“FRIGHTENED DELIGHT:” MAKING INDIGENOUS CELEBRITIES FROM THE DAKOTA WAR OF 1862

by

MAYA PETERS-GRENO

(Under the Direction of AKELA REASON)

ABSTRACT

Following the Dakota War of 1862, photographers in Minnesota created dozens of *cartes de visite* from pictures they took of non-combatants and participants in the war. These include Taoyateduta (*Little Crow*), Tatanka Najin (*Standing Buffalo*), Marpiya Okinajin (*Cut Nose*), Shakopee (*Little Six*), and Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*). Thanks to newspaper articles following the conflict, these men were well known to the white American public which, combined with the newly widespread attainability and sale of *cartes de visite*, propelled them into the status of celebrity. Their positions as celebrities in whitestream media encouraged the myth of the “noble, vanishing Indian,” whom the Union was slowly colonizing and would soon disappear to the benefit of white Americans.

INDEX WORDS: Celebrity, Fame, Photography, *Cartes de visite*, Dakota War of 1862, Fort Snelling, Minnesota.

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MAYA PETERS-GRENO

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MAYA PETERS-GRENO

Major Professor:	Akela Reason
Committee:	Claudio Saunt
	Jennifer Palmer

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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Introduction

Sometime between November of 1862 and the summer of 1863, when there was no longer snow on the ground but it was cold enough to bundle up in a blanket, Benjamin Franklin Upton travelled to Fort Snelling, Minnesota. The journey was not long since he was based in Lake Minnetonka, just a few miles away.[1] His "gallery on wheels," a custom wagon he used as a dark room and living quarters, would have been a visual oddity at the military camp. However, galleries on wheels were not wholly unfamiliar concepts in the early 1860s, as they had existed for at least a decade prior and were common sights in the southern states during the Civil War. Figure 1 is an image of photography wagons that demonstrates what Upton's "gallery on wheels" may have looked like.[2]

Traveling with at least one assistant, Upton would have had to make a careful journey along the marshy terrain of Minneapolis, so as not spill all the chemicals needed for the wet-plate collodion photography process. This method of photography, the most popular for outdoor photography in 1862, required collodion, silver nitrate, a developer, and a fixer like sodium thiosulfate. The team would have also been wary of the boxes of pre-cut glass plates onto which they fixed the images. Once they arrived at Fort Snelling, Upton would have unloaded a wooden camera with several lenses along with the tripod to hold it steady and a black sheet. The sheet allowed Upton to check the placement of the shot without exposing the glass plates. In all

[1] Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Bibliographic Dictionary 1839-1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 596.
[2] "Wagons and camera of Sam A. Cooley, U.S. photographer, Department of the South. United States," (between 1860 and 1865), photograph, no: LC-B811- 4018 [P&P], Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2018667147/.

likelihood, Upton's assistant prepared the plates as Upton focused each shot, while another assistant fixed the plates before they dried up or faded.

Figure 1: Wagons and camera of Sam A. Cooley, U.S. photographer, Department of the South. United States, (between 1860 and 1865), photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2018667147/.

The team made this uncomfortable journey in search of a very particular group of subjects: Dakota women, children, and elderly people that the US government held prisoner in a concentration camp at the base of Fort Snelling. After broken treaties, encroachment by settlers, and headed toward starvation, several eastern bands of Dakota attacked white settlements in Minnesota starting in August of 1862.[3] The federal government eventually defeated the Dakota faction and imprisoned over 1,600 Dakota non-combatants at Fort Snelling. They spent the winter of 1862-63 in a concentration camp at the fort, where an estimated 300 people died due to harsh conditions and disease. Upton and his assistants managed to take dozens of pictures of these photographic subjects, which drew in white Americans after the Union's successful outcome of the Dakota war.

After Upton felt he had sufficient pictures, he would have returned to his studio in Lake Minnetonka to turn the glass plate negatives into *cartes de visite*. Here, the multiplying wet-plate camera would have facilitated the mass production of cartes de visite, as with every plate Upton could have produced multiple *cartes* at a time. This process also made the photographs smaller than the plate size, which is a defining characteristic of *cartes de visite*.[4] One *carte* was about 4.5in x 2.5in, which allowed people to easily carry and exchange the card, and made them very cheap to produce, purchase, and collect. These characteristics contributed to their immediate popularity and encouraged photographers like Upton to produce dozens or hundreds of *cartes* at a time. He would have sold these *cartes* in his photography studio at Lake Minnetonka and

[3] Heather A. Shannon, "Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt: From National Sensation to Ethnographic Documentation," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 67, no. 2 (2006), 290.

[4] The most common number of lenses on a multiplying camera was four to eight, but there were cameras with up to fifteen lenses. If one glass plate measured 8x8 inches and the camera had four lenses, each of the four images would be 4x4 inches, whereas a camera with one lens and an 8x8 inch plate would have produced one 8x8 inch image. See: Elizabeth Allen, *The Manual of Photography* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 193.

shipped them to other studios and shops across the country, where non-Minnesotans could also purchase them and see representations of the famed Dakota prisoners first-hand.

Dakota prisoners of war lived in the Fort Snelling concentration camp until 1865 when the US kidnapped, imprisoned, and executed the last two leaders of the war, Shakopee (*Little Six*) and Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*). Upton returned to photograph Dakota people at Fort Snelling several times between 1863 and 1865, including when Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan were prisoners at the camp.[5] Other photographers like Joel E. Whitney, one of the most prolific western photographers of the 19th century, also visited the concentration camp at Fort Snelling to take pictures of Dakota prisoners and mass produce *cartes de visite*.

Upton and Whitney's desire to photograph Dakota subjects was partially motivated by the economic opportunity of selling the *cartes de visite* that depicted those involved in the Dakota War of 1862. Although the Civil War received much of the media's attention during those years, there was substantial coverage of the Dakota War and the ensuing efforts to eradicate all Dakota Native Americans. Newspapers across the US published news about the Dakota War. Of course, the *St. Cloud Democrat*, published in St. Cloud, MN, kept its readers constantly updated on the conflict on the frontier just west of their state.[6] The *Chicago Daily Tribune* also kept their readers updated about "the latest and most authentic news that has been received from the hostile Indians" by publishing a weekly "From St. Paul" column on the front page of their paper between late 1862 and 1863.[7] One newspaper from Allentaun (Allentown),

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[5] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers*, 596.
[6] *St. Cloud Democrat*, (Saint Cloud, Minn.), 18 Dec. 1862, pg. 1. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016836/1862-12-18/ed-1/seq-1/.
[7] *Chicago daily tribune*, (Chicago, Ill.), 27 May 1863, pg. 1. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84031490/1863-05-27/ed-1/seq-1/.

PA, even published news about the Dakota War in German.[8] Upton and Whitney jumped at the opportunity to contribute to the reports of the war through the photographic medium.

This paper argues that many of the Dakota participants in the war of 1862 became celebrities, specifically Taoyateduta (*Little Crow*), Tatanka Najin (*Standing Buffalo*), Marpiya Okinajin (*Cut Nose*), Shakopee (*Little Six*), and Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*). Initially driven by newspapers, the celebrification of these Dakota men created a market for the newly invented *cartes de visite*, which offered realistic representations of the participants in the war to white Americans across the country. In turn, the *cartes de visite* helped propel the Dakota men into a separate realm of celebrity: the celetoid. Celetoids are characterized by short and intense bursts of celebrity created by the media, i.e., newspapers and *cartes de visite* in the early 1860s. To articulate this, the thesis will draw from many publications in the Chronicling America digital archive from the Library of Congress, and from the *cartes de visite* created in the aftermath of the war that have been catalogued by the Minnesota Historical Society and the Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

As the newspaper articles and *cartes de visite* demonstrate, celebrity is unstable. By becoming celetoids, the media forced many of the Dakota men discussed here into a category of celebrity that they maybe did not intend, like that of "criminal." This phenomenon is consistent with the experience of other Native American people throughout North American history who entered the space of celebrity in varied ways, but the overall effect was out of their control. While some people managed to rewrite their own narratives, like Black Hawk and Sitting Bull,

[8] *Der Lecha Caunty Patriot*, (Allentaun, Pa.), 02 Sept. 1863, pg. 2. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88080711/1863-09-02/ed-1/seq-2/.

discussed later, the early deaths of the Dakota men discussed herein did not allow them to control their image after it was determined by colonial society.

Upton and Whitney created almost all of the pictures coming out of Fort Snelling and of Indigenous participants in the war.[9] Historians of early Western photography and Native American historians have somewhat studied their contributions to documenting the visual side of the Dakota War of 1862. For example, in an article from 2006, Heather A. Shannon artfully tracked the publication of these images as woodcuts in 1860s newspapers, magazines, and books about the conflict, as well as later ethnographic collections that published the photographs.[10] Jennifer McKinney's 2019 dissertation argued that a close inspection of the images from the war could reveal how the photographs shaped white Americans' perceptions of the war.[11] However, a majority of the time the images are used to illustrate the people in the pictures, the war, or photographic mediums, rather than as sources studied in their own right. As a result, most of the secondary literature in which the images appear does not do them justice.

While some scholarship has studied the fame acquired by the photographers at Fort Snelling (i.e., Upton and Whitney) and the *cartes de visite* themselves, nobody has focused on the celebrity status of the Dakota subjects in the pictures. This is the case in both Shannon and McKinney's works. Scholars of celebrity and Indigeneity have also overlooked the Native American participants in the Dakota War. People before 1860, like Black Hawk and Osceola have been heavily studied by Kerry A. Trask and Patricia Riles Wickman, discussed later. The scholars featured in *Indigenous Celebrity: Entanglements with Fame,* whose analysis will prove

[9] Adrian J. Ebell published *cartes de visite* of scenes from the Dakota War of 1862 as well, but these were primarily of settler refugees. For more see: Shannon, "Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt," 293.
[10] Shannon, "Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt," 290.
[11] Jennifer Elaine McKinney, "Breaking the Frame: How Photographs of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862 Influence Historical Memory," PhD diss., (Oklahoma State University, 2019), 6.

valuable for this thesis, have focused their scholarship on contemporary figures–such as rugby players–also overlooking the participants in the Dakota War. This is surprising given their important position in the development of photography as a form of popular media.

The authors in *Indigenous Celebrity* emphasize the distinction between celebrity and "whitestream celebrity," which refers to achieving fame within a dominant colonial culture.[12] This paper will focus on the rise of fame of the Dakota prisoners within whitestream media, rather than their celebrity status among members of their own culture and other Native American communities. Whitestream celebrity often required, and still requires, Indigenous people to conform to racial stereotypes of "Indianness," which the Dakota prisoners satiated through their very incarceration, since the *cartes de visite* from Fort Snelling presented them as "violent but controlled" individuals.[13] As Phillip J. Deloria explained in *Indians in Unexpected Places*, images, and the stories crafted by them, perpetuate a disconnect between the ways Native American people actually act and stereotypes.

For these reasons, it is also impossible to ignore the vast literature on the myth of the "vanishing Indian," a belief white people held that Indigenous people would soon become extinct. There was already a demand for stories and images of "noble savages," a quickly disappearing part of human history. The appeal of the Dakota War of 1862 and visual depictions of its participants and victims exist within this context. This paper will draw from key monographs like *The Vanishing American* by Brian W. Dippie to address the influence of these stereotypes in the creation of Dakota celebrities. The Dakota's criminal status is also interesting to explore, as they achieved celebrity despite hatred from the white public. In its final pages, this

[12] Jennifer Adese and Robert Alexander Innes, *Indigenous Celebrity: Entanglements with Fame* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2021). The term "whitestream celebrity" comes from from Adese and Innes' introduction in *Indigenous Celebrity* and will be used throughout the paper.
[13] Adese and Innes, *Indigenous Celebrity*, 12.

paper will apply several theories of celebrity criminality to understand this apparent contradiction.

Indigenous representation in whitestream celebrity is inherently dependent on the projection or rejection of stereotypes, which is a consistent theme in the history of colonialism.[14] Studying the role that *cartes de visite* had in creating celebrities of Taoyateduta, Tatanka Najin, Marpiya Okinajin, Shakopee, and Wakan Ozanzan can illustrate the common strategies that white Americans and the media used to keep Indigenous people within the narratives accepted by colonialism. However, this analysis also demonstrates how some Indigenous people tried to navigate the complicated intercultural relations of colonialism without yielding to the narrative established for them.

