

GILCREASE

J O U R N A L

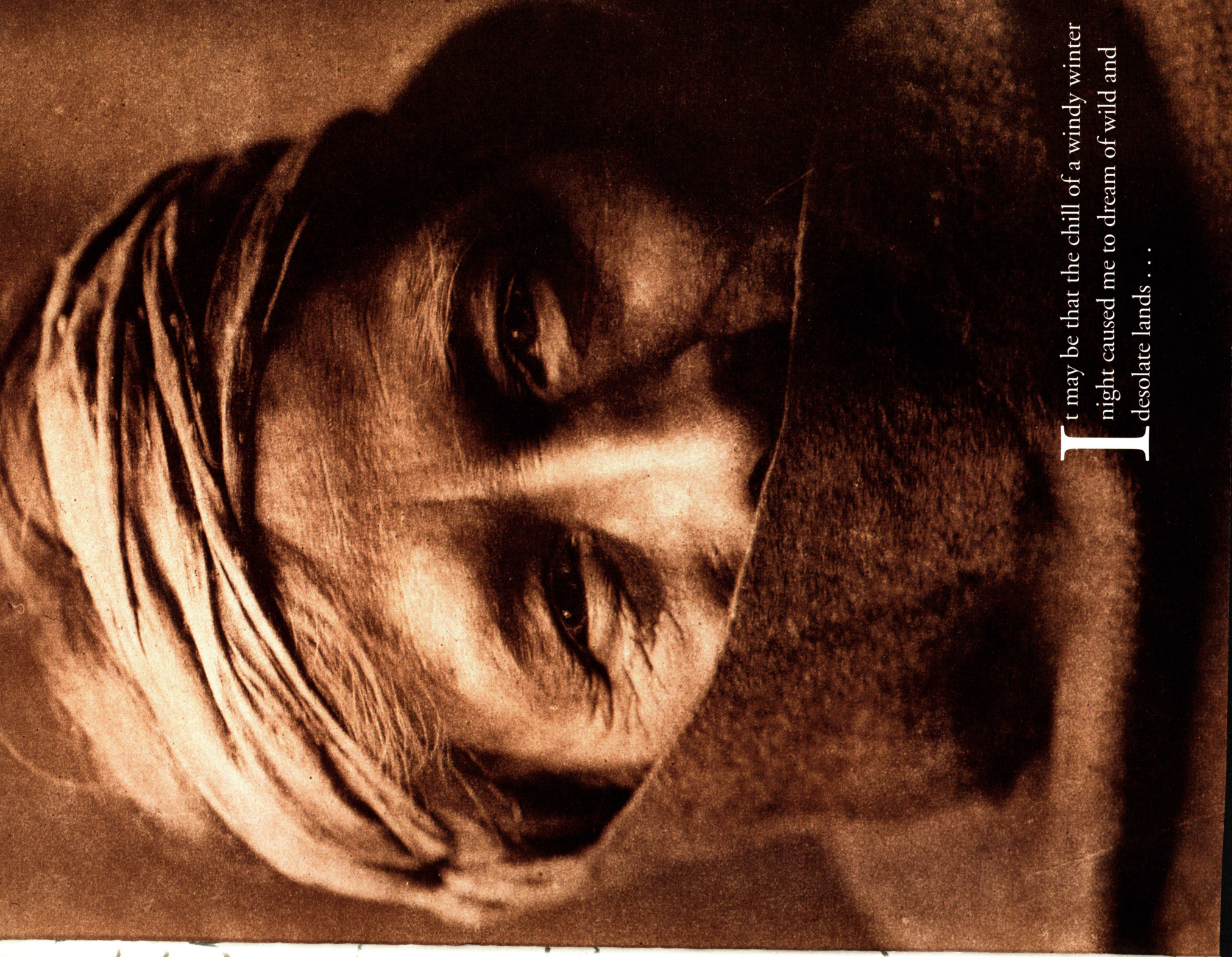
Z

Crushing
at

FRANK HAMILTON
CUSHING

AT ZUÑI PUEBLO
1879 ~ 1884

Fall 1994
Vol. 2
No. 2
c. 2



It may be that the chill of a windy winter night caused me to dream of wild and desolate lands . . .

here. It must - depend
the state of my heart
at - and - hope
- visit -
- sun -
- re -
- your Father
Your Faithful Son
Frank Hamilton

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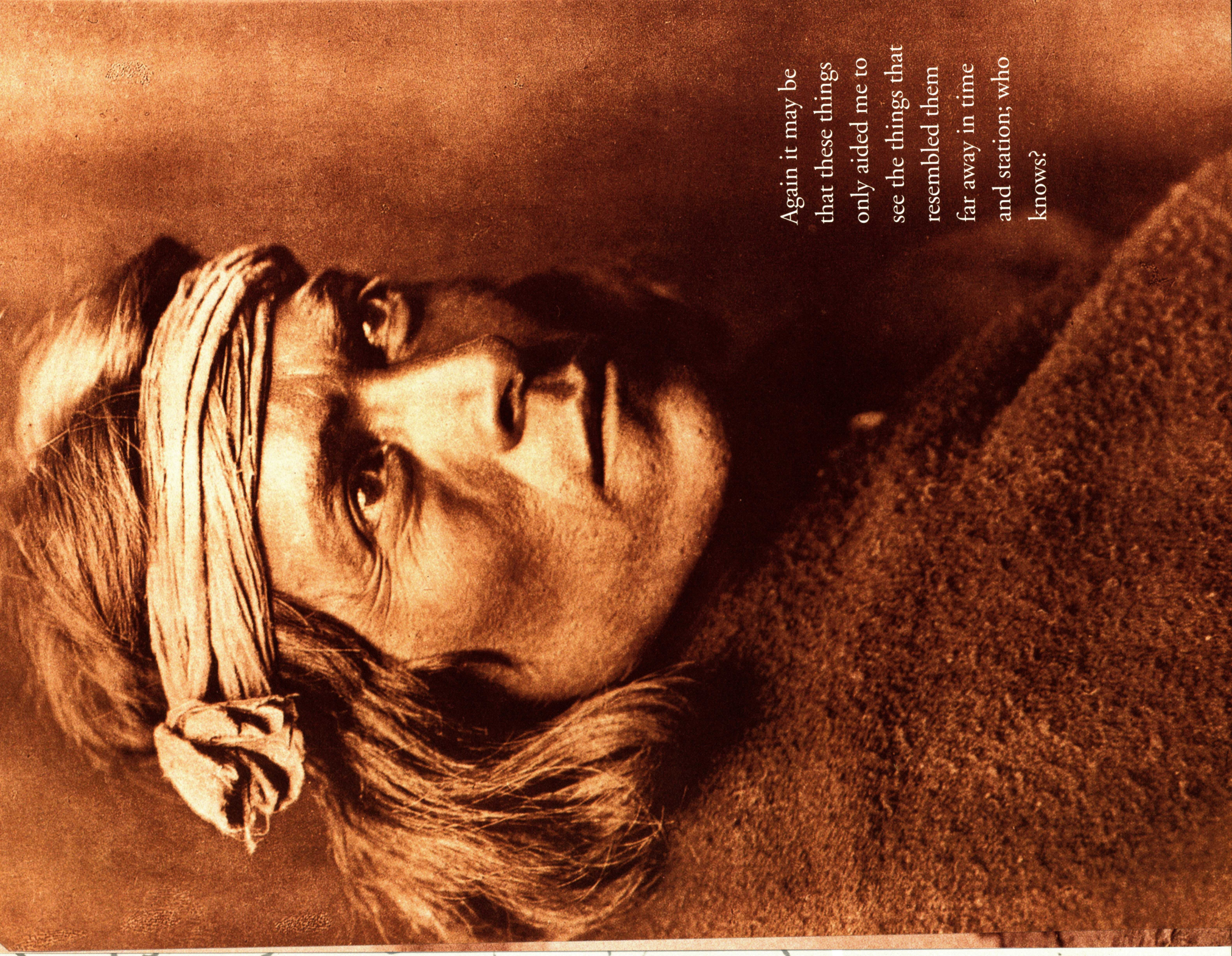
Gillie Library

the clang of an
iron door left
unlatched six
flights below, of
hollow,
reverberating
mountains, and
my studies
among the
relics and idols
of primitive
man gathered
the world over,
of an idol
stranger than
any I have
studied —



while my joy was
only that of every
born collector and
student of olden
things.





Again it may be
that these things
only aided me to
see the things that
resembled them
far away in time
and station; who
knows?



Be all this as it may, my eyes were first turned towards Zuni
by a vision of the night. . . »

FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING, "Going to Zuni," *Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing*

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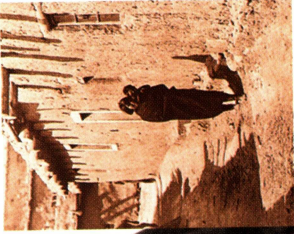
Z4 Cushing at



10 In the Shadow of Cushing

Who was Frank Hamilton Cushing, the man many have called the “father of modern anthropology”? Some of Cushing’s colleagues, among both his contemporaries and later generations of anthropologists, criticized Cushing for “going native” during his intensive ethnographic fieldwork among the Zuni in 1879-1884. Others have praised him for watershed contributions to anthropology and particularly for what was essentially his invention — the participant observation method of field investigation. Daniel C. Swan looks at Cushing through the eyes of a modern anthropologist.

DANIEL C. SWAN



EDWARD S. CURTIS (1868-1952), American. Photographures, Gilcrease Museum, Vol. 17. From left to right: *Waihusiwa, a Zuni Kyaqimassi*, plate 612, 4327.980.33; *Zuni Girls at the River*, plate 610, 4327.980.31; *A Zuni Woman*, plate 614, 4327.980.35; *A Load of Fuel—Zuni*, plate 608, 4327.980.29; *A Zuni Governor*, plate 607, 4327.980.28.

20 Cushing Among the Zuni ~ A Zuni Perspective

Edmund J. Ladd grew up in Zuni in the 1930s. From his unique perspective as both a Zuni Indian and an anthropologist, he muses on Cushing’s account of his experiences, placing them in context of his own firsthand knowledge of Zuni clan and religious structure.

EDMUND J. LADD



6 P O R T F O L I O

Zuni Silver, Zuni “Gold”

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44 Sources of Genius

Influences for Thomas Eakins’s

Portrait of Frank Hamilton Cushing

Thomas Eakins, the great American master of portraiture, preserved the image of Frank Hamilton Cushing in a portrait painted in his Philadelphia studio in 1895. Anne Morand examines elements of this famous portrait, tracing their inspiration to the influence of five major painters on the work of Thomas Eakins.

ANNE MORAND

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JOAN CARPENTER TROCCOLI

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GILCREASE JOURNAL

CAROL HARALSON *Executive Editor and Designer*



WILLIAM R. LEIGH (1866-1955)
Indian Huts and Dwellings, Zuñi, New Mexico
 Oil on canvasboard
 Gilcrease Museum, 01.37.210

The contents of this issue of the *Gilcrease Journal* bring to mind the old story in which a preacher encounters a mountain lion during a wilderness retreat. Spying the lion, the preacher intones, “Oh Lord, make this mountain lion a Christian.” Immediately the lion falls down upon its knees and begins to pray. It says, “Thank you for this meal I am about to receive.” Everything depends on point of view.

Frank Hamilton Cushing had the rare ability to cross over, to create a bridge between two cultures, to hold two points of view at once. He also had the passion and stamina, in spite of physical frailty, to travel beyond the places that simple curiosity and adequate academic competence take others. This “man on the border” somehow fitted himself, articulately or inarticulately, into two worlds — perhaps because in truth he fitted neither.

When Cushing arrived in Zuñi in 1879, “the study of man” was only two decades old and still establishing its methods and procedures. Into the breach leapt a brilliant chameleon, sometimes a prodigious paragon of raw perception, sometimes a confused voyager, to begin the dialogue that would eventually give shape to modern anthropology. Like any great self-inventing figure, Cushing of course had critics. Some were sober thinkers, and others were charlatans or frauds. Such a man as Cushing is a natural polarizer. It is a tribute to his uniqueness that a hundred years later he still provokes, offends, and inspires — as is evidenced in the articles that follow. Those articles continue our theme of point of view, with Dan Swan, senior curator at Gilcrease, viewing Cushing through the eyes of a modern-day anthropologist and Ed Ladd, of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, assessing his work at Zuñi through the eyes of a Zuñi Indian.

In a sense, we are like the Kalahari Bushman in Jamie Uys’s 1980 film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, who inherits a Coke bottle thrown from a passing airplane. Believing that this extraordinary relic must have religious significance, the Bushman sets off on a comic but perilous quest for its rightful owner. What is familiar as breath to a native is the soul of exotica to a stranger. Some of us entertain mild curiosity about the mysterious Other; others, like Cushing, pursue it with religious passion. Perhaps we can never fully comprehend a foreign entity from the inside out. The marvel is that we still can love that which we do not fully understand. We do it every day.

One expression of Cushing’s exploration was conscious emulation; hence clothing had a special importance in his life. On one level articles of dress became complex statements of his self-constructed cross-cultural identity; on another they were like the second skin of the trickster. To the public Cushing’s colorful attire was the emblem of his eccentricity; to his colleagues it symbolized his quixotic departure from the norms of an emergent science. Therefore it is odd but appropriate that the clothing Cushing wore for Thomas Eakin’s great portrait (discussed by Anne Morand, Gilcrease’s curator of art collections) belonged to the museums that owned the portrait. In a new regular feature introduced in this issue of the *Journal*, Gilcrease’s director Joan Troccoli follows the peregrinations of both painting and costumery. “Tracings: Director’s Afterword” explores the history and provenance of selected artworks, explaining how they came to be part of the Gilcrease collection.

Look throughout this issue for clues to the extraordinary man called Frank Cushing, who was both the lion and the preacher, scholar and shuttlecock of cultures, who loved and partly understood the people called Zuñi. ~ C. HARALSON

In the Shadow of Cushing



PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
Frank Hamilton Cushing
National Anthropological Archive,
Smithsonian Institution,
neg. no. 80-9479

JOHN K. HILLERS (1843-1925)
Frank Hamilton Cushing
Modeling as Priest of the Bow
National Anthropological Archive,
Smithsonian Institution,
neg. no 6890

OF COURSE MY EXPERIENCE IS, IN A CERTAIN SENSE, ONE-SIDED. I HAVE A FEELING OF LOVE AND ADMIRATION FOR THE ZUÑIS, IT IS TRUE, BUT IN THIS I DO NOT OFFER BY ANY MEANS A SOLITARY EXAMPLE. NEARLY EVERYONE WHO HAS LIVED LONG AND INTIMATELY WITH THE INDIANS, NO MATTER WHAT TRIBE, HAS LEARNED TO LOVE THEM, AND TO HAVE THIS PARTICULAR ADMIRATION FOR THE TRIBE HE HAS BEST KNOWN, EVEN AS I HAVE FOR THE ZUÑIS. ¹

FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING, 1897

FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING, one of the most enigmatic figures in the history of American anthropology, brought a unique genius and an irascible spirit to his endeavors. As Curtis Hinsley has aptly pointed out, Cushing's story is, in large part, the story of late 19th-century American intellectualism, as exemplified by the evolutionary reductionism that dominated the major scientific disciplines of the time. Cushing was a central figure in forging "A New Ethnology" that would bring the study of man in all his manifestations into the realm of "true science". ²

Cushing is reported to have lived a rather eccentric life as a child. Born prematurely in 1857, he spent much of his early childhood in isolation due to his generally weakened condition. He seems to have attended school irregularly, teaching himself through reading and pursuing his irrepressible fascination with the natural world. Despite his physical frailties he spent much of his childhood hiking and investigating the rural countryside that surrounded his father's estate.





