesen, daß mir mein malerisches Vaterland nicht genügte, so war jetzt durch den Anblick des Urwaldes, wilder Thiere und ächter Naturkinder derselbe zur wahren Leidenschaft worden. Ich war so glücklich mich in meinen Erwartungen nicht getäuscht zu sehen, ich fand den Urwald reicher, origineller, die Indianer edler in ihren Formen, als ich je geschwärmt. (Kläy and Läng, 34)

His ideal, which is borne out at every turn in his sketches and paintings, derived from the idealized human forms of Greek antiquity. He places his subjects repeatedly in classical postures and even applies the terminology of Greek mythology to some representations (*Die Grazien*, Kläy and Läng, 44). Kurz's art represents a confluence of the ideas of Winckelmann, Herder, and Rousseau. It becomes apparent that the Indians are for Kurz a means to a personal artistic end

and that, his sincere affection for them notwithstanding, his role as a documenter of the conditions of their existence is secondary to that of the aesthete seeking fulfillment: ". . . denn während meiner Studien stieg mein Ideal immer höher, selbst über die Antike, ja selbst über Raphaels Meisterwerke; so daß selbst der Indianer nicht mehr mein höchstes Ideal blieb, sondern mir bloß als lebende Antike zum Modell dienen sollte" (Kläy and Läng, 45).

Kurz's predilection for nude studies and sketches left incomplete before the details of apparel were added, indicates a greater interest in abstract properties of human form than in specific ethnographic documentation.[30] There are, nevertheless, among Kurz's work detail studies to be found: feathered headgear, necklaces, decorated bows and animal pelts (including buffalo hides), lodges (interior and exterior views), dogs with travois, ceremonies (including an Omaha buffalo dance), and body decoration are included.[31] The fact that many of the detail studies show single artifacts in isolation, rather than in use or as part of a larger scene, suggests that Kurz copied them from life for their own sake, probably with the intention of incorporating them later into a larger work (such as *Omaha bei Belle Vue auf die 'St. Ange' wartend*, Kläy and Läng, 40). His eye for detail is not infallible, however, since he paints buffalo cows to look like domestic Swiss cows, lacking the shoulder hair of the American bison (*Indianer auf Bisonjagd*) [13].

After experiences with Iowa, Hidatsa, Omaha, Mandan, Sauteurs, and other Native American groups, including a two-year spell as grocer-cum-tavern keeper in St. Joseph, Missouri, Kurz returned to Switzerland in 1852. He was never able to make a living from his North American work nor even to publish his journal, though six of his watercolors did form the basis for illustrations to a six-part series written by Möllhausen for the *Gartenlaube* (Leipzig) in 1862.[32] He died in 1871. While he was not strictly a settler, Kurz's intimate familiarity with Indian culture, especially of the Iowa (he married an Iowa woman), over an extended period allows us legitimately to include him with Petri and Rindisbacher. Their work shares not only familiarity with everyday aspects of Indian life acquired by daily intercourse, but also an interest in domesticity and harmonious social interaction as themes. Wimar, because of his Düsseldorf-fostered glorification of culture clash, is more difficult to reconcile with this category, though he too shows sympathy with the Indian point of view even as his natives combat the encroaching Europeans.

Although he does not lend himself to convenient organization into the tripartite model adopted here, Christian Schussele cannot go unmentioned. He came to America in 1848, having been born in Gebweiler in Alsace and trained in Strasbourg and Paris. As part of a project which set out to capture in oils significant moments from the history of his adopted country Schussele selected the 1767 meeting of the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger with the Munsee Indians at Goschgosching in western Pennsylvania [14]. He probably used the biographical sources available at the time by de Schweinitz and Loskiel and in all likelihood tried to visualize the words from Zeisberger's diary which de

Schweinitz quotes: "Never yet did I see so clearly depicted in the faces of the Indians both the darkness of hell and the world-subduing power of the Gospel" (Michel, 260, Olmstead, 21). *Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians* or *The Power of the Gospel*, which was completed in 1862 and measures six feet by nine and one-half feet, hangs in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.[33] Enveloped by near total darkness, a group of about twenty native figures, showing varying degrees of animation but uniform gravity, is bathed in the brilliant orange glow of a wood fire. Zeisberger stands full length at the right of the picture, dressed in black, hands held aloft, with his face and hands reflecting the light of the fire back toward most of the Indian group. Clearly an allegorical value is intended for the light and darkness. The Indians are given mostly leather clothing and neck- and head-wear, easily identifiable with an Indian image by a nineteenth-century public. The postures of the listeners suggest different emotional responses ranging from dismay and awe to fascination and excitement, such that these studied reactions become a topic of the painting. Even though each native figure is painted with care and detail, the overriding impression is that of the single white man who, with the power of his words and his message, is able to dominate the group. It is the mid-nineteenth-century interpretation of a historical event already a century past, which shows the native population with sympathy but without power, and with otherness but in the process of acculturation. It is a representation which unambiguously serves the ideological interests of white America. Schussele makes a step in the direction taken more purposefully by the painters of the third group.