A Brief History of the War

The Dakota war erupted on August 17th, 1862, when four Indigenous men killed a group of white settlers near the Lower Sioux Reservation. The next day, a faction of Mdewakanton Dakota led by Chief Taoyateduta (*Little Crow*) attacked the Lower Sioux Agency, which was the US government's administrative center near the reservation. The faction's decision to attack settlements stemmed from decades of land encroachment and assimilation policies that withheld supplies from Dakota communities. In the first few days, the Dakota faction also attacked dozens of white settlements which resulted in around 600 deaths and displaced thousands of white Americans from Minnesota. An image of a group of refugees escaping the conflict (Figure 2) became a famous depiction of the tragedies of the war.[15]

[14] Adese and Innes, *Indigenous Celebrity*, 12.
[15] Unless otherwise noted all information from the section "A Brief History of the War" is from: Linda Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile: The Untold Stories of Captives in the Aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War,* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2019).

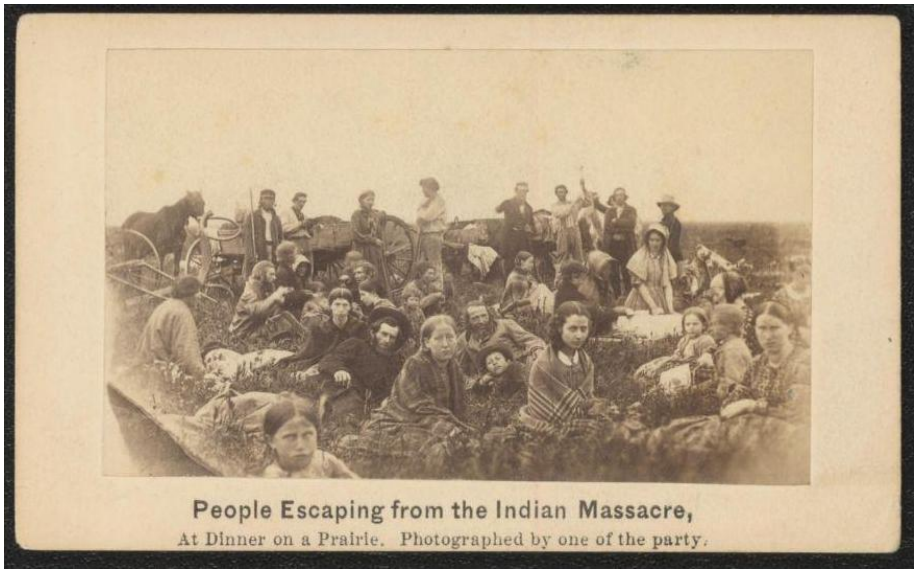

Figure 2: "People Escaping from the Indian Massacre of 1862, At Dinner on a Prairie. / Photographed by one of the Party," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-12/cdv012_001.

After six weeks of fighting against settlers and US Army troops directed by Col. Sibley, the war officially ended with the Battle of Wood Lake on September 23, 1862. Some combatants who had participated in the war like Taoyateduta, Shakopee (*Little Six*), and Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*), fled westward into Dakota territory or north, into Canada. The situation also forced those who had defended white settlers and actively disapproved of the actions of the faction, like Tatanka Najin (*Standing Buffalo*), to flee among calls from white politicians to exterminate *all* Dakota people from the state of Minnesota, regardless of their involvement in the war. A third group of the combatants, including Marpiya Okinajin (*Cut Nose*), returned to their families in the Lower Sioux Reservation.

Beginning on November 7th, 1862, Sibley and his troops forcibly deported an estimated 1,600 women, children, and elderly Dakota from the Lower Sioux Reservation to the concentration camp at the base of Fort Snelling, over 100 miles away. A military commission tried 392 Dakota men among this group and sentenced 303 to death. The Army subsequently

separated these men from their families and incarcerated them in Mankato, MN, eighty miles away from Fort Snelling. Though 303 men were supposed to hang, prominent Minnesota missionary Henry Whipple requested President Lincoln to reconsider the sentences and act more leniently. After nearly a month of deliberation, President Lincoln reduced the number of executions to thirty-nine. One man was reprieved right before the execution. The government publicly hanged the remaining Dakota 38, including Marpiya Okinajin, at Mankato on December 26th, 1862. This is the largest government mass execution in US history.

In the spring of 1863, the military deported the remaining 1,300 Dakota non-combatants at Fort Snelling to a new reservation in South Dakota. They also moved the remaining 260 Dakota men in Mankato to a compound in Davenport, IA, where they lived until their deportations in 1866. Back at Fort Snelling, Sibley and his troops continued imprisoning Dakota people for subsequent deportation out of Minnesota between November of 1862 and November of 1865. On July 3rd, 1863, two settlers in Minnesota murdered Taoyateduta, while he was picking raspberries with his son, Wowinape. After fleeing the scene, US troops captured Wowinape and deported him to Fort Snelling just a few weeks later. The settlers scalped Taoyateduta's remains for which one of them received a $75 bounty.

In November of 1864, the last leaders of the Mdewakanton faction that started the war, Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan, attempted to lead a group of Dakota non-combatants to safety in Canada. Along the way, a man living in Winnipeg kidnapped the two men and transferred them into US Army custody at Fort Snelling. Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan spent over a year at Fort Snelling until their executions on November 11, 1865, which marked an unofficial end to the conflict. During those three and a half years, Tatanka Najin and his band managed to evade deportation or joining the estimated 300 to 500 Dakota people who died as a direct result of the

war. This included soldiers killed in battle, those sentenced to death, and others who faced starvation and disease during the deportation process.

Indigenous Celebrities Before Photography

Indigenous celebrities in whitestream media existed for hundreds of years before the Dakota War. One of the most recognizable celebrities is Pocahontas, whose transatlantic fame as an "Indian Princess" has continued into the 21st century.[16] However, there are more relevant cases of Indigenous people who attained fame for an uprising and imprisonment in the 19th century, before photography was widespread. Here, the paper will examine the relevant cases of Black Hawk and Osceola who both died in 1838.

Black Hawk was a Sauk leader who led the Black Hawk War of 1832, the last Indigenous-US conflict east of the Mississippi. Throughout the war, newspapers across the country reported on the advancements and defeats of "Black Hawk's band," as well as the monetary cost of the war to the government.[17] On August 25th of 1832, when the war was nearing its end, the *Phenix Gazette* reprinted an article from the *Washington Globe* about Black Hawk's imminent defeat, complete with accounts from a Sauk prisoner about Black Hawk's activities.[18] The article was so detailed about the latest developments that it occupied half of a page. The country followed Black Hawk with the same curious eye that would keep tabs of the Dakota in 1862.

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[16] For more information on the legend of Pocahontas see: Camilla Townsend, *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma: The American Portrait Series* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004); Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[17] *Vandalia Whig and Illinois intelligencer*, (Vandalia, Ill.), 11 April 1832, pg. 3. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015332/1832-04-11/ed-1/seq-3/.

[18] *Phenix gazette*, (Alexandria [D.C.]), 25 Aug. 1832, pg. 2. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025006/1832-08-25/ed-1/seq-2/.

After Black Hawk surrendered on August 27th, he and several other leaders lived as prisoners of war in the Jefferson Barracks, outside of St. Louis.[19] Although early photographic technology was available, it was not widespread. The photographic process which could have best captured Black Hawk while he was a prisoner of war was not introduced in the US until 1839, when Louis Daguerre first demonstrated the daguerreotype. In the absence of photography, President Andrew Jackson ordered the prisoners to be paraded around the country on their way to Washington D.C. According to historian Tena Helton, Jackson's goal was to use them as examples of "defeated Indians." However, Black Hawk quickly rose to the status of celebrity and rivaled Jackson's popularity.[20] Helton argues that this was partially because of white women's attraction to Black Hawk's physical appearance. In their fascination with Black Hawk, white women, "wanted a brush with the exotic, a hint of miscegenation, and a bit of the transgressive—an imagined sexual and political freedom."[21]

Instead of purchasing *cartes de visite* of the incarcerated prisoners, white Americans got to see Black Hawk in-person, an opportunity many of them hailed. In his autobiography Black Hawk said, "On our arrival at Wheeling, the street's [sic] and river's banks were crowded with people, who flocked from every direction to see us. While we remained here, many called upon us, and treated us with kindness."[22] The same occurred at all the eastern cities the parade visited, including New York and Philadelphia. At times, "the street was so crowded that it was impossible for the carriage to pass."[23] Despite Black Hawk's own fascination with different

[19] Tena L. Helton, "What the White 'Squaws' Want from Black Hawk: Gendering the Fan-Celebrity Relationship," *American Indian Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (2010), 499.
[20] Helton, ""What the White 'Squaws' Want from Black Hawk," 499.
[21] Helton, ""What the White 'Squaws' Want from Black Hawk," 500.
[22] Black Hawk, *Life of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak or Black Hawk,* ed. J. B. Patterson (Rock Island, IL 1833), 140-1.
[23] Black Hawk, *Life of,* 146.

tourist sites, he mentioned several times his desire to be released from captivity and was "anxious to return to [his] people."[24]

After his release from captivity, Black Hawk published an autobiography that was an immediate success, selling thousands of copies. It was reprinted five times just in its first year of publication.[25] This was a testament to his fame and white Americans' desire to feel close to him. The autobiography also gave him the opportunity to defend his legacy from the one that whitestream media had created for him. He dedicated his autobiography to Brigadier General H. Atkinson, as follows:

> ...The story of my life is told in the following pages; it is intimately connected, and in some measure, identified with a part of the history of your own: I have, therefore, dedicated it to you. The changes of many summers, have brought old age upon me,-- and I cannot expect to survive many moons. Before I set out on my journey to the land of my fathers, I have determined to give my motives and reasons for my character from misrepresentation. The kindness I received from you whilst a prisoner of war, assures me that you will vouch for the facts contained in my narrative, so far as they came under your observation. I am now an obscure member of a nation, that formerly honored and respected my opinions. The path to glory is rough, and many gloomy hours obscure it. May the Great Spirit shed light on your's [sic]–and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to, is the wish of him, who, in his native forests, was once as proud and as bold as yourself.[26]

Furthermore, in the introduction of the published autobiography, interpreter Antoine LeClaire wrote that Black Hawk expressed "a great desire to have a History of his Life written and published, in order, (as he said) "that the people of the United States (among whom he had been travelling, and by whom he had been treated with great respect, friendship and hospitality), might know the causes that had impelled him to act as he has done, and the principles by which

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[24] Black Hawk, *Life of*, 148.
[25] Kerry A. Trask, *Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company: 2006), 302.
[26] Black Hawk, *Life of*, 7-8.

he was governed."[27] The great success of his book allowed Black Hawk to tell his own side of the story and have some effect on the legacy of his celebrity.

Like Black Hawk, Osceola's presentation to the white American public stemmed from his involvement in a conflict for Indigenous rights: the Second Seminole War. Osceola was a Seminole warrior of Indigenous and white ancestry who gained notoriety among both communities after he got involved in preventing Seminole removal from Florida. According to historian Patricia Wickman, white Americans initially considered him a "friendly Indian," whose ancestry helped him navigate the diplomatic world of Seminole and colonial relations.[28] However, by the time that newspapers began to report on his whereabouts in 1837, the media considered him a little less friendly. One article in the *Maumee Express* called him "cunning but brave," while the *Richmond Enquirer* called him "wily."[29] Though somewhat scandalized, the media was still impressed by Osceola's accomplishments in war and thought of him as a hero.[30]

After running low on food and ammunition, Osceola and eighty of his followers surrendered under a white flag for peace talks at Fort Peyton, Florida.[31] On October 27th, 1837, Colonel Jessup betrayed Osceola and his followers and imprisoned them, despite the group's attempts to find a diplomatic solution. According to Wickman, Jessup's betrayal "was a decision considered by whites and Indians to be thoroughly inconsistent with the honorable rules of the conduct of war."[32] The newspaper coverage of this event certainly represented the national

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[27] Black Hawk, *Life of*, 3.
[28] Patricia Riles Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 83.
[29] *Maumee Express* (Maumee City, Ohio), 14 Oct. 1837, pg. 3, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85026142/1837-10-14/ed-1/seq-3/; *Richmond Enquirer* (Richmond, Va.), 30 Sept. 1836, pg. 2, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024735/1836-09-30/ed-1/seq-2/.
[30] Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 97.
[31] Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 25.
[32] Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 24.

outrage over Jessup's betrayal, and helped solidify Osceola's position as a scorned hero. The *Southern Argus* and other newspapers published a poem on Osceola that read,

> And the flag that, once, unfurled,
> Awed and tranquilized the world,
> Floats unheeded. Who shall trust
> Faith once broken! Let the rust
> Canker on the warrior's blade—
> Osceola was betrayed![33]

Already liked by the white public, the demand for representations of Osceola grew while Jessup held him and his followers captive at Fort Marion, South Carolina.