JOHN K. HILLERS (1834-1925)
Studio Portrait of Six Zuni Priests of the Bow who accompanied Frank Hamilton Cushing to the East, 1882
 National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, neg. no. 6890

At the age of eight, while on one of his tours of the family farm, Cushing was given a flint arrowhead freshly recovered from a plowed field. He was told it had been made by Indians, a subject that had long fascinated him. Cushing reported that this event sparked the beginning of a career that would culminate in his recognition as one of the foremost social scientists of late 19th-century America. From this first arrowhead quickly grew a sizable collection of archaeological specimens that the young Cushing displayed in a bark lodge of his own manufacture.

Cushing became adept at reading the features of the land, noting differences in vegetation and topography to predict the location of archaeological sites. In addition to building an impressive collection of objects that would ultimately be accepted into the collections of the National Museum, Cushing also conducted extensive experimentation to imitate the techniques and methods used to create the objects he collected.

Cushing received little advanced education, attending Cornell University for a short period until it became apparent that he knew far more than his professor about the native peoples of America. He was well read in the prevailing theoretical literature of the day, and his acquaintance with the works of Edmund Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan is apparent in his writings and inferences. In the fall of 1875 Cushing was offered a position at the Smithsonian where he quickly became consumed with the preparation of an exhibition on American Indians for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The next four years would find him largely confined to duty in Washington, working with the growing collections of the National Museum and eventually reaching the position of curator of ethnology.

In the fall of 1879, at the age of 22, Cushing was selected as the ethnologist to accompany an expedition into the American Southwest. His instructions from Professor Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian, were succinct and clear. He was to make a thorough study of one pueblo, spending as much time as necessary to achieve his objectives. This directive received considerable support from Major John Wesley Powell, director of the newly chartered Bureau of Ethnology.

In 1879 the Bureau of Ethnology (renamed in 1884 the Bureau of American Ethnology) was established as a department of the Smithsonian Institution. Under the leadership of Major Powell the early years of the Bureau were dedicated to the establishment of a

Santa Fe, N.M., April 16, 1884.

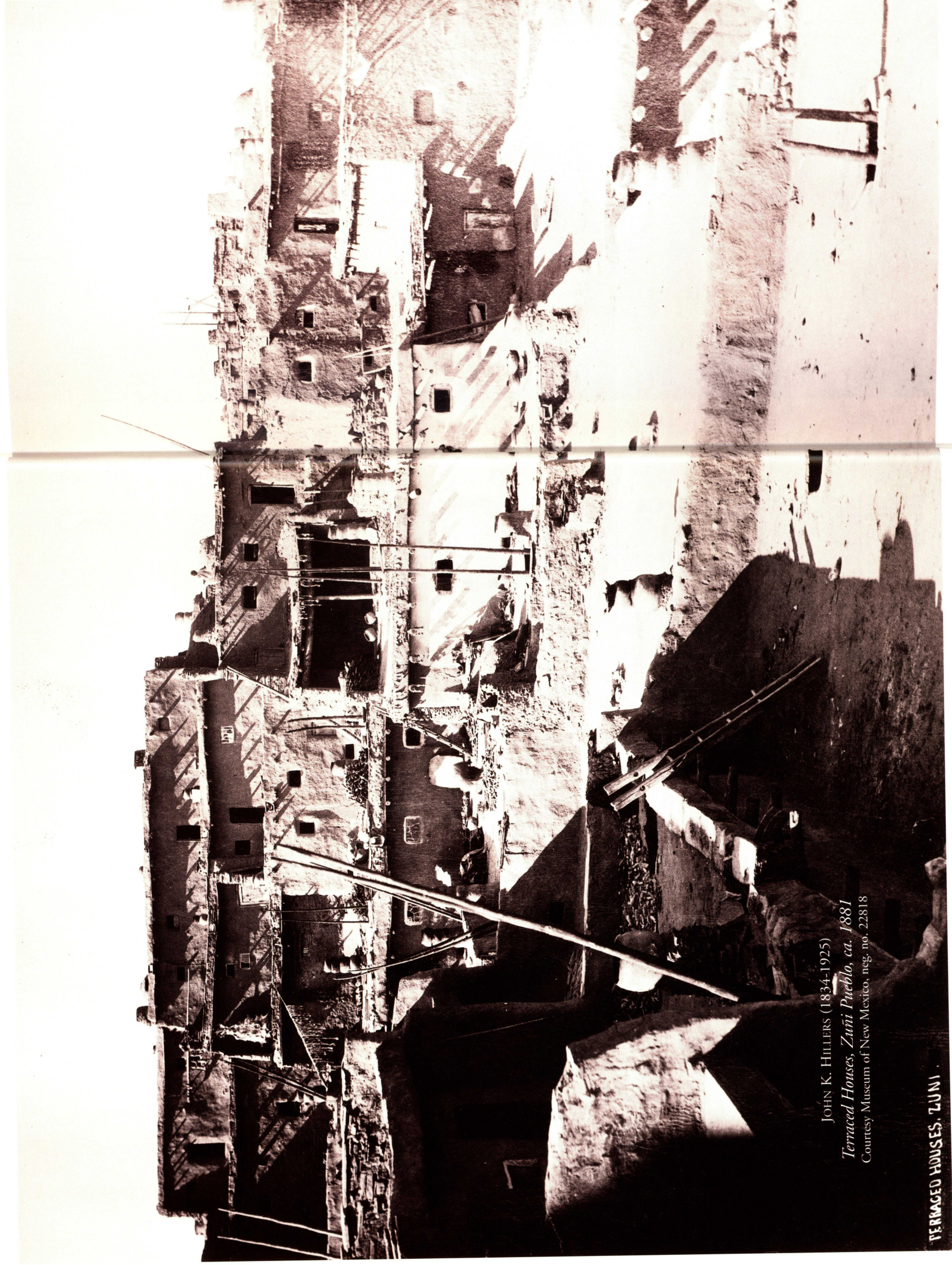
... It is not strange that frontiersmen, who consider that "the only good Indian is a dead one," should misunderstand Mr. Cushing's work and misconstrue his motives. But it is almost incomprehensible that a man who calls himself a statesman and who aspires to be the President of the United States, should stoop to assail this self-sacrificing young scientist and endeavor not only to injure him socially here and in Washington but to procure his removal under a threat of withholding funds for the Smithsonian Institute. The
HERALD was the first to expose the selfish reasons for John A. Logan's bitter attacks upon Mr. Frank Cushing. Its readers will remember that Logan's son-in-law, Tucker, claimed the lands of the Zuñis, including the Nutria and Pescado springs, which were essential to their support. Mr. Cushing naturally presented the side of the Zuñis in temperate and dignified arguments, and at once Logan opened the floodgates of wrath upon him...

From a letter published in the *Sunday Boston Herald*, 20 April 1884, signed "H". Quoted in *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

truly scientific study of humankind. To achieve this goal Powell enlisted an ever-increasing number of professional ethnologists and archaeologists to supply the evidence to support and illustrate his theoretical positions. Powell was profoundly influenced by Louis Henry Morgan and other proponents of an evolutionary theory to explain the differential development of human societies.

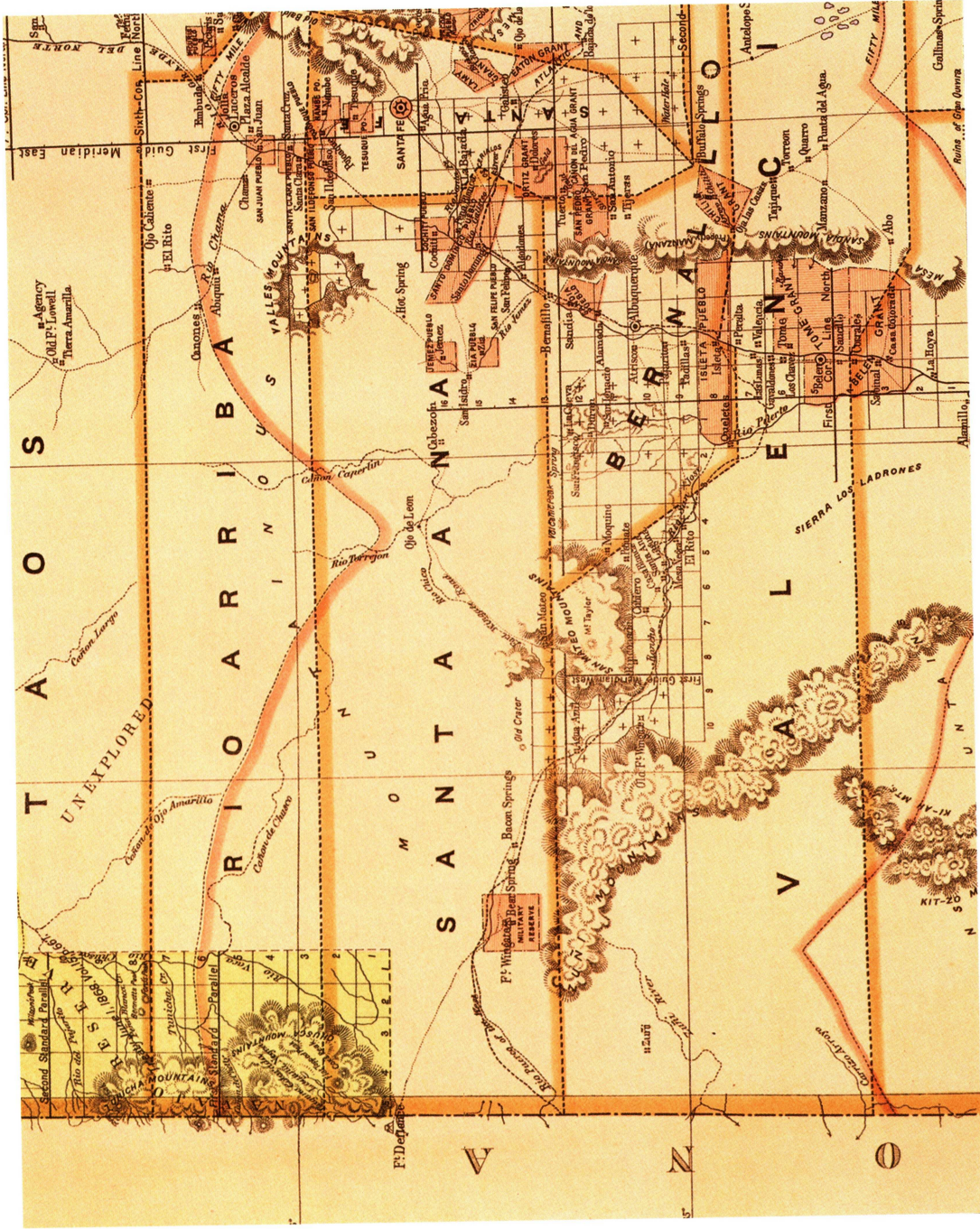
Cushing arrived at Zuñi Pueblo in the fall of 1879, and he began to document its ceremonial and social life. His activity quickly attracted considerable criticism from many members of the pueblo, often to the point of potential violence. This situation and Cushing's reaction to it are preserved in the following excerpt from his popular account of his fieldwork, *My Adventures at Zuñi*.³

Next morning before I was awake, the herald and two or three tinieutes had come in, and, as I arose, were sitting along the side of my house. The old head chief had just prepared my morning meal, and gone out after something. I greeted all pleasantly and sat down to eat. Before I had half finished I heard the rattle and drum of the coming dance. I hastily jumped up, took my leather book-pouch from the antlers, started for the door. Two of the chiefs rushed ahead of me, caught me by the arms, and quietly remarked that it would be well for me to finish my breakfast. I asked them if the dance was coming. They said they didn't know. I replied that I did, and that I was going out to see it. Leave your books and pencils behind then, said they. No, I must carry them wherever I go. If you put the shadows of the great dance down on the leaves of your book to-day [sic], we shall cut them to pieces, they threatened. Suddenly wrenching away from them, I pulled a knife out from the bottom of my pouch, and, bracing up against the wall, brandished it, and said that whatever hand grabbed my arm again would be cut off, that whoever cut my books to pieces would only cut himself to pieces with my knife.



JOHN K. HILLERS (1834-1925)
Terraced Houses, Zuñi Pueblo, ca. 1881
Courtesy Museum of New Mexico, neg. no. 22818

TERRACED HOUSES, ZUNÍ



TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO (DETAIL)
COMPILED FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS
OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE AND
OTHER SOURCES BY C. ROESER, PRINCIPAL
DRAFTSMAN GLO 1876
Gilcrease Museum, 3926.317

This 1876 map of New Mexico shows Zuni pueblo prior to the designation of reservation boundaries.

Several times in his tenure at Zuni the stubborn Cushing literally risked his life to collect objects from archaeological sites and sacred shrines in the outlying mountain wilderness. His account of a stormy winter trip to the mines that yielded the sacred green and blue paint of the Zuni priests leaves the reader to ponder his sanity. Much has been written regarding his “transformation into a Zuni,” and he has received considerable criticism for “going native” and thus turning his back on his own culture. His Zuni contemporaries seriously questioned the sincerity of his transformation, citing his use of notes during the recitation of the sacred prayers and chants of the Zuni ceremonies as evidence that he was not a true believer in the ceremonies and rituals in which he participated.

Cushing has recently received renewed attention as anthropology undergoes a period of much-needed self-critique and as the aims, methods, and products of the discipline are re-examined. A review of the

well-researched literature on Cushing’s life and work leaves an impression of a dedicated scientist who both benefited and suffered from his role as an innovator and originator of scholarly method and technique.

Among numerous contributions that Cushing made to anthropology, the greatest was his development of the participant observation method of field investigation. The use of observation and interviewing, conducted during protracted residence in the community under study, has become a standard and somewhat stereotypical representation of what anthropologists do. Prior to Cushing’s pioneering work at Zuni, the first generation of American ethnologists worked mainly as members of survey expeditions, organized to collect cartographic, geological, biological, and ethnological data. These efforts amassed a great deal of general information on a large number of communities and tribes but failed to provide the type of detailed sociological and ideological data that Major Powell desired to support grand theories of social evolution, similar to what Morgan had achieved in his seminal work *Ancient Society*.

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
Frank Hamilton Cushing
Making a Coiled Pot
Photograph
National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian
Institution, neg. no. Port. 22-A



My dear Friend, Mr. Ledyard:

... For many months my suffering and loneliness were dreadful. I neither understood the Spanish language universally spoken by the whites here, nor the native Indian. My means were scant, my position—as a pryer into secret and forbidden rites—precarious. The Indians were all my masters, and with the kindest intentions—those of making me a member of their tribe—they prove[d] tyrannical. I was forced to adopt their mode of dress and manner of living, to live with them, and to share their food in common. By policy and patience I won, in long months, their confidence, respect and esteem, gained authority over them, and with the acquisition of their language, became their chief councilor, so that at present the table is turned and I am their master.

Perhaps no young man of my age ever had such grand opportunities as are now in my grasp.... Nothing but industry and health remain to insure this; yet of the latter I am sadly doubtful, and of the former I am in fear, for my health, by the absolute change in my mode of life and from my terrible and repeated exposures, has suffered—I dare not hope to the contrary—permanently.

But I have many rewards. I have gained knowledge which has [eluded] my predecessors, and by the acquisition of the native standing among the natives, and of their language, I have [opened] the road to ever richer harvest.

From *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884*, edited by Jesse Green (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

Cushing's fieldwork and research has also received considerable criticism, from both his contemporaries and later generations of anthropologists. The lasting value of his work at Zuñi has been questioned by such figures as Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber, and Robert Lowie, who charge that it is often difficult to distinguish between the Zuñi voice in the materials he collected and his own interpretations.⁴

Cushing is commonly criticized for failing to publish his long-anticipated opus on Zuñi religious and social life. The fact that few of Cushing's detailed field notebooks have survived has led at least one scholar to speculate that Cushing destroyed his notes in order to preserve the secrets the Zuñi had entrusted to him.⁵ This is possible, given the position that Cushing assumed as a participating member in the secular and sacred lives of the Zuñi people.