Commodification

In the 1860s, the historical relationship between immigrants and Indians and the tastes determining the market for paintings of Indians had changed. The third group of painters, represented by Cornelius Krieghoff and Albert Bierstadt, had to contend with these changed conditions. These are the professional landscape and genre artists, for whom the Native American comes to be an ornament in a natural scene.

Recognizing that Indian cultures were dying, German painters were among those who sought to preserve what could still be saved. But at the same time, as the nineteenth century progressed and Native American culture steadily lost its status as a perceived threat, the Indian increasingly acquired a symbolic value and became a commodity to be marketed. The image of the Indian evolved into a sanitized projection of lost selfhood safely enshrined in landscapes produced for the parlor or incorporated into large-scale, operatic oil paintings glorifying the natural beauty of the American West and civilization's appropriation of it.

Krieghoff's early work (1840s, including *Little Pine Chief* and *The Eclipse* [Chief Tanaghte] both ca. 1848) shows a genuine interest in Native American culture, though he was short on the skill necessary to portray it effectively. The two most interesting aspects of Krieghoff's output in our context concern

acculturation and commodification. Krieghoff's Indians become incorporated into city life and acquire the trappings of immigrant culture, such as *The Indian Woman Basket Seller*, who has evidently become integrated into the immigrant economy (1850s), or the *Marie de Montréal, Indian Squaw/Moccasin Seller* [15] in Montreal (late 1840s) draped in a blanket and clutching moccasins and a decorated pouch which, with an appealing look in her eyes, she seems to offer to the observer for purchase. Increasingly Krieghoff's images of the Native American take on the quality of a commodity whose raison d'être derives from an environment of supply and demand. This is a reflex of both the artist's motivation in painting for dominant tastes in the market and the situation of the Indian in the contemporary social as well as the aesthetic economy.

Krieghoff was born in Amsterdam in 1815, but the family moved to Mainberg, near Schweinfurt, in 1822, where his father ran a wallpaper production company in the castle. Familiarity with color and design thus came early. It is likely, because of family connections, that Krieghoff studied art at the Düsseldorf Academy, where Wilhelm Schadow had become director in 1826. The increasing popularity of subjects from everyday life at the academy among such instructors as Johann Peter Hasenclever may have influenced Krieghoff's direction (Harper, 5). Krieghoff came to America in 1835 or 1836 with his brother Ernst, and headed first to Florida with the U. S. Army, which was engaged in subduing the Seminoles. No Krieghoff paintings from this period have survived. His extant work was produced in upstate New York (Rochester) and, after a study visit to Paris, in Canada (Toronto, Montreal, Longueuil, Quebec City). Krieghoff's paintings came to be included as symbolic of the highest Canadian achievement at national and international exhibitions (Harper, 163). Krieghoff died in Chicago in 1872.

Autumn: Chippawa Indians at Lake Huron (from 1864) [16] is typical of the modest nature scene, produced to comply with the contemporary taste for natural beauty (in this case the autumnal colors of the Canadian woods) and Indians, as people of the forest. The Indians have no individuality or identity other than a general "Indianness" of dress, physical appearance, and canoe, but they are depicted as being in harmony with their natural surroundings. This example demonstrates the direction Krieghoff's interest in the Native American takes after his early interest in a faithful, detailed pictorial record. Together with *Hunting Scene on the St. Maurice* (1860), it conforms to the recipe of a genre. The paintings share distinctive features of location, and similar activities are taking place. The rock wall at the water's edge and some of the trees are the same, although the point of view has shifted. Indian figures in both are loading a musket and attending to a slain deer, though their positioning too has changed. The Canadian woods offered attractive fall colorings which city dwellers delighted in hanging on their walls and the Indian motif added an extra authenticity while, at the same time, satisfying a deep-seated longing of the urbanite for an idealized, simpler way of life. Krieghoff's sensitivity to his market gains the upper hand over his sensitivity to his Indian subjects. As J. Russell

Harper puts it: ". . . scenes of the harsh side of Indian life would have been as unacceptable to his patrons as pictures of the Quebec slums. He deliberately excluded all that was uncomfortable: the shivering cold and the howling winds, the huddling in inadequate shelters, the arthritis and sickness from exposure and the shortness of lives" (137). Thus the Native American is commodified as an eminently marketable decorative feature for the middle- and upper-class home.