Eager to reproduce Osceola's image, renowned artist of Native Americans George Catlin traveled to Fort Marion. Though he intended to travel of his own volition, the War Department ultimately hired him to paint the portraits of five principal leaders of the Seminole war that were also captives. Though many accounts claim that Catlin had to convince Osceola to sit for a portrait, Wickman cites Thomas Storrow (who was present), who claimed that he "readily consented to sit; and to prepare himself to be drawn in a costume that he thought becoming, he devoted all the early part of a day to arraying himself in a manner which, in his eyes, was best calculated to set off his person to advantage."[34] Sorrow's interpretation was that Osceola chose his clothing and accessories to be "tasteful," and command respect with "studied grace." It is possible that seeing his legacy marred by captivity, Osceola, like Black Hawk, took advantage of an opportunity to present himself to the white public in a favorable manner. His willingness to sit for the portrait and the aesthetic choices he made were not arbitrary; he knew this portrait would be shared around the country (Figure 3).

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[33] *Southern Argus*, (Columbus, Miss.), 10 April 1838, pg. 1, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016884/1838-04-10/ed-1/seq-1/.

[34] Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 114.

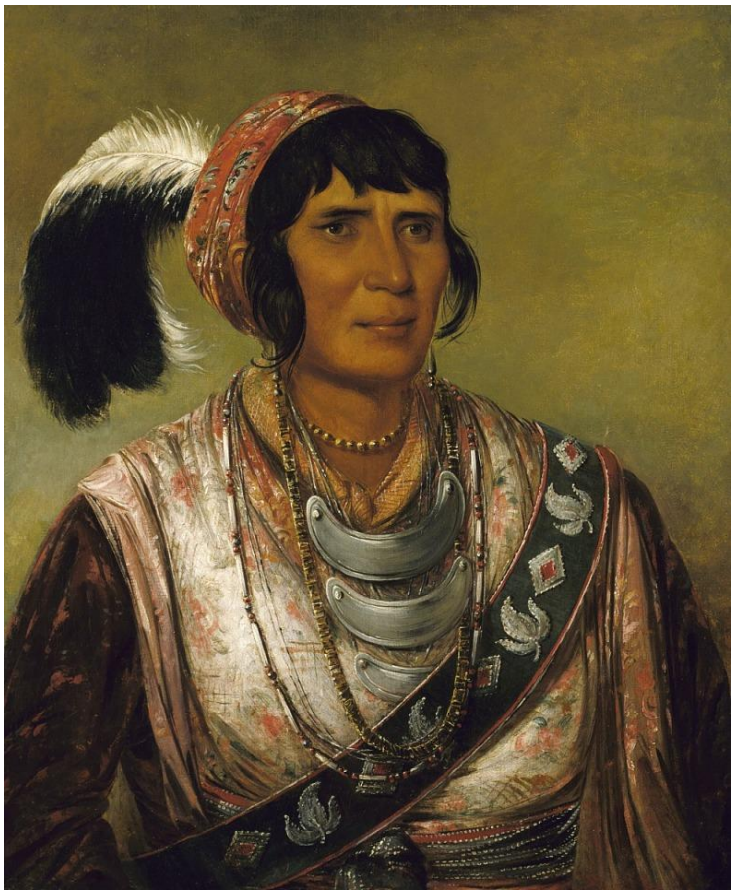

Figure 3: George Catlin, *Os-ce-o-lá, The Black Drink, a Warrior of Great Distinction*, 1838, oil on canvas, 30 ⅞ x 25 ⅞ in. (78.4 x 65.6 cm), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr., 1985.66.301, https://americanart.si.edu/artwork/os-ce-o-la-black-drink-warrior-great-distinction-4307.

White Americans were so eager to know more about Osceola that several newspapers published written descriptions of his appearance before the portrait was available. The *Liberty Advocate* promised that Catlin would "paint Osceola, Coahajo, Micanopy, Cloud, King Phillip, and several others, and hasten back with all speed to shew the citizens of New York how these braves fellows look."[35] The same article also published the lengthy of detailed description of Osceola written previously by Catlin. Though three other artists also painted Osceola, Catlin's

[35] *Liberty advocate*, (Liberty, Miss.), 03 March 1838, pg.3, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016942/1838-03-03/ed-1/seq-3/.

portrait is the most well-known, possibly because of his close relationship with Osceola, which is what allowed him to write such a detailed historiographic account.

After battling chronic malaria and tonsillitis while sitting for his portraits, Osceola died on January 30, 1838. In the absence of photography and *cartes de visite*, or a tour like Black Hawk (Osceola was too ill to travel while he was at Fort Marion), the oil portraits by Catlin satisfied white Americans' craving for Osceola. It is impossible to say whether he was pleased with the outcomes of the portraits, even though he routinely examined them while Catlin painted.[36] But he was invested in their outcome because he was conscious that whitestream media would draw conclusions from his appearance. Could Dakota prisoners have been conscious of the same phenomenon occurring to them?

Commodification of Indigeneity

All the separate ways to consume depictions of Indigenous people—tours, portraits, literature—were popular because of two stereotypes about Indigenous Americans: that they were going extinct and that they were "noble savages." As mentioned earlier, the literature analyzing the creation of these myths and their impact on Indigenous-white relations is extensive. As Brian Dippie explains in the aptly named *Vanishing American*, white Americans had predicted the extinction of Indigenous communities since the founding of the United States.[37] How could such a "primitive race" continue to exist after so many wars, stolen land, and disease epidemics? In the following century, several authors perpetuated this misinterpretation through books like *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), where two Mohican scouts come into conflict with a group of

[36] Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 115.
[37] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 3.

Huron warriors while escorting two English sisters to Fort William Henry. As the title reveals, most of the Indigenous characters in the novel die, leaving Chingachgook, one of the scouts, as the lone survivor. Other pieces of literature like *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) had similar romanticized messages of desolation for the Native American heroes.

Indian removal in the 19th century perpetuated these myths of extinction. Infamously, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 allowed the forced deportation of Native American communities east of the Mississippi to the west of the river. Close to Minnesota, where the Dakota lived, Michigan had enacted several removal acts in 1833 and 1842 that forced Potawatomi communities westward to reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma. Some communities moved into Wisconsin, which in turn forcibly removed Ojibwe communities to Minnesota in 1850. In Iowa, bands of Potawatomi and Winnebago had been removed to the state in the 1830s but were all expelled to Kansas and Oklahoma by the 1850s.[38] In May of 1863, the spring after Dakota non-combatants had been incarcerated at Fort Snelling, Minnesota began the mass deportation of Dakota and Ho-Chunk communities from the state to reservations in present-day South Dakota. Sibley shipped out those who survived the winter at Fort Snelling in steamers on the Minnesota River to South Dakota. The extensive efforts of US and state governments to deport Indigenous populations, and the thousands of deaths that resulted from starvation, poor conditions, disease, and fatigue, show how white Americans may have believed such myths.

The idea of a "noble savage" comes from 18th century philosophy, particularly Jean Jacques Rousseau, who believed that primitive people and those living in harmony with nature were morally superior because civilization had not corrupted their souls. This theory essentially infantilized the communities to which colonizers applied it. But for the Europeans who

[38] Grace Fitzgerald and David Hudson, "The People, The Place: Native Americans in Iowa," *Iowa University Libraries*, March 1991, https://www.lib.uiowa.edu/exhibits/previous/native/.

considered themselves to come from "civilized" communities, it was a romantic idea that appealed to their curiosities and a search for passion, intuition, and imagination. According to Dippie, this naïveté was sometimes cited as one of the reasons for extinction; that the "noble savage," although romantic, would "disappear with the animals they hunted, and the forests that sheltered both."[39] Thus, while white Americans were actively working to exterminate Indigenous communities, they were also attracted to the romance they represented.

Another way that this fascination with a "noble, vanishing race" presented itself was through the collection of Indigenous-made souvenirs, often referred to as "curiosities." Shops that sold curiosities exclusively to tourists had existed all over the country for several decades before the Dakota War of 1862, so this was a concept with which people were very familiar. Native American communities, specifically those that had a lot of white visitors, were aware of this and often adopted tourist commerce to improve their economies.[40] A pamphlet for a curiosity shop near Niagara Falls from 1852 named "The Old Curiosity Shop" advertised its thousands of authentic articles made "to order from most of the Indian Tribes in North America."[41] The pamphlet also advertised the beauty, quality, and reasonable prices of their products, which it claimed were unique among curiosity shops.

On the backside of the pamphlet, William A. Noxon, a visitor to the shop, wrote a letter to his children, Melissa, Benley, and Howard. He explained that, "While in the Falls yesterday I saw a great many articles of fancy work manufactured by the Squaws which were indeed curiosities to me. Falls possessed plenty of means you should have seen some of them on my

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[39] Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 21.
[40] Bruce D'Arcus, "The 'eager gaze of the tourist'' meets 'our grandfathers' guns'': producing and contesting the land of enchantment in Gallup, New Mexico," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18 (2000): 700.
[41] W[illia]m A. Noxon, ALS, Letter to Melissa E. Noxon, Bentley [William B. Noxon Jr], and Howard [Noxon] 2 pp., 1852 September 14, American Travel Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (hereafter cited as Noxon Letter, CL), [1].

return. As it was I only purchased a small pen which is no great curiosity itself except that it was Indian work. We saw the Squaws sitting by the wayside working them."[42] This letter gives some insight into the appeal for white customers to own objects that had been in close contact with Native Americans.

Train routes from the East Coast of the United States to California were popular among travelers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and usually traveled through the Navajo nation. One such tourist was Mrs. Joyce Sewell, who traveled with a company of generals and their wives from Jersey City to Los Angeles and back by train.[43] Between their departure from New Jersey on November 8th, 1887, and arrival on December 12th, Joyce Sewell kept thorough notes on the day's activities. On December 6th, while headed back to the East Coast, she wrote that "Young Indian girls came to the cart to sell bits of pottery, + other curiosities, the girls were prettier than their wares."[44]

Another tourist from Portland, Maine who traveled to Los Angeles, California along a similar route also had an encounter with Native artists near Albuquerque.[45] They recorded in their travel journal that they "visited the Indian building in which are a number of "Navahos" Spinning, and weaving blankets, We saw Navaho mother and child, weaving."[46] The next day, between Albuquerque and Las Vegas, the "train made quite a stop here so we had a chance to look around some quite a number of Indians were here selling various wares. Some of the men and boys were selling garnets. We bought 2 one had polished when in 'Los Angeles' and made

[42] Noxon Letter, CL, 2.
[43] [Sewell, Mrs. William Joyce], AM, [On board train]; 16 pp. 1887 November 8 - December 12, American Travel Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (hereafter cited as Joyce Sewell, CL).
[44] Joyce Sewell, CL, [13].
[45] The two parties traveled along the same train route, simply in opposite directions.
[46] [Portland, Maine to Los Angeles, California], AMS, 18 pp. 1904 April 26-May 27, American Travel Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (hereafter cited as Portland, Maine, CL), [4].

in a stick pin."[47] The numerous opportunities to acquire Native-made souvenirs indicate there was a market and, importantly, that Native American communities found ways to meet this demand by marketing "Indianness" to white Americans. Demand.