Like other ethnologists who spent considerable time working in reservation communities, Cushing expressed his gratitude to his Zuñi supporters by using his status and knowledge of U.S. Government policy to combat the insidious corruption that threatened the sovereign rights and resources of Indian people. In Cushing's case, this brought him into direct confrontation with Army officers and their Congressional supporters who conspired to file unethical land claims on the Zuñi reservation. As in the cases of James Mooney and other federally sponsored ethnologists, this action may have directly influenced his abrupt recall to Washington.⁶

In my opinion, Cushing's greatest theoretical contribution to anthropology was his discovery of the ideological charter for the unity and order that permeated every aspect of Zuñi life and its relationship to the historical development of the Zuñi people. This monumental revelation and its impact on the prevailing ethnocentric notions of the day regarding the "vanishing" of American Indian societies has been succinctly summarized by Curtis Hinsley:

Within a year Cushing not only had come to realize that Zuñi culture was immensely rich in social complexity, art, knowledge, and history, but he also was convinced that behind daily appearances of pueblo life stood a coherent system of belief. He was certain that the keys to this religious system would unlock the riches of Zuñi life and knowledge. He believed that the songs, dances and ritual language of the Zuñi priesthood had probably retained these keys to understanding in the most distilled and conservative form, but that clues could be discovered in even mundane activities, such as cooking. It is, in fact, the discovery of the importance of the mundane, in artifacts or activities, and their complex connection to the sacred, that was a hallmark of Cushing's ethnography. In other words Cushing came to the vital insight—at direct variance with the prevalent American attitudes of the time—that, far from being lost, Zuñi history and beliefs lived on in the daily life of the pueblo.⁷

This realization is vividly demonstrated in Cushing's rich narratives of the daily life of the Zuñi as he observed it, appropriate reading for every aspiring anthropologist. It is in his narrative accounts of the minor and major crises that constitute daily life in any community that I find parallels to my experiences as an anthropological fieldworker. An opportunity to live in the community that was to be the subject of my dissertation research brought both advantages and barriers to my scholarly objectives. As I attempted to conduct my research I found myself consumed by the reality that I shared with my Indian friends, colleagues and neighbors. Living within a community is very different from studying a community, and although my sponsoring professors were often dismayed with my lack of substantive progress, no experience has contributed more significantly to my understanding of contemporary Indian communities and their historical foundations. In his attempt to gain an insider's perspective into Zuñi society, Cushing was able to transcend the rigid theoretical orientation of the unilineal evolutionists that dominated the Bureau of Ethnology and American anthropology in general. In doing so it would seem probable that he would ultimately realize that the idealized social and religious structure that he originally sought to document was best demonstrated and evidenced by the daily acts of living that collectively comprise a dynamic and vital society.

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NOTES

1. Green, 1990: 354.
2. Hinsley, 1981: 125-130.
3. Green, 1979, 69-70.
4. Green, 1990: 25.
5. Pandey, 1972: 326.
6. Brandes, 1965: 99-107.
7. Hinsley, 1983: 57.



CUSHING AMONG THE ZUÑI

A ZUÑI PERSPECTIVE

EDMUND J. LADD

FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING lived among the Zuñi (*A:shiwu*) from September 19, 1879 to April 1884. He came to Zuñi with the “Washington people,” Colonel James Stevenson and Major John Wesley Powell, to collect artifacts and learn as much as possible about the Zuñi people who, it was believed, would be gone within ten years. (We kind of fooled everyone. We didn’t disappear.) The Bureau of American Ethnology was on the largest collecting expedition in its entire history in the Southwest in the 1870s.

Cushing’s description of his arrival at Zuñi has always amused me.

According to Cushing’s later report to Powell, the group reached Zuñi on September 19. Again riding alone in advance of the rest of the party, [Cushing was always doing something different from the normal] Cushing was the first to come in sight of the pueblo. Hence the thrill of personal discovery experienced upon emerging just at sunset at the top of a long, winding mountain pass and finding stretched out, a thousand feet below, a broad, sandy plain on the western horizon of which, just midway between the northern buttes and the opposite gray mesas, he beheld what looked like a little terraced hill “held in the great outstretched arms of the setting sun”. This “hill” was of course Zuñi.¹

There is no mountain pass, and nowhere on the approach to Zuñi can you get a thousand feet above the valley unless you climb over *Touwa Yallane* (Corn Mountain). About fifteen years later, a young lady from Oklahoma came over that same rise on her way to Zuñi. When she reached the summit, her driver remarked, “There it is, Zuñi village.” She said, “I looked down the slope into a sandy, dry, barren, desolate valley. The only green that I could see was near the center of the sand pile. I later discovered it was the only *tree* growing in the village. It was a cottonwood tree. If I had had the money I would have turned right around and gone back home.” Little did she know Zuñi was to become her home. I know, because she was my grandmother and she came to teach school at Zuñi in 1899. Beauty is indeed in the eyes of the beholder.

Zuñi village was barren not because the Zuñi disliked trees but because of certain religious taboos about transplanting them. It is said that if you transplant a tree and it lives, your life will be shortened or you will die. And, in a land where water is more precious than gold, it was unheard of to water trees with no economic value, except fruit trees.

In the 1930s when I was growing up in Zuñi, more trees grew naturally in the valley. The center part of the old village, where the town crier announced tribal meetings and work projects such as irrigation ditch cleaning, was still five stories high. The annual ceremonial cycles were observed from the midwinter solstice to the summer solstice with all the dances between, just as they are today. However, we are not so naive as to think that these events have never changed. Over time there are continuous changes, some for the good, others not. If Cushing were alive today, he wouldn’t believe so much could happen in a short one hundred years.

Cushing was the first to apply the participant observer method, or, as he called it, the “reciprocal method” in anthropological fieldwork. He was also the first and most classic example of a “wannabe.” A wannabe is a person who wants to be an Indian (or something). Wannabes come in both genders, and they come in all sizes and shapes and colors. We sometimes say of these people that they have “gone native,” and lately we have described them, sometimes in error, as “New Age.” (The latter also applies to Native American groups where Indian “religious leaders” recruit from the wannabes). Wannabes dress in pseudo-religious regalia, carry fetishes and medicine bags, wear mounds of silver jewelry, long hair, and a headband, usually red, or a cowboy hat with an eagle or macaw feather, a fringed vest or jacket, or a ribbon shirt, and moccasins. Some go as far as to intrude into an Indian family where they learn something of the language and a few songs.

These outward expressions of a wannabe are the veneer of an inward psychological expression which is more complex, and would require a

THOMAS EAKINS
Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1895

Cyanotype on paper
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,
Smithsonian Institution, transferred from
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Archives, 1983. HMSG-83.86
Photograph by Lee Stalsworth

ADAM CLARK VROMAN (1856-1910)
Panoramic View of Zuñi Pueblo,
1899

Photograph
National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian
Institution, neg. no. 2306C

Mudhead is not a translation of the Zuñi word for this Spirit Being but is a description of the color and form of the mask. The “one of a kind” masks of the KO:YEM SHI are communally owned, can never be sold and should never be replicated. The KO:YEM SHI are the children of an incestuous relationship between brother and sister. There are ten in all and each has a definite character and name.

They are not clowns, but are ceremonial buffoons of the most spiritually dangerous kind. To even think ill of them is courting disaster, and to dress in the costume of any KO:YEM SHI or to don a dance mask (KOKO) without the proper ceremonial initiation is unheard of in Zuñi culture.

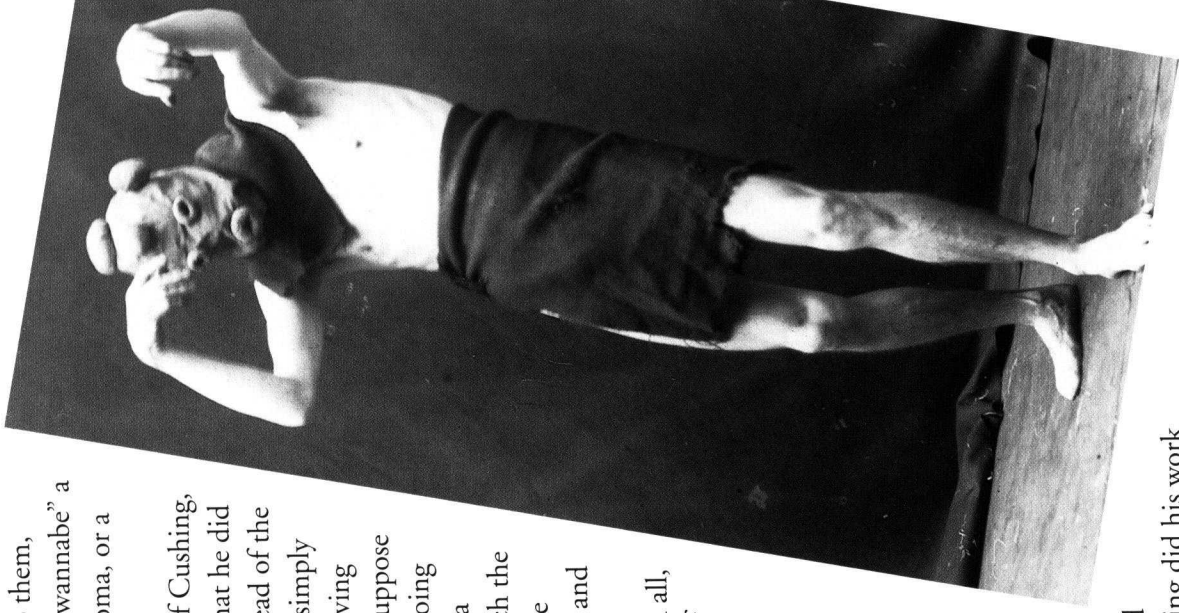
Cushing replicated such a mask and then danced in it. He also modeled a mask of one of the A:NA HO/HO/O (very dangerous warrior gods). Some Zuñi point to this as a possible reason for his untimely death.

E. LADD

whole different and separate study. Suffice it to say, wannabes think they can be better Indians than Indians. They learn to replicate objects from the culture and acquire a limited knowledge of its world view. And they can usually afford more gaudy and garish Indian stuff. See the photo of Cushing facing page one in *My Adventures In Zuñi*. Usually their position in their own cultural scale is not satisfactory to them, causing them to “wannabe” a Navajo, or an Acoma, or a Zuñi.

In the case of Cushing, if he had done what he did in the 1990s instead of the 1890s, he would simply be classified as having “gone native.” I suppose I could say that going native and being a wannabe are much the same thing. In the words of the first and most famous wannabe of them all, “a major study of North American Wannabes will follow.”

As noted, there have been many changes in the Zuñi physical and spiritual environment over the hundred years since Cushing did his work among the people. I say “among” for a very special reason that will become evident further along. First I wish to present a thumbnail sketch of two small aspects of the Zuñi “world view” or sociopolitical-religious structure, the clan and kiva systems.



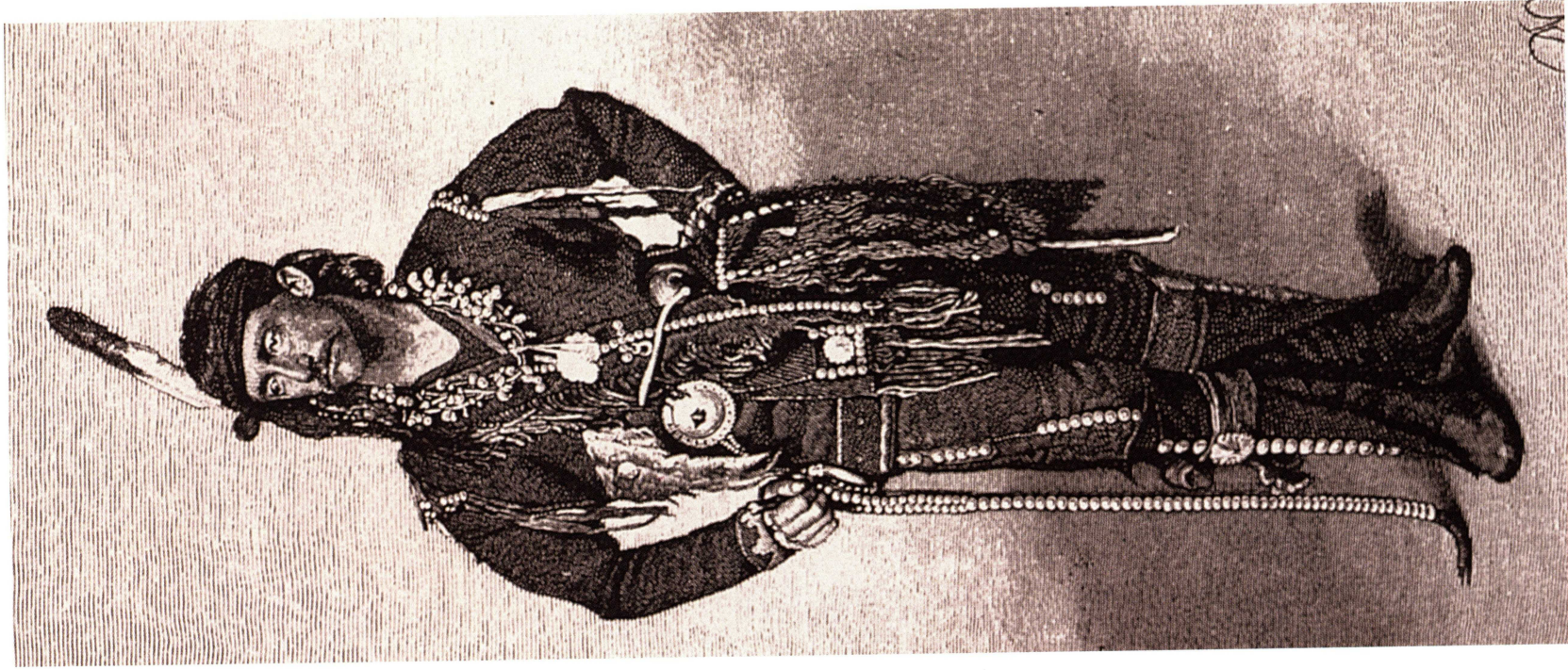
THE CLANS

The Zuñi religious structure consists of four interlocking systems that operate independently yet synchronously to provide for the physical and psychological needs of the users. Superimposed one upon another are fifteen clans, six kiva (men's) groups, twelve curing societies, and the rain and bow priesthoods. It is a simple cyclical system easily understood when examined one working unit at a time. Most students, including Cushing and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, tried to interpret the system as a single whole, which makes it very confusing and nearly impossible to understand.

All of Zuñi life, from birth until death, revolves around rituals, ceremonies, special observations, and crises of transition from one age or status to another. The most important socio-religious elements are



PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN
Frank Hamilton Cushing Modeling a Zuñi Mudhead
Photographs
National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, neg. no. Port. 23-A-1, 23-A-2, 23-A-3 (left to right)



the clans. There are fifteen matrilineal, matrilineal, totemically named, exogamous clans. (*Matrilineal* is “anthropologist” for “tracing descent through the mother’s side” — Europeans are mostly patrilineal, tracing descent through the father’s side. *Matrilocal* simply means that the man, upon marriage, comes to live in the wife’s household. *Totemically* means “identified by a group totem symbol such as an eagle, bear, or coyote.” *Exogamous* means that marriage within the group is forbidden.)