The increasing commodification of the Indian can be traced also in Albert Bierstadt's paintings. Perhaps Bierstadt's credentials make him a questionable candidate for inclusion among German painters: Though born in Solingen in 1830, he emigrated with his family at the age of two to New Bedford, Massachusetts. However, he did return to Germany (1853-57) to learn his art in Düsseldorf from Hasenclever, who was his mother's cousin. He was therefore in Düsseldorf at the same time as Wimar and Leutze. Bierstadt was never enrolled at the Düsseldorf Academy, and Hasenclever had died before Bierstadt arrived, nevertheless he did have contact with eminent members of the Düsseldorf art world, including Worthington Whittredge and Leutze, and clearly learned much.

On his return to North America he joined the Lander expedition to the Rockies in 1858 and had his first encounter with the spectacular landscapes, the interpretation of which would dominate his subsequent work. Six years later Bierstadt's *The Rocky Mountains* (1863) [17] catapulted him to national attention. Both its sheer size (six by ten feet) and the spectacular scenery contributed to its impact.[34] Bierstadt's Indians appear as landscape furniture in this painting as in many of his others. They exist in the darkened foreground and some ethnographic details are included, but the eye travels straight to the middle ground, where the waterfall is bathed in sunlight. Beyond the waterfall the towering peak appears, rendering the human element insignificant. The view itself is a fantasy and depicts no specific location. The Indian village and villagers are used to further the effect of sublime nature.

Yet Bierstadt's Indians had not always been this way. Early paintings show Bierstadt's sympathetic depictions of Indian villages without the bombastic scenic backdrop. Some sketches of Indians from 1859 and an early portrait (1857) of Martha Simon [18], a Nemasket Indian woman who lived near New Bedford, (one of Bierstadt's very few portraits), show a fondness missing later. But while Bierstadt in later life still paid lip service to the need for artists and writers to concern themselves with the history of the Indian, he also referred to them as "appropriate adjuncts to the scenery"—as "adjuncts" they are props or accessories in the service of another purpose (Baigell, 10).

Bierstadt, though often castigated by critics, was adored by the public and achieved enormous popular and financial success. He clearly was in tune with the public taste at the height of his career during the 1860s and 1870s. Peter Hassrick notes: "Following the Civil War, America's popular attention was somewhat drawn away from frontier genre themes and turned instead toward a nationalistic identification with the grandeur of the Western landscape, portrayed

in scenes often devoid of human presence and evocative of universal truths found only in nature where man's intrusion had not been evident" (*American Frontier Life*, 22). How is Bierstadt best characterized? Perhaps as an artistic articulator of Manifest Destiny, the appropriation of the other by his own civilization; perhaps as a painter who could construct images that would unite a nation of immigrants as they gazed in awe at the supposed natural splendor of the land they had entered (Baigell, 11). In any event, he was able to find an aesthetic mix that was commercially successful. That formula included over time a steady decline in prominence and status for the Indians he portrayed. The decline represents both the historical reality of the diminishing importance of Indian cultures in the American psyche (as threat and heritage) and the aesthetic preferences of the buying public, since for the professional artist the market is a prime determinant in the selection of subject matter. Unfortunately for Bierstadt, the fashion changed around 1875 and by the 1890s Bierstadt's work was no longer in vogue. He declared bankruptcy in 1895.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these observations? First, it is evident that the lines of development in the portrayal of the American aboriginal population by German artists in the nineteenth century emerge with considerable clarity. They move from the visitor's interest in ethnographic and cultural detail (Bodmer, Möllhausen) to the settler's perspective of shared experience of the North American environment (Petri, Wimar, Rindisbacher, Kurz), from there to the professional's relegation of the Indian to near irrelevance in a landscape appropriated by immigrant culture and valued in art for its inherent aesthetic qualities (Krieghoff's fall colors) and sublime theatricality (Bierstadt's mountains). And the lines of development move simultaneously from the motivation of scientific data-gathering (Bodmer, Möllhausen, von Egloffstein, Sohon), through depiction of frontier experience and social interest (Rindisbacher, Wimar, Petri, Kurz), to unabashed production of a commodity for a market (Schussele, Krieghoff, Bierstadt). They move likewise from depiction of the Native American as subject and agent with individual and group identity (Bodmer, Möllhausen, Sohon, Rindisbacher, Petri) to a social being in precarious juxtaposition with an alien culture (Wimar, Kurz, Schussele, early Krieghoff, early Bierstadt), to a collection of a few distinctive features marking "Indianness" (Krieghoff, Bierstadt).