As historian Ruth B. Phillips explains in *Trading Identities,* Indian removal forced many Indigenous communities to become economically dependent on selling souvenirs to tourists.[48] To make their products more marketable, they sometimes had to modify their works to be "culturally intelligible" by white American culture, which meant including universal symbols that also had meaning for those buying the artworks.[49] Modifying objects for commerciality also involved creating eye-catching objects. For example, war clubs were traditionally carved from curved tree trunks, so the grain of the tree could support the impact the object would face.[50] They were also carefully balanced for optimum efficacy. However, the craftspeople that sold war clubs to tourists did not take care to make sure the wood would be sturdy or that the club was carefully balanced because they knew that the customer would not care, know, or need any of those qualities. Instead, they may have elaborately decorated the war clubs to catch a tourist's eye and make it more likely for them to buy it.[51] Indigenous peoples' control over the appearance of "Indigenous" objects cannot be understated. While they did have to play into the colonial demand of ascribing European ideas of the "exotic" and "primitive" to the objects they made, they ultimately decided how they did this.

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[47] Portland, Maine, CL, [4].
[48] Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 24.
[49] Phillips, *Trading Identities,* 20.
[50] Thomas Miller Bridges, "Thomas M. Bridges Crow Creek and Fort Hall Reservations Collection (ca. 1850-1918, bulk 1892-1899)," Box 2, [Photo Div A.O.61.b], William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Clayton Lewis, personal communication with archivist, 16 June, 2022.
[51] For an in-depth discussion of the issue of "authenticity" see: Phillips, *Trading Identities,* 50.

Phillips argues that postcards depicting illustrated Native American figures also fell into the purview of Indigenous souvenirs. The popularity of postcards may have even surpassed that of multidimensional objects since they were cheaper to purchase, mail, and easier to transport. However, the biggest market for postcards were ethnologists, who collected them to illustrate "field research" during their tours of the west.[52] Phillips pokes fun at the aforementioned ethnologists because they claimed that the representations of Indigenous people in their own "traditional" clothing were more accurate than souvenirs made for tourists, when they were actually just as culturally intelligible to white Americans as anything else. This narrative quickly changed with the emergence of widespread photography, which rendered other ethnographic methods practically obsolete.[53] As discussed in the section on Celebrity Criminals, 18th century scientists considered photographs to be the ultimate tool of precise documentation. But they were not the only people attracted by the new invention, and non-ethnologists quickly began collecting pictures of Native Americans as well.

The Rise of *Carte-o-mania*

In the time between Black Hawk and Osceola's deaths in 1838 and the Dakota war of 1862, *Cartes de visite* were introduced to the United States and quickly became a popular success.[54] Starting at just a dime a piece, *cartes* were available to almost every consumer in the country, including working-class people who could not have afforded to purchase portraits or family pictures a few years before.[55] They were so accessible that they soon caused "cart-o-

[52] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 66.
[53] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 98.
[54] Most likely in 1859.
[55] Erin Pauwels, *Napoleon Sarony's Living Pictures: The Celebrity Photograph in Gilded Age New York*, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2024), 55.

mania," or a frenzy of *carte* production and consumption. Photography studios flooded with people buying dozens of copies to trade with their family and friends. According to historian Erin Pauwels, *cartes de visite* "functioned as an early form of social media in their capacity to connect people in unprecedented ways across vast physical distances."[56] *Cartes de visite* were intimate representations of the self that turned into social items and collectibles, similar to souvenirs.

Celebrities popularized the collecting of *cartes de visite* even further. Consumers could purchase photographs of well-known figures like actors, preachers, athletes, and politicians nationwide at print shops or from street vendors around the country.[57] Napoleon Sarony, one of the most prolific *carte* photographers of the late 19th century, was known to purchase portrait rights from the celebrities he photographed. For example, he paid Lillie Langtry, a famous socialite and actress, $5,000 in 1882.[58] According to Pauwels, celebrities rarely acknowledged these agreements for long before they commissioned new photographs, but there was such demand for these *cartes* that photographers still participated in the profitable business of celebrity portraiture.

Once consumers possessed *cartes-de-visite* of celebrities, they likely placed them in the newest fad from the 1860s: the photo album. According to historian Elizabeth Siegel, as *carte-o-mania* grew, stacks of *cartes* cluttered consumers' homes and photographers came up with photo albums as a more convenient method of storage for the photographs.[59] The new invention also further promoted the sale of more *cartes-de-visite* when consumers sought to fill the blank pages

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[56] Pauwels, *Napoleon Sarony's Living Pictures*, 52.
[57] Pauwels, *Napoleon Sarony's Living Pictures*, 5.
[58] Barbara McCandless, "The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity: Promoting the Art," in *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha Sandweiss (48–75), 67. This is equivalent to $154,700 today.
[59] Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 73.

of their albums, which could often hold upwards of 100 images.[60] At times, celebrity-filled albums acted as "national portrait galleries in miniature" and allowed its viewers to be one step closer to fame and power.

The new attainability of celebrity images juxtaposed with family pictures was not uncommon in photo albums. Collectors placed images of celebrities alongside pictures of themselves, friends, and family. This cacophony of images "muddied the distinctions between the public, commercial arena and the private, domestic one," which democratized the portrait even further than *cartes* did on their own.[61] One album from the 1860s included three portraits of a family's children, and Tom Thumb's wedding picture–Thumb was a famous little person who achieved fame as a circus performer.[62] Another album from the late 19th century, created by Emily C. N. Pullman, included a photograph of Abraham Lincoln, a photograph of his funeral procession, a portrait of Lincoln and his family, and four portraits of Pullman and her family all on the same spread.[63] In this case, the creator may have also used the album to place her family within the broader context of US history. By mixing the president's portrait with her own, Pullman added a higher level of importance to personal portraits.

Collecting *cartes* of Native American subjects was very popular in the latter half of the 19th century. According to Jakob Dopp, an archivist at the Clements Library who has catalogued many *cartes de visite* collections, photographers in the late 19th and early 20th century could specialize in three types of *cartes*: landscapes, portraits, and Native American photography.[64] For example, *cartes de visite* from Joel Whitney's studio advertised him as a photographer of

[60] Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 77.
[61] Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 72.
[62] Figure 36 in Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 151.
[63] Figure 35 in Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 149.
[64] Jakob Dopp, Zoom call with author, 15 November, 2024.

"Indians, Savages, and Celebrities."[65] Whitney's *cartes* of Native Americans sold for twenty-eight cents apiece in 1865, which was slightly higher than the cheapest *cartes* (ten cents apiece), but still affordable at the same price as a dozen eggs and a quart of milk.[66] Another popular photographer named W. R. Cross, who photographed and distributed the *cartes* of Sitting Bull, advertised his specialty in Native American subjects with a logo that read, "Stereoscopic Views and Card Pictures of the Wild Sioux Indians and Upper Missouri River constantly on hand."[67] Savage and Ottinger from the Great Salt Lake City, Utah, had similar engravings on the back of their cards. The category of "Native American photography" was popular all around the country.

It is possible to consider the images of participants in the Dakota war as an alternative to the demand for Indigenous tours, crafts, and postcards. When the Dakota non-combatants first arrived at the concentration camp, white visitors from Minneapolis, St. Paul, and the surrounding areas visited the camp to peer into the teepees of the new Dakota "village."[68] One soldier who also partook in gawking noted that whenever he "lifted up the little doors" of the teepees he was met with "angry eyes" of the families living in the structures. It is unclear if any Dakota people sold crafts or other items to the visitors. However, when disease began spreading through the camp, visitors dwindled and eventually stopped going at all. Between the outbreaks of measles, typhoid, and diphtheria, an estimated 300 people died over the winter. A census from December 1862 reported 1,601 people living in the camp, a number which decreased to 1,318 by May of

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[65] "Little Crow's Son. Wo-Wi-Na-Pe," (1864), photograph, reverse, in the digital collection Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-39/cdv039_001.

[66] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi*, 631; Edward Young, *Labor in America: 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), 69. Accessed on HathiTrust: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112119934146&seq=75.

[67] "Sitting Bull and his favorite Squaw," (ca. 1881), photograph, reverse, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-5/cdv005_001.

[68] Scott W. Berg, *38 Nooses: Lincoln, Little Crow, and the Beginning of the Frontier's End* (New York: Random House, 2012), 247.

1863.[69] In the absence of a safe physical attraction, the photographs became the second-best option for people in the twin cities. As the thesis discussed earlier, the images also acted as a surrogate for a months-long tour, which was another form of advertising Indigenous defeat and imprisonment before photography became widespread. And with the images, the Dakota in the camp also had the opportunity to commodify and sell their image in exchange for money or other goods, as they would have done with handmade crafts.

Theories of Compensation

It is impossible to say what compensation, if any, the Dakota subjects in the *cartes* received from Upton and Whitney for cooperating with the photographic process. Wet-plate collodion pictures require the subject to hold still for anywhere between 30 and 90 seconds, which means that the sitters would have had to cooperate with the photographers. This is clear in an image of Minneakadawin (Woman Planting in Water) and two of her children from Fort Snelling (Figure 4).[70] They appear at the forefront of the image in focus and crisp, while the figures in the background are blurry, indicating that they were walking behind the family when Upton took their picture. Their far-away glances also suggest some direction from Upton, who likely asked them to adopt this pose to elicit a more "natural" image from the family. Dakota prisoners could have prevented a photographer from taking their picture by moving; as far as anyone knows, there was nobody forcing them to participate. Thus, it is important to consider some of the ways that the Dakota prisoners like Minneakadawin may have been convinced or requested to participate in the commodification of their imprisonment.

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[69] Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile,* 39.

[70] "Sioux Prisoners, Wife and Children of Condemned Sioux Chief," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-33/cdv033_001.

Figure 4: "Sioux Prisoners. (Wife and Children of Condemned Sioux Chief.)," (ca. 1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-33/cdv033_001.

There are many cases of Indigenous Americans taking advantage of white peoples' fascination with Indigeneity by selling their image. David Shoppenagon, a Saginaw Band Ojibwa man, was a well-known hunting and canoeing guide for white tourists. According to biographer Robert M. Hendershot, Shoppenagon also charged photographers and painters for his image. He

once charged the artist E. Irving $5.00 a sitting to paint him.[71] Between 1887 and 1890 he also posed for Michigan photographer George H. Bonnell. In the first portrait, Shoppenagon wore traditional Ojibwe clothing including a feather headdress, a gorget necklace, a bandolier bag, and leggings.[72] The image clearly sought to depict him as a "Native." In the second portrait he posed in front of the same background with a western coat, briefcase, and top hat, which presented him in an assimilated manner.[73] The western button-up cotton shirt, ascot-adjacent necktie, and a tweed vest that are present in both pictures indicate that they were taken on the same day with a "costume" change in between. The odd clothing choices indicate that he likely charged Bonnell to take these pictures of him, who later used them at his own discretion.

In 1887, a portrait of Shoppenagon appeared in an advertisement for Salling, Hanson, & Company, who sold lumber, lath, and shingles. As historian Kevin Armitage explains, companies in the late 19th century often used Native American figures to advertise their products. Amid concerns of overindustrialization, similar to those that encouraged the "noble savage" stereotype, "representations of Indians endowed commercial products with the magical possibilities of nature itself."[74] The marketing strategy that "primitive" Indigenous knowledge made better products, created opportunities for Shoppenagon. Other Native Americans would have also been conscious of the value of their images, and used their broad cultural popularity to their own advantage, possibly setting the prices of their image.[75] Like Shoppenagon, it is

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[71] Robert M. Hendershot, "The Legacy of an Ojibwe 'Lumber Chief': David Shoppenagon," *Michigan Historical Review* 29, no. 2 (2003), 60. This is equivalent to about $166 today.
[72] "David Shoppenagon, Saginaw Band Ojibwa chief," (ca. 1887), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-359/cab047_001.
[73] "David Shoppenagon, Saginaw Band Ojibwa chief, / Geo. H. Bonnell," (ca. 1887), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-360/cab048_001.
[74] Kevin C. Armitage, "Commercial Indians: Authenticity, Nature, and Industrial Capitalism in Advertising at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Michigan Historical Review* 29, n2 (2003), 87.
[75] Hendershot, "The Legacy of an Ojibwe," 55.

possible that some of the Dakota prisoners may have approached or sought out Upton and Whitney when they were visiting Fort Snelling to sell their image and make some money.