When a child is born, he or she belongs to the mother’s clan, and is a child of the father’s clan. There are no illegitimate children among the Zuni. To marry another member of one’s mother’s clan is strictly forbidden (this is like marrying your own brother or sister), and to marry another member of one’s father’s clan is also forbidden, although it has been known to occur. If a father’s mother is alive, she and a midwife attend the birth of a child and, if not, a sister and a midwife attend. The father’s clan relatives bring the child into the world and name it; when the child grows to be a man or woman and eventually dies, the clan aunts prepare the body for the afterworld. Based on birth, the child’s whole future is laid out. He has a large extended biological family (brothers, sisters, grandparents, and others living within the mother’s household). And he has a larger extended family of father’s clan members and the whole of the clan system of the tribe. From birth children know their position in their own clan and in

ARTIST UNKNOWN
Cushing in Full Dress as Zuni War Chief, 1882

Wood engraving
Published in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*

EDWARD S. CURTIS (1868-1952)
Zuni Street Scene

Photogravure
Volume 17, plate 605. Gilcrease Museum 4327.980.26





WILLIAM R. LEIGH (1866-1955)
Indian Huts and Dwellings, Zuñi
Oil on canvasboard
Gilcrease Museum 0137.631

their father's clan and they know their clan's relationship to the other clans and to the tribe at large. What children are called, how they are addressed, how they relate to others and what they call them, which of the six men's societies they will belong to (if they are boys), whom they can or cannot marry — are all established. Membership in a clan is not by choice — it is by birth. ("Adoption" of a special type is performed but is not common.) Thus, the individual knows from childhood his or her position in the system and has a keen awareness of the total religious system and the ceremonial cycles, especially those activities in which participation is required. Every kiva member knows, for example, when it is time for the group to perform. No coaxing, cajoling, or pleading is necessary. Everyone participates "because it is time" and because it is good for the tribe and the whole world.



WILLIAM R. LEIGH (1866-1955)
Indian Huts and Dwellings, Zuñi
Oil on canvasboard
Gilcrease Museum 0137.82

Cushing wrote that "In order that I might be made eligible to the position [of bow priest] I had first to be made 'son of the Parrots' or adopted into the Parrot gens; 'child of the Eagle' to establish the parental gentle relationship, and 'child of the Sun,' a matter of religious significance. . . ." ² The position of bow priest is not clan-affiliated. Below in the same passage, he says he was "hustled off to be baptized as the son of the eagle and child of the parrot." I don't know if he was a Parrot, an Eagle, or the Sun because he doesn't identify the mother's or woman's side. Cushing translates *pitchi:que* (Dogwood) as Parrot-Macaw people.³ At the time Cushing was writing, no one identified the *pitchi:que* (Dogwood) clan as the Parrot clan. This is very confusing.

In the early 1900s a new split was developing among the clans. The *Quala:shi:que*, Raven or Crow branch, and a *Mula:que* (Macaw) branch

were being identified as branches of the *pitchi:que*, the largest clan. It is now splitting or separating into three separate clans. It may have been just starting to split during the time of Cushing's visit. One day there will be once again sixteen or eighteen separate clans.⁴

Cushing says he was adopted into the Parrot clan. Adopted is probably not the right term. Cushing's sponsor was Pali-wah-ti-wa [spellings of his name vary], or Patricio Pino, a member of the *pitchi:que* clan and the appointed governor (governors were appointed by the religious council, not elected, at this time). Cushing called Patricio Pino *tatchu*, father, but that was because he was Cushing's ceremonial father. He records that Laiiuahtsailunkia was his adopted father.

Laiiuahtsailunkiaa was a member of the Eagle clan so Cushing would be a child of the Eagle clan, but since he also calls Pali-wah-ti-wa *tatchu*, he is also a child of the *pitchi:que* clan. This is very unlikely. I was not able to determine why Cushing overlooked this most important aspect of the Zuñi clan system, the tracing of matrilineal descent. If he was "adopted"

JOSEPH HENRY SHARP (1859-1949)

Zuñi Pueblo

Oil on canvas

Gilcrease Museum 0136.464



JOHN K. HILLERS

(1843-1925)

Zuñi Pueblo,

1879

Photograph

National

Anthropological

Archive,

Smithsonian

Institution, neg. no.

2267-Q-2



by the Pali-wah-ti-wa family, he would be a member of Pali-wah-ti-wa's wife's clan and the child of the *pitchi:que* clan. If you follow the system you cannot be a member of two clans, or the child of two clans.

Cushing addresses both Pali-wah-ti-wa and Laiiuahtsailunkia by the name *tatchu*. And, he addresses Nai iutch (Elder Brother Bow Priest) as Pa pa (Older Brother). We may assume the terms are used to denote ceremonial relationships; however, it is never certain how Cushing is using such terms. The native speaker knows exactly how to address each person — terms are never confused.⁵

It is unusual that there are three clans — the Parrot, the Eagle, and the Sun — involved in Cushing's sponsorship. It is probably because he was made a "ceremonial child" — in Zuñi termed a *ki ihea* — which is more like a ceremonial brother. This is a relationship between individuals and is not clan-related, however.

The kivas are the very foundation of the religious system, and all males are initiated into the system between the ages of seven and twelve. In order to enter into any system of religion (*teausu*) one has to be first initiated into the *ki:wihltsime*, and into the *ko:tikey anne*, the *kokko* society (the Society of the Masked Dancers). This is the first step into the total system for *all* males (even the bow priest). Women are excluded because of the stringent rites of initiation. One cannot participate in any of the ceremonial activities (the masked dances and other rituals) without going through this portion of the initiation rites. It is a two-step program that takes two to three years. All male members *must* be initiated before

they “become a man.” At this point the newly initiated get their second names, their kiva names (the first is their birth or clan name). One does not simply get “invited” into the *ko:tikey anne*.⁶ It is the general consensus at Zuñi that Cushing was never initiated into the *ko:tikey anne*, the kiva society, and that is why he only had one name. And, in the photos showing the plaza ceremonies of the Twin Gods, the *Ahayu:ta*, Cushing very noticeably stands some distance to the side as if he is only an observer. Joan Mark describes how Cushing got his name: “Later Cushing had his ears pierced in a special ceremony and he was given the name Tenatsali or Medicine Flower, in recognition of the effectiveness of the simple

remedies he had brought with him.”⁷ So, it appears that Tenatsali was *not* his initiation name but a name given to him by the person who pierced his ears. Ear piercing is a normal non-ritual process, usually done for a child at about the age of three or four years. It is associated with a gift exchange which he does not describe. He describes this event in more detail in *My Adventure In Zuñi*.

The Zuñis are notorious for giving names to outsiders. The names are usually descriptive. For example Dr. Leslie Spier, Professor of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, who worked at Zuñi during

THOMAS EAKINS
Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1895
Photographic negative on glass plate
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,
Smithsonian Institution, transferred from the
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Archives, 1983
Photograph by Lee Stalsworth



the 1930s because of his nose was called Mu la (as opposed to *mu:la*; the former means *macaw*, the latter means *mule*). Dr. Alfred Kroeber, who also worked in Zuñi in the mid 1910s, always wore yellow khaki and hence was called Ono/lthikya, “the yellow bird” (or Western tanager). The early trader Mr. Graham was Tsipon:k/winna, or “black mustache”; C.G. Wallace, also a trader, was called Ltm/tsa, meaning “slim,” because he was tall and skinny. He was also sometimes called Mu uh que, or “owl,” because of his late-night trading activities. Mr. Kelsey of the Kelsey trading company was called Shu/tsin na, “turkey buzzard,” because he was bold. In a more recent example, the director of Zuñi Archaeological Programs, T.J. Ferguson, has the Zuñi name Cha/pa, meaning “grasshopper,” because he is a vegetarian.

Cushing is popularly known in Zuñi today as “Cushy.” No one knows what he called himself or what his other name was, or the name he used, Tenatsali, which was given to him by the ear piercer. Nor do they know the symbol for his name, which in a very un-Zuñi-like fashion he designed for himself based on the name Tenatsali, which loosely translates as “medicine flower.” (Contrary to Cushing’s notes, this is *not* datura, or jimson weed, which in Zuñi is called *an/nek laly kya*, not *tenatsali*).⁸

C U S H I N G A T Z U Ñ I

I didn’t realize what my grandfather meant in the old days when he said that “Cushy” could not have become a real Zuñi person (*hol/ite*) because he never committed the prayers to his heart. He had to “speak to the paper, not to his heart.” In other words, he read his prayers. Upon entering a sacred room for the rites he would pull out his notebook, thumb to the appropriate prayer, and read it. This is not the Zuñi way.

After reading *Cushing at Zuñi*, edited by Jesse Green, “Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths,” which Cushing contributed to the 1896 *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report*, and Cushing’s book *Zuñi Folk Tales* (reprinted in 1986), and after talking with a number of elders at Zuñi, I cannot help but feel a pang of guilt for the way I present Cushing. I understand what my grandfather was saying but I also understand J.W. Powell’s and Mary Austin’s points of view as to Cushing’s work, from the “anglo” scientific point of view.

It is true that his costume was outlandish, even garish, looking very much like the early mountain men’s buckskin attire. Zuñis did not dress in buckskin. No self-respecting Zuñi would wear an eagle tail feather in his headband normally (only medicine men and rain priests wore certain kinds of feathers as items of identity). Cushing may have spoken about

his wrist band of sea shells, his medicine pouch, his war club, or his bow and arrows, but he does not discuss his *kepyatonane*, or bandolier, in any of his notes that I recall reading. Every bow priest had a bandolier; their ranks or positions were determined by the number of strands it had. Bandoliers were worn on all “state” occasions and were buried, after being dismantled, with their owners upon death.

Knowing what we do of Cushing, surely he would have worn his bandolier on every occasion possible, to bed even, if called for. Yet, in most of his posed portraits and photos, he does not wear a *kepyatonane* (He is shown wearing one in a photograph of the dance performance in Boston at Mary Hemenway’s estate in 1886, reprinted in *America’s Great Lost Expedition* by Wade and McChesney, but I feel it was borrowed from Pali-wah-ti-wa.) The object is shown hanging on a peg behind Cushing in the 1895 painting by Thomas Eakins (see page 50).

I discussed this with the present bow priest at Zuñi, and he was of the opinion that Cushing may have not been presented with a bandolier at the time of his adoption (adoption, induction, initiation are all terms that come to mind but none of them really describes that event) because they knew he would one day leave, and they would not allow this sacred object to leave Zuñi. In this event he may or may not have been a “full” bow priest. Possibly he was inducted only as a novice and appointed by the *piltha:shewani*, bow priest. It appears that his activities were limited to the “council of bow priests.” The description he gives for his “initiation” is nothing like the “regular” initiation rites. He was tolerated and allowed to enter into the religious activities because of his intrusive and abrasive manners. He was probably not fully accepted, however. And, he was there at Zuñi at the pleasure of the “Washington people” whom he used like a whip. The Zuñi people, in general, are prone not to embarrass strangers and they avoid unpleasantness at all cost, traits of which Cushing took full advantage. Only one elderly person I spoke to briefly on March 8, 1994, whose grandfather worked with Cushing, thought he was probably a fully initiated (*plu ana*) *piltha:shiwane*. However, there are some very confusing elements concerning his initiation as a bow priest and not into a kiva society, although in one reference, according to Sylvester M. Baxter, he was “promised he could enter the order of the ka ka, if they, Nai iu tich, was taken to the “ocean of the sunrise.”⁹

It is not clear whether Cushing was indeed initiated (invited) into the *kol/tikanne*, which would have been a separate ordeal. His clan “adoption,” his “badge of authority” as a full bow priest, and the way he was given his name are, from the Zuñi perspective, still very questionable.

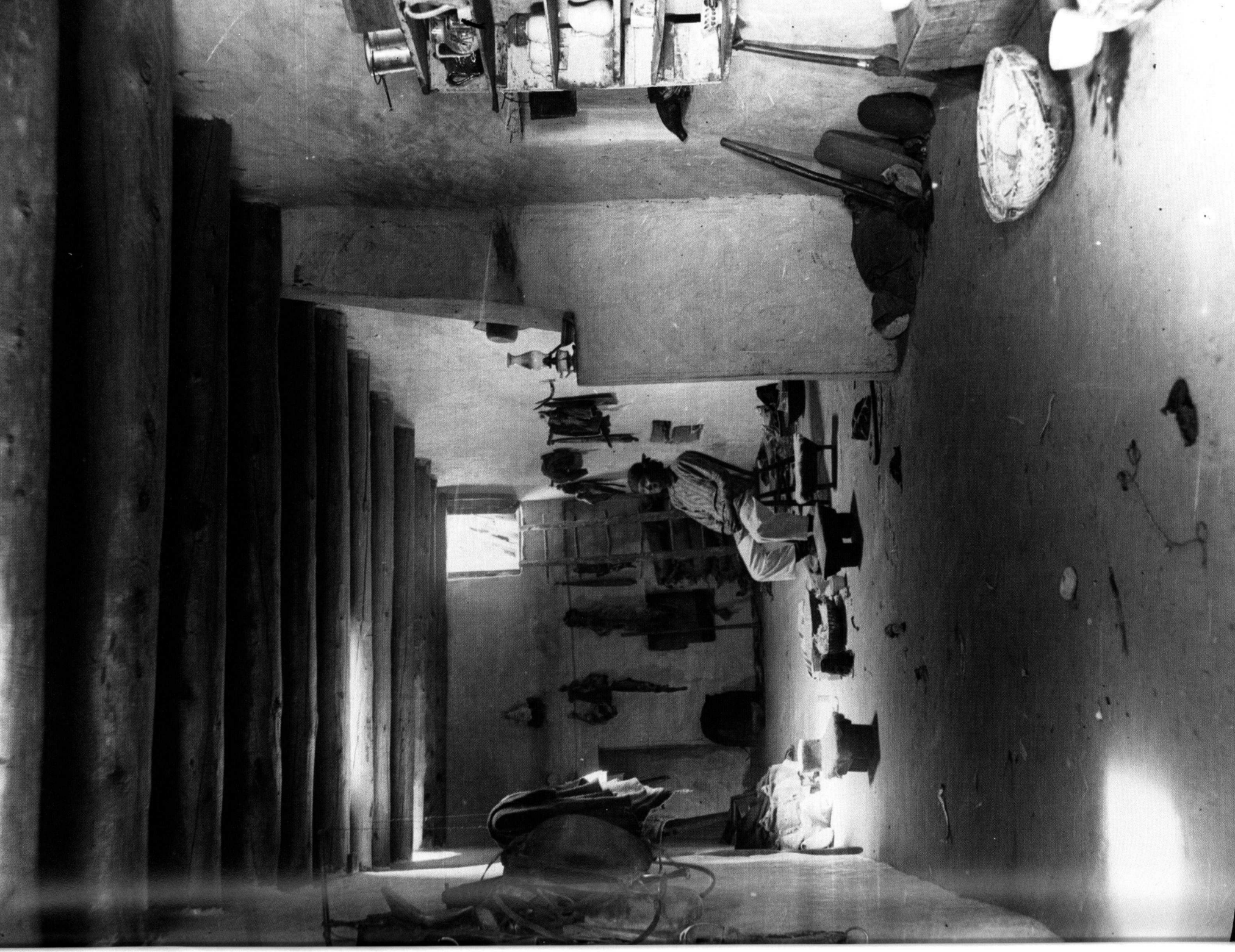
BEN WITTICK (1845-1903)

A Zuñi Interior, Zuñi Pueblo, ca. 1890

Photograph

School of American Research Collections in the Museum of New Mexico, neg. no. 5047

To provide an appropriate setting for the portrait that Thomas Eakins painted of Cushing, the artist and the anthropologist together constructed a model of a pueblo room in Eakins’s studio. It has been described as a kiva, a ceremonial chamber used by the Zuñi and other Southwestern tribes. However, it may have been a representation of a more general space, perhaps even the room in which Cushing lived while with the Zuñi. Such a room would have looked much like this one. See Anne Morand’s essay on the portrait of Cushing by Thomas Eakins beginning on page 44.