The composite scene, by Bodmer from 1833, of the encounter between Maximilian's party (shown on the right) and the Minnetaree Indians [19] suitably symbolizes the early stages of an irreversible process. The explorers are on the margin at the right, Maximilian in the black coat, Bodmer himself in the brown hat at the far right, and between them David Dreidoppel (Maximilian's hunter and taxidermist). The Minnetarees hold center stage and capture the attention, especially the chief in the stovepipe hat with its adornments, the horse, and the gesturing Indian who seems to be introducing the Europeans. The two groups are separated from each other by a clear vertical line incorporated as part of the wall of the fort. The white man's cultural trappings, though, have already

crossed the line in the form of the chief's hat. More telling yet is the fortified stockade of the army post, which forms the backdrop to the scene on which this tableau is staged. Compare this with Bierstadt's depiction of the arrival of Columbus in the New World [20], painted in 1893 to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the landing and intended for display at the Paris world fair. Here Columbus's party is bathed in light while the Indians hover at the margins in the darkness of ignorance. Those Indians who venture into the half-light fall to their knees, acknowledging the superiority of the new arrival and worshiping him. The power relations are unambiguous; they are reaffirmed by every representational trick, subtle and not-so-subtle, that Bierstadt can muster, even to the point of projecting this scene as the indigenous inhabitant's "point-of-view." Again, as in Bodmer's painting, the force of white armament is present in the form of Columbus's ships. In the sixty years which elapsed between Bodmer's and Bierstadt's paintings the place and role of the Native American as interpreted by the German and German-American psyche had changed radically and irrevocably.

The historical decline of American Indian cultures is paralleled by shifts in the qualities of the artist's representation of Native Americans in sketch, oil, and water. But this is not a straightforward correlation in which the step-by-step progression of images tracks the decline at distance. Rather it is a more complex interrelation which includes the motivational, sociological, and economic determinants of the artists' circumstances of production as well as the dynamics of the predicament of the Indian. Indeed, the factors determining the context of production in which the artists work (Who are they painting for? What is the quality of their personal experience of and interest in their subject? What are the prevailing tastes and market forces?) are aspects of the progress of North American civilization which promotes the very decline of native cultures in the first place. The developments in this body of painting are possible only at the expense of its subject.[35]

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Notes

[1] The term "German" is used here to refer to German speakers and therefore includes Austrians, Swiss, and Alsatians.

[2] Charles Sealsfield (pseudonym of Karl Postl), *Das Cajütenbuch oder nationale Charakteristiken* (Zürich: Friedrich Schultheß, 1841).

[3] In addition to fiction, Möllhausen also wrote *Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee* (Leipzig, 1858), which was translated into English and Danish, and *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas: bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico* (Leipzig, 1860), soon to appear in an English translation by David Miller (University of Arizona Press).

[4] Among May's many Western titles are *Im fernen Westen* (1880), *Helden des Westens* (1890), *Winnetou* (3 vols. 1893-1910), *Old Shurehand* (1894).

[5] Chamisso discusses the treatment of Indians by the Spanish mission at San Francisco.

[6] See, for example, Goetzmann and Porter, Hassrick, Goetzman and Goetzmann.

[7] Hugh Honour's *The European Vision of America* contains a section "Indians in the Nineteenth Century" (315-36), which includes discussion of works by Rindisbacher, Bodmer, and Frank Buchser (1828-90).

[8] William H. Goetzmann has offered in his numerous publications the most complete analysis of image making in the American West. My approach differs in several notable respects from his. German artists' portrayal of Native Americans is never a central topic for Goetzmann; the scope of his work precludes such selective focus and his discussion of German artists usually in the service of a broader analysis. An exception is his exemplary essay on Bodmer in *Karl Bodmer's America*. Goetzmann's central category to discussing the nineteenth century is Romanticism; this term proves to be inadequate for creating necessary distinctions and highlighting contrasts within the nineteenth century. Further, as Goetzmann explains, the term is itself subject to flux as different subcategories of the Romantic vie for dominance through time (1981, 12). Goetzmann identifies useful subcategories such as the pastoral, the elegiac, the sublime, the melodramatic, the theatrical, the epic heroic, and the nostalgic (12), but marginalizes motivational aspects of the production context (contracts, assignments, the market).

[9] Goetzmann 1986, 14. Mildred Goosman notes that delivery of the publication was not made until 1843 (Thomas and Ronnefeldt, 12).

[10] A crude reproduction of Bodmer's aquatint was used for the design of a 29-cent postage stamp issued by the U.S. Postal Service in 1994 as one of the series "Legends of the West." It bears the inscription "Native American Culture."