Some of the prisoners pictured may have simply been excited to have their portrait taken. An article from 1899 published in *The Anaconda Standard* in Anaconda, Montana, talked about Dr. Charles Wadsworth Lombard, a dentist and amateur photographer from Missoula. According to the article, Dr. Lombard lived right next to the Flathead Indian Reservation, which is home to Kootenai, Salish, and Pend d'Oreille communities.[76] The article follows a common trope that the Native American people on the reservation were originally frightened of cameras because they believed the cameras could steal their soul, but through exposure from Dr. Lombard, they overcame that fear. The idea that they only accepted photography through Dr. Lombard's work is also reminiscent of the "white man's burden," which placed the moral responsibility of civilizing Indigenous populations on white people. This is a narrative from which *The Anaconda Standard* did not shy away. Despite the failures in this article, it does share several anecdotes of people from the Flathead reservation seeking out Dr. Lombard so he could take their picture.

According to the article, one Sunday afternoon a family from the reservation went to Dr. Lombard's house to get a group portrait. Reportedly, "the women refused to pose themselves or their children unless they could bathe their faces and brush their hair."[77] The article described the ensuing scene of the family using the Lombards' bathroom as a funny one, but it also shows the control the family possessed over how they presented themselves in the portrait. The picture turned out well. The residents of the Flathead Indian Reservation would also take their visitors to Dr. Lombard's studio to show off his collection of Indigenous photography and get him to take a

[76] *The Anaconda standard*, (Anaconda, Mont.), 17 Dec. 1899, pg. 36, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036012/1899-12-17/ed-1/seq-36/.
[77] *The Anaconda Standard*, 36.

picture with their guests. This happened so often that Lombard's book of sample pictures was worn through, showing they were excited and proud of being photographed, and may have even been trying to show off to their guests.

Printed in the supplemental pages of the issue were ten of Dr. Lombard's images of residents from the Flathead Indian Reservation (Figure 5). The captions for the images were vague at best which, given the pride of the families who posed for them, appears dismissive and counter to Lombard's role in the community. But the pictures themselves were quite sweet, as they mostly depicted families. In one picture of four unidentified children a boy is smiling, which was somewhat rare in the 19th century.[78] This suggests a desire to have his picture taken, which supports the story that the article tells. Another picture of an unidentified father and son also seems like the family could have commissioned the image. The pair sat next to each other very affectionately on the ground while looking at the camera. The article states that Lombard started his photographic journey by taking "snap shots" of Flathead residents without their consent, but that when Lombard showed them the pictures, they were "almost always pleased, despite [their] fears of the camera."[79] So it is impossible to know which, if any, of the pictures in the newspaper were commissions and which were invasions of privacy. Nonetheless, Native American people throughout the Great Plains and Basin areas did commission portraits of themselves and their loved ones. Thus, it is a possibility that, just like the families in the Flathead Indian Reservation, some families at Fort Snelling actively sought out Upton and Whitney's services and asked for a printed copy of their photograph in return.

[78] *The Anaconda Standard*, 50; The only other image I have seen of a Native American child smiling is of Oyebi, a Kiowa girl in an elk tooth dress. See in: George W. Bretz Studio Photo, KCA Reservation OK, Smithsonian Museum File Print Collection, FP -55, Kiowa Negative Number 42933A [11].
[79] *The Anaconda Standard*, 36

Figure 5: Supplemental page of *The Anaconda Standard* where Lombard's pictures were published alongside the Standard's pictures of members from the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana. *The Anaconda standard*, (Anaconda, Mont.), 17 Dec. 1899, pg. 50, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036012/1899-12-17/ed-1/seq-50/.

Finally, there is always the possibility that photographers persuaded some subjects into selling their image rather than seeking out the sale themselves. In the same article from *The Anaconda Standard*, the author confessed that two of the pictures in the supplemental pages were

"obtained from Standard's own cameras."[80] To acquire one of these pictures, the photographers had to persuade a young man named Louis with a "sundry half dollars and quarters." In the picture, two men crouch down next to a wooden building and appear to gamble on some sort of game, possibly cards. It is unclear from the description if the picture was posed or if the men were already playing cards. Another picture of Kil-Ki-Chi, the only man identified in any of the photographs, was also "with some difficulty induced" to have his picture taken by the *Standard* photographer. Like Louis, the photographer could have convinced him with the promise of money or some other goods.

Given the desperate conditions at Fort Snelling, it would not be surprising if Upton and Whitney also exchanged pictures for food or clothing. Although the prisoners could leave the concentration camp to hunt, fish, collect firewood, etc., the distance from their usual hunting grounds and their crop fields meant they had scant resources. According to Linda Clemmons, author of *Dakota in Exile*, several Minnesota newspapers attributed the removal and incarceration of Dakota people to the resurgence of buffalo and other game and wildlife in the outskirts of the twin cities.[81] Thus, gently persuading a captive into selling their image may have gone a long way at Fort Snelling.

What is interesting in the case of Fort Snelling is that, unlike the soldier peering into prisoners' teepees, Dakota people might have had *some* control over the pictures Whitney and Upton took of them. Like Black Hawk's autobiography, they might have made attempts to take control of the story. It is an imperfect attempt, because once the pictures were distributed it could have propelled them into a category of celebrity that they maybe did not intend. At the very least, it protected their privacy. It is difficult to disentangle agency and oppression inside of Fort

[80] *The Anaconda Standard*, 36
[81] Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile*, 35.

Snelling, but the possibility exists that some of the prisoners actively and willingly participated in photography to tell another side of the story–a side that humanized them in the face of dehumanizing stereotypes.

Rise to Fame and Theories of Celebrity

As the chief of the Mdewakanton Dakota who began the attacks in 1862, Taoyateduta (*Little Crow*) was understandably at the forefront of many of the reports and news articles of the war. This was not his first time in the media, as he had participated in several events that garnered some attention in the previous decade. An article in the *Evening Star* from 1858 reported on Taoyateduta's visit to Washington DC in 1858 and reminded readers of his help with the "hostile Yankton and Cut Heads" that perpetrated the Spirit Lake Massacre in 1857.[82] He was the most well-known Dakota participant in the war of 1862. However, the reports from 1862 propelled him into an entirely new level of celebrity. Suddenly, he appeared referenced in advertisements. An ice cream salon and restaurant ran an advertisement in the *St. Cloud Democrat* which claimed that "Little Crow is not captured, there is no reason why the public should not KEEP COOL."[83] There was also enough interest from the public for newspapers to publish correspondence between him and Col. Sibley, who was in charge of the infantry sent to fight the Dakota combatants.[84]

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[82] *Evening star*, (Washington, D.C.), 22 March 1858, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1858-03-22/ed-1/seq-2/.
[83] *St. Cloud Democrat*, (Saint Cloud, Minn.), 09 July 1863, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016836/1863-07-09/ed-1/seq-4/. This advertisement appears a few days after Taoyateduta was murdered on July 3rd, 1863. At this time, the state had not yet confirmed his death.
[84] *St. Cloud Democrat*, (Saint Cloud, Minn.), 18 Sept. 1862, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.,https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016836/1862-09-18/ed-1/seq-2/.

The *cartes de visite* that Whitney and Upton produced also reflected this fame and simultaneously increased it. Since Taoyateduta was never captured or surrendered, there are no pictures of him during the years of the Dakota War. This complication did not stop Whitney. In the immediate aftermath of the war, realizing that he could capitalize off Taoyateduta's image, Whitney applied for the copyright of photographs of Taoyateduta taken before the war.[85] Shannon agrees that the most likely explanation for these portraits is that Whitney–or another photographer–took Taoyateduta's picture at his request several years prior to 1862.[86] It may not have been profitable to mass produce and distribute the image when they took it, but Whitney certainly piggybacked off of Crow's new-found celebrity status.[87] The *carte* shows this older picture of Taoyateduta with the caption "A Sioux Chief and Leader of the *Indian Massacre of 1862*, in Minnesota" (Figure 6).

[85] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi*, 631.
[86] Shannon, "Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt," 298.
[87] Jakob Dopp, Zoom call with author, 15 November, 2024.

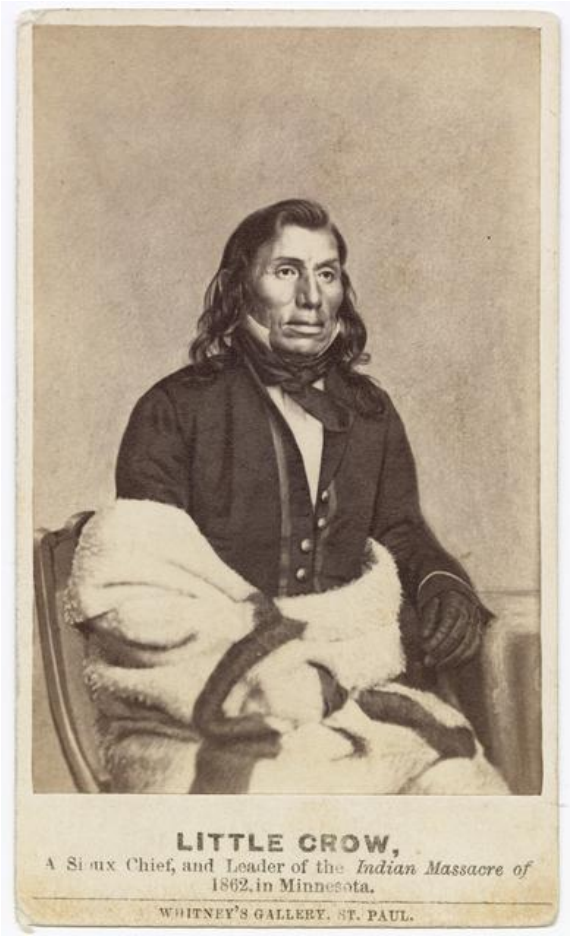

Figure 6: "Little Crow," (1862), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital Collection, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/1a1c2420-65ec-4935-8c9D-9c9f9519f8da.

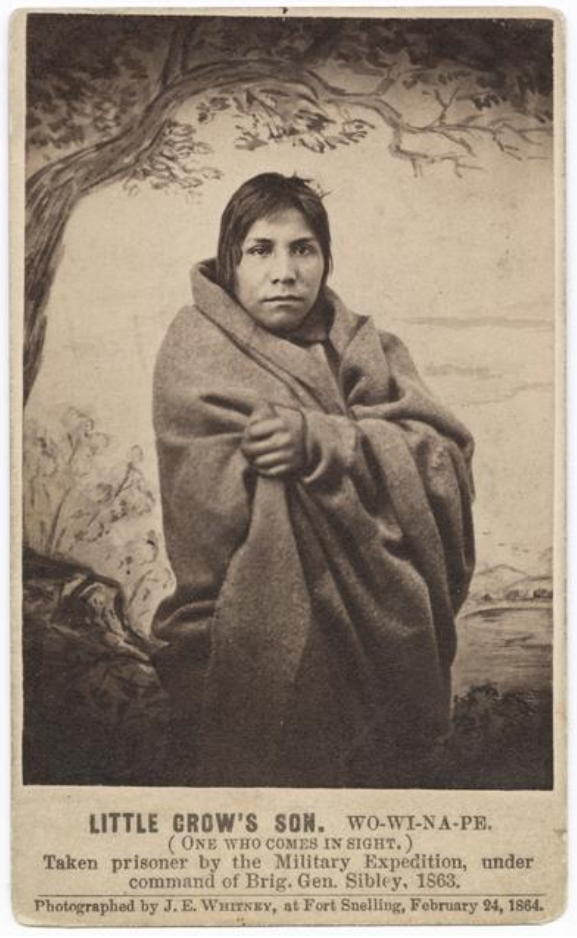

Figure 7: "Wo-wi-na-pe, Little Crow's son," (1864), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital collection, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/eed78aec-9be3-4ddd-a118-9784bcfb19d4.