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In general, the Zuñis of Cushing's generation, few in number now, recall that Cushy was a "white man" who was "made" a *piłłtha:shiwane* (a bow priest) in the early days and that he took some of our people to Washington, where they met with the President, a man they described upon returning as "just like a child, [who] cannot even pour his own water or open the door, and there is always somebody watching him, even holding his chair so he does not fall." (They did not know about servants.) The younger generation only recall that he was a white man whom the Zuñis made a bow priest. Some recall more depending on how much they have read of such reference books and records as I mentioned above. Cushing's impact on Zuñi culture is like a stone thrown into a pond: it makes a splash and ripples out to the edges and disappears. Except for his "good deed" concerning the Nutria land deal, which was his political doom, he is only remembered as the man from *Washinto:na*. It is the anglo society, the anthropologists, that will carry on and keep his story alive for the sake of the limited and poor but uncontaminated accounts of Frank Hamilton Cushing as a participant observer of Zuñi culture and his short life with the *A:shiwi*.

What is even more puzzling is the fact that with all the knowledge that was made available to him (granted limited only to the priests of the bow), what he published contains errors, much of it is common knowledge, out of proportion, and otherwise very disappointing. I cannot help but agree with Joan Mark, who writes:

One of the recurring questions about Frank Hamilton Cushing is why he published so little of what he knew about Zuñi life. . . . Philip Phillips in a recent and engaging memoir on Cushing, suggested that this was perhaps due to his reluctance to violate the confidence of the Zuñi people. Cushing's recurring illnesses might also be seen as a way of escape from this dilemma . . . The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. . . . Almost every paper he wrote. . . ended with the declaration that this was but the first part of a major study soon to follow, but the major studies never appeared . . .¹⁰

I believe that he simply could not articulate and digest the complex mass of information he was exposed to; put simply, he was in way over his head. He did, however, crack the window to the inner workings of the esoteric society of the bow to the outside world. Cushing apparently was not only the first to introduce the "participant observer and the reciprocal method" approach to anthropological fieldwork. He was also the first to use those words that are so memorable, so famous, and so often used in anthropology: *More research is needed. A major study to follow!*

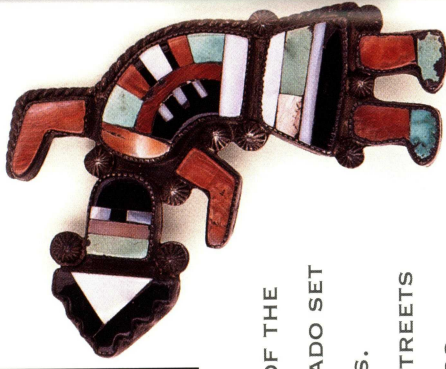
N O T E S

1. Green, 1990: 38
 2. Green 1990: 189
 3. Cushing 1896: 368
 4. In 1994 there are fifteen clans. More or less in order of size (membership), they are: *Pitchi:que* (Dogwood), *K'ya k'ya li:que* (Eagle), *Tona:shi:que* (Badger), *Yato:kya:que* (Sun), *Tal'kya:que* (Frog), *K'llok ta:que* (Crane), *Ann she:que* (Bear), *Ayaho:que* (Tansy mustard or red-top), *To:wa:que* (Corn), *Suski:que* (Coyote), *Anna:que* (Tobacco), *Shol'ui ta:que* (Deer), *Poyi:que* (Roadrunner). The following are listed as being extinct: *Tal'thulsi:que* (Yellow wood), *Mal'auwe:que* (Antelope), *Al'poya:que* (Sky), *K'lanaa:que* (Water), *Chitola:que* (Rattlesnake).
- Matilda Stevenson also adds three more that do not show up on any list before 1902. These are the *Ta:we* (Wood), the *Ok'shi/go:que* (Rabbit), and the *K'innikwa:que* (Black corn) The latter is now recognized as a branch of the *To:wa:que*, Corn clan.
5. In Zuñi culture it is very impolite, insensitive, and disrespectful to ask, face to face, people's names or to use their names in their presence. The polite way is to use any number of relationship terms depending on age of the speaker and age and gender of the person being addressed — their clan, society membership, etc.
 6. Baxter 1882: 526
 7. Mark 1976: 455
 8. Cushing's rendition of the Zuñi language is terrible. But he was writing for the first time in a language that had never been written, and I'm reading it one hundred years later. In addition he was handicapped by the fact that there was no standard orthography; he made it up as he went along, phonetically, as he thought he heard the sounds. He used no punctuation marks and ignored the natural phrasing of the prayers. His renditions sound like the voice of a child learning to speak the language with mixed tenses and no phrasing (I know, because I retranscribed one of his long prayers and at first found it very difficult).
 9. Baxter 1882: 526
 10. Mark 1976: 482

ZUÑI SILVER

ZUÑI

“GOLD”



INSPIRED BY REPORTS OF FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA OF THE NEW WORLD’S “SEVEN CITIES OF GOLD,” CORONADO SET FORTH IN 1540 TO SEARCH OUT THE FABLED SITES. INSTEAD HE FOUND SIX ADOBE PUEBLOS WHOSE STREETS WERE PAVED WITH DIRT, NOT GOLD. BUT CORONADO OVERLOOKED THE REAL TREASURE OF THE ANCIENT VILLAGES. THE “GOLD” THAT HE FAILED TO SEE WAS THE EARLY LAPIDARY AND JEWELRY-MAKING TRADITION OF THE PUEBLO CRAFTSMEN. THEIR GENIUS IS PRESERVED IN THE GILCREASE COLLECTION OF ZUÑI JEWELRY AND SILVERWORK, WHICH SPANS THE PERIOD FROM 1540 UNTIL 1960.

THREE-PIECE PIN SET OF RAINBOW DANCERS AND CLOUD FORMATION
Spiny oyster shell, jet, mother of pearl, turquoise and sterling, circa 1940
Gilcrease Museum, 8427.2033a, .2033b, .2033c



Rainbows were given by Sun Father to the Twins (sons he created) for bows to clear trails of enemies as rainbows clear away storm shadows. Clouds were referred to as “water shields” and given to the Twins to blind the enemy and darken the earth with rain drops. Clouds also represented cotton which had grown up to the sky where the bolls then broke off to float in the air.

THE ZUÑI LOVE OF ADORNMENT reaches back to prehistoric times. Like the Navajo, the Zuñi made jewelry from metals other than silver (including copper and brass) prior to the introduction of silverworking. But in 1872 a young Zuñi smith named Lanyade offered “one good horse” to Arside Chon, one of the first Navajos to learn to work silver from Mexican *plateros*, if he would teach Lanyade to work silver. In 1890, the Zuñi silversmith Keneshde began extracting turquoise from the mines at Cerrillos and setting it in silver jewelry. Turquoise is considered by the Zuñi to be a gift from the Sky which offers protection from evil and represents the Blue World from whence the Blue Twilight originates. The Eagle once carried Divine Youth upward to Sky World and placed him atop a Mountain of rare, blue turquoise. The entire sky was painted blue by the reflected Divine Light of Youth off Turquoise Mountain; the Zuñi would do the same with their silverwork.

The Zuñi word *cozya* expresses the aesthetic of multiplicity and asymmetry, the credo for silverwork from the early 1900s to the present. Early smiths emulated early Navajo designs with simple, heavy silver decorated with single stones. Until 1920 all silversmiths produced for themselves, other pueblos, or the Navajo. After the coming of the railroad and motor travel, traders bought silver from the Zuñi to resell to tourists, and much silverwork began to reflect the Indian’s impression of the trader’s idea of what non-Indians thought Indian design was. Sadly, only five smiths were producing in 1918. After the trader C. G. Wallace opened a post at Zuñi and began to encourage production, silverwork expanded again. Ninety smiths were creating fine work by 1938.

Simple, single stone pieces gave way to complex multi-stone cluster designs, mosaic inlay of colorful stones, channel inlay, and later needlepoint and petit point designs. Unusual forms proliferated. New materials

included jet, which represented the underground as source of mystery, as well as shell and coral, known since 1750 but difficult to obtain until C. G. Wallace secured new sources. The various colors all have significant relations to the cardinal points of the compass. New designs included cigarette and pill boxes, ash trays, hat bands, book ends, barrettes, keys, chains, letter openers, tie bars and tacks, and bola ti Not only did C. G. Wallace provide materials, recommend new designs, and improve production employment, he also encouraged Della Casa-Appa, first female Zuñi smith, to produce silverwork. The form today is dominated by women.

The Zuñis’ foremost interest has been in stone and they are still the finest lapidarists, cutting stone for other pueblos and smiths, while much silverwork and many channel units are done for them by the Navajo. Zuñi silversmiths continue to set standards develop new techniques, and employ new materials maintain their place in crafting the most popular native jewelry form collected today.

CINDY F

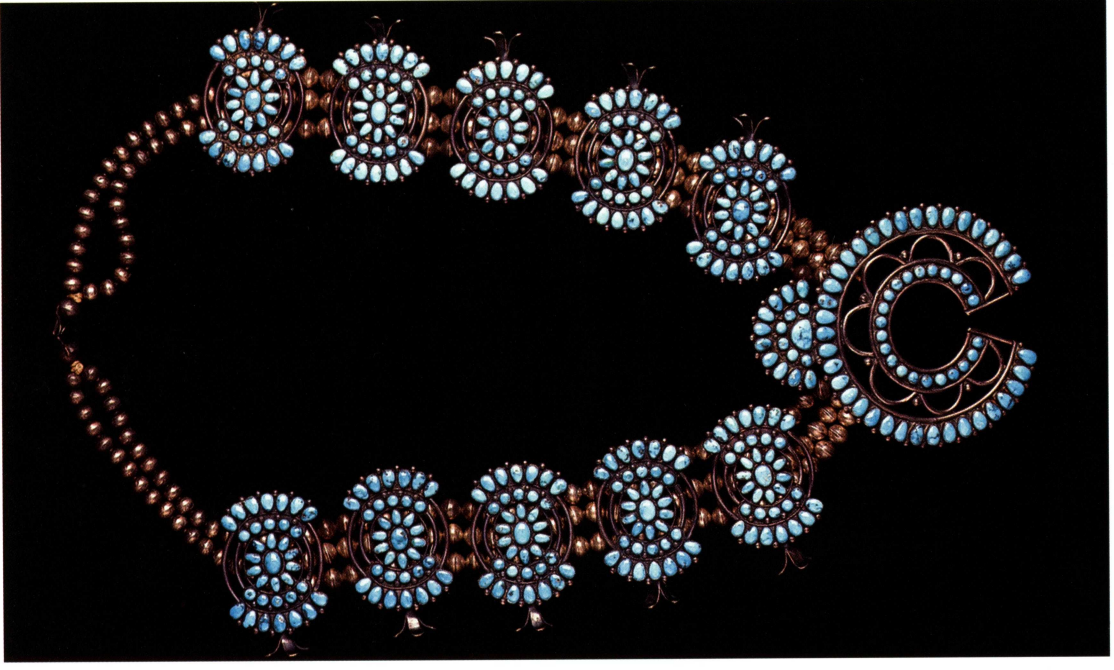


SQUASH BLOSSOM NECKLACE WITH FETISHES

Turquoise and silver, circa 1960

Gilcrease Museum, 84.2626

Fetishes, or *ahlashiwe*, are good luck amulets or talismans. The power is possessed by the Spirit rather than by the fetish itself. Fetish necklaces are thought to be adaptations of prehistoric objects, and those set in silver are not carved on the bottom. The pendant referred to as a *naja* (meaning “crescent”) was probably adapted from a Spanish bridle adornment borrowed from the Moors and is said to ward off the “evil eye.”



ZUNI CLUSTER SQUASH BLOSSOM NECKLACE

Turquoise and sterling, circa 1930

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1409

The “cluster” necklace, made as early as the 1920s, is a true Zuni invention and is considered the best of the early Zuni collectibles. The blossoms of the squash represent an elongated version of the small silver pomegranates once worn by the Spaniards as trouser and cape ornaments. The clusters on this three-strand necklace are set with fine Morenci and Lone Mountain stones and stamped with old Navajo dies.



MOSAIC BUTTERFLY SQUASH BLOSSOM NECKLACE

Spiny oyster shell, jet, turquoise, and silver, circa 1955

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1291

Insects, particularly butterflies, were a popular form for stone-to-stone inlay. One group of Zuni smiths famous for their butterfly jewelry is the Wallace family. The family took its name from C. G. Wallace, a venerable Gallup trader whose tutelage and collection helped shape the future of Zuni silversmithing. The Wallaces continue to produce some of the finest mosaic inlay at Zuni today.



THUNDERBIRD KNIFE WING SQUASH BLOSSOM NECKLACE

Coral, spiny oyster shell, jet, tortoise shell, turquoise, silver, circa 1950

Gilcrease Museum, 84.2624

There is some disagreement regarding the origins of the thunderbird as a design element. Some hold that it was the “white man’s” interpretation of the Knife Wing God and others that it is a distant cousin to that early form. In either case, it presents a marvelous venue for multi-stone channel inlay. In this piece the smith used coral, which was thought to possess the power to cure blindness and snakebite. A wearer of coral was expected to enjoy good luck, long life, and virility.



MOSAIC INLAY SILVER BOX

Spiny oyster shell, mother of pearl, jet, turquoise, and silver, circa 1935

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1280

The Navajos frequently made silver boxes whose lids were embellished with Zuni appliqué mosaic inlay. The sides of this rectangular box were filed and stamped with old dies, and it rests upon old stamped silver beads. An olla maiden of multi-stone inlay adorns the top. Boxes were manufactured for a myriad of uses and number among the finest collectibles of all Zuni silverwork.



LADY'S CHANNEL INLAY BELT BUCKLE SET

Turquoise and sterling, circa 1935

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.2034

Design is paramount in good channel work as it must flow, much like similar designs on Zuni ceramics. Curvilinear channel work with raindrops and delicate braid or rope appliqué was popular in the 1930s. Pieces made in this style often incorporated tiny, perfectly cut stones which were carefully set and highly ground and polished.

LADY'S INLAY RING

Turquoise, jet, and sterling, circa 1940

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1412

Diagonal stone-to-stone mosaic became extremely popular among Zuni smiths in the 1930s although the combination of jet and turquoise dates to prehistoric times. C. G. Wallace encouraged smiths to decorate silver with dies and to solder silver appliqué to ring and bracelet shanks in order to augment or accentuate stonework.



HAT BAND

Turquoise and silver, circa 1935

Gilcrease Museum, 84.2627

This hat band is most probably of Navajo manufacture but is set with Zuni "snake eyes" — tiny turquoise cabochons which are extremely difficult to cut. Silver hat bands became popular in the early 20th century, when they began to replace the grosgrain ribbon on black Stetson hats. In the 1920s young women wore these hat bands as belts around their tiny waists.

MAN'S CHANNEL INLAY RING

Turquoise, jasper, and sterling, circa 1925

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1413

This honeycomb channel work ring is reminiscent of the prehistoric inlay technique in which stone and shell are set in wood, bone, or shell using piñon pitch. Pieces made in this style were found at Hawikuh ruin by the Spanish in 1540.





NEEDLEPOINT BRACELET

Turquoise and sterling stamped with old Navajo dies

Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1411

True needlepoint appeared in the late 1920s. In this Zuni style, stones are finished to a fine point at both ends. Each piece is set in a serrated bezel for easier control of the small stones. The term *petit point* refers in general to any modified version of this technique and specifically to a style in which more rounded end stones are set in even greater profusion. The piece shown was originally purchased from the Kelsey Trading Post at Zuni in 1948.

MOSAIC INLAY KNIFE WING GOD BRACELET

Turquoise, mother of pearl, spiny oyster shell, and jet set in sterling, circa 1930

Gilcrease Museum, 8436.2038

Knife Wing God, or Monster, is a war god in old Zuni mythology and is often equated with the eagle, now the Eagle Spirit. He wears a *tabletta* (headpiece) representing a dwelling place in the clouds. In ancient times, Knife Wing God was said to steal away the women of all nations so that he could take them to his city in the skies. While much Zuni silverwork represents religious or mythological figures, some persons suggest that when done in silver, these items are merely decorative and have no religious significance.