[11] Kurz also prepared a sketch of such a hut interior, unoccupied (Kläy and Läng, 135). Catlin's *Torture Scene in the Medicine Lodge* also shows the interior of a Mandan lodge, in this case the purpose-built, flat-ended lodge as used for the O-Kee-Pa "torture" ceremony. (Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 23 and Bowers, 111-63, give accounts of this ceremony). Exteriors occur in other images by Catlin (Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 28f.) and Bodmer (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 19). Von Egloffstein's *Interior of a Moquis House* was interpreted in a lithograph by John James Young for the report of the Ives expedition (1861). Rindisbacher painted what is probably the first interior of a tipi sometime between 1829 and 1834 (Honour, 323).

[12] William J. Orr describes the terms of Bodmer's employment as follows: "[Maximilian] would pay passage to and from Europe as well as a monthly salary of thirty-three thalers for a journey of approximately two years' duration. While Maximilian would supply paper and other needs, Bodmer must bring his own drawing instruments. All pictures would remain the property of the Prince; Bodmer would be permitted to make copies but could exhibit them only with his employer's permission" (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 352).

[13] On 6 January 1835, Maximilian wrote to Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius: "Der interessanteste Theil unserer Ausbeute ist wohl der Atlas, eine Sammlung von 300-400 Zeichnungen, die zum Theil sehr schön sind. Herr Bodmer hat nämlich selbst die Menschen, die verschiedenen Stämme der Indianer sehr treu und ähnlich dargestellt, und im Fache der Landschaften war er immer Meister" (Läng, 127-28).

[14] Von Egloffstein traveled with John Frémont in the winter of 1853 to map a central route across the Rockies to the Pacific. He left the trip in February 1854 but joined E.G. Beckwith's survey of a route through Utah, Wyoming, Nevada, and California. He later joined Möllhausen on Joseph C. Ives's survey of the Colorado River (1857-58). Many of Egloffstein's drawings of Western scenes are included in Beckwith's and Ives's published reports (*Pacific Railroad Report*, vols. 2, 11; *Report upon the Colorado River of the West.*) Huseman notes that von Egloffstein was the first white man to visit the Supai and that he produced some of the earliest images (originals now lost) of the Hopi villages (67).

[15] Sohon was born in Tilsit, East Prussia, in 1825 and emigrated to the U.S. at seventeen. In 1852 he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served as an artist on several government expeditions to the West. From 1858 to 1862 he was a guide and interpreter for military roadbuilders in the Pacific Northwest. In 1862 he moved to San Francisco, where he operated a photographic studio until 1865. He then returned to Washington, DC, where he managed a theater until his death in 1903 (Hunt, 132-34). Sohon's pencil sketches of Flathead (Salish), Pend d'Oreille, and Iroquois individuals from 1854 have been discussed by Ewers (1948): "Sohon's pencil technique is characterized by clean, sure lines, and a very realistic three-dimensional quality" (63). The head-and-shoulder portraits reprinted by

Ewers show "selective adaptation of traits of the white man's culture (62), including flat, visored caps (which Ewers speculates may have originated with Hudson's Bay Company traders), shirts with turned-over collars and buttons at the neck and crucifixes (63). Group scenes include a sketch of the *Battle of Spokan Plains on September 5, 1858*, the *Flathead Treaty Council July 1855*, and *Flathead Indians Playing Ring*. Colored lithographs by Sohon appeared in the report of the Mississippi to Pacific railroad exploration (1860) and in Mullan's report of road construction from Walla Walla to Fort Benton (1863). Half-tone reproductions of Sohon's drawings appeared in Hazard Stevens' book about Isaac Ingalls Stevens (1900). See also Trenton and Hassrick, 85-87.

[16] See Goetzmann 1966, 220, 321.

[17] In spite of the fact that he considered John Frémont "childish," the melancholy and obstinate Preuss accompanied him on three of his five expeditions, including the first in 1842. He also went with Robert S. Williamson's Pacific Railroad Survey, after which he became very ill and killed himself in September 1854. In Herman J. Viola's assessment, Preuss's diary provides a "remarkably blunt and candid appraisal of the Pathfinder [Frémont], as well as important, on-the-scene accounts of early western exploration" (66). Preuss's diary has been translated into English and published as *Exploring with Frémont*. It includes some of Preuss's sketches, some of which contain Indians, though not rendered with detail and precision. His maps, on the other hand, are models of modern cartographic technique.

[18] Ring games are depicted also by Sohon (Ewers 1948, opp. 18) and Bodmer (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 19).