Three of Taoyateduta's children, his wife, his brother, and his nephew were among the prisoners at Fort Snelling. Upton and Whitney took pictures of all of them. Each of these *cartes de visite* clearly stated the sitter's relationship to Taoyateduta. In fact, the pictures of his son, Wowinape, identified him first as "Little Crow's Son" in bolded capital letters, and by his name second (Figure 7). Another picture of Ta-chun-da-hupa (Nispipe), Crow's nephew, misidentified him as his son. It is possible that Upton and Whitney mostly wanted to focus on selling the

image by attaching Taoyateduta's (*Little Crow*) name to it, rather than reporting accuracy.[88] The image of Minneakadawin (Woman Planting in Water) and two of her children does not even identify them by their names, simply as "Wife and Children of Condemned Sioux Chief." By attaching Taoyateduta's name to the *cartes*, photographers could profit from his fame in the absence of his image. The pictures of Wowinape are from after his father died and the Army captured him to take him to Fort Snelling. At this time, Wowinape became the closest connection to Taoyateduta. Whitney continued to advertise the *cartes* depicting Taoyateduta in 1866.[89]

Taoyateduta's rise in fame is an excellent example of the ways in which whitestream media can propel an already well-known person into celebrity status. However, the media also has the capability of promoting someone who had little to no fame before. Celebrities are dependent on the attention capital from the public, i.e., the desire of the public to consume information, images, objects, or art from the celebrity. Theorist Chris Rojek divides celebrities into three categories: ascribed, achieved, and celetoids.[90] The first two are more traditional roles of celebrity, those who have a hereditary position like members of royal families and those who have accomplished fame through achievements, like musicians. The third category, celetoid–a combination of *celebrity* and *tabloid*–achieves fame through intense bursts of media interest. Celetoids are entirely reliant on media to garner attention capital and are, according to Rojek, "made to satisfy the public demand for more celebrities."[91] This makes them disposable.

Unlike Black Hawk and Taoyateduta, who achieved longer-lasting fame for their advocacy (they would fall into the second category of "achieved" celebrity), it is possible to consider many of the other Dakota people who appear in *cartes de visite* as celetoids. First, they

[88] Most likely, Upton took the picture, and Whitney misidentified him when he reprinted the image.
[89] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi*, 631.
[90] Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
[91] Adese and Innes, *Indigenous Celebrity*, 7.

were propelled into whitestream media incredibly quickly with the start of the Dakota War in 1862. With the exception of Shakopee (*Little Six*) (to a certain extent), a majority of the important figures in the aftermath of the war like Marpiya Okinajin (*Cut Nose*), Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*), and Tatanka Najin (*Standing Buffalo*), were not in the public eye. In fact, their names did not appear in any newspapers in the *Chronicling America* database prior to 1862. Similarly, Whitney and Upton produced and sold all the *cartes de visite* of these men after 1862. In some cases, like Marpiya Okinajin and Taoyateduta, it is very likely that the images were taken before 1862, but the *cartes de visite* of them were sold after the war as they are labeled with captions like and "Cut Nose, Who in the Massacre of 1862, in Minnesota, murdered 18 Women and Children and 5 Men" (Figure 8).[92]

[92] "Little Crow," (1862), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital collection, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/1a1c2420-65ec-4935-8c9d-9c9f9519f8da; "Cut Nose," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-41/cdv041_001.

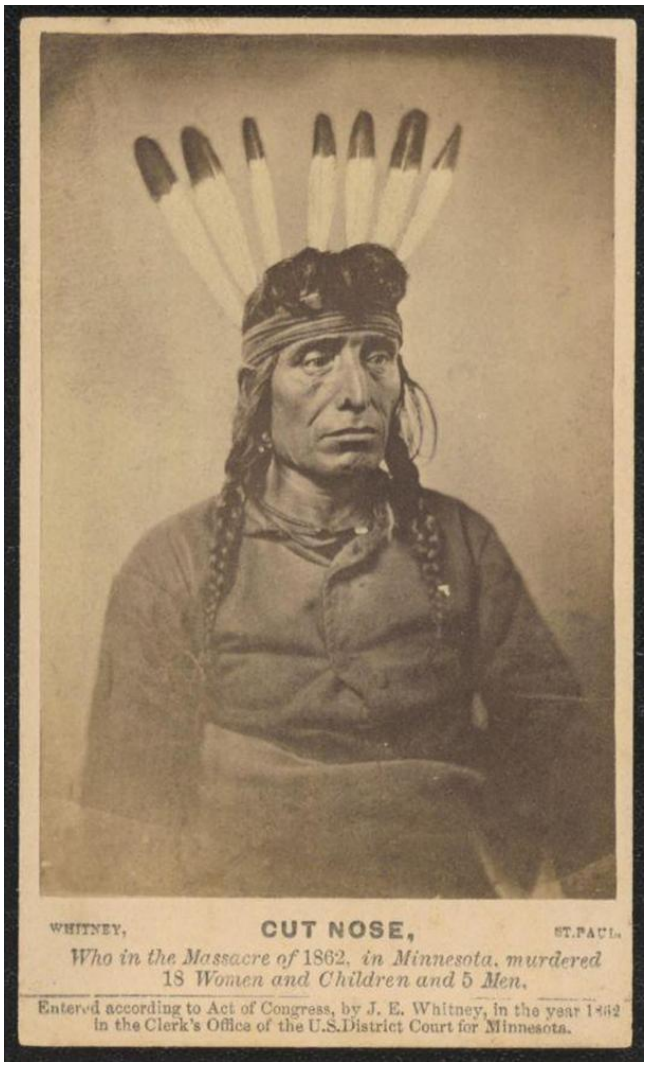

Figure 8: "Cut Nose," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-41/cdv041_001.

As one of the few men discussed in this paper who was hanged, Marpiya Okinajin presents an interesting case. Virtually unknown to white Americans before the war, he propelled to fame once Lincoln confirmed his execution, and Whitney's *carte de visite* helped to do this. The *Western Reserve Chronicle* published a list of all the murders he committed during the war,

for which he was sentenced.[93] Even after his execution, newspapers kept reporting on the whereabouts of his body, which was reportedly scrubbed, his hair cut, and dressed to look like a white man so he would be unrecognizable in his next life.[94] Though his body was actually acquired by physician and phrenologist William Worrall Mayo–who dissected his remains and displayed them in his home– readers of *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* may have found comfort in the belief that Marpiya Okinajin would lose his identity and cease to be a threat to white society.[95] One newspaper article from the day of the execution of the Dakota 38, December 26th 1862, was already advertising Whitney's *carte de visite* of Marpiya Okinajin, and claimed that the photographer would surely obtain another picture of his hanged corpse.[96] The article did not clarify when the pre-existing picture was taken, but appeared to trust Whitney that the information about Marpiya Okinajin's murder was accurate and true.

Among this group, the only known provenance of a *carte* where the picture was taken before 1862 are those of Marpiya Okinajin and Tatanka Najin.[97] The original photographs were salt prints, an early form of photography developed around the same time as daguerreotype technology.[98] Salt prints required just about the same amount of heavy and fragile supplies as daguerreotypes, including a large camera and careful application of chemicals. It is most likely

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[93] *Western Reserve chronicle*, (Warren, Ohio), 26 Nov. 1862, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84028385/1862-11-26/ed-1/seq-2/.

[94] *The weekly pioneer and Democrat*, (Saint Paul, Minn.), 16 Jan. 1863, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016751/1863-01-16/ed-1/seq-3/.

[95] For more on Marpiya Okinajin's remains and Mayo, see pages 55-56.

[96] *The weekly pioneer and Democrat*, (Saint Paul, Minn.), 26 Dec. 1862, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83016751/1862-12-26/ed-1/seq-12/.

[97] "Joel Whitney, Exceptional Album Containing Large Format Photographs of Sioux Involved in the 1862 Minnesota Uprising," *Bidsquare.com*, Accessed 15 November, 2024, https://www.bidsquare.com/online-auctions/cowans/joel-whitney-exceptional-album-containing-large-format-photographs-of-sioux-involved-in-the-1862-minnesota-uprising-1403472.

[98] Jakob Dopp, Zoom call with author, 15 November, 2024.

that Whitney photographed both men in the 1850s, sometime between when he arrived in Minnesota in 1851 and when the *carte de visite* became popular in 1859. The reasons why Marpiya Okinajin and Tatanka Najin got the photographs taken are unclear, but could include any of the methods discussed in the section on Theories of Compensation. Tatanka Najin's photograph then went through a second iteration before 1862.[99] When Whitney printed Tatanka Najin's image onto *cartes de visite*, (Figure 9), the caption also did nothing to acknowledge Tatanka Najin's opposition to the war and the actions of Taoyateduta and his faction.

Figure 9: "Ta-Tanka-Nazin," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-40/cdv040_001.

[99] "Antique Standing Buffalo CDV Native American Photograph Sioux Chief Whitney," *ebay.com*, Accessed 15 November, 2024, https://www.ebay.com.au/itm/143560376683?srsltid=AfmBOorF_1eVMWBlVIrF3bBUQfIgJE-KkzFHf6xglLXpQbl0MFpX8VEk.

A second way that these Dakota men fit the category of "celetoid" is because their celebrity satisfied a demand by the white public for figures of defeated Indians. The desire to flood the white public with images of defeated and incarcerated Indigenous Americans existed for many years before the Dakota war–that is the very reason President Jackson forced Black Hawk to go on tour. By commercializing the defeat and captivity of Dakota combatants in newspapers and selling *cartes* depicting them in a concentration camp the US Military was able to show their force. This was especially important during the Dakota war, since the US government was simultaneously fighting the Civil War in the south of the country. By showing their strength against Indigenous fights for freedoms, they simultaneously reassured Americans of their might in the Union's fight against the Confederacy.

The images from Fort Snelling were especially impactful in conveying the power of the US Military in Native American removal because they emphasized savagery and captivity. Since Whitney and Upton took the photographs outdoors, they emphasized the "savagery" of the subjects, as Native American people were so often associated with wilderness and expected to be in nature. To achieve this effect indoors, many photographers of Native American *cartes de visite* had studio backdrops and props meant to bring the outdoors inside. A studio portrait of Glad Road in the Clements Library seated him on a burlap ground in front of an illustrated background of some trees and shrubbery.[100] This was clearly an attempt by the photographer to bring the stereotypical correlation of Native Americans and wilderness indoors so that he didn't have to struggle with his equipment and the lighting exposure. Other studio portraits also placed their subjects on top of a pile of hay to create this effect. Two photographs of children in the

[100] "Glad Road - Southern Cheyenne. / Cosand & Mosser, Photographers, Caldwell, Kas," (ca. 1880), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-3/cdv003_001.

Clements Library, an Iroquois girl and an unidentified infant in a cradleboard, appeared seated on said piles of straw.[101] The picture of an infant in the cradleboard also had a rail fence in the background. This not only solidified this association with the outdoors, but it could also point to a desire to contain Native American people to reservations–specifically because they were "fenced in" to these designated plots of land.

At Fort Snelling, props were unnecessary. Upton and Whitney took pictures of a majority of the subjects in front of their homes and the teepees provided this association between Indianness and savagery for white viewers. The picture of Minneakadawin and her two children (Figure 4) also showed a surprising amount of the foreground in the picture, which may have been an attempt to include the dry grasses of the camp in the frame. In cases where the teepees were not visible in the background of pictures from Fort Selling, the photographers had a solution: superimposed backgrounds. This was the case in one of the portraits of Wowinape. Figure 7 shows how the *cartes* was edited to insert a landscape in the background, including a large tree, some mountains, and a body of water.[102] This also occurred in a photo of Te-he-do-ne-cha (One Who Jealously Guards His Home) who was one of the Dakota 38. In the original salt print version of this image, Te-he-do-ne-cha is sitting on a chair in an indoor studio with an elaborate tile floor and a blank background. In the *carte* from 1862, he appeared to be sitting on a log outdoors, in front of a tent and a teepee, with some trees in the background (Figure 10).[103]

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[101] "Iroquois girl. / Devenny N.E. Cor. 3rd & Jefferson Sts. Louisville, KY," (ca. 1886), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-10/cdv010_001; "Native American infant in cradleboard. / Devenny N.E. Cor. 3rd & Jefferson Sts. Louisville, KY," (ca. 1886), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-11/cdv011_001.