MOSAIC SNAKE DANCER PIN

Spiny oyster shell, jet, mother of pearl, olivella shell, and abalone, circa 1925
Gilcrease Museum, 8437.1285

Snake Priests dance at Hopi to bring rain. Zuni smiths were so impressed by this ritual that they borrowed the image for designs in both inlay and surface relief. The finest inlay pieces are from the 1920s, and many early pieces were so individualized that not only the originating family, but also the artisan, could be identified.



SHELL AND STONE HISTORIC NECKLACE WITH NAJA

Jet, shell, coral, and turquoise, circa post-1800
Gilcrease Museum 8436.14

Prehistoric necklaces with white shells are called *chief's heishi*, however they are formed, and they are very special, as pure white shell is virtually extinct. Beads today are still made in much the same way as they were in prehistoric times, but machine drilling has often replaced pump drill manufacture. Shell and stone necklaces such as the one shown are probably the least appreciated by white collectors, yet most Indians would prefer them to any other.

Sources of Genius

INFLUENCES FOR THOMAS EAKINS'S

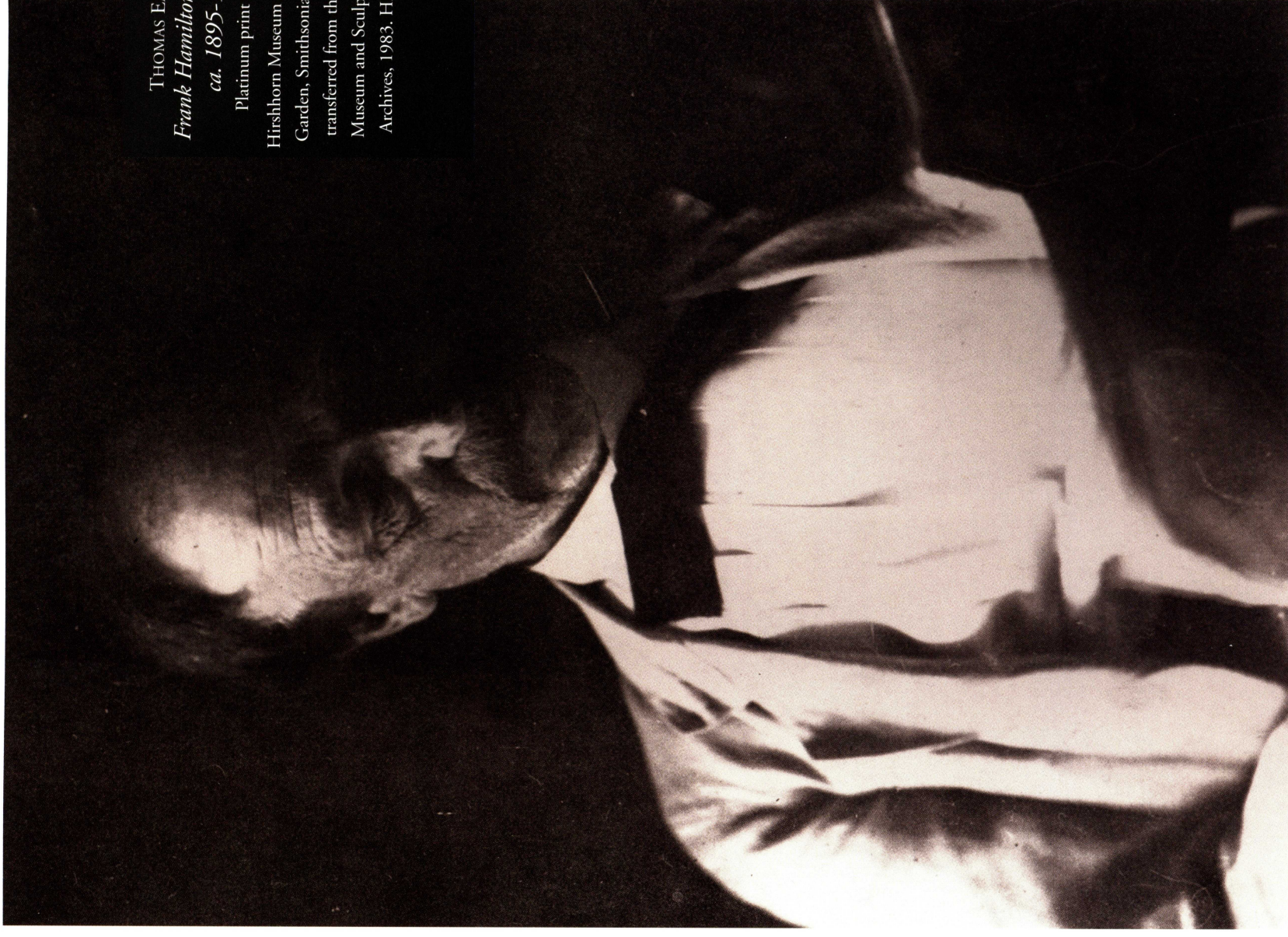
PORTRAIT OF FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING

Throughout history, artists have drawn upon the great work of those who preceded them. Artistic influences can be traced through the borrowing of compositions, figures, color, mood, and ideas. While it is true that occasionally artists existed in a cultural vacuum, most recognized geniuses readily accepted the lessons of the past and adapted them to their own talents and innovations. Thomas Eakins was no exception.

Among Eakins's large-scale portraits of great character and sensitivity is his portrait of the late-19th-century anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900). A close look at the Cushing portrait confirms the artist's training and discloses additional stylistic sources that affected his work.

A misguided, though properly romantic, notion persists that Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) existed outside the realm of art tradition and that, in true independent American fashion, his genius was unaffected by outside influences. In fact, Eakins studied intensively, and his work was affected by both past traditions and current trends.

Formal training with Parisian teachers Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) and Léon Bonnat (1833-1922) and a personal exploration of the work of the great Spanish painter Diego Velazquez (1590-1660) are acknowledged as the predominant external influences on Eakins's work. Life in Philadelphia also enriched his artistic background, offering him early exposure to excellent portrait work from the 18th and early 19th centuries. Eakins's work continued the great portrait tradition of a city that fostered such masters as Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827) and Thomas Sully (1783-1872), whose solid reputations were built on portraits of national figures as well as of members of Philadelphia society. Some of Peale's and Sully's portraits could be called *portraits d'apparat* (a French term for portraits that located the sitter in an environment of professional authority). The approach was one that Eakins would later employ. The scale of



THOMAS EAKINS
Frank Hamilton Cushing,
ca. 1895-1900
Platinum print on paper
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture
Garden, Smithsonian Institution,
transferred from the Hirshhorn
Museum and Sculpture Garden
Archives, 1983. HMSG 83.89

My friend, Thomas Eakins, the scientist artist of Philadelphia.... is honoring me by painting my portrait.

CUSHING, IN AN ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, 1895

Eakins's work also recalls the large-scale portraiture of Peale and Sully, which was on view in public institutions such as the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts where Eakins began taking art instruction in 1862.

In October 1866 Eakins left Philadelphia for Paris to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts under Jean-Léon Gérôme. From Gérôme, an academic history painter, and from the academic discipline, Eakins acquired solid grounding in draftsmanship but scant instruction in painting. He pursued painting on his own, requesting and receiving individual criticism from Gérôme.

In the later part of Eakins's stay in Paris, Gérôme referred him to Léon Bonnat, an academic history painter known for competent and fashionable portraits. Although Bonnat was a teacher at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Eakins studied in his independent *atelier* for about a month. Bonnat's method was to offer criticism of the finished product and to avoid interrupting the artistic process.

Toward the end of 1869 Eakins left Paris for Spain, where he spent six months studying the work of Spanish Baroque painters. He was particularly

JAMES WALLACE BLACK
Frank Cushing and Group of Zuñi Indians in Boston, Massachusetts

Photograph
Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico,
neg. no. 9146

From left to right, the Indians who accompanied Cushing back East are Lai-iu-ah-tsay-lun-kia, Cushing's foster father; Nai-iu-tchi, a senior bow priest; Frank Cushing; Pali-wah-ti-wa, the former governor of Zuñi Pueblo; Ki-a-si, a junior bow priest; Na-na-he, a Hopi who was married to a Zuñi woman. The photograph was made in March of 1882.



JAMES WALLACE BLACK
Frank Cushing of Zuñi Pueblo
 Photograph
 Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico,
 neg. no. 9147

BEN WITTICK
Zuñi Pueblo, Pali-wah-ti-wa
 Photograph
 Courtesy of the School of American Research,
 Collections in the Museum of New Mexico,
 neg. no. 16010

The portrait photograph of Cushing at right was made during his trip to Washington, D. C. and Boston in March 1882. Cushing's Zuñi sponsor and friend Pali-wah-ti-wa, former governor of Zuñi Pueblo, posed for the portrait photograph shown below ca. 1890. Note the similarities of dress, adornment, and expression.



enthusiastic about the work of Diego Velazquez, whom Gérôme and Bonnat had both studied in the 1850s. After a brief return to Paris, he arrived home in Philadelphia in spring of 1870. There he was active as a professional painter and teacher through the 1870s and 1880s, but by the 1890s had virtually withdrawn from the public art scene. Although he was not exhibiting, he continued to paint, creating many of his most important large-scale portraits, including *Frank Hamilton Cushing*. The Cushing portrait, painted in 1895, was Eakins's first full-sized male portrait and part of a growing and impressive series of *portraits d'apparat*.

Eakins had always been interested in intellectuals and many of his finest portraits documented scientists, writers, and philosophers of his

time. This interest is apparent in Eakins's painting of Cushing as a priest of the bow, a member of the secret Zuñi war society into which the anthropologist had been initiated.

One of the youngest anthropologists to join the Bureau of Ethnology (later known as the Bureau of American Ethnology), Cushing was part of a new science — that of documenting and analyzing a culture different from his own. Although his experience with the Bureau was diverse, Cushing's most noteworthy accomplishment was his fieldwork among the Zuñi Indians of the Southwest. He was the first anthropologist to live among the people he investigated, which was considered highly unorthodox, even suspect, by the young ethnographic establishment. His methods yielded unprecedented information, while inciting jealousy among some of his contemporaries.

Cushing stayed with the Zuñi in Arizona for six years, from 1879 through 1885. After leaving, he lectured and wrote about his experiences throughout his life. He also continued for many years to appear dressed in his Zuñi clothing, eliciting a range of responses from his friends and acquaintances and helping to promote his reputation as an eccentric.¹

In 1892 an illness forced Cushing to take a leave of absence from his position with the Bureau of American Ethnology, and he visited Philadelphia, primarily to consult with a physician. It was then, in this late, ant climactic period of his life, that he became acquainted with the artist Thomas Eakins. A letter from Eakins to Cushing dated 14 July 1895 confirms that by that time they were well-acquainted and planning the portrait:

My dear Mr. Cushing,

Your letter duly received and my late acknowledgment is from a bad habit of putting off writing until Sundays. I hope sincerely you may be able on coming back to Philadelphia to prolong your stay beyond a few days. I think I could paint the whole picture in a couple of weeks if you would help me with the background and accessories.²

The artist and the anthropologist together constructed a model of a pueblo room in Eakins's studio. It has been described as a kiva, a ceremonial chamber used by the Zuñi and other Southwestern tribes. However, it may have been a representation of a more general space, perhaps even the room in which Cushing lived while with the Zuñi. (See page 33.)

His personal magnetism, his witchcraft of speech, his ardor, his wisdom in the unknowabilities, the undoubted romance of his life of research among "wild Indians" . . . all were contagious. . . . Perhaps never was another quite so curiously mixed between genuine scholarship and the arts of showmanship.

CHARLES LUMMIS, "THE WHITE INDIAN,"
 IN *THE LAND OF SUNSHINE*, 1900

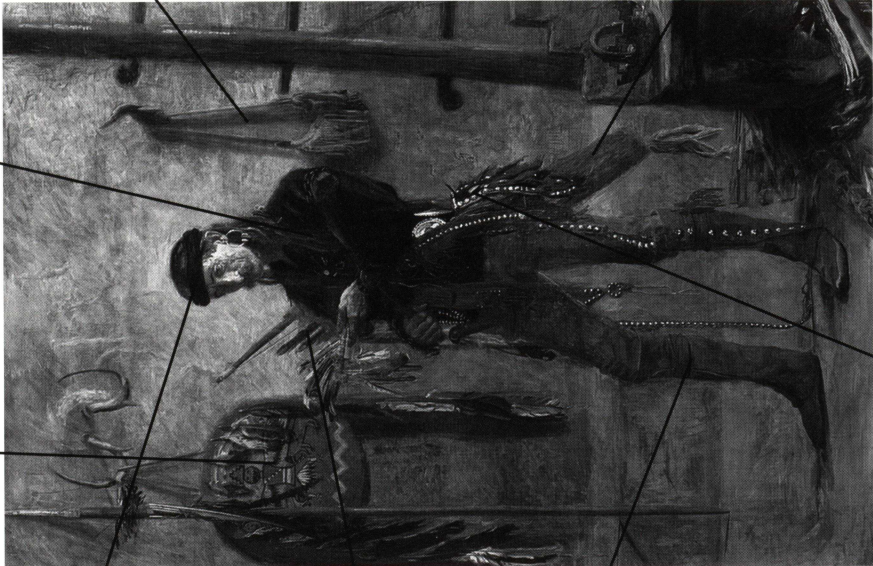


In the portrait, the most visible signs of Cushing's integration into the Zuñi society are the setting and his apparel, which is similar to that worn by other members of the Zuñi priest societies. Cushing's headband is a black fringed silk Spanish scarf, given him by Pali-wah-ti-wa, the governor of the Zuñi, who was his friend and sponsor.

To denote his rank, Cushing holds a war club in his right hand and a war-plume of sacred prayer feathers in his left.

Soft red deerskin moccasins, buff-colored deerskin trousers, and leggings decorated with silver buttons and scarlet wool garters replaced the rest of his Eastern-style dress.

His shield, decorated with the image of a Zuñi war god, hangs on the wall to the viewer's left.