[19] Peter Bolz follows Mary Gordon in defending Möllhausen against criticism by Goetzmann and others who had remarked on the unsuccessful Indian depictions by the German in the published account of the Whipple expedtion. In fact, Bolz states, the published lithographs do not do justice to Möllhausen's originals, indeed the artist had himself expressed dismay at the renderings fearing they might damage his reputation (Otte, 19). That Möllhausen was sensitive to his lack of training as an artist emerges from the fact that after returning from his second expedition he took lessons from the landscape painter Eduard Hildebrandt in Berlin. Huseman notes major changes in Möllhausen's artworks in late 1854 and 1855 (27). An evaluative review of the recent increased scholarly interest in Möllhausen can be found in Bolz (1995). See also Taft, 22-35.

[20] Wimar painted two renderings of this theme, known as the "canoe" version (1853) and the "raft" version. My comments refer to the "raft" version.

[21] For further discussion of this theme see Glanz, 67-69.

[22] Glanz goes so far as to interpret nature in this image as working in consort with the captors (69).

[23] Though celebrated for his Western images assembled in his mural for the U.S. Capitol Building, *Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way*, Leutze, who was born in Schwäbisch Gmünd, is not discussed at length here, since his interest in the Native American is limited. Groseclose indicates five paintings by Leutze with Indian themes: *Indians and Captive* (date unknown), which echoes the theme of Wimar's two paintings of the capture of Daniel Boone's daughter and almost certainly derives from Leutze's knowledge of Wimar's work (97), *Indians Attacking a Wagon Train* (1863), which is also indebted to Wimar and actually contains no Indians (98), *Indian Girl*, a 'neo-classic' Indian pose worthy of Kurz (99), *Columbus' First Landing in America* (1863, unlocated; Indian content uncertain) (99), and *Prairie Bluffs at Julesberg, South Platte, Storm at Sunset* (1863) (97). *The Hudson and the Rhine* contains a reproduction of a sketch (ca. 1852)by Leutze of a white man (above, before a forest) preaching to Indians (seated below, looking up). (Kalnein et al., item 112).

[24] For a perceptive discussion of the buffalo hunt paintings as documentation and aesthetic artifacts, see Stewart's article in Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 156-63.

[25] Herman J. Viola doubts that Wimar witnessed the dance, but suspects he drew on Catlin and Bodmer (*American Frontier Life*, 145-49; cf. Stewart, 164).

[26] Glanz adds the prairie fire to the list of Western genre topics to which Wimar contributed (72). Wimar's interest in the attack on the emigrant train theme was originated with his reading of Gabriel Ferry's *Impressions de voyages et aventures dans le Mexique, la haute Californie et les régions de l'or (American Frontier Life*, 19, 147).

[27] Rick Stewart concludes in "An Artist on the Great Missouri," his remarkably detailed day-by-day, sketch-by-sketch account of Wimar's excursion up the Missouri in 1858-59, that Wimar's paintings are characterized most conspicuously by their romanticism. "Although many of his field

studies remain valuable as historic documents, Wimar's finished paintings depict primitive glory and adventure, closer in spirit to the romantic descriptions by James Fenimore Cooper than to his own time" (Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 156). Their omissions are as telling as their images. These strike me as an important observation, though we must be careful not to mistake them for negative judgments. I would state more forcefully than Stewart does that the artist will and cannot but *interpret*. Just as Schiller, the historian, interpreted the stories of Wallenstein and Mary Stuart, the facts of which he knew well, to suit his aesthetic ends, so Wimar interpreted what he knew of the West subject to aesthetic and pragmatic considerations.

[28] The Meusebach treaty ensured peace betweent the German settlers and the Comanches. According to the agreement, the Comanches were to be treated as friends in the German settlements, while the Germans would be allowed to establish a settlement on the Llano River and survey land to its north. The Comanches would receive $3,000 worth of presents two months later (Newcomb, 58).

[29] According to Kurz's own account Bodmer's counsel was accepted as appropriate. The introduction to his journal states: "[Bodmer] stellte mir mit Recht vor, ich sollte mich nicht übereilen, sondern zuerst im Zeichnen und Malen der Landschaft, der Thiere und Menschen so vorbereiten, daß mir das Technische durchaus keine Schwierigkeiten mehr darbiete und ich mit Leichtigkeit den eigenthümlichen Charakter der dortigen Natur auffassen und darstellen könne" (cited in Kläy and Läng, 16; in English, *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, 3).

[30] In a letter to Möllhausen from Bern, dated 18 July 1862, Kurz comments further on his aesthetic: "Schön nenn ich Alles, wo die Äußere Form der innewohnenden Idee entspricht. Je vollkommener diese Idee und ihre entsprechende Hülle, desto höher die Schönheit; der Mensch, der unverhüllte, als das vollkommenste Geschöpf unserer sichtbaren Welt, muß also auch künstlerisch das Schönste sein, was ein Maler darzustellen hat"(Graf 1991, 371, Augustin).