[102] "Wo-wi-na-pe, Little Crow's son," (1864), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital collection, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/eed78aec-9be3-4ddd-a118-9784bcfb19d4.

[103] "Te-he-do-ne-cha," (ca. 1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-65/cdv065_001.

This background is clearly illustrated, so it would be odd for the viewer to believe Te-he-do-ne-cha was outside, but it's still a modified aspect of the image that was meant to make it appear more indigenized.

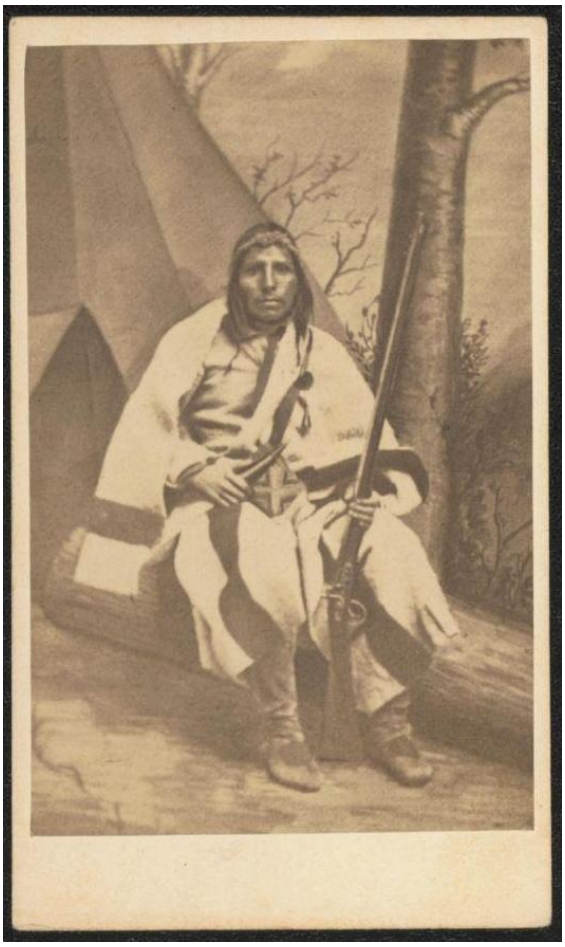

Figure 10: "Te-he-do-ne-cha," (1862), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-65/cdv065_001.

Figure 11: "Sioux women at prison compound, Fort Snelling," (ca. 1862), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital archive, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/4caed92a-80e8-412b-a450-afd0cace47aa.

The message of captivity was also easy to display from Fort Snelling. Any white American who saw the words "Fort Snelling" printed on a *carte de visite* would have

immediately recognized that the faces printed on the card were Dakota prisoners of war.[104] Furthermore, a *carte* of two women sitting in front of their home showed a small section of the 12-foot high wooden stockade that surrounded the camp (Figure 11).[105] This stockade was also present in other photographs of the camp from aerial views. There was a *carte* that showed the rows of Dakota teepees inside the confines of the camp. Unlike traditional Dakota villages where the teepees are erected in a circular formation, these made a perfectly lined grid.[106] Between the name of the fort and the infrastructure that surrounded the people in the pictures, there was no doubt that these people were in captivity.

Finally, the Dakota men discussed until now fit the category of "celetoid" because they were somewhat disposable, not only because they were all killed shortly after, but because of collectivism. In the same way that colonialism has impacted the ways in which the whitestream media engages with Indigenous people, it has also impacted how white Americans see them. According to Sarah J. Jackson, many minority cultures in the United States are seen as *collectivist*, meaning that Indigenous people are often not seen as individuals, but as members of a larger community from which they are perceived to come.[107] This is a result of the colonialist expectations of Indigeneity. This is visible in some of the pictures from Fort Snelling, where those photographed were not identified by their name, but simply by a caption like "Sioux Squaws" (Figure 11).[108] What this also means, is that one Indigenous voice is easily replaceable with the voice of another member of this imagined community. For a brief moment, they have the spotlight; Taoyateduta certainly had his own spotlight in the aftermath of the Dakota war, but

[104] Shannon, "Photographs of the 1862 Sioux Revolt," 304.
[105] "Sioux women at prison compound, Fort Snelling," (ca. 1862), photograph, in the *Minnesota Historical Society* digital archive, https://www.mnhs.org/search/collections/record/4caed92a-80e8-412b-a450-afd0cace47aa.
[106] Berg, *38 Nooses*, 246.
[107] Sarah J. Jackson, *Black Celebrity, Racial Politics, and the Press* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Adese and Innes, *Indigenous Celebrity*, 11, 26-7.
[108] "Sioux women at prison compound, Fort Snelling," *Minnesota Historical Society*.

it was not perpetual. While Black Hawk may have represented the defeat of the "Indian" to white Americans, once he was gone, Taoyateduta and other Dakota leaders easily replaced him, who were in turn easily replaced once they died.

As soon as Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan–considered the last "leaders" of the Dakota War–were hanged, whitestream media turned to other representations of Indigenous defeat. Sitting Bull was a Hunkpapa Lakota warrior who led the Great Sioux War of 1876 and the Battle of Little Bighorn that same year. Newspapers across the country reported on these conflicts and slowly turned Sitting Bull into a celebrity image. The *New York Herald* called him "The Napoleon of the Sioux."[109] Even though the press villainized him for killing American soldiers and capturing Crow women without mercy, Sitting Bull fascinated white Americans. The same article that called him the "Napoleon of the Sioux" published illustrations from his pictographic autobiography with footnotes explaining the action in each illustration. These included how Sitting Bull received his name, certain war exploits against white military soldiers, and battles against Crow people. An article from the *Chicago Daily Tribune* also published parts of his autobiography.[110] It is no surprise, then, that people wanted pictures of Sitting Bull for their collections.

After Sitting Bull was captured in 1881, photographer W. R. Cross printed a *carte de visite* that showed Sitting Bull and his wife, Seen-by-the-Nation, while they were held prisoner at Fort Randall (Figure 12).[111] As with the prisoners from the Dakota War in Fort Snelling a few decades before, the *cartes* simultaneously reflected Sitting Bull's fame and increased it by

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[109] *The New York herald*, (New York, NY), 12 July 1876, pg. 3, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/1842-07-12/ed-1/seq-3/.

[110] *Chicago daily tribune*, (Chicago, Ill.), 11 July 1876, pg. 2, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84031492/1876-07-11/ed-1/seq-2/.

[111] "Sitting Bull and his favorite Squaw," *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*.

providing more methods of media consumption for the white Americans that were fascinated with him. It is impossible to deny that printing this specific image of Sitting Bull as a prisoner also contained his fame within a narrative of criminality and violence, one that we would have to work hard to modify.

Figure 12: "Sitting Bull and his favorite Squaw. / Photographed by W. R. Cross, Niobrara, Neb," (ca. 1881), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography,* William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-5/cdv005_001.

After Sitting Bull negotiated his release from Fort Randall in 1883, he had the opportunity to capitalize on the fame he accrued during his fight for freedom, a small consolation prize for everything he and his people had lost. He toured with a performance company advocating for peace and education and eventually joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1885. His contract guaranteed him a $125 bonus, plus $50 a week for the four months he was

with the show.[112] The contract also gave him exclusive rights to the sale of his portraits and autographs. As discussed earlier, the issue in previous cases of Indigenous people presenting individuality and agency throughout photography is that photographers could later manipulate the images their own purposes. But Sitting Bull's case may be one of the first where an Indigenous person kept control of their image *after* it was taken, which is an opportunity that Osceola, Shoppenagon, and the participants in the Dakota war probably did not have.

One of the pictures that Sitting Bull likely autographed for spectators of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was the famous promotional photograph of himself with Buffalo Bill (William Frederick Cody) that read, "Foes in '76, Friends in '85" (Figure 13).[113] The studio portrait showed Sitting Bull in full traditional clothing and regalia, including a war bonnet with a trail long enough to wrap in front of his feet, an intricately beaded bandolier bag, and a hide shirt with beaded sleeves. His shoes were most likely moccasins, though they are not visible because they were buried in straw.[114] It is unclear how much money Sitting Bull made from selling his autograph, especially since he was known for giving much of it away to different charities and homeless people.

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[112] Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 264.
[113] Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 72.
[114] As in some other *cartes de visite*, namely the Iroquois girl and the infant in the cradleboard, Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill were surrounded by elements of "nature;" a bed of straw and a painted backdrop of trees.

Figure 13: Promotional picture of Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill when Sitting Bull joined the Wild West Show. In Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 72.

Celebrity Criminals

Even though the men mentioned above fall under the category of "celetoid," this does not exclude them from falling into another important category: celebrity criminals. The "celebrification" of criminals is not an uncommon phenomenon, so it is not entirely shocking that Black Hawk, many of the Dakota combatants, and Sitting Bull were simultaneously villainized and admired by the American public. According to theorist David Schmid, the fascination with criminals comes from the joy of transgression, the "singularity and monstrosity

of the "other" that a dominant culture cannot incorporate within itself."[115] In other words, individuals resonate with the allure of the socially unacceptable behaviors performed by criminals. It is a way for our psyches to come to terms with the violence performed by individuals. Sociologist Ruth Penfold-Mounce adds that "to resonate is to connect, respond and interact with a multiplicity of sources that do not exclude unpleasant and disturbing occurrences that can stimulate resonance via feelings of rebellion, disgust, horror, loathing, or fear."[116] People like Shakopee (*Little Six*) and Wakan Ozanzan (*Medicine Bottle*), already "othered" by American society for being Indigenous and disrupting white colonization, would have fulfilled this psychological need of white Americans to conceptualize violence from a safe distance.

To resonate with criminals from a safe distance, the very thing that turns them into celebrities, the media, is absolutely necessary.[117] In the late 19th century, *cartes-de-visite* were a new form of media that facilitated access to celebrities along with newspapers. It is no surprise, then, that people wanted pictures of Taoyateduta's (*Little Crow*) family for their collections. Perhaps, as Pullman did with Lincoln's portrait in her family's photography album, the consumers of these *cartes* used them to place themselves within the narrative of westward expansion as victors over Indigenous "criminals." Furthermore, some of the fascination with the pictures from Fort Snelling may have also been because they showed the Dakota as prisoners and no longer a danger to settler society.

It is important to make the clarification that the general public did not see non-combatants at Fort Snelling like the two women in Figure 11 and Minneakadawin as criminals.

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[115] David F. Schmid, *Natural Born Celebrities: Serial Killers in American Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 14.
[116] Ruth Penfold-Mounce, *Celebrity Culture and Crime: The Joy of Transgression* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 69.
[117] Penfold-Mounce, *Celebrity Culture and Crime*, 69.

In fact, many people considered them defenseless victims of Dakota violence. During the military's deportation of Dakota families from their land to Fort Snelling, Lieutenant Colonel William Marshall made a public notice in the *Saint Paul Daily Press* in which he stated, "I would risk my life for the protection of these helpless beings, and would feel everlasting disgrace if any evil befell them while in my charge."[118] While his message was mostly published to avoid mob violence during the journey, it reflects the paternalistic attitudes of the soldiers involved in the removal and the message they were disseminating to the rest of the country.

It was Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan who were most photographed as criminals by Upton and Whitney. The two men had managed to evade capture after the war by fleeing to Canada, but they were kidnapped in January of 1864 by British agents and turned over to US authorities. As mentioned earlier, both rose to fame quite rapidly after their capture. Shakopee had experienced a small presence in the media before 1865, but not nearly as significant as other Dakota men like Taoyateduta. Wakan Ozanzan had experienced virtually no media attention before being captured. After arriving at Fort Snelling, the media ran to tell their stories to the public, with first-page news stories that read "CAPTURE OF THE SIOUX CHIEFS."[119] This was an interest which Whitney simultaneously promoted and exploited through his *cartes*. Thus, they qualify as "celetoids." But the emphasis on their status as criminals is extremely interesting.