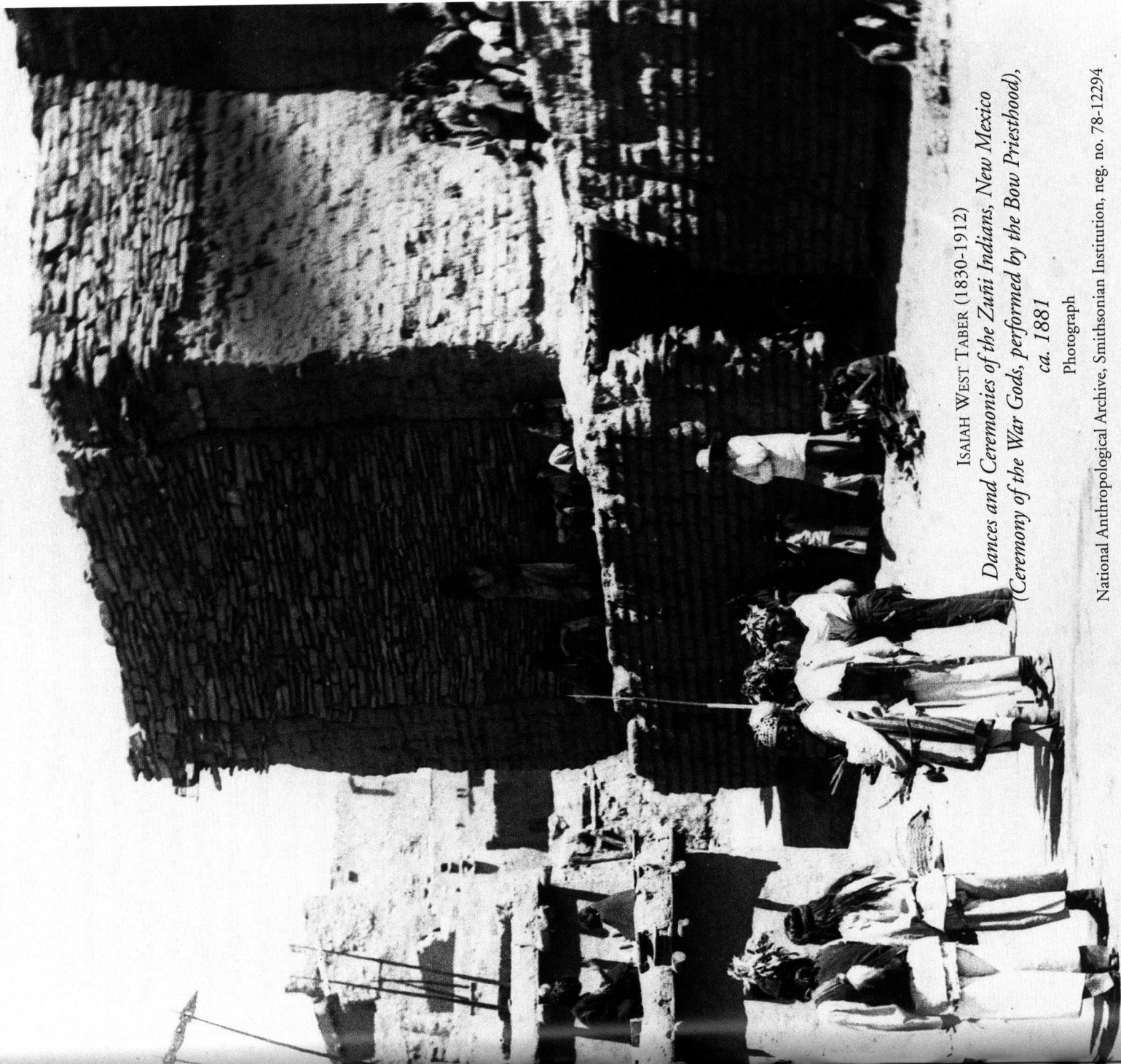
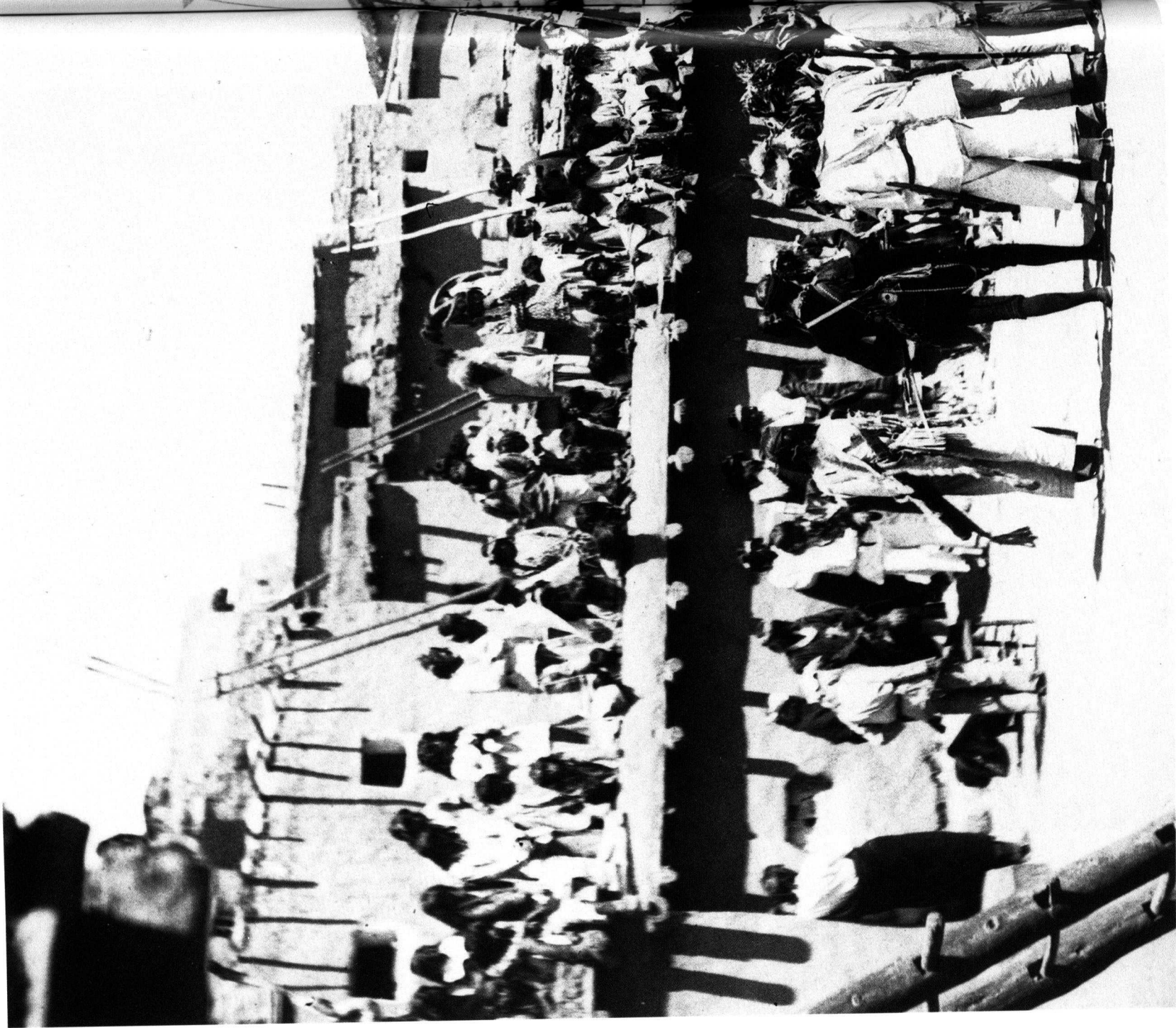


A bandolier bag hangs on the wall behind and to the right of Cushing in this portrait. The bandolier bag was an important part of the bow priest's regalia. See page 32 for further discussion of the bandolier bag by Edmund Ladd.

Over his shoulder is a quiver made of the complete skin of a fawn. It holds a bow and arrows, not only of practical use for hunting, but also an emblem of the bow priest.

The first article of clothing which he received, only a month after his arrival at Zuñi, the scarf was the initial aspect of his acceptance. Pali-wah-ti-wa's wife later made for Cushing the dark blue wool shirt he wears. The body of the shirt is made of a single piece of cloth. The sleeves are added, sewn on with bright red yarn, visible just below his left shoulder.

Cushing's belt with large silver conchas, his necklace of turquoise, coral, shell, and jet beads, and his silver earrings decorated with turquoise all are all symbols of power and material wealth. On his right hip is an intricate knife case of rawhide adorned with silver buttons and attached to his belt with a silver beaded chain. The case is decorated with a length of red-dyed and silver-studded hide, which has been erroneously described as a whip. The photograph of Cushing shown on page 48 makes the distinction more clearly.



ISAIAH WEST TABER (1830-1912)
Dances and Ceremonies of the Zuni Indians, New Mexico
(Ceremony of the War Gods, performed by the Bow Priesthood),
 ca. 1881
 Photograph

National Anthropological Archive, Smithsonian Institution, neg. no. 78-12294

Oil on canvas

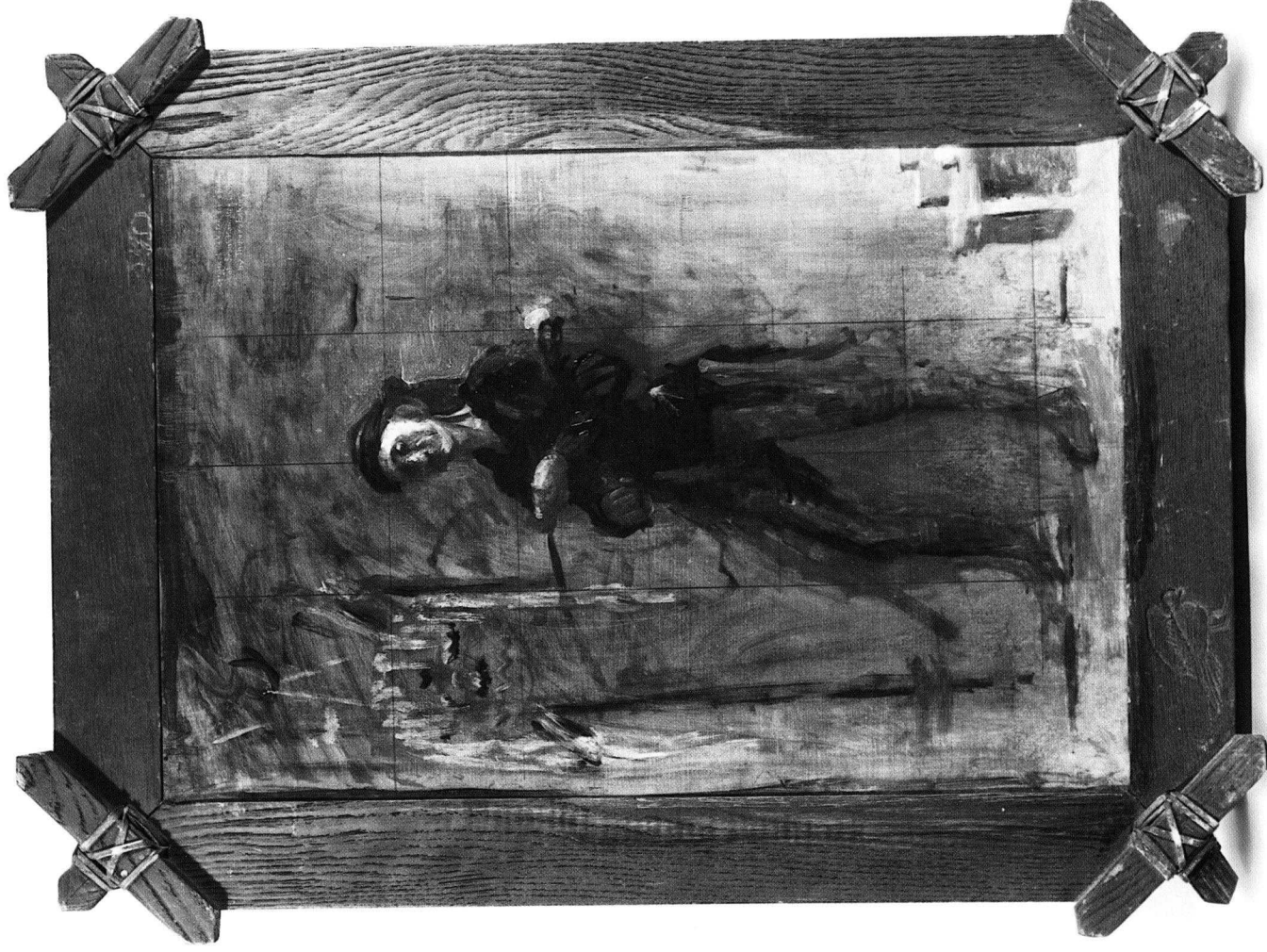
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,
 Smithsonian Institution, HMSG 66.1521

Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1966.

Photograph by Lee Stalworth.

Cushing adopted his special garments for everyday use at Zuñi, even though the informal attire of the pueblo was a simple, light-colored cotton shirt and trousers. In photographs taken at Zuñi — such as Taber's photograph of the War God Ceremony shown on the previous page — Cushing appears in his dark garments. Perhaps he felt his status demanded a certain rigidity of dress. In another photograph by Black (page 47) Cushing and the bow priests who traveled east with him share the same style of dress.

While preparing to paint Cushing, Eakins photographed him in his Zuñi clothing; he later used the photographs as references when Cushing's poor health made it difficult for him to pose for long periods. In addition, a quick, loosely-brushed oil study was made as Eakins refined the final composition. If the portrait had evolved simply as a result of Eakins's encounter and then fascination with Cushing, it would be remarkable. However, its interest lies also in its manifestation of Eakins's artistic antecedents. Although there may be others, portraits by Jean-Léon Gérôme, Léon Bonnat, Diego Velazquez, Edouard Manet, and Thomas Sully may have influenced Eakins in the creation of *Frank Hamilton Cushing*.³



Gérôme's influence on his student as seen in the Frank Hamilton Cushing portrait is subtle, perceived in the interest in the primitive and exotic, and in unusual details. However, art historian Gerald Ackerman has proposed Gérôme's *An Arab Chief Before his Tent* (location, size, date unknown), a painting that was in a Philadelphia collection during Eakins's lifetime, as a specific precedent.⁴

The comparison of two standing male figures in shallow, exotic spaces is persuasive. The Arab chief's costume recalls Cushing's garments, just as the two knives through the sash form angles corresponding to Cushing's arrows. However, where Cushing stands turned slightly left, is self-absorbed, and does not engage the audience, the Arab appears arrogant, stands facing frontally, hands on hips, challenging the viewer.

In the execution of the portrait, Eakins departed from Gérôme's refined academic surface to follow the example of his other Parisian master, Bonnat. Bonnat provided Eakins with a model for a more painterly surface treatment in the kind of preparatory sketch known as an *ébauche*. In an *ébauche*, large areas of light and dark tones define the predominant masses, and forms are further defined by scumbled layers of richer pigments. Unlike academic painters, who gave their pictures a slick, shiny surface, Eakins allowed the rougher qualities of an *ébauche* to dominate in his finished portrait.

V E L A Z Q U E Z

In Velazquez's later portraits Eakins found a sympathetic philosophy that he incorporated into his work throughout his career. In his portraits, Velazquez emphasized character over beauty, and he worked in a strikingly realistic style. The same qualities can be found in Eakins's work. In his mastery of light and its effect on color and value, Velazquez had solved problems with which Eakins struggled as a student. Velazquez's skill, the depth and richness of his technique, and his brushwork influenced Eakins's work almost from the beginning. In a letter from Madrid Eakins wrote:

I have seen big painting here. When I had looked at all the paintings by all the masters I had known, I could not help saying to myself all the time, its very pretty but its not all yet. It ought to be better, but now I have seen what I always thought ought to have been done and what did not seem to me impossible. O what a satisfaction it gave me to see the good Spanish work so good so strong so reasonable so free from every affectation. It stands out like nature itself . . . I have seen the big work every day and I will never forget it. It has given me more courage than anything else ever could.⁵



DIEGO VELAZQUEZ (1590-1660)
Don Juan of Austria, 1636

Oil on canvas
The Prado, Madrid

Although the letter does not specifically refer to any one painting, Velázquez's *Don Juan of Austria* fits the rhetoric and provides a thought-provoking precedent for *Frank Hamilton Cushing*. It also indicates that Velázquez's work, which had made such a strong impression on the youthful Eakins, still evoked intense feelings in the artist many years later.

Don Juan of Austria was the last in Velázquez's series of paintings of court jesters or buffoons. Don Juan received his name, in jest, from someone in the Royal Family of Spain. The original Don Juan of Austria was the great admiral of the Battle of Lepanto. Velázquez, alluding to the connection of names, posed Don Juan, with weapons and armor, in front of a painting or a theatrical presentation depicting the battle. It was common in the Spanish court during the 17th century for jesters to mime or impersonate famous characters, and they often had costumes made for the parts they played.

While it is not known what motivated Velázquez, Eakins may have followed what he perceived to be Velázquez's example in painting Cushing in costume and in a setting which reflected another aspect of Cushing's persona. And the pervasive air of melancholy mirrors that of Velázquez's Don Juan.

Eakins made his portrait life size, showing Cushing at his height of five feet, the same height as the figure of Velázquez's Don Juan. The figures stand about the same distance from the picture plane, although Velázquez implied more distance in the background of the Don Juan portrait; in the background of the room inhibits recession. The

Eakins's composition the back wall of the room inhibits recession. The tonality of both paintings is warm, rich gold and reddish browns.

The poses are reversed, but nearly identical, including the positioning of hands and feet and the tilt of heads. Each artist highlighted the face of his subject to draw attention to it. Don Juan looks at the viewer, but distractedly, not directly or aggressively. Cushing appears to contemplate the prayer feathers he holds.



MANET
Another Parisian painter who was indebted to Velázquez, and whose influence Eakins must have felt, was Edouard Manet (1833-83).

Manet, a realist and precursor of the Impressionists, liberally borrowed from past masters, and yet he was a stylistic innovator.

While it is unknown whether Eakins met Manet, his work was exhibited and much discussed while Eakins was a student in France. It is likely that the young artist attended the Salon of 1868, in which Manet showed the portrait of his friend,

Emile Zola (1867-8,

58¼ x 45½ inches, oil on canvas, Louvre).⁶ Furthermore, Gérôme and Manet were well-acquainted, and Manet had borrowed figures from Gérôme's compositions. Through Gérôme, Eakins could have known Manet, or at least his work.

Among Manet's brilliant *portraits d'apparat* of individuals he admired is a particularly striking example that could have provided yet another influence on Eakins for the portrait of Cushing — *Philibert Rouvière as Hamlet*, also called *The Tragic Actor*. It was a controversial work, having been rejected by the selection committee for the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867. In response, Manet displayed *The Tragic Actor*, among other paintings, in his own highly publicized exhibition.

Manet chose his subjects thoughtfully. He painted Rouvière in his greatest role, even though the actor had not enjoyed acclaim for over ten years and died before the portrait was completed. Posing Rouvière in a neutral, shallow space, Manet focused the viewer's attention on the actor's expressive hands and face. While Eakins's composition is not so sparse, the pose of the figure and the highlighting of face and hands recall *The Tragic Actor*. Perhaps a parallel also exists in the idea of representing a man in the trappings of former glory.⁷

EDOUARD MANET (1833-1883)
Philosopher with Hat

Oil on canvas

Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1931.504

Photograph ©1994. The Art Institute of Chicago. All rights reserved.

EDOUARD MANET
The Tragic Actor (Philibert Rouvière as Hamlet), 1866

Oil on canvas

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 1959.3.1



Thomas Sully, the foremost American portrait painter of the early 19th century, was still alive and working in Philadelphia when Eakins was a young man. Sully painted over 2,000 portraits, many of them large-scale full figures. One of his most celebrated portraits, and one with which Eakins was familiar, is a remarkable precedent for *Frank Hamilton Cushing*. *George Frederick Cooke in the Role of Richard III* is nearly the same size as the Cushing portrait, and although the poses are reversed, the stance of the two men is nearly identical. Cooke's body is turned slightly more outward than Cushing's, but both subjects are rather stooped, with outer arms cocked across their chests and heads tilted down.

THOMAS SULLY (1783-1872)
George Frederick Cooke as Richard III, 1811-1812

Oil on canvas, 94 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches
 Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Acc. No. 1812.1.
 Gift of friends and admirers of the artist.

Cushing and Cooke are both posed within closed spaces, the southwestern room recreated in Eakins's studio and the fictive space painted to represent St. Paul's Cathedral from Act 1, Scene 1 of *Richard III*. In the portrait of Cushing, the ladder and the vertical shape of the shield and spear are reminiscent of the columns in the right foreground and the statue of St. Helen behind Cooke. The low ledge behind Cushing is similar to the raised areas behind Cooke.

The artists painted Cooke and Cushing in the costumes of their most significant roles, and both were interested in precise details — Cooke's Order of the Garter on his left leg parallels the Zuni garter, a similar detail of Cushing's costume. Other elements of the garments are remarkably similar. Matching Cooke's tunic and boots, although of different fabric, are Cushing's shirt, leggings, and moccasins. The diagonal of Cooke's sword is repeated in the diagonal of Cushing's quiver.

The similarities go beyond compositional comparison. Philosophical and cultural parallels exist as well. Cooke, a distinguished English Shakespearean actor, toured America in 1810-11. He was the first British actor of eminence to perform in America. He made his debut in New York in fall of 1810 and appeared in Philadelphia the following spring in the title role of Richard III. He received a mixed reception: audiences loved him, but critics felt he was — ludicrously — “too British.”



Sully, from a theatrical family himself, was encouraged by friends to paint Cooke. The portrait was given to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts as a gift of Sully's friends and admirers, and Eakins surely saw it there, first during his student days and later during his tenure as an instructor.

Some of the non-artistic parallels between Cooke and Cushing imply understanding and choice on the part of Eakins. Cooke had a tremendous impact on the youthful American theater, much as Cushing had on early American ethnology. Although Cushing was popular with the media and his writings were sought by the public, his methods were controversial within his discipline. Similarly, Cooke was popular with the public, but scorned by theater critics.

During Sully's time theatrical portraits were more respected than society portraits. They have come down to us as important documents of the early American theater that demonstrate the close relationship between the visual and performing arts. Eakins's portraits of scientific and intellectual figures are documents too, tying together science and visual art.

The portrait of Cushing was neither a financial nor a critical success for Thomas Eakins. It went unsold and was exhibited only once during the artist's life.⁸ Nevertheless it is a powerful portrait within Eakins's body of work and within the entire history of American portraiture. It is the portrait of a man's private self, within the trappings of his most public self. Eakins sought to portray persons who in their full intellectual, aesthetic, and athletic power were definitive of the best of their times. Perhaps that is why Cushing appealed to Eakins — intellectually, aesthetically, and even physically. Cushing was not strong or athletic, yet in relinquishing accustomed physical comfort to live among the Zuni he pushed himself to his physical limits.

In his selection of archetypes for his paintings, Eakins was no more arbitrary than in his selection of subjects. Artists who were more than creators of beautiful images, paintings that were more than mirrors, obviously appealed to Eakins, as did subjects who were more than physically beautiful. Numerous painters of Eakins's generation painted beautiful and flattering portraits but Eakins attempted to capture personality — making his portraits worthy of continued appreciation, and making it difficult to analyze the artist without analyzing the individuals he portrayed.

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1. Cushing may have inspired other anthropologists to don the garb of their subjects. His good friend and fellow anthropologist Charles F. Lummis was photographed in 1887 wearing Apache clothing (photographer unknown, photograph in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles).

2. Southwest Museum Archives, Hodge/Cushing Papers.

3. William Truettner offers *The Portrait of George Catlin* (1849, oil on canvas, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution) by William Fiske as an example of an important non-Indian figure dressed in Indian-style clothing.

Catlin is shown inside a tipi at an easel. Through the opening of the tipi, as well as inside, can be seen Indians, which are painted copies of Catlin’s work. Catlin is dressed in hybrid Indian-style clothing, though he is not represented as an Indian. Fiske made the distinction by placing him next to a “real” Indian. Although Catlin was never admitted to a particular tribe as Cushing was, he was as theatrical as Cushing and often dressed in an Indian manner in his social as well as professional life in order to attract attention to his work. Even if Fiske’s portrait is not a precedent, Catlin’s own work, his Indian portraits, may have been an inspiration to Eakins.

4. Ackerman, “Thomas Eakins and His Parisian Masters Gérôme and Bonnat,” p. 237. Ackerman points out that this was not the first adaptation Eakins made of Gérôme’s compositions. The amphitheater in many of Gérôme’s popular gladiatorial scenes — such as *Ave Caesar, Morituri Te Salutat* (1859, oil on canvas 36% x 57% inches, Yale University Art Gallery) — reappears both in Eakins’s *The Gross Clinic* (1875, oil on canvas, 96 x 78 inches, Jefferson Medical College of Thomas Jefferson University), and in his *The Agnew Clinic* (1899, oil on canvas, 84% x 118% inches, The University of Pennsylvania Collection of Art). It can also be seen in his paintings of boxers, including *Salutat* (1898, oil on canvas, 49½ x 39½, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts).

5. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, December 2, 1869, quoted in Margaret McHenry, *Thomas Eakins Who Painted*, Oreland Park, PA: privately printed, p. 17-19, quoted as written by Eakins.

6. Eakins’s *Portrait of Professor Henry A. Rowland* (1897, oil on canvas, 82 x 53 inches, the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts) is similar in composition to Manet’s *Emile Zola*.

7. Manet, who studied Velazquez’s work in Spain, patterned his *Tragic Actor* after Velazquez’s *Pablillos de Valladolid* (oil on canvas, The Prado, Madrid).

8. In Eakins’s one-man show at the Earle galleries, Philadelphia, in 1896.

Tracings

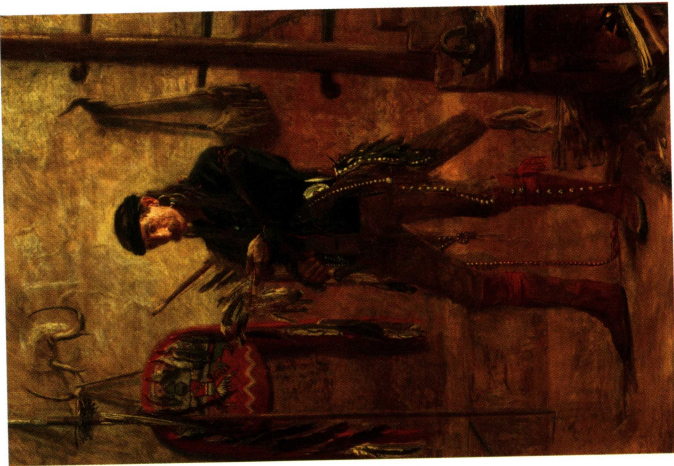
JOAN CARPENTER TROCCOLI

In just three decades, between the late 1920s and the late 1950s, Thomas Gilcrease built his collection of nearly 400,000 objects. People often ask how Mr. Gilcrease managed to assemble such a large and distinguished collection during that relatively short period of time. One method used by Mr. Gilcrease, as well as many other major collectors, was to acquire entire collections put together by others, such as the Phillip Cole collection, the source of most of the museum’s Remingtons and Russells. Mr. Gilcrease also bought individual works, one of which is Thomas Eakins’s great portrait of Frank Hamilton Cushing.

As Anne Morand notes in her article in this issue of the *Journal*, Eakins painted Cushing’s portrait in 1895. After the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts refused to show the painting in its 1895-1896 exhibition — which seems surprising indeed, in view of the universal praise now accorded the portrait — Eakins lent it to the Museum of Science and Art at the University of Pennsylvania, where his friend the ethnologist Stewart Culin was director. When Culin moved on to The Brooklyn Museum, the portrait, still on loan from the artist, moved with him. It was a highlight of Culin’s installation of Zuñi artifacts, which made sense in view of Cushing’s investigations of that culture, but also indicated, as did the rejection by the Pennsylvania Academy, how little regard Eakins’s contemporaries had for his abilities as an artist.

In 1928, after Eakins’s death, The Brooklyn Museum purchased the portrait from the painter’s widow. In yet another demonstration of the low esteem in which Eakins was held at that time, Brooklyn deaccessioned the portrait in 1947. It was sold to Thomas Gilcrease through the New York dealer M. Knoedler and Company. Brooklyn’s loss was very much Tulsa’s gain. The portrait had a homecoming of sorts in 1991, when Gilcrease Museum lent it to The Brooklyn Museum for the exhibition “Objects of Myth and Memory,” which recreated Culin’s early 20th-century installations.

It is interesting to note that throughout most of its travels from one museum to another, Cushing’s portrait was accompanied by the clothes



in which its subject appears. Four years after Cushing’s death in 1900, Stewart Culin acquired the anthropologist’s Zuñi costume from his widow. The costume went first to the Archeological Museum at Penn and then, along with Culin, to The Brooklyn Museum. After Culin’s death most of it entered Brooklyn’s collection, where it remains today.

Although Cushing’s costume has survived, his portrait lost its unusual frame within a few years of its creation. The frame, which was made of wood lashed together with leather thongs, was designed and partially constructed by Cushing himself. Gilcrease’s curatorial and exhibits staff hope one day to build a replica of the original frame, which is recorded in old photographs. The museum’s reproduction of Cushing’s own handiwork will be a fitting memorial to the anthropologist’s active participation in the fashioning of every detail of his unforgettable image.



EDWARD S. CURTIS (1868-1952)
The Terraced Houses of Zuñi
Photogravure
Gilcrease 4327.980.30

P a t r o n s o f t h e G i l c r e a s e M u s e u m

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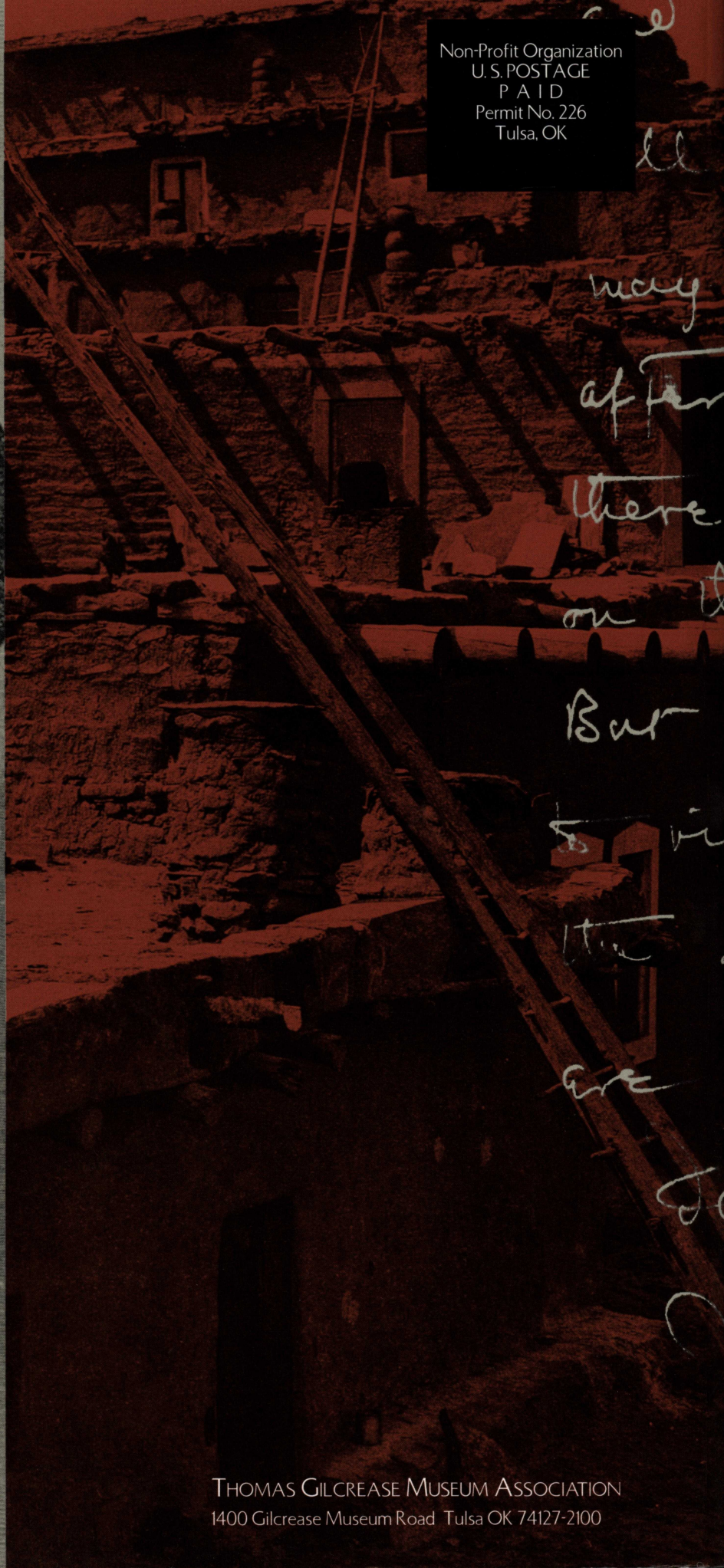
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