[31] The aesthetic and scientific pretensions of his paintings and sketches are expressed by Kurz in these words: "Die Hauptaufgabe dieses Werkes ist die getreue Darstellung des Indianers in seiner romantischen Lebensweise, der größeren Pelzthiere, des Urwaldes und der Prärie nach eigener Anschauung. Die Bilder sollen naturgetreu, aber malerisch aufgefaßt und ästhetisch ausgeführt sein, sie sollen den Naturhistoriker sowohl, als den Künstler befriedigen, die Kenntnisse des Laien erweitern und seinen Geschmack ausbilden helfen" (Kläy and Läng, 23).

[32] Kläy and Läng, 91. Kurz's letter to Möllhausen of 18 July 1862 refers to this project and includes extended narrative of Kurz's own experiences as a basis for the articles. Kurz expresses pleasure that a writer of Möllhausen's competence is to provide the narrative, perhaps obsequiously since at the close of the letter he seeks Möllhausen's help in preparing his journal for publication and asks for a recommendation to Möllhausen's publisher (Graf 1991, 371-74, Augustin).

[33] The date on the painting reads 1862, though Michel argues for a completion date of 1859 (Michel, 258). The Moravian Archive also houses a second painting by a German painter who includes Indian images: *First Fruits* by John Valentine Haidt (1700-80) is an allegorical work signifying the success of the Moravian mission throughout the world (reproduction, Olmstead, 33).

[34] The picture was a conscious challenge to the dominance of landscape painting by Frederic Edwin Church, whose *Heart of the Andes* (inspired by Alexander von Humboldt) was completed in 1858. The two paintings have often been exhibited together. It has been noted that Bierstadt's painting shows the influence of the landscape vision of the Düsseldorf artist Wilhelm Schirmer (1807-63) (Kalnein et al., 41).

[35] I am indebted to Rolf Dencker, Dora Guerra, Ben Huseman, James Hutson, Vernon Nelson, and Sherry A. Whitmore for assistance at various stages in the preparation of this essay.

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Postscript

Since the completion of this article, two important new publications have made contributions to this topic. Although neither of them calls for any revision of the theses presented here, brief comment on them is justified. Peter C. Merrill's *German Immigrant Artists in America: A Biographcial Dictionary* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1997) provides essential biographical data and valuable source information for all of the artists discussed here and hundreds of other German artists in the United States. *Vice Versa. Deutsche Maler in Amerika—amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813-1913* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996), Katharina and Gerhard Bott, eds., is the catalog of an extensive exhibition displayed in the fall of 1996 by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. The section entitled "Eingeborene und Sklaven" (326-54) includes an image by Emanuel Leutze captioned *Der letzte Mohikaner* (ca. 1850), showing a downcast warrior in a statuesque pose with arms crossed as he gazes toward the blazing prairie; an eagle soars behind his back (329). (Cf. my note 23). The volume contains seventeen original essays, including a survey of German immigrant artists to the United States by Merrill.

[1] Karl Bodmer, **Péhriska-Rúhpa, Hidatsa Man**
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[2] After Karl Bodmer, **Péhriska-Rúhpa,Mœnnitarri Warrior in the Costume of the Dog-Danse** (aquatint)
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[3] Karl Bodmer, **Mató-Tópe, Mandan Chief**
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[4] Karl Bodmer, **Mató-Tópe, Mandan Chief**
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[5] After Karl Bodmer, **The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief** (aquatint)
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[6] Balduin Möllhausen, **Hug-ha und Scha-gri-ga-gec, Omaha-Burschen**
Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv

[7] Balduin Möllhausen, **Me-sic-é-hota, Häuptling der Mohave-Indianer**
Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv

[8] Carl Wimar, **Indians Pursued by American Dragoons**
The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

[9] Carl Wimar, **The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians**
c. 1855, oil on canvas (1965.1)
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

[10] Peter Rindisbacher, **A Family from the Tribe of the Wild Sautaux Indians on the Red River**
National Archives of Canada / C-001929

[11] Friedrich Richard Petri, **Plains Indian Family Emerging from Woods**
Courtesy of the Texas Memorial Museum

[12] Friedrich Richard Petri, **Plains Indian with Shield**
The William Hill Land & Cattle Co., Houston, Texas
Copy courtesy University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, San Antonio

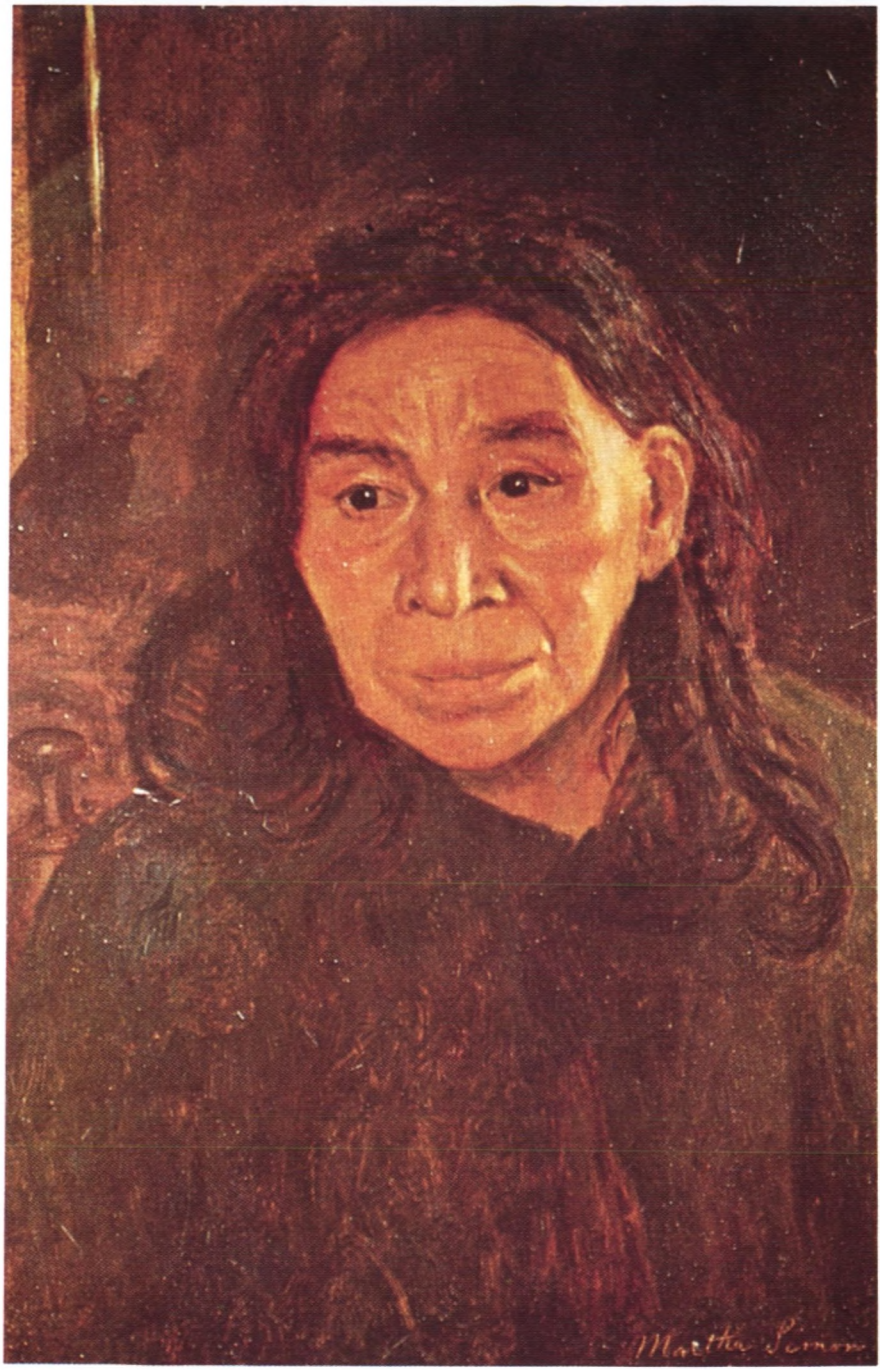
[13] Rudolf Friedrich Kurz, **Indianer auf Bisonjagd**
Musée d'ethnographie de Genève

[14] Christian Schussele, **Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians/The Power of the Gospel**
The Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

[15] Cornelius Krieghoff, **Marie de Montréal, Indian Squaw/Mocassin Seller**
The Collection of Power Corporation of Canada

[16] Cornelius Krieghoff, **Autumn: Chippawa Indians at Lake Huron**
The Collection of Power Corporation of Canada

[17] Albert Bierstadt, **The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak**
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1907. (07.123)
Photograph © 1985 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art



[18] Albert Bierstadt, **Martha Simon**
The Millicent Library, Fairhaven, Massachusetts

[19] Karl Bodmer, **The Travellers Meeting with Minatarre Indians near Fort Clark**
Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation

[20] Albert Bierstadt, **The Landing of Columbus**
The City of Plainfield, New Jersey