Unlike the 303 prisoners who were initially sentenced to death in 1862, Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan were held at Fort Snelling rather than Mankato or Davenport. This allowed Whitney and Upton to photograph them, an opportunity they had not received with those sentenced in 1862. When they arrived at Fort Snelling, Wakan Ozanzan, and possibly Shakopee,

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[118] Berg, *38 Nooses*, 195.
[119] *Cleveland morning leader*, (Cleveland, OH), 03 Feb. 1864, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035143/1864-02-03/ed-1/seq-1/.

were fitted with a ball and chain, treatment that other Dakota prisoners had not received. Mary Jeanette Newson, the daughter of a commissary stationed at Fort Snelling, recalled that,

> "In our play about the parade ground we often watched with frightened delight the two captive Indians, leaders in the Sioux War, each dragging a cannon ball chained to his left leg, while under guard he swept the walks. Medicine Bottle was a coarse, brutal creature who often showed to his visitors his arm tattooed with the symbols indicating the men, women, and children he had scalped, about fifty in all. Shakopee, or Little Six, was interesting and intelligent."[120]

Through Newson's description, it is clear that the appeal of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan as celebrities and criminals was palpable. The words "frightened delight" could not be a better description of the joy of transgression described by Schmid. These complex emotions must have also impacted Whitney when he photographed them, making the pictures of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan uniquely muddled.

As mentioned earlier, Upton and Whitney depicted many of the noncombatant prisoners at Fort Snelling between 1862 and 1863 in accordance with conventions of Native American photography; outdoors and among nature, perfect representations of the "noble savage." This was not the case with Shakopee (Figure 14) and Wakan Ozanzan (Figure 15). Whitney photographed the two prisoners in front of a stone wall, the one behind Wakan Ozanzan covered in white paint or plaster. This semi-neutral background in conjunction with their criminal status may have been an attempt by Whitney to make the images resemble mugshot photography of the late 19th century.

[120] Mary Jeannette Newson, "Memories of Fort Snelling in Civil War Days," *Minnesota History* 15, no. 4 (1934), 399.

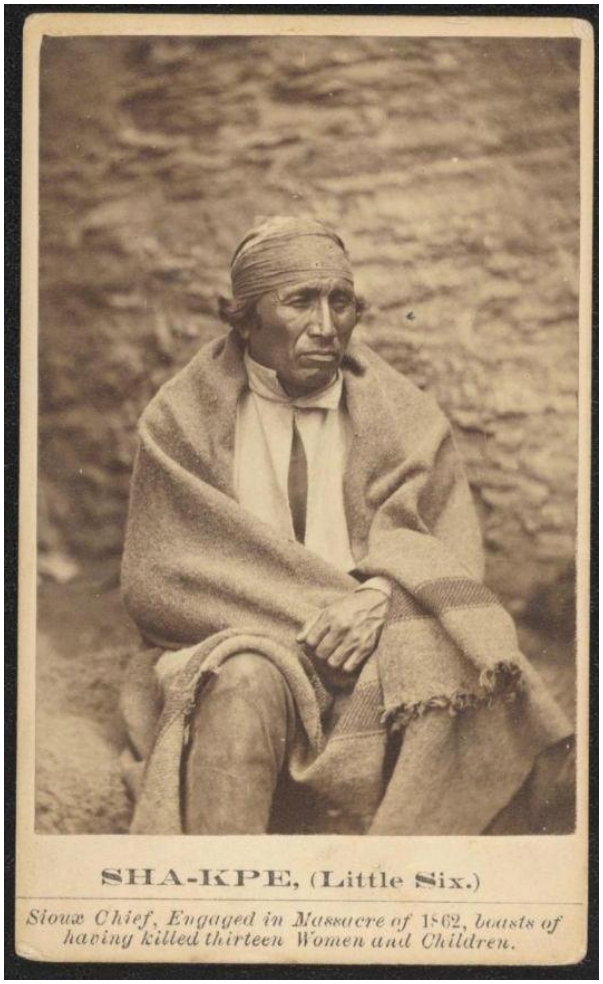

Figure 14: "Sha-kpe,(Little Six.) Sioux Chief, Engaged in Massacre of 1862, boasts of having killed thirteen Women and Children," (1864), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-37/cdv037_001.

Figure 15: "Wa-Kan-O-Zhan-Zhan, (Medicine Bottle): Engaged in the Massacre of 1862. A prisoner at Fort Snelling, condemned to death," (1864), photograph, in the digital collection *Richard Pohrt, Jr. Collection of Native American Photography*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pohrt/x-34/cdv034_001.

Mugshot photography developed from an early belief that the new medium was most applicable to scientific study, merely a tool of precise documentation. Police precincts quickly began photography to document crime scenes, evidence, and criminals. According to Jonathan

Finn, author of *Capturing the Criminal Image*, "the photographic image was considered to be a direct, unmediated copy or index of its subject in the natural world."[121] Thus, in the event that the criminal committed another crime or that they escaped, the authorities would have an accurate description to begin searching. The process of taking the photograph also avoids "interpretation, ambiguity, and mystery."[122] As historian Bruce Jackson explains, the purposes of mugshot photography are entirely utilitarian and never focused on the aesthetics.

Upon further inspection of the *cartes* of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan, these qualities do not appear to apply directly to these images. First, the purpose of mugshots is surveillance, to find the perpetrators again if they commit another crime or escape. This seems unlikely given the circumstances, as a military tribunal sentenced Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan to death in August of 1864. Of course, the possibility of escape always existed, even when the prisoners were in a military fort and weighed down by a ball and chain. These images could certainly have been used to identify them in the case of escape, but their structure is not "scientific" enough to align with mugshot photography.

To assist recapture, mugshots have a set format. They consist of two bust portraits, one where the sitter looks directly and the camera and the second is a 90º profile. It was important from a scientific point of view that the sitter looked directly into the camera. The pictures of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan are nothing like this. In their individual pictures, both men looked away from the camera at an angle that resembled painted portraiture conventions of earlier centuries, rather than mugshots. Their expressions were somewhat aloof, as if they did not know that Whitney and his camera were observing them. As discussed earlier, this is impossible, and

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[121] Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xi.
[122] Bruce Jackson, *Pictures from a Drawer: Prison and the Art of Portraiture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 10.

this pose was likely requested by the photographer to give the *appearance* of aloofness. In traditional portraiture, women and servants' gazes rarely look at the viewer, a sign of power and authority reserved for patriarchs and monarchs. Perhaps, Whitney wanted to present this powerlessness to the purchaser of the *carte* in more ways than one.

Finally, is the absence of the ball and chain. In addition to jail cell bars and striped convict jumpsuits, a ball and chain are quintessential visual signifiers of imprisonment. The British Empire used the ball and chain as early as the 17th century, so those who purchased the *cartes* of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan would have immediately associated the ball and chain with imprisonment. So why did Whitney purposefully avoid including it in the shot? The photographs showed the men's entire bodies except for their ankles and feet. These ambiguities in the photographs suggest that Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan seem to have inhabited a space of culpability in between the originally sentenced Dakota men and the non-combatants. They were criminals, but they also received some sympathy from white Americans for their Indigeneity, so Whitney had to treat them as both.

This ambiguity did not dissuade the sale of the *cartes de visite*. An advertisement by the *Philadelphia Photographer* from 1866 stated, "We have pictures of several of those demons engaged in the terrible massacre of 1862, and who were executed in November last. One of them, "Cut-Nose," is said to have murdered five men and eighteen women and children. "Little Crow," the leader of the massacre, "Wah-kau-o-shan-zhan" (Medicine Bottle), and "Shakpe" (Little Six), are all terrible fellows, and go far to dissipate our ideas of the "noble savage," so graphically and poetically described to us by Longfellow."[123] Furthermore, three separate portraits of Wakan Ozanzan exist where he was virtually in the same pose. Still wrapped in a

[123] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi*, 631

blanket, seated in front of the white wall, and looking away from the camera, the three separate shots suggest that Whitney had an interest in mass producing the photographs, as three plates would have allowed him to create *cartes* quicker than one.

White Americans knew they were supposed to think of Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan as criminals, and although the photographs did not show this as clearly as a mugshot, they also presented them in a slightly different light than previous pictures from Fort Snelling. After Shakopee and Wakan Ozanzan were executed on November 11, 1865, Whitney continued to sell and advertise the *cartes* de visite which depicted them.[124] Their influence and fame did not end with their deaths. The media continued to promote them as examples of defeated Native Americans, who met their fate by opposing the will of the US government.

Conclusion

The emergence of photography and *cartes de visite*, however popular, did not replace previous methods of creating Indigenous celebrities, or of gawking at criminals. After the Dakota 38 hanged at Mankato in 1862, some curious people from the crowd of 4,000 who had witnessed the execution stayed behind to collect souvenirs. According to Clemmons, the crowd stole "ornaments, clothing, and locks of hair" from the corpses.[125] The crowd also divided the wooden gallows from which they hanged into small pieces and distributed them. In June of 1863, even after Sibley had deported most of the non-combatants at Fort Snelling, a post office in Minnesota boasted of displaying one of the nooses used in the execution.

Phrenologists also subjected the remains to country-wide tours. William Worrall Mayo dug up the remains of Marpiya Okinajin (*Cut Nose*), after they had been buried in a shallow

[124] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi*, 631.
[125] Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile*, 36-7.

grave, to dissect the body in the presence of his medical colleagues.[126] Mayo kept the dissected and glossed bones of Marpiya Okinajin in his office and used them to teach anatomy to his children and other students, claiming that the small skull and large femur proved his phrenological ideas.[127] This occurred with other remains of the Dakota 38 as well, though the whereabouts of those corpses are less well documented. In her book about Dr. Mayo, Helen Clapesattle included the picture of Marpiya Okinajin from Whitney's *carte de visite*.[128]

Cartes de visite did not replace the ways in which people connected with Indigenous and criminal celebrities, they merely expanded the possibility of connection to a larger portion of the population. As a new form of celebrity media, they allowed photographers like Whitney and Upton to advertise participants in the Dakota War of 1862 and help propel them into a space of celebrity. Taoyateduta, Marpiya Okinajin, Shakopee, and Wakan Ozanzan likely never got to benefit from this fame, which was so driven by images of themselves and their loved ones. Tatanka Najin (*Standing Buffalo*), the only survivor after 1865, spent the rest of his life fleeing from persecution before he died in battle in 1870. The Standing Buffalo Dakota Nation, currently located in Saskatchewan, Canada, posted a flyer in May of 2024 to let the community know about the Tatanka Najin Wapici (Pow-Wow) using Whitney's image of him. The fact that the official Nation used the image from Whitney's *carte de visite* of Tatanka Najin on the flyer and is a testament to the impact of these images.[129]

Amid the contentions series of Indian Wars in which white Americans sought to colonize Indigenous territory, the innovative use of *cartes de visite* helped make celebrities out of

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[126] Helen Clapesattle, *The Doctors Mayo* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1941), 77.
[127] Clapesattle, *The Doctors Mayo*, 167.
[128] Clapesattle, *The Doctors Mayo*, 80.
[129] "Tatanka Najin Wapici," by Standing Buffalo Dakota Nation, *Facebook.com*, 6 July 2024, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php/?story_fbid=908173374687566&id=100064847344071.

"pacified" Native Americans. By photographing Indigenous prisoners along the Western frontier, men like Upton and Whitney gave credence to the previously established myths of "noble, vanishing Indians." Alongside newspapers' written descriptions of Indigenous dispossession and extinction, the celebrification of defeated men like Taoyateduta, Tatanka Najin, Marpiya Okinajin, Shakopee, and Wakan Ozanzan provided an extra layer of justification for Indian removal.

The use of images emerging from the Dakota War of 1862 also demonstrates that Native American people actively participated in this culture of celebrity for a multitude of reasons. Perhaps to them selling their image was simply a monetary exchange or, perhaps, they also tried to change the narrative of Native American removal and resistance. The spectrum of reasons is very wide, and in most cases, it is impossible to say which reasons motivated Dakota and other Native American subjects to pose for images. However, the possibility that some Indigenous people like Sitting Bull controlled their images has broader implications about Indigenous/colonial relations.